THE
EUROPEAN
COMMISSION

CJD Eutin

INTERFACE
Immigrants and National Integration Strategies: Developing a Trans-European Framework for Analysing Cultural and Employment-Related Integration

Coordinator of the project:

CJD Eutin
Annelies Wiesner
Albert-Mahlstedt-Straße 20
23701 Eutin, Germany
Phone: +49 4521 706960
E-mail: anne.wiesner@cjd-eutin.de

Project partners:

Psychoanalytical Institute for Social Research (IPRS)
Raffaele Bracalenti
Passeggiata di Ripetta, 11
00186 Roma, Italy
Phone: +39 06 3265 2401
E-mail: iprs@iprs.it

Free University of Brussels
Andrea Rea
GERME –Group for the Study of Ethnicity, Racism,
Migration and Exclusion, Institute of Sociology
44, Avenue Jeanne
B-1000 Bruxelles, Belgium
Phone: +32 2 650 3372
E-mail: area@ulb.ac.be

Finnish Youth Research Network
Nuorisotutkimusverkosto
Leena Suurpää
Asemapäällikönkatu 1
00520 Helsinki, Finland
Phone:. + 358 (0)20 755 2650
E-mail: leena.suurpaa@nuorisotutkimus.fi

Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs (RILSA)
Milada Horáková
Palackého nám. 4
128 01 Prague 2, Czech Republic
Phone: +420 22497 2673
E-mail: milada.horakova@vupsv.cz

Introduction

The Project "INTERFACE – Immigrants and National Integration Strategies: Developing a Trans-European Framework for Analysing Cultural and Employment-Related Integration" was funded by the European Commission, DG Justice and Home Affairs in the framework of the INTI-Programme.

The project was carried out by the following partner organisations: University of Brussels (GERME – Group of Research on Ethnicity, Migration, Racism) in Belgium, the Finnish Youth Research Network, the Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs (RILSA) in Prague, the Psychoanalytical Institute for Social Research (IPRS) in Rome and the Christian Youth Village (CJD) Eutin in Germany. The latter organisation also developed and coordinated the project work.

The following work is based on the analysis of three narrative, consecutive interviews per family, conducted with a total of 77 families who immigrated to European Union countries. In Summing up, almost 240 Interviews were conducted in the course of the main field work, and ten focus group interviews were conducted in the course of a preliminary study. The majority of the families had decided about their migration trajectories, respectively chose those countries for immigration, which had immigration criteria that suited the families, or in which relatives or friends were already resident. Only a few migrants arrived as refugees in a country or place which was entirely unknown to them and they had not planned on emigrating to. The migrants were mostly in the medium age cohort (parents' generation), healthy and prepared to take risks. In an economic perspective, for the receiving countries immigration meant increase in their productive population at present day and in the future, since the families brought school-age children into the receiving countries. In the vast majority of cases, both parents and children saw their social and professional future as lying in the respective European Union member state.

The main objective of the study was to understand if and to what extent the family can represent a successful strategy for facilitating immigrants' integration as well as for absorbing and mitigating the most painful effects – as well emotional as also structural effects – brought by the migration experience. Therefore the interview analysis was aiming at reconstructing the family's history. Therefore the central question was: How did the migration experience affect family life? (Or verse vice: How did family life affect the life of the individual immigrant?). Accordingly the individual family were asked to tell their individual experiences. Finally the perception of the family's future was taken into focus.

Families included in the study are a selected assortment in many ways. There were marked differences between the INTERFACE-countries in recruiting the families – for instance in Italy and the Czech Republic the interviewed families were given a small reward in order to motivate them to participate, which may have had an influence on what kind of families were included. In Finland and in Germany, being recruited through immigrant organizations, some of the families are likely to represent the more active and possibly well-integrated section of immigrant population. Participating in the interviews meant sharing details about personal family-life. To be motivated to do this, the interviewees needed to regard the topic as important and thus to regard family as a meaningful factor in their lives. Since family matters

are personal and intimate by nature and difficulties in particular are often preferably not shared with outsiders, people with family-related problems are likely to avoid these kinds of interviews. Taking people with immigrant background as the target group is an additional challenge, since it requires particular attention on ethical issues and communication in order to make sure the interviewees understand their position, especially in case they do not fully master the language used.

The methodology of the INTERFACE-project (see chapter "Methodological Approach") was grounded on the idea of giving as much space as possible to the interviewees to share those experiences of their family life they considered relevant. It was agreed that the interviews were to be carried out with the family unit as a whole in a three-step interview process. Interviewing parents and children at the same time brought transparency into the internal family discussions of answering integration related issues and gave voice to women and children; those social categories that are not often taken into account in the research of migration and integration.

A difficulty experienced in the analysis of the categories that were developed to structure the analysis of nearly 240 Interviews was judging, weighing and measuring the statements of family members. Some costs of the migration experience are rooted in external factors, which are often connected to or causative to emotional sufferings. We have identified in the narrative interviews the most relevant external factors and emotional sufferings experienced by migrants families in the five countries. With external factors, we mean difficulties experienced like: insufficient access to resources, downward of social or professional status, economic marginalisation, discrimination, racism, illegal residence. Emotional sufferings are more subjectively experienced and they can be for instance: loneliness, denial of recognition, difficulties in dealing with the new culture of the host country, the new values and norms, re-negations of identity. Emotional sufferings often result from external factors, quite obviously for example in cases of separation of the family: this causes actual economic and personal hardships in everyday life, as much as it often burdens family members psychologically, e.g. resulting in feelings of loneliness.

Families and family members experience the emotional effects often resulting from external factors with different intensity and process them in different ways. While some families suffer intensely from external factors, others feel less negatively affected. Often, families develop coping strategies to compensate for the losses and hardships experienced. Many families interviewed managed to outbalance the strains that migrating to modern Western societies holds for migrants: for example losing professional status was experienced as less important as the economic security gained with migration, or a general feeling of "safety and security" for the family. Some families demonstrate that a creative negotiation of hardships experienced helped them to draw beneficial effects for their individual strength and closeness of family relations. Although many families suffered greatly from the emotional effects in the course of migration and integration, some demonstrate vivid examples of how these were regarded as "challenges" and were finally mastered as such. Without wiping away the various degrees of hardships experienced by most families, many families in the sample fortunately succeeded in mastering these challenges to achieve a state of positive integration.

In this context it is necessary to stress once more that the term "integration" is very complex and multi-layered, since it is used in a variety of different contexts: often, without any further clarification. Thus, there is for example professional integration, integration into the job market, integration in the schooling and educational system and social integration.

Additionally, the indicators for integration into the different social spheres often remain unclear. Specific and varying concepts of society are also of relevance in this context. Thus, many questions remain unanswered both in a socio-political and a social science perspective, when the term "integration" is used.

In socio-political terms, integration is often understood in a system theory-oriented macro-sociological or macro-economic perspective. This means that for example that focus is on the analysis of the advantages and disadvantages, that for example participation of migrants in different social sub-systems may bring. The perspective favoured in this study is, in contrast, rather an micro-sociological, action theory oriented perspective, which focuses on the circumstances and difficulties of individual actors and whole families in the course of the migration and integration process.

In the following analysis, an understanding of (successful or failing) "integration" will not be provided by the authors in their respective chapters, but will rather emerge from the analysis and the families' accounts cited.

The following report consists of four sections:

In the first section, *Marie Godin* explains the methodological approach used in this study. Following this, *Eckart Müller-Bachmann* describes the existing research on family and migration, referring to a selection of theories and results of empirical studies.

The second section deals with changes inside the family in the process of migration. *Marja Peltola* looks at the intergenerational changes in the family, while *Pavel Bareš* writes about family relations beyond the generational divide.

The relations of the family and its members towards the host societies are discussed in the third section. *Marie Godin* and *Andrea Rea* examine the functions of social networks for the family, putting special emphasis on the accumulation of social capital. Following this, *Verena Boehme, Raffaele Bracalenti* and *Alessia Mefalopulos* address the issue of status change and explore how families and family members compensate the common experience loss of status in professional and social terms. The third section is concluded by *Milada Horáková,* who describes the experience of families in dealing with overt and covert forms of discrimination.

In the last section, *Iris Dähnke* and *Eckart Müller-Bachmann* seek to balance and assess the different experiences inside and outside the family and address the issue of future expectations of families. The report is completed by policy recommendations, which aim at influencing socio-political developments in order to support families in migration and integration processes.

In accordance with gender mainstreaming guidelines, we decided not to focus on gender in a separate chapter of the report. Instead, the report addresses gender in different analytical contexts and the authors thus address gender in the contexts of their respective chapters.

All INTERFACE partners would like to thank everyone that assisted us in conducting the empirical research and provided us with contacts to families as potential interviewees. Most of all, we would like to thank the 77 families, who agreed to share their at times painful memories in long and detailed interviews and gave their time and trust to researchers practically unknown to them.

METHODOLOGY & THEORY

Methodological Approach

Marie Godin

1. Framework for Analysis

As described earlier in this report, an anthropological approach was chosen to collect information and data in order to study the integration of immigrant families and individuals. Three important steps can be described in this research project (see Figure 1).

First, in the very beginning of the project, each research team was asked to conduct two focus groups, one with immigrants and the other with facilitators of integration. A comparative analysis of the material collected during this one phase was undertaken during one trans-national meeting and used for the writing of the mid-term report. The aim of conducting focus groups was to get an overview of national integration processes.

Second, following this step of an exploratory nature, the goal pursued was to get a deeper understanding of migrant family's integration processes. As a result, between 10 and 25 interviews with migrant families were conducted by each partner in its own country. The intent was not to be representative but rather to look at the diversity and variety of migrant families. The method used to conduct interviews was quite original, consisting in "multiple-voices narrations" in which the family plays the core role. The aim to conduct 'mini-focus group' (with all family members that are supposed to be reunified during the time of the interviews) was twofold: first to gain knowledge of the history of the family within the migration process, and second to observe each member's role within the family as well as the interaction between generations and genders.

Third, a cross-national comparative analysis was achieved in order to assess different integration trajectories of individual immigrants and immigrant families accordingly. The main objective of the research project was to identify the family dynamics which can be assimilated to successful strategies for facilitating immigrant's integration into host societies but also for reducing the cost of the migration experience. This part of the report presents the cross-national comparative methodology we developed in order to analyse the data collected during the second stage of the INTERFACE project. The data we collected is of a qualitative nature, particularly huge in quantity and extremely varied in nature, composed of a collection of 77 families' interviews carried out in five European countries. Our attempt with the building of a general framework of analysis was to make it possible for every European partner to achieve a 'cross-national comparative analysis', as defined by Hantrais and Mangen (1996: 1) as:

> "A study can be said to be cross-national and comparative if one or more units one in two or more societies, cultures or countries are compared in respect of the same concepts and concerning the systematic analysis of phenomena, usually with the intention of explaining them and generalising from them. The expectation is that the researchers gather data about the object of study within different contexts and, by making comparisons, gain a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of social reality."
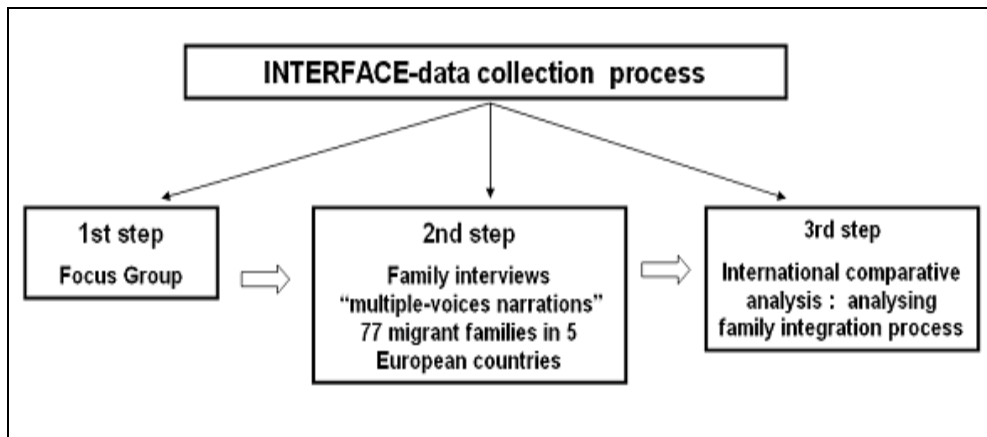
Figure 1: The three Steps of the INTERFACE-data Collection Process

2. Different Approaches Towards Cross-National Comparative Analysis

Cross-national comparisons have become an important feature of academic activity in the recent years. The increase in international collaboration and networking is due to the building of pan-national and supra-national institutions such as the European Union. On one hand, the developments of EU policies, which have lots of implications in every member states, have pushed researchers to undertake more studies across national boundaries. On the other hand, the increasing number of studies in this field is also mainly due to the financial support of bodies, such as the European Commission, interested in such results.

To make cross-national comparison feasible, there have been several attempts to collect comparable data such as for instance, through the statistical office of the European communities (Eurostat), a large-scale harmonised European database. But these statistics are often secondary data collected by individual Member States. Differences in the variables, coding, timing, frequency of surveys, way of collecting data,… may change from one country to another which renders comparison extremely hazardous. National contexts, in which the data is produced is often ignored, makes comparison difficult and even sometimes impossible. And as Hantrais and Mangen (1998: 8) point out; even when researches are aware of that fact, much time and effort can be spent on trying to reduce classifications to a common base, with the result that little of what is left may end up being true grounds for comparison. Concerning cross-national qualitative analyses, Redmond (2003: 10) highlights the fact that "it would appear that qualitative studies have a greater chance of producing reliable and consistent information, particularly because the methodology rests on generating primary data". But as it will be described later, most of the problems encountered in cross-national comparative quantitative analysis are similar to the ones encountered in qualitative analysis.

As Redmond (2003: 2) highlights; the desire to establish a range of research networks across a greater number of Member States was one of the main features of the Sixth EU Framework programme which covered community activities in the field of research, technological development and demonstration (RTD) for the period 2002 to 2006. This stress on cooperation was even more so emphasised in the FP7 (2007-2013) stating that "the bulk of EU research funding will go to collaborative research, with the objective of establishing excellent research projects and networks able to attract researchers and investments from

Europe and the entire world"[1]. This emphasis for more trans-national cooperation research project is also clearly stipulated in one communication from the Commission called "Action for "centres of excellence" with a European dimension: Towards a European Research Area"[2]. The idea of the European Union is to develop in the near future a larger number of sizeable and well-known centres of RTD. These centres are to be similar to those found in the USA (such as those at Stanford University which produced Silicon Valley or the MIT with "Route 128" spin-offs or even Princeton). There are two typologies of these new centres' architecture that prevail: either one single centre, or networked structures composed of complementary facilities or knowledge centres (e.g. French Genopoles), including "virtual institutes".

The INTERFACE-European partnership consists of research institutes and non-governmental organisations located in five European countries that have developed a strong expertise on the new immigration phenomenon and integration issues over the last ten years. Based in Germany, Italy, Belgium, Finland, and the Czech Republic, the partners include respectively: CJD Eutin, IPRS, GERME, The Finnish Youth Network, and RILSA.

Hantrais and Mangen (1998: 1), the pioneers in the reflection of cross-national methodology in social research, highlighted the fact that new technologies have been double-edged. While, on the one hand, extensive surveys were carried out with quantities of data simultaneously available to social scientists in different countries, on the other hand, few progresses were made at conceptual, theoretical and methodological levels. As a result, developing a comparative research methodology has become quite a crucial issue.

Several approaches exist on how to conduct cross-national comparative analysis. Two of which are often described in the literature as follows: the juxtaposition approach and the safari approach (ibid: 1996). As will be later described, the INTERFACE-framework research was an attempt to combine selected elements of both these two traditional approaches.

Cross-national comparison analyses are often used in research projects involving different partners located in different countries. One traditional way of carrying it out, is for every national research team to conduct the study in its own country from the beginning until the end. This approach can be called the *'juxtaposition' approach* (see Figure 2) consisting of a collection of national country reports that are gathered to form the final report. The nature of the data presented in such reports may consist of a state of the art review, a collection of data either from primary or secondary sources, an update of national policies and/or a trans-topic analysis based on agreed criteria among partners. In that perspective, a comparative approach is not systematically undertaken but may eventually be achieved at the end of the process. Usually, one partner, say as the co-ordinator of the project, is in charge of synthesising information on key issues and drawing comparative conclusions. This way of doing has many advantages since it provides every other partner with an in-depth analysis of national context on the object under study. In a context where time and funding are constantly limited, this way of conducting research is quite valued. It allows one to produce relatively good results in a very short time.

---

[1] http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/cooperation/home_en.html

[2] *Europa*: Action for "centres of excellence" with a European dimension Commission's Communication: Towards a European Research Area (see http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/cooperation/home_en.html#1)
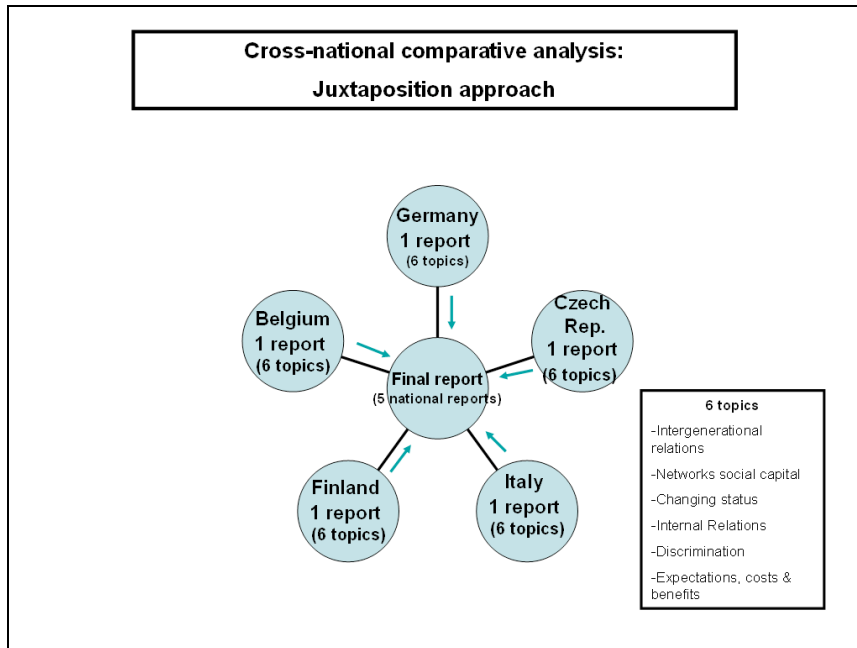
Figure 2 Juxtaposition Approach

The second way of conducting cross-national comparative analysis, often described in the scientific literature, is the *'safari' approach* (see Figure 3). In this perspective, one team will be conducting research in more than one national context, and so doing after having developed a model of analysis that can be replicated in another context. This tends to have higher occurrence in the context of qualitative studies in which the perspective of comparing a data of the same nature is essential.
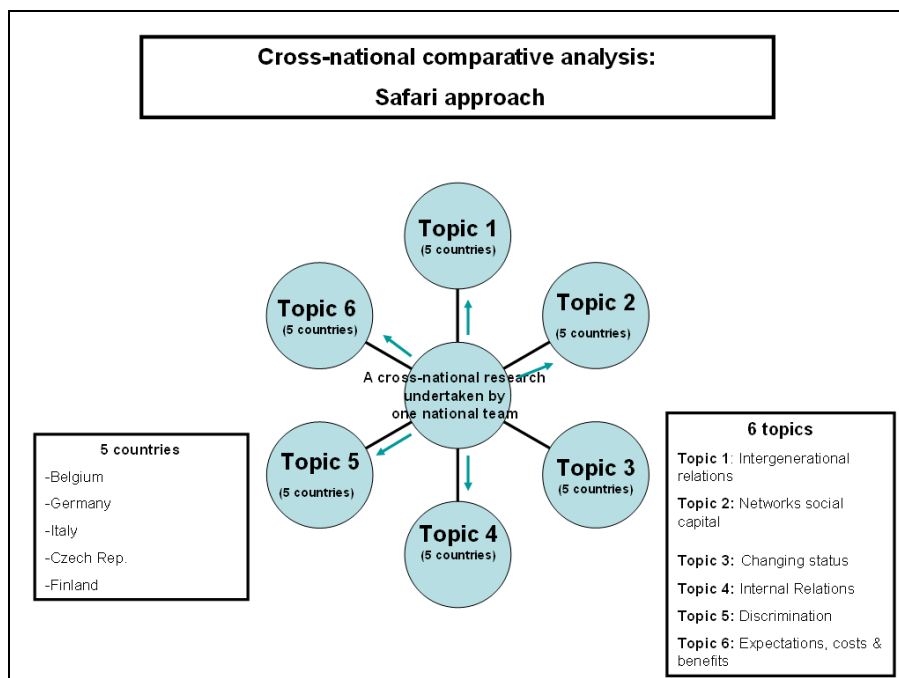
Figure 3 Safari Approach

There are many reasons as to why researchers preferably opt either for the juxtaposition or the safari approach to conduct cross-national comparative research. It is extremely difficult to

obtain comparable datasets, to use the same data collection method or to apply the same framework of analysis when several partners are involved in a research project. But both approaches lead to a number of methodological and theoretical minefields. The most notable disadvantage of the juxtaposition approach is its lack in possibility for comparison but also collaboration among partners alongside the research project. In the case of the safari approach, comparative analysis is undertaken at every step of the research process but as Redmond puts it (2003: 10); there is a danger of producing a one-sided ethnocentric focus within the research findings: having one national research team studying more than one country may lead to a lack of understanding, even misinterpretations of different cultural and societal contexts.

3. The Cross-National Comparative INTERFACE-Approach

The aim of the INTERFACE-project was to conduct an innovative qualitative study on migrant family integration processes in Europe. To achieve this goal, a multi-dimensional and cross-national comparative research framework was developed. Inspired by the two cross-national comparative approaches described earlier, an original data collection method as well as a common framework of analysis was designed for the INTERFACE-project.

The objective in terms of data was to collect reliable comparative information in every country with the purpose to be cross-nationally compared. Traditionally, we saw that when more than one national research team is involved in a cross-national qualitative comparative analysis the juxtaposition approach tends to be preferred. European Union studies, such as the one presented by Redmond (2003) on child and youth migration, tried to challenge this traditional approach in trying to equally involve all partners in the research process. But very often, the involvement of each partner is not maintained up to the end of the process. For many reasons (financial and time cost, ...) the data analysis is not cross-nationally conducted. What makes the INTERFACE-approach so original and innovative is the fact that there is a conscious attempt to keep an equitable division of the entire work from the beginning (data collection) up to the end of the research process (data analysis).

It is very important to notice that the INTERFACE-approach was only made possible thanks to the existence of trans-national meetings that took place alongside the research process. At last, five trans-national meetings were held between January 2007 until June 2008 in Eutin, Rome, Helsinki and Brussels. We also took advantage of the ICT (Information & Communications Technology) by using once the Skype program for a conference call. It is during these meetings that all the important decisions concerning the research framework in terms of theory, methodology and analysis were collectively debated.

To form our sample which consists in 77 migrant families spread over the five European member states, three main conditions had to be (if possible) respected by every partner:

1) Family migrants had to be third-country nationals
2) The object of study being the "migrant family unit", we decided that at least two members of the household should participate in the interviews. When possible, two generations of migrants should be taking part in the interviewing process.
3) Since our aim was to study the integration processes of migrant families in different European countries, it was agreed that only families with more than five years stay in host country should be interviewed.

Every partner was in charge of identifying the migrant families and interviewing them.

In Germany, altogether 21 family interviews were conducted. The countries of origin of these families from this sample of 13 families were very diverse. Some families were from the same country of origin, we noted: 4 from Turkey, 2 from Portugal, 2 from Kazakhstan, 2 from Ukraine and finally 2 from Kirghizstan. The 9 other countries concerned only one family each: Capo Verde, Ukraine/Afghanistan, Brazil, Croatia/Bosnia, Uzbekistan, Russia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Armenia. The families were recruited on several ways: Most of the families were contacted via organisations dealing with advising migrants and refugees. A minority of families were contacted via personal contacts, i.e. via acquaintances in a youth club and a sports club, via friends of friends or of colleagues, and via friends of families already interviewed, or who had been asked for interviews.

In Italy, some 20 family interviews were conducted. Among them, 12 countries of origin were represented. In this sample, we find 2 families from Bangladesh, 2 from Ecuador, 2 from Morocco, 3 from Philippines, 2 from Rumania and 2 from Senegal. The six countries of origin which consist of one migrant family only are: Albania, China, India, Iran, Peru and Ukraine. IPRS took advantage of a wide net of contacts with migrants' associations in order to identify, through them, the families that were available for the interviews. Attention has been paid to have a sample that could reflect as much as possible the extremely heterogeneous landscape of immigration in Italy.

In Finland, 10 families took part in the research: 2 from Russia, 2 from Iran/Kurdistan, 2 from Kosovo, 2 from Somalia, 1 from Kenya and 1 from Iraq/Kurdistan. The interviewed families were contacted through immigrant organizations, organizations and municipal actors doing immigrant work and personal contacts. In eight cases out of ten the mother was contacted first. In two cases only the contact was made through the father. Gender bias was thus already visible in the process of gathering the data. Generally, women were considered easier to get into contact with, more interested in the study and more willing to participate. Also it was the case in some families, though not all, that the father remained more distant in the interview situations, while the mother was telling about her feelings and experiences in an open and detailed manner. The overrepresentation of women may be interpreted as a sign of the tendency to consider the family still dominantly as a sphere of women. Also the fact that the researcher was a young woman must have influenced: approaching a male researcher and sharing thoughts about family-life with him most probably would have been easier for some of my male interviewees.

In the Czech Republic, 13 families were interviewed: 4 from Belarus, 4 from Ukraine, 2 from Vietnam, 1 from Mongolia, 1 from Russia and 1 from Carpato-Ukraine. The sample of families was chosen by Ethnologic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the CR (EUAV CR). Because there is not any evidence of immigrants' families, they used the method of casual sampling, in concrete terms snowball method. They asked some respondents which cooperated with EUAVCR in the past and through them they received a sample of contact persons who help them at the end to select 13 families of immigrants from third countries with children living in the CR more than 5 years.

In Belgium, 13 family interviews were conducted with families coming from: Romania, Azerbaijan, Poland, Algeria, Filipinos, Iran, Columbia, Uzbekistan, the Democratic republic

of Congo, Turkey, Bolivia, Morocco and Ivory Coast (mix couple) and Angola. Migrant's families were mostly contacted through immigrant organizations and personal contacts. Some migrant's families who had already taken part in previous research projects held by the GERME (Group of Studies on Ethnicity, Racism, Migrations and Exclusion), were also contacted to participate in the INTERFACE – project. In terms of migrant's profile, we decided to diversify them the most as possible not only in terms of country of origin but also in terms of status (asylum seekers, refugees, economic migrants, students,…)

As written before, the interviews were conceived of as "multiple-voices narrations" in which all family members were asked to participate. The purpose for choosing such method was to both a) focus on the migration history of the family as a social unit; and b) create an interaction between the family members, with different points of view emerging in relation to the same events. Each family was interviewed three times. The first time only four, very general questions were asked, in order to let the interviewees recall and talk as much as possible with no interruptions by the interviewer. The questions asked were as follows: *i)* Can you tell us something about the history of your family? *ii)* How did your family change since you got here? *iii)* I would like each of you to tell how you see your personal life here; iv) How do you see the future of your family? The 2nd and the 3rd interviews were based on the family's initial account, with questions aimed at either deepening elements that had emerged from the interviewees' words ("internal" questions), or exploring issues that had not emerged yet but were nonetheless regarded by the researchers as being relevant to the research aims ("external" questions).

These interviews had to be recorded and later transcribed by the interviewer. To render the data accessible to every partner, an English translation of the transcription would have been the most suitable solution. Yet a compromise had to be found due to financial and time constraints. The solution found was to ask every partner a 3 − 4 page report in English of all family life stories they collected, this based on the transcription. This allowed us to somehow negotiate language boundaries and made it possible for every partner to get to capture the essence of every family met.

The trans-national meetings were also the occasion for each country partner to present the family reports. This laid the foundation for the development of a common understanding of the data set. To get a global picture of the sample and to ease access for every partner to this huge multinational empirical data, a matrix (excel systematisation) was created in order to synthesise and summarize the data. This way of presenting data allowed partners to identify rather rapidly common similarities and differences between the different migrant families, as much inside as across countries. This database consisted of 26 variables, all collectively debated during trans-national meetings, and based on the 77 family interviews:

---

26 variables: Country of origin, Host country, How long in host country (years), Nr of family members, Age of children (here and there), Family creation (before or after), Starter of immigration (Man/Women/Both/Children), Strongest actor in the family (M/W/B), Status of the household at the arrival (Asylum seeker, family reunification, student, undocumented, worker, refugee, tourism), Residence at the time of interview (permanent, temporary, illegal, citizens, refugee), Level of education of the family at the arrival and at the time of the interview, Status on labour market, Change of professional status, Narrative of discrimination, Cultural orientation, Language, Housing, Relations in family (vertical), Relations in family (horizontal), Family network, Ethnic community, Local Community, Trans-national network, Assessment on gender issue, Expectations, Evaluation: cost and benefits of migration, Migration better with or without family, Role of family in integration

---

Finally we grouped the twenty-six categories into six groups which we divided by themes and partners:

- Intergenerational relations (Finland)
- Networks social capital (Belgium)
- Changing status (Italy)
- Internal relations (Czech Rep.)
- Discrimination (Czech Rep.)
- Expectations, costs and benefits of migration (Germany).

All immigrant families were not supposed to be studied by every partner but only the ones that seemed to be relevant with relation to its topic (Figure 4). After having picked out a number of families related to the topic from the matrix, national team were encouraged to carefully read the summaries of the family interview transcript attached to it. Should there still then be misunderstandings, it was recommended in the analysis protocol to get into contact (by e-mail or with the skype program) with the partner that was responsible for the interview and ask for further clarification.

A division of the work among partners was therefore decided with each partner being responsible of writing a report over its topic, this based on the multinational empirical findings.
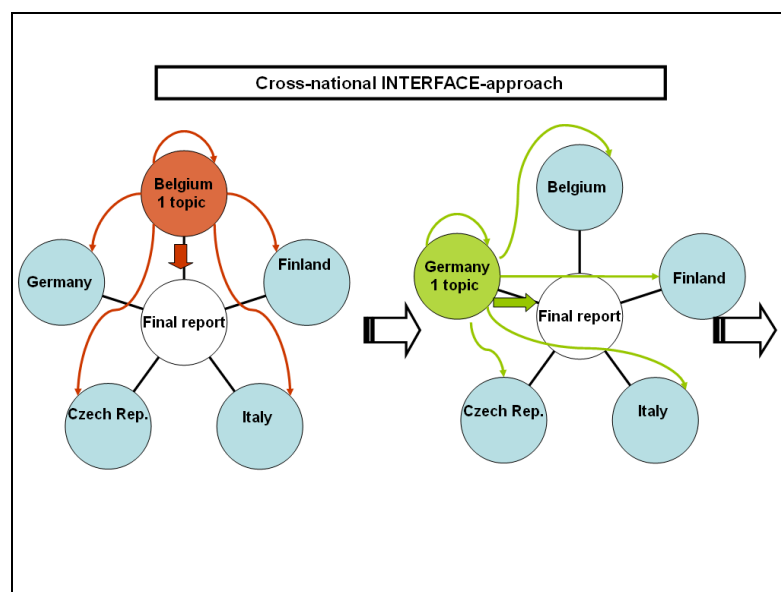
Figure 4 Cross-national INTERFACE-Approach

4. Benefits of the INTERFACE-Method

From a general point of view, the major benefit of cross-national comparison studies often cited is the opportunity it gives researchers to better understand other cultures and their institutions. It also gives researchers the opportunity to deepen scientific knowledge about one's own society when compared with others, especially when questioning own assumptions and perceptions. Beyond results and findings, cross-national comparison analysis gathers

several national researches with different scientific background in terms of experience in research. It therefore allows the scientific community to adopt a reflexive view on the way research is nationally conducted and to adopt a reflexive view on their own cultural research practises. Hantrais (2003: 13) clearly summarizes what the benefits of cross-national comparative studies are:

> "Far from resulting in cultural levelling, international cooperation, particularly on projects using qualitative approaches, offers researchers the opportunity to develop new insights, knowledge, understanding and awareness of cultural diversity, to learn from the exchange of information and experience and, thereby, to contribute to the development of a much richer international research environment, while at the same time informing policy at national and international level."

More specifically, in regard to the INTERFACE-approach, a cross-national comparative analysis was made possible alongside the analytical process and not only, as in the juxtaposition approach, at the end of it. This, in our opinion, is a quite innovative way of carrying out European comparative qualitative analysis, and as we will see, it resulted in quite interesting findings. The cross-national feature of the research was pursued not only at the stage of the data collection process but also, and this is not often the case, at the comparative analytical stage. As it was earlier described, there are many constraints (i.e. time and cost) which make it difficult to keep this cross-national feature all the way during the research process. As a result, while cross-national comparative analysis is often handled by one research partner, the INTERFACE-approach implies equal involvement by every research team in the analytical stage. In order to do so, every partner had to share the data collected. In fact, it seems, as Brannen (2003: 15) notes, that qualitative researchers are often quite reluctant when it comes to sharing their data, especially for epistemological reasons. They tend to be afraid of the kind of interpretations that others could derive from them. Actually enabling it to happen that researchers share their qualitative data is what makes the INTERFACE-approach so specific.

Another reason as to why we did opt for this approach was also to allow researchers to focus more in depth on the unit of comparison that migrant families are, as on the dynamics towards migration and integration processes. As Lisle (1985, p.26)3 cited by Hantrais and Mangen (1998: 3) says; "cross-national comparativists are forced to attempt to adopt a different cultural perspective, to learn to understand the thought processes of another culture and to see it from the native's viewpoint, while also reconsidering their own country from the perspective of a skilled, external observer". The idea was to focus mainly on the family being both a unified unit, with similar characteristics and immigration history, and who also consists of individual's actors with extremely diverse experiences in relation to their different status, age, gender and social roles. The main objective of the interviews was to identify if and to what extent the family can represent a successful strategy for facilitating immigrants' integration as well as for absorbing and mitigating the hardest and most painful effects brought by the migration experience. In this perspective, researchers tend to look for universal causal explanations based on similarities in trends from which to derive generalisations (Hantrais 2003).

Due to the fact that each country focused on one specific topic and not on all topics under analysis, the approach followed here is one where "complementarity" proves fundamental. Comparisons between two or more research teams on a similar topic are not possible with

---

[3] Lisle, E. (1985) 'Validation in the social sciences by international comparison', *Cross-National Research Papers*, vol.1, no.1, pp.11-28 in Hantrais and Mangen (eds), *Cross-national research methods in the social science,* 1998.

only one topic analysed, per country. In this approach, as formulated by Brannen (2003: 17), we are trying to generate insights which fit together, different pieces of the analysis that fit together in order to convey a more integrated picture of what we are looking at. In this approach, each partner is included in interrelations of reciprocity where everyone relies on the other.

5. Pitfalls of the INTERFACE-Method

Beside the benefits of this cross-national research, there are also many pitfalls. It is commonly acknowledged by the research community that the methodology adopted in cross-national comparison analysis is not so different from the one used for within-nation comparisons. As highlighted by specialists in cross-national researches, compromises in methods are more current in cross-national analysis than in a single-country focus (Hantrais and Mangen 1998). Therefore, many disadvantages of cross-national comparative researches that we had to face are not specific to the INTERFACE-framework of analysis. However, since the collaborative feature of the method is precisely one of its main characteristics, some of these obstacles may even be compounded.

First of all, a general methodological framework was collectively designed during trans-national meetings in order to create the conditions for each member to easily bring together similar new empirical data. This in order to be further cross-nationally compared. But national methodology and research approaches may have had an influence on the way this framework was interpreted and applied in fieldwork. As Redmond puts it (2003: 16): "Cross-national research teams may have to consider adopting a methodological approach that permits variation in the application of methodological tools, which will also minimise the dominance of one national-based methodological approach and philosophy above another". Clearly, the INTERFACE-methodological framework counters the risk of an ethnocentric trap by adopting a very flexible and contextually adaptable framework. However, despite all of that, the nature of the data collected may differ strongly from one country to another. These differences may be due to differences in research and methodology traditions themselves, specific in each country. Different research traditions may have an impact on working methods which renders cross-national comparative project difficult to lead.

As a result, it is very difficult to obtain new similar cross-national qualitative data (i.e. family transcripts) which can reduce possibilities to exchange material for the analytical step.

There are also many obstacles that may arise with the issue of data translation. Clearly languages barriers tend to complicate this process of getting comparable qualitative data and making it available, accessible and analysable for every research team. In order to make the data collected accessible in the five countries an important reduction process of information had to take place, this from the interview transcripts to the summaries, but also within the translation process. As Edmond Lisle puts it (1985), when cited by Hantrais (2003: 9):

> "Language is not simply a medium to carry concepts. It is itself the very matter of scientific observation and discourse. When we study a particular country, we are examining it with the only instruments available, namely a conceptual system and set of ideas produced within and by the society we are investigating, reflecting its history, its institutions, its values, its ideology, all of which are expressed in that country's language. By definition, that overall system and those concepts have no exact equivalents in other societies. When we engage in cross-national comparative studies, therefore, we have to find the nearest approximation…. (Lisle, 1985, p. 24)"

Through the translation process there is a clear risk for migrant voices but also researcher's to be transformed, denatured and misinterpreted. Clearly, linguistic boundaries complicate cross-national comparisons. A very good knowledge of English is a sine qua non condition to be able to undertake this kind of methodology. A constant debate among partners during trans-national meetings was also crucial to discuss how certain concepts may be translated and to make sure that important misunderstanding about the research directions was minimized, or even when possible, avoided.

Last but not least, the INTERFACE-approach seems to underrate the role of national integration policies in the understanding of migrant family's integration processes. Despite the fact that there is a trend in the scientific literature to consider that the study of the impact of national context on immigrants' integration has become meaningless (see Joppke 2007), authors such as Jacobs & Rea (2007) strongly argue against this view. According to them, it is not to be considered the end of national integration models. Recent development on integration courses and citizenship trajectories in several country of the European Union clearly confirmed that national models of integration cannot be used as "crude" classifications as it used to be in the past. While there is a convergence in integration policies of EU Member States towards incorporation of newcomers, it does not mean that policies towards ethnic minority groups and immigrants have become indistinct (ibid: 280).

Whereas on the one hand, having one national research team which focuses on one aspect of the migrant family unit can lead to new understandings, on the other hand, researches must be careful about what Kinnear (1987) called 'cultural interference'. Paraphrasing these authors here; researchers must be careful not to take a simple bias as an explanatory factor and this is the reason why in interpreting their findings, they should always evaluate them in relation to their wider societal context and with regard to the limitations of the original research parameters.

Having in charge the study of a particular topic, researchers are looking at data they did not collect. This process implies some risk for the material, meaning to be lost, misinterpreted or understood in another cultural context. To avoid what Redmond (2003: 16) calls a 'whispers' type scenario, a good knowledge of each societal context is a prerequisite to conduct cross-national comparison research. This is the reason why we will first describe our 77 family stories in regard to the national context they are living in.

6. Conclusion

The INTERFACE - 'cross-national comparative framework of analyses was designed with a view to challenge the 'juxtaposition and safari approach' commonly applied in international qualitative comparative analysis (see Figure 5). The INTERFACE-approach is of a qualitative nature that combines several methods of data collection: from focus group (with immigrants and key immigrants' facilitators) to in-depth interviews with families. With more than one national research team involved (i.e. juxtaposition approach) and more than one research team using replication of the experimental design to collect and analyse new data in several countries (i.e. safari approach better described in this case as a multi-safari approach), the INTERFACE-approach contains elements of the two main cross-national comparative approaches described earlier. With this approach, every research team came to collect, analyse and interpret a data produced by each country-partner on a chosen topic with the same method

of analysis. The final result is several national research reports, based on one topic, analysed from a cross-national comparative perspective.

The cross-national framework of analysis combines two level of analysis. On the one hand, researchers were asked to look at several migrant families located in one of the 5 Member states in order to provide an in-depth analysis on one particular topic. In this perspective the main focus was migrant families, the unit of comparison across countries, and its dynamics towards migration and integration processes. Comparing the main differences and similarities between migrant families independently of the context they live in, researches are trying to draw some universal causal explanations. With little attention on the socio-cultural context, this approach can be catalogued as 'universalistic'. In order to avoid sociological misinterpretations related to the outside position of the researcher studying in another country, a contextual approach was concurrently also undertaken. This perspective takes into consideration national contexts in which migrant families live in. In this regard, this approach can also be categorised as being particularistic. As a result, the INTERFACE-cross-national comparative analysis attempts to reconcile two levels of study that are often set at extremes the one from the other. In comparison to what has been done in the field, the balance between these two extremes is what makes this approach so specific and innovative in terms of findings.
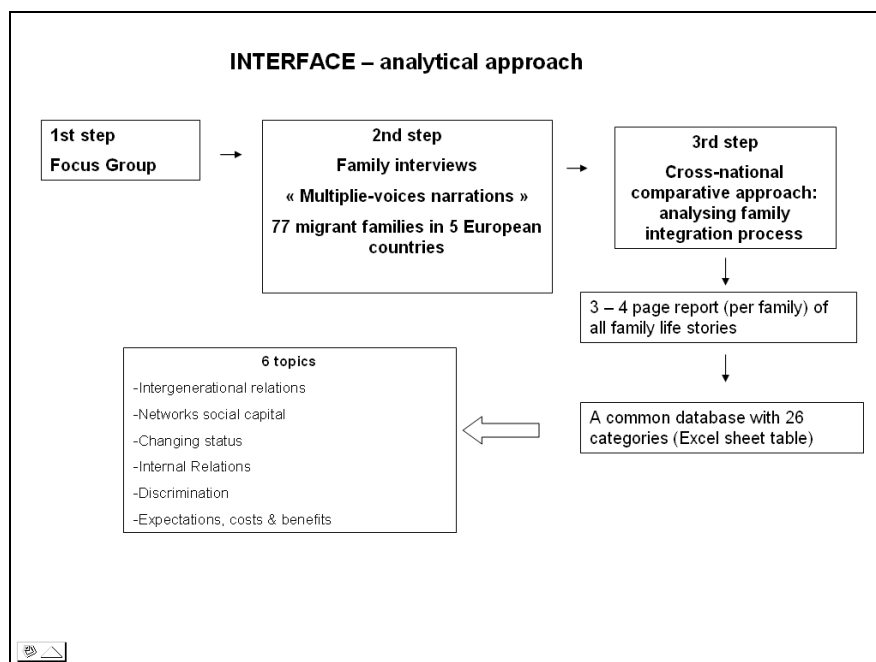
Figure 5 Description of a cross-national comparative approach

References

Brannen J. (2003): 'Working qualitatively and quantitatively' in Cameron C. (ed.), "Cross-national qualitative methods, Papers from a Workshop held in Brussels on 30 – 31 January 2003", Directorate-General for Research Citizen and governance in a Knowledge-based society, Brussels, Retrieved [21th April 2008] from ftp://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/citizens/docs/cross_national2003_proceedings.pdf

Hantrais, L. (1995): "Comparative Research Methods" in *Cross-National Research Paper*, Social Research Update, University of Surrey, UK, Issue 13, Retrieved [20th April 2008] from
http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU13.html

Hantrais, L. and Mangen, S. (1998): Method and management of cross-national social research. In Hantrais, L. and Mangen, S. (Eds.): *Cross-National Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (pp.1-12). London/New York: Pinter

Hantrais, L. (2003): 'Cross-National Comparative Approaches to the Analysis of Family and Welfare', in Cameron C. (ed.), "Cross-national qualitative methods, Papers from a Workshop held in Brussels on 30 – 31 January 2003", Directorate-General for Research Citizen and governance in a Knowledge-based society, Brussels, Retrieved [21th April 2008] from
ftp://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/citizens/docs/cross_national2003_proceedings.pdf

Jacobs, D. and Rea, A. (2007), "OPEN FORUM: The End of National Models? Integration Courses and Citizenship Trajectories in Europe", *IJMS: International Journal on Multicultural Societies*.vol.9, no.2, pp.264-283, UNESCO. ISSN 1817-4574. Retrived [20th of April 2008] from www.unesco.org/shs/ijms/vol9/issue2/art8

Joppke, C. (2007): "Beyond national models: civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe", *Western European Politics* 30 (1): 1–22.

Kinnear, R. (1987): 'Interference from the researcher's background in comparisons across the ideological divide', *Cross-National Research Papers*, 1 (4) *Comparative Social Research: the East–West dimension*, 9–14.

Redmond, M. (2003): "Cultural and ethical challenges in cross-national research: Reflections on a European Union study on child and youth migration" in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2 (4) Article 2, Retrieved [20th of April 2008] from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/2_4/html/redmond.html

Acculturation in Families

Eckart Müller-Bachmann

1. Introduction: Migration Research and Families

The number of sociological studies, expert's opinions and research in the field of migration has increased immensely. Right into the 80s of the past century macro-social perspectives dominated social research designed to help control work migration of the 60s and 70s on a socio-political level. German migration research was mainly focusing on the majority society, immigration was at first conceived as a problem for the host society. Only in the past 25 years micro-social perspectives have been gaining importance, proclaiming the individual experience of migration their interest of knowledge (comp. Breckner 2005).

Almost always migration is a „family project" – a fact which has been left out until today. And even though the relations of relatives and especially family have a significant function in the understanding of migration and acculturation[4] processes, they are treated only rudimentary in migration research (comp. Nauck 2007).

In most cases of international migration there are individuals who move and emigrate, either leaving alone into the foreign country in order to have their families follow them at an appropriate date. Or the whole family or a large part of it takes up the journey and migrates as a group. Persons migrating on their own, with the intention to stay alone after being established in their host country and without contact to the structures of family and relatives in their home country, are still an exception and rarely to be met in reality [2].

The trans-national migrations of persons ready to migrate – in short: migrations – may span several succeeding generations. The bonds between the migrated generations, their family members with their geographical belonging can always be maintained or renewed by repeated trans-national marriages with members of the same ethnic origin. Simultaneously or in parallel the inter-generative relations between the members of the different generations may be interrupted by trans-national marriages and related migration movements. On account of a differential cultural background, different experiences of migration, individual status of residence permit and integration in the host society amongst the migrated families and their individual members the results are very differential processes of family acculturation and

---

[4] In the following the term „acculturation" will stand for the growing of individuals into their cultural respectively daily environment. In this context the term means the process of assimilation of adults who, as immigrants, make themselves acquainted with a strange culture. On the part of the migrants this process will be following different strategies of integration, as described below.

[2] Qualitative interviews of an EU-project ("Community Force" – 2005 budget line 04.040202) with migrants with a Turkish background showed that there are hardly any Turkish persons who are not integrated in the social networks of their own community.

[3] A famous exception is the compendium in five volumes, having appeared in print starting 1918, "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" by Thomas and Znaniecki. They trace the biographies of Polish migrants at the beginning of the last century with the help of biographic materials such as letters, diary entries and further individual evidence. In an actual study Breckner outlines and analyses (2005) the biographic record of experiences of migration and foreignness by reconstructing the vitae of eastern European migrants.

consequently different realities of education (comp. Fuhrer/Mayer 2005). This complexity of an individual family migration history including the responding individual migration biographies is a topic of migration research which so far has been neglected.[3]

Accordingly families are very rarely subject of research in the context of sociological studies treating „Migration and ethnic minorities". And also in the socio-political debate concerning the integration of immigrants the families of immigrants are rarely conceived and addressed as groups. On the contrary, the focus of social politics and sociology lies on the individuals or groups of male and female migrants classified by social, ethnic or religious features.

Thus the focus of migration research has concentrated less on the analysis of the productive potential of migrants, who, on the basis of contacts and networks originating in family relations, relatives and friendships, accumulate social assets in order to gain access and possibilities to participate from the options of the host society. This network- and socio-asset-orientated prospect has only recently been pursued in the academic discussion (comp. e.g. Nauck/Kohlmann 1998, Gestring/Janßen/Polat 2006).

Before, sociological studies in the field of „migration and integration" have rather focused on conflicts which derived from contacts between migrants and members of the host society. In this context the main topics were individually experienced and objectively traceable discrimination and social deprivation of migrants.

At the same time a great number of studies emphasized the particular importance of family relations during the occasionally long-lasting process of migration. As mentioned before it is still true that the majority of migrations prove to be family projects. Accordingly a large number of migrants wish to have their family follow them or to found a family in their host country. This can be verified by the number of children in the households of migrants: In the year 2000 nearly three quarters (71.6%) of all legally registered foreigners lived in households with children; only half of the persons with a German passport (53.3%) lived in households with children (comp. Engstler/Menning 2003).

Further, the majority of persons with migration background are still interested in marriage with persons of their own ethnic origin. In the majority of cases the choice of marriage partners in order to found a family takes place in the internal family networks – especially amongst the largest group in Germany: the Turkish migrants (comp. Janßen/Polat 2006). At the same time the number of bi-national marriages in Germany has also increased, thus creating positive conditions for the process of integration (comp. Nauck 2007). In the statistics the number of the latter is interpreted as an indicator for a successful integration in the perspective of the total society.

2. Migration- and Biographic Research

Only in the past few years part of migration research has not only in the German speaking countries been orientated less on the theory of socialization, but orientates more on questions of individual migration management. Biographic research gains more importance (comp. Filsinger 2000). In this tradition of research migrants are conceptualized in two ways. On the one hand they are objects reacting on social structures and needs, they have to get used to the conditions of participation in their host society and adapt their living conditions accordingly. From this perspective the behaviour of migrants is conceived as being rather reactive.

On the other hand migrants are conceptualised as active subjects, who pursue individual plans and aims in life in the context of intercultural living conditions, adapt them in an interdependent exchange to the structural framing conditions and in the end change their living conditions and thus their socio-economic environment by active behaviour.

Regarding the migration biographies of individual migrants they can be conceived as constructions designed to balance and unite the poles of traditional and modern life styles experienced in the individual vita. This applies especially to migrants from nations in which the pressure to migrate is much higher than in Western industrial nations.

In this macro perspective the ethnic status of the migrants is perceived as a dynamic resource, which may be understood to be of great use for the integration in the host society (comp. de la Hoz 2002, Apitzsch 1999). This way the active and creative potential of migrants in the intercultural exchange with the host society is emphasized.

Arguing from a micro perspective it can be put on record that in all processes of migration all migrants share the experience of holding the position of the "stranger" or "foreigner" in the corresponding host society. This experience is shared – at different levels of intensity – by most of them for different lengths of time. Furthermore specific requirements in the constitution of relations with the context of origin and arrival belong to the general experiences of migrants. Also claims concerning biographic orientation and constructions, which are orientated towards a "standard biography" as accepted by society, are part of the features of experience within the process of migration which can be generalized (comp. Breckner 2005).

Individual and collective experiences of migration avoid simple schemes of positive or negative evaluation. The relation between migration and individual biography has to be understood as a permanent interplay between the specific expressions in the context of experience of migration and the responding biographic construction. It has to be considered that these biographies are always changing and in principle stay open in their individual meaning and significance (comp. Breckner 2005).

3. Methodological Aspects and Difficulties Encountered

There are two basic difficulties in the observation of families in the context of migration research. On the one hand "new" forms of family deviating from the nucleus family (f.e. non-matrimonial partnerships, people living alone without necessarily being single, single parents etc.) aggravate comparisons, surveys and descriptive statistics concerning families in a migration context. On the other hand a lot of migrants take an unavoidable change of their own lifestyle into account, originating in their own migration or the one of the nearest family, and very often resulting in temporary, longer or even permanent separation from their own family (comp. de la Hoz 2007). From this point of view families with a migration background may be understood as family designs which are in a temporary transitional stage based on the aim to reach a common goal shared by all family members

In the internal perspective migrant families are undergoing changes on various levels. Changes occur at first in the inter-generative constellation between the family members. Not

only the relations between the generations are put to trial, but also the relations which result from the new living conditions of the individual members and the whole family.

Additionally there are modifications in the family relations between the first migrants and the following generations of migrants. In the end there are also individual changes of the individual family members in the individual vita to be noted (comp. Nauck 1999). And finally the (family) histories of migrants are changing this way. These trends of modification again take place in the light of a collective social change which has an impact on the sending society and on the host society and influences the orientation of the families. These different macro- and micro-social levels of trends of change have to be included in the analysis of the family acculturation process.

Above this must be acknowledged that the family members pass through different phases of a family cycle and change according to age-specific stages of development of the single family member individually or even in the family bonds. Regarded from a historic point of view the individual migration time within the family cycle has changed. Before the German Government decided to stop the legal influx of workers in the 1970s it was typical that married fathers worked and lived alone in the host country at first and subsequently had their families follow them. Since then the time-lag between the migration movements of the individual family members has become smaller. And also the number of newly founded families in the host society has increased considerably (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffman-Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

4. Living Together in Families

Relations Between Family Members

As it is basically easier for the younger generation to learn a new language and they generally adapt easier, they are generally in an advantage in dealing actively with the requirements of the host society. Nevertheless, many goals which are set up at the beginning and during migration can only be legitimised and practically realized in the generation context and the family bonds (comp. de la Hoz 2002).

The children of the migrants appear to be the predestined negotiators between the older migrant generation and the host society (comp. de la Hoz 2002). A corresponding advantage in information and the multiplying function of the children have an impact on the relations between the generations. In regard to the degree of dependence between the generations the transfer of information from the socio-cultural and socio-structural fields of the host society is (always) in favour of the younger generation. Noticeable is the fact that the easier access of the younger generation to the values and requirements of the host society finally supports family integration. This undemanding access of the younger generation to the (normative) demands and customs of the host society can support the emotional and cultural closeness between the younger and older migrant generations (comp. de la Hoz 2007).

This way the parent-child-relations are in a continuous socio-ecologic interchange with non-family socialization agents of the host society. This again has an effect – through the children – back to the families and their personal interdependence. In a new socio-cultural environment already existing and internalised socialisation patterns of children and youths can be either be given up or modified or confirmed (comp. de la Hoz 2002). This is also valid

for normative attitudes and educational styles of the parents, which may differ from those brought in from their home land.

Empirical analyses (comp. Niephaus 1998, Herwartz-Emden/Westphal 1998) certify a high conformity of perception and attitudes between parents and youths in migrant families. Generation conflicts are an extremely rare exception in these families. The less the inclusion in the host society was successful the more an inter-generative and intra-familiar solidarity in families can be made out. Empirical and analytic study results (comp. Nauck 1999) reveal that family members who are moving jointly with their family unit in the process of acculturation tend closer intra-familiar relations than those who live in families who never migrated. Finally the members of migrant families generally know more about each other which means the inner-familiar communication is more intense than in families who never migrated (comp above).

Correspondingly low is the significance of health problems caused by generation conflicts within the families (comp. Nauck 1997). Parents perceive first and foremost conflicts as a burden, which result from experiences of discrimination with the host society. By contrast the conflicts with their own juvenile children, which are related to different ideas about integration, are not noticed as a burden within the framework of a familiar integration process (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffmann-Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

Problems Facing Family Life in the Host Society

Above all existing friendships and family relations are upgraded by living together in a foreign culture and acquire a higher quality. Through the contact with a strange environment direct face-to-face contacts gain a new and higher relevance. Family relations are in the front line of intensive contacts. Within the family relations emotional support is given and also the building of social networks is promoted. This finally creates social assets, which can be used for different purposes.

In this context the family bonds take the part of overcoming individual as well as collective problems in the host country. At the same time numerous conflicts come up if family members develop and articulate different approaches, interpretations and interests in regard to the options and demands of the host society.

Inter-familiar interactions - finally the life in the family – can be defined as an interface between life in the host society and the private sphere.[5] Since the arrival of the family and its members in the host society, the latter is irrevocably linked with the same.

The family is the place to decide and finally determine by cooperative and conflict bearing discussions and debates which way of acculturation and integration the individual family members would take and experience. Reactions of families and interactions are orientated towards the different means of access to the offers, demands and duties of the integrating

---

[4] Life within the migrated families and their life in and contact with the host society is to be understood as an antagonism between the spheres of the community and society according to Tönnies (first 1883). Whereas in the community there is a strongly emotional connotation of an "essential volition" ("Wesenwille"), the society is characterized by a "freestyle volition" ("Kürwille") of their actors in order to achieve certain aims.

society. The family bonds and interactions are a significant for the development of the integration processes of the whole family and especially of the children.

Inner-Familiar Conflicts

German studies come to the conclusion that the co-operative unity between migrants and their children is very strong (comp. de la Hoz 2007). At the same time conflicts between (grand-) parents and children are almost unavoidably coming up if diverging orientations, interests and modes of behaviour develop.

Taking disappointed expectations for one of several main sources of conflicts, this applies especially to sons in Turkish migrant families who have difficulties in fulfilling the high demands of their parents concerning education and mobility. At the same time the "individual generation contract" of lifelong support and loyalty is a very high barrier for the sons (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffmann/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

As most families of foreign origin in the Federal Republic of Germany come from countries without an organized social system providing social securities, provisions of security against possible difficulties and risks in the course of life are essentially realized directly between the generations (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffmann-Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

Inter-Generative Relations

The shaping of inter-generative relations depends substantially on the „values of children" (VOC), which again influence inter-generative decisions, types of integration and education, parent-child relations and the shaping of relations between the generations (comp. Nauck 1999).

Cross-Cultural studies (Hoffman/Hoffmann 1973; Fawcett 1976; Friedmann/Hechter/Kanazawa 1994; Nauck/Kohlmann 1998) have proved that there are two basic patterns in the relation of generations in different migrant groups: economic-utilitarian expectations stress early cooperation of the children in the household or family business as a basis and regard the children as a provision of security against the economic risks of old age, possible emergencies and/or the case of unemployment. By contrast, pschycological-emotional expectations in the children stress the enrichment of life through children, the self-comprehension through the parental role, the creation of a close and unique emotional relation embracing the entire course of life.

In regard to the interculturally diverging expectations in children can be stated that psychological-emotional values prevail in most of the families – without regard to the migration background. This applies especially to welfare societies with high social securities. (comp. Fuhrer/Mayer 2005). As far as inter-generative expectations between the different migrant nationalities in the Federal Republic of Germany are concerned there is a firmly established duty-sharing between the generations and the genders. In Italian and Greek families expectations in the children are stronger than perceived by the children, in Turkish and refugee families the anticipations of the youths at times exceed the expectations of their parents (comp Bade/Dietzel/Papakyriakou/Hoffman-Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

In brief can be stated with Nauck (2007): the situation of migration has a direct impact on the relations between the generations. As international migrations in the majority take place in family units the families in the homeland have to provide considerable resources at the beginning of a migration process. The first placing of following migrants in the host society is usually carried out under active participation of relatives already living in the host country. This is the reason why chain migrations and family-relative trans-national networks are an efficient form of a successful integration management. As a rule migration will rather lead to an intensification of the relation of generations and a low level of generation conflicts.

Chain Migration and Trans-National Family Networks

Chain migration, i.e. the follow-up migration of several families and relatives to the same destination is a very wide-spread phenomenon in German speaking countries. In the course of chain migration family and regional features are reproduced.

This explains that migrants of the same origin (f.e. Turks from Istanbul or from South Anatolia or Greeks from the mainland or the islands) are bunching up in the host society and clear distinctions concerning their regional cultures and living conditions can be made out. According to research literature families coming to Germany as a unit have much better conditions to handle the tasks related with migration than those whose process of chain migration is delayed over a longer period of time (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffmann-Nowotny/v. Schweitzer 2000).

The majority of migrants having moved to Germany are integrated in family based networks. Ideally smaller networks consist of the nucleus- and original family, to which – in the case of individual migration – trans-national contacts exist and are kept up. Furthermore in-laws and matrimonial partners of brothers and sisters are part of the closer family relations (comp. Janßen/Polat 2006).

In brief can be stated that the incorporation into social networks of migrants – be it due to family, relatives or acquaintances – mirrors the degree of integration of the individual person in the host society. At the same time the degree of individual integration in the responding migrant communities is also mirrored in the number of individual network relations. Finally strong networks of migrants are an evidence for the efforts amongst migrants to facilitate life in the host society by organizing – by any means.

With regard to family and relatives networks integration in social networks is also the guarantee for emotional stability and the possibility to get rational help and advice. The latter are unavoidable for newcomers in order to get by, make good progress and experience security and support benefits. Even though, the high density of integration especially of Turkish migrants in social and family networks has disadvantages: if for example parents press towards an early marriage the individual chances in the work and housing markets are restricted.

5. The Catch-All Term "Integration"

Hardly ever has there been a final definition of integration. Park and the School of Chicago (1950) were the first to conceptualise the integration of migrants as a process which takes place in phases. In their study any strangeness will have been overcome at the end of the process. For Park the last step of the integration process takes place before the background of the society model of a "melting pot", in which finally different cultures of different origins merge to a new whole. The migrants as well as the members of the host society change in the course of the integration process of the newcomers and create a new social type. Park calls this process of mutual adaptation assimilation.

Esser (2001) however understands assimilation as a one way process which describes the adaptation of migrants to the host society. The job of integration is first of all performed by the migrants, though not without a general openness of the host society. For Esser assimilation is not necessarily the end of an integration process, but according to him there are three alternatives to assimilation: 1) Marginalisation, in which the migrants are neither integrated in the host society – nor in the original society. 2) Segmentation, a process he considers dangerous because the migrants seal off and integrate and back out in the local ethnic society. Finally he mentions 3) Multiple integration, rarely empirically found, in which there are relations to members of the own ethnic origin in the host society as well as in the original society (comp. Gestring/Janßen/Polat 2006).

Generally spoken, two approaches respectively conceptions of "integration" of migrants can be made out in the German expert discussion.

With regard to the macro level there is meanwhile a consensus about the equality of migrants, which brings up questions about the legal, social and political dimension. Critics of the actual state of discussion and the political practice of integration in the German speaking countries criticize the lack of political possibilities of participation for migrants, which almost disables active changes of the structural living and framing conditions which the migrants are living in.

In the micro-social perspective the theorem of an „integration from below" (Nauck 2000) presupposes that the families of migrants including all their members develop a multitude of individual or familiar integration strategies which can (also) be context bound. Here integration is understood as an individual task in the micro-cosmos of the migrant community. It is approached and managed with the help of social assets accumulated in the structures of relations and networks.

In the context of the further discourse the term of „integration" will be used as a synonym of „accumulation". Acculturation and the benefits and demands of acculturation, which migrated families have to cope with, will be understood as the process of growing into the cultural and daily environment of the host society (see Annex 1).

6. Adjustment Efforts of Families

Studies about structural changes of families with a migration background presuppose that the country of origin and the host country are in different stages of the modernization process. In

most of the cases this difference causes a considerable pressure on individual or all family members.

Following their arrival in the host country the migrated families have to work on this discrepancy as a task of development (comp. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1993). This way all family members have to deal with the demands of their new living environment. At the beginning of their arrival they have to do this in order to satisfy essential requirements and later in order to initiate their own acculturation process.

Additionally must be presupposed that on account of the different biographic dates of migration there is a varying socializing influence of the society of origin and the host society on the migrating and following generations. This influence is responsible for the differences of attitude and behaviour in each generation (comp. Fuhrer/Mayer 2005).

In order to understand the specific requirements, which are based on the experience of migration and have an impact on families of foreign origin, the Five-Phases-Model of Migration by Sluzki (1979) can help. Accordingly the following five phases can be specified:

(1) Phase of Preparation: In the country of origin the family starts to realize the thought of migrating to a new country. The emotions are between euphoria and fear of the future.

(2) Performance of migration: At first the family does not migrate as a union but the father takes the role of the pioneer. Afterwards the family members and also relatives or acquaintances will be sent for to arrive in different periods of time – according to the situation of family migration. For the members of such a chain migration the established social networks in the host society are extremely helpful.

(3) Phase of overcompensation: deficits and tensions in the interaction with the requirements and the members of the host society are balanced or averted by the migrants. Confrontations between their own communication structures and the unfamiliar ones of the host society are experienced intensely. To resist negative experiences such as discrimination, hostility towards foreigners and deprivation they pull back into their own group. Ethnic or generation specific bonds may be binding in this case.

(4) Phase of Decomposition: Conflicts and tensions may appear and be carried out openly, the roles in the family have to be newly defined, defended and trained. A balance between assimilation and ethnic recollection has to be found within the family.

(5) Phase of Acculturation: The contact with a new culture creates a new (living) situation for the migrants. In this context cross-cultural research distinguishes between an individual and a group level of acculturation (comp. Schönpflug 2003). Psychologically orientated research, which examined the desire for cultural distinction and the desire for contact with or separation from the group of the host society on an individual level, deduct four prototypes of acculturation patterns from the results (comp. Berry/Pootinga/Segall/Dasen 1992):

- *Assimilation* defines a process of acculturation in the course of which a minority finally completely gives up its own culture in favour of the majority society.
- *Integration* means ideally spoken the keeping of a certain quota of cultural identity of both groups whereby both cultures approach each other at the same time in a reciprocally equal framework

- A *multi-cultural society* is created according to Berry (1997) if all participating ethnic groups possess an equally adjusted acculturation orientation. Multi-culturalism can be understood as a concept which helps the migrants and the members of the host society to push the finding of a new common identity in intercultural interactions and ideally in the intercultural dialogue.
- Opposite are the theorems of *segregation* or *separation*, which describe the circumstance that the group members strive to keep their own cultural identity and show no efforts to interact with the culture of the host society. If this is desired by groups of the majority society and the groups of the minorities are at the same time kept at distance, this can be called segregation. If the same is pursued by the groups of the minorities one could speak separation, a classic example is the formation of ghettos.
- Giving up the original culture and simultaneous rejection and non-acceptance of a new culture is called *marginalization* (comp. Fuhrer/Mayer 2005). In reality marginalization will hardly be found as a means of acculturation orientation (comp. Berry 1997).

This classification is ideal-typical. In reality the dividing lines and transitions between the single patterns of acculturation are open and fluid.

7. Empirical Studies of the Acculturation Process and Behaviour of Migrants

Results of empirical studies demonstrate that the acculturation patterns of marginalization and separation are generally accompanied by higher pressure for migrants than integration and assimilation (comp. Morgenroth/Merkens 1997).

Further it is empirically confirmed that migration in the family union is accompanied by less pressure than migration carried out by a single person. Families can support each other socially in a pressure situation due to migration (comp. Booth/Crouter/Landale 1997). At the same time there is a great danger for families and their individual members to fall ill, slide into criminality or break up as a family because of a failed acculturation (comp. Koch/Özek/Pfeiffer 1995; Schmitt-Rodermund/Silbereisen 2002).

Some authors assume that a successful development and an emotional well-being can best be supported with an integrative attitude (comp. f.e. Berry/Kim 1988; Bourhis/Moise/Perreceault/Sennecal 1997). By contrast the results of further empirical studies show that an integrative acculturation goes along with an increase in juvenile problematic behaviour (f.e. Wall/Power/Arbona 1993). Especially integration attempts of juveniles, which are determined by the desire for autonomy, and turn away from the family are different to master without threatening the unity of the family. To support this an empirical longitudinal study shows that the separation of the family and family conflicts convey the relation between acculturation, risky behaviour (tobacco-, alcohol- , drug-consumption) and deviating behaviour (comp. McQueen/Getz/Bray 2003). In the end the familiar conflict level increases with the degree of discrepancy between the acculturation level of the parents and the one of their juvenile children.

All in all there are great discrepancies between the generations concerning their reaction to the host society. First there is a considerable difference in the mastering of the language of the

host society. Discriminations are more often perceived by parents than by their juvenile children. Parents react much more sensitive on discriminations than their children because they have had more experiences in this respect. On the other side again youths show much stronger than their parents feelings of alienation towards their original culture (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffmann-Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

Especially the sons of Turkish families in the Federal Republic come into a normative conflict due to stronger normative gender role orientation and stronger external monitoring convictions, which can be read as consequences of the acculturation process. This conflict usually ignites on two fronts. On the one hand on the contrasting attitudes of the fathers and on the other hand on contrasting evaluations from the members of the host societies concerning normative gender role orientation or external monitoring convictions, which the host society rarely evaluates as positive modes of behaviour (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffmann-Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

The historic-international perspective of research reveals proof for the fact that - ideally spoken – after an insecure first generation of migrants the second generation of immigrants in the Federal Republic of Germany tends to adaptation of a different degree respectively assimilation. Only the third generation refers to the ethnic values and stands up for their maintenance (comp. Zimmer 1986; Nauck 1999). In the end surrounding social conditions are responsible for the degree of this reorientation to their own original identity. Young people of the third generation show this search for their own cultural and familiar roots in disguise of a "return"-effect respectively a "reactive ethnicity" (Nieke 2000).

At the same time it is also possible that young migrants in the third generation generate a resistance towards the assimilating elements within their own community, or (in parts) develop a multi-cultural identity (and by chance merge with one in the environment) (comp. Fuhrer/Meyer 2005). It has to be considered that the distinct ethnic orientations are owing to the desire that youths with a migration background want to be treated in the same way as the youths of the same age in the host society (comp Uslucan 2000).

8. Changes Within Family Structures and Family Relations

In relation to the migration process special factors come up which could change the unity within the family or more general: can influence the inner-familiar interdependences. The contact with and the entrance into a new and strange environment upgrades already existing face-to-face-contacts within the family and the community. Especially the family circle achieves a disposed position in the ranking of social contacts. The family relations offer plenty of emotional support for the individual members, during and after the migration process. And family networks reaching beyond regional borders create many forms of social assets which can be used for different purposes within the integration process and to overcome difficulties. These networks are kept up by continuous contact and they are an extremely important reference to overcome social and economic exclusion in the host society.

It has to be considered that the family relations undergo continuous fluctuation and the attitudes change. From this point of view the family should not be regarded as a rigid unit, but as a figuration which changes permanently due to the behaviour of the family members. Through changes created by requirements and adaptation in the host country the relations are put to test and can transform quickly and strongly. This also applies to the bases of integration

and education for children. They can also become firm by new influences of a structural or personal nature, adapt to the new conditions or even change.

And also the inner-familiar relations can be influenced negatively by conflicts and contrasts. This can happen because of different interpretations and reactions of different family members on the new living conditions and requirements. At the same time the family unit will only be influenced in rare cases. The family relations will not lose existing strength in the process of migration. The inner-familiar relations and dealings concerning requirements of the host society can be understood as the interface between the public and private living environments and -spheres (comp. de la Hoz 2007). The family is the place to talk and negotiate which suitable steps can and must be taken to manage specific every day requirements of the host society and what the purpose of these requirements serve.

The Family as a Place of Mutual and Intra-Cultural Learning

The changes going along with the changes caused by moving from one place to another from the country of origin to the host country is a severe cut in the individual vita. This "crisis" of the new feeling of being a stranger in a new environment (comp. Schütz 1972) is generally titled as "migration shock". Due to this process which means new orientation and coping with losses and new challenges, a re-organization of the family system can be expected (comp. Booth/Crouter/Landale 1997; Nauck/Schönpflug 1997).

The children of immigrated families are usually the ones moving between two cultures: in the original culture of their parents and in the culture of the host society. Contact to the latter, new culture is quickly and sufficiently made at school and in peer groups. Here they are confronted with first "bi-cultural" challenges and problems (comp. Garcia Coll/Magnusson 1997). Often it is the contact with the host society through the children which makes the parents realize that there are a lot of decisions to be made between the different cultural attitudes and value and norms of host culture and culture of origin.

At the same time a lot of the influences imposed from parents onto their children are in many pragmatic everyday concerns inconsistent with external influences as for example the roles of gender, autonomy or sexuality. This is where considerable conflicts between the generations build up because parents and children are socialized to different degrees in different cultures (comp. Fuhrer/Mayer 2005). Schiffauer (2002) proves by means of ethnographic case studies that Turkish parents condemn their children's behaviour as "Germanization" if it is not tolerated by them. At the same time the same behaviour of the children is interpreted as being founded in the Turkish and Islamic culture. Both sides relate their valuation with objection. When leaving their parents' home many young persons of Turkish descent experience that they are rejected by the same society they want to belong to. According to Schiffauer (2002) the reactions on these really existing and individually and collectively felt discriminations vary between withdrawal and depression, aggression or even identification with radical oppositional groups.

Education and Styles of Education in Migrant Families

Attitudes to education and normative orientation are to an essential degree the result of a culture specific socialization and to one part of the national identity of the parents. Families of

Greek, Italian and Turkish origin who were questioned in empirical studies concerning educational styles, have in common that the parents display a much higher empathy for the emotional situation of the children than the children realize (comp. Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriakou/Hoffmann-Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

In regard to religious commitment substantial analysis within Turkish families (comp. Merkens 1997) reveals a strong polarization concerning religious bonds. The very large group keeping a large distance to religious bonds is opposed by a small group with intensive religious commitment. Moderate attitudes towards religion are hardly to be found in Turkish families.

While in German families guarding measures and conceptions hardly play a role in education there are diverging attitudes in Turkish families. They develop a more guarding and controlling style of education (also in comparison to families living in Turkey). At the same time the educational style of the own parents is considered as ideal. Insofar the educational styles of Turkish descending families in Germany cannot be conceptualized as assimilating behaviour (comp Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriykou/Hoffman.Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

Normative attitudes and modes of behaviour in the inter-generative dispute and passing on from the older to the younger generation within a family are the most important factors within the socialization process of children and youths. This applies especially to children and youths of the second generation in migrant families. So the families in a migrant situation have to concentrate harder on their own abilities and ascertain more of their own aims and autonomy of acting than this would be the case in families of the host society (comp Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriykou/Hoffman.Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

Taking Turkish families as an example Nauck (1997a) showed that passing on the perception of situations, attitudes and preferences in acting between the generations is continually higher in comparison to the families remaining in Turkey. This allows the conclusion that there is a higher (concentration of) integration in families who live in a migration situation and depend on each other in their inter-generative relations. The migrated families usually know more about each other and adjust their behaviour more on each other than this would be the case in non migrating families. "Thus the migration situation does not seem to weaken inter-generative relations but to strengthen them in the majority of the cases" (comp Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriykou/Hoffman.Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

Above this there are findings (comp. Boos-Nünning 1989) that Turkish migrant parents have very high expectations in the educational success of their children without regard to the gender of the children. This can be interpreted as a change in the gender role orientation. This change is progressing in Turkish families (comp Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriykou/Hoffman.Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000). Meanwhile the majority of migrated Turkish families estimate the school and professional education of their daughters as high as for their sons.

Gender Roles and the Sharing of Tasks Within the Matrimonial Home

The meaning of gender as a contested identifying factor is responsible for its social relevance. That is why family relations and individual identities are determined by the understanding of and attitudes towards gender in the family or in debates between the family members. At the

same time migration is combined with cultural changes in the estimation and evaluation of gender which can have an impact on the biographies of the individual migrated persons. This is for example valid for the role of women in the professional and work life or for men in the educational process of their children. In both examples basic and contrasting understanding and demands of (members of) the host society can be expected.

Therefore migrants are expected to be highly flexible concerning matrimonial and partner relations and finally also in regard to the "balance of power" in the relations of the genders within the family.

Concerning the fulfilment of tasks and role division in families of persons with a migration background, empirical studies come to the following results: There are significant correlations between the pattern of migration and the resulting time of separation of the partners on the one hand and the division of tasks in the family on the other hand: Families which migrated as a unit show the highest degree of joint fulfilment of tasks. Families with male first migrator show the largest role division which corresponds to the "classical" role patterns (comp. de la Hoz 2007; Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriykou/Hoffman.Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000)

Changes in Matrimonial Relations

The migration related change of context is usually accompanied by a changed professional activity, in many cases a first-time gainful activity away from home for the wife, unequal chances of participation in the host society due to different length of residence and a new organization of the social networks for the migrants. Accordingly the first migrated family member clearly has an advantage in regard to the access to social and institution related contacts with the host society.

The sequence of migration of the individual family members finally determines the division and organization of tasks in the families: After more than 10 years residence the sequence of migration between the partners can still be deducted from the division and organization of tasks. Accordingly it is obvious whether it is the husband or the wife who migrated first and time lag between their moving (comp. Nauck 1985). Families with male pioneering migrants show the least flexibility in adjusting to the new structures whereas jointly migrated families show a continuously high rate of readiness to adjust (comp Bade/Dietzel-Papakyriykou/Hoffman.Nowotny/Nauck/v. Schweitzer 2000).

9. Conclusion

A central result of the discussions and conclusions of empirical studies says that migration as a family union is carried out under less pressure for the family union as a whole and also for the individual family members than migration carried out by a single person. Within the families mutual support is guaranteed in pressure situations which were initiated by migration (comp. Booth/Crouter/Landale 1997). In its social as well as in its emotional function and effect this form of support is stronger than other non-family assistance.

On the other hand there is the possibility for whole families and also their individual members to suffer from the consequences of the migration process, to fall ill physically and psychologically and in the end not to have accomplished acculturation. Finally, as further

negative results can be stated on the one hand deviant behaviour on behalf of the younger family members and on the other hand the deterioration of whole families (comp. Koch/Özek/Pfeiffer 1995; Schmitt-Rodermund/Silbereisen 2002).

Despite these empirically confirmed results further research and discussions are necessary in the context of acculturation processes of whole families and the interdependent dispute of the individual family members and the whole family with the new framing conditions in a host society which is new for them. Research and discussion should also take care of the mutual interaction between the reaction and treatment of the new living conditions on behalf of the individual family members and the family reaction and adaptation guidance as a whole.

References

Apitzsch, Ursula (1999): Traditionsbildung im Zusammenhang gesellschaftlicher Migrations- und Umbruchprozesse. In: Apitzsch, Ursula (Hrsg.): Traditionsbildung. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, S. 7-20.

Bade, Klaus J./Dietzel-Papakyriakou, Maria/Hoffmann-Nowotny/Nauck, Bernhard/v. Schweitzer, Rosemarie (2000): Sechster Familienbericht – Familien ausländischer Herkunft in Deutschland. In: Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (Hrsg.): Familien ausländischer Herkunft in Deutschland. Sechster Familienbericht. Bonn: Bundesanzeiger Verlagsgesellschaft, S. 1-236

Berry, J.W./Kim, U. (1988): Acculturation and mental health. In: Dasen, P.R. /Berry, J.W./Sartorious, N. (Eds.): Health and Cross Cultural Psychology. London: Sage, S. 207-236

Berry, J.W./Poortinga, Y.H./Segall, M.H./Dasen, P.R. (1992): Cross-cultural psychology: Theory, Method and applications. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berry, J.W. (1992): Immigration, Acculturation and Adaption. In: Applied Psychology. An International Review, 46, S. 5-68

Booth, A./Crouter, A.C./Landale, N. (Eds.) (1997): Immigration and the Family. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum

Boos-Nünning, U. (1989): Berufswahl türkischer Jugendlicher. Institut für Arbeitsmarktforschung: Nürnberg

Bourhis, R.Y./Perreceault, Y.H./Sennecal, S. (1997): Towards an interactive model. A social psychological approach. International Journal of Psychology, 32, S. 369-386

Breckner, Roswitha (2005): Migrationserfahrung – Fremdheit – Biografie. Zum Umgang mit polarisierten Welten in Ost-West-Europa Wiesbaden: VS Verlag

De la Hoz, Paloma Fernández (2007): Familienleben und Migration. Unter: http://www.familienhandbuch.de/cmain/f_Aktuelles/a_Elternschaft/s_1026.html

De la Holz, Paloma Fernández (2002): Migrantenfamilien und Integration in den EU-Mitgliedsstaaten. Zusammenfassung. Ein Report der europäischen Beobachtungsstelle zur sozialen Situation, Demographie und Familie. Österreichisches Institut für Familienforschung.

Esser, Hartmut (2001): Integration und ethnische Schichtung. Gutachten im Auftrag der Unabhängigen Kommission „Zuwanderung". Mannheim

Engstler, H./Menning, S. (2003): Die Familie im Spiegel der amtlichen Statistik. Berlin: BMFSFJ.

Fawcett, J. T. (1976): The Value and Cost of Children: Converging Theory and Research. In: Ruzicka, L. T. (Ed.): The Economic and Social Supports for High Fertility, Bd. 2, S. 91-114, Canberra

Filsinger, Dieter (2000): Kommentierte Bibliographie: Kommunale Integration ausländischer Kinder und Jugendlicher. München: Deutsches Jugendinstitut (DJI), 2000

Fuhrer, Urs/Mayer, Simone (2005): Familiäre Erziehung im Prozess der Akkulturation. In: Fuhrer, Urs/Uslucan, Haci-Halil (Hrsg.): Familie, Akkulturation und Erziehung. Migration zwischen Eigen- und Fremdkultur. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, S. 59-86

Garcia Coll, C./Magnuson, K. (1997): The psychological experience of immigration: A developmental perspective. In: Booth, A./Crouter, C./Landale, N. (Eds.): Immigration and the family. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, S. 91-132

Gestring, N./Janßen, A./Polat, A. (2006): Prozesse der Integration und Ausgrenzung. Türkische Migranten der zweiten Generation. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften

Herwartz-Emden, L./Westphal, M. (1998): Akkulturationsstrategien sowie Generationen- und Geschlechtervergleich bei eingewanderten Familien. Expertise für den 6. Familienbericht

Hoffman, L. W./Hoffman, M. L. (1973): The value of Children to Parents. In: Fawcett, J. T. (Ed.): Psychological Perspectives on Population, New York, S. 19-76

Hoffmann-Nowotny, H.J. (1993): Weltmigration – Eine soziologische Analyse. In W. Kälin & R. Moser (Hrsg.): Migrationen aus der Dritten Welt. Bern: Haupt, S. 57-68

Janßen, Andrea/Polat, Ayca (2006): Soziale Netzwerke türkischer Migrantinnen und Migranten. In: Aus Poltik und Zeitgeschichte 1-2, S. 11-17.

Koch, E./Özek, M./Pfeiffer, W. M. (1995): Psychologie und Pathologie der Migration: Deutsch-türkische Perspektiven. Freiburg i. Br.: Lambertus

Merkens, H. (1997): Familiale Erziehung und Sozialisation türkischer Kinder in Deutschland. In: Merkens, H/Schmidt, F. (Hrsg.): Sozialisation und Erziehung in ausländischen Familien in Deutschland. Hohengehren, S. 9-100

Morgenroth, O./Merkens, H. (1997): Wirksamkeit familialer Umwelten türkischer Migranten in Deutschland. In: Nauck, B./Schönpflug, U. (Hrsg.): Familien in verschiedenen Kulturen. Stuttgart: Enke, S. 303-323

Nauck, Bernhard (2007): Integration und Familie. In: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 22-23, S. 19-25

Nauck, Bernhard (2000): Familien ausländischer Herkunft. Politische Konsequenzen der Vielfalt von Akkulturationsprozessen. In: Diskurs 3/2000. DJI, München, S. 13-19.

Nauck, Bernhard (1985): „Heimliches Matriarchat" in Familien türkischer Arbeitsmigranten? Empirische Ergebnisse zu Veränderungen der Entscheidungsmacht und Aufgabenallokation. In: Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 14, S. 450-465.

Nauck, B. (1997a): Sozialer Wandel, Migration und Familienbildung bei türkischen Frauen. In: Nauck, B./Schönpflug, U. (Hrsg.): Familien in verschiedenen Kulturen. Stuttgart: Enke, S. 324-354

Nauck, B. (1997b): Intergenerative Konflikte und gesundheitliches Wohlbefinden in türkischen Familien. Ein interkultureller und interkontextueller Vergleich. In: Nauck, B./Schönpflug, U. (Hrsg.): Familien in verschiedenen Kulturen. Stuttgart: Enke, S. 324-354

Nauck, Bernhard/Kohlmann, Annette (1998): Verwandtschaft als soziales Kapital – Netzwerkbeziehungen in türkischen Migrantenfamilien. In: Wagner: Wagner, M./Schütze, Y. (Hrsg.): Verwandtschaft. Sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zu einem vernachlässigten Thema. Stuttgart, S. 203-235

Nauck, B. (1999): Sozialer und intergenerativer Wandel in Migrantenfamilien in Deutschland. In: Buchegger, R. (Hrsg.): Migranten und Flüchtlinge: Eine familienwissenschaftliche Annäherung. ÖIF Schriftenreihe, Nr. 8, Wien, S. 13-69

Nauck, B./Schönpflug, U. (1997) (Hrsg.): Familien in verschiedenen Kulturen. Stuttgart: Enke

Nieke, W. (2000): Interkulturelle Erziehung und Bildung. Wertorientierung im Alltag. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Niephaus, Y. (1998): Allgemeine Belastungen von Familien in der Migration. Expertise zum 6. Familienbericht.

McQueen, A./Getz, J.G./Bray, J.H. (2003): Acculturation, substance use and deviant behaviour: Examing separation and family conflict as mediators. In: Child development, 74, S. 1737-1750.

Park, Robert Ezra (1950): The nature of Race relation. In: Ders.: Race and Culture. Illinois: The free press, S. 81-116

Schmitt-Rodermund, E./Silbereisen, R.K. (2002): Akkulturation und Entwicklung: Jugendliche Immigranten. In: Oerter, R./Montada, L. (Hrsg.): Entwicklungspsychologie. Weinheim: Beltz, S. 893-906

Schönpflug, U. (2003): Migration aus kulturvergleichender psychologischer Perspektive. In: A. Thomas (Hrsg.): Kulturvergleichende Psychologie. Göttingen: Hogrefe, S. 515-541

Schiffauer, W: (2002): Fremde in der Stadt. Zehn Essays zu Kultur und Differenz. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp

Schütz, Alfred (1972): Der Fremde. In: Ders.: Gesammelte Aufsätze, Bd. 2: Studien zur soziologischen Theorie. Den Haag: Niejhoff, S. 53-69

Sluzki, C. E. (1979): Migration and family conflict. In: Family Process, 18, S. 379-390

Thomas, William I./Znaniecki, Florian (1918-1920/1923): The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. Monograph of an Immigrant Group, 5 Bände, Boston: Richard G. Badger

Tönnies, F. (2005; original: 1883): Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft.

Uslucan, H.-H. (2000): Gewalt in Kontexten kultureller und sozialer Verunsicherung. In: Frühe Kindheit, 4, S. 20-24

Wall, J.A./Power, T.G./Arbona, C. (1993): Susceptibility to antisocial peer pressure and its relation to acculturation in Mexican-American adolescents. In: Journal of Adolescent Research, 8, S. 403-418.

Zimmer, J. (1986): Interkulturelle Erziehung als Erziehung zur internationalen Verständigung. In: Borelli, M. (Hrsg.): Interkulturelle Pädagogik. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, S. 46-63

INSIDE THE FAMILY

Intergenerational Relations in Families With Immigrant Background

Marja Peltola

1. Introduction

Immigration is a huge transition that requires reassessment of several central questions of identity and belonging. On one hand, family can be considered representing continuity in this process, a point of reference through which life in the new society is lived and assessed. On the other hand, family relations come to be under reassessment as well, and have to be rearranged according to new demands (Huttunen 2002: 99, 337). In post-migration context, the nuclear family often gains ground at the cost of the extended family, sharp segregation between sexes and generations decreases and mothers and children gain more autonomy. Thus, in this new context pre-existing cultural patterns must be reconstructed into new forms. (Pels & de Haan 2007: 83–84.)

For the greater part, research on immigration has focused on adult immigrants and hence the perspective of young immigrants and the question of intergenerational relations inside immigrant families have been largely missing in the research conversations around acculturation and integration (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004: 36). The position of immigrant youth is different from that of adult immigrants, since besides going through the transition from one cultural environment to another, they experience developmental transition, adolescence, with its multiple challenges at the same time. Their position is, therefore, one of double-transition. (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2003: 20). Parental support may considerably ease both developmental tasks and the integration process of young immigrants: the more adolescents experience support and understanding provided by at least one parent, the less they experience acculturation stress, and the higher is their self-esteem and degree of life-satisfaction. (Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000: 53–54.) Cohesive immigrant families with strong social ties can provide young immigrants with social capital that helps them maintain constructive engagement in activities outside the private sphere, especially in school. Nevertheless, immigrant parents may be less able to monitor and back up their children *outside* the family sphere, due to imperfect knowledge of the workings of the new society, lack of language skills or other resources. Young immigrants may consequently be more on their own beyond the home walls. (Lauglo 2000: 159–164).

The double-transition of immigrant youth causes several challenges in relationships between young immigrants and their parents. Young generation in general tends to question traditional gender, generation and authority relations and create a space and a culture of their own. Besides these kinds of "ordinary" contests, young people with immigrant background are often forced to question and reconstruct their cultural background and its traditions as well. This may lead to complicated relationships and negotiations with parents who may have contesting expectations about their children, suffering from a fear of "losing" their children to the new culture on one hand and posing aspirations about better life on them on the other. (Harinen et al. 2005: 285–286, Alitolppa-Niitamo 2003.) Young immigrants, growing up in a

different cultural environment than their parents, may thus often be in the intersection of possible inner conflicts of family (Hautaniemi 2004: 54).

In the INTERFACE-project, relationships between generations formed a central topic in the conversations with immigrant families, both for young people and their parents. In this paper the focus is on how the interviewees gave meanings to the intergenerational relations inside their families and the changes they report having occurred in these in the post-migration context. Special interest is also placed on the challenges concerning the parents' and their children's different styles in combining the two cultures they are living in. From the database of INTERFACE-project, 36 families' stories[6] were chosen to be examined more thoroughly from the viewpoint of intergenerational relations.

The families formed an extremely heterogeneous group both in terms of their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, age scale of family members and length of stay in receiving countries, as well as the political and attitude environment they were living in, which could act as either a benefit or a constraint for their integration and well-being. The families also had varying family and personal histories, competences, internal relations and perceptions of what family is or should be. Accordingly, their experiences of present day and future, and strategies coping with these were multiple. Majority of the families were nuclear families, composed of two parents and their children (or children from previous marriages of one or both spouses). Eleven out of 36 families were with single parent, all female headed. The age scale of the youngest generation varied from 12 up to 32, hence the young interviewees were very diversely equipped in terms of ability to reflect and verbalize their experiences.

2. Methodological Note on Family Interviews

Since a family is a hierarchical unit by its very nature, interviewing family members together brings about the question whether all the interviewees have been equally free to share their opinions and experiences. Many young people do not want to share all their experiences, much less the possible problematic features in their relationships with their parents when sitting face-to-face with them. Similarly, the parents may be reluctant to share their possible uncertainties as parents or other difficult issues with their children. Suggesting such may even be seen as ethically daunting, if one considers preserving the authority of parents important in the family. Thus, the picture expressed in the group interviews tends to be somewhat idealized and the inclination to express and interpret one's family-life with positive terms may be more pronounced than it would be if the family members were interviewed alone.

In practice, the method of family interviews was adjusted to some extent according to the demands in different situations. Experiences from gathering the data in Finland showed that the informal nature of the interviews led to the interviewees acting accordingly, occasionally stepping outside the conversation and sometimes missing parts of interviews. No strict

---

[6] Families: DE-1 Cape Verde, DE-2 Turkey, DE-3 Afganistan /Ukraine, DE-4 Kazakstan, DE-7 Portugal, DE-9 Kirghizia, DE-12 Kirghizia, DE-13 Uzbekistan, DE-14 Ukraine, DE-16 Russia, DE-20 Turkey, I-26 Ecuador, I-27 Ecuador, I-29 Iran, I-32 Peru, I-35 Philippines, I-40 Sri Lanka, I-41 Ukraine, FI-42 Kenya, FI-43 Russia, FI-44 Russia, FI-45 Iran, FI-47 Kosovo, FI-48 Somalia, FI-49 Kosovo, FI-50 Somalia, FI-51 Irak, CR-53 Belarus, CR-54 Vietnam, CR-61 Ukraine, CR-63 Russia, BE-66 Azerbaijan, BE-69 Philippines, BE-71 Columbia, BE-72 Uzbekistan, BE-74 Turkey

demands were made on which family members should participate in interviews and whether or not they should remain the same in all three interviews. The composition of the interviews thus sometimes varied from interview to another and it was possible to interview families both together and the children and the young people without the presence of their parents and vice versa. Even though this was not totally coherent with the original methodology, it could be argued that this perspective allowed a nuanced view of the family dynamics.

3. Intergenerational Relations in Post-Migration Context

Family Composition and Generations

At the time of the interviews, the composition of the interviewed families, as the units living together, was very much like that of European families in general: one or two parents living together with their children. Only in three families (DE-13, CR-61, BE-71), the family members represented three generations, grandparent(s) of the youngest generation sharing the apartment. Immigration had thus often resulted in a shift towards the Western nuclear family model (see also Liebkind et al. 2004: 181; Alitolppa-Niitamo 2002: 279), since the vast majority of the families originated in cultures in which larger families and tightly-knit kinship networks are an important part of social life.

Regardless of this shift, the larger family unit had maintained its importance in many ways. While there is a prevalent tendency in Western countries to connect the meaning of family to a household and thus shared location, research on trans-nationalism has shown that the experience of being a member of a family does not necessarily presume living together (Vuorela 2002). An extract from a discussion with a mother and her 11-year-old son, with Kurdish origin and currently living in Finland, illustrates that the understanding on who is included in a family was in many families much broader from that generally accepted in Finland.

> Mother: After she [a Finnish woman] gets married, she includes in her family only husband… eh, and children and herself. That is, it's not so much. But when I speak about it, about family, my children know that the family means, that…
> Son: The whole kin.
> Mother: [laughing] The whole kin almost. [FI-45]

In many families, relatives such as grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins had played a central part in selecting the country of destination, settling down and starting the life in the receiving society. Besides keeping in contact with the relatives living nearby, also trans-national ties were maintained with relatives still living in the country of origin or dispersed in other parts of the world. The large family continued to affect its individual members even when it was scattered around in different countries. Hence, family does not necessarily need to imply physical proximity, but can also be an "imagined community". (Hautaniemi 2004: 178; Bryceson & Vuorela 2002.) Trans-national ties had, nevertheless, often different meanings for the parents and the young people. While the parents shared a part of common history with the relatives they were keeping in touch with, the young interviewees often knew them only through stories told by their parents, phone conversations and correspondence. Relationships with relatives living in outside the receiving country are thus often of different quality for young people and their parents – trans-national can be both "real" and "imagined" within the same family.

Immigration patterns bring up the questions of trans-nationalism also inside the nuclear family unit. While some families had been lucky enough to have the possibility to migrate together, many others had been separated from their family members during the migration process for periods lasting up to several years. Nearly two thirds (21 out of 36) of the families examined here had migrated in the form of chain migration. In most cases, one or both parents had emigrated beforehand in order to find work and make arrangements, leaving their children temporarily behind to be cared by relatives. In two cases (FI-48, FI-50), the parents had sent some of their older children in the receiving country in advance to live with relatives already migrated. In the migration process, extended family relations are thus often utilized to secure the care for the children and other resources during the periods of separation (Erel 2002; Hautaniemi 2004: 52). Additionally, there were other reasons why the parents and their children had spent even years living in different countries, such as a tradition of sending children to the country of origin during their childhood years, reported by a Filipino family (I-35) in Italy.

The periods of separation may have long-lasting influences on the family structure and the intergenerational relations, even after reunification (see also Alitolppa-Niitamo 2002: 279). Especially the parents described separations from their children as extremely stressful and hard to bear. The young people instead, while clearly stating to prefer living together with their parents, had sometimes also positive memories of these periods. Nevertheless, reunification had not always been harmonious. Some of the children and young people reported they had gone through periods when they held their parents responsible for abandoning them, or felt estrangement from them. Maintaining warm intergenerational relations during and after separation therefore seemed to require especially plenty of time, effort, understanding and communication from both the children and young people and their parents. Even though most of the families had been successful in re-establishing their relationships after separation, there was an example of a family originating in Sri Lanka, currently living in Italy (I-40), with extremely tense and problematic intergenerational relations, resulting in large extent from inability to deal in a constructive manner with the wounds caused by separation.

Intergenerational Positions

Even though migration had brought economic stability for the majority of the interviewed families, homesickness and feelings of being a stranger, combined with problems in arranging life in practice in the new environment, were sources of stress for many. When migrating to a new country, an immigrant family often is very alone (Marjeta 2001). Losing the active social networks of family and relatives, friends and neighbours, is hard and creating new contacts is not necessarily simple, especially for the parents who may lack environments for socializing. The interviewed families repeatedly described the first period in the receiving country as the hardest, due to loneliness and unfamiliarity of the environment. Consequently, the family had gained much weight as the primary social context and a source of support, trust and familiarity. Additionally, when moving in form of chain migration, the earlier immigrated family members had been able to provide, besides emotional support, also concrete help, guidance and contacts. For many interviewed families, immigration was thus an experience that had revealed the family members' interdependency and brought them closer to each other.

Almost exclusively, both the parents and their children presented the family as a positive resource. Immigration experience had nevertheless put intergenerational relations to a test and several questions concerning authority, communication and cultural habits among other things had had to be reassessed and rearranged in the post-migration context.

A. Reciprocity and Loyalty

By and large, both the young generation and their parents were speaking about their mutual relationships with warmth and loyalty. Reciprocity appeared to be a key aspect in intergenerational relations in the interviewed families, the young people and their parents supporting and helping each other according to their special social, economic and information resources.

Reasons the parents gave for their emigration decisions illustrated the important role the family and children have in migration processes. Even if family had been divided and separated during the process, the migration decisions had been done within the family context and aimed at maximizing the family's well-being (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004: 51; Huttunen 2002: 337). The interviewed parents typically named the well-being and better future prospects of their children as primary reasons for their immigration and staying put in the receiving society[7]: the receiving countries in Europe were typically considered safe and peaceful environments for the children to grow up and offering them plenty of possibilities in life, especially regarding education. The children's better opportunities in the receiving countries also acted as an impetus for the parents to strife for a more complete integration in the new society, as a mother with Kenyan origin, currently living in Finland, states:

> So I think there's very many opportunities in Finland and we need, to respect and not corrupt that. That's why I try so hard, to get myself education and get a job, and get a little bit in in the society. For the sake of my children. So, here they are, here they can get education and I can also have something, I can do, some work when they are here. If they are grown, then, they'll decide for themselves. [FI-42]

The children articulated often as a reason also for staying put in the receiving country and not returning to country of origin. Even in cases the parents had earlier seriously planned returning or moving in another country, growing awareness of their children's rootedness in the receiving country had made them change their minds. By settling down in the receiving country for good, the parents wished to provide their children a stable environment and to spare them from feelings of displacement or rootlessness they possibly had been suffering themselves. Considering the children's educational possibilities better in the receiving country was another important factor in settling down. The parents in deed repeatedly stated to "live for their children", or emphasised their children's long-term well being as the most important goal in their lives.

The interviewed children and young people were responding to their parents' reasoning in multiple ways, nonetheless most often with understanding, gratitude and respect. Many emphasised the sacrifices their parents had made for them and saw them first of all as sources of support and spur. Often the young interviewees told how their parents were always thinking what was best for them and guided them into the right direction (although they did

---

[7] For obvious reasons, families migrated as refugees named persecution or intolerable living conditions in the country of origin as the primary reason for migration, and not the educational opportunities. Even though, the better opportunities of their children were important for them as well when speaking about future life in the receiving society.

not always agree on the direction). A young woman with parents originating from Cape Verde (DE-1), currently living in Germany, described parents as role models of children, considering herself an open-minded person thanks to her parents, who had always given that model to her. Thus, the parents' constructive attitudes were thought to have a positive effect on the general view of live and own ambitions.

Many young interviewees pointed out also that the separation from relatives and friends in the country of origin hit harder their parents. Having moved into Europe in many cases as very young children (if not born there), their own memories about their country of origin and relatives were rather vague and incoherent, while their parents had often remained more deeply rooted to their country of origin. Seeing their parents suffering from combination of emotional load and difficulties in learning the new language and other skills, the young interviewees often saw their own position easier than that of their parents. (See also Honkasalo et al. 2007: 21.) Many of the young interviewees also brought up the fact that their parents had carried the heavy load of responsibilities after immigration, while they themselves had been irresponsible children unaware of any problems. The young people's stories about their relationships with their parents were thus many times coloured by aspects of loyalty and gratitude (see also Honkatukia & Suurpää 2007). A 21-year-old young woman with Albanian background, the youngest of eight children, describes her own position after the immigration easy if compared to her parents or older siblings:

> Like… or, like they [the parents] have, like, brought up this many children in a dif-, different culture, so it has been really hard for them. And… but… no, I dunno, or, I've been so small, that, [the older brothers] have been older, then… like, maybe they have had it harder than me, that I have been just, like… aaah! [laughs] Like, I've just grown up. [FI-47]

Even though strongly stating to prefer living with their families, having dependent children was sometimes a source of increased stress for the parents. When moving to a new country with children, they have not only themselves to take care of but also their children, who need attention and several arrangements have to be made with the social services, day care and school. The different environment alone may appear as threatening. For the parents, immigration may thus mean growing anxieties with regards to the children and an accentuated need to keep an eye on them. Lacking the social network of grandparents, other relatives and friends, who were previously able to offer help with child raising in the country of origin made some parents feel they had bigger work load and were more on their own with familial responsibilities (see also Marjeta 2001: 106). On the other hand, for some parents the safeness of the new environment allowed them to give more freedom for their children.

> Interpreter [after the mother]: Her worry, her worries are gone, that is, if he [the son] goes out, it is, everything is quite ok, and it is, she doesn't need all the time, to go after him to see.
> Son: That, in Russia mother was, like, always looking after me, or, like, she came outside to see if I'm ok. But here I can stay out until nine and it's no problem. [FI-44]

The children were also seen as an element positively influencing the parents' and the whole family's integration, since they were able to provide the parents information about workings of the receiving society, help them with the language and offer opportunities to find social contacts through their contacts. For the young interviewees, helping their family this way was a natural task, a way to do their share for the family.

B. Dissonant Acculturation

Even though in a majority of the families the supportive role of parents was clearly pronounced, there were elements brought by the immigration experience that had rearranged the positions of the parents and the children and young people in certain important respects. As is pointed out in several studies (f ex Al-Ali 2002: 92; Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001), children and adolescents generally find it easier than their parents to learn to master many skills required in the new environment. The data of INTERFACE-project also illustrated clearly that the young generation had adopted many skills and attitudes needed in the receiving societies quicker and more thoroughly than their parents. Their language skills were without exception better than their parents, they generally had more social contacts with the mainstream society and consequently often also understood the habits and workings of the receiving society better.

While the children and young people come into intense contact with the culture of receiving society in school, their parents instead may be more removed from it, especially if they have difficulties in finding employment or are employed in so called "immigrant industries" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 73–74). Some parents in the data had succeeded stunningly in re-educating themselves and finding permanent or short-term employment and some worked voluntarily in organizations, which offered them social contacts with both nationals of receiving societies and other nationals. Yet many others still had remained more isolated due to lack of access to such environments, their social contacts limiting mostly to family sphere, relatives and other immigrants with the same ethnic background.

Even though the work-life is not the only way to seek contacts with the receiving society and does not automatically lead to improved opportunities to socialize, it is an important sphere for adult immigrants in familiarizing oneself with the receiving society and people in it. However, depending on the structure of labour markets, labour legislation and level of social security system in the five INTERFACE-countries among other things, the parents' work had in some cases negative influence on family cohesion and intergenerational relations. If parents are forced to work extremely long hours or in several jobs in order to gain enough money for living, the majority of their time is spent outside the home and thus their ability to communicate with and keep an eye on their children is more limited. Their children may accordingly suffer from not having enough attention and company of their parents. In a family originating in Vietnam, currently living in the Czech Republic the 21-year-old son describes changes in their family life brought by the parents' long working hours after immigration: "*There was no time to make trips together, mother stopped telling me bedside stories…*" (CR-54). Society's macro structure therefore has significant implications for immigrant families' lives, their special challenges and even intergenerational relations.

Being already at early age aware of the relative ease with which they had learned the language and adjusted themselves to the habits of the new society if compared with their parents, the vast majority of the young interviewees had taken helping their parents as a natural task and responsibility. In almost every family, the children had at least previously acted as mediators between the receiving society and their parents, explaining the workings of the society and assisting with the language for example in the dealings with health care and social services. A 15-year-old boy with Somali background, currently living in Finland, explains how his parents needed help due to their limited language skills:

Interviewer: Have your parents attended some courses?

Son: Yeah, like… Finnish course, they've been put and… they have, like, now learned to understand speech at some extent, but they don't quite, like, if there's a conversation, like now between us, like we speak now, then… they don't quite get it.
Interviewer: Yeah. [pause] And then you help them or?
Son: Yeah, yeah, without question. With all the tasks and these things. I explain… eh, like, how things are and how you… I read things and… [FI-48]

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) call the process in which children's learning of the new language and culture progresses in a faster pace than their parents' *dissonant acculturation* (see also Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004). Dissonant acculturation may lead to role reversal between parents and their children, especially if the parents lack means of coping independently in different social settings. It may thus undercut parental authority and create a gap between generations. (Portes & Rumbaut 2001: 53–54.) While dissonant acculturation and role reversal do not automatically lead to problems between generations, it is obvious that increased responsibilities, such as acting as a translator, lets the children and young people in on issues that normally would not be their responsibility to think about. Thus this may increase their cognitive and emotional load, which is by no means small in post-migration context in any case.

Dissonant acculturation and the young generation's increased responsibilities (and consequently also power) were experienced in various ways in different families. For some, it seemed to be a natural result of the new situation. Sometimes the children's quick adaptation of the new language was even a source of pride for the parents, as they considered it helpful to be able to handle situations in family sphere and not be dependent on outside help. Yet for others the altered positions of generations were not unproblematic but created stress and ambivalent feelings for both the children and young people and their parents. A family originating from Uzbekistan and currently living in Germany (DE-13) reported that his shift of power balance had put the internal cohesion of the family to a test. For the parents, depending on their children in many situations meant weakening of their sense of authority and feeling of being "speechless". For their children, who had been adolescents at the time of the immigration, it has meant being more on their own due to their parents' relative inability to guide them. As the parents put it, "*they had had to grow up faster*". The more advanced language skills of the children and young people sometimes resulted in not only increased responsibilities for them to help their parents with the language but also easy opportunities to hide certain things from them when wanted: simply by speaking with each other the language of the receiving country they could prevent their parents from understanding them. While it is not only in families with immigrant background where adolescents are trying and succeeding in keeping secrets from their parents, severe risks can be identified in a situation where the language skills of parents and their children are drifting far apart. Building up common knowledge grows harder if there is no common language with which both feel free and easy to communicate.

Close Family and Parental Authority

Emphasising close family ties and unity of the family was common among the interviewed families. The closeness of family was often seen going hand in hand with the more intensive normative function of family, giving the family the responsibility and opportunity to observe, control and guide the behaviour of different family members. Authority to use the normative power of family is in the hands of the parents, and hierarchical order between generations was thus more pronounced. This tendency to stress the parental authority, which is shown in many

previous studies on immigrant families as well (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2006: 57; Pentikäinen 2005: 227, Honkasalo et al. 2007: 19–20).

Due to differences in cultures of upbringing the children, habits in receiving societies emphasising more liberal parenting style than has been customary in the countries of origin, the parents often found themselves in a situation where parenting cannot be based on the previous rules. Children's observing their peers and finding out their greater freedom raises claims for equal position, and parents' attempts to hold on to their principles may result in conflicts. Many parents in the interviewed families were making complaints on how their children (or children in general) were not listening to their parents anymore and how the authority of parents had diminished after the migration. The children's and young people's better competencies to act in the receiving society may also add to the parents' feelings of lack of authority and their children's impertinence. A mother originating in Columbia, currently living in Belgium, saw her own youth as a stark contrast with her daughter's:

> At the beginning, I had a trauma with my daughter because when I was her age, I always had to ask permission from my mother and I had to accept either "yes" or "no" without discussing. But with my daughter, there was nothing to do. It was really like she wanted it to be. [BE71]

Since the parental authority had become questioned in the receiving country, preserving it demanded negotiations, time and effort from the parents. The accentuated need of open communication with the children about their borders and responsibilities and the reasons behind them was brought up in several conversations with parents. Many of them emphasised they did not want simply to deny certain things from their children, but the decisions to do so were done after investigating these things and discussing them with the children.

Even though many parents had thus adopted a more negotiative style when setting limits for their children than was customary in their countries of origin, differences still remained. The reasons for boundaries were explained more but they were still expected to be obeyed. Many interviewed parents compared their own practices in upbringing their children with those of parents in the receiving country and criticized them of giving excess freedom to their children. A Kurd father of two daughters, states after observing Finnish society for seven years:

> In Finland, children, children maybe are given too much freedom or what is it… that, maybe it's about human rights, that there is some reason, that people give so much freedom for the children. […] But after my own experience, I've seen, and my wife is in school, that children nowadays are not doing well. At school. It's not going well. That, nobody follows any rules and everybody does whatever they want. […] [sighs] That parents can't, are not allowed to punish their own children. […] In my opinion, there should be more, people should look after their children better. So that the future would be better. [FI51]

Since many parents saw the greater freedom of children to be if not harmful, at least potentially risky, the more liberal parenting style was connected with disinterest or lesser care about children's well-being, which was of course hard to understand. The parents were often expressing their worries about whether they were able, or would be in future, to hold on to their principles and boundaries with their children, who were in growing extent "behaving badly" or not following advice of their parents as before.

The more liberal tradition in bringing up children was often seen to be connected with less close relationships inside families and less tightly-knit family structure in the receiving country. Another phenomenon that puzzled the parents was the habit of children moving out from their childhood homes at around the age of 20, to live alone. This was widely found hard to understand, even threatening, for many of the interviewed parents interpreted it as children

abandoning their parents (and vice versa). As a mother originating from Philippines and currently living in Italy (I-35) commented: *"In our culture, families must live close by. Parents and children always live very close one another, so that the parents can see their children."* Therefore, the parents were expressing wishes that their children would keep on living with them at least until they married and had families of their own. Living separately became understandable only under circumstances in which living together was economically hard to bear: in some families, the young family member had moved out from his/her childhood home in order to ease his/her parents' economic load. Thus, even though immigrant families many times show with their trans-national practices that the "familyhood" is not only about physical closeness (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002), it was apparent that generations' living together when possible was an important feature and a sign of emotional closeness for the parents.

Even though the parents were continuously expressing worries about their authority and family's unity withering away, their children's stories only seldom confirmed these threats. Instead of rebelling against their parents' authority, the young generation seemed to hold on in a fairly great extent to the same principles and values as their parents did. Especially the young interviewees representing the upper end of the age scale (in their late adolescence and older) often emphasised the importance of tightly knit family and parental authority as well. While many of the young interviewees had gone through phases during which they had rebelled against their parents or tested the "disrespectful" behavioural models of their peers at home, these had mostly remained temporary (see chapter 3.2). Even though the children's and young people's behaviour almost inevitably changes in some extent to the direction of culture of receiving country, the generations in most cases had managed to find some compromise satisfying both. When compared with their parents, it was more typical for the young interviewees to express more understanding attitude towards the liberal tradition in the receiving society as a cultural difference, but nevertheless they stated to value their own tradition more. In Finland, some of the young interviewees to use this difference as a means to distinct themselves positively from the Finnish families, criticizing their Finnish peers of irresponsibility and disrespectful behaviour towards their parents and stating they could not and did not want to act in such a way (FI-44, FI-45, FI-47)(see also Honkasalo et al. 2007: 19).

The image of strict immigrant parents who constrain their children's participation in many activities of receiving society lives on in public discourse rather powerfully. While there most certainly exist young immigrants who experience their parents control over their lives as too great and constraining, the interviews nevertheless show that the question is not so black and white. For many of the young interviewees, respecting their parents was a positive matter, even a source of pride and not a feature automatically restricting their lives (see also Niemelä 2003, Honkasalo et al. 2007). It may be argued that the interview situations, the parents' presence, have influenced the ways the young interviewees speak about their parents, hiding especially the possible negative and restrictive elements, although it does not wholly explain the dominantly positive picture given by the young interviewees. Thus examining young people's own opinions about the meanings of their family relations allows problematizing the picture of victimized immigrant youth, especially girls (Honkasalo et al. 2007: 20).

Friction and Negotiation Between Generations

Even though many young interviewees considered respecting their parents important, this by no means meant simply obedience or absence of disagreements or conflicts. The young people and their parents engaged in frequent and continuous negotiations concerning the space, borders and responsibilities of the young people.

Serious conflicts were nonetheless not commonplace among the interviewed families. Out of the 35 families, there was only one case in which the family was clearly having a severe and acute conflict between the generations. This exception was a result of years' antipathies, the son accusing her mother of abandoning him as a child when emigrating to the receiving country, the mother blaming his son of not understanding her hardships, not respecting his parents and not doing his share in the family. According to the 20-year-old son, it is their inability to have proper conversations that makes it impossible for them to break the vicious circle. His bitter words illustrate the difficult situation of the family and the grudge he is holding towards his parents:

> I perceive that they are guilty [of abandoning me]. Example, if you are buying a washing machine and you are not able to pay it after, why are you buying it? It is something like this. If you have the responsibility to take care, for example for a dog. If you take a dog, you have to take him for a walk, you have to feed him, etc, you have to provide for him. If at the end you will abandon it, what sense does it have? [I-40]

In most cases however, it was little everyday matters, such as household chores and bed times, probably well known in every family, which caused most friction. Two extracts, the first with 12-year-old boy with Russian background and the second with 19-year-old young woman with her mother, with Russian background as well, illustrate this:

> Son (12): […] We have, like, if mom gets angry with me, I take some money and go to the shop, to buy her flowers.
> Interviewer: Oh but that's nice. What kind of things she gets angry with you?
> Son (12): Well, for example, that, me playing with the computer. Going to sleep at night. [FI-43]

> Mother: Well, cleaning up, that's what we argue about sometimes. But no, usually no. […] I'd like the children to put things where they belong. [laughs] […] And the thing, about, looking after the clothes. […]
> Interviewer: And that's what you argue about?
> Daughter (19): Yeah, we do. And not only a little, but quite much. [laughs] [FI-44]

The interviewees mostly considered these kinds of small everyday fights as a normal and unavoidable part of family life. It should be therefore noticed that intergenerational disagreements and conflicts in the families interviewed for the INTERFACE project were, for a largish part, not related to the immigration experience but derived from similar sources as any family's internal problems.

When not speaking about small everyday fights, the interviewees often described the disagreements between generations as temporary matters, typically connected with the children's age. Both the young generation and their parents considered especially teenage or puberty a time period, which typically included questioning of authorities and tradition and consequent conflicts with parents. Also immigration experience and feelings of displacement can in the beginning create stress and resentment towards parents for the young people. A 15-year-old boy with Ecuadorian origin, currently living Italy (I-26) reported having previously misbehaved badly both at home and in school, due to uneasiness caused by immigration, of

which he had blamed her mother. Although having been shocked by the behaviour of his Italian peers towards their parents, he had adopted the very same manners with his mother, in order to express his discontentment. The situation had been difficult for the mother as well, who felt herself poorly equipped to handle her son's behaviour. All of this had nevertheless remained a temporary phase, as the son had found satisfying social contacts and started to feel more at home in Italy. At the moment of the interviews, the son's and mother's feelings were characterised by mutual affection and reciprocity.

As is stated in several studies before, a majority of the immigrant parents considered transferring at least certain parts of their cultural heritage, values and habits to their children a matter of great importance. However, instead of simply adopting the cultural repertoires of their parents, children and adolescents engage in a cultural dialogue with the multiplicity of forces that represent different values, norms and ways of living (see chapter 0 unten). When creating the space and culture of their own, the young immigrants' questioning of pre-existing norms does not leave the cultural and ethnic traditions untouched. Young people with immigrant background are in many cases more willing than their parents to adopt different behaviours or patterns common in the receiving society. (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001; Alitolppa-Niitamo 2001.) Problems may arise when parents encourage their children to pick up certain cultural competencies from the receiving society, such as the language and education, while seeing other attitudes and behaviours undesirable. Thus, the conceptions of young people and their parents about how much bending the previous cultural practices was appropriate or where should the borderlines be drawn were not always congruent.

What was considered to be right or wrong, appropriate or not, was also varying from family to family and a question of negotiation and change. The cultural negotiations tended to be more pronounced in the families whose cultural background was far from the culture of receiving society. The controversial issues were related to questions such as the children's recreational activities, social circles and appearance among others. Many parents expected their children to participate in the housework or taking care of their younger siblings. Children's and young people's reluctance to carry out these responsibilities and claims to have more freedom and leisure time then caused disagreements between the generations. Nevertheless, the changing behaviour of children did not always become a matter of conflict inside the families. Some parents showed a great deal of understanding towards the different perception of appropriate behaviour their children have adopted, pointing out that the children have grown up in the middle of very different culture and that they needed in some extent adopt similar behaviour with their peers in order to "fit in". The parents often told they "felt weird" or had ambivalent feelings about their children's changed behaviour, but however, understood that acting differently would be alien for them. A father with Kurdish origin explains:

> For example, in our country, our culture, that, like, some old people are sitting somewhere, so children can't, should not, there, like sit with their feet before them like this. [shows with his position, sit with soles in sight]. I mean, you were supposed to sit nicely. […] These now, they don't exist, that, even if we had guests and we, my big girl, she can lay here [laughs] on the couch. No, we feel this is a little… impolite, but for her it's maybe not. Because she has learned it from her environment here in Finland. [FI-51]

Whether changes in behaviour become subjects of negotiations or causes for conflicts depends also on which habits the children have adopted and which habits of the culture of origin the parents consider to be important enough to be respected.

In any case, the immigration context seems to bring about accentuated need for parents to negotiate about boundaries and cultural practices with their children. Communication and openness were among central themes when speaking about well-being of family and preserving good relationships inside the family and especially the parents in many cases brought up communication as a prerequisite for successful preservation of good parent-child relationship. The more negotiative style in bringing up the children meant that the parents could not dictate the rules, but they needed to respect their children and their opinions and, if and when disagreements arose, explain and give well-grounded reasons for certain practices and limitations, but also make some concessions.

High Hopes for the Future: Family and Schooling

It is not a rare case that after immigration, immigrant parents find themselves on a lower ladder on the social hierarchy than they used to in their country of origin. Among the family stories of INTERFACE-project there were plenty of examples of parents who had been unable to find employment, had employed on lower level than their education suggests, were underemployed or worked illegally in poor conditions. The insecure position and low social and economical status leads many immigrant parents to posing their future expectations not on themselves but on their children, who are expected to have more satisfying lives in the receiving society, but also to work hard in order to accomplish the goals and succeed. Almost without exceptions the interviewed parents saw education as the key to successful life in the receiving society and thus often considered their children's schoolwork a matter of great importance. (See also Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 23; Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004.) Due to their importance, school and educational plans of the children and young people and negotiations concerning these were frequently discussed topics in the interviews. They also proved to sometimes having been among topics of negotiations and disagreements between the generations.

While emphasising the importance of education was more dominant in the speech of parents, the majority of young people shared the viewpoint. Education was understood to be the prerequisite for satisfactory life in the receiving society, providing better employment possibilities both in the sense of more meaningful work and better salary, but also self-development. Besides being a means for upward social mobility and better socioeconomic status, school as everyday surroundings forms an important social sphere for children and young people, given that they spend more time in school than in any other setting outside their homes (Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Tolonen 2001). Thus its role in progressing the social integration and creation of social networks is significant as well.

Additionally, some of the young interviewees seemed to consider succeeding in school a way to compensate or repay the sacrifices their parents had made for them by deciding to migrate (DE-12, CR-54, FI-47). The feeling of being obliged to fulfil their parents' expectations was thus not alien for the young generation. According to Lauglo (2000), parents of cohesive immigrant families, often emphasising the tradition of strong familial ties and parental authority, are well equipped to support their young members in maintaining constructive engagement in school. For the children and young people their parents' sharp focus on educational success means having parents who are keen to support and spur them on in schoolwork and on educational careers. It is thus not surprising that in the vast majority of the families examined here, the young generation had, after finishing the compulsory education, sought their ways to various forms of further education and quite often up to higher education.

Nevertheless, parental expectations and everyday life in school may also prove to be problematic for the young people. If considered too great or being of different quality than their own wishes, the parents' anticipations may be a source of stress and anxiety for the young people (see also Portes & Rumbaut 2001). Besides, the limited language skills and knowledge about the education system in the receiving society act as constraint for the parents to offer concrete help with schoolwork and decisions concerning education required from their children (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2000: 56). A 17-year-old girl with Kurdish origin, currently living in Finland, describes her difficulties in school as follows:

> […] I had terribly, or, like, I've had problems with language in lower level of comprehensive school, and also upper level, and sometimes I have those in upper secondary school as well. Because I have nobody who'd help me with, for example, English language. Because my parents weren't taught that in Iran. Or, Swedish, or French, somehow I feel that I must do, like, in principle, twice as much work. […] I remember, sometimes in lower level of comprehensive school, I sometimes just cried because, I couldn't, like, do the homework because nobody at home could help me. So… yes, it has shown, that I'm not quite in the same position as them [Finnish born Finns], that… they can ask help at home, and like this, but, I've always had to do everything like that alone. […] If I had had somebody, a big sister or… well, now I can help my little brother now that I have gone through that, but back then… nobody helped me. [FI-44]

Thus, the offspring of immigrant parents may have to survive on their own with both the expectations of their parents and the heavy workload given by the school. For the young interviewees, school was also the most typical environment for racist and prejudiced encounters, which also contributes to increased distress (Rastas 2007).

4. Cultural Identities On the Move

Family is an important sphere of social interaction through which people reproduce and negotiate ethnic and cultural values (Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000; Honkasalo et al. 2007: 21). Since family is the unit that signifies continuity in the migration process and is the place where familiar habits and items are preserved, it seems natural that family is also the place to nurture the minority identity. In the family sphere, the interviewees cherished their minority identity for example by speaking their native language, eating "own food", watching television channels of country of origin, celebrating the feasts of culture of origin and keeping in contact with relatives and other people with the same ethnic background. However, there were often marked differences between generations in the extent in which they sought to hold on to the habits of culture of origin and in how important role the ethnic background played in identity reconstruction. In the vast majority of cases it was the parents who had remained more deeply rooted to the culture of country of origin, while their children generally, especially as time passes by, tended to orientate more towards the receiving society. (See also Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 79; Alitolppa-Niitamo 2001: 132.)

Language

Speaking one's own language at home was maybe the most obvious feature through which minority ethnicity was built up and consolidated in everyday life of the interviewees. In the majority of families examined here, the native language was used at home, especially between the parents and the children (24 out of 35 used the native language, 10 used both the native language and the language of receiving society). The parents particularly stressed the importance of preserving the native language. They were often showing concern if there were

signs of their children's skills in the native language eroding and felt disappointed if they failed in motivating the children to preserve it. (See also Al-Ali 2002: 91–92.) The use of native language was not only a question of preserving the cultural heritage – in many cases it was also a necessity due to the parents' limited knowledge of language of receiving country. If both generations understood both languages but were differently equipped in using them, it was also possible that the parents communicated in the language of country of origin and their children in the language of receiving society. Only in one case, the family had abandoned their native language and were using exclusively the language of the receiving society.

The young interviewees mostly saw bilingualism as a major advantage, especially in finding employment. Nevertheless, attempts to preserve fluency in native language were not necessarily easy. With time, the younger generation tended to start speaking the language of receiving country at home as well, at least when communicating with siblings. Some of them even had declined from using the native language due to attempts to be like natives in the receiving country, though this was rare. Concerned parents disliked the tendency and in a few families (DE-14, FI-51), had even given clear rules concerning the use of native language and not the language of receiving country at home.

Reconstructing Identities

The parents' memories and stories about their country of origin were a central source of information for the children and young people. These stories carried also emotional meanings, the country of origin commonly being coloured with positive and longing shades. While many young interviewees in some extent shared the positive picture on their (parents') country of origin, the parents' enthusiasm to pass on the cultural heritage and longing was not always resulted in their children getting interested as well. Instead, the young generation tended to remain more oriented towards the receiving country than their parents, in some (albeit rather rare) cases even making a clear break with their parents' county of origin and its culture.

It seemed rather common that especially during their early adolescence the young interviewees were willing to try the behaviour models of their peers in the receiving country and make a distinction from their parents' traditions. In this age, being in transition from childhood to adulthood, young people in Western countries generally start to identify more with their peers than their family and to create and search for their own cultural space. Also the growing questioning of the parents' authority is typically connected with this age. (See also Harinen et al. 2005: 285–286.) For young people with immigrant background, this questioning may thus easily transfer into questioning the importance of cultural background, especially if the environment's attitudes towards people with different ethnic background are negative or pressure to "be like the others" is high among peers. A 15-year-old girl with Kurdish background, living currently in Belgium, thus claims:

> Here, there are two cultures, some of my friends are sometimes different from me and sometimes I want to be like them and when I say that to my parents they are a little bit shocked. […] They always say I have to be like a Turkish girl and I want to be like a Belgian one. [BE-74]

However, when getting older, many of the young interviewees had started to value and foster also their ethnic background and the culture related to it – like a 21-year-old young man with Vietnamese background, living in the Czech Republic, who had only after a recent visit to Vietnam started to re-discover and re-value his Vietnamese roots (CR-54). Thus the young people's striving for greater assimilation may remain a temporary phase. Also the conflicts

between parents and children, if they exist, tend to calm down with time. Yet it is worth of noticing that not all young people with immigrant background feel the need to clash with their parents or question their authority or importance of their culture of origin. It should be borne in mind that adolescence as such is in a large extent a Western construction and people with different cultural backgrounds do not necessarily experience this transition in the same way.

Even though it was a common pattern that the parents had remained more rooted to their culture of origin, while their children were more willing to adopt features of the culture of the receiving country, this was not always the case. Difficult experiences prior to the immigration may have led the parents to wanting to make a clear distinction from the country of origin, at least on level of rhetoric if not in practice. Their children may nevertheless adopt a more positive attitude towards their parents' country of origin and experience their ethnic background as an enriching part of their identities. Due to having often more multifaceted knowledge about the receiving society, the children and young people may also be better equipped than their parents to express critical notions about certain mechanisms of the receiving society. For example regarding prejudices and discrimination, children and young people sometimes seemed to be more sensitive in perceiving and recognizing more subtle forms of differentiation and racism, since they have more knowledge and experiences of the receiving society (FI-44, CR-63).

The children and young people are thus also important and active carriers of the culture of their or their parents' country of origin. While the parents may be, and often are, significant sources for learning traditions, norms and values of the country of origin, the children and young people are not merely receiving influences from them and responding to them. Neither they are acquiring elements of the new culture as such. Instead they are combining multiple sources of information and selectively adopting, moulding and remoulding these pieces when constructing their ethnic identities. Thus, their cultural and ethnic identities represent both change and stability, resistance and adaptation. (See also Pels & de Haan 2007; Evergeti & Zontini 2006.)

Hybrid Identities?

While some of the young interviewees claimed to feel themselves as nationals of the receiving country or nationals of their country of origin, the majority of them were reluctant to give any label for their national identity. Many brought actively up that they resisted the idea of them being or becoming nationals of the receiving country, seeing their ethnic background and its characteristics too great difference between them and the other nationals. At the same time many of them nevertheless recognized such many new features in their lives that they did not quite feel their nationality of origin as appropriate in describing them either. Thus, the young interviewees were clearly beyond the either/or-thinking. When accepting some labels, they were typically overlapping and situational. Often it was the case that while the ethnic origin was more dominant at home and with the family, the part of identity more attached to the receiving country became more clearly visible when socializing outside the home.

The concept of a hybrid is sometimes used when referred to phenomena that combine elements from several sources that are previously thought to be separate. A hybrid is the result of combining these elements, and cannot simply be restored to the previous elements. (Huttunen et al. 2005: 30.) While ethnic identities are never static positions or possessions, hybridity illustrates the nature of the young interviewees' ethnic identities felicitously, since it

refers to creative and qualitatively new combinations and absence of clear definitions. Inability or reluctance to place oneself under one or another label is not to be considered as a sign of weakness or insecurity. Instead, deriving from various sources in building one's ethnic identity can be enriching and empowering.

The hybridity of identity of the young people with immigration background is more pronounced and visible than their parents', though no static or unchanging identities or cultures exist. It would be an oversimplification to claim that immigrant parents stick to the culture of origin whereas young people with immigrant background tend to merge into their ethnic identities elements from culture of receiving country as well. While the parents' ethnic identity may not be as strongly in the state of coming as their offspring's, they similarly approve some features of the culture of receiving country while rejecting others. Similarly, they choose what parts of their culture of their origin they consider worth of cherishing and what parts they want to ignore or forget. Thus, the parents' unique combination of interpretations of both cultures influence on what kind of cultural norms and models they pass on to their children to reconstruct. The responses to the challenge of combining two cultures are multiple, and both parents and their children use heterogeneous strategies when constructing their ethnic identities, according to the different resources they are holding.

The hybridity of ethnic identity of the young generation was acknowledged and in most cases approved by the parents as well. When settling down in the new country they had come to accept the fact that their children were most likely to adopt elements of the new culture in their lives. (What elements and in what extent, still remained under discussion.) Many parents brought up that there was a whole wide society around their children and thus the influence of home only is bound to be limited. A mother of three daughters, originating in Kenya, explains:

> Some parents just shout, "why are you banging doors" and bla bla blaa, like that. But they have to know also kids have, I know, these kids are growing up in a different society. They aren't in Africa anymore. So, they are also, going out, they're in school, and learning different things, so. You have also to learn how to… negotiate things at home. That's the only way you can keep the family together. […] I would like most that they don't forget… at all about Kenya, that's what I'd like, if I am going to holiday I want to go to Kenya, anyway. And, eh, I talk to them a lot about Kenya and… but I still can't control. Because the society is big. This house, it can't be Kenya, no. Because, there is little culture, Kenyan culture, in this house, and that starts with me. But then, they are out there, they're in school, they have friends from different nationalities, mostly Finnish. They are in school, they study Finnish, everything is Finnish. So I cannot say they would grow more Kenyan than Finnish now. And honestly, if they are growing up the, eh, they just have to be, behaved, that's all. I don't mind they get the Finnish.. way of… growing up, I don't see anything wrong with that. Yeah. I would like actually also that they wont have the problems I'm having now, trying to fit in. [FI-42]

What the parents were hoping for was that their children would keep appreciating their ethnic background and would combine the positive elements of both cultures in their lives – what ever this meant depended on the speaker. The immigration and combining the two cultures were seen to bring not only difficulties but also new kind of multiplicity and richness in the lives of their children.

5. Concluding Remarks

Intergenerational Relations and Social Capital

As a conclusion, family and relationships with parents can and should be seen as a central factor influencing the well being of young people with immigrant background. Emotional support provided by parents appeared as the core element of family's positive influence for young interviewees. The parents typically were giving reasons for many of their life decisions, including the decision to migrate, on basis of well-being and better opportunities of their children, and often saw also the future with their children as a point of reference. For both parents and their children, intergenerational relationships can additionally provide for social contacts, a context for fostering minority identity and economic help.

In general, intergenerational relations in the families interviewed in the context of INTERFACE-project were constructive, warm and characterised by mutual affection and support. As every family, these families had disagreements and conflicts between the parents and children, but by and large these were temporary and overcome rather successfully. If there were specific problems that resulted from the immigration experience and post-migration situation, they concerned mostly questions of combining the two cultures, the parents wanting to preserve values and habits of the country of origin and the children and young people adopting more liberal models of behaviour of the receiving country. In overcoming these, open communication was given a central role. The immigration context was seen to bring about accentuated need to negotiate about boundaries and cultural practices with children. Communication and openness in general appeared being among central themes when considering well-being of a family and good intergenerational relationships. Open communication can be seen as a prerequisite for successful preservation of a working parent-child relationship, providing a means to keep up on what the other family members are going through and to prevent problems before they emerge or culminate.

Since the family can be considered the provider of many resources individuals utilize also outside the family sphere, the multiple influences of family on the individual family members can also be approached with the concept of social capital. The concept has become a widely used tool both in social sciences and policy making. It has multiple meanings according to different theoretical approaches, but refers generally to "the values that people hold and the resources they can access, which both result in and are the result of collective and socially negotiated ties and relationships" (Edwards et al. 2003: 2). Ethnicity is, for greater part, ignored in mainstream social capital literature, and even when it is mentioned, it is mostly in relation to the lack of social capital due to migration. In the field of ethnic and migration studies, however, ethnicity is seen as a resource and a potential source of social capital. For example, positive adaptation and upward social mobility among immigrants has been explained with the concept. (Evergeti & Zontini 2006: 1028.)

Family networks are crucial for maintaining and generating social capital (Edwards et al. 2003). Social capital can be divided into three levels: bonding, bridging and linking social capital, each of which offers different kinds and amounts of resources. Bonding social capital refers to strong networks, shared norms and values, and it acts as a source of psychological strength. Due to its role as a community with strong ties and shared culture, norms, values and history, family can be considered a central source of this type of social capital. (Evergeti & Zontini 2006: 1028; Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004: 52, 66.) Besides acting as supportive element, bonding social capital may also turn to be restrictive, if family norms are rigid or tie (young)

individuals to certain patterns. Nevertheless, even though being experienced as a constraint by some, for the majority bonding social capital provided by family networks is used as a solid base from which to bridge out to new networks. (See also Holland et al. 2007.)

In contrast with the picture sometimes drawn about immigrant families as units restricting the lives of their young members and arenas for intergenerational conflicts, the data points more on direction of family as a unit with strong sense of mutual trust and support, providing an arena of learning, negotiating and renegotiating on cultural patterns, identities and everyday life practices. While the parents' influence on the well-being of children and young people as sources of support, spur and safety is of central importance, this study underlines also the active role that children and young people have in producing and maintaining social capital in their personal and family life. Deriving from their own resources, beliefs and values, all the parents in the data were offering their children emotional support, spurring them on in education and giving advices according to their best knowledge. Besides this, active and well-integrated parents may also provide their children for contacts and other social, cognitive or economic resources to reach further. This nevertheless requires information, understanding the workings of the receiving society, language skills and social networks. Thus it is the case in many families with immigration background, that the parents' ability to offer help and advice in practical level is somewhat limited. However, the children and young people show a remarkable capability to generate and utilize their own social networks in school and in recreational activities in order to gain knowledge, construct their identity and attain different memberships in the society.

The main stream of social capital literature considers children and young people predominantly passive recipients of benefits of parental social capital, rather than active producers or consumers in their own right. For example Putnam (2000) emphasises the importance of parental social capital, but ignores the influence of children's own networks and their ability to generate and utilise social capital. Additionally, many dominant writers fail to examine how young people utilise social capital as a resource in ethnic identity formation or indeed how ethnic identity is a product of social capital. However, the young people are active agents in the production of social capital and they use social capital as a social resource to negotiate transitions in their lives and the construction of identity. (Holland et al. 2007).

Prerequisites for Constructive Intergenerational Relations

Combining the two cultures proved to be a central topic of negotiations between the generations. Children's and young people's quick and thorough adopting of habits of the receiving society was sometimes experienced threatening by parents and caused therefore conflicts in some families. Even though the parents had in any case to accept certain changes in their children's behaviour and attitudes, it seemed to be that often the most constructive and harmonious parent-child-relationships prevailed in families in which the children and young people were in some extent fostering also elements or values of their (parents') cultures of origin. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001), children and young people who learn the language and culture of the new country without losing those of the old have much better understanding of their place in the world. They need not to clash with their parents as often or feel embarrassed by them because they are able to bridge the gap across generations and value their elders' traditions and goals.

Portes and Rumbaut are thus emphasising the benefits of so called selective acculturation, that is, the type of integration that allows people to preserve the ethnic identity of their culture of origin and habits attached to it while integrating in the mainstream society. While families or co-ethnic communities may encourage their children and young people in fostering both cultural traditions, socially and politically supportive environment for preserving features of the culture of origin is an important prerequisite as well. (Portes & Rumbaut 2001: 274–275). Thus it is a challenge for the receiving societies and their immigration policies, if they want to promote the well-being of immigrant families and enable them to preserve working intergenerational relations, to support attitude environment that allows and encourages also the preservation of immigrants' cultures of origin. For instance, in Finland the official integration policy has defined its objective integration just in this sense, as a process that enables immigrants to participate in the society and the labour market, while simultaneously being able to preserve their own culture and language (Integration Act 493/1999). Yet it remains under dispute how well these words manifest themselves in practice. According to Suurpää (2002: 50), immigrants paradoxically face simultaneously demands of both difference and similarity. While the right to preserving the culture of origin and its habits is not denied, exercising these is supposed to be restricted mostly to the private sphere (ibid. Lepola 2000: 211–216). Family may be the most central context for fostering the minority identity, but it would be worth discussing, how the receiving societies could be more open to accept difference in public sphere as well.

As is pointed out in the results of focus group interviews of INTERFACE-project as well, it is crucial to take into account the interrelatedness of individual family members' integration when considering the prerequisites of immigrant families' well being. It was illustrated by several family stories how the young family members, being best acquainted with the workings of receiving society and best equipped to act in it, carry many times responsibilities of progressing their parents' integration and indeed helping them to cope with everyday social situations. While responsible and helpful attitude towards one's parents can be considered a positive characteristics, in many cases the emotional, social and cognitive load carried by the young people seems enormous, taken into consideration their young age and other responsibilities and challenges they need to face also outside their homes. Also dissonant acculturation and role reversal may lead to withering away the parental authority and thus complicated intergenerational relations.

On these grounds, it is another challenge of receiving societies and their immigration policies to pay attention to that not only one or some of the family members would get contacts with the receiving society but all of them. If the parents do not properly know the environment they are living in, they are bound to be more poorly equipped to support and guide their children in the choices they need to make. While children and young people do have and create their own networks and resources, parental support remains nevertheless of central importance. For parents, employment is a central context to create social contacts, gain knowledge about the receiving society and a source of feelings of belonging and being valuable, and thus promoting the employment opportunities of immigrants is to be supported. Nevertheless, also the groups outside the work force, such as house wives and the elderly, require consideration and supportive and integrative measures according to their special needs (Mikkonen 2005).

References

Al-Ali, Nadje (2002): Loss of Status or New Opportunities? Gender Relations and Transnational Ties among Bosnian Refugees. In Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (eds.): The Transnational Family. New European Frontiers and Global Networks. Oxford: Berg, 83–102

Alitolppa-Niitamo, Anne (2001): Liminalities: expanding and constraining the options of Somali youth in the Helsinki metropolitan area. In Yearbook of Population Research in Finland XXXVIII. Helsinki: The Population Research Institute, 126–147

Alitolppa-Niitomo, Anne (2002): The Generation In-between: Somali Youth and Schooling in metropolitan Helsinki. Intercultural Education 13 (3): 275–290

Alitolppa-Niitamo, Anne (2003): Liminaalista jäsenyyteen. Somalinkielisten nuorten siirtymien haasteita. In Harinen (ed.) Kamppailuja jäsenyyksistä. Etnisyys, kulttuuri ja kansalaisuus nuorten arjessa. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto / Nuorisotutkimusseura, julkaisuja 38, 17–32

Alitolppa-Niitamo, Anne (2004): The Icebreakers. Somali-speaking Youth in Metropolitan Helsinki with a Focus on the Context of Formal Education. Publications of the Population Research Institute Series D 42/2004 Helsinki: Väestöliitto

Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (2002): Transnational Families in the Twenty-first Century. In Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (eds.): The Transnational Family. New European Frontiers and Global Networks. Oxford: Berg, 3–30

Edwards, Rosalind; Franklin, Jane & Holland, Janet (2003): Families and Social Capital: Exploring the Issues. Working paper, Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group. London: South Bank University

Erel, Umut (2002): Reconceptualizing Motherhood: Experiences of Migrant Women from Turkey Living in Germany. In Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (eds.): The Transnational Family. New European Frontiers and Global Networks. Oxford: Berg, 127–146

Evergeti, Venetia & Zontini, Elisabetta (2006): Introduction: Some critical reflections on social capital, migration and transnational families. Ethnic and Racial Studies 29 (6): 1025–1039

Harinen, Päivi; Suurpää, Leena; Hoikkala, Tommi; Hautaniemi, Petri; Perho, Sini; Keskisalo, Anne-Mari; Kuure, Tapio & Künnapuu, Krista (2005): Membership Contests: Encountering Immigrant Youth in Finland. Journal of Youth Studies 8 (3): 281–296

Hautaniemi, Petri (2004): Pojat! Somalipoikien kiistanalainen nuoruus Suomessa. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto / Nuorisotutkimusseura, julkaisuja 41

Honkasalo, Veronika; Harinen, Päivi & Anttila, Reetta (2007): Yhdessä vai yksin erilaisina? Monikulttuuristen nuorten arkea, ajatuksia ja ajankäyttöä. Nuorisotutkimusseura/Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, verkkojulkaisuja 15. http://www.nuorisotutkimusseura.fi/julkaisuja/erilaisina.pdf [visited 14.12.2007]

Holland, Janet; Reynolds, Tracey & Weller, Susie (2007): Transitions, Networks and Communities: The Sginficance of Social Capital in the Lives of Children and Young People. Journal of Youth Studies 10 (1): 97–116

Honkatukia, Päivi & Suurpää, Leena (2007): Nuorten miesten monikulttuurinen elämänkulku ja rikollisuus. Helsinki: Oikeuspoliittinen tutkimuslaitos, julkaisuja 232 & Nuorisotutkimusseura / Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, julkaisuja 80

Huttunen, Laura (2002): Kotona, maanpaossa, matkalla. Kodin merkitykset maahanmuuttajien omaelämäkerroissa. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura

Integration Act 493/1999. Act on the integration of immigrants and reception of asylum seekers 493/1999

Jasinskaja-Lahti, Inga (2000): Psychological Acculturation and Adaptation among Russian-speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/val/sosps/vk/jasinskaja-lahti/psycholo.pdf [visited 1.2.2007]

Lauglo, Jon (2000): Social Capital Trumping Class and Cultural Capital? Engagement with School among Immigrant Youth. In Baron, Stephen; Field, John & Schuller, Tom (eds.): Social Capital. Critical Perspectives. New York: Oxford University Press, 142–167

Lepola, Outi (2000): Ulkomaalaisesta suomenmaalaiseksi. Monikulttuurisuus, kansalaisuus ja suomalaisuus 1990-luvun maahanmuuttopoliittisessa keskustelussa. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura

Liebkind, Karmela & Jasinskaja-Lahti, Inga (2000): Nuorten maahanmuuttajien hyvinvointiin vaikuttavat tekijät. In Liebkind (ed.): Monikulttuurinen Suomi. Etniset suhteet tutkimuksen valossa. Helsinki:Gaudeamus, 112–123

Liebkind, Karmela; Mannila, Simo, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Inga; Jaakkola, Magdalena; Kyntäjä, Eve & Reuter, Anni (2004): Venäläinen, virolainen, suomalainen. Kolmen maahanmuuttajaryhmän kotoutuminen Suomeen. Helsinki: Gaudeamus

Marjeta, Maarit (2001): Äidit ja tyttäret kahdessa kulttuurissa. Somalinaiset, perhe ja muutos. Sosiologian laitoksen julkaisuja 4. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto

Martikainen, Tuomas & Tiilikainen, Marja (2007): Käsitteet, tutkimus ja haasteet. In Martikainen, Tuomas & Tiilikainen, Marja (eds.): Maahanmuuttajanaiset: Kotoutuminen, perhe ja työ. Väestöntutkimuslaitoksen julkaisusarja, D46/2007. Helsinki: Väestöliitto, 15–37

Mikkonen, Anna (2005): Työttömät ja työvoiman ulkopuolella olevat maahanmuuttajat: kokemuksia kotouttamistoiminnasta. In Alitolppa-Niitamo, Anne; Söderling, Ismo & Fågel, Stina (eds.): Olemme muuttaneet. Näkökulmia maahanmuuttoon, perheiden kotoutumiseen ja ammatillisen työn käytäntöihin. Helsinki: Väestöliitto

Niemelä, Heli (2003): Erottautumista ja ystävyyttä. Somalialaistyttöjen käsityksiä ja kokemuksia suomalaisista tytöistä. In Harinen, Päivi (ed.) Kamppailuja jäsenyyksistä. Etnisyys, kulttuuri ja kansalaisuus nuorten arjessa. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto /Nuorisotutkimusseura, julkaisuja 38, 91–121

Pels, Trees & de Haan, Mariëtte (2007): Socialization practices of Moroccan families after migration. A reconstruction in an 'acculturative arena'. Young 15 (1): 71–89

Pentikäinen, Marja (2005): Loputon matka. Vietnamilaisten ja somalialaisten kertomuksia pakolaisuudesta. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 274. Helsinki: Työministeriö

Perhoniemi, Riku & Jasinskaja-Lahti, Inga (2006): Maahanmuuttajien kotoutuminen pääkaupunkiseudulla. Seurantatutkimus vuosilta 1997–2004. Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskuksen tutkimuksia 2006:2. Helsinki: Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus

Portes, Alejandro & Rumbaut, Rubén G. (2001): Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation. Berkeley: University of California Press, Russell Sage Foundation

Rastas, Anna (2002): Katseilla merkityt, silminnähden erilaiset. Lasten ja nuorten kokemuksia rodullistavista katseista. Nuorisotutkimus 20:3, 3–17

Rastas, Anna (2007): Rasismi lasten ja nuorten arjessa. Transnationaalit juuret ja monikulttuuristuva Suomi. Tampere: Tampere University Press, Nuorisotutkimusverkosto/Nuorisotutkimusseura

Suárez-Orozco, Carola & Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M. (2001): Children of Immigration. Cambrige: Harvard University Press

Suurpää, Leena (2002): Erilaisuuden hierarkiat. Suomalaisia käsityksiä maahanmuuttajista, suvaitsevaisuudesta ja rasismista. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto / Nuorisotutkimusseura, julkaisuja 28

Tiilikainen, Marja (2003): Arjen islam. Somalinaisten elämää Suomessa. Tampere: Vastapaino

Tolonen, Tarja (2001): Nuorten kulttuurit koulussa. Ääni, tila ja sukupuolten arkiset järjestykset. Helsinki: Gaudeamus

Vuorela, Ulla (2002): Transnational Families: Imagined and Real Communities. In Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (eds.): The Transnational Family. New European Frontiers and Global Networks. Oxford: Berg, 63–82

Internal Family Relations

Pavel Bareš

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to highlight the most important influences of migration on family relations. The migration experience is often difficult to bear even for an individual migrant. Though the family should be of help in this regard, it does bring up a host of other issues. Moreover, the family itself and the relationships between its members are also heavily influenced by migration.

Information gathered in the course of the research suggests that a large number of the impacts of the migration experience on family relations are crucial both for the family as a whole and its individual members. Thus changes in family relations are of great importance with regard to the integration processes, be it considered from the family or individual perspective. Consequently, such changes should be reflected by the receiving society or at least by those institutions interested in migration and integration issues.

During the research a whole range of such influences were detected for several of which references and analysis can be found in existing literature. The family is often the focal point for the study of intergenerational relations (among others e.g. Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Suaréz & Suaréz 2001). However there are many other areas in which the individual migrant is concentrated upon but which should also be (and in the case of certain authors already is) considered with regard to the family and internal relationships. Scientific authors often discuss the values or preferences of migrants or family members (Hoffman & Hoffman 1973) or their level of interaction both with the majority and the relevant ethnic community (Nauck 2001). Particular attention is also devoted to the role of the extended family or relatives (Nauck 2007), social capital (among others Lauglo 2000, Edwards et al. 2003; Evergeti & Zontini 2006; Holland et al. 2007) and (trans-national) networks (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002). All these areas are strongly interrelated and authors therefore often consider them together or analyze the ties between them (Hoffman & Hoffman 1973; Lauglo 2000; Nauck 2001; Nauck 2007 etc.).

The relevance of most of these issues (with the exception of intergenerational relations) with regard to internal relations is somewhat secondary and they are discussed primarily from the sociological perspective. Therefore the vast majority of papers on these issues analyse the relationship between the migrant and society rather than the impact on the family unit.

This chapter, however, concerns internal family relations and a whole range of aspects related to migration will be touched upon from this point of view. Thus this chapter will include information on the relationships between family members and their relatives. The issues of social capital and networks will be discussed in more detail separately in a later chapter. The issues of values and intergenerational relationships have already been discussed in the previous chapter and therefore will not be included here.

2. Methodology

The analysis includes data from almost all family summaries synthesized in the INTERFACE project. The reason for this was the fact that all the families questioned held information relevant to the two questions and the nature of this information was so varied that it was desirable not to limit too much the criteria for selecting cases. Moreover, no straightforward criterion existed for the selection of a more limited number of cases. Only 2 families from Germany, one from Finland and one from Belgium were excluded; these did not correspond exactly to all the requirements set out in the INTERFACE project for the selection of those questioned, or more detailed information on them was obtained only later.

The following information was monitored in the family summaries:

1. The way the family was formed, the migration strategies and experiences of migration as key factors significantly influencing the definition of the family, its functioning and relations between its members.
2. The connection between the functioning of the family and relations within the family.
3. The intensity and character of relations between both of the partners.
4. The intensity and character of relations between parents and children, or between parents and grandparents.
5. The intensity and character of relations within the extended family and between members of the nuclear and extended family.
6. The differing value preferences of family members and their connection to relations within the family.
7. The connections between internal relations between family members and how the family, or its individual members communicate externally, perceive the surrounding environment, what attitude they take towards it, and how they in reality operate within it (including integration strategies).

The groups of themes given can often not be strictly separated out in the analysis, since they are not straightforwardly defined and can blend into each other. The reason for this is the differing nature of the individual groups of information and their focus on different aspects of internal relations within the family:

- The first two groups of information capture relations within the family at the most general level. These focus on situational characteristics and on the situation within the *family as a whol*e. They can also be concerned with circumstances which have significantly affected relations between family members, the overall atmosphere within the family as well as those relations between individual family members which substantially affect the functioning of the entire family.
- The subject of the next three groups of information is a *particular family member, or several members*, where each group is focussed on different groups of members from the *point of view of their family links*. Relations within the family may in this case affect only those family members, but need not influence the nature of relationships within the family as a whole. But in this case as well they can illustrate certain specific features of migrant families, either in the area of partner relations, generational relations (of which more in a separate chapter) or the significance of the extended family.
- The last two groups of information concern *the subjects or areas* which influence relations within the family, or between its members. In many cases then, the information discovered on the formation or functioning of a family or on relations between its

members also contained information on the significance of the value preferences of family members and on their relationship to the surrounding environment. This information of course appeared in the conversations not only in connection with the earlier groups of information, but also independently. However, in this kind of case they very often had a significant impact on internal relations within the family and were therefore reflected. Analysis of this information will, nonetheless, be limited to an outline of the characteristics of its influence on internal relations. A detailed description of these two areas will be left aside since it goes beyond the remit of this chapter. However many related details can be found in those chapters which focus more intensively on relations between the family and the surrounding environment and in the chapter devoted to intergenerational relations in which the value issue is also discussed.

Within the framework of each group of information all passages which captured one or other of these aspects were gathered together. In the event that a passage (or part of it) corresponded to more than one group, it was included in each of them. To each passage was attached the identification number of the family in which it was recorded and specific categories created especially for the first five monitored groups of information (a list is given in the Appendix). The brief characteristic was assigned to each category according to the respective passage.

The analysis of internal relations of migrant families included in the following text consisted of four steps: The first three steps contained a comparison of the appearance of those values dealt with by a certain category, the assessment of significant tendencies covered by this (and where relevant any associated category as well), and a description of the more general characteristic of the migrant families based on these information. The fourth step was to select one or more passages which illustrated the knowledge gathered from the relevant category (categories).

All the above groups of information are without doubt important in analysing internal relations in the family. However, as mentioned above, the influence of value preferences and that of the impact of the surrounding environment on family relations exceeds the content of this chapter and their role will be outlined only in general. The issue of intergenerational relations has already been discussed in detail and therefore only selected aspects of it will be mentioned. Information on the influence of relatives will concern primarily internal family relations.

Therefore this chapter will focus mainly on the first two areas, since the principal aim of this chapter is to determine the internal relations of migrant families as a whole. However, the majority of the findings and selected examples do not of course concern only one of the groups of information being monitored. For this reason information on gender aspects, the personal preferences of family members or information on the influence of the local environment on internal relations can all be recorded within the framework of analysing the information gained for other subject groups.

3. The Dynamics Between Family Members

Relations between family members develop dynamically and are not to be understood as static (compare. Watzlawick et al. 1968, Matoušek 1993, Nakonečný 1999). The extent of this *dynamic* is of course individual and between those questioned there was a difference in the frequency of information on the current form of these relations, their growth and the

circumstances which promote this growth. The interviews did indeed often illustrate the relationship dynamic very clearly, nevertheless a major part of the information tended to capture either past or current situation.

> Youngest daughter: "I haven't seen him [her brother] for three years. I entered, he was playing with his play-station (...) I entered, he hardly looked up - because it was very closed - he had grown so, I don't know, so distant, he said hello, like that - I was so happy to see him, I'd have liked to jump on him, and he says 'hello' (she lowers her voice while saying 'Hello'), and that's all. He had changed his voice, he stood up, I could hardly recognize him, he truly wasn't the child I left anymore … I was so disappointed, I tell you". (I-36 Romania)

In addition to the often significant dynamic of the relations between family members an important role was also played by the *time interval* between the key events and the date when the conversation took place.

> Mother: "At the moment my children arrived, it was hard. It was always difficult. They did not listen to me. They hold against many things. Always they got angry, if I asked to do something. They slept. I became very angry. At the beginning I said to myself, ok I am the mother, I have to do certain things, but I became upset about this. I went to work and after I had to do the whole housework alone. They had only intention to study.".[…]
> Daughter: "The nice thing is, yes, we had problems, difficulties, but at the moment somebody needs help, we are all close to each other. Even we were separated for many years,…, if something happens, we hold all together. …If somebody needs help, everybody will help, nobody is making an exception. We are all together. This is a nice thing. …" (I-32 Peru)

4. The Family as a System Of Interactions and the Significance of Migration

According to the terminology of system theory, the system is composed of individual interacting elements the functioning of which depends both on the nature of the individual elements and their organization. Therefore the system is more than the sum of its parts (Matoušek 1993: 66). Attention here is therefore primarily devoted to the family unit (i.e. to the characteristics of the system). However the individual characteristics of family members (elements of this system) are often relevant since they constitute the family nature of many family interactions. For this reason, we shall also briefly comment on the influence of migration on the individual. Firstly, it is worth clarifying the relationship between these two aspects in general and important to point out the significance of migration for family relations.

Witte (1989), according to Nakonečný (1999: 11-12) distinguishes four different systems in which psychological and social aspects interact:

- individual system (personality characterized by its inner structure and dynamics),
- micro system (matrimony, family, peers etc.),
- mezzo system (specific institutions: schools, businesses etc.) and
- macro system (abstract organizational settings: legislation, policy, education etc.).

If we focus on the family unit, the first system constitutes the *internal interactions* within the family; the latter two reflect the family's *external interactions*. Certain systems of interaction at the mezzo system level should, from the family perspective, refer to internal interaction (matrimony, family), others to external interaction (peers, neighbours, friends etc.).

The distinction between internal and external interaction should not be strictly differentiated since both these aspects are closely cross-connected and in some cases can also represent mutual opposites which can clash together and cast in the family relations more dynamics.

There is a whole series of factors affecting the functioning of a family and migration experience is only one of them. In the following text we will indeed be concentrating on migration, while of course being aware that in many respects entirely other circumstances are the defining factor. In researching migration influences we cannot of course limit ourselves only to the impact of *migration itself* (the nature and course of the migration, the specific residence status of the migrants) on internal relations within the family, we need also to consider the influences linked to *experiences and customs* from the country of origin and *post-migration influences*, i.e. influences growing out of the need to adapt to the new environment.

The internal dynamic of family relations and experiences and customs from the country of origin should be perceived as *primary* and would be present in the family even if it did not resettle. But in spite of this they can be very markedly influenced by migration and should not therefore be put to one side. Experience of migration and post-migration influences are *secondary*, and were brought about only by migration itself.

The nature of relations in the family naturally cannot be linked only to this or that group of factors, its form is determined to a greater or less extent by all of them. The significance of individual groups of factors also varies between those questioned and can change with time.

5. The Impact of Migration On Individual and Family

Different systems of the way an individual interacts are not isolated and frequently there are relationships between them. Therefore an analysis of the impacts of the migration experience (according to the above broader concept) on the family unit should commence with at least a short consideration of the influence of migration on individual migrants. In other words, an analysis of the impacts of migration on one element of the system should precede an analysis of the system as a whole.

Various social and psychological influences have been discussed in literature dealing with migration. However, as this is not the main concern of this paper, the following text will concern only those influences which concern the migrant's identity and the consequences for their positioning within the host society and which could, at the same time, be of relevance to the family system.

According to Nakonečný (1999: 13), "Every social psychological empirical finding is related among others to a particular cultural environment, because there are culturally specific social situations and values which have their manifestations in a person's experience and behaviour. All in all, education within the family tends to teach the child to live in a particular cultural environment, to adopt particular roles and to conform to norms and standards which are common; each society has a specific arrangement, holds particular rules, moral codices which regulate human coexistence, whether unwritten in the case of less developed societies or written in some cases in western societies."

Nakonečný (1998: 32-33) further clarifies the nature of the socialization process in general and the process of imprinting particular cultural patterns: "The influence of culture on an individual's personality is mediated by the social experience which he gains from interaction from early childhood. The influence of family education is the most important factor as has been empirically proven by many researchers. [...] Family education introduces a child to the cultural environment in which it grows. [...] The influence of culture, mediated through social interaction, forms a base for the socialization process, i.e. a process in which the child grows into the conditions of a specific cultural environment. [...] The child adopts cultural habits which are appropriate for the respective cultural environment through this process (so-called decent behaviour, daily routine, hygiene or dealing with daily issues), gathers a knowledge of values and customs, assumes the roles expected of it according to gender or age, becomes familiar with the native tongue and other human characteristics (typical patterns of perception, thinking, feeling and behaviour for the respective culture). Consequently, the personality of the individual is influenced by the media, school, peers and clubs to which the individual might belong or, later, the workplace, church, political organization etc. To sum up, the key agent in this regard is social experience gained within the framework of the respective culture (e.g. western), subculture (e.g. middle-European or metropolitan) and in general through interpersonal relationships."

The above mentioned comments would seem to make it obvious why some authors (Szaló 2002: 179) consider migration as a situation in which people cross, at one moment, through territorial, social and cultural borders. This fact is of great importance in terms of the migrant's identity (ibidem: 180). According to Szaló (2002: 181) "these processes of secondary socialization and alternation are inserted into the interpersonal reality of everyday life and social structure" (the author considers these terms according to Berger & Luckmann 1999). Szaló also adds that "a strategic construction of reality takes place firstly at the level of reflexive personal identity and secondly at the level of social identity, which is an output of institutional classification and acknowledgment in the interpersonal area" (2002: 184).

According to Witte (1989; quoted according to Nakonečný 1999: 70) "the social development of an individual tends towards 'maintaining his identity'". Therefore, secondary socialization or alternation introduce an individual to an insecure situation and could have a serious impact on individual personal integrity (Szaló 2002: 187). However, conception of self as well as personal integrity comes into play. In this regard Nakonečný (1998) considers other relevant socio-psychological factors such a consonance of attitudes and behaviour, cognitive dissonance, congruency and change in attitudes as well as the mechanisms which might maintain or restore psychological equilibrium. Some of these factors refer to both intra- and inter-personal issues and balancing mechanisms in both these areas. The strategies adopted in order to maintain or restore psychological equilibrium thus influence not only the individual system, but interactions within the micro system (Nakonečný 1999 : 179 – 214, 243), mezzo system and macro system (ibid.: 257).

[In a Vietnamese family] the father was already well adapted to the Czech environment by the time of the arrival of his wife and son, but the environment remains foreign for the wife even today. In spite of this the father still feels that the family background is not adequate so far: members of the family have no time for each other and in the event of difficulties they cannot turn to relatives and people around them will help only occasionally. The father would like to remain in the Czech Republic in spite of concerns over keeping his job because of the language and his age. He does not wish to return home because of tense relations with his relatives. Before arriving the mother had had no contact with the Czech Republic. Arriving here meant many changes for her. For the mother the greatest barrier were the cultural differences, the different way of thinking. She was unable to do her job as a teacher, was unemployed, did not speak the language and according to the son, this caused the family to "turn in on itself". The mother

would like to return home to her relatives. But she wants to stay here for the time being for the sake of the children, until her sons can be independent – the parents assume that the sons will complete their studies and find employment here, where the conditions for this are better. The elder son moves between his mother's world (still linked to their country of origin) and his father's world (in spite of certain difficulties embedded in Czech society). He understands both his parents' positions and it is clear from many of his statements that he is a powerful unifying element for the family. The son has the feeling that his mother will return to Vietnam with the younger son and he will become independent, and that his father will stay on also. (CR-54 Vietnam)8

Consequently, secondary socialization and alternation increase the risk of role conflicts. Both migrants and members of the majority will manifest a low level of identification with certain roles or experience a clash of differing roles (Nakonečný 1998: 18-19; Nakonečný 1999: 71, 232). However, certain roles which migrants become accustomed to in the country of origin do not "fit" the new environment. At the same time, they are often (at least at the beginning) not familiar with the "appropriate" roles expected of them.

With regard to the role issue, the distinction employed by Hartmut Esser (see in: Nauck 2007: 468) of four basic strategies according to the migrant's attitude to the culture of the receiving country and the culture of the country of origin is helpful:

- integration, where the migrant adopts the new culture while preserving the old culture to some extent,
- assimilation, where the migrant abandons the culture of the country of origin and becomes a indistinguishable member of the majority,
- segregation, where the migrant maintains the culture of the country of origin and minimizes contact with the new culture, and
- marginalization where the migrant loses contact with the culture of the country of origin without adopting the culture of the receiving country.

This distinction is applicable if one considers a migrant's general relations to the two cultures s/he experiences. If one considers the role issue, the subject becomes more complicated and it is no longer simply to apply this scheme. Moreover, many new roles are associated with the migration experience as a whole, and have nothing to do either with the country of origin or the receiving country. However, the scheme points out at least that a migrant's strategies for dealing with the role conflict are, when compared to members of the majority, more complicated and cannot be seen merely in terms of the rejection or adoption of or accommodation to a certain role. Therefore the solutions a migrant finds to the role conflict are likely to be more diverse. And undoubtedly one family member's approach to the role conflict often greatly influences other family members and the way in which the family functions.

The variety of situations and approaches to the need for role change was apparent in the research sample, however not only "creative" approaches were discovered in this regard; many impacts on the family could also be assessed positively (e. g. stronger bonds). However the possible influence of the length of stay in the receiving countries of the families being interviewed should be borne in mind. Therefore many families have already had the opportunity to deal with the issues involved and find an approach which is both successful and acceptable for them. The division of the roles of men and women is a particularly exemplary case, in which one can see the interplay between the individual and the family system and observe its crucial importance for the future of the marriage.

---

[8] All excerpts are taken from the family story summaries.

The 17-year old son [of a family from Belarus] felt that the family's standard of living had declined since emigrating. When he grew up in Belorussia the material side of his life was perfectly taken care of (the family had a chauffeur, cleaner, nurse), they had seaside holidays. Not only did he lose this level of benefits, but he also had to undertake responsibilities at home and in looking after siblings. Nevertheless changes also took place in the family's self-perception and in their interactions: the family came more together, the level of trust and mutual respect between family members improved. In early stages of mother's career her older son was also a great help. Because of her still imperfect Czech he translated for his mother (he was 12 years old then) texts from Russian to Czech, he was therefore an indispensable part of the process of incorporation of his mother into an employment sphere. The husband also describes his situation in the initial period in the CR as very difficult. Because his wife found work earlier than he, he stayed at home with children on a parent leave. The mother of the family illustrated the possible impact of the change of the roles of men and women on the partners' relationship in families of people coming from countries of the former Soviet Union: „When I look at families which were in Belarus and then came here, the role of a woman is much greater than it was in Belarus. Let's say more marked, because the fact that a woman is the foundation of a family or home was not so visible there. When a family comes here the first stress of coming to a foreign country is borne by women, and not easily at all. It's more that they have more responsibilities or concerns, they just don't have time to think about it: 'Lord, I've been there somebody, now I'm completely down here, and so on…' They have to take care of the children, feed them, make sure they're all right, take them to school, to the doctor. They have more responsibilities. And that's why they integrate better into life here. Then they start climbing the social ladder. Women quite often achieve greater success. And then things start to grate in the family, because the men cannot follow. They can't manage and then certain conflicts begin, and I know a couple of families where they broke up because of this. Because a woman has achieved something, she has a certain standing. And the man is still there where he was" (CR-53 Belarus)

[In a family from Kenya] the mother considered this to be a major problem behind many divorces in immigrant families: the women adopted the emancipative elements of the new culture, whereas men were in many cases reluctant to accept these. Nevertheless, she thought that immigrant men were making progress and learning to participate to housework, even though this was a slow process. (FI-42 Kenya)

In the case of migrants, and especially refugees, the occurrence of post-traumatic stress syndrome should be considered (Metody sociální práce simigranty, azylanty a jejich dětmi 2008: 51 - 71). This factor again might influence the lives both of the migrant and his family (ibid. 66 – 67). The research unearthed many references to personal trauma with different causes and impacts on the individuals and families in the sample. They often inter-depended to some extent with the migration experience, be it caused by migration itself (e.g. the political causes of migration in the case of refugees) or its various consequences (e.g. experience exploitation). A case of domestic violence was also recorded which was not connected with migration.

The research discovered cases both where the consequences of the trauma in the life of the migrant or his family were still present at the time of interview and where the migrant had managed to deal with it successfully. Traumatic experiences frequently influenced relations within the family; traumatic experiences of one family member were found often to be shared by the whole family or by the parents.

[In a family from Sri Lanka] both parents had left for Greece in 1989, leaving the son in the grandmother's care in Sri Lanka. In 1990 they moved to Italy. The father returned in 1995 to Sri Lanka to take care of the older son who in the meantime had suffered from a feeling of being nobody's son: he had been looked after by four different carers (in the first period, his grandmother, then by his aunt followed by his mother's cousin and finally by another aunt). Before the father's return, the son was either neglected, directly abused, or suffered from other carer failures - there was a lack of supervision (while he stayed with the first aunt), he was abandoned and left to sleep on the floor (mother's cousin) and verbally and physically abused (the last stay). The elder son remembers a strong feeling of anger when he arrived and up to today he blames his parents for his suffering. As a reaction to the psychological stress at home, the elder son created his own protection, in which the attitudes indifference and disrespect towards his

parents are his arms to provide a small peace of calm within their one-room apartment, in order to be able to cultivate his computer passion. Until he found Italian friendships, his computer was for a long time his only friend. Elder son: "…I am the failed experiment of my parents. … I don't speak English and so I don't have future in any other place than in Italy…". He admits his jealousy in confront to his brother, for whom his parents provide everything and whom they never left alone, pointing out that if his parents had really wanted that he would have learned English, they could have send him in a private school in Sri Lanka, instead of have moved him from one relative to another and from one public school to another. In fact his jealously is overshadowing the relationship to his little brother and A. admits that only in few moments without the presence of their parents, they stay well together. (I-40 Sri Lanka)

[In a family from Angola] the mother decided to move to Belgium because her husband was assassinated and she was scared for her life as well as for her daughter's. She met her new husband in Belgium and they had two own children. Their cohabitation seems to be very smooth. (BE-77 Angola)

[In a family from Iran] the single most relevant factor affecting on the inside relations was the father of the children, former husband of the mother. Being violent and diagnosed mentally ill, the father had caused continuously distress and anxiety for both the mother and the children. They had been forced to seek help from social welfare services and refuges, which nevertheless had not been able to fully solve the problem. According to the Finnish law, the couple had been divorced already for nine years. The former husband nevertheless leans on the Iranian law, according to which they are still married. The situation cast shadow over many aspects of the family's life, which was strongly stated by the mother and the daughter. The daughter (speaking about the family situation and her father, mother's former husband): "Well, that is… I cannot say straight away, because the school is fine, and… otherwise, but, like, that thing [her father] anyway is a big load in my life. That even though… I can't say it's really good. Because, somehow, even though otherwise everything is fine, then… on the other hand, that thing, it affects our life so much. […] Anyway, you have this kind of continuous… you have to think about it and all, then, it's really hard. "The problems related to domestic violence were, nevertheless, not due to immigration only, as the mother emphasized, but the mental illness of the husband. As the mother stated, the kinds of problems she had experienced are present in the lives of many Finnish women as well. (FI-45 Iran)

Interaction between the individual system and the family system works both ways; the impacts of migration on the individual can have secondary impacts on the family and vice versa, the latter of which involves principally certain psychological impacts often connected with changes in family roles. A further important issue involved the possibility of legalizing the status of a family member for family reasons.

The father's Congolese wife had a very bad time when she arrived in Belgium. She missed her country of origin a lot and she did not understand why her husband had met another woman. She almost wanted to go back but finally she accepted to stay especially for her children. In Democratic Republic of Congo she was the one dealing with everything concerning the children. But here, as she did not know anything about the society she had to rely on her husband's choices for almost everything. During almost 7 years she was the only one taking care of the kids, deciding what was good or bad for them, and over one day, she had become so ignorant about the habits and ways around society in Belgium that she felt disempowered. She felt depressed for almost a year. She recovered a few months ago and started working. She had always worked in her life. The father, with full support of his family (family with Algerian background; F Be-68) decided to take the opportunity to legalise his situation even though he had not been in Belgium for a long time (only one year). The regularisation of father was not an individual action but the result of a family mobilisation. Following the advices of the family's lawyer, Abdel decided to apply pleading the "strong social ties" criterion. (BE-73 Democratic Republic of Congo)

6. Composition of the Family and Its Changes Caused by Migration

The *composition of the family, its formation and definition* (who is perceived to be a family member) is influenced by a whole series of facts and can therefore be very diverse in the majority population as well (compare Možný 1990, Matoušek 1993, Možný 2006). Migration and experiences linked to it are however a factor which can contribute very significantly to their changes and changes in these characteristics as a result of migration and experiences linked to it can be very fundamental. Even when the family was founded in the host country and its members have lived in it all the time, migration is projected into the definition of the family, when the family is de facto reduced to the nuclear family, more or less isolated from the extended family (if we overlook the few examples of the resettlement of an entire extended family).[9]

So in comparison with the majority population the families of migrants have certain differences and also a higher variability in terms of composition, method of formation as well as definition of family. Kofman (2004: 246–247) differentiates three types of family migration: family reunification, resettlement of the entire family and family formation. The last case involves either the child of migrants bringing a spouse from the parents' homeland or diasporic space or a permanent resident or citizen bringing a partner they have met while abroad for the purposes of work, study or holiday. In addition to such types of family migration it is necessary to consider cases in which the family was founded in the receiving country by migrants who had migrated separately.

In families already founded before resettlement (and particularly in those in which individual family members do not all resettle at the same time) migration has an impact on the functioning of the family and not just on the individual life paths of members of a family founded in the host country. An exception are of course those cases when a child born in the host country is sent by its parents to the country of origin and raised there by grandparents or by other relatives. However it should be taken into account that the distinction between families founded in the host country and families founded in the country of origin was not always unambiguous: be it the case of interviews in families where a new marriage had taken place in the host country or the interviewed family consisted of two generations living together where the grandparents (or parents) founded the family in the country of origin, and the parents (or children) founded it in the host country.

Concerning the *family composition,* at the time of interviews the mother was alone in sixteen out of the 77 families (21% of the cases). But has already been noted, the arrangements of a great number of families have changed in a very dynamic manner. Both in the case of families in which both parents were present at the time of interviews and in families where only the mother was present at the time of interviews, this situation could be reversed within only a few months. A different situation could also apply sometimes in the previous migration history of the family.

---

[9] The concepts of trans-nationalism and trans-national families have been considered in recent works (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002, Kofman 2004: 244, Nešpor 2007: 21-22). According to these concepts, globalization processes and related issues such as higher mobility, higher availability of ICT or the diminishing role of national states for its inhabitants makes migration and even the separation experience more bearable for migrants or they perceive it as no burden at all. Family members therefore live in fact separately, however do not necessarily consider it to be family separation. However such a "conciliated" approach is present only in a small number of families or even only in individual family members. We should not generalize since separation is mainly still perceived as having a considerable impact on the family. For many respondents in the samply this was one of their most traumatic experiences.

It was indicated above that the development of partner relations is determined on the one hand by its own dynamic, but also by migration and the impact that it has. Families in which only one parent was active at the time of interviews thus included both mothers as breadwinners and temporary separation of the partners. At the same time the collapse of partner relations should be both connected with migration and with other reasons as well. Part of those families with two parents was made up of families founded with a new partner. And finally, families with both partners included both families of partners who had been living together for several years, and families in which each partner earlier lived for a relatively long time in another country.

In some families in which only the mother was present, the partners still maintained contact. These were families in which the partners were separated at the time of interviews and families in which the partners maintained good relations even after their divorce. The children of mothers as breadwinners were in touch with their father from time to time.

> The father continued to stay in Ukraine; as the mother [living in Italy] explains, he "never wanted to move to Italy in search for a job [because] we did not want to loose our ties with our country. Since four people in our family were out already, we feared that, should my husband, too, move, then we would have closed [the relationship] with our country, with our fatherland". Such decision was nevertheless costly for the whole family and particularly for wife and husband, whose relationship was decisively affected by it, although even in such circumstance they succeeded in viewing it not only as a privation, as the daughter points out: "I believe that mum and daddy do suffer a bit from living apart. It weighs on them. On the other hand, this makes their relationship so…" (Mother, laughing): "…Juvenile!" (Daughter, laughing): "… And then, each time they meet each other it's always honeymoon for them. It's the elixir of their happiness! They love each other very much". (I-41 Ukraine)

> [In a family from Poland] the mother and her husband got divorced because of the very bad conditions they were forced to live in. To still love each other in such conditions, the relationship needs to be very strong and theirs prove not to be. They still get on well with each other. Another reason that made them separate is the fact that they did not share the same conceptions on how to live in Belgium. While she wanted to live away from Polish circles and was very much concerned about improving her French, he was satisfied with a smattering of French and stayed only with Polish people. Moreover, the migration process provoked some changes about their relationship. Whereas in Poland, she used to rely on him, in Belgium she became the one dealing with the host society institutions and he became very dependant of her. (BE-67 Poland)

> [In a family from Turkey] mother avoids contact with her ex-husband, but she supports that her children see their father regularly, "so they can get their own opinion on him." (DE-17 Turkey)

In the host country the family was either founded without the prior experience of partners with family life, or a new family was founded after the division or break-up of a family founded early, where the children from the earlier marriage were often brought up together with the children of the new marriage. The final form was the foundation of a family in the host country by descendants of migrants.

The parents of three families founded in the host country sent their children for financial reasons for a time to their country of origin (children from 14 families founded in the country of origin lived apart from both parents for a period). The children from these three families recounted many happy experiences from childhood and considered their childhood to have been beautiful, though they suffered from difficult material conditions in comparison with western standards. However in two of the families, the children regretted that their parents had been abroad at some time or they missed the relatives who had brought them up in lieu of

their parents. A further negative impact was said to be a feeling of distance from their parents. In both these families, the relationship between the children and parents recovered.

> The migration of the family [from Turkey to Germany] started in 1966 when the grandfather followed the German call for workers. The couple made the decision after the grandfather realised that women workers were sought in Germany. She found a job in 1969 in a fish factory. The couple's first daughter, N. was born the same year, a son followed in 1970. Because the couple had to work and there were no nurseries, the little children were sent back to the village in Turkey where their relatives looked after them. When a second daughter was born in 1972, the little children returned to Germany with their Turkish aunt, who was living with the family and looked after the small children. When the aunt's visa ran out, she returned to Turkey with the children, where they lived in the village again. This lasted until 1975, when N. was six years old and was supposed to go to school. She then returned to Germany with her little brother. So this shuttle migration of the children between Germany and Turkey continued for several years. It was only when the decision was made to sent the children to school in Germany the afore temporary migration of the grandparent generation became permanent. The interviewed mother N., first born daughter of the couple, remembers her childhood in Turkey as very happy. She loved being in the village in Turkey, where she could spend the day outside, playing at the river. She says that in her first years she called her mother and father in Germany "aunt" and "uncle", her grandparents in Turkey were "Mum" and "Dad" and her 12 uncles and aunts in the Turkish village were her siblings, she believed. She tells the story how there was no electricity in the village, how in the evening people would sit together and tell stories. Compared to that, she explains, she did not enjoy spending time with her real parents in Germany: Her mother was strict, compared to village life, she had to go to bed at a certain time and could not run around outside for as long as she wanted. Concerning her time in the village, she says today, she feels very lucky and happy to have had such a beautiful childhood. Also, she feels happy that she has such close relationships with her uncles and aunts: Every time she visits them, she says, they can sit together and laugh about the crazy things they did together in the village when they were kids (like: swim in the river naked, etc.). She recalls that when she was about to get divorced from her Turkish husband, her father supported her: "Even before I decided to get divorced he said to me: Get divorced, if you are not happy. I was so glad to hear that. He said I don't need a man to protect me, that I can protect myself. I was so happy to hear that he trusted me." She thinks her father realised that he brought her up in a good way, as a responsible person. Now they have a very good relationship, she says. (DE-17 Turkey)

Separation had varying impacts on each child. The age of the child was a key factor; however the dynamics of the relations between the child and its parents, between the child and the guardian and between the siblings were also important. In the case of the family with a Philippines background in Italy (F It-35, Philippine) the two first children were sent back to the country of origin. The younger boy had no memories from the separation period, but he was more emotionally connected to his guardians than to his parents. The elder son had weak memories of this period, however, when their parents were thinking of whether to send back their third child too, he opposed the idea telling them that *"You know it is very hard without mum and dad"*.

In families *founded in the country of origin* a key question often was whether the family moved all at the same time or whether only one or some of the family members resettled, to be followed later by further family members later (chain migration). The second possibility given was the most common. The number of cases where chain migration was begun by a man, and when it was begun by a woman were comparable in the analysed data.

Out of fourteen cases when the children or some of the children after a period stayed in the country of origin in the care of their grandparents or other relatives, in one case the parents left together, in nine cases one parent left to be followed by the other (in eight of these the father first, in one case the mother first) and in two cases a mother bringing up a child on her own left. In the remaining two cases children began the migration and reunification of the family took place later.

In cases of *chain migration* this temporary separation (of children and of partners) also had a fundamental affect on the relations between family members. In some cases this resulted in the break-up of the family and this threat remained for a long time after the family was brought together. In some cases the separation became the opportunity to build new and tighter relations between family members.

> All family members [originally from the Philippines] remember that they experienced the period of separation as trauma. Father regrets that being far away, he could not see his daughters growing up. He mentions sadly: "When I came back to home, they did not know me. They knew me through the word. My presence was always within quotation marks." The mother remembers two different moments of separation. First the separation from her husband, than the separation from her daughters. In relation to the separation from her husband she mentions only the daily difficulties, which she had to face as single parent with two children, while longing for the visits of her husband. Rather the separation from her daughters, having left them behind coming to Italy, confuses totally her psychological well-being. Growing up without father, the daughters did not perceive the lack; on the contrary they mention that they had to get familiar to cohabitate with a "stranger" after the family reunion. For them the separation from their mother was much more significant. Mother tells that they suffered a lot, while the daughters change immediately argument. The elder daughter mentions only one particular regarding the family life after reunion in Rome: "At the beginning it was difficult, because when we argued with them (parents) I always said, that my aunt was better than my mother. We grown up with my aunt and my grandma. My aunt is single, for that I always said that it is better staying with her in the Philippines, that I prefer her." After almost 19 years the family apparently overcame destructive effects of separation period: According to father, it is a "blessing, a grace staying in family together." He underlies with emphasis: "I have to thank god, that in 1997, when they (daughters) arrived for the first time in Italy, I felt for the first time in family, in terms of being aware about the fact to stay as family together, to eat together …. There are also difficulties, where everybody has to understand which behaviour is right or wrong; but if the family is united, the difficulties are psychologically and mentally perceived as less important." (I-33 Philippines)

Further demands on coming to terms with the current situation arose in the families of migrants who founded a family in the country of origin and following its division, break-up or the death of their partner founded *a new family in the host country*. In many cases, the dynamics of relations within a "reconstructed family" generally is more significant than the migration experience. Among the various manifestations of this dynamic (compare Matoušek 1993 : 111 – 112) the complicated nature of relations between a daughter and her stepfather in a family originally from Morocco were recorded in the sample: though the relationship was positive, it was not easy for the child. However there were also families in which children had very close ties with their stepfathers.

> Although the mother's daughter from first marriage (the interview mostly concerned daughter's own family, but her relation to her mother and stepfather is important in this context as well) knew that everybody in the family was behaving very well with her, including her new father, she could not help always feeling "the other one", as she repeatedly stressed in all three interviews: "…I was always feeling 'the other one'. I used to say: They are a family: father, mother… Perhaps I was lacking a father. Throughout the years, he never made me lack anything but I was looking forward to starting work because I always used to feel myself as out-of-place, excluded. Perhaps I excluded myself on my own. My mum used to try to content me in all possible ways (…) I only feel my family since I got married, now I do feel that I (have) a father…" (I-31 Morocco)

Nevertheless, the migration experience and the long period of separation of the father (BE-73, Democratic Republic of Congo) from the rest of the family were clearly key causes of the parallel existence of two families. When it comes to family reunification in such conditions, it can again have both positive and negative impacts on relations between family members and it is more difficult to restart family life in comparison with families in which no parallel relationship evolved during the separation period. Though it is not the case of the following example, the risk of break-up is potentially enormous in similar cases.

The father left the Democratic Republic of Congo for Belgium in 1997. When he left, he was 47 years old, was married and had 7 children. When he obtained the status of refugee (2003), he directly introduced a demand for family reunification. It took a year to gather all the papers and in 2004, his wife and 7 children (5 girls and 2 boys) arrived in Belgium. During all this time they were separated, he was still in touch with all his family, by phone, and sent money to his wife every month (250-300 euros) to help her raise the children.

Father: "The whole family reunified in 2004. So now, what I would say about that is…well, the family is here but it is like a new departure now, it is not the end but rather a start. We need some time to rebuild our family, to learn again how to live together. Not only with the children but also my wife and I, to become again the father I used to be,…we really needed some time to get to know each other again, to see how everyone has changed, how life has changed".

In fact, after three years everything is only starting to get better. One of the biggest difficulties he has encountered was with him meeting another woman because he thought he would never see his wife again. With this Belgian woman, he had two children. So in total, he has 9 children and two families, a Congolese one and a Belgian one. His Belgian wife also had to accept his new family. At first, they tried to break up. But finally, he convinced them that he loved them both. He now spends a few days of the week in his Belgian family and the rest of the week with his Congolese family. All the brothers and sisters are getting on well with each other and they can go to both family. (BE-73 Democratic Republic of Congo for Belgium)

Additionally to composition and formation of the family its *definition* is to be reflected. This definition set and shares the family members and it defines which persons with partner, sibling or generational links are integrated and which are detached. It is a question of:

a) Which family members and relatives are regarded as an integral and "inseparable" part of the family.
b) Which family members and relatives represent for the family a "ring" which surrounds it and forms an interface between the environment of one's own family and the world around it.
c) Which family members and relatives are not regarded as members of the family and for the family (those people, who are involved in it) represent rather the world around it; such a perception need not apply only to very distant relatives, but also to people with a partnership, sibling or generational link to the family who have parted on bad terms with the family (or one of its members) or have fallen "out of favour" with it (ex-spouse, disinherited heir etc.).

It is clear that in the case of the *grandparents or the siblings of parents living together* with the parents and their children and in the case of *networks of relatives* in which help in caring for the children of siblings is commonplace, it is rarely sufficiently clear whether we are speaking of the family unit (point a) or the family relatives (point b).

In some families the relatives will evidently be regarded as a part of their family, in others on the contrary as members of the extended family, while however the conditions and relations will be fundamentally the same in both cases. Furthermore it is often not possible to distinguish to which of these alternatives a given family inclines.

The characteristics of relations between members of the nuclear family and members of extended family falls partly into the description of internal family relations, partly into the connection of these relations with the subject of the extended family and its functioning. For greater clarity in the text a separate part of the chapter will be devoted to relations with members of the extended family, it must however be borne in mind that in some families relations with these members of the family are regarded as being relations within the family.

7. Functioning of Migrant Families

The changes in the composition of the family were not the only factor linked to migration which affected relations in migrant families. Apart from experiences directly linked to migration (such as the division of the family) relations in the family also changed as a consequence of the need *to adapt to the new environment* (post-migration factors affecting relations within the family). The novelty of the environment of the receiving society issues from the aforementioned process of crossing territorial, social and cultural borders or second socialization and the relevant implications of these two factors. Such aspects can be considered not only with regard to the individual migrant but also to the migrant's family.

In this area can be included, for example, life in another environment, difficulty linked to getting used to it, the non-existence of a natural background in the new environment, the problems of integration into society and a decline in living standards, the gradual creation of a background and the mastering of various "agenda" (work, accommodation, language skills, childrearing) in the context of a changed environment.

All these factors can be seen both from the perspective of the individual and the family. From the latter perspective they are considered to be issues which influence the whole family (the whole system) and the need to deal with them is a task for the whole family, be it treated collectively or by a particular family member. The influence of migration on a migrant's identity and its consequent impact on the family has already been discussed. At this point we will concern ourselves with the influence of migration on the entire family system.

The shift from the country of origin to the host country for many families, or their members, means a shift to a *new, unknown environment, which is strange or different in many ways.* The perception of its "newness" or "strangeness" differed markedly not only between families but in certain families also between individual family members. It depended on a series of circumstances from before the resettlement: on cultural similarities and differences between the host country and the country of origin, on language similarity, on the existence of prior contacts with the host country, and on the intensity of these, and on information about the host country. After resettlement the novelty of the environment was determined by the language skills, the presence or absence of relatives, the relations with the ethnic community and to the majority society, relations to the neighbourhood in which the family lives and contact with institutions (the police, authorities, school, etc.) These circumstances changed during the family's residence in the host country.

The relations within the family could therefore be markedly influenced by the pressure on individual family members to *change or accommodate their roles*, brought on precisely by the need to adapt to the new environment. It concerns both the relations between members of the nuclear family and the relations of members of the nuclear family to members of the extended family. The most important factors in this regard are: the need to deal with the absence of relatives (lacking grandparent's help in bringing up, anchoring of the family in the society etc.), mutual help between relatives living in the host country and the attachment of the family to networks of relatives, grandparents looking after a child in the host country, sending remittances etc. Apart from the need to adapt to the new environment, post-migration influences on internal family relations are linked to the clash of the family's experience and customs from the country of origin with the host country environment.

As discussed above, the pressure on one family member in this regard will often influence the entire family. However, from the family perspective, it is not the mutual influence of the individual roles of respective family members on each other (see above), but the general settings of roles within the family which is significant i.e. the role division between partners, parental roles, the complementary roles which are expected from or held by each child and the roles of certain members of the extended family. At the same time, we should bear in mind possible differences between role expectations and the roles actually played. Finally, family members have different expectations of other family members and the respective family member should adapt accordingly.

In such a complex scenario it was often not apparent which settings were related to migration or post-migration. Nonetheless many respondents highlighted some influence of migration on the role settings within the family, compared their current situation with their situation in the country of origin or considered how their roles would be arranged in their country of origin. Or at least they expressed their preferences in terms of proximity to the settings common either in the country of origin or in the host country. Not all families recognized a shift in their members' roles to the same extent; in some cases the parents didn't observe any important change in their roles.

> The mother [from Azerbaijan] thinks she now has a more egalitarian relation to her husband. In Azerbaijan he was "as all the other husbands: the ruler of the house, the one who took all the decisions, the chief" unlike in Belgium where husbands share more of the housework which was unthinkable in their own country. Her vision of education and the way she acts with her children has changed since they are in Belgium. (BE-66 Azerbaijan)

> While the migration process [of a family emigrating from Turkey] has modified the nature of the power relationships and changed the so-far established decision making process between the father and the mother, it also allowed her to define herself as very attached to Kurdish tradition and women and men's established social roles. She has always been a housewife either in Turkey, in Germany or in Belgium. She has never worked outside the house and she does not think this is likely to happen one day. (BE-74 Turkey)

> [In a family from Ukraine] the parents by contrast did not think that the experience of migration had in any way markedly affected their mutual relationships. At most in that they are more dependent on each other: "he only has me, I only have him, we have no one else here". In the mother's view this will make it last: „even if we were to argue, we would still stay together." (CR-57, Ukraine)

In a similar way to the situation of the individual one can consider two different conflicts influencing family relations: the question of identification of a particular family member with a specific role and the clash of roles. However from the family perspective, the impact on the family system is what counts. This involves an open and accepting atmosphere within the family, the nature of the interactions between family members, the successful achievement of aims shared by the family as a whole etc. (compare Matoušek 1993: 66 – 72, 117 – 121; Nakonečný 1999: 242 – 243). Some respondents in our sample pointed out, with regard to the influence of migration on their family, the *strengthening of family ties*. However there might be different motivations behind it – e.g. the motivation to *overcome a difficult situation* (CR-53) or the *"isolation into which the family has fallen"* (CR-54).

Nakonečný (1999: 243) refers to Satir's definition of the term "family homeostasis" introduced by Jackson as follows: "The intention of family performance is to achieve balanced relations. This manifests itself in the following:

- family members help to uphold this balance (be the activity hidden or manifested),
- patterns of communication are repeated, circular and predictable,
- special forces are mobilized if there is a risk of impairment of the balance,
- matrimonial relations influence the nature of family homeostasis,
- matrimonial relations is an axis according to which all other family relations form, the matrimonial partners are the 'architects of the family' and
- painful matrimonial relations tend towards the dysfunctional performance of parental tasks."

Among the families with both partners, we recorded both families inclined to a traditional division of roles, as well as families where the roles of the partners were divided more evenly. The majority of families could be allocated rather in the middle of the scale, only occasionally could one speak of extreme positions. On the other hand, the traditional division of roles occurs, without doubt, more frequently than in the majority population. Nonetheless role expectations more or less matched the roles held by the second partner and the families tended towards homeostasis. In addition, in many families the ability to react flexibly to changes in their situation was remarkable. In an Iraqi family, the mother evaluates her gender position quite positively:

> According to the mother, her situation was better than many others, since her husband did think that both women and men should have the same rights. Even though, in practice there was still some traces of patriarchal thinking left, since she thought that she had to carry a heavier load at home and with the children. She also told, as an example, that her husband had told her not to attend a course she wanted to attend, since it was too expensive. The father, while arguing for gender equality, admitted that he maybe he had some flaws in himself, since it was not so easy to get rid of old patterns.
> Father: "When we see already, in some extent our women [Kurd women], like, have awaken. It, it's a good thing. But… it may be… sometimes, like, between women and men is this, conflict, when… the old thoughts and the new, come, come together. For the other, that, for the man it can be hard, this. Changes. We feel also sometimes that, that kind of situation, that this, I myself, like, in my opinion I have always… maybe there is flaws in me as well, but I have always appreciated… women's rights to be, I've tried, I think, to be like that. But it might be that, those old thought are not easy to immediately… like let go." (FI-51 Iraq)

In this family from Angola gender relations appear to be very egalitarian:

> The husband is very nice to the mother and he always supports her in her projects. Even though his employers are very pleased with his work, he does not believe his contract will be renewed. When he will be finished, he will have more time to look after the children. The mother will have to find a full-time job to compensate the then lack in earnings. In this couple, both the mother and the father really help each other. The father's role is to look after the children as much as the mother. Their parental roles are not clearly defined but are always changing in regard to the needs of the moment. On certain days, the mother could be the one staying at home, and on other days, it could be the father. They do not have any problems with this switching in roles. To be very strict on parental roles would make their life extremely complex and very difficult to handle. (BE-77 Angola)

We repeatedly recorded increased involvement of older children in the running of the family. Even small children translated or interpreted for their parents into and out of the language of the host country, since they had mastered the language much more quickly and much better. The children as a rule regarded these situations as unavoidable and viewed their greater involvement as a matter of course, sometimes as an opportunity to express their gratitude and "in return" for that which the parents sacrificed for them. (sometimes taken to be the very opportunity to live in the host country). This gratitude and responsibility naturally was not limited only to the time when the children worked closely with their parents, but was internalised by some of the children and maintained into adulthood. In some families of

course exactly the opposite occurred, when the child did not agree with the parents' decision to migrate from their country of origin and was annoyed by the fact that their parents had affected their lives in a major way with this decision.

Gratitude was naturally felt by parents also, since greater involvement of their child in the running often helped them more easily to master the demands linked to their migration experience. Great involvement of children in the family therefore led only occasionally to conflicts, but of course sometimes it was obvious that the child must not be satisfied with this state of affairs for ever and that conflict between child and parents could arise. At the same time, parents in some families did not find it easy to adjust themselves to this situation. For more information on intergenerational relations see the previous chapter.

> Both parents [from a Vietnamese family] work the whole day, father even till late night; the complete family rarely meets at a table even for a dinner. This made the older son independent and he helps his mother to look after his younger brother. The mother feels a general decline of mutual attention between family members. The older son is aware that this results from parents efforts to ensure his and his brother's future, and feels it his natural duty to return to his parents what they had to sacrifice by looking after them when they are old. (CR-54 Vietnam)

> The daughter [from a Russian family] says that to a great degree it [the father's decision to migrate] was because of her. The parents wished that she gets a corresponding education and has some perspectives. However she was forced to broke the relation with her boy as a consequence and thus wasn't content with this decision. (CR-63 Russia/Kazakhstan)

8. Relations Within Extended Families

A large number of families emphasised the importance of multi-generation co-habiting. However, only a limited number of nuclear families included other members of extended family who co-habited with them or who lived nearby (such as grandparents or siblings).

Relationships in extended families were prevailingly positive (although some ambiguous aspects of relationships between relatives were also recorded), which however caused stress in those instances where relatives lived in a different country. The families could afford only sporadic contacts with their extended family. These were perceived as insufficient and many respondents felt homesick in the period in between. The duration of their relatives' visits (whether the family visited them or they visited the family) was regarded as short by the respondents. Interviewed families often regarded contacts via telephone or Internet as very important. Families living in the host country very often tried to support their relatives living in the country of origin at least by sending remittances.

> The parents on the mother's side were Russians who stayed in Kazakhstan (mother actually lives in Germany). The mother said that she missed them greatly, but that it would not make matters any better if she saw them any more often. The mother would like to help her mother financially because she is already a pensioner, but receives very little in the way of a pension in her homeland. (DE-11 Kazakhstan)

> The mother from Armenian family living in Germany suffers from the fact that [since emigration], her parents and the father's father have died in Armenia, but the family was not allowed to go there for the funerals. They still maintain telephone contact with their relatives left in Armenia, but have not seen them for 15 years. As the eldest daughter says, it is quite strange for her that she has never seen her grandmother, uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces. When possible, the father also sends some money to his retired mother in Armenia, because she can hardly survive on her pension. (DE-21 Armenia)

In those cases where relatives or their families lived together with the nuclear family or close nearby, family networks played a very important role for the family life. In such cases, relationships were very close and positive and family members supported and helped each other. Their assistance concerned many areas of the migrant's life – feeling of security, belonging and emotional support, material or financial support, assistance in job seeking, the provision of accommodation and assistance in childcare. Their help was often crucial, at least at the beginning, for families coping with a new environment.

[A family from Kazakhstan] tried to keep themselves busy and thus the big family, all living apart visited each other regularly, also when living 5-10 km away from each other. They all lived in different small villages. During these first months the family was very closely bound to the other family members. Although this has changed in the course of time, this period is remembered very positively. All family members now have their own life; the contacts are not very strong anymore. Yet, in order to start a new life in a different country, the strong community provided a solid and secure basis. This is also the position taken by the mother who stresses during the interview that she never was really homesick as she actually was not alone but with her family. She had been more homesick before when living in Russia away from her family (DE-4 Kazakhstan)

[In a Romanian family] support from family members (father's sister, mother's cousin) to a family was mainly emotional. They could not help them financially because they were having troubles to cope with their own financial situation, even if living with them lowered their living expenses. They form a very united group. For example, the children play with their cousins (the children of father's sister) and get the sense of having a Romanian family in their host country. (BE-65, Romania)

[In a Bolivian family] the network of solidarity among sisters is essential to the relative economic success of the three sisters that are in an irregular situation. The migration process has led to a reconfiguration of the family community and social identity. In Bolivia, sisters were living far from each other and each of them had her own family. It is only in the host society that they started to really feel as members of the same family. The family identity is one that already existed in their mind but which became a reality in the host country. The mother's story reveals how a decision to migrate can be seen as a combination of both active agency and family incitement. In taking part in the migration process, Mother became on one hand indebted to her sister already living in Belgium and on the other hand, this migration experience has empowered her. (BE-75 Bolivia)

Family networks often had a key role in the success of the family integration, however, sometimes intensive relations with relatives, similarly to intensive relations within ethnic communities, may have limited the family's contacts with the majority population and hinder its integration.

[A Kirghizian family] lived with the aunt for a month, and they were soon afterwards able to get their own flat. The relatives - and the aunt in particular - helped them in their initial dealings with the authorities and communicated for the family. It was this aunt in particular who had "taken the family under her wing" and had settled all that was necessary with the authorities. The first members of the family came to town in northern Germany in 1990. These were the grandmother [the mother's side] and further relatives. The grandparents [the father's side] migrated to a town in Bavaria 10 years ago. All relatives help each other with money and other problems. However, since the family has many close relatives who in turn have relationships, its members have not been able to make further contacts with German (natives). (DE-12 Kirghizia)

To sum up, our findings related to the issue of the extended family confirmed the important role of the family network in the lives of migrants and especially in the lives of their families. The family network is crucial both for migrating itself and for subsequent integration despite the disintegrative effect in terms of a reduction in contact with the majority population in some cases. Confirmation of this supposition is not surprising since the family network is, without doubt, the most natural source of support. However, further consideration of this issue

points out the importance of the distinction between families with broad and strong family networks at their disposal and families whose relatives live abroad.

The existence of a family network has an impact not only on the sources of support enjoyed by the family but also influences family life strategies be it a general strategy (integration, assimilation, segregation, marginalization – however in this regard the ethnic community, values etc. also interact - see Nauck 2007) or specific strategies concerning certain aspects of family life (e.g. sending children to relatives in the country of origin). There is no doubt that the strategies preferred by a family according to its family network will have a range of impacts on reverse family relations (e.g. impacts of the separation experience).

9. The Influence of Values and Relations to the Environment

Both the values and relations concerning the external environment (further "preferences")[10] of each family member influence family relations. In essence we can distinguish two situations: values are shared by family members or family member preferences differ. Family relations tend consequently either towards cooperation (or cohesion) between family members or towards competition (or conflict) between them with regard to respective preferences.

However, this overall distinction does not capture the complex nature of links between the preferences of family members and their relations. Firstly, it is clear that many preferences exist each with a different extent of agreement or disagreement between family members each of which, moreover, holds a different level of importance for the individual family member and for their interrelationships. Secondly, many interactions concern more than two family members[11], therefore often the term "interplay of preferences" should be considered rather than the distinction between "conflict" and "cohesion". However, if family members form coalitions with opposite preferences, family relations will tend towards conflict. Even in this situation, family relations differ to a great extent and conflict does not necessarily influence family relations. Many factors are crucial in this regard: the balance of power on both sides of the conflict, the visibility or latency of the conflict, various family member characteristics (e.g. respect for the authority of the parents, willingness to accept different attitudes etc.), communication, interaction and strategies (e.g. affected or more tranquil reactions, negotiation of common interests) which might solve the conflict, intensify it, reduce it, change its nature or cause the potential conflict to become more open. Finally, the course of the conflict often matters much more than its cause (compare Watzlawick et al. 1968; Matoušek 1993: 68-72; Nakonečný 1999: 193 – 202).

The above circumstances depict the fundamental role of family member preferences with regard to the nature of relations within the family. At the same time, the complicated nature of

---

[10] With regard to the above considerations, these preferences should refer to the whole of the interaction system i.e. the individual system, the micro system (both the family and other interaction systems at this level), the mezzo system and the macro system. Therefore the following text concerns the inter-connection between these systems rather than relations within the family system which is the dominant issue in this chapter.

[11] There are without doubt a number of interactions which are restricted merely to two of the family members, however it is clear that the interaction network as a whole covers all family members. Exceptions consist of childless couples, families of mothers (or fathers) as breadwinners with one child or separated families (moreover all of these family constellations have no interaction with their relatives). In the last case the situation most likely concerns only a limited time period and only occurs if the two sides of the family are not in contact. Thus these cases are in fact only exceptional.

these aspects is revealed. Consequently we shall restrict ourselves only to general comments regarding this issue (for relevant examples compare corresponding parts of other chapters).

In many families in the sample, the members shared similar preferences. However, in most cases, opinions of individual family members differed in certain aspects. Such differences were most obvious between the generations of parents and children (with the exception of families with young children) or parents and grandparents. Different opinions were also recorded between the partners or siblings.

Different preferences related to a wide range of topics: relations to the country of origin, traditions, habits, religion, ethnic community, relatives, current environment, host society, children upbringing, clothes, sports, children leaving home etc.

In some families the differences in opinion regarding certain areas were substantial, leading to severe conflicts. However, much more common were minor disagreements related to the types of clothing, hobbies and interests and the time when children should return home. In some families, children were willing to accept their parents' authority and adopted the parents' opinions, or things were „negotiated" to reach a compromise acceptable to both parties or to win the other party by certain arguments.

10. Conclusion

The analysis of internal relations in families of migrants interviewed for the INTERFACE project showed a considerable variation in these relations and the circumstances affecting them. Not all circumstances affecting relations in migrant families were related to the migration experience. It is essential to remember the dynamic character of family relations, with the effects of migration (e.g. separation experience) being not the only factors influencing the dynamics. In the examples discussed, dynamic changes related to migration nevertheless played a significant role and strongly affected the life of a family and relations between its members. This fact was even more highlighted as the research focused on those migrant families living in the host country for over 5 years.

A high level of trust between individual family members, as well as mutual respect and tolerance were recorded in migrant families, a strong sense of „us" and a considerable solidarity between family members. An important source of support (emotional, economic, support when dealing with various life situations) for migrant families is the contact with their relatives, in case the relatives lived with the family or the relatives and their families lived nearby. Migration experience and its effects on further life of the family in host country represented the key factors strengthening these relation aspects. Migration affected some families very intensively with traumatising, disruptive or endangering affect. In a few families, a brake-up of the family occurred in the course of the migration experience.

The analysis of family relations within the families interviewed highlighted some conflict situations between the family members as well. These conflicts were caused by different causes and had different impact of the family life, different intensity and related to different family members.

The conflicts related to migration were of several types. The hardest felt for the affected family members and often for the whole family was the separation. It was particularly

traumatising and hard to overcome in those cases where children lived in separation from their parents in care of their grandparents or other relatives. Solving a difficult financial situation by leaving the children in the country of origin or sending them back to the country of origin often had far-reaching or irrecoverable consequences for the lives of the children, their parents as well as their siblings. Important factors were the age of the child at the time of separation, the length and course of its duration and the situation in which it happened.

Generally speaking, migration indeed had a number of major impacts on internal relations within migrant families. These were often the more dramatic, the more complicated was the family's migration trajectory. In the case of chain migrations these were more profound than in families who resettled all at once. In the first instance, however the family enjoyed a certain advantage of using the knowledge of the environment that one of the family members had already acquired. This knowledge reduced the number of difficulties resulting from living in a new environment and lowered the risk of conflict between family members. On the other hand, if differences in the level of integration of individual family members into the society sustained or even further deepened, the initial advantage gradually became also a source of conflicts, potentially even resulting in the family break up.

In addition to migration history, other circumstances related to migration were significant, in particular the ability to adapt to the new environment and the friction between experience and habits from the country of origin and the environment of the host country.

All circumstances described above represented significant determinants influencing relations within a family. Their impacts on individual migrant family members however varied and different families dealt with different impacts of certain determinants on their family lives (the level of quality and intensity) and also processed potential impacts differently.

References

Berger, Peter L., Luckmann, Thomas (1999): Sociální konstrukce reality. Pojednání o sociologii vědění. Praha: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.

Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (2002): Transnational Families in the Twenty-first Century. In Bryceson, Deborah & Vuorela, Ulla (eds.): The Transnational Family. New European Frontiers and Global Networks. Oxford: Berg, 3–30.

Edwards, Rosalind; Franklin, Jane & Holland, Janet (2003): Families and Social Capital: Exploring the Issues. Working paper, Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group. London: South Bank University.

Evergeti, Venetia & Zontini, Elisabetta (2006): Introduction: Some critical reflections on social capital, migration and transnational families. Ethnic and Racial Studies 29 (6): 1025–1039.

Hoffman, L. W./Hoffman, M. L. (1973): The value of Children to Parents. In: Fawcett, J. T. (Ed.): Psychological Perspectives on Population, New York, S. 19-76

Holland, Janet; Reynolds, Tracey & Weller, Susie (2007): Transitions, Networks and Communities: The Sginficance of Social Capital in the Lives of Children and Young People. Journal of Youth Studies 10 (1): 97–116.

Kofman, Eleanore (2004): Family-Related Migration: A Critial Review of European Studies. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies March 2004, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 243–262.

Lauglo, Jon (2000): Social Capital Trumping Class and Cultural Capital? Engagement with School among Immigrant Youth. In Baron, Stephen; Field, John & Schuller, Tom (eds.): Social Capital. Critical Perspectives. New York: Oxford University Press, 142–167.

Matoušek, Oldřích (1993): Rodina jako instituce a vztahová síť. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Metody sociální práce s imigranty, azylanty a jejich dětmi (2008). Praha: Triton.

Možný, Ivo (1990): Moderní rodina. Mýty a skutečnost. Brno: Blok.

Možný, Ivo (2006): Rodina a společnost. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Nakonečný, Milan (1998): Psychologie osobnosti. Praha: Academia, 2. vydání (1997), dotisk (1998).
Nakonečný, Milan (1999): Sociální psychologie. Praha: Academia.
Nauck Bernhard (2001): Social capital, intergenerational transmission and intercultural contact in Immigrant families. In: Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Autumn 2001; 32, 4.

Nauck, Bernhard (2007): Integration und Familie. In: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 22-23, pp. 19-25.

Nešpor, Zdeněk R. (2007): Metody a možnosti sociálně-vědního studia migrací. In: Nešporová, Olga (Ed.): Rodiny přistěhovalců I. pp. 19-23. Praha: VÚPSV v.v.i.

Portes, Alejandro & Rumbaut, Rubén G. (2001): Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation. Berkeley: University of California Press, Russell Sage Foundation.

Suárez-Orozco, Carola & Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M. (2001): Children of Immigration. Cambrige: Harvard University Press.

Szaló, Csaba (2002): Proces kulturní asimilace a konstrukce identity „přistěhovalců". In Sirovátka, Tomáš [Ed.]: Menšiny a marginalizované skupiny v České republice. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, Fakulta sociálních studií & Nakladatelství Georgetown.

Watzlawick, Paul; Beavin, Janet Beavin. & Jackson, Don D. (1968): Pragmatics of Human Communication. London: Faber and Faber.

Witte, Erich H. (1989): Sozialpsychologie. Ein Lehrbuch. München: Psychologie Verlag Union.

THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

Networks and Social Capital

Marie Godin & Andrea Rea

1. Introduction

For quite a long time, economic models of migration prevailed to explain the causes of international migration as the so-called 'pull-push model'. This classical model consists of a number of negative or push factors in the country of origin that cause people to move, in a combination with a number of positive or pull factors that attract migrants to receiving societies. One of the main critiques made to the economic model is that they fail to explain why, under identical socio-economic conditions, some people do migrate while others decide to stay. They also lack to explain why migrants choose a specific country for destination and others don't. Authors such as Massey (1990) highlithed how these economic models of migration undermine the social foundations of international migration leading to an incomplete understanding of contemporary migration. As he points out (1990: 67): "Immigration is far more dynamic than standard economic analyses suggest because it tends to feed back on itself through social channels. As a result, immigration becomes progressively independent of the economic conditions that originally caused it. Once a critical take off stage is reached, migration alters social structures in ways that increase the likehood of subsequent migration." Inspired by the previous writing of Myrdal (1957), Massey called this feedback process 'the circular and cumulative causation of migration' whose social networks play the main role. In this perspective, migrants' networks are defined as "sets of interpersonal ties that link together migrants, former migrants and non-migrants, in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin" (ibid.). If social networks were traditionnaly perceived as means for migration, ever since the entrance into the age of migration (Castles, Miller 2003), it is argued they can also be a cause to migrate. With time passing and the number of network connections increasing in origin and destination areas, migration becomes self-peperuating, creating for itself the social structure needed to sustain it (Massey 1990: 69).

In this section, we will first take a look at the nature of social networks in contemporay international migration, that is both in 'classic or historic migrations' and in 'new' migrations. Secondly our study will depict the impact of social networks in the integration process of migrants with a particular interest, on one hand, in the link between the 'entrance door into the territory' (either legally or illegally) and the 'status of stay' migrants get upon arrival (either undocumented, irregular or asylum seekers) and, on the other hand, in the type of social networks they can rely on (either insitutional or kinship-based networks). These two different types of social networks will have a singular influence on the integration trajectory of migrant families. A special focus on the gender differences in social networks and the migrant integration process into the host society will also be tackled in this second part of the chapter. Finally, we will look at the issue of trans-nationalism with an attempt to describe several types of 'family trans-national household' which appear in our sample: 'Voluntary trans-national household', 'Forced trans-national household' and 'Nuclear family and the extended trans-national household'. This attempt to highlighting three ideal-types of 'trans-national family household' has to be seen as of an exploratory nature. Further research need

be done in order to nuance and complexify this preliminary typology. All the arguments will be illustrated with examples from our empirical findings.

2. Social Networks in Contemporay International Migration

Contemporay international migration encompasse long-standing migratory patterns as well as new ones caused by economic, social and political changes in the recent years. Casltes and Miller (2003: 7) consider that contemporary international migration is unique and identify general tendencies which can explain such a diversity: globalization of migration, acceleration of migration, the differenciation of migration, the feminization of migration.

As it will be shown from the family interviews, migrant networks have been playing a crucial role in these contemporary international migration both in 'classical or historical migrations' and 'new' migrations.

'Classical or Historical Migrations'

 'Classical or historical migrations' are contemporary migrations which refer to specific flows of migration which find their roots in historical relations between origin and receiving states, and which have maintained themselves until today either under the same form (as with the "*Aussiedler*" program) or in other forms (as with the "*Gastarbeiter* program"). These contemporary patterns of migration entrenched in historical relations have been the object of many studies showing that the reason underlying the first migration has nowadays often disappeared. In most cases, public policies which gave birth to these initial migration flows do not exist anymore. New reasons to migrate have emerged, thus replacing previous ones. In order to understand this kind of new contemporay migrations, these which are characterized by long-standing migratory patterns, a focus on the role played by social networks in the migration process is therefore relevant.

Here are a few examples of typical "classical migration" in our sample:

- Turkish migration to Germany with the 'Gasterbeiter program': Migrations between the two countries took place in the 1960s and 70s and resulted from a bilateral recruitement agreement. These programs aimed at recruiting foreign guest workers to fill short-term economic needs in a time when the European economy was florishing. Whereas those migration were conceived by the State as temporary ones, they usually end up generating a large permanent minority population. This creates the conditions for new migration to occur, more specifically through the family reunification right. Family reunion has often followed labour migration sometimes in greater numbers than the labour migration flows.

A migrant family from Turkey with the father in Germany since 1970:

> The father had worked in Turkey as a miner and, after he had been recruited as a *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) in 1970, did so here, too, working for two years in a mine in North Rhine Westphalia. In 1970 he married to his then pregnant wife, leaving her in the home country with the intention of bringing her to join him in Germany later. In 1972 he then moved to Rendsburg, where he worked for two years in an enamel factory, followed by one year at a dockyard and subsequently until 1997 at a metalworker's. His wife and son were able to join him in Germany in 1972, moving at first into the husband's/father's studio apartment. [DE-10]

As soon as post-industrial European societies (such as Belgium and Germany) came to understand that these planned 'temporary' labor migrations had become definitive, they often started developing integration policies. The introduction of such policies concomitantly corresponds with the development of a closing door policy towards new migrants. A widespread idea at that time was that the integration of old migrants would be jeopardized if new migration were to occur. Yet, unexpectedly, integration policies have played a role in the perpetuation of new migration. Providing the opportunity, for those already established, to access an immigrant permanent resident status, has led to an increase of the 'chain migration' phenomenon. With a strong legal status, some rights as the right to family reunification was widened as well. This finally confirms the fact that immigration tends to breed more immigration (Massey, ibid:71).

- Many Vietnamese immigrants were invited as guest workers by the Czechoslovakian governement (the Czech Republic and the Slovakian Republic gained independence on January 1, 1993) during the Communist period. This migration was strongly supported by the Vietnamese State who was willing to increase its skilled workforce by sending thousands of students and guest workers to a socialist country. With the collapse of Communism, many Vietnamese decided to stay, modifying a temporary migration into a permanent one. Nowadays, official estimates of the number of overseas Vietnamese living and working in the Czech Republic is around 40.000[12].

A Vietnamese migrant family living in the Czech Republic since 1987:

"In Vietnam, there was hunger at that time and any possibility to get out was like winning the lottery" says the father. Both husband and wife arrived individually, intending to finish university, under a framework of inter-governmental agreements on education from Vietnamese citizens at Czechoslovakian universities (husband in 1987, wife in 1988). Both of them had a 9 months course of Czech in Hanoi, after arrival in Czechoslovakia they attended another one-year-course of Czech in a language centre, and after passing the course they were allocated to respective universities and halls of residence. The wife perceived major part of her stay in the CR as a temporary matter: "When I like it here no more, I go home". But since the arrival of their son, they had to re-consider the situation. After finishing the university, the husband applied for political asylum while the wife applied for a permanent residence permit for the purpose of family reunification. [CR-55]

- Refugee's flows within the "Aussiedler" program: These migrations refer to ethnic Germans who lived in Eastern Europe and the territories of the former Soviet Union until World War II. According to Oezcan (2004), in 2003, ethnic Germans made up approximately 20 percent of the immigrants admitted under the Aussiedler quota. The remaining 80 percent was made up of their dependent family members. This is in sharp contrast with 1993, when ethnic Germans made up approximately 75 percent of this flow, with the rest composed of family members.

A migrant family from Kirghizstan, in Germany since 1993:

The mother told me that her great grandparents were "*Wolgadeutsche*" (Volga Germans), belonging to a group of the "*Russlanddeutschen*" (Russian Germans) who settled there under the reign of Catherine the Great. The parents of her present-day husband also settled in the former Russian Empire on the invitation of the tsarina (18th cent.). The mother's father, being German, was persecuted in present-day Ukraine and was even imprisoned for ten years when he was a student. He later met the mother of the mother in our interviews and left for Kirghizia. In 1990 the couple started to feel that there was no future for their family there because of the poor economic situation. Finally, in 1993, they migrated to Germany. Their

---

[12] http://www.vietnamembassy-czech.org

children were at that time fourteen, ten and seven years old. Their grandmother and their aunt on the mother's side followed them in 1995 and 1996 respectively. [DE-9]

- Congolese migration to Belgium: This type of migration has never been one of work but rather one of students and asylum seekers. Concerning the former, it was just after the independence that student migration appeared. At that time, the government of Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) would send young Zairians, supported by scholarships, to Europe in order to receive a proper education. While the idea was to return to their home country, many of them decided to stay for different reasons (the political situation in the country of origin, job opportunities in the receiving society,…). Concerning the later, Zaire and since 1997, the Democratic Republic of Congo, has a long history of economic and political decline, which creates the conditions for many people to flee and seek refuge in Europe. The increasing Congolese community in Belgium may constitute an additional reason to choose Belgium as a country of destination instead of any other country:

A Congolese family in Belgium:

The father left the Democratic Republic of Congo for Belgium in 1997. It was at the time of the second Congo war, also known as the Africa's World War or the Great War of Africa. Laurent-Désiré Kabila came into power after overthrowing dictator Mobutu Sese Seko and at that time, being of Rwandan origin was not positively considered at all. The Rwandan authorities were suspected of actively supporting and supplying armed groups across the border in eastern DRC. His mother was Congolese and his father Rwandan. From the moment he started expressing a political opinion, people started to take his origins into consideration. From that moment onwards, he started to be threatened and thought it was safer for his family to leave the country. When he left, he was 47 years old, was married and had 7 children. It was not his first time in Europe. With his previous job in a NGO funded by the Dutch government, he'd had many occasions to travel. But he chose Belgium for historical reasons, and also because he had relatives living there. [BE-73]

- Another interesting example of contemporay migration which found its roots in a colonial past, is the one of a Cape verdian migrant family living in Germany. It illustrates quite well how social networks, in this case entrenched in colonial background, can determine only partly the choice of the destination country:

A migrant family from Cape Verde living in Germany:

The father came to Germany in 1963 when he was 26 years old. He left his country in times of great unrest on the African continent, when also many of his friends and family were leaving. He had relative freedom to move as he was officially a national citizen of Portugal, as Cape Verde was a Portuguese colony. He quickly got an international passport and then left, first to Lisbon. Due to several coincidences his final destination was not the Netherlands, as originally planned, where he thought to start working on a ship, but instead the very north of Germany. [DE-1]

In regard to these various examples, we can notice that migrants decide to follow a way that has already been used by others in others circumstances, even when the public policies that created those paths disappeared. It is the social capital shared by people located in the receiving country as well as in the sending country which determine the opportunity or not to follow the route. Due to this migratory path-dependent effect, governments have often found themselves in a position where they had to accept larger migrations than originally planned. Because States have always undermined the social dimension of migration, they had hardly anticipated its consequences.

'New' Migrations

The label 'new migration' refer to migrants who often come from countries especially affected by globalisation processes. These countries of origin do not have *a priori* any particular established links with the receiving countries.

Here are few examples of 'new migration' in our sample:

- Asylum seekers and refugees:

Several reasons can explain the increasing number of refugees in the world. Among the more influential ones are the end of the Cold War with the collapse of the Soviet regime, anti-colonial struggles and nationalist movements, political instability in third world countries and persistent unequal economic relations between the North and the South. While it has been argued that it is very crucial to take into consideration 'social networks' in order to understand classical and new migrations, all migrations do not only take place because of these networks. Some migrants do move in locations without having received any kind of help from family social networks and, most of time, belong to those who have been forced to move.

A Kosovan migrant family in Finland since 1991:

> The family had fled to Finland as refugees sixteen years earlier. They had first lived in a reception centre for 19 months. After being admitted residence permits they lived for seven years in two little towns in the Eastern Finland. Eight years earlier they had moved to the area of metropolitan Helsinki. [FI-47]

As it has been shown by Koser and Pinkerton (2001), social networks are characterised by 'new geographies' with asylum seekers increasingly arriving in countries of asylum with which they or their country of origin prove to have no previous link. The role of smugglers have also increased in the last decade and tend even to replace traditional family networks as a source of information on destination countries for potential asylum seekers. But despite the fact that the mobilisation of social networks seems to be less important in forced migration when compared to other types of migration, certain refugees may use some of these networks as it will be described later.

- Women migrants

While the feminisation of migration did increase in many regions of the world, it is not so much its size that has changed (47% in 1960 and 49% today) but rather its nature: whereas before the eighties they were most of the time migrating as 'family dependants', women are nowadays migrating independently in search of jobs (Paiewonsky 2007); often in the "reproductive labour", the main sector for migrant women across the European Union. In these 'new migrations', women play a significant role in all regions and in most types of migration. This migration of women is not only due to the living-conditions in a country of origin that may have deteriorated but also is due to the increased demand in specific employment sectors such as in the household or domestic sphere. Exploring the relationship between globalisation, care and migration, Hochschild employs the concept of the 'global care chain' to refer to "a series of personal links between people across the globe, based on the paid or unpaid work of caring" (2000: 131). This possibility to find a work quite easily tends to make migration, for women, an attractive alternative.

A Kenyan migrant family in Finland since 1997:

> The mother had migrated to Finland alone, because of her work as a nanny in a diplomat family and out of interest of seeing the world outside Kenya. She had left her daughter in Kenya with her family, with a solemn intention to either return herself or bring the daughter shortly afterwards with her. First the mother had no intentions of settling down in Finland permanently. Meeting her husband and having two other daughters nevertheless changed the situation and she decided to quit her work in the family and start a family of her own. [FI-42]

However while this specific kind of international labour based on the migration of women is probably the most current one, female migration cannot be reduced to domestic labour. The following story of a chinese skilled migrant residing in Italy gives a more complex picture of contemporary women migration:

A migrant woman from China in Italy since 2001:

> She studied Physics at the scientific university USTC (University of Science and Technology of China). After that she specialized with a Master at the same university and acquired teaching experience through some university teaching assignments. Finally she accepted a two-year fellowship to enrich her academic career with working experience abroad. So she came in 1997 to Italy at the research centre of ENEA in Frascati. She underlies more than once that the opportunity to go abroad was advantageous not only under the aspect to advance with her scientific know-how, but also under the economical point of view. She tells that 10 years ago, she earned in Italy 10 times more than in China. So her initial intention was to stay the period of the fellowship, to earn as much as possible and than to go back to China. During the whole time abroad she never questioned her return to China, especially because she left her three-year-old daughter and husband behind, till ENEA offered her a 5-year working contract, after her fellowship. She accepted, having in mind to bring her daughter through family reunion to Italy, while her husband was concluding his Ph.D. in Physics in China in order to apply after for a post doc in Europe.[I-25]

3. The Role of Social Networks in the Integration Process

'Social capital' and 'networks' are not to be regarded as concepts simply in vogue, these are and remain crucial explanatory variables for the study of immigrants' integration and the role played by the family unit in such a process. In this section, we will first look at the differences among migrant families' integration trajectories with a special focus on the status (legal or illegal) migrants had upon arrival, as well as on the nature of their stay after spending some time in the country (legal, illegal or an alternation of irregular/regular periods). Secondly, a special focus on gender differences in social networks will be presented. Inspired by Granovetter's concept of 'strong' and 'weak' ties, we will show how social women's networks can be more resourceful in terms of social, economic and legal incorporation into society.

The Impact of the 'Entrance Door': Economic Migrants Versus Refugees

The nature of the stay permit migrants had upon arrival significantly influences the integration trajectories that families experience. To be more specific; migrants that claimed for asylum and those that migrate for economic reasons, either illegally or legally, seem to experience different integration trajectories. Refugees had to principally rely on institutional networks in order to integrate, at least at the very beginning of their stay, whereas those that entered illegally or became rapidly undocumented had to rely mostly on ethnic and kinship networks.

Firstly, we can assert that social networks mobilised by irregular and undocumented migrants reduce short-term costs of new settlement. They provide migrants with social capital and help them adapt to their new environment. They supply new migrants with emotional and cultural support but also provide with other various resources such as housing, information and job opportunities. The following story of an Algerian migrant who migrated to Belgium in 1998 on a tourist visa proves quite relevant in illustrating the lead importance of a kinship-based network. By the end of 1999 (December 22nd), a regularisation campaign[1] was voted by the Belgian state and was launched in January 2000 for a short period only. This regularisation program was proclaimed a 'one-off process' aiming at "legalising" a large number of irregular migrants by granting stay permits. In order to obtain regularisation, four main criteria were to be met[13]. Moreover, and in order to avoid a "pull" effect that would risk stimulate more migration, migrants had to prove that they were already living in Belgium before October 1st, 1999.

An Algerian migrant who arrived in Belgium in 1998:

> With full support from his family, he decided to take this opportunity to legalise his situation even though he had not been living in Belgium for a long period of time (only one year). His regularisation was not an action decided and carried out individually, but the result of a family mobilisation. Following the recommendations of the family lawyer, he decided to apply for regularisation, pleading "strong social ties". (BE-68 Algeria)

Such criteria (presence in the country for a minimum period as that defined) resulted in deterring many migrants from applying, and only those with a strong social capital had the courage to submit an application. Among the migrants that did not apply, most of them were living clandestinely. Migrants that *were* in the country legally for a period of time but that who fell into '*irregularity*' were in general those with a stronger social capital. In this specific case, it is quite clear that it is his sister, a legal resident, who went to the local authority to submit his brother's application. In a nutshell; since being an irregular migrant socially well supported, he was able to have his say and apply for regularisation. The family paid for a lawyer and testified for him. For the whole period before his regularisation he was hosted by his sister. He did work illegally on jobs in the construction area but did not have to pay his sister back. As he explained to the interviewers:

> "As I was under the responsibility of my step brother and my sister, they taught me everything, I was feeling great before I started working, and I did not feel like I would be missing anything"

It is obvious in this story that in the early stage of the migrant's career, close family ties prove vital. In addition to that, the notion of trust (Coleman 1988) seems to be very significant to understand how social networks can be beneficial for migrant's integration.

As second argument in our overall analysis; asylum seekers do experience upon arrival a different integration process which may also vary depending on public policies towards refugees from the receiving society. There are many differences among countries which have

---

[13] Strong social ties (family ties in the host country and evidence of integration efforts as well as a number of years spent in Belgium) and humanitarian reasons; the inability to return due to illness or poor health; persons that have been waiting too long for the determination of their asylum application (3 or 4 years for a family or single persons); and finally for protection reasons being unable to return to their country of origin. In this campaign, 36.000 files were introduced (50.000 persons with 23.000 under 18 years of age). 140 nationalities were represented with the two major ones: Congolese (17, 6%) and Moroccans (12, 4%).

different standards for the reception of asylum-seekers (housing, education and health). Clearly, where social capital is lacking but public policy proves efficient, the obstacles migrants meet will not have the same impact. In regard for instance to Finland where most family migrants were from a refugee background, it can be argued that refugees will potentially integrate socio-economically more rapidly than in other countries, as in Italy or in the Czech Republic, these two being new destination countries for asylum seekers. The following story of an Iranian refugee in Italy is quite relevant in regard to this point:

An Iranian migrant woman in Italy since 2000:

> She suffers from the certainty that many aspects of the situation in her home country utterly prevent her from returning home, yet tells us about missing her culture and its celebrations as much as missing an Iranian community in Italy. She is very sorry that Italy does not a have a common Iranian community, as other foreign countries have, but instead only has small fundamental groups which represent radical ideas, with which she does not share ideas and ideals. [I-29]

Unfortunately, not all refugees prove equal in terms of social capital, one that would help attenuate the problems they have to deal with. The following migrant family story of Uzbeks refugees living in Germany illustrates it.

An Uzbek family in Germany since 2002:

> The family home country is Uzbekistan, and they migrated, three generations of them, to Germany five years ago as "contingent refugees" of Jewish heritage (*Kontigentflüchtlinge*). All of them arrived together: the grandmother and the grandfather [on the father's side], the parents and the children. They chose to settle in Kiel without having any acquaintances or relatives there. The family has been living in the same flat since they arrived in Germany. The parents have been married for 25 years. […] Some of their acquaintances and friends from Uzbekistan also migrated to Germany. The family keeps in regular contact with other families and acquaintances that migrated from Uzbekistan. [DE-13]

For a long time, forced migration was mostly studied as a completely different phenomenon than that of voluntary migration. A recent debate has helped modify concepts and theories, thus blurring the line between both types of migration. This turn has widened the understanding of forced migration. In fact, the first studies on refugees took for granted the legal and administrative categories on refugees, resulting in influencing the way social scientists conducted their research. As a consequence, the category of 'forced migration' was strictly related to refugees or political migration while 'voluntary migration' was limited to economic migration. This rift marked the separation between refugees and migration studies. But these policy-oriented categories have restrained comparisons between forced migrants themselves as between forced and economic migrants undermining the understanding of such migration processes (Turton 2003: 14). Others, such as Castles, think even more radically and consider that 'Many migrants and asylum seekers have multiple reasons for mobility, and it is impossible to completely separate economic and human rights motivations, which is a challenge to the neat categories that bureaucracies seek to impose' (Castles 2003: 4). To overcome this dichotomy, a new concept was created, the 'asylum-migration nexus' that makes the bridge between forced and economic migration.

One cannot deny that there has been a paradigm shift in the study of forced migration. Many concepts such as 'trans-nationalism', 'social network', 'social capital' and many others that come from migration studies, have crossed the lines in order to better understand forced migration. However, this is not to say that there are no differences between forced migration and voluntary migration; but the borders are not as clear as some would like it. Blurring them

opens the way to question critically what it is, and doing so in order to produce better understandings of the forced migration but also as to think about refugees in a more humanistic way.

This quote from a Kurdish Iranian mother who did seek asylum in Finland in 1995 proves relevant with regard to the role played by social networks and integration processes. The presence of family members in a neighboring country makes adaptation in the new society easier:

> "Almost, almost a month I cried and I thought. Then I told my husband, this is not my place. I can't see people, it's cold, nobody speaks my language, and it's so difficult. But a month passed by, and then, after that I thought I have to adapt myself here, to the weather, to the culture and these all. I have to learn the language and everything. Of course, my big brother and mother were living in Sweden at the time. […] We visited Sweden, were there couple of weeks. And then when I came back, I had a better feeling that my family is… I got the feeling. […] Family is close, I am going to adapt, I am going to learn the language, yes, and this can be it." [FI-45]

The following summary demonstrates quite well how social networks of asylum seekers are very influential over migration, providing information about destinations, facilitating migration and aiding integration after arrival (Koser 1997):

A migrant family from Afghanistan living in Germany:

> The father came to Germany at the age of 19, in 1988. He had lived in Russia for three years beforehand, where he'd completed an apprenticeship as car mechanic. After his apprenticeship he was to return to Afghanistan. However civil war had broken out, so it was very dangerous for young men to be in the country. He could not escape the threat of having to fight as a soldier for much longer – young men where regularly arrested in the streets of Kabul and if they had hair on their legs, they were judged old enough to fight and were taken to war. To escape this, he fled to Germany via Pakistan. His older brothers and sisters already lived in Hamburg, so he went to live with his brother. He says, "It was almost like coming home, because so many of my family members were already in Hamburg". Both father and mother (the latter who also came as asylum seeker in 1994 when she was twelve years old) explain that only the relatively wealthy made it to Europe, the poor refugees never got further than Pakistan. [DE-19]

Clearly, asylum seekers are also entrenched in social networks which influence their decision to migrate, the choice of the destination country and the integration process in the host country.

Gender Differences in Social Networks

While social networks can both strengthen and weaken over time, they can change and so in various ways for different segments of the immigrant community, and therefore can have disparate effects on incorporation (Hagan 1998) on women and men. Granovetter's concept of 'weak and strong ties' is quite relevant when trying to explain how structural opportunities between women and men may change their incorporation into society: socially, economically and legally. According this author:

> "Individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends. This deprivation will not only insulate them from the latest ideas and fashions but may put them in a disadvantaged position in the labour market, where advancement can depend, as I have documented elsewhere (1974), on knowing about appropriate job openings at just the right time." (1983: 202)

Two institutions play a major role in the building of 'bridges' for women towards the host society: the school and the workplace. Voluntary associations can also play an important role.

A. The School

Having a family can play a major impetus to seek for integration into the host society. The next story is of a Kenyan woman, living in Finland, who kept describing her divorce as the most difficult time of her life, being alone with two small children in an unfamiliar environment and at the same time suffering from being separated from the eldest child.

A Kenyan migrant family in Finland since 1997:

> Mother: "Having the kids, has forced me to stay and change my attitude about living in Finland, it has made me feel like, I need to… feel like I belong in here and try little bit to fit in, eh, in the society. Because, before I didn't want to learn the language, just speak English all the time."
> Interviewer: "Yeah, you told me."
> Mother: "But when I got the kids, and so then, living here, like, eh, permanently living and get interested in everything, I want to learn what is going on here and… like this, so…" [FI-42]

The schooling institution clearly plays a major role in terms of social incorporation into the receiving society.

An Iranian migrant woman in Italy since 2000:

> F. became an active member in promoting interculturality in the school, which is located in a district with a high population of foreign citizens. She offers courses of Persian art, miniature painting and works as cultural mediator when presenting her country to the pupils. Having all family interviews there, it is difficult to ignore the friendly atmosphere, which tells of the positive relationship between colleagues. She tells that she is surrounded of friends from all over the world, including Italians, and mentioned that she makes no difference between friendship with Italians and with foreigners [I-29]

An Uzbek family in Germany since 2002:

> Additionally, the family has contacts with the Jewish community and with late repatriates (*Aussiedler*) who go to the Migrants' Social Counselling Service where the mother works. Since the mother is very active and has also founded a Sunday school for children, further contacts are made through the people she meets there. At the beginning of their stay in Germany, they were given intensive help by a counsellor at the Migrants' Social Counselling Service and a teacher at a German language course in a church. The mother describes both as "angels" sent to them by God. [DE-13]

The following story of a Colombian woman properly illustrates how weak ties can play a major role in getting access to a legal stay.

A Colombian migrant family in Belgium since 1992:

> In 1999, the regularisation campaign took place and she was well advised to decide applying. She had been a clandestine since 1993, as were her daughter and mother since 1995. At that time, there were rumours about the campaign. Some people believed that its purpose was to find out migrants in order to expel them and send them back to their country of origin. The mother of one of her daughter's girlfriends had many relations and knew that the regularisation program was perfectly suited to her family situation. Even though the mother was afraid to apply, she thought about her daughter's future. She would soon be going to secondary school, and without papers life would start to be extremely difficult. The support that came out of their family was crucial in seeing them apply for regularisation via the then campaign. A year later, in 2001, they all received a positive answer. [BE-71]

B. The Workplace

For instance, data on Filipinos migration to Belgium indicates that the majority of migrants is undocumented (60%) and is composed of women (85%)[14]. The following quote from a Filipino migrant family reveals how the family migration was entirely linked to the position of Filipinos women in the Belgian society. It is her mother who first migrated and who transmitted to her daughter specific social capital (migratory capital) that allowed her to do the same. Filipino female migrant labour is wanted in specific workplaces that are 'gendered female' such as the diplomatic representation, luxury hotels or in private households. This family story reveals how women social networks impact every stages of the migration process: from the decision to migrate to the destination country, the chain-migration, the settlement patterns and finally, the incorporation into the new society:

A mother of a Filipino migrant family in Belgium since 1993:

> "hmm, there was no war, it was peaceful, me and my husband have a small girl, she was five months old and my parents were working here with the diplomats, with diplomatic papers. There were already here when I was in Philippine. My husband is working, he has a small jewellery repair shop and I had a small girl, I was only housewife. So my mother is here for a long time since I was in *secondaire* so it is quite a long time. Once in a while, when she renewed her diplomatic paper, she came back to Philippines and then come back here again. So the last three years when she comes there, she took my father with her as a tourist. I have an aunt who lives in Switzerland married to a Swiss man. She invited us to go to Switzerland and from Switzerland I took the chance to come here, we took a visa, a tourist visa. My father had not seen my husband yet as we got married there without my parents. With the baby, from there, we took a tourist visa to come here from Switzerland and at that time it was very easy…at that time! So when we come here, normally my mother said that there was a job prepared for me because her employer was a healthy business man, so when we come here we thought it was very easy to find a job." [BE-69]

This Filipinos migrant family's story reveals how their migration and integration processes were linked to the position of other migrant's women in the host society. The presence of the mother's family was a direct mean of social and occupational integration for both women and men. It was the employment opportunities of her mother that allows them to start integrating socially and economically into Belgium society. In this perspective, women channelled each other into employment positions and often help men in finding some in the same sector.

In addition to that, the nature of the work women are involved in often creates the positive conditions required to create social ties with members of the host society, here especially in the domestic sector. Whereas men often find jobs in workplace where workers are interchangeable, women are more entrenched in a professional relation where the value of trust is very important. As a result, they are not as interchangeable as men can be and it is not rare to encounter women who receive support from their employers (their employers often women as well) in terms of accommodation, social services, schooling information, but also in terms of paper (help on how to get a legal stay permit).

4. Family Networks and the Issue of 'Trans-Nationalism'

The study of 'trans-nationalism' has become more and more current since the beginning of the nineties. As Guarnizo and Smith (1998) noticed, 'trans-nationalim' as an object of study

---

[14] http://www.philsol.nl/of/country-profiles.htm

has been very quickly "assimilated", indeed appropriated and consumed by anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, geographers and other scholars running the risks to become an 'empty conceptual vessel'. In fact, what does it really mean to be a 'transmigrant', to belong to a 'trans-national family', to be involved in 'trans-national networks'? Our attention here is not to make a review of the literature as it has already been well-done by many authors. Our aim here is simply to provide readers with some key elements in order to guarantee that a common understanding of the concept is shared.

One of the first definitions of the concept was given by the anthropologists Shiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992: 1), who define 'trans-nationalism' as:

> "The processes by which immigrants build social fields that links together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated "transmigrants". Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants takes actions, make actions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously."

In regard to our 77 migrant families, 'trans-nationalism' as defined above has not become a widespread mode of organisation among migrant families. Many family migrants were not involved in such types of relations, or if so, only on an occasional basis. The growing and very diverse literature on 'trans-nationalism' has led many authors to exaggerate the attention given to this 'new' phenomenon. To consider 'trans-nationalism' as the norm, the most probable organisation mode in which the majority of migrants ended up, has proved to be overstated. Consequently, as Portes writes it (2001: 182), this trend to analyse excessively everything through 'trans-nationalism lenses' has undermined the study of the reasons why most of the time it did not develop.

When 'trans-nationalism' was identified, it was most of time limited to the family household. This part of the paper focuses specifically on those 'trans-national links' established among few migrant families spread in different geographical spaces. In fact, three types of 'family trans-national household' were identified in our sample: the first one refers to a 'voluntary trans-national household' with the nuclear family separated into two different territories, between the host country and the country of origin. Very often, one or the two parents live in the receiving society with their children in the country of origin and their grandparents and/or relatives taking care of them; the second type refers to a 'forced trans-national household' with the nuclear family also spread into two different territories, yet not now resulting from a rational choice. Migrant families can be 'strained' to experience a family trans-national configuration, very often perceived as temporary, transitory. And finally, the third one refers to a 'nuclear family and an extended trans-national household' with the presence of the nuclear migrant family in the receiving society and grandparents and other relatives in the country of origin or/and in another country.

A brief study of the transformations and challenges that such 'trans-national family configurations' may have on the family life is tackled when looking at gender, inter-generational relations and intra-generational relations.

'Voluntary trans-national household'

It is important to note that contemporary trans-nationalism encompasses specific patterns due to the feminisation of migration. The story of a Filipino family in Italy since 1988 (I-35) is

relevant with regard to this matter. The mother first migrated, following the path of her sister and her mother who already worked there as domestic workers. Even with her university degree in Economics from the Philippines, she was directly hired as a maiden for an Italian family in Rome. Her fiancé joined her a few years later and started to work in a small factory run by the wife of his wife's employer. After a year, their first son was born in Rome. But for the parents, taking care of the child while continuing to work was too heavy to handle. Therefore, they decided to send him back to the Philippines. When the second child was born, they did the same. Sending children back when they are very little seems to be a traditional habit among Filipino migrants, their reasons being twofold: firstly, grandmothers or other female family members provide them with childcare assistance and emotional support while their parents are too busy to do so; and secondly, due to a lack of financial support in the host country, parents fear to miss economic resources for the children's subsistence. To guarantee their education, parents send money back home every month.

However once, one or the two parents are in the receiving society and start to have children, the trans-national family unit has to face many challenges. Rhacel Parreñas in her recent book called *Children of Global Migration* (2005), analysed trans-national families with a special interest on the impact of family separation on the lives of the children staying behind. This book takes an original perspective focusing predominantly on the social changes caused by women labour migration in the sending society. Very often the implications of migration in trans-national families units are studied under the perspective of the migrant's point of view. To understand migration and integration processes fully, researches need to mean studies on either sides of the migration; perspectives from the sending and the receiving societies. Unfortunately, such researches are still not that frequent. Despite the fact that we did not get the opportunity to study intergenerational relationships in trans-national household *per se*, we have met migrant families which perfectly echoed Rhacel Parreñas's findings. The children left behind by their mother (but also sometimes by both parents) cope with their absence with many difficulties, especially in societies where gender relations are strictly defined and change resistant, as it seems to be the case in the Philippines (Parreñas, 2005).

Having their children growing up so far caused much suffering to both parents and children:

> Father: "We used to weep all the time… almost every day", "my son would call me 'uncle', not 'dad', because he did not know me at all … […]… [my son] was very much affectionate to his baby-sitter. He was sent [to the Philippines] as a baby and was not affectionate to mum and dad".

At the birth of the third child, parents started to change their mind:

> Father: "We had much money but we weren't happy. [The children] were far away. Something was missing. It is not money that brings happiness; family brings happiness. And when you want money, you must do many sacrifices. But it was them, who were doing most sacrifices. We were far away, and that is no good. Money must come secondly in our life, family comes first. We work for the family. I got married to have a family and I'm working for them. I had a lot of money but I was always missing something. When you put on a balance the money and the family… If you have both, then you are very happy. But if not, you have to balance… We are not anymore as rich as we were before, I have no more money on my bank account in the Philippines, but we are happy. We live together, we talk together…" [I-35]

It is interesting to stress in this family story the fact that after having experienced a trans-national family configuration, the parents decided to put an end to it. First perceived as the ideal option for the well-being of every family member, it finally appears to cause a lot of psychological damage. The birth of the third child in the host country changed the way

parents perceived their migration project. As Italians' interviewers noticed, the decision to bring their children to Italy corresponds to a shift in perceiving their migration project, changing from a temporary to a permanent one. Very much involved in the Filipino community church in Rome, they have developed specific activities to help convince their compatriots that raising children in Italy was the best solution for families. Parents even attended a course within the Filipino community church in Rome in order to become "Family ministers". The interviewer was also asked, during the family interview, to have a look on a plate hanging on the wall in which the family was titled as 'model family'. In this context, the Filipino community in Rome seems nowadays to be strongly involved in the fight against the separation of immigrant families.

In relation to Filipino migration, Rachel Parreñas (2005) points out that the gender roles as they are defined in Filipino society do not always facilitate this kind of family arrangements, those that trans-national family required. In fact, paradoxically, despite the fact that it is often well-accepted and even encouraged for women to go abroad for work, the ideology about gender roles does not ease this process.

Data on Filipino migration to Belgium indicates that the majority of migrants is undocumented (60%) and that they are women (85%)[15]. In Italy, according to the Commission of Filipinos Overseas[16], there are currently 128,080 Filipinos residing in Italy (2006). Carolina Taborga, Social Affairs Officer at UN-INSTRAW stated that in cities like Rome and Milan, female Filipino migrants account for up to 70% of all Filipino migrants[17]. This over-representation of women may have an influence on the way migrant families negotiate new kinds of family configurations alongside the migration process. Changes in men's and women's role seem to be more easily acceptable in the host country than in the sending society. In addition to that, women relatives (grand-mothers, sisters, etc.) are often asked to provide practical childcare assistance and emotional support to the grandchildren in order to allow the parents to work. But it is not a rare phenomenon to observe that many of the women's relatives are already in the host country, and already working. As a result, 'reciprocal caring relationship' tends to become better fulfilled in the host country than in the sending country.

'Forced Trans-National Household'

It is also important to notice that trans-national family configuration is not always the result of a rational choice, negotiated among family members. The following stories, demonstrate it quite well:
A Sri Lankan family in Italy since 1990:

> On January 8th in 95, [the mother] started to work as carer of an old lady who had Parkinson's disease, while her husband fled from Italy, being annoyed about living in a small room alone, taking into consideration the fact that his wife lived within families, having no work and being far away from his son. He returned to Sri Lanka to take care of his son, who in the meantime suffered a lot being without parents. […]. Up to this day, the 20 year old boy arrived in Italy in 1996; in the meantime he had been fostering hard feelings in regard to his family, especially against his mother. He remembers a strong feeling of anger when he arrived and up to this day he blames his parents for his pains:

---

[15] http://www.philsol.nl/of/country-profiles.htm
[16] http://www.cfo.gov.ph/ (Commission on Filipinos Overseas)
[17] http://www.un-instraw.org (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women)

"I feel they are guilty. Example, if you are buying a washing machine and you are not able to pay for it afterwards, why are you buying it? It is something like this. Say you have the responsibility to take care, for example for a dog. If you take a dog, you have to take him for a walk, you have to feed him, etc, and you have to provide for him. If at the end you abandon it, what sense does it have?" [I-40]

This story reveals how trans-national household organisation can be identified as a transitory state that migrant family were forced to endure before being able to find a solution to reunify. Trans-national household organisation is not always planned by migrants who were, in many cases, in fact more impelled to undergo them. In the following story, a solution to reunify the family was never found, thus leading to an atypical 'trans-national' family configuration: on one hand, the three daughters and their mother living in host country and working as domestic workers, and on the other hand, the father and the brother in the country of origin. Because women were for a long time working as domestics and so illegally (or, in this case, as modern day slaves), they have never dared take actions to reunify their family. The fear to be discovered as clandestine forced them to accept slavery working conditions as well as to undergo, for so many years, this painful family situation. It was only in 2002, when they received their legal stay permit that the family reunified during the holidays. However, family reunification has not yet occurred and will probably be never achieved. The mother still wants to 'care for' her daughters until they get married. Only then will she feel completely free to go back to Romania:

A Romanian family in Italy since 1995:

[The mother's] future plans are to return to Romania in order to finally reunify with her husband and her son, who would like to study physiotherapy in Bacău. So what is it that still retains her in Italy, considered that her daughters are now grown up and well integrated? Both daughters joke about the mother always "supervising her daughters with her police-like eye" and that such mother's task is the result of an agreement between their parents: "In our opinion they agreed upon it from home, mum and dad. They shared their tasks. Mum stays with us and dad with our brother". The mother mentions that she would like to work some more time in order to support her children and guarantee an easier future to them. [I-36]

'Nuclear Family' and 'Extended Trans-National Household'

Family ties even when family members are located on different national territories can be maintained and paradoxically strengthened over time. The extended family trans-national network maintained across national boundaries has therefore some substantial influence on the process of integration of family members. The following story of an Algerian family located in Belgium is quite relevant in regard to this matter.

[The father] arrived in Belgium in 1998 when he was 23 years old. In 2006, he choose to become Belgian but as the State of Algeria legally recognises dual nationality, he did not have to abandon his Algerian nationality. Becoming a national citizen of a European country makes everything easier for him in terms of travelling. Migrants from North African countries are well aware of the discriminations they face when crossing borders. Therefore, with a Belgian passport, he can return to his country of origin and at the same time make sure that he would not have any trouble on his way back to Belgium. Going back to Algeria can be culturally very important such as for the 'circumcision's ceremony' which needs to be done in the country of origin with all the extended family. Next year, their son will be old enough to be circumcised and all the family is planning to attend it in Algeria. International mobility can be a way of to reinforcing ethnic identity and cultural belonging among all members of the family. With 7 family members in Europe (three in France and the other four in Belgium) and the rest of the family (two sisters and one brother) in Algeria, solidarity between the family members is very strong and they are always trying to see each others for Muslim celebrations. Recently, all the family from France and Algeria came to Belgium to celebrate the Eid al-Adha. In 2007, he invited and helped his parents to come over based on

the family reunification right. As they were getting older, the family decided to help them come to Belgium in order to receive proper medical care. The father came first and the mother then followed. In fact, they did not come to live in Belgium. They came for a short while in order to get a residence permit and after a while be able to ask for Belgian nationality. The parents visit their children regularly, the 3 of them in France and the 4 of them in Belgium. The three others left (one man and two women) are in Algeria and are not planning to migrate. It is important as everyone was saying during the interviews that some members of family had to stay at home in order to look after the fields and the houses. The reasons why they are planning to get the paper is for health and travelling reasons. (BE-68 Algeria)

Another characteristic that was identified in our sample concerned the issue of trans-national caring relationship and the children born in the host country or who arrived at a very early age. 'Trans-national caring about' seems to be much more present among the 1st generation of migrant than in the 2nd generation, the one of the children. Reciprocal caring relationship which takes place in a trans-national context seems to have many difficulties to pass on the next generations. It can therefore most of time be considered as a one-generation phenomenon.

The following story of an Afghani grandmother who came as a refugee in Germany in 1987 but who still sends remittances home is quite relevant in regard to this:

Both M. (mother) and J. (father) have not been back to Afghanistan since they left the country. J. explains that it is too unsafe and they do not have very close relatives there they really need to visit. He says that of course it is tempting to go there and refresh old memories, but for the time being, they had rather spent the money they have to send it to relatives in Afghanistan. M. says that when going on holiday, they would rather go to a safe holiday country. M.'s mother however goes back to the country regularly. M's father died a few years ago, and the grandmother spends her time visiting her children (M. and her brother and sisters, who live in Holland and Munich) and visiting Afghanistan. M.'s mother organises the family money transfers to Afghanistan. M and J. say they sent 25 – 100 € every month to enable M's uncle and aunt and their families a better life. [DE-19]

However, as Portes (2001: 190) points out, trans-national practises undertaken by the parents may have a 'resilience effect' on the second generation both through its influence on the socio-economic integration of parents and through the latter's persistent efforts to create 'bridges' between their children and the culture and communities left behind.

5. Conclusion

Contemporay international migration encompasse long-standing migratory patterns as well as new ones caused by economic, social and political changes in the recent years. As it has been shown from the family interviews, migrant networks have been playing a crucial role in these contemporary international migration both in 'classical or historical migrations' and 'new' migrations.

The five countries involved in the INTERFACE-project have different histories of migration. Some countries as Belgium and Germany can be, in comparison to others, implying migrations more of a 'classical or historical nature' whereas Italy and Finland can be identified as implying more migrations of a 'new' type. Concerning the Czech Republic, it has since the beginning of the nineties become a country of migration but also one of transit. Those specific traditions of migration towards third-country emigrants can explain the differences between each national sample. The Belgian, German and Czech samples were more diversified, in terms of family profiles, than the Finnish and Italian sample. In the first case, the samples were characterised by a mix-range of migrant profiles going from forced to

voluntary migration. In the second case, the Finnish sample was mostly composed of refugees and/or asylum seekers whereas the Italian sample consisted mainly of economic migrant families that were clandestine or irregular for quite a long time in Italy, before getting regularised.

The second section on social networks and their role in the integration process of migrants has shown that migrants who always stayed regularly (or for a long time) since their entrance in the territory (i.e. asylum seekers, refugees, students, family members that entered due to the family right reunification, etc.) have more chance to experience an integration trajectory supported by host society institutions. On the contrary, migrants that entered illegally into the territory, but also those that became quickly undocumented before getting regularised, have more chance to experience an integration trajectory mainly based on family and kinship network. These different kinds of network and social capital can be mobilised in a variety of ways by migrant families in terms of employment, education, accommodation, information… As a matter of fact, there is an important link between path of integration and gate of immigration. Depending on the status of their stay and the type of network in which they are involved in, either formal (institutions) or informal (ethnic and family networks), family members will have different structural opportunities to socio-economically integrate into the society. This finally may result in including them differently into the host society.

In this section, a special focus on the study of gender differences in social networks and its impact towards women's incorporation into the new society was also taken. The observation made was that women migrants tend to develop a 'bridging gendered social capital' which helps them integrate and participate into the receiving society more actively than their counterparts. Gradually, as Hagan (1998) points out social networks in which women are involved in assume different forms and functions that differentially affect settlement outcomes (particularly opportunities to become legal) but also economic and social outcomes. The gendered social relations of neighbourhood, work, and voluntary associations interact to produce these different kinds of outcomes.

At last, looking at the issue of 'trans-nationalism', three types of 'family trans-national household' were identified in our sample: 'voluntary trans-national household', 'forced trans-national household' and 'nuclear family and an extended trans-national household'.

The first one refers to a 'voluntary trans-national household' with the nuclear family separated into two different territories, between the host country and the country of origin. This first type of 'trans-national household configuration' is more often met in migrant families whose migration can be categorised (as described before) as 'new migration'. Contemporary trans-nationalism encompasses specific patterns due to the feminisation of migration. Exploring more into detail the case of Filipinos migration in Italy, we identify that people can re-consider trans-national 'reciprocal caring relationship' (Reynolds, Zontini 2006), especially when children are involved, more as temporary ones than ones really sustainable due to the weight of cultural norms. As Milagros et al. (2004: 200) explains: "while women have pushed the gendered frontiers of the productive sphere forward through their participation as independent labour migrants across international borders, little has been done to move the border of gendered norms with respect to women's roles and identities in the reproductive sphere". Another element which may also influence family in opting for reunification, instead of pursuing trans-national household organisation, is the fact that some migrant's communities are mainly composed of women.

The second type refers to a 'forced trans-national household' with the nuclear family also spread into two different territories, yet not now resulting from a rational choice. Migrant families can be 'strained' to experience a family trans-national configuration, very often perceived as temporary, transitory.

And finally, the third one refers to a 'nuclear family and an extended trans-national household' with the presence of the nuclear migrant family in the receiving society and grandparents and other relatives in the country of origin or/and in another country. The family story taken to illustrate this section is very interesting because it demonstrates that "chain migration" is not always taking place once there are several family members in the host country. Grandparents but also other relatives are not planning to migrate and settle down in Belgium even if they receive some legal paper to stay. As the parent's migration shows, theirs is only a migration that seeks to facilitate travels for visit and/or medical reasons. The acquisition of Belgian citizenship was in fact pursued to lastingly maintain a 'trans-national social space' between all family members spread into different national territories.

While the literature on immigrant 'trans-nationalism' insisted that the contemporary experience represented a decisive break with the past (Waldinger, Fitzgerald, 2004: 1187), the story of old Turkish migrant families gives another picture. This does not mean that there is nothing new about 'trans-nationalism' but reminds us that these 'caring reciprocal relationships' among migrant families already existed in the past, now sharing the novel features of today's trans-nationalism.

A Turkish migrant family in Germany since 1973:

> Three years later, the couple decided that the wife would join him in Germany. The couple made the decision after the grandfather realised that women workers were sought in Germany. She found a job in a fish factory in 1969. The couple's first daughter N. was born the same year, a son followed in 1970. Because the couple had to work and there were no nurseries, the little children were sent back to the village in Turkey where relatives looked after them. When a second daughter was born in 1972, the little children returned to Germany with their Turkish aunt, who was living with the family and looked after the small children. When the aunt's visa ran out, she returned to Turkey with the children, where they lived in the village again. This lasted until 1975, when N. was six years old and was supposed to go to school. She then returned to Germany with her little brother. So this shuttle migration of the children between Germany and Turkey continued for several years. It was only when the decision was made to put the children to school in Germany that the aforementioned temporary migration of the grandparent generation became permanent. The reason being they could expect more from the economic possibilities in Germany. [DE-17]

References

Castles, Stephen (2003): Towards a sociology of forced migration and social transformation. Sociology 37:13-34

Castles, Stephen & Miller J. Mark (2003): The age of migration, International Population Movements in the Modern World, 3rd edition (revised and updated), Palgrave Macmillan, New York

Coleman, S. James (1988): Social capital in the creation of human capital. American Journal of Sociology 94 : 95-120

Durand, Massey (1990): Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration. Population Index 56:3-26

Guarnizo Luis Eduardo and Smith Michael Peter (1998): The locations of Trans-nationalism. In Trans-nationalism from Below (eds.), Comparative Urban and Community Research V6 – New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers

Glick, Schiller Nina; Basch, Linda & Blanc – Szanton, Cristina (1992): Trans-nationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 645, 1 – 24

Granovetter, Mark (1983): The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited. Sociological Theory 1: 201-233

Hagan, Maria Jacqueline (1998): Social Networks, Gender, and Immigrant Incorporation: Resources and Constraints. American Sociological Review 63 (1): 55-67

Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2000): Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value. In Hutton, W. & Giddens, A. (eds.) : On The Edge: Living with Global Capitalism. London: Jonathan Cape.

Koser, Khalid (1997): "Social networks and the asylum cycle: the case of Iranian asylum seekers in the Netherlands", International Migration Review, 31(3): 591-612

Koser, Khalid. & Pinkerton, Charles (2001): The Social Networks of Asylum Seekers and the Dissemination of Information about Countries of Asylum. Final Report to the Home Office

Maruja Milagros B. Asis, Shirlena Huang & Brenda S.A. Yeoh (2004): When the Light of the Home is Abroad: Unskilled Female Migration and the Filipino Family. In: Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, 25 (2): 198–215

Paiewonsky, Denise (2007): Feminization of migration. Gender, Remittances and development. UN-INSTRAW - Working Paper 1. Santo Domingo. (http://www.un-instraw.org/en/downloads/working-papers/index.php)

Parreñas, Rhacel (2005): Children of Global Migration, Trans-national Families and Gendered Woes. Stanford University Press

Reynolds, Tracey & Zontini, Elisabetta (2006): A Comparative Study of Care and Provision: Across Caribbean and Italian Trans-national Families. Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group. London South Bank University (http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/families/publications/index.shtml)

Turton, David (2003): Conceptualising Forced Migration. This paper is the text of a lecture given at the RSC's International Summer School in Forced Migration in July 2003 (http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/PDFs/workingpaper12.pdf)

Veysel, Oezcan (2004): Germany: Immigration in Transition, Migration Policy Institute. (http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?id=235)

Waldinger, Roger & Fitzgerald, David (2004): Trans-nationalism in Question. American Journal of Sociology 109 (5): 1177–95

Successful Strategies: Turning Downward Professional Mobility Into a Positive Experience

Verena Boehme, Raffaele Bracalenti, Alessia Mefalopulos

1. Introduction

Our research findings indicate that very frequently immigrants face a downward change of professional status when moving to an European country. The downward mobility is often confirmed throughout the years and beyond the immigrants' process of settlement in the host country.

In many cases, such downward mobility determines at emotional level a sense of frustration, if not of failure, that inevitably comes to affect the overall migration experience. Even when the professional mobility only concerns one individual within the family, this is susceptible to seriously affect the integration paths of the whole family unit, particularly when the individual concerned is the head of the family. Not surprisingly, under such circumstances many families evaluate negatively their whole migration experience and not only the employment dimension, as pointed out in many of the interviews conducted.

However, the interviews carried out demonstrate that not always – not for all the families interviewed – such downward mobility entails a negative view of the family's migration history. Some of the families interviewed displayed a positive overall perception of their migration experience, despite having experienced a negative change of professional status.

Amongst all interviews collected in the five partner countries in the framework of the project, a total number of 20 family stories were chosen and further analysed for this paper. Following our working hypothesis, the selection was based on the intersection between two variables: the professional change of status brought about by migration, *and* the families' self-evaluation of their own migration experience. Thus, in this report we focus our attention on the families that in our analysis resulted from a combination between *the experience of downward professional mobility* and *the family's positive self-evaluation of their own migration history*.

Based on the abovementioned perspective, this report is an attempt to provide answers to the following questions: How do migrant families cope with the downward change of professional status? What strategies do migrant families devise in order to overcome the emotional difficulties related to the downgrading of professional status? What is the role played by the family in supporting individuals to cope with such change and how is this role performed?

2. A Matter of Status: The Professional Mobility of Migrant Families

One of the key elements, when talking about migration, is the matter of employment. Before talking about the change of status, two preliminary questions need to be clarified in this

regard. The first point concerns the overall value of work. Since migrants often leave their countries of origin due to an economic need, it is implicitly assumed that work is only a means to earning more money and thus improving the economic situation of the immigrant and her/his family. The findings of our research indicate that this belief is only partially true. As some of the family cases from Finland and Germany demonstrate, being hosted by a country that allows/forces to live on state allowances for a certain time, is experienced by immigrants neither with relief nor as a great luck. On the contrary, although they are grateful to the host state, immigrants feel as if an equal relationship was neglected to them. They feel "useless" and forced to "sit at home", with no possibilities to interact with host society but on a hierarchical base, that continuously reminds them "who is who" and what is the role they are expected to perform in society – not an active role at all. It is therefore extremely important to bear in mind all these multiple dimensions when talking about the work of immigrants.

Following is the synthetic description of two families from Finland that clearly illustrate what this point:

> Family FI-43 Russia
> The family arrived from Russia more than three years ago and is living of the allowances provided by the Finnish state since then. During the interviews, the family highlighted that their economic living standards had improved since living in Finland and that they also had gained security and stability since they did not need to worry if they had incomes or not. However the parents, who were both used to having full-time jobs in Russia and report they were very busy, showed some frustration due to the emptiness of their days. According to the father, the possibility to rely on the state allowances enabled them to spend more time together, on the one hand, but on the other hand, it slowed down their insertion into Finnish society. In particular, the father's frustration derived from the fact that he had been forced to "sit at home" for a long time. The mother, on her side, felt herself as isolated at home and with a bigger responsibility for having to take care of her husband, bigger than it had ever been in Russia.

> Family FI-47 Kosovo
> The family arrived in Finland from Kosovo 16 years ago. The father's former occupation was barber but due to health reasons he couldn't work as a barber any longer and finding another employment was hard too. Being unemployed and thus "needless" was very hard for the father, who was politically and socially very active. He felt that he somehow owed something to the Finnish society. Thus, even though not in paid employment, he was doing some voluntary work. The mother, too, was eager to work, but had been unable to find employment apart from a couple of short periods. In addition, she had a limited time availability to work or participate in language courses, since they had a daughter with Down syndrome who was depending on her and needed attention. Nevertheless it was particularly important for the mother to see her daughter leading a nearly normal life in Finland.

These Finnish cases demonstrate that, besides its functional role as a fundamental economic source, work has some relevance also in guaranteeing socialization as well as in raising the self-esteem of the individual. Particularly for newcomers, work can thus entail multiple meanings at a time: it favours acquiring language skills, helps establishing contacts with new people and the new society, makes the individual feel "useful" even beyond the awareness of "being used". Work entails social visibility and increases self-esteem. In the case of migrants, work can be certainly regarded as one of the main integration factors. The cases of the families that improved their economic situation since living in Finland only by relying on state benefits, but feel nonetheless depressed and "useless" since they are unemployed, provide an excellent example in this sense.

We have to bear in mind all this when talking about the downward professional mobility of migrants. In fact, although it is commonly acknowledged that the main reason pushing most migrants out of their countries lies on an economic factor, the question about the professional

status remains often neglected. Nevertheless, it is expectable that this question has some impact on the emotional level of immigrant individuals as well as family units. Furthermore, it should be considered that migration processes, even economic migration, are mostly made up of individuals who have been acknowledged within their familiar and social *entourage* as being "the best ones" – the most skilful and resourceful individuals, healthy enough for undertaking such a hard and demanding path as migration is. Many individuals who arrive in Europe as immigrants contribute to feed the "brain drain" process affecting the respective countries of origin. Therefore, to talk about the downward mobility of migrants means to refer to people who very often have high educational and professional qualifications as well as expectations.

In the family interviews carried out for our research, the matter of "status" often played a significant role in the narration of the families' life stories, and in most cases it emerged spontaneously from the interviewees' accounts, since the research carried out was not specifically focused on this topic. In particular, the issue of the professional status seems for many family members to be a core aspect when talking about work. For most of the interviewees, the decision to move to another country entailed, besides the expectable hardships connected to the separation from their social *entourage*, the experience of a break in their professional career and a reversal of their working position.

Many immigrants find themselves in the impossibility to meet the requirements of the local labour market upon arrival in the host country. The lack of language skills, of the local networks and of the rules and codes regulating the labour market, added to a certain "closure" that may characterize the host society (e.g., the not-acknowledgement of foreign University Degrees and other forms of institutional discrimination), are all constraints impeding an equal access of immigrants to the local labour market on the base of their professional experience and educational qualifications. Consequently, many immigrants experience a sort of labour discrimination and a downward professional mobility that can entail very high emotional costs and accordingly affect the well-being of the whole family. In addition, the acceptance of such downgrading working conditions entails the unconscious acceptance of a marginalizing condition that may affect not only today's integration path of the whole family, but also tomorrow's performing role in mainstream society of the 2nd generation children.

Our interviewees agreed on the fact that, on arrival in the host country, the need to immediately find a job is perceived as much more urgent than the personal claim to a professional career, as explained by this Moroccan young man:

> "When you get here, you are in need, you are susceptible to being blackmailed. You need to find a job as soon as possible 'cause you have no dad or mum paying the rent for you (…) Thus, you enter here as you would enter a hamam: you see no medals, no ranks, no degrees, nothing. You hang them all on the wall. You are told: This is the labour market, you'd better accept it otherwise someone else will do…" (I-30 Morocco)

Hence, initially the downward professional mobility comes to be perceived as "the lesser evil" and inserted within the framework of the family's changed priorities as a consequence of migration. Many members of the 77 families interviewed confirmed they accepted work below their professional expertise and experience, owing informal channels and networks their recruitment and feeling at the same time very vulnerable for illegal employments.

Things change, however, when the professional downgrading starts to be perceived as a permanent condition, despite the passing of time. To give an overview of the 77 families

interviewed for our research, 35 experienced downward professional mobility in the course of their stay in the host country, 10 experienced no relevant change as to this regard, and 24 improved their professional status; in the remaining 8 families, there was no common understanding amongst family members to this regard.

Given that almost half of our families experienced a loss of professional status, we decided to deepen the analysis into this finding. In particular, we decided to focus our attention on those 20 families that, despite having experienced a significant downward professional mobility, have nonetheless found the way to turn their overall migration path into a successful experience.

Interestingly, the interviews' analysis realized through the lenses of the change of status, opened an additional perspective on gender. The analysis, in fact, suggested the existence of a *strong connection between women' perspectives and positive migration evaluation despite the downward change of professional status.* This means that, as resulting from the families interviewed in the five partner countries, women who experience downward mobility tend to evaluate their family's migration experience more positively than men with a similar experience do. Our hypothesis is that women, more often than men, find their way to rely on sources different from the mere professional sphere in their daily life as immigrants. The fact that they find themselves performing several different roles at a time (e.g., employee, mother, wife), besides burdening them with timely and emotional pressures, may paradoxically contribute to their capability in devising strategies aimed at coping positively with the hardships of migration. By doing so, women manage to change their priorities, not without difficulties, and replace the professional status with other forms of social status that are nonetheless experienced as satisfactory, also in a perspective that entails their whole family unit.

3. A Matter of Strategy: How to Cope With the Loss of Status

Throughout the interviews carried out in the five partner countries we identified several types of strategies devised by immigrant families in order to cope with, and overcome, the difficulties related to the experience of the downward change of professional status. In this report we will describe the four main strategies identified. In order to better illustrate each strategy, one family will be presented as a key example, although quotes from other families will be added upon necessity.

The three main strategies identified are as following:

- ONE: The *ethnic and/or religious community* as a source of emotional support that helps mitigate the emotional costs deriving from the loss of status, by providing the opportunity to perform a relevant social role within the community. Two functions can thus be played by the community in this regard: a) provide emotional/spiritual support (e.g., strengthening religious faith); b) replace the lost professional status with a newly acquired social status within the community. In both cases, it should be further investigated into the relationship between such strategy and the integration process: apparently, immigrant families that rely on this type of support stick to an "integration pattern" that may be questioned, since it can lead immigrants to refer to their ethnic community only, rather than push them to integrate with host society. An example of

this strategy are the three Filipino families residing in Italy (families Nr. 33, 34, 35) and the families I-39 Senegal, I-32 Peru, and I-36 Romania.

- TWO: The *future of children* as a powerful agent that may lead parents to knowingly accept to sacrifice their professional status. The majority of the sample families analysed in this paper provide an example of this strategy. Many parents state they have been able to overcome the humiliations deriving from having to face a downward change of status for the sake of their children – namely, for the *future* of their children. But sometimes the *present* of their children can represent a source of energy that pushes them forward despite their personal losses – the professional status often representing the main loss. The sacrifice of 1st generation immigrants in the name of the 2nd generations, who find themselves as overwhelmed by hopes and expectations they cannot satisfy, is a topic that has been widely explored in the literature on migration[18]. The media mostly present these "children of immigrants" under a negative perspective, on occasion of episodes of deviancy or riots whose responsibility can be ascribed to youths of migrant origin – the recent events of the *banlieues* in Paris provide an excellent example of this. While debating on such issues is clearly not the specific aim of this paper, it is nonetheless important to bear in mind that the experiences and the narrations of immigrant families in Europe may vary consistently depending on the immigration tradition of the host country. For example, in countries like Italy or Finland, where immigration consists of 1st generation individuals to a great extent, and 2nd generations are just starting to move their first steps within host society, the hopes and expectations that immigrant parents project on their children will presumably be different from those that the parents of 2nd or 3rd generations may have projected on their children in countries of a longer immigration history, such as Germany or Belgium.

- THREE: *Overcoming the sacrifice* – better said, overturning downward professional mobility into *the fulfilment of the whole family throughout migration*. Some of the families interviewed stand out for the optimism through which they view their migration experience – past and present – although they, too, have faced downward professional mobility (the head of the family or both parents). Their present life in the reception country is thus perceived and presented as a source of emotional/cultural richness, beyond all hardships that undoubtedly do exist for them too. Apart from the family case that will be presented below (I-41 Ukraine), examples of this strategy are also provided by the families I-36 Romania and I-22 Albania.

Throughout the following analysis, we will seek to give space to the families' narration as much as possible, so as to reflect their view of their own history.

Ethnic and Religious Communities as Opportunities to Perform a Different Role

Of all families interviewed in the five partner countries, 5 have Filipino origin: 2 of them were interviewed in Belgium, and 3 were interviewed in Italy, a country where the Filipino community represents today one of the eldest national minorities. Many Filipino migrants have a university degree when they arrive in Italy, and many among them are women. To all

---

[18] For a review on this topic, see the article "Second generation", in Bolaffi, Bracalenti, Braham and Gindro (eds) (2003).

of them, the downward professional mobility is one of the most serious hardships brought by the migration experience.

In Rome, the Filipino community has an inestimable value for the life of those Filipino families that strive to integrate into Italian society[19]. Following the words of our interviewees, the communities' aim is not only to fortify and spread the catholic faith among Filipinos, but also to support and "accompany" them in coping with daily problems in host society, by providing them with an efficient ethnic network. Such ethnic network is organized similarly to a small city council, offering a 360° counselling service (e.g. legal, psychological, health) to Filipino migrants, and guaranteeing furthermore religious and socializing functions.

Apparently, such a precise organization seems to reflect the attitudes of our interviewees, who seek to solve any problem – including problems that may have originated inside the family – within their community. Although such attitude may appear as the attempt to isolate from mainstream society rather than interact with it, it should be noticed that many of the services provided by the Filipino communities act as mediators, thus effectively bridging Filipino migrants with Italian institutions and services. In addition, as a catholic community, the Filipino minority in Italy finds itself inserted within an homogenous majority from a religious point of view. Accordingly, although each of the two communities – the Filipino and the Italian – represents a cultural universe and a history that cannot be reduced to the religious dimension only, still we can expect the Filipino immigration in Italy to present a certain cultural proximity to mainstream society that certainly influences the integration path of, and the opportunities available to, Filipino immigrants.

The following case refers to one of the Filipino families interviewed in Rome (I-34 Philippines).

Lina and Leo came to Italy with the aim to support economically their large families of origin. Lina arrived in 1987 at the age of 22, as soon as she obtained her BA in Commerce and Accounting from a Filipino college. The fact of feeling herself morally and economically responsible for her large family pushed her to migrate and, upon arrival, to accept work below her qualifications:

> "After I finished college in the Philippines […] I came here and I could not continue with my profession, because I had to help my family. After four years of work within Italian families [as cleaning lady, babysitter and carer of the elderly], I helped my sisters to come here."

When reporting about the current studies and qualifications of her sisters and brothers, Lina highlights that her own and her husband's aim is to invest in their professional future in the Philippines, rather than motivating them to emigrate and risk to face downward professional mobility:

> "They have to find work there. They study there and if they come here and clean private houses, their studies would be useless. They would not be able to practice their profession here, as it was in my case. I studied there and at the end I never managed to use my profession here…"

---

19 It is worth to notice, however, that "the" Filipino community consists of many smaller communities gathering Filipino immigrants. In the City of Rome there are 52 well defined Filipino catholic communities, each with its own structure, and the three families interviewed belong to three diverse communities. Thus, it is worth noticing that, in the case of Filipino migrants, religious community and ethnic community overlap.

Leo arrived in Italy in 1989. Due to economic constraints, he had to drop out college in the Philippines and welcome the idea to migrate. Once arrived in Rome, he accepted work as a dishwasher in a restaurant. Shortly afterwards he met Lina, fell in love, and finally married in 1991.

Their new life as a married couple, however, was overshadowed by their hard working rhythms. While continuing to support their families of origin, they at the same time had to face the economic difficulties deriving from Leo's loss of work and the birth of their daughter in 1992. In order to cope with these constraints, their daughter was brought back to the Philippines, which entailed for Lina and Leo an extremely high cost in emotional terms.

After 15 months, when they managed to bring their daughter back to Italy, they had in the meantime elaborated an efficient working strategy in order to avoid experiencing again the situation they had just overcome:

> "If you work part-time, in case you lose your job, you will always have three, four more hours for another job. Then you can find another job […] without experiencing a period of total unemployment. It is much more stressful to work part-time, but it is certainly safer". (Lina)

In addition, Leo sacrificed his professional gender role as man, accepting work as a cleaner and a carer of the elderly in private households.

> "At that time, where did you see a man ironing? Where did you see a man who did that kind of work? She [the employer] trusted him and he did very well this job. In the Philippines men do not wash clothes nor they iron (she laughs) Here he had to do so…" (Lina)

But thanks to what do they manage to accept these sacrifices and even cope positively with their stressful working life? Is the economic factor (e.g., helping the rest of the family at home; investing in a property in the Philippines) enough to explain such positive outlook? In the following we seek to evaluate this further.

For 10 years the whole family has been attending one of the Filipino communities in Rome and all family members are actively involved in community life: Lina as the coordinator of the community, Leo as one of the "spiritual guides", and their daughter Cristina as the coordinator of youth. They talk about their responsibility and time-consuming commitments within the community without hiding that the spiritual and emotional benefit they obtain goes far beyond any fatigue:

> Leo: "The community is very, very important for us. Very much! We entered in the community, as a family, when she was just born […] It is nice, every Sunday you get a spiritual push that helps you forget every problem. It helps ease every burden, it helps understand that every difficulty you meet is not a burden, but rather a part of your life. Every Sunday we listen to the word of God, he is there every Sunday, so we try to apply his words during the daily life as if he were amongst us. We try to apply (his words) in anything we experience (…) It is a spiritual support, not material, but through the community we are feeling a bit useful, useful being able to help others."
> [...] "They [Italians] say always that we [immigrants] steal their jobs, but the jobs we do, it's the jobs they refuse"
> Lina: "Where do you see young Italians working as cleaners? Obviously they study and try to get better jobs (…) We cannot waste our time studying again and finally doing another job […] The first time I felt bad […] first time in Italy, before we entered the community in order to understand many things of the gospel, I felt myself insulted by the fact that I could not work in the sector I had studied, that I had reduced my professional expectations so much as to accept a job in which I had to kneel down in front of the toilet seat and clean it. Now I feel honoured by the fact that we are doing a legal work, that there is nothing I have to feel ashamed of. I cheered myself up"

In the active involvement in their community, not only in their religious faith, they seem to find many indications so as to turn a negative circumstance into a positive outcome. This is true also in relation to the loss of their professional status - which they do not perceive as loss anymore – and compensate their unskilled work with their cognitive skills:

"One important thing. My employers are very happy, because the level of the individuals who do this kind of work and have studied is different from those who have not studied. It is a different approach, how can I say, you understand things better, you can interact better […] is at the end the advantage of many Filipinos who came to Italy. Many of them are graduated, but did not find work there and came here. In brief it is really nice when somebody who is graduated is able to use this mentality here, you are able to open a discussion while you are working, it keeps company […] While we are working, we can chat: Did you listen to the news? Yes? While we are working, we communicate and this is very important. I feel well by doing so." (Lina)

Through its efficient network, the Filipino community also provides its members with the possibility to use immigrants' specific professional skills in some services or activities on a voluntary base. By doing so, the Filipino community offers immigrants the opportunity to replace the loss of professional status experienced in host society with the acquisition of a new *social* status within the community itself.

"…For the reason that I can use my professional qualifications, I keep also the contact to the community. For example within my community I worked for a period as a paymaster. I took care about the accounting of the community. I used my studies on a voluntary basis, as if it were a social contribution. I have to satisfy myself by doing so, otherwise what should I do?" (Lina)

Finally, the opportunity, provided by ethnic communities, to make use of the personal skills and qualifications, is perceived as a basic support in coping with the difficulties and evaluating one's own migration experience as positive.

"Since we live in Italy, we changed in terms of broadening our mind. We understood that work is not only sacrifice, that we can be happy because Italy gave us the possibility to work. […] To me, staying in Italy means that you can realize every dream, thinking positively, having confidence and acting honestly. I am very happy, because I feel fulfilled by having realized my dream. Coming to Italy my dream was to support my family […] I feel fulfilled that I helped them, I feel fulfilled that we invested our savings in a house there. So we took credit of our sacrifices." (Lina)

The Future of Children as an Agent of Sacrifice

The story of a family from Peru provides a good example to illustrate how children – or the children's future – can serve as an agent of sacrifice (I-32 Peru):

Alessandra used to work as an accountant in Peru and her husband Pedro as a journalist. When Pedro lost his job, they realized that Alessandra's salary alone was not sufficient to provide for the studies of their four children and the decision to migrate was made:

"I was always thinking about my children […] The situation was despairing for me […] During those days I was only thinking about leaving Peru in order to do something for my children."

The first of the family to leave Peru, Alessandra arrived in Italy in 1995. Upon arrival, she started working as a cleaning lady in private households, having no working contract and no regular Permit to stay in Italy, and suffering humiliations and physical exploitation. She continued working under these conditions until she obtained a Permit to stay and could

subsequently claim for family reunification. In 2001 Pedro and their first daughter Olga arrived in Italy.

Pedro found work as a doorkeeper, while Olga, who had just finished upper secondary school in Peru, had to repeat the last three years at an Italian school in order to get the qualification for accessing Italian university. However, due to the family's economic constraints, she was also working in the meanwhile. The experience of employment in the domestic sector was traumatic for her:

> "I had to look after the children, and clean the house, tasks that I had never done for other people. I used to clean my house, but not those of others. I felt bad, I was missing everything, my family, my sisters […] I never expected to come here and work within a family […] It was so bad, I was looking forward to go back…"

For the family, the difficulties deriving from migration were not limited to the humiliating experience of their respective working conditions. Their overall living conditions were also extremely limiting and represented a constraint to living a family life together. For several years, each family member was living in a different household. Alessandra, who was working permanently within an Italian family, was not allowed to bring her husband to live with her. Her employers only accepted to host Olga at the very beginning, but even this "kindness" ended up giving origin to many humiliations. Olga recalls:

> "It was so difficult to stay there… My mother can tell you how difficult it was, also for eating. Many times I used to arrive there at 2 or 3 pm, and my mother used to keep some food for me, some pasta, so that we would save money not buying food outside. And what did I do? I was used to go upstairs to the last floor of the house and eat secretly. By doing so, they would not see me, they would not say anything […] It was so bad!"

Over the years, the family managed to lighten their daily strain. They started living together. Since 2005 Olga has been studying Computer Engineering at university, while continuing to work as a babysitter and a cleaning lady in private households. Both parents kept their jobs, Pedro as a doorkeeper and Alessandra as a cleaning lady, although Alessandra is not living within families anymore, but working on an hourly basis.

Regarding the parents' loss of professional status, their accounts sound very rational and free from emotions and regrets. They just mention the factors that, according to their experience, work against a successful integration into the labour marked of the host society:

> Pedro: "It is a pattern. The foreigner is always pushed into a standby-position. He or she has to be there, far away from everything, far away from every part of life. […] We foreigners only come here to work, we are the working force of Italy, but with all these constraints, one cannot work here. As a foreigner, you can only work as a carer of the elderly and the women in the domestic sector. Nothing else."
>
> Olga: […] For example my mother is an accountant. She cannot work here. She did work at home, yes, but not here. She did this kind of study, but here she must start again… She must study again. A person who is already 40 years old, who came to Italy to work, must start the studies for her/his profession again. When will she or he graduate, at the age of 50?"

Over the years in Italy, they managed to bring all children to Europe. They arranged work in Spain for their eldest son and brought the two youngest daughters to Rome through a second family reunification. After considering the facilitations they could have in accessing university in Spain, the youngest daughter also moved thereto after a year. Hence, all daughters are attending university at present and Pedro's and Alessandra's working efforts in Italy are guaranteeing their success:

> Pedro: "Here we have work and this is a really important thing, in terms of being able to organize how to go ahead with the family. I have to support my children during their studies. I use my salary for this, to allow them to finish their studies. Until they will not finish, I don't move away from here […] In this sense I found a bit of tranquillity here, I have a work, a salary, which enables me to support my children during their studies."
>
> Alessandra: "Working a lot, one can afford to pay the children's studies. For the children, one must always go ahead […] My intention always was that my children continue studying… that they go even more ahead. I was working for example as an accountant in Peru, here in Italy I cannot practice my profession, I am working in the domestic sector. I am not ashamed of doing this work, because I tell myself, inasmuch as I do this for the future of my children, it is ok, I feel fine. I feel fulfilled as woman, as wife, as mother […]But the fact that my children go ahead, prepossess me with an immense joy. So I say, the sacrifice I do here, I do it for their future and one day the results will come out. I am always full with hope. I hope always that everything will be ok. I wish a future for my children, for the whole family, because if they are ok, even we will be fine"

Olga acknowledges the parental care and working efforts of her parents. Her outlook about Italy is, however, related to her personal growth process. Accordingly, the achievement of her interior maturity is evaluated as being the biggest benefit of her migration experience:

> "I speak as a daughter. As a child, many times one is not able to understand the meaning of the fact when a mother or a father leaves you to work abroad […]Since I arrived in Italy, I always worked. At the beginning I nursed a grudge against my mother, but now I thank my mother […] Coming here was useful for me and I thank her. It was hard, it cost me many tears, I cried, they [Italians] treated me badly, I had to face racism and many times they [Italians] excluded me, but anyway it helped me grow up and become stronger […] I do not regret having come here. At the beginning it was hard … but it changed my life … because I started understanding things by myself. Let's say, I passed here the most beautiful moments of my life, I grew up mentally, I became mature."

In conclusion, Alessandra's and Pedro's hopeless view with respect to their professional careers seems to be efficiently counterbalanced by (the idea of) the professional future of their children. The downward professional mobility is tolerated and even accepted on condition that they are able to support their children in building themselves a professional future. While relieving their work of their own professional expectations, Alessandra and Pedro came to perceive the educational progress of their children as a qualitative indicator of their own sacrifice. Their children's educational and professional progress is, therefore, significant in perceiving their own stay in Italy as meaningful and in turning the perception of their downward professional mobility into a positive migration outcome. Thus, the promising future of their children turns into a powerful agent of sacrifice – sacrifice of their own needs, professional expectations and overall social status.

Overcoming the Sacrifice: Making Migration Fit One's Own Fulfilment

A family from Ukraine will serve as example to illustrate this coping strategy (I-41 Ukraine):

> Mother: "As a foreigner, you've got to be extremely skilled if you want to achieve something here"
> Son: "Otherwise you have no reason to come here. If you want to come here … you've got to have a precise idea on your mind - an idea, a goal you want to achieve… If you leave like that, with no clear ideas, either you will get lost, or you will return to your own country and you…"
> Mother: "… And you are nobody, because everybody is professor up there"
> Daughter: "Many people got lost like that. They have never returned to Ukraine and they haven't…"
> Mother: "They haven't achieved anything"
> Daughter: "They haven't achieved anything, and they are always complaining here, for in Ukraine they could be someone, and they are nobody instead…"

Frequently, migrant families arrive to a new country with the intention to only stay a short time, but then somehow find themselves prolonging their stay indefinitely. However, while many families in such circumstances appear to passively accept the change of plans with spirit of sacrifice and much suffering, other families manage to gain a positive outcome from their migration history, beyond the economic sphere. Such is the case of the family described below, which succeeded in turning an emergency-migration into a challenging experience that certainly demands sacrifice, but can also and above all represent an invaluable richness for all family members. The keystone of such transformation seems to be twofold: on the one hand, the family members' precise will not to view themselves as passive actors or "victims"; on the other hand, the migration experience is viewed as an added value ("travelling" and "opening horizons") and is moved up by curiosity towards the host society and culture.

This family – better said, the "immigrant side" of this family – consisted of the mother and her two young children aged 13 and 8 at the time of arrival in Rome, in 1995. Due to a serious health damage suffered by the youngest son as a consequence of the Chernobyl disaster, the mother decided to leave Ukraine in a desperate attempt to see her son definitely healed. As a consequence of such decision, the family had to split since the father, a priest of the Greek Catholic Church, remained in Ukraine together with the eldest son, aged 15 then, in order not to "*lose our ties with our country*".

The migration experience was extremely demanding for the mother. Alone with her two children in an alien country with an unknown language, she had to face a lot of difficulties in order to guarantee herself and her children a decent life. The main hardship deriving from their status as undocumented immigrants, she had to cope with serious economic constraints that made her fall into debt for several years. Nonetheless, she succeeded in having a doctor taking daily care of her child, while guaranteeing both children school attendance at Italian school. She, who was the wife of a priest in Ukraine, and was thus used to having a high social status and visibility, had to accept work as a cleaning lady in Italy. Notwithstanding all hardships, she was extremely motivated and succeeded in transmitting her optimism to the children, who seem to have experienced those first years of migration as an exciting adventure.

Throughout the years, the migration history of the family changed as the motivation underlying migration was changing. In fact, following the need to solve all debts taken out, the stay in Rome was prolonged beyond the complete recovery of the child. For several years, the mother stayed in Rome in order to "guarantee continuity" to the family, whereas the children were going forth and back with Ukraine, until they both returned to Rome to attend university there. Having started as an emergency grounded upon health reasons, migration was now gradually turning into a long-term plan that can only partially be explained by an economic motivation. Slowly, migration was turning into a cultural experience, as it came to represent a sort of gateway to experiencing "the outer world", as the mother clearly states:

> "Yes I did find myself in trouble because I was lacking the opportunity to treat my son, but also the opportunity to see beyond the borders of my country, of my home […] As the mother, I'm also the cause of these movements – striving to solve things, striving to see, to understand, to open horizons for my own and my family's sake…"
> "[Most Ukrainian migrants] left their families in order to provide for economic support but cannot afford to achieve anything […] and are the victims of a kidnapping. We came here for another reason, we followed other paths, we got into more debts than we had before, in some way we achieved our goal, we would seek to go home at Eastern and at Christmas at any cost, we got into further debts, we studied… We had another aim […] We were no victims. We haven't left home to send money for the children".

Both children support such view, as in the daughter's words below:

> "Mum has always wanted us to live our life here […] Some Ukrainian families are here to work, and they do not think of today, they only think of sending money home, and by doing so they do not think of life, they only work, similarly to the Italians who emigrated… On the contrary, we do live, here. We go out at night, we go to the restaurant from time to time…"

Embracing such perspective, however, was not costless in psychological terms. Throughout her experience as an immigrant, the mother had to cope with a significant change of professional status, particularly in the first years, when despite being graduated at university, she worked as a cleaning lady amongst other jobs that she did in order to cope with the family's most urgent needs in the host country. In addition to the professional sphere, the change entailed by migration also brought her a significant change of social status, as she clarifies in the following passage:

> "I wasn't starving [in Ukraine]. I was the wife of the priest, I was persecuted at the beginning, but I was the wife of the priest and everybody loved me. I was very 'famous', very much beloved by many people and by young people, there always were plenty of people at home (…) I was a very privileged individual and never lacked anything…"

Moving to Italy, she suddenly lost her social status; similarly to most undocumented immigrants, she and her children became invisible, with no recognized rights and no definite social roles. Such "dark side" of her experience is exemplified by a couple of episodes recalled by her and referred to encounters that she had had years before. Her first encounter was with an Ukrainian woman, a professor whom she had known from home:

> "As soon as she realized who I was, the professor told me: 'You were an example for all of us. What did you come here for – for cleaning the ladies' bathrooms?'. There were a hundred people there, I did not know what to respond […] Then I said: 'Listen. Three or four years ago you believed that I had guts. Now, too, you must trust me. I do have guts, but maybe you can't understand.'"

The second episode refers to a priest whom she also knew from Ukraine and whom she happened to meet while she was cleaning up one of the places where she was working:

> "He met me there, next to the lift. He offered me an envelope and told me: 'Take this and get away from here. Aren't you ashamed? This is not your place."

Although the memory of such events was still visibly burning during the interviews, the mother nevertheless demonstrated her outstanding will to view the positive side of her migration experience:

> "It is also good to see another reality – this is also an experience for a people. For me personally. It is a school".

Apparently, even at personal level the mother found the way to cope with such downward mobility and to overcome the emotional breakdown deriving from it. Similarly to her children, she, too, has a very active social life. Beyond her many contacts with Italian people, she is extremely active within the Ukrainian community in Rome. She is currently employed by the Ukrainian Church and she organizes cultural and social events linked to the Ukrainian community. In addition, she personally mobilizes in order to give a hand to Ukrainian immigrants who find themselves in difficulty. She acts as a linguistic and cultural mediator, bridging Ukrainian immigrants with Italian institutions and providing information on Italian bureaucratic procedures:

> "I was just like a toll-free number, everybody knew it [her mobile number] – the embassy, the police, the church, the priests and the nuns…"

She is very enthusiastic about her activities with Ukrainians and this seemingly provides her enough strength so as to make her feel untiring and extremely satisfied most of the time, as she herself confirms:

> "I'm working for my own people now, so I feel satisfied...".

Similarly to the dynamics characterizing also other families that have been the object of our analysis (e.g., the three Filipino families – see the family case described above), in the case of this family the loss of professional status (of the mother) was efficiently counterbalanced by the gain of social status within the "ethnic" (Ukrainian) community. By doing so, the mother succeeded in overturning the role she has been assigned by host society (social invisibility and no professional status) and she transforms it into a highly visible and active role. In a way, migration led her farther than the role of the "wife of the priest" she was used to perform in Ukraine: in Rome, she herself became a leader of the Ukrainian community.

Currently, the mother is experiencing a new phase in her migration path – a phase which she herself bitterly refers to as a "*One step beyond integration*" phase. After having overcome many difficulties and having succeeded in her migration purposes (having her son treated; having her two children studying at university; obtaining a job that she likes and through which she can continue to "serve" the Ukrainian community; etc…), the mother now fears disillusionment and wonders about the overall meaning of migration:

> "I found many and many friends here. This is why I now perceive Rome as my home and I do not fear the city anymore, Italy has become my second fatherland. Nevertheless… A new phase is about to start - this wounds me terribly, so much that I can't wait to get back home. Yes, everything's in order, and I'm fine. But thousands of times I ask myself: what are you doing here? Why are you here? (…) For me it's the time to re-think (…) The only thing that comes up to my mind is: let's re-think ourselves. Let's re-think. Italy does not need us (…) Maybe this is not our place anymore (…) Maybe we've got to start everything all over again and renounce to be here (…) This is already one step beyond integration…"

Finally, summarizing up all the different phases experienced since she first arrived to Italy with her children, the mother concludes her reflection on her own migration story in the following terms:

> "Nowadays, with the passing of years, I still wonder how could I not fall into crisis. I'm glad we are here […] I feel satisfied, I haven't buried my energy, my own way of living, of being the wife of the priest, I haven't buried it underneath the earth. I put the sacrifices apart – my husband is in Ukraine, because such is our choice – I see it positively. And I say: now it's up to the Italians to find out what our immigration here can create…" .

4. Gender Strategies? The "Strange" Case of Women

After having presented above the several types of strategies devised by immigrant families in order to cope positively with downward professional mobility, special focus will now be placed on the role played by women within this framework. Research findings indicate that the families that are characterized by a relationship that will be defined in this chapter as a

"positive gender attitude"[20], are more likely to have a positive evaluation of their own migration compared to the families that are characterized by a more "traditional" gender attitude[21]. Findings of the INTERFACE project suggest that the immigrant family is more likely to overcome the difficulties derived from downward professional mobility when the women of the family play a more relevant and active role within the family itself. The suggested hypothesis is thus, that due to a number of factors that will be described below, migrant women are more capable than migrant men to find sources of fulfilment that are alternative to a professional career. Below this hypothesis will be assessed in more detail to understand *how* women can succeed in doing so.

Before proceeding further, it is worth to remind that our hypothesis is based on qualitative data only and is limited to the 77 families interviewed through field research. Thus, the aim of the present study is not to provide a statistic framework of all interviewed migrant families that have a positive evaluation of migration, or that are characterized by a positive gender attitude. The project findings only suggest that, amongst the families interviewed, there exists a correspondence between women's perspective and positive evaluation of migration. To be more precise, amongst the families that have experienced a downward change of professional status, and that nonetheless evaluate their own migration experience as positively, the majority are characterized by a gender attitude that we identify as "positive" (see definition provided above). This limits the number of families studied for the purpose of this chapter, on the base of the abovementioned hypothesis, to the number of 13[22]. It is not the intention of this study to claim that migrant women "always" or "normally" experience migration more positively than men – the reality is far from being so benevolent with migrant women, who often experience a double marginalization, as migrants and as women. Rather, the aim of this chapter is to provide an insight of the dynamics occurring in these families, in the effort to improve our understanding of such dynamics. This brief analysis hopefully contributes to the development of future studies in this field.

Two preliminary issues need to be pointed out before proceeding further with our analysis:

i)   With regards to the 13 families that are the specific object of our gender analysis (i.e. families characterized by a *combination of* downward change of professional status *with* positive evaluation of migration *with* a positive gender attitude), it should be noticed that all of these women come from highly qualified contexts, either in social or educational terms – a variable which can be regarded as being not insignificant in influencing women's attitude and life-style in the new context.

ii)   It needs also to be remarked that our research findings indicate how migration entails a strong process of self-emancipation for many women, not only for the "privileged" ones mentioned above. The passage below is extracted from the words of a single mother from Ecuador for whom migration did not entail any significant change of professional status (she had low-skilled professional qualifications on arrival in Italy), but who did nevertheless experience a very strong process of self-emancipation through migration:

---

[20] We intend to refer here to either an equalitarian relationship/distribution of roles between wife and husband or women overtaking the leading role within the family

[21] Hereafter indicated as "negative gender attitude"

[22] This number derives form the following calculation: amongst the 77 families interviewed in the five countries, 34 experienced downward mobility; out of these, 18 evaluate their migration history as positive. Amongst these 18 families, 13 are characterized by a "positive" gender attitude.

"I am here far away from my family, but I feel better than in my country of origin. I feel better here, yes surely in terms of the economic situation, but also in terms of family cohesion. When I was in my country, they considered me as the black sheep of the family, because I decided to have my son. It was a bad thing and for this reason I had a lot of troubles with my family. Now we are far away and the relationship changed. My parents are more attached to me, they are closer to me, although we are far away. Yes, yes." (I-26 Ecuador)

Going back to the 13 families originally identified for this gender analysis, some key-factors may be identified that can be regarded as crucial in determining women's active role in coping positively with downward professional mobility. Namely, three such key-factors can be identified: a) self-empowerment; b) women's multiple roles; and c) challenged gender roles.

A. Self-Empowerment

Many of the families interviewed experienced a separation as part of the migration process: either the father or the mother, or even one of the children, started migration individually and stayed in the host country for months or years before having the family reunified there. During the separation period women, often left alone with their children, are necessarily forced to assume the sole responsibility for the wellbeing of their "broken families", and this fact includes inherently a strong process of self-empowerment.

The experience of a young woman from Belarus who was left at home with her two children before being able to reach her husband in the Czech Republic, provides evidence of this process:

"Almost overnight this young girl, a student with small children, became an adult woman who supporting her family and was labelled as a dissident. She completed her research studies and broadened her qualifications. She got a place as a specialist in the field of graphology. She also worked as a special teacher in facilities for children and youth." (CR-56 Belarus)

This process of self-empowerment can be interpreted as an internal resource – an outstanding strength or "power" that, besides being a personal enrichment, is also a crucial instrument to coping with the new life in the host country. The benefits of such a process of self-empowerment seem to be also helpful in coping positively with the loss of professional status. In the case just reported, the young woman from Belarus seems to perceive downward professional mobility as a transitory phenomenon only, and she does everything in order to overcome it.

Other women from the families interviewed for our research display the same attitude. The words of another Filipino woman interviewed in Rome exemplify this:

"I accepted it [the job as a cleaning lady], but I sought to find a way out. I am not ashamed of having being a cleaning lady, but I tried to find a way out […] After one year I started an Italian language course […] Now I teach a class to become entrepreneurs, I provide information to people who want to start their own activity […] Now I feel well." (I-35 Philippines)

The particularity of all these women who are characterized by a strong activism, is that such activism appears to compensate downward professional mobility, giving way to a self-reliable and optimistic view that inevitably influences their migration outlook in general.

B. Women's Multiple Roles

Another fundamental aspect supporting our hypotheses is related to the role(s) perform by women within the family. Looking back at one of the strategies exposed in the former chapter – with respect to parents sacrificing their own professional status in the name of their children's future – we note that it was a strategy mostly characterizing families identified as with a "positive" gender attitude. Following the statement according to which "the term family is an elegant metaphor to say women"[23], our research confirmed that women often perform a key-role within the household, considered that they deal with multiple tasks and responsibilities at a time. In all of our family cases, women perform multiple-roles: as mothers, as wives or ex-wives and as workers in the host society. Such multiplicity of roles can be demanding but can also be regarded as a multiplicity of "resources" the woman can turn to. In the majority of the families interviewed, the loss of professional status seems to be perceived by women as less important than their personal commitment to the family. In particular, the mothers' commitment to guarantee a successful integration of their children into the host society, and hence guarantee them a promising future, is set as a priority. This attitude to do everything for the wellbeing and successful future of the children is reflected in several narrations of the families' women. The following passage is extracted from the words of another Filipino mother living in Italy:

> "In order to integrate her (the daughter) well, we signed her up in a swimming course so that she would be able to meet many Italians and not only her class mates. During that time she was the only Filipino in the whole Sporting club. (…) I think the best is if she (daughter) can extend her outlook through friendships and acquaintances. She has to know well every corner of Italian society, because I think Italy is her country. I can't keep her inside home (…) To fulfil our dream, I wish that my daughter finishes her studies. Our only dream is to provide a future for her. Should she not be able to finish her studies, what work should she do? She cannot do the job we did (work in the domestic sector) for the whole time. We did this job for her (…) I hope that she will put through her studies, that she, too, will realize her dream; not only for my own satisfaction, but also for herself. That's it" (I-34 Philippines)

Thus, the advancing of the children in the host society, perceived as a result of the mother's role, can be viewed as a relevant indicator for the dismissal of the parents' own professional status. This in turns modifies the perception of the outputs deriving from migration and contributes to shape the family's evaluation in positive terms. In the accounts of many of the women interviewed, such multiplicity of roles emerges as being experienced as an additional source of "power" compared to men – a source which women can rely on while facing all hardships of migration, including the downgrading of professional status.

C. Challenged Gender Roles

Finally, the last aspect concerning the gender perspective addresses the relation between genders within the family. In fact, the findings of our research indicate that migration powerfully challenges the gender roles, as exemplified by the words of a father from Peru:

> "I had to tell myself, now everything will change. I have to do things I never did before. I did not like the idea to cook, but if nobody does it, I have to do it. I had to look after the children. Time ago I thought that I would never be able to do those things, but instead I was able to do them. One can do everything, if there is a bit of will and personal commitment to do these things. I told myself: as from now, everything will change and I will do everything." (I-32 Peru)

---

[23] M. Piazzi (1999) in: *La Famiglia nell'immigrazione: Condizioni di vita e culture a confronto*. CNEL. Roma

In two cases (I-29 Iran, and BE-67 Poland) the consequences of such change in gender roles were so extreme, and so heavy was the failure in sharing a common outlook of integration into mainstream society, that husband and wife separated from each other as a consequence of migration. The family story of an Iranian woman and her son residing in Rome (I-29 Iran) provides clear evidence of the existence of a strong link between the elements of our hypotheses (downward social mobility *and* positive evaluation of migration *and* positive gender attitude). This woman separated from her husband after having reunified with him, together with her son, in Rome. Subsequently, she found out that her husband was unable to cope with the new life in the host society, and in particular with the loss of his professional status, and she experienced a traumatic time due to this. The family atmosphere was so explosive and continuously overshadowed by countless conflicts between them, that she finally understood that separating from her husband was a necessity in order to protect the psychological wellbeing of her son and herself. The strong need to achieve a "psychological freedom" was perceived by her as such an urgent priority in her life, that her own downward professional mobility was finally accepted in name of such freedom. Although, as many other women of the families interviewed, she has a degree from the University of Teheran, she works now in a cleaning company in Rome, welcoming this change of status as an exchange for the "mental freedom" obtained after she separated from her husband:

> "I did my choice. I could also remain and suffer, but I decided to change and not to suffer anymore. If you make a decision in order not to suffer, anyhow there will be other sufferings. In my opinion you have to see, what is the best thing, the thing you can tolerate more […] To me to tolerate this work is better than tolerate such a husband. For this reason I made this decision and I changed my life." (I-29 Iran)

Even if the case of this woman is one of the extreme ones, it illustrates how, throughout migration, traditional gender roles come to be challenged. According to the narration of this Iranian woman, had she not faced migration she would not have separated from her husband - she admits that she was almost "imprisoned" in the expectations that, within the family, were surrounding her role both as a wife and as a mother:

> "Before coming to Italy I believed a lot in a unified family, I mean to unify your own family. I did not like the fact that he [her husband] was far away, that my son could not see his father, that he did not have a father. I used to think like this, and for this reason I made the decision to come to Italy. I knew that I would have suffered, but I told myself, at least my son will have a father, at least we will be all together, we will be a family" (I-29 Iran)

For this woman, migration, and the subsequent separation from her husband, was the foundation of a powerful emancipation process. This emancipation process positively influenced many aspects of her new life in the host society, not only the perception of the loss of her professional status, but also and in particular her overall confidence in regards to her life project abroad.

5. Conclusion

Work can play a crucial role in facilitating the integration of immigrants in a new society. Such role is not limited to a functional one, as a means to improving the economic situation of the family. Our research findings indicate that work is not only a matter of earning money: many of the families interviewed in the five partner countries have had a successful migration from an economic point of view, nonetheless not all perceive their migration history as positively. Work is moreover related to the social identity of the individual or to the feeling of

"usefulness". Under this perspective, the downward change of professional status that many immigrants experience as a result of the migration process, plays a crucial role in determining the outputs of migration itself since it has much to do with the overall social role that the individual and his family can perform in host society.

However, many of the families that have experienced downward mobility upon arrival in the reception country, have devised some strategies in order to cope with such change. We identified three different types of strategies that immigrant families use in order to cope with the difficulties related to the loss of status: a) the *involvement in an ethnic or religious community*, as a means to compensate the lost professional status with the gain of social status in other spheres; b) the *future of children* as a powerful agent of sacrifice for many parents who accept, as one of the major costs of migration, *today*'s loss of professional status, for the sake of their children's successful future; c) *making migration one's own fulfilment*, that is, viewing the overall migration experience as a source of emotional/cultural richness for all family members, a "richness" that exists despite all difficulties, including the decline in professional status.

Furthermore, the analysis carried out has highlighted the key role performed by women within their families in overcoming the difficulties related to the decline of professional status. In fact, women are often making a positive evaluation of the family's migration experience, even when they have experienced a professional decline. This is because, on one hand, they seem to rely on other "sources" than the professional one, and actively perform different roles that come to compensate the professional decline. On the other hand, the migration experience challenges gender roles with structural changes also within the family, and women often experience a self-emancipation process as a result of migration itself.

In conclusion, our study on the strategies devised by immigrant families in order to cope positively with the downward change of professional status has evidenced the following aspects:

1) The family can perform a key-role in helping its members to cope with, and overcome, the difficulties brought about by migration, including the decline of professional status. All of the three strategies we identified as devised in order to cope with downward mobility, are intimately linked to the existence of a family unit.
2) The matter of employment needs to be viewed not just as an economic source but also as displaying other functions such as raising the individual's self-esteem and efficiently contributing to shape one's social role. Given the interrelatedness existing between all family members, it is understandable how the experience of the decline of professional status can heavily affect the emotional well-being of the whole family. With respect to immigrants, work can thus be regarded as a crucial means of integration.
3) Research findings clearly indicate that, within the immigrant family, women often perform an active role in shaping positively the family's perception of the migration experience. This may be due to various factors, a number of which has been described above, that are not sufficiently taken into consideration by migration studies. We thus hope, for the future, that migration studies will more and more adopt a gender perspective as a means to enhance the understanding of the migration process.

References

AAVV (2000): Secondo rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia. Roma: Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati, Dipartimento per gli Affari Sociali

AAVV (2007): Indici di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia, V rapporto. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale dell'Economia e del Lavoro. Organismo Nazionale di Coordinamento per le politiche di integrazione sociale degli stranieri

ACLI (2006): Famiglie Migranti. Primo rapporto nazionale sui processi d'integrazione sociale delle famiglie immigrate in Italia. Roma: unpublished

ACLI e IREF (2005): Cosa penso di voi. Le opinioni e la condizione delle colf in Italia. Roma.

Ambrosini M., Molina S. (eds) (2004): Seconde generazioni. Un'introduzione al futuro dell'immigrazione in Italia. Torino: Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli

Balsamo F. (2003): Famiglie migranti. Trasformazioni dei ruoli e mediazione culturale. Roma: Carocci

Benini M., Bracalenti R. (2005): "The role of families in the migrant integration process" in Pflegerl J., Trnka S. Migration and the family in the European Union. Wien: ÖIF Schriften

Bichi A., Valtolina G.G. (2005): Nodi e snodi. Progetti e percorsi di integrazione degli stranieri immigrati. Milano: Franco Angeli

Bolaffi, Bracalenti, Braham and Gindro (2003): Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture, London, Sage Publication.

Boyd M. (1989): "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas", International Migration Review, Vol. 23, No.3, pp. 638-670

CNEL – Consiglio Nazionale dell'Economia e del Lavoro (2004): La famiglia nell'immigrazione: Condizioni di vita e culture a confronto. Roma: Report Draft

Cook T.J. (2005): "Gender Role Beliefs and Family Migration Decision-Making". Paper presented at the 45th Congress of the Regional Science Association in Amsterdam, 23-27 August 2005

Curran S.R., Saguy A.C. (2001): "Migration and cultural change: a role for gender AND social networks?". Journal of International Women's Studies, 2001 Jun;2(3):54-77

Edwards R., Franklin J. and Holland J.(2003): "Families and Social Capital: Exploring the Issues", Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group Working Paper No 1. London: London South Bank University

Franklin J. (ed) (2005): "Women and Social Capital", Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group. London: London South Bank University

Guida Ching-fan Man (2005): "Transnational Migration, Gender, and Work: Exploring the Experience of Chinese Immigrant Women in Canada". Paper presented at the Conference People on the Move. The Transnational Flow of Chinese Human Capital

Iref, Patronato Acli (2006): Famiglie migranti. Primo rapporto nazionale sui processi d'integrazione sociale delle famiglie immigrate in Italia. Anticipazioni del Rapporto, Roma

Kloosterman, R. & Rath, J. (2001): Working on the fringes: immigrant businesses, economic integration and informal practices. Eurogov. Project D-3065. Manuscript.

Lievens, J. (1999): "Family forming migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium". In: International Migration Review, 33 pp 717-744

Lazzarini, G. (2002): "Famiglie in migrazione". Paper presented at the Convention Il multiculturalismo in America e in Europea dopo l' 11 settembre, University of Rome "La Sapienza"

Marazzi, A. (ed.) (2005): Voci di famiglie immigrate. Milano: Franco Angeli

Mahler S.J., Pessar P.R. (2001): "Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces", Identities. 2001:7 (4): 441-459

Marazzi M., Valtolina G.G. (eds) (2006): Appartenenze multiple. L'esperienza dell'immigrazione nelle nuove generazioni. Milano: Franco Angeli

Pessar P.R. and Mahler S.J. (2001): "Gender and Transnational Migration". Paper presented at the conference Transnational Migration: Comparative Perspectives, Princeton University

Phizacklea A. (2006): "Gender and Transnational Migration: social networks and the forging of alliances". IIIS Discussion Paper No. 149

Piazzi M.(1999): La Famiglia nell'immigrazione: Condizioni di vita e culture a confronto. Roma, CNEL

Platt, L. (2005): Migration and social mobility. The life chances of Britain's minority ethnic communities. University of Essex.

Reynolds T. and Zontini E. (2006): "A Comparative Study of Care and Provision Across Caribbean and Italian Transnational Families", Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group. London: London South Bank University

Tognetti Bordogna M. (ed) (2004): Ricongiungere la famiglia altrove. Strategie, percorsi, modelli e forme dei ricongiungimenti familiari. Milano: Franco Angeli (2003): "Le donne e i volti della migrazione". www.didaweb.net

Discrimination

Milada Horáková

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to use the stories of the family members of immigrants to capture the way in which discrimination can change the climate, life, and relationships inside a family and modify the behaviour of individual family members within and outside the family. In the Interface project the family represents a specific focus group. Three repeated narratives of the life stories of all family members gradually reveal the various different aspects of family life that are affected by international migration. The feeling of discrimination and the way in which families cope with this phenomenon is one of these aspects. The effects of discrimination on the inner life of the family and the influence on the family's external relationships with their wider social environment can vary greatly. Not everyone copes in the same way with this serious problem.

Discrimination can be defined as unequal treatment with an individual based on their race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, faith, political affiliation, gender, age, health, sexual orientation, etc. An individual is then not judged based on their personal qualities and abilities but according to certain externally visible signs or physical characteristics, beliefs, orientation or origin. Discrimination can take on various levels, forms, directions and intensities and can be experienced in different ways.

The basis for the analysis comprises the subjective reflections on discrimination recorded in respondents' told stories. Discrimination can be classified in a different manner, e.g. by using dichotomous categories such as positive-negative, direct-indirect, intentional-unintentional, visible-hidden, open-covered, short-term - long-term, etc. In terms of analysing discrimination against immigrants, it is useful to distinguish between discrimination in the country of origin and discrimination in the host country. Furthermore, it is possible to classify discrimination according to the level and type of discriminatory behaviour as well as the means by which the family copes with experiencing discrimination. Although such categorisation reduces the quantity of information contained in the narrative, it nonetheless also allows one to generalise the impacts of discrimination.

Generalising the different experiences of individual family members is a simplification of reality and a partial distortion of the information contained in the narratives. It has turned out that it is not possible to confuse experience of discrimination that led people to leave their country of origin with the newly acquired experience of the new country of immigration, because these experiences are incomparable in terms of their intensity and character. Consequently, at the start of the analysis, we noted the countries to which the stories of experiencing discrimination pertained, and we then subsequently focused solely on the experiences garnered in the new country.

In their narratives, some respondents stated that they had personally never encountered direct discrimination. From their stories, however, it was obvious that certain actions towards them could be considered to have been discriminatory.

Objective measurement of discrimination is problematic. From a legal point of view it is possible to qualify certain behaviour as discriminatory; some immigrants are very sensitive to inequalities in treatment while others consider a certain degree of discrimination in their everyday life as a normal phenomenon, which is incidental to international migration. For the purposes of our study the important thing is the subjective perception of discrimination by the individual and other family members.

2. Hypothesis

Discrimination is unfortunately one of the common experiences of migrants. The focus, intensity, duration and form of discrimination are linked to the individual's residency status, ethnicity, social roles, social status, gender, age and level of integration and acculturation[24]. In the case of a family, the family's status and the status of their country of origin has an influence.

Discrimination is often an activating mechanism for migration. One of the strategies that individuals and families use to deal with discrimination or persecution in their country of origin is to emigrate. At the same time many of these families face discrimination in their new host country. The discrimination faced in the new country is mostly different in nature, often on different grounds, reduced in comparison and gradually peters out the longer they stay in the new country.

Certain differences in the nature and level of discrimination against immigrants exist between the new and old member states of the European Union. These differences are caused not only by the different migration histories and traditions of each individual country but also result from the effect of targeted anti-discrimination policies.

Perceived discrimination significantly influences various dimensions of family life. It has a negative effect on the emotions as well as on overt and latent attitudes and the transparent behaviour of individuals and groups. It gives rise to stress, which can manifest itself through latent or visible aggression. Moderate stress may stimulate an individual to integrate; heavy stress can result in mental breakdowns or illness.

Kenneth Dion writes about the psychological consequences for victims of perceived discrimination:

---

[24] Acculturation is a process of social and cultural changes, which occur as a result of contacts of different cultures. Acculturation is related to diffusion of cultural elements and also to spatial migration of ethnics. At the level of individuals is the acculturation manifested as a process of social learning. The notion was used for the first time by R. Redfield, R. Linton and M.J. Herskovits in 1935. Enculturation is a process of learning the culture, which is effected primarily through family, school, contemporaries and media. The individual is acquiring a language, standards and values of a community, in which s/he is living. S/he is taking over life style, behaviour patterns, life roles and ways of thinking (see also the chapter "Acculturation in Families" in this report).

„Perceived prejudice and discrimination are often unpredictable social stressors, entailing greater adaptation costs for the target than would be predictable or controllable stressor... If perceived prejudice and discrimination are indeed stressors, they should produce psychological consequences known to result from stress, such as negative effect, reported stress, and psychological or psychiatric symptoms.... perceiving oneself to be a target of prejudice or discrimination has demonstrable, negative impact upon individual.... under some circumstances, may help buffer or protect aspects of the self-concept for members of certain minority or subordinate groups, in some instances .... Prejudice and discrimination are also goads to protest, militancy, and agitation for social change by those on the receiving end of intolerance.... The types of attributions individuals make in such cases can affect their self-evaluations.... another predictable consequence or correlate of perceived prejudice and discrimination should be increased identification with one's own group/the counterpart in the individual to greater cohesion in the larger group. Identifying with one's own group (or in-group) and receiving support from it should ultimately reduce stress resulting from discrimination".

And further on:

"Specifically, perceived discrimination consistently correlated with most criteria, relating positively to attitudes promoting social change (viz., militancy, support for affirmative action policies, and feminist attitudes) but negatively to sense of personal group well-being (namely sense of satisfaction, sense of perceived personal and environmental control, and group vitality)" (Dion 2001: 4, 8)

Perceived discrimination disturbs the self-confidence of individuals and members of discriminated groups. It reduces the potential of migrants (in intellectual, professional, and cultural terms, etc.) and it thus also increases the costs that the host country spends on integrating immigrants.

On the other side, discrimination may support cohesion and solidarity inside the group that is exposed to discrimination. This group may identify stronger as a group according along certain lines of similarity. Further consequence may be defence against this discrimination, culminating in the effort to effect social change and disrupt the status quo of host societies to fight discrimination. Besides psychological consequences, discrimination thus has social consequences. Overcoming the negative repercussions of discrimination increases the costs of integration for a society.

3. Main Empirical Findings

In the interviews with families of immigrants to the Czech Republic the word discrimination did not appear at all and the word racism only once. Similarly, families from all partner countries often responded, when asked directly, that they rarely encountered discrimination. In the course of the interviews it showed, however, that experiences of discrimination, marginalisation, and social distance can often be deduced from the respondent's stories, although it is not named as such.

Discrimination is not usually the central theme in the respondents' stories. Nevertheless, we can find some mention of this unpleasant experience in most of them. The study confirms that discrimination is an everyday reality in the life of immigrants. From the other hand over a half of respondents talked spontaneously about their positive experiences of coexisting with the majority population.

The focus, intensity, duration and form of discrimination are linked to the individual's residency status, ethnicity, social roles, social status, gender, age and level of integration and

cultural accommodation. In the case of a family, the family's status and the status of their country of origin has an influence.

Discrimination above all occurs as a trigger mechanism of the migration of families of refugees. In those families' life stories, the theme of discrimination appears less as part of their life stories at account of events taking place in the host country after the family has relocated. However, a certain degree of discrimination is by many respondents considered an everyday and almost "normal" consequence of migration.

In particular, discrimination occurs at the start of immigrants' residency in a new country in conjunction with lack of knowledge of the language of the host country. This gradually peters out in conjunction with mastery of the language of the host country. The stories of immigrants confirm that knowledge of the language of the host country is an effective defence mechanism against discrimination. Family summaries reveal:

A family from Uzbekistan:
'The initial discrimination and apparent hostility that the family had felt been directed towards them was soon put into perspective as they improved their command of the language and began to understand more about the structures and requirements of the German host society. Shortly after their arrival in Germany many contacts with Germans and what they said to them were perceived as direct discrimination or provocation, but in the meantime, the mother regards these with more understanding and goodwill. She made the supposition that many of these initial negative perceptions were the result of their poor knowledge of the language.' (DE-13 Uzbekistan)

A family from Turkey:
'Language skills seemed to be crucially important for this family, as stressed by the father and the daughter alike. It served as a means to explain their relative success to make a living in Germany. Thus, he sees the family being both, helpful and not. What seemed to be of greater importance to him were two things, knowing one's rights and being able to communicate. Having studied 'Rechtspflege' in Turkey and being generally aware of his rights has helped him a lot getting along in Germany. It also proved successful in certain cases of discrimination.' (DE-2 Turkey)

A family from Turkey:
'The mother experienced a lot of discrimination as a younger woman. She reports that she was shouted at by Germans for speaking Turkish to her daughter. She explains to me that she wanted her daughter to learn proper Turkish and German, of which she is now proud, because her daughter does not have any accent in either language. She also reports being pushed in the street by older German men and being called swearwords.' (DE-20 Turkey)

A family from Russia:
'The family had not suffered any discrimination experiences for being Russian. As mentioned above they sometimes felt people were not very patient with their lack of German, but they did not feel discriminated against. The son had had trouble with Turkish boys in his first school, who tried to beat him and his friends. The reason for that was not obvious; he was partly bullied by then because he did not speak German. The mother said that these boys "just want to beat someone". Now the son was at a different school, going to a fitness club and did not have those problems anymore.' (DE-16 Russia; Jewish emigrants)

A family from the Philippines:
'Both daughters try in a second step to discover the roots of that behaviour of discrimination. First of all they underline that usually Italians stop spreading over prejudices and stereotypes against immigrants, at the moment they perceive that the foreign citizen, who they directly attack, demonstrate fluent Italian language skills. In case Italians will continue attacking, notwithstanding they perceive that the foreign citizen they attack, possesses Italian language skills, they are usually, according to both daughters, very ignorant, with a "restricted personal outlook" and they "left never Italy. …They never experience life abroad."' (I-35 Philippines)

Important political and economical changes could open some latent xenophobic reactions also toward long term settled immigrants. For example in the Czech Republic in 1990 racism against Vietnamese appeared suddenly, although before 1990 did not exist at all. It was unwanted reaction on new political freedoms. The indifference of the broad public on neo-racism and violence generally was shocking to many people:

> A family from Vietnam:
> 'Before 1989 husband and wife felt safe in the CSSR and felt general sympathy of teachers and classmates towards them, they could not understand where from skinheads and racism suddenly appeared in the nineties. The wife: „It was real bad time, every now and then friends phoned that they were beaten and robbed". The husband does not feel at ease outside late at night even today: „The skinhead alone is not a problem, there are murderers in every society, but worst of all is an indifference of people".' (CR-55 Vietnam)

Economic migrants, particularly those from "third countries from the third world" are exposed to discrimination and exploitation particularly if they are working or residing illicitly without a permit. In this case, they are mostly at the mercy of those who are taking advantage of them and it is only with difficulty that they are able to make use of legal means to eliminate discriminatory behaviour.

A family from Afghanistan/Uzbekistan entered Germany as refugees and had to wait long for a residence permit:

> 'These seven years are depicted as horrible, especially the state without rights and without the possibility to leave or to go anywhere. Even remembering those times is painful and only partly admitted. The father says that he has forgotten those times and does not want to think about this period of his life again. The father stresses that it is important to continue living, whereas one has to accept that life can go up and down. Generally, there is no life without problems, he argues, it is only important to do right and sober things. None of their friends living in foreign countries now work in what they have learned. And despite his German passport, he stresses that he will always stay foreigner. The father stresses that in general the life of an immigrant can hardly be called good or satisfactory. He once taught courses at the adult education centre which he enjoyed to do. However, when his father got sick, he had to return to Afghanistan for some time and the people thought he would leave forever and thus he lost his job as an arts teacher. Although it was only little money he got for the courses it made him feel good, he could do what he liked and teach other people about it. It was some kind of appreciation of him and his work. Yet, he has never again heard from the city administration, asking him to teach again or anything similar. This hurt him very much. People forget who you are, he argues, and are not interested in you when you are an immigrant. Somebody once reacted to his saying that he is indeed an intelligent man that this might have been the case but that this is now no longer true. The husband and father seem thus deeply disappointed of his life in Germany.' DE-3 Afghanistan

> A family from Poland:
> 'The mother and her husband experienced discrimination on many occasions. They bought a house in Liège and got a lot of trouble with people that supplied them the equipment needed to refurbish and work on the house. Because they were illegal migrants, people took advantage of them. They were robbed of a lot of material they had paid for and that was never delivered. It was obvious robbery: they could not even complain given the fact that they had no rights. When talking about this period of her life, the mother says that she was feeling completely powerless and compared herself to a person of second category. Despite all the efforts she made in finding a job since she got regularised in 2000, she did not find any. Jobs opportunities were greater when she had no legal papers. Now that she is trying to enter the formal job market, she is facing many obstacles, one among which is discrimination. Trying to explain the reasons as to why she is still unemployed after being regularised, she says that it is because she is too old and has a strong polish accent.' (BE-67 Poland)

The types of discrimination encountered by families are diverse and they differ in their intensity and emphasis. Fear of racism and right-wing extremism, which was engendered by the experience of someone close to them, was cited only a small part of respondents. More of

them spoke about a the feeling that they are still perceived as foreigners despite having lived in the country for entire decades, that they are always "the others", that they are not welcome in the country, that they don't belong to the social majority and that they are disparaged and not appreciated professionally even though they have the necessary qualifications.

Social distance, feeling not belonging to the mainstream society

A father from Ecuador says:
"Italians do not appreciate immigrants. The Italians yes. At work you are always the second, always the second. He (Mario, his employer) is always the first, even if I do more than he …. He puts on music and in relation to it, you have to dance. You must dance Tango, if he puts on a Tango. You must dance Salsa, if he puts on Salsa." (I-27 Ecuador)

A father from Iraq says:
"When you live here you have to accept that you will always be a foreigner. … You will always be regarded as a foreigner. […] My children will always be foreigners, no matter what passport they have, as long as they have darker hair, skin… […] Foreigners are always responsible [in this town], when something bad happens, people say 'Surely it was a foreigner who did this' … The other day I saw people cross the street at a red light, and I said 'What if a Ausländer (foreigner) did this!' They became really angry. […] I educate my children to be really tidy, pick up paper in the street. […] But you have to accept you will always be foreigner in this country. In our country, it was Egyptians. However everyone is treated the same here by authorities." (DE-18 Iraq)

Majority of the events that appeared in the narrative of one family member were of a more serious nature and left deeper imprints on the memory of respondents. Family narratives mentioned discrimination in everyday life; the family members had experienced verbal criticism, disparagement, humiliation, ignorance, prejudices and envy. Respondents mentioned employment discrimination or exploitation in their narrative, discrimination in school, discrimination in housing, and discrimination in the health service.

Indirect discrimination against immigrant families in the field of housing consists on the one hand of excessive rents, which puts the family in need at a time when they do not yet have the right to social allowances.

Racism and prejudices

A girl from Somalia says:
"There were moments when you feel yourself very much an outsider. […] Or, well, I remember in lower level of comprehensive school, […] the children are not used to foreigners. Or, the scarf, culture and these, they are so young, they don't know. Then they think that it's somehow weird, that this girl next to us is weird, why she wears s-, why she doesn't wear trousers, why she's wearing a scarf and these. Then, those gazes can, like, actually kill you. Yeah… like, those kinds of sad things." (FI-50)

A mother from Kenya says:
"But the racism doesn't… eh, it doesn't come to the law. It's just in general life, the normal people you meet in the street. And that doesn't bother me. Because some people take it so seriously. […] Even here some people can say something, but it doesn't bother me. Before it used to bother me, and I was, getting so angry, but now I don't mind. It is none of my business. [Interviewer: So is it something you get used to?] I got used to it. And, eh, when I think about it… it's like, the law is for everybody. If somebody says something, what has that to do with me? They have, maybe these people talking, they have their own problems. They don't know what I do here, they don't know where I come from, they don't know, they don't know me. They're just talking." **(FI-42 Kenya)**

Direct discrimination in housing

A father from Bangladesh says:

"It lasted two years until I found home. No foreigners! No foreigners! Thanks god that I met an Italian person, who gave me a guarantee, otherwise I would not have taken this apartment. Why? Are we dirty? It needed two years to find an apartment. It was racism, for example on the newspapers I found, no foreigners! More intelligent persons did not say no foreigners, they said, it is already rented. At the moment they listen a foreign voice, they said, the apartment is already rented. Come on, if the newspaper arrived at the same day I called, it is already rented! If this attitude will not change, I don't know what will happens. If you get marginalized in every occasion, you will react in order to survive, you will fire." (I-24 Bangladesh)

A family from Vietnam:
Looking for a flat was a difficult task for the father because not many people were willing to lease a flat to a foreigner, especially to an Asian; the only chance was to find a Czech middleman who would rent a flat instead of him. They also had had a conflict with former flat letter, which had made fake concerning the paying for electricity. (CR-54 Vietnam)

Institutional discrimination in housing

A father from Bangladesh:
"Sorry, but Italian bureaucracy is really disgusting. …I pay taxes more than Italians do. …I need the permanent stay permit and I cannot ask for it, because I live in flat with 56 m². I am here since eight years. Why I can't get the permanent stay permit? Because my flat is too small! Thanks god I have this 56 m² and I don't sleep on the street. Should I pay 3000 Euros to an officer to get the permanent stay permit, it is this what Italy wants! It is so bad! …I could not take the permanent stay permit because my flat is 56 m² instead of 60 m². For four persons the living place has to be at least 60 m². Sorry so foreigners will never stay well in Italy." (I-24 Bangladesh)

Discrimination in school

A family from the Philippines:
Not speaking Italian at all … was cause for discrimination especially by the teachers, who labelled [the daughters] as stupid: "You don't understand anything!" The father tried and calm to face these situations and to support his daughters: "I went to the teacher. I said, I was also a teacher in the Philippines and I <u>never</u> said to my students, you don't understand anything! I asked to give use time, at least two month. The teacher asked me, when they arrived. I said two weeks ago. I said to her, keep quiet and I will show you how we are, that we are not ignorant." In fact talking about ignorance seems inadequate. Both daughters concluded secondary school successfully[…]. An. was always the first in her class, having won several prizes for excellent students and the teacher who insulted her initially with "you don't understand anything!", retracted her words, describing An. at the open of a school exhibition … as "…excellent student, who entered in school being the last and concluded it as first." Being still emotionally moved the father tells about another episode in relation to the scholastic career of An. "…Since we could not afford economically to send our children to the school camps, the teacher said, taking in consideration the excellent results of An., that they (school) had borne the expenses for the trip. …I said thank you, while I had tears in my eyes." (I-33 Philippines)

Direct discrimination and exploitation in employment

A family from Romania:
The four women [mother and daughters] worked illegally within Italian families as cleaning ladies or carer of the elderly, being permanent victim of exploitation and behaviour of discrimination. Life was to be "in service 24 hours of 24 hours" without the rights to express any personal request. […] The mother remembers: "For one year E. (daughter) was with me. I don't want to tell you what consequences it had. I had to work more and more. I worked from seven o'clock in the morning till two a clock in the night, because they went out for dinner, with friend and until they returned I had to stay awake for the children. I slept only a little, because seven o'clock I had to wake up to prepare everything for the day…" […] The fear to become discovered as clandestine pushed them in a sort of passivity, which impeded them to act, both to inform about an eventual family reunification and to fight for an improvement regarding their bad working conditions. Only at the moment they managed to receive the legal stay permit, in 2002, they found the power to change their life. (I-36 Romania)

A family from Iran:

[The mother's employers'] attributed her task to clean other staircases of an extra apartment building, without enhancing working hours and salary. This provoked in her the initiative to ask explanation, but not to fight against their absurd answer: "When I went to discus with them, they are always in the right. They told me, no we helped you before, and we gave you the hours as a gift. Do you understand! This is not right at all. …" (I-29 Iran)

Indirect discrimination at work

A family from Belarus:
Indirect discrimination at work in the CR consists of the fact that without using the "client system" one cannot find work, whereas the client system leads to the exploitation of immigrants. Immigrants use it because there is often no other way for them to get work. Workers give up part of their wage (sometimes as much as 50%) to the "client", who acts as a middleman and provides certain other shady "services" that in normal societies would be saturated by standard institutions (licensed employment agencies, real estate offices). (CR-52 Belarus)

It is necessary here to point out the difficulty of evaluating the intensity of discrimination. It is often difficult to judge from the narrative how strongly the experience affected the respondent. Very strong discrimination usually took place in the country of origin as a form of political or religious persecution. In the host country, families suffered from illegal residency status in multiple ways.

A family from Armenia:
The parents had left Armenia in 1992. Now living in Germany, the family only holds a "tolerance" permit (*Duldung*) in Germany. With this status, the family is not allowed to leave their federal county (*Bundesland*), i.e. Hamburg, they are not allowed to work, but cannot be sent away either. From 1992 – 2001 the parents held work permits and were in regular employment. In 2001, the parents asked the authorities for allowance to go on holiday. They were refused, and shortly after their work permits were withdrawn. The mother says: "Suddenly, our worst days started. When you are young and not allowed to work…. The children grow up and say, Mummy, Daddy, why do you sit at home? They could not understand. "Very bad. We cannot leave Hamburg. For 15 years we have been like in prison."… The parents felt that 15 years of their lives were somehow wasted. But for their children's future they were prepared not to give up hope. The father says: "I had a lot of hope into Germany. I did not want state benefits. But so long now, my good time is over. Always fight but what for? For passport and work permit. Our best times are over." (DE-21 Armenia)

In terms of duration, some respondents had an experience that was not repeated again, others had a repeat experience but it was not a long-term issue. An important part of respondents spoke about long-term discrimination, which had a cultural backdrop for the most part, i.e. it consisted of the fact that they were foreigners and they came from a different cultural footing. Some respondents had encountered permanent discrimination of a certain level. This often involved a poor sense of solidarity with the host society or a perceived social distance.
Personal and cultural discrimination comprised majority of cases. It can be difficult to distinguish both these levels in practice; a smaller part of respondents had encountered institutional discrimination and less of those questioned had experienced structural discrimination. Often respondents mentioned multiple-level discrimination.

Cultural discrimination

A family from Estonia/Russia
Interviewer: "Yes, what do you think, [the daughter], is there, like prejudices here? Have you faced any?"]
Daughter: Well… maybe even too much sometimes, but… when every now and then in school somebody says, like, well, everybody knows I speak Russian, everybody is like, or some of them, that "yeah, ryssä, ryssä" [impolite nickname for Russian], but… once at the third grade… I broke a nose of one boy, it stopped right there. […] Mostly in school. When they know, or that somebody has some kind of surname

or something… like that you, even little hear that (s)he's not Finnish. Then everybody was at once, or some of them, that (s)he's foreign, (s)he's not Finnish…" (FI-44 Estonia/ Russia)

Institutional and structural discrimination

A family from Morocco:
The family came to experience institutional discrimination with the birth of their children. It was the husband who reported: firstly, they did not receive the "mummy bonus" – a 1.000 Euro benefit for each child born in 2005 – due to the fact that the parents are not Italian citizens. Secondly, their paediatrician once refused to visit their sick baby, with the motivation that the wife's Permit to Stay, which includes also the baby, had expired and she was waiting to have it renewed. The paediatrician was thus claiming that, being without the proper papers, they could only have their baby visited at the hospital. The husband had to quarrel and finally managed to have her baby visited, nevertheless this experience hurt him: "I felt this injustice inside of me, because my child is not equal to my neighbour's child. We all live here and we pay taxes, the air we breathe, everything. Why cannot my child have the same opportunities as the other children?" (I-30 Morocco)

The family stories suggest that immigrants interviewed for the INTERFACE project primarily encountered rejection and discrimination during the initial phase of their residence in a new country.

Rejection during initial phase of residence in host country

The father described the shock he experienced in the first months after his arrival. He said that his life was actually very similar to his old life in Belarus, that it was more like trying to survive than enjoying freedom. In his words, he felt like a caged animal. His mental state was also made worse by his problems with the Czech language and trying to cope with an unknown environment that at first seemed to him hostile and intolerant towards immigrants from former Soviet Union countries. Being away from his family was a cause of real suffering. He often had a strong feeling of powerlessness when he realised that, besides phone calls, letters and sending money, he could do nothing to help his wife and children. Times when he heard that his children were sick, for example, were particularly hard. (CR-56 Belarus)

Immigrants' negative experiences of discrimination are softened by positive experiences, i.e. through the assistance provided by members of the host society. Positive experiences of co-existing with the "majority" were noted by a significant part of the families whose members told us their life story.

A family from Ecuador:
"There were some Italians, who helped me a lot with all our problems. I guess without them, we would not have managed to go ahead, I don't know what would happen to us, just me and my son alone here. I don't know!" …. Mother and son moved to Ostia in an independent one-room apartment. They recaptured a part of their liberty, even if it is on a very high price. It costs 550 Euro monthly, the half of her salary and up to date she doesn't have any contract. Having only one income in the family, she won't be able to ask for a credit in order to acquire their own apartment. … In addition their hirer is looking to exploit N. under many points of view; such as economically asking to pay for bills they do not belong to them, psychological trying to provoke a sexual rapport to her: "In fact, I am alone, I think that he wants to have sex with me, because there are many things to understand his intentions. He gave to understand this through many things. He is married, but he has always troubles with his wife. He comes to tell me all this things. It is incredible, when he comes to do all these things, I get angry, I get really nervous." Again there are her Italians friends, who support her to face this difficult situation, reproving him to stop with his immoral behaviour etc. (I-26 Ecuador)

Some respondents stated that they had not personally experienced discrimination aimed against them directly, but almost all of them had encountered prejudices and the disparagement of their abilities. Some personally knew the victim of a racial attack and it affected them strongly. Fear of racism and violence had entered their everyday lives. The

indifference of a segment of the public, the police and administrative workers to expressions of racism affected them worst of all.

> A family from Turkey:
> The mother remembers reports that when she was 13, a Turkish boy was killed in a racist murder in Hamburg. One of the three youths who killed him turned out to be her Turkish friends neighbour. She mother says: "It was this boy who lived next to my friend, and we were all in love with him before! We thought he was so cute! And then we heard this, we could not believe it. We thought, my god, why did he kill a Turkish boy? My friend said, 'I could be dead now'… This was the first time I really felt there was something like neo-fascism. I had heard about it, but never thought about it. … After that, I became more careful. I was careful in certain areas, where there were many supporters of right-wing parties." (DE -17 Turkey)

One's family clearly helps relieve the burden of experienced discrimination even though each person must cope with the experience of discrimination by themselves. The family stories suggest that discrimination in some cases strengthen the cohesion of both the family and ethnic minorities who are often exposed to discrimination.

> A family from Bangladesh:
> The daughter and the mother are the most visible victims. They experience a double marginalization, being excluded from both the social life existing within an extended family in their own country, and the host society, since they maintain the tradition according to which the woman's place is at home. For the two of them, the only possible interaction with other people is their daily exit with other Bangladeshi families in the city park of their neighbourhood. (I-23 Bangladesh)

> A family from the Philippines:
> The daughters remember that they had a lot of initial difficulties when trying to integrate into mainstream society, but they mention that they resolved them thanks to the strong family cohesion, which they perceive as source of energy. (I-33 Philippines)

> A family from Belarus:
> The family has friends and acquaintances in the foreigner community, mainly Russian-speaking foreigners, but also among the majority population. Her friends are mainly Byelorussians, Ukrainians and Russians. People from this circle of friends helped them most in their first days in the Czech Republic, gave them important contacts, advice and tips for work opportunities. They also share a similar language, culture and traditions. The mother said that among the majority population she had relatively close acquaintances among staff from non-profit organisations who helped them and whom she had worked with at the refugees' association. (CR-56 Belarus)

In the opinion of some respondents, discrimination became less over the years (in Germany and Finland). According to them this was down to increasing immigration and greater sensitivity among the native and migrant populations to expressions of discrimination.

> When speaking about prejudices towards non-Finnish nationals, the mother considered the situation getting better all the time along with the growing immigration. (FI-46 Iran/Kurdistan)

Conversely, in Italy, some respondents were of the opinion that the hostility of locals towards immigrants was growing for the same reason, i.e. because of an increasing immigration.

> Leaving behind the relationship to their Italian friends and highlighting now the relation to Italians of the daily life, the light sensation of feeling diverse, increases through the behaviour of discrimination and racism which they are used to face. Both daughters and the father mention that it is sufficient to have a look into the public transportation to understand the aggressive atmosphere between Italians and foreigners. They tell a couple of stories in which they were victims of discrimination, but it seems that they did not attribute any value to these episodes.(I-35 Philippines)

Residence status and discrimination are significantly connected. Migrants of illegal residence status were often subject to discrimination. One reason may be that the instigators of the discrimination are aware that the victim often cannot defend themselves.

Illegal immigrants and their residence strategy

A family from Albania:
[The married couple] had entered Italy with a tourist visa, and when it expired they simply overstayed undocumented. The lack of legal documents made it more difficult for them to access primary needs, particularly employment and housing. In three years, until they finally got their regular (temporarily) Permit to stay in 1994, they changed four flats, all of them being in very bad conditions, irregularly rented (without contract or with a contract made at somebody else's name). The husband, who was the only one working, had to accept badly paid jobs in the black market. […] The lack of acquaintances or any other contact persons who could give them a hand in bridging with the host society made things even more difficult: "There was nothing you could rely on, it was difficult, you had to trust people (whom they did not know)…". As part of their initial plans, the husband even had the intention to continue his university studies in Business Administration in Italy. But then his wife got pregnant and, as he says, "the story changed…" They were still undocumented when their daughter was born. The fear of being identified as undocumented - and eventually forced to return to Albania - combined with their inexperience with children, kept them away from any doctor or examination till she reached her 7th month of pregnancy. With the birth of their daughter, the hardships connected to the status of "undocumented migrants" increased. The wife, in particular, seems to have suffered much from this condition, since she repeatedly points out: "We weren't lacking anything economically (…) But always, when going out, being without documents…We were always feeling as fishes out of water (…) It's like this: you can't move, you can't find a flat, you can't find a job – always in the black market and underpaid. That's all". So deeply has she suffered from such situation that she now views the lack of documents as the most serious constraint to a full insertion into Italian society: "Documents are the most important thing. Then, it's up to your own will to get inserted or not". Her husband seems to share with her the same overview on the so-called "integration path": "I never feared of anything in my life. I know that fortune comes and goes. Finding a job is not easy, but he who wants, can". (I-22 Albania)

Most of the set of respondents were residing legally in the host country. Only one fifth had illegal residency status at the time of the discrimination. The least number of undeclared discrimination was cited in interviews with immigrants living in Germany and Belgium. In both these countries, more cases also occurred where respondents praised their positive experience of coexistence with the majority population and the significant help they received, particularly in the initial period of their integration.

Based on an analysis of the family interviews, it is possible to state that discrimination need not automatically be a barrier to integration. Despite the fact that many respondents have encountered discrimination (which may even be strong and practised on a long-term basis), they have paradoxically integrated well. One of the causes for this may be a reduction in sensitivity to discrimination thanks to successful economic integration as well as the feeling of security that the new host country gives to immigrants. Consequently, respondents only consider returning to their country of origin because of discrimination in completely exceptional cases.

A family from Belarus:
The mother and youngest son were placed upon arrival into a quarantine facility. There, as she words it, despite considerable diversity of inhabitants and rather confined space, after a longer period she felt again at ease and secure. She did not have to be afraid any longer that the ringing phone means that somebody from prosecutor's office is calling and is threatening her again. She assessed as positive the experience to be able to hear life stories of many interesting people from different countries with fate similar to her own, i.e. of political refugees. (CR-53 Belarus)

A family from Russia:

The father verified during his first one-year stay if it is possible to survive in Prague. He established a firm here and found out that there are good conditions for business in the Czech Republic. He mainly appreciated that a corruption in the Czech Republic is not so aggressive like in Russia. Also the business goes at a slower pace here, in Russia entrepreneurs must often decide by next day. And when they do not accept an order, somebody else gets it. Czech business environment is slower, he has enough time to decide whether to accept an order or not. Also tax legislation seemed to be less stringent and above all controls whether they are being observed. He said that in Russia entrepreneurs suffer from frequent inspections requiring bribes, whereas in the Czech Republic he experienced no such inspection so far. (CR-63 Russia)

On the other hand, the experience of social distance or rejection engenders thoughts of re-emigrating or departing for another country, particularly among young people. Their deliberations are not governed by empirical experiences, but by the "image" of possible new destination countries.

A family from the Ukraine:
The family travels to the Ukraine regularly on holiday. All members of the family regard the Ukraine, Dněpropetrovsk and the flat which they have there as still being their home, although they have no background or friends there after the time that they have lived away from the Ukraine. They keep the flat because they want to have a place to which they can return. The concept of home is complicated especially for the daughter. Although at first she herself says that home is in the Ukraine, she then adds that she has nobody close there and does not feel at home either in the Czech Republic nor anywhere else. The family's plans for the future are linked to their daughter's studies. She is currently in the fourth year of grammar school, preparing for school certificate exams and university entrance exams. Should she succeed this year or in the near future in getting into university, the family's plan for a minimum of six years is clearly established – they will stay in the Czech Republic and will support their daughter in her university studies, which are a significant priority for the parents. The daughter plans to go abroad after completing her university studies, preferably with her boyfriend. Life abroad is attractive for her because she is not particularly happy in the Czech Republic. She explains her dissatisfaction in part by the differences in national character between Ukrainians and Czechs, as well as by a sense of lack of roots. The family moved for purely economic reasons, but if they compare the situation in the Czech Republic and in their hometown in the Ukraine at the present time, they talk of similar economic conditions – the social and economic situation in their home of Dněpropetrovsk is similar to that in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless at present there is no question of their returning, in view of their daughter's plan to study. (CR-64 Ukraine)

In certain cases, a feeling of rejection or a lack of acceptance by the host society led to a strong sense of frustration, which resulted in the creation of a mental block that hindered integration. In some instances, latent aggression, and sometimes even a mental problem, was discernible.

A father of a Bangladeshi family states:
"In 20 years I haven't found one nice person. Never have I found a nice person, never, never, never! Maybe yes, but after six months you realise that it isn't a nice person". And he generalizes: "Italians haven't got an outlook for friendship", and even between them what prevails is a "fake" and "superficial" way of regarding friendship. By increasingly depicting Italians as the enemy, he perceives himself as a victim. Victim of his neighbours, who blame him for the smell of oriental cooking; victim of his work colleague, who exploits his powerlessness with thousands of extra requests; victim of being a foreigner unable to speak a fluent Italian. (FI-23 Bangladesh)

4. How Immigrant Families Cope With Discrimination

Families choose various strategies to cope with discrimination. At one end of the spectrum, there is intensive cultural accommodation and an effort to improve the socio-economic status of the family. At the other end there is an escapist response, which hopes of relief are projected onto plans of further emigration or re-emigration.

For the most part, the respondents themselves did not identify their behaviour as an anti-discrimination strategy. Evaluating the interviews it became transparent that it is nearly impossible to distinguish an anti-discrimination strategy from a general integration strategy, because the two are closely related.

Another strategy of socio-economic advancement and the education of children are seen as a starting point for the future of most immigrant families in all the countries in which the study took place. The first generation of immigrants usually resign themselves to their original socio-economic and professional status and count on the fact that the price they pay for migration will reap dividends in their children's future. The children of immigrants themselves understand that their future is dependent upon how successfully they manage to integrate into the world of work. And they particularly need to attain a higher level of education to achieve this. Nonetheless, one's level of education is not always enough. Immigrants sometimes encounter limits to their professional growth, which are determined by their origin or the colour of their skin. This engenders frustration and stress among them.

> A family from the Democratic Republic of Congo:
> Since 2000, the father has been working as an administrative agent for Caritas Brussels. He said he has never experienced discrimination but since a little while, he thinks that he has a limited plan of career. In terms of social mobility, he has started to realise that he has a specific treatment which is not the same as for the other employees. While others would already have been promoted, he got locked in the same place for the same wages. According to him, this will probably never change. In 2000, he decided to undertake some studies in order to better integrate. He already had a good level of qualification but none of his diplomas were officially recognised. He was aware that if he wanted to succeed professionally, he had to start again with his studies. After three years, he got his degree and applied for a Master's degree at the university in Social Sciences. Now that he has many Belgian diplomas, he does not understand why he still does not get promoted. He got the impression that the hierarchy within the organisation that employs him prefers to ignore it, pretending he is the same man as the one they hired a few years ago. For this reason, he has started to look for another job. A new, simplified asylum procedure was applied from the beginning of June 2007 onwards; the two phases were reduced to one. From then on, the procedure would last maximum one year. Previously, asylum seekers could apply for financial support through social welfare centres. This has changed now. As of now asylum seekers are only entitled to material support during the entire asylum procedure. Despite the fact he is very disappointed, he is still hoping to improve his professional situation. (BE-73 Congo)

A functioning family with children can also be seen as an effective barrier against discrimination.

Children as a barrier against discrimination

> A family from Morocco:
> Interestingly, the children were often mentioned by both parents in relation to discrimination. On one hand, in fact, children seem to be a gateway to living without discrimination: (wife) "When you have children, you have more… relationship with the others" (husband) "More respect, there is no more that look that… They know you are a family anyway. Because there are the children, hence it means you are good people… They give you more respect, more trust. They even try to give you a hand. What they would not do before". (I-30 Morocco)

Another method of the anti-discrimination strategies is to ignore attacks while a different approach involves trying to "re-educate" the instigators of discriminatory behaviour so that they change their racist attitudes. Forgiveness is the approach adopted among Christian believers.

> A family from the Philippines:

About all that it seems that the father assumed the role of educating his offenders, as a strategy to deal with the behaviour of discrimination. "In every circumstance I try to demonstrate that all humans are equal. I am not intimidated, usually I answer. I left my fear in my country of origin. One day I was fearful, but I learnt that I must defend my rights, my dignity. I have to express frankly what I feel inside. If you are kindly, I will thank you, if not, I will let you know about this. This is my motto. I hope that I will advance concerning this, one hasn't been ridden roughshod over." (I-35 Philippines)

One family also often applies several anti-discrimination strategies at the same time. Members of families choose their own strategy against discrimination. Individual family members may adopt a common or separate approach to discrimination against a member of their family. Parents tolerate discrimination against their children less well than they do discrimination against themselves. Discrimination is subjectively experienced with different degrees of intensity. The same or similar discriminative impulse can evoke different reactions between individuals according to their traits. While one suffers from ethnic discrimination, somebody else will feel less unsettled or disturbed by it.

Fear of parents for discrimination of their children

A family from Vietnam:
The wife emphasised her anxiety from her son starting a school attendance: 1/ That he will have no friends. She knows Vietnamese children who found no close friends, and their parents organised parties for children and gave them presents: „I would say they tried to get friends for their children in a humiliating manner". 2/ That children would treat him like a foreigner: „We had to explain to my niece, when she was seven, that she is different; we have arrived already as adults and knew we were foreigners, but children who were born here are often taken by surprise at school, because they do not feel like foreigners". (CR-55 Vietnam)

Some families are aware that one of their members has been subjected to discrimination, but they have chosen to ignore or downplay this fact. Cultural background and the self-confidence of the victims of discrimination play a role here.

A family from Senegal:
[The father] underlies more than once that he was never victim of direct racist behaviour, but in other moments of [the interviews], he points out that unfortunately one can find racist behaviour living as foreigner in Italy. Deepening this argument, he admits that he was witness, staying together with a friend, or close to a person, who was attacked directly. Regarding to his reaction he mentions: "…you have to ignore an ignorant person. This is my philosophy. Whatever thing I do, when I'm meeting a ignorant person, for me that person does not exist. I prefer to ignore he/she heavily. …You must ignore them; you have to treat them with indifference. This is the thing which is more effective than answering." He adds that he was able to practice this behaviour of indifference towards ignorant persons in Senegal, when he was working as tourist guide, emphasising that even there racist behaviour towards white persons exists. (I-38 Senegal)

Some respondents considered emigration or re-emigration due to discrimination. Many respondents still wanted to earn some extra money before departing, so discrimination probably did not occupy first place among the hierarchy of values that would lead them to depart. Frequently, not all family members had the same opinion on returning. For the most part, the children adapted and were willing to remain as adults in the host country and to not return. Their parents probably retained the immigrants' dream of returning home, but this never actually took place.

The father of a Bangladeshi family:
"…as soon as I'll take Italian citizenship, I will escape from Italy, and I'll earn 100.000 Euros in other 5 years and than I will escape. I did not wait for my retirement pension. My future is not here. (…) I spent my whole time in Italy, but there is always the idea to return. This hurts a lot. For me it is a wound. I live here like it would be a life in between; it is not definitive; it is a transitory life. The time I stay here is to

grow up my children and to earn money, nothing else. I do not put down roots, but rather I put already roots, but I don't want to realize it. I try to cut off these roots, but my children are growing up here, they are learning the language, the culture, they are my roots. It affects me, because culturally we are so diverse that we are not able to remain here. ..." (I-24 Bangladesh)

Some respondents had suffered discrimination, but they did not know how to effectively cope with it. This then created a barrier for most of them that hindered integration and the members of the majority were mostly perceived as their enemies who had been systematically mistreating them.

The father of a Bangladeshi family:
When asked about his reactions to such discriminatory situations, he says: "I try to look at the floor. I look at the floor in order to calm down and throw my anger away. If I look at the earth, the earth is not mine, it is theirs, they do whatever they like, but I cannot do anything, I cannot answer (…) I cannot speak dirty words, I cannot fight, I cannot revenge, what shall I do? I look at the floor and after ten minutes I feel better". (I-23 Bangladesh)

Immigrants only deal with discrimination via legal proceedings in exceptional cases (one such case occurred in the Czech Republic). They are more likely to prefer seeking the assistance of non-governmental organisations, which is often an effective means of suppressing or resolving discrimination. Only two respondents from seventy seven families turned to the courts with a lawsuit concerning discriminatory treatment. There was obvious resignation among all respondents with regard to legal instruments. In some countries such as the Czech Republic, this was compounded by the lengthy nature of legal proceedings, which put people off dealing with discrimination through the courts. One respondent from the Czech Republic who filed a lawsuit against his former employer because he refused to give the respondent his so-called "employee card" (an employment document which is necessary for calculating one's future old-age pension) spent four years in the courts before the case was settled in his favour. The employer had done this to exact revenge because the respondent had left his employment for a better-paid job. At the same time, this concerns a document that is automatically issued when an employment relationship is terminated. In his new place of employment, the respondent had a problem during every inspection by labour authorities because the documentation concerning his previous employment was insufficient.

The father of an Ukrainian family:
His employer held on to his papers and wanted in this way to prevent him from beginning work in a more lucrative job. He had to spend four years in the courts before he obtained the employment documentation required for counting the years he worked, which is needed for his pension entitlement. (CR-61 Ukraine)

Some respondents have actively fought back against expressions of discrimination in an informal way (e.g. they turned to a non-governmental organisation or invited a journalist to publicise their case in the media, or they contacted a school representative about how their children had been discriminated against or had been fighting with each other).

A family from the Philippines:
From 1993 to 2000, Ana and her husband were from time to time legal and illegal. Sometimes, one of them received a diplomatic paper as domestic employees. These papers are only valid for one year and allow the partner to work in the same area, in a diplomatic representation or in the private household of foreign diplomats. In 1996, Ana got pregnant for the third time and she and her husband were forced to work under slave-like conditions in a foreign diplomat's private household. Their employer took away their passport, forced her to do hard work despite the fact she was 7 months pregnant and threatened to fire her if she refused to do the job. A victim of exploitation, she decided to look for help at the organisation Pag-Asa in Brussels that helps victims of trafficking. She received a temporary residence permit as well as a work permit for one month that was renewed several times. She also managed to lodge

a complaint against her employer. Because he was legally protected by diplomatic immunity, he was just appointed to another country. (BE-69 Philippines)

5. Conclusions

Discrimination is forbidden in EU member states, but this is not always respected. The reduction of societal inequalities while maintaining diversity is one of the main goals of the integration policies applied to immigrants from third countries that live in EU member states. Although the differing legal status of EU citizens and citizens of so-called third countries cannot be considered discrimination (Růžička 2007: 631), the public policies of equal opportunity suppress discrimination and strive for the gradual balancing out of differences in the legal status of foreigners from third countries and EU citizens. The integration of legal long-term residents from third countries is one of the main goals of these policies.

All types of discrimination are considered unacceptable in modern democratic societies and as a rule are forbidden by laws and international conventions. Drawing distinctions in pursuit of a legitimate goal in a manner appropriate to that goal is not considered prohibited discrimination. Having feelings of solidarity with the society in which one lives is a necessary precondition for the preservation of this very society. Simply distinguishing between "us and them" cannot be considered as discrimination. Inequality in society is based on various aspects and it does not always involve discrimination. Inequality in society is based on various aspects and it does not always involve discrimination. Modern democratic societies strive to eliminate all inequalities based on political affiliations, racial, ethnic and cultural differences, age, gender, and sexual orientation.

Phenomena such as discrimination and xenophobia have been features of human societies since the beginning of their existence. The Families' narratives of our INTERFACE-Study confirmed the hypothesis that discrimination is unfortunately one of the common and everyday experiences of immigrants. Only rarely do victims of discrimination turn to courts with a charge against the instigator of discrimination as discrimination is very difficult to prove in practice. The establishment of reparations and protection against discrimination however depend largely on how quickly and effectively the law can be enforced. Objective measurement of discrimination is problematic.

The direction, intensity and level of discrimination are usually linked to the cultural proximity or distance between immigrant communities and the social majority. Families whose members encountered persecution in their homeland usually do not place great importance to discrimination in the host country because discrimination in the country of origin and the host country are not comparable in terms of their level and intensity. Some immigrants become resistant to discrimination over time. Conversely, others become oversensitive to it.

Certain differences in the nature and level of discrimination against immigrants exist between the new and old member states of the European Union. These differences are caused not only by the different migration histories and traditions of each individual country but also result from the effect of targeted long-term anti-discrimination policies. While immigrants from former socialist countries often perceive discrimination as an unpleasant but integral part of their everyday life in the new country, which they have to cope with internally, in Germany, Belgium and Finland they perceive it more sensitively. The least number of undeclared discrimination was cited in interviews with immigrants living in Germany and Belgium. In

both these countries, more cases also occurred where respondents praised their positive experience of coexistence with the majority population and the significant help they received, particularly in the initial period of their integration.

In the Czech Republic, more cases of social distance than direct discrimination were recorded. This was caused from one hand by the proximity of the cultures that the immigrants came from. From the other hand the cause of social distance towards the former Soviet Union is probably still a response to the occupation of 1968 and the Soviet governance during the socialist history. In Italy seems that illegal immigrants were more vulnerable for discrimination than immigrants with a legal stay permit, since their position makes them more vulnerable.

Even though the majority of respondents encountered discrimination, many of them integrated successfully. At least someone from the family had integrated or it was not yet apparent how the whole process of the family's integration would end. Integration was unsuccessful in just four families who talked about their experiences with discrimination in host countries.

Experiences of direct or indirect discrimination or perceived social distance can be deducted from many interviews. Most families nevertheless negotiated their everyday lives successfully, counterbalancing negative experiences with positive areas of identification and belonging, for example in religious or ethnic communities. Highly valued were moreover the freedoms gained through migration: good or improved economic conditions, political freedoms, feelings of safety and security or higher living standards compared to the county of origin.

References

Berka Petr, Palan Aleš, Šťastný Petr (2008): Xenophobe's Guide to the Czechs, Oval Books, London, http://www.ovalbooks.com. Quoted „http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenofobie"May 7th 2008

Chromý Jakub (2006): Rasismus v trestněprávních souvislostech/Racism in Criminal Law Context, 1/2006. In: Právo a rodina ISSN 1212-866X, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2006), pp. 19-24

Dion, Kenneth L. (2001): The Social Psychology of Perceived Prejudice and Discrimination, University of Toronto, p. 10

Diskriminace, její hodnocení a dokazování prostřednictvím statistických údajů v České republice/Discrimination, its Evaluation and Evidencing through Statistical Data in the Czech Republic (2007), Občanské sdružení Poradna pro občanství, občanská a lidská práva; http://www.diskriminace.cz/dr-projekty/statistika_diskriminace.phtml, May 7th 2008

Discrimination of Foreigners and Ethnic Minorities (Diskriminace cizinců a etnických menšin) (1999), in: Právník, ISSN 0231-6625, Vol. 138, No. 10 (1999), pp. 917-929

Fugazza, Marco (2004): Racial Discrimination: Theories, Facts and Policy (Rasová diskriminace: Teorie, fakta a politika.). In: International Labour Review ISSN 0020-7782, Vol. 142, No. 4, pp. 507-541

Gabal, I.: Etnické vztahy v České republice: 1994, Postoje českého obyvatelstva k cizincům, imigrantům a etnickým menšinám/Attitudes of Czech Population to Foreigners, Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities, Education and New Technologies, Gabal Analysis & Consulting, Praha, p. 75

Gardecki, Rosella M (2001): Racial Differences in Youth Employment (Rasové rozdíly v zaměstnanosti mládeže.). In: Monthly Labour Review ISSN 0098-1818, Vol. 124, No. 8, pp. 51-67

Good Practice Guide on Integration of Refugees in the European Union, (2001) ECRE (European Council on Refugees and Exiles), London, UK

Hiranthi Jayaweera and Tufyal Choudhury (2008): Immigration, Faith and Cohesion, Evidence from Local Areas with Significant Moslem Populations, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, University of Oxford

Kalin, Walter (1999): Diskriminace cizinců a etnických menšin/Discrimination of Foreigners and Ethnic Minorities. - In: Právník ISSN 0231-6625, Vol. 138, No. 10 - pp. 917-929.

Machalová Tatiana (2001) Lidská práva proti rasismu/Human Rights against Racism, published in Brno by Doplněk publishers

Růžička, Miroslav (2007): Zákaz diskriminace podle Evropské úmluvy na ochranu lidských práv a základních svobod/Ban of Discrimination according to the European Convention on Human Rights and Basic Freedoms, Právník, Vol. 146, No. 6, p. 631

Scheu, Harald Christian (2007): Ochrana menšin v právu Evropské unie/Protection of Minorities in the European Union Law, In: Správní právo 7/2007, pp. 490-514

Směrnice 2003/86/EC o právu na sloučení rodiny v EU/Directive 2003/86/EC on Right on Family Reunification in the EU (2004), in: migraceonline.cz

Zpráva o stavu rasismu, xenofobie a antisemitismu v České republice v roce 2006/Report on state of racism, xenophoby and antisemitism in the Czech Republic in 2006 (2007); in: Člověk v tísni, Společnost při ČT, ops

Zukal, Jiří (2007): Také v Unii přetrvává diskriminace/Discrimination Persists also in the EU. In: Veřejná správa – Vol. 18, 24/2007, pp. 26-27

BALANCING THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Balancing the Migration Experience: Costs and Benefits and Future Expectations

Iris Dähnke & Eckart Müller-Bachmann

1. Introduction

The families interviewed in the INTERFACE project gave various reasons for migrating and their expectations of their new life in the host country also varied correspondingly. Most of the families we spoke to hoped in the first instance for an improvement to their economic situation.

For some families the wish to provide a better future and more opportunities for their children played an important role in their decision to emigrate. This was true for families who left their home country for economic reasons, as well as for those individual cases whose country had been affected by political unrest and who wanted to be able to provide their children with a safe and secure future. Finally, for a number of refugees in the sample, flight from regions in political crisis seemed the only possibility of saving their lives and building such a safe and secure future.

The other reasons cited for emigrating may be summarized as follows:

- Financial support for the family in the home country;
- Chain migration or family reunion;
- Better medical provision for sick members of the family;
- Exclusion and discrimination in the home country on grounds of ethnic group; political stance or religious conviction;
- Persecution of individual family members on political grounds;
- Recruitment as a worker/migrant worker;
- The plan to go to university;
- The hope of improving career prospects/furthering a career.

However, one must be cautious in drawing clear-cut distinctions between these different motivations to migrate. The migration process is a complex process whose genesis and progression are defined throughout by many factors and causes: a multitude of interconnected causes and necessities of a cultural, political, economical, religious, demographic, ecological, ethnic and social nature on the individuals or groups who finally decide to emigrate. The causes for this decision are to be found at the societal as well as the personal, individual level. It is therefore not possible to draw an exact dividing line between voluntary and involuntary migrations (cf. Ceylan 2006).

As Godin & Rea point out (in this report), many migrants have multiple reasons for migration. The INTERFACE sample is not exempt from this. The distinction between forced/refugee and economic migration is rather policy- than real-life oriented. With reference to other authors such as Castles (2003), Godin & Rea suggest to employ the concept of a 'asylum-migration nexus'. The migratory patterns families interviewed in the INTERFACE

sample largely reflect variety of contemporary migratory patterns in Europe: long-standing migratory patterns play a role alongside new patterns caused by economic, social and political changes of recent years.

2. Migration: A New Start for the Family

Upon migration, all families left the countries they had up to this point considered as home.[25] For most migrants migration represents a new start in many respects: they change where they live, leave their national and regional home or geographical belonging, they leave their social environment, lose their professional occupation and along with it a multitude of related social roles and status-related attributions. In their study "The Established and the Outsiders" Elias und Scotson describe migration as a change of group affiliation: "What happens appears to be simply that people move physically from one place to another, in reality they always move from one societal grouping to another" (1990: 248). Be it from a group with its own identity (e.g. political emigrants, members of an ethnic community) or from communities of destiny (people who find themselves co-incidentally in the same place in a similar situation) or from statistical units (such as "Gastarbeiter" or "foreigners"), migration always places migrants into a social situation, in which they become outsiders (cf. Oswald 2007). Elias und Scotson describe very lucidly the latent and overt fears of being squeezed out by and the competitiveness of the "established" with the aim of not letting the "outsiders" raise their social status or maintaining their own status to the detriment of the status of the newly arrived.

Only those families we interviewed who migrated in the context of chain migration or family reunion (in particular among resettlers of German origin) did not have to hazard a new start in a cultural, social, vocational or economic respect. They were able to refer to already established structures in the host country. In the vast majority of cases, the immigrants have to learn a new language, re-build a circle of friends and acquaintances, find work and find their way in an unfamiliar cultural environment, with different social provisions, legislation, cultural practices etc. After having given up social relationships in the country of origin, the new start following migration also means losing previously held cultural, symbolic and economic capital (cf. Bourdieu 1983; Weiß/Thränhardt 2005). The family – above all in their position as "Caretakers" relinquish a large part of their autonomy and their knowledge. They once again find themselves in a "non-independent" position, which for many not only entails the loss of recognition of their professional capabilities, but also their "cultural capital" (Bourdieu): the fundamental knowledge about the host society, institutions and the legal position. The parents' loss of cultural orientation and autonomy is exceptionally perceptible in the early stages after migration.

The loss of language, the central system of symbols of western societies (in line with the theory of symbolic interaction; cf. Mead 1934), clarifies both to the migrants and the autochthonous population the loss (of a part) of their independence and autonomy. On the part of the migrants this is often accompanied by the feeling of "being like a child again". Correspondingly many of the migrants interviewed perceived their initial insufficient knowledge of the language as a very heavy burden. Some parents reported feeling "mute", "like a fish", as if they were "stupid" (e.g. DE-16 Russia).

---

[25] With one exception: a family – with German roots deported to the Ukraine after WW 2 – from the former Soviet Union now living in Germany said they had never felt at home in their former home country.

The central negative experiences of many interviewed families in respect of their (initial) poor accommodation and life situation were perceived as a first or second "culture shock" or "migration shock" as it were (see Müller-Bachmann in this report). Asylum seekers in Germany and the Czech Republic as well as illegal immigrants were particularly affected by this. Those families especially of illegal or asylum seeker status had to bear problematic and inadequate living conditions, lack of adequate food or other living provisions, without being able to voice their concerns about this to relevant people, knowing whom to address about this, being able to make changes or defend their rights. Being in a new country and culture, most migrants were subject to the conditions they found themselves in. Often, the first accommodation they were provided with (e.g. as asylum seekers / refugees) by public authorities was inadequate for families and lacked provisions for children. They had to share space with single males and experienced unacceptable hygiene conditions.

Some families said they were shocked about the amount of hardships encountered in the first years, the loneliness and disorientation and the long time period it took them to gain a foothold in the new country. In a few cases, individual interviewees expressed that in the first years they had seriously doubted their decision to migrate or wished they had never taken this step.

Those interviewees that had migrated in chain migration experienced their settling down period as much more pleasant and easy compared to those that had come alone.[26] The predecessors provided the newcomers with temporary accommodation at their place, helped them find a job and introduced them to the new culture and the contacts they had made. Quite often, the newcomers were expected to later pay back their predecessors in some form: for example, in a Bolivian family living in Belgium, the predecessors paid the newcomers flights initially and housed them, and the latter paid their expenses back later (BE-75 Bolivia). The above mentioned examples and further family interviews have shown, that several immigrants who had to rely of official sources of help experienced those as being entirely inadequate to meet their basic needs.

As described before, efficient public policies can compensate for the lack of a social network in the host country (see: Godin & Rea in this report). The supportive function of migrant networks and communities therefore also merits positive and high esteem in particular from a social politics viewpoint (vgl. CJD Eutin 2007).

3. Family Support in the Migration Process

In the course of migration, which is tied to new start in the majority of cases, the core family takes on additional meaning. Relationships within the family become more important, due also to the loss of the familial network and other social contacts (see Booth, Crouter & Landale 1997). Moreover, the core family is a place in which the original culture (language, cultural and religious practices and customs) is maintained to a certain extent. The family can therefore represent a refuge in which their own culture is lived. In addition to the function of

---

[26] The issue if the migration process is easier to be undertaken as a whole family or as an individual was one of the main discussed issues of several focus group interviews that served as a pilot study for the main empirical parts of the INTERFACE project.

maintaining cultural and religious practices, another function may be seen in the defence against experiences of isolation, anomie or discrimination in the host society:

As one girl from Ecuador describes:

"Sometimes I am angry the whole day, but once I come home, you enter another environment … you become another person … every problem will disappear" (daughter from Ecuador, I-27)

In this way, the family also represents a type of lost homeland; the family functions as a symbolic home in which the individual can feel emotionally elevated. On the other hand, the core family is also the place in which, in contact with the host society, changing cultural practices must be negotiated. As an interface between private and public life the family is also an interface between the homeland and the culture of the host country (see de la Hoz 2007). However, dissonances between the culture of the country of origin and the culture of the host country can lead to conflicts between members within the family. Migration and integration therefore present the family and its members with huge challenges not only in respect of the loss of economic, social, symbolic and cultural capital, but also of the relationships of the family members to each other.

4. Family and Internal Relations

Separation of the Family

Temporary separation, long-term separation of the core or extended family or permanent separation from family members in the country of origin occurred throughout the sample, transcending categories of nationality, residence status, circumstances of migration and time of arrival in the host country[27].

In some cases, one parent – often the father, but this applied also to many single mothers – preceded the rest of the core family in the migration process aiming to find orientation and built a financial basis for the rest of the family to follow. Some or all of the children stayed behind in the country of origin, while the migration vanguard(s) struggled to create the circumstances for their migration. In other cases, the family was united in the new country, but the long working hours – plus the lack of other relatives as caretakers – meant the parents were unable to fulfil care obligations towards their children and decided to send them back to their country of origin. This was often followed by year of shuttle migration by the children.

The separation often turned out to last much longer than the parents had originally envisaged, often several years. The separation of parents and children was a highly demanding and emotionally draining experience. In some cases the relationship between parents and children remained permanently corrupt. In one family from Sri Lanka interviewed in the sample, failed communication between son and mother after a family separation manifested a family situation of permanent lack of understanding and mutual accusations (I-40 Sri Lanka, see: Peltola in this report).

---

[27] The only exception being families of late repatriates in Germany. They usually arrived with the united core family or even in three generations and, unlike other migrants, very quickly after arrival received a residence status enabling them to invite or visit other family members.

Shuttle migration of children was particularly prevalent for the first generation of work migrants especially in Germany and is still practised quite widely in the Philippine community in Italy. Children who experienced shuttle migration were often born in the host country, but spent several years in their parents' home country. Consequently they had difficulties in adapting to the host country and suffered from language barriers. On the other side, time spent in the country of origin was in some cases a source of positive memories in now in her thirties, remembers her time of shuttle migration between the relation to the extended family abroad (see also: Peltola in this report). One Turkish woman, age of two and six years:

> "Turkey was wonderful. … the village … It was a beautiful childhood. .. I lived with 15 uncles and aunts, … I called my grandma 'mum', my grandpa 'dad'. … [Later back in Germany] my mother was strict: I had to go to sleep after Sesame Street. German school was a shock: discipline, new language… I was only crying and said I want to go home. I missed my uncles and aunts so much … But I am happy I lived in Turkey. I have such good memories, and I am so close to my family there. … Each time I go and visit, we can talk about old times" (mother, Turkey, DE-17)

The separation was a stressful experience especially for parents, which influenced family relations often for many years after the actual separation (see: Peltola in this report, see also Alitollpa-Niitamo 2004). A phase where children held a temporary grudge against their parents, not understanding their motivation for migration, being uprooted from their former homes, was common in many families. In consequence, migration and separation temporarily led to stress or conflict between parents and children. It was very much a matter of negotiation and communication between family members determining how well negative feelings were overcome. Most families managed to overcome the burden caused by migration and separation and resulting feelings of alienation or guilt with time.

Families in Acculturation Processes

As described in the chapter "Acculturation in families" (see Müller- Bachmann in this report) the (core) family plays an important role in the integration process of an individual. Some interviewees described how they first seriously wanted to come to terms with the demands and the culture of the host society and also felt they had when they had children in this very host country (for example mother from Kenya, FI-42, see: Godin & Rea in this report). The development-specific requirements and demands of the children signalized to the parents as it were, that they were in an integration process – both as individuals within a family and as a family as a whole: the parental values and norms were challenged by the children, since they came to terms with the acculturation process and the demands associated with it more quickly.

As described before (Peltola in this report), children are often quicker in adapting to the new environment socially and culturally – for example, learning the language or finding friends, especially in cases when parents experience difficulties in integrating into the job market and social networks. In a process of dissonant acculturation, family roles between parents and children can to a certain extent reverse.

Differing levels reached by the members of the family in the acculturation process – e.g. evoked by differing experiences with differing socialization agencies, considerable age differences and corresponding courses of development and by various socio-hierarchic points of departure – can on the one hand disturb the interfamilial relationships themselves. On the

other hand, they can mar feelings of security in the family and for some members of the family aggravate conflicts in respect of their own integration and acculturation process. Dissonant acculturation processes can therefore make it more difficult for individual family members to feel "at home" in the host country, or intensify feelings of rootlessness and of having no homeland at all. In the following quotation a mother from Bangladesh describes this feeling. Unlike her husband, the mother feels well integrated, both vocationally and socially. Her husband does not and is intent on turning his back on Italy; the parents are therefore considering another migration to a third country, even though this would uproot their children (see also: Case Study 2 in the Appendix):

> "I spent my whole time in Italy, but there is always the idea to return. This hurts a lot. For me it is a wound. I live here like it would be a life in between; it is not definitive; it is a transitory life. The time I stay here is to grow up my children and to earn money, nothing else. I do not put down roots, but rather I put already roots, but I don't want to realize it. I try to cut off these roots, but my children are growing up here, they are learning the language, the culture, they are my roots. It affects me, because culturally we are so diverse that we are not able to remain here. …" (mother from Bangladesh, I-24)

Other empirical analyses (cf. Niephaus 1998; Herwartz-Emden/Westphal 1998) confirm however that there is generally rather a high level of concordance of perception and attitude between parents and youths in migrant families. Generational conflicts in these families are an extreme rarity. In the end, the lesser the degree of inclusion in the host society the family achieves, the greater is the degree of solidarity between the generations and within the family. If we follow the results of empirical and analytical studies (cf. Nauck 1999) such family members, who act together with the family network in the acculturation process, nurture closer relationships within the family than those who live in non-migrant families. Finally, as a rule members of migrant families know more about each other, i.e. communication within the family is closer than in non-migrant families (cf. Nauck 1999; cf. del la Hoz 2007, see also Müller-Bachmann in this report).

Internal Family Negotiations

Parenting styles and the normative orientation of parents are to a large extent results of self-effected culture-specific experiences of socialization and therefore of their own upbringing, too. We have already shown that these experiences do not concur with the concepts of norms and values within the various areas of the host society and that it can come to efforts to adapt or otherwise reject the new experiences in respect of the hierarchy of values (see Peltola in this report). Thus some families spoke emphatically about such discrepancies. In several families the parents felt that their children were growing up in a very liberal environment, where family values and respect towards the elderly did not have as much emphasis as in their original culture.

> "[In Italy] the children do not respect the elders, their parents, … The education is based on material things and the children continuously ask for something." (father from Senegal, I-38)

Some parents feared losing control over their children and that their offspring would become alienated from their cultural and family background. However, most families managed to solve these potential intergenerational conflicts and long-term conflicts were very rare. As Peltola writes (in this report), despite parental complaints of a withering away of "parental authority" and fears of "liberal parenting styles", children rarely confirmed these fears. Negotiation was common in families and phases of confrontational behaviour of children occurred, but in the vast majority of families the children expressed understanding for their

parents principles and largely adhered to them. By and large, intergenerational relations were defined by respect, reciprocity and loyalty. At the same time, most children quite willingly accepted that with respect to their parents' cultural background, their parents would not accept as many things, that they had to negotiate more than native youths and would not seek every possible freedom to be granted by their parents.

As stated before (see above) the family relations have to be conceptualised as dynamic. From this point of view the family should not be regarded as a rigid unit, but as a figuration of several interdependencies. This figuration changes permanently due to the behaviour of the family members. Through changes created by requirements and adaptation in the host country the relations are put to test and can transform quickly and strongly. This also applies to the bases of integration and education for children. They can also become firm by new influences of a structural or personal nature, adapt to the new conditions or even change.

5. Re-Negotiation of Cultural Habits and Roles

In many families, the process of re-negotiation of cultural habits, individual roles and family rules also entailed the renegotiation of gender roles. For women, this change was often emancipative, while for men adaptation was often in some instances more difficult, especially when it meant giving up power over their wives and children or taking on new roles as care-takers due to unemployment. This was illustrated by a divorced mother from Iran (see also: Peltola in this report):

> Mother: It becomes… anyway, [men] had, they have had a lot … power, in their own country, and when they have to move to another country, and they have nothing, it's equality. Everything, that has to… that it brings them pressures, more. That women are happier, like "haa! we can, we are allowed…" [laughs] to do, but men… they lose … power and these, they lack many things. That they can't, more, like before, intervene in things. […] Man has been the main thing in his own country, does everything, and here he's supposed to negotiate with own wife, that, what, about things, that something can be done or not. It is… little difficult. For some people it is… goes easily, they can adjust, but others not. (FI-45 Iran)

Changes in gender roles, changes in the relationship between parents and children and their respective cultural orientation, changes in the perception and meaning of family: All these aspects quite clearly carry both positive and negative connotations. They are processed individually and experienced differently by family members. Liberation from traditional gender roles (especially of wife, daughter) in some cases lead to the break-up of the family or cause permanent conflicts (e.g. I-39 Iran, FI-45 Iran).

Similarly, children may feel liberated from continuing family traditions, while the parents may experience this as a great and permanent loss. Preserving cultural traditions in the home while deeply rejected the culture of the host country may just be an attempt to maintain traditional power structures within the family. In a family from Bangladesh living in Italy, the rejection of the host society – explicitly stressed by father and son – went hand in hand with the maintenance of patriarchal power structures within the family (I-23 Bangladesh).

It must be mentioned here, however, that there was no evidence of attempts at segregation or marginalization and no evidence of these in the majority of the families interviewed. In this context we should not forget (see above) that when families manage to negotiate the process of acculturation successfully and agree on it, this can also result in great closeness among

family members. Some studies indicate that overall closeness among family members was even greater in families of migrant origin than in non-migrated families (Nauck 1999).

Looking at the INTERFACE sample, quite a few families experienced temporarily strained relations among parents and children, often leading to open conflict. This was overcome in the vast majority of families, successful processes of negotiation facilitated relationships then defined by understanding and mutual respect. While parents understood their children's position of living "in-between cultures", children and adolescents in turn showed understanding for their parents' cultural background and the hardships experienced in the migration process. The children's access to the host culture can furthermore increase cultural and emotional closeness among generations (see de la Hoz 2007). As Bareš explains, the strengthening of family ties may also result from a reaction to difficult external circumstances and aims to (re-)achieve balanced family relations (Bareš in this report). At the same time, many aims formulated in the process of migration can only be legitimised and achieved "if the members of the family stick together" (see de la Hoz 2002).

Parents Seek to Pass on Their Culture of Origin

Cultural habits, traditions and knowledge about the country of origin play a central role in parents' upbringing of their children. Most parents being interviewed sought to pass certain cultural traditions on to their children. Several families used storytelling as a means to tell their children about their culture of origin. Often, parents sought to educate children about their religion or pass them through the respective rituals. One mother from Turkey explained why she made her children go to the mosque – although she did not go herself:

> "For my children it is also important that they get to the culture, the religion: that they go to the mosque weekend and learn our faith. Later, no-one can force [my son] to do this. When he gets older, he has to decide for himself. As parent you can only give things to your child, what he does with it later it not matter of my decision" (mother from Turkey, DE-17).

As Godin & Rea write (in this report), international mobility can also be a way to reinforce ethnic identity and cultural traditions among family members. The same mother as cited above described that although she spoke Turkish to her children they would always answer in German:

> "My youngest daughter cannot speak Turkish anymore. I have to do something about this. I think I'll send her to Turkey on holiday for six weeks, so she will learn the language." (DE-17 Turkey)

A father from Afghanistan imagined to enter into a cultural dialogue with his son once he reached the appropriate age to be interested in his origins:

> Father: "He [five-year-old son] knows he is Afghan, but he is born here, and his home is here. … … He can be friends with whoever he wants … it has become normal, the multi-cultural…"
> Interviewer: What do you want to pass on to him, about his roots?
> Father: "We give him something. We talk Afghan to him. But it is still early. […] When he grows up and knows, what is politics, he will surely start asking about Afghanistan. […] Then he knows, it's my parents home country, but I was born in a German hospital. But he must know, there is other people, poor people, even among his own relatives. More educated people do not even care so much where someone comes from… " (father, DE-19 Afghanistan).

Hybrid Identities or Multi-Cultural Identity Construction

A couple from Afghanistan discussed their feelings of home. The father mentioned that he hoped for his son to develop a "multi-cultural identity" (see above) – explained that he himself could not develop a true feeling of home in Germany, despite having lived there since he was 19 years old and having his extended family near:

> Father: "We [husband and wife] can hardly remember our lives in Afghanistan. It was a different life. Most of our memories are from Germany."
> Mother: We don't feel home in Afghanistan. It is home, but a strange home
> Father: But here you always feel like a stranger, you always remain a stranger. […] Yes, sure, it is a safe and quiet life here. But life here is somehow constructed, like in reality you belong somewhere else. … For example, the language will never be mine. Home stays home forever." (DE-18 Afghanistan)

A "rootlessness" becomes especially manifest in the fact that many migrants feel alien and neither at home in the receiving country nor in their country of origin, when going back to visit. Many of the children's generation interviewed in the sample went through different phases of identification in the course of their childhood and adolescence. While in some phases they felt more inclined towards the host culture, in other life-phases they (re-)oriented themselves more towards their parents original culture (see Peltola in this report). Other studies moreover indicate, that the nexus between assimilation in the host society and (re-)orientation towards an ethnic identity varies between first, second and third generation migrants. Third generation migrants may either be more inclined to develop 'multi-cultural' identities, or in some cases show a stronger orientation towards their grandparent's culture than second generation migrants (see Zimmer 1986, Nauck 1999, Nieke 2000).

Some interviewees of the sample – especially those of the younger generation – felt reluctance to give a label to their identity. Double identities of local and national can be one way of negotiating this 'identity interspace', for example, understanding oneself both as "Bangladeshi" and "Roman". Some interviewees developed quite distinguished views on this, differentiating between their emotional identity (their home culture), their socialisation (often the new culture), their behaviour (both), their adapted personality and more, constructing a multi-dimensional intra-national identity for themselves.

The 15-year-old daughter of a couple from the Philippines interviewed in the project describes that over the years, she came more and more to understand that her parents in fact lived a "double tracked life" between Italian society and supporting their Filipino relatives abroad. With time, she discovered more and more of her Filipino identity and says in the interview:

> "I managed to find myself as C. Filipino-Italian. … With part A and B. Yes it is like a monomial, first I was A+B, now I am AB. […] First I jumped from one identity to another. For instance one day I went out with Italians and another day with Filipinos. Now it is like a reunion of both. … First I changed my behaviour in relation to the group, I behave differently when facing Italians or Filipinos, now I mixed up everything and I became a person with one identity and with an unique behaviour." (I-35 Philippines)

The children were potentially most inclined towards this process of creative identity negotiation and creating what has been called "hybrid" or "multi-cultural-identities" (see Badawia 2002). In reality, this sensitive process can be particularly obstructed by an excess of external attributions of identity from the sides of the host society, for instance, experienced as prejudice, discrimination or other reductivist approaches towards the individual. In other words: attributions that oversimplify and those tainted with prejudice of members and

institutions of the host society in turn do however impede this process of creative "hybrid" or "multicultural" formation of identity.

6. Family and External Relations

In the course of migration most families lose their extended families, their friends and acquaintances and familiar social surroundings[28]. This loss of social capital and the loss of emotional, financial and further support can only be partially compensated over time and with extensive efforts. In the following, we want to focus on the loss of the extended family network.

Networks and Social Capital

Many of the families interviewed suffered from the separation from their extended family. When the loss of the extended family was permanent, this was especially painful for those migrants of the sample who could not or where not allowed to return to their country of origin to visit. This applied to several political refugees, asylum seekers or migrants of illegal status. For some of these, the moment of migration was the final time they saw their relatives. In an Armenian family interviewed in the project, the family had not seen their relatives since their initial arrival in Germany in 1993. Since they still hold the status of asylum seekers officially lacking the needed papers, they were not been allowed to leave the Federal state (*Bundesland*) or invite their relatives to Germany. The mother says:

> "15 years of our lives are thrown away. You live here and say ok, my husband is here, my children are here, but when you have family, when you have parents, who have died by now, and you can't go there even for one day, this is hard, this is like prison" (DE-21 Armenia)

In this family and other families alike, the separation caused emotional hardships and painful experiences for the parents and their children and other relatives. They were not able to share their family life, births and festivities amongst each other. Moreover, families who lived in the host country without their extended families could not rely on the help of relatives in childcare matters. The children often grew up without knowing their relatives outside the core family. In the above-mentioned Armenian family, the two daughters had never met their cousins, uncles, aunts and grand-parents. Instead, they had to make do with phone calls and photos and videos being exchanged. In an Iranian family, the daughter who similarly cannot meet her relatives explains:

> "I am given a phone and then I speak…in principle to a stranger, that I don't know. like my cousin, and I haven't met them ever. … Sometimes I feel weird. Because I don't know them" (daughter, Iran, FI-45).

As much as separation from the extended family was cause of long-term feelings of loss, emotional hardship and was obstructive for developing feelings of home (e.g. family DE-18 Iraq), chain migration and thus migrating with or into an extended family network could foster an accelerated integration process, both in psychological and economic terms. Having family around was described by many as making them feel at home. A father from

---

[28] Except those migrants arriving in chain migration processes, for whom migration can actually mean the retrieval of family relations.

Afghanistan remembers coming to Germany at the age of 19, following his brothers and sisters:

> "It was almost like coming home, because so many of them were already living in Hamburg." (DE-19 Afghanistan)

This positive relation is also mentioned in the research literature stating that families coming as a unit have much better conditions to handle the tasks related with migration than those whose process of chain migration is delayed over a longer period of time (comp. Bade et al. 2000).

The family as a source of social capital gains its strengths mainly from its strong connections that can overcome spatial as well as temporal breaks. Moreover, familial social capital is transferrable through marriage etc. (see: CJD Eutin 2008; Weiss/Thränhardt in: Weiss/Thränhardt 2005, Haug/Diehl 2005). Accordingly the family networks and ethnic networks can be conceptualised as sources of social capital, support and so to say catalysts for integration (see also: Godin & Rea and Müller-Bachmann in this report). It must be noted, however, that in a few cases in the sample extensive contact to and involvement in extended family or ethnic networks was obstructive to gaining contact to the host society or perceived as obstructive by the inteviewees (e.g. BE-71 Columbia). In relation to professional options, involvement in the ethnic community, while providing certain jobs, may be experienced as hindering to acquiring other forms of occupations (e.g. CR-54 Vietnam). This can be linked to what is often understood as the limitations of "bonding social capital". Or, more precisely, Gestring, Janßen and Polat (2006) found out in a recent study of second generation Turkish migrants: In the interviewees' networks, it was particularly *social homogeneity* which limited their chances of upward professional mobility. Naturally, this is especially true for individuals belonging to a lower social stratum, like the interviewees chosen by Gestring, Janßen and Polat, who had all achieved only lower secondary education qualifications (German *Hauptschule*). Thus, it must be stressed, that *social* heterogeneity is more important for a network's capacities to generate economic opportunities than ethnic heterogeneity – here, we must remember that in the case of many third-country migrants in Europe, a lower social status and ethnic origin are in reality still often linked (see e.g. EU Joint Report on Social Inclusion and Social Protection 2007).

Migration usually leads to the loss of the social network beyond the family. Contrary to the familial network, however, it can be restored to a certain extent. This applies above all to the "weaker" connections in the circle of friends and acquaintances. The majority of the families interviewed have many social contacts, both within ethnic or religious communities and other associations as well as other members of the host society and families. Contrary to the familial network the broader social network is imbued with a greater dynamic. However, it is exactly these often weak connections that can be of particular use for gathering information (Granoevetter 1983; Gestring/Janßen/Polat 2006; CJD Eutin 2007). These relationships can therefore also be useful vocationally, especially when they are socially heterogeneous.

Contacts with individuals and institutions outside the family are made through the radius of action of individual family members or the whole family outside the home. Family relationships are in continual socio-ecological interplay with socialization agents of the host society outside the family. As mentioned already, these retroact in turn on the families and their personal interdependencies. In this respect the family and its members enter into the various socio-ecological systems – geographically speaking from the close vicinity, over the neighbourhood and to distant regions; systemically speaking from the microsystem, e.g. the

family and partner over the mesosystem, inter-relations between two and more areas of life, e.g. the relationship between family and work, family and circle of friends and acquaintances, over the exosystem up to the macrosystem – at various speeds and varying degrees of intensity. Socio-ecological research[29] (see Bronfenbrenner 1981; 1986) shows that it is important to human development for these various systems to be compatible with each other. Experiences and behaviours that a person has learned in one system must therefore be applicable in other systems and people must also be able to influence the shape and form of the various systems in which they participate.

Ethnic networks, religious communities and other, e.g. political or cultural, associations play a special role in the development of the various systems. Moreover, these networks have great identificatory value. To a limited extent they can help, on an emotional level, to sustain the feeling of being in their "homeland" – especially where cultural practices can be shared here.

Many migrant families spoke of contacts to other migrant families that had already developed in the early stages after their arrival and were still being maintained up to the time of the interviews. They had often got to know other families in similar situations, for example, at the aliens department or in their first accommodation. Many of these contacts continued for years and had become deeper and more intensive.

The children of immigrant families offer additional opportunities for creating new social networks that include members of the "autochthonous" population. Next to the workplace, the neighbourhood, clubs or associations, the Kindergarten or school provides another opportunity for making contact with other, indigenous parents (see Godin & Rea in this report).

As these weak connections are also very dynamic, they can also break down more quickly – especially when the common ground between the families is limited and the shared experiences are minimal. A Chinese woman living with her daughter in Italy spoke of a network that had developed when her daughter was still young. Together with other mothers she had organized shared child care, which not only made her life easier – since her husband lives in China – but she also made the acquaintance of the parents of other, Italian, children at children's birthdays. As her daughter and her school friends became teenagers, however, and needed increasingly less parental supervision, these contacts broke down. After a few cutbacks in personnel she no longer feels integrated in her circle of work colleagues either. Although she has been living in Italy for some ten years now, this highly-qualified mother feels increasingly alone (I-25 Philippines).

Several families were involved in chain migration processes as successors or pioneers, i.e. following already migrated members and/or paving the way for more members of their extended family to follow on their migration path. When families managed to enable more members of their family to immigrate this increased mutual responsibility and support within the family and strengthened the ties between individual members. Many families of the sample expected more members of their families to join them in their new home country in

---

[29] For Bronfenbrenner, the most prominent representative of the socio-ecological approach, the interplay between systems and the transfer of people from one system into another stand in the foreground of his considerations. With this concept he investigates the different conditions in which human development takes place (even though his main interest lies in child development, his thoughts refer in the main to the development and socialization of migrated families).

the future. As mentioned before, having family around was described by many as making them feel at home.

7. The Family in the Host Society: Economic and Social Living Conditions

Economic Security

In the families interviewed, the majority of families were living in economic conditions better to what they had – or would have had – in their country of origin. The main important aspects of the economic living conditions to the families were: having a proper flat for the family (ideally the children having their own room), reliable electricity and warm water supplies, functioning public transport and good public services. Consumerist options were also of importance for several families. In Italy, "you can buy everything you want in the supermarket", one mother from Romania remarked (I-37 Romania). A father stressed, when asked how they benefited from migration that they now had a flat, and their son could now have his own room, an electric toy car and a 'game boy' (DE-16 Russia).

Some families – especially those in Italy, the Czech Republic and in Belgium – valued highly the fact of having managed to buy a property in their host country. The parents felt this provided them with great feeling of security, even if they had gotten into debts to afford the purchase. However, the parents buying a property in the host country was not linked to the plan to stay in the host country: In a few families, the parents were planning to buy a flat/house or had bought one to secure the future of their children, while they themselves were planning to return to their country of origin in the farther future (I-28 and I-38)

Achieving a relative economic stability was something many families had struggled to achieve for several years. Many families worked very long hours in their first years to compensate for the low wage they received due to the loss of their original professional status and / or to pay off the debts they got into because of migration. Family life was strained due to this and making social contacts outside work was virtually impossible for those hard working parents. Not having many contacts nor relatives made childcare even more difficult for the parents. In one Romanian family living in Italy both parents work six days a week and have organised everyday family life according to a strict time schedule, in order to organise care for their baby and eight-year-old daughters. The parents consider their lives as "sacrifice" to their children's future (see also Boehme, Bracalenti & Mefalopulos in this report).

> "We are definitely like a machine, should one piece break down then our family life will collapse too"
> (father, I-37 Romania)

For this Romanian family, the struggle to achieve economic security clearly went at the expense of establishing social networks, having time for the family and for oneself individually.

Safety

Living in a safe environment in a democratic country, with freedom of speech, equality before the law, non-corrupt state officials, relative safety in the streets and relative freedom of information was valued highly by quite a few families interviewed.

Several families had experienced persecution or discrimination on political or ethnic grounds in their original home countries. Some families had experienced discrimination at everyday live, for example, being shouted at or beaten in the street. Systematic discrimination was also experienced, for example, by state forces like the police, in some cases based on ethnic origin. Some individuals who had gotten involved in political associations in non-democratic countries had experienced systematic persecution, including different types of intimidation and threats.

However it was not only families who had experienced exceptional persecution who regarded democratic living conditions as great benefit to their lives. Being able to put trust in authorities, not needing to bribe state officials, being equal before the law and being relatively safe from criminal threats in everyday life was quite important to many. As one mother remarked, in Germany she did not have to worry that her son would become victim of an offence when out in the streets, like she had been in St. Petersburg (DE-17 Russia).

Social Status

Those families being interviewed had very often experienced a significant loss of status during and after their migration. This fact is independent from the information that most families had improved their economic living situation and were often living in situations of relative economic stability. The loss of status applied both to social and professional status.

Firstly, this may be connected to an actual loss of social status due to a decline of the position held in the social hierarchy in the country of origin. This is felt most harshly by migrants who left their countries for political reasons and had been very active and committed in their former communities. The loss of social status was thus manifest in a loss of contacts, not holding a more-or-less central position in social network(s) anymore and not being occupied with activities perceived as central to the ethnic, political or religious community. Many migrants of the sample felt clearly a decline in social status due to their migrant status *as such* – this was independent of the social position they had inhabited prior to migration. This can be aggravated by a low professional position they held e.g. as cleaners or housemaids, which thus doubly stigmatised them in the societal hierarchy.

Some migrants experienced an on-going distance from the host society and felt permanently regarded as foreigner, due to their different looks, dark skin or dark hair or accent. It is well known from biographical research that the biography of the person and the family (cf. Breckner 2005) provides insight into the experience of and dealing with (one's own) foreignness as a key for the reconstruction of the meaning of migration experiences. Accordingly, it can be assumed that the social position of the foreigner (cf. Schütz 1972; Simmel 1908), of the "marginal man" (Park 1928) or of the outsider (Elias/Scotson 1990) has become consolidated in the course of crisis-ridden migration-specific experiences. This process also involves the reconstruction of knowledge- and relevance systems (cf. Breckner 2005).

Some of the family members experiencing this on-going distance – still a minority in our sample – felt deprived of respect from their employers and other people of the autochthon population. Especially families and single adults who arrived "illegally" and decided remain clandestine often experienced extreme random from landlords or employers, who exploited

their "illegal" status charging exorbitant rents, paying exploitative wages or in other ways subjecting migrants to exploitation. In some cases, forms of disrespectful behaviour towards the interviewees verged on openly discriminative behaviour. One woman from Ecuador reports how she does not dare to visit shops anymore without buying anything, because she feels being watched for suspicion of thievery (I-27 Ecuador).

Having a family can have an influence on experiences of social distance or discrimination. After having children a family from Morocco experienced that they felt more accepted in Italy:

> Mother: "When you have children, you have more… relationship with the others"
> Father: "More respect, there is no more that look that… They know you are a family anyway. Because there are the children, hence it means you are good people… They give you more respect, more trust. They even try to give you a hand. What they would not do before". (I-30 Morocco)

On the one hand, having children can thus lead to greater acceptance from the host society. On the other hand, however, there can also be a negative effect. A mother from Turkey reported that she experienced strong rejection in the street when she spoke Turkish to her little daughter[30]. She wanted her child to learn proper Turkish, she explains. However she was told off by a German, who complained that when living in Germany, she should speak German to her child (DE-20 Turkey). These different reactions from members of the host society to migrant families with children raise interesting questions, which can only be touched upon in this context: How can it be understood that on the one hand having children means families feel more accepted by society, while at the same time exercising different cultural practises with children (i.e. speaking the language of the home country) can provoke irritated reactions? One may suggest that this is connected the multiple rational and emotional connotations and meanings that 'family' in embedded in. Family and children are, on the one hand, understood as a core element constituting society. On the other hand, family is itself a closed system, where its own norms and cultural practises are exercised, which are not accessible or even incomprehensible to outsiders. The multiplicity of different emotional and rational dimensions define the ways that migrant families are received and perceived.

Discrimination

Following Horáková (in this report) it is very difficult to objectify experiences verging on discrimination. While some individuals react very sensitively and are very alert to realise subtle forms of discrimination, others deny having experienced discrimination, although, when questioned further, admit to having been subjected to forms of behaviour which can clearly be classified as discriminative behaviour according to EU rules of anti-discrimination. It can be argued that a denial of experience of discrimination does not necessarily mean an individual does not suffer from experiences – in contrast, denial of a victim position can be a coping strategy to shed off negative feelings.

In most families in the sample there were family members who had experienced some form of social distance, mild forms of mistrust, disrespect or rejection or more or less open discriminatory behaviour in their lives (see: Horáková in this report). Although this does not necessarily prevent integration, it is a potential source of stress for migrants. For children and

---

[30] in 1992. The mother remarks she feels that similar forms of open discrimination have become slightly less.

youths, it can be particularly unsettling, being mostly less knowledgeable about it than adults and in certain life stages very eager to "fit in". As one Vietnamese interviewee put it:

> "We knew we were foreigners [when we arrived], but children who are born here are often taken by surprise at school, because they do not feel like foreigners." (CR-55, mother from Vietnam)

Several children and youth had experiences with being mocked or bullied at school. In their stories they remembered being called names or being mocked for their humble knowledge of the national language. In a family from Russia now living in Finland, the daughter considered some Finns having negative attitude towards Russians and other non-Finnish nationals and had had experiences of being discriminated and bullied because of her Russian roots.

> Interviewer: "What do you think, [the daughter], is there, like prejudices here? Have you faced any? Daughter: Well… maybe even too much sometimes, but… when every now and then in school somebody says, like, well, everybody knows I speak Russian, everybody is like, or some of them, that "yeah, ryssä, ryssä" [impolite nickname for Russian], but… once at the third grade… I broke a nose of one boy, it stopped right there. […] Mostly in school. When they know, or that somebody has some kind of surname or something… like that you, even little hear that (s)he's not Finnish. Then everybody was at once, or some of them, that (s)he's foreign, (s)he's not Finnish…" (FI-44 Russia)

Professional Status

In most of the interviewed families (around two-thirds of all families in the sample), the first generation of migration (usually being the parents) underwent a medium to great loss of professional status upon migration. While many of them held high-school or vocational qualifications before migration, many later worked in low to unskilled jobs in the service sector, went through periods of unemployment or only managed to re-gain a few hours per week paid jobs resembling their old occupations after many years.[31]

However, the number of families in the sample who suffered long-term from working in professions where they could not use their former professional qualifications and knowledge was relatively small. The majority of migrants had been aware prior to migration that they would not be able to maintain their professional status. Those holding a university degree knew before the migration that their qualifications may not be accepted. They had accepted the fact that migration would entail giving up their previous professional position. In one Uzbek family now living in Belgium, for example, the father did not even try to get his university diploma recognised. What was much more important to him was to find a job quickly after five years of waiting for their asylum claim to be processed (BE- 72 Uzbekistan).

Economic security partially compensated for a loss of professional status and other hardships experienced. After having gone through years of precarious existence and being eager to provide security for the children, stable economic conditions were logically valued highly by most families.

Unemployment was a special case in terms of loss of professional status. In fact, it was hard to come to terms with by those parents that suffered from it. As described by Boehme,

---

[31] The only notable exception – but not in the focus of this research – are many of those migrants who came as guest workers in the 1960s. Arriving as skilled or unskilled labourers, most of them managed to maintain their professional status or even improve it.

Bracalenti & Mefalopulos (in this report), finding a job had been the primary concern of all migrants after migration. Temporary unemployment affected many families. Where unemployment became a long-term condition lasting more-or-less several years, it became a specific condition of suffering: Unemployment affected migrants who could not find a job or were not allowed to work, for example as asylum seekers. Emotionally, it was a draining experience for both groups.

Not supporting their family financially but living of state benefits would have a negative impact on the parents self perception in some cases. The emotions the unemployed parent(s) experienced verged on shame, uselessness and seeing their parental role as providers for their children being corrupted. Having always worked to support their family, the parents had problems justifying their inactivity in front of themselves and in front of their children (e.g. DE-16 Russia, DE-21 Armenia). Unemployed fathers additionally suffered from losing their identity as breadwinners of the family.

The children in turn suffered from their parents' unhappiness. In a few cases, the parents reported that their unemployment and being confined to relative inactivity at home caused tensions between the partners and between parents and children. In an Uzbek family, the children felt very restricted by their parents' unemployment, not being able to go on holiday or invite their schoolmates into the home (BE-72 Uzbekistan). In an Albanian family where both parents suffered from unemployment, the mother explains:

> "Everything is fine here, only… when I can't get a job, only when we're sitting at home, it is not well. We only sit at home. […] It gives me a headache, when… when it is this a lot. Every time we just sit in here. And every time we get older and soon we need pension." (mother from Albania, FI-49)

One group particularly affected were asylum seekers or families of otherwise insecure residence status. For these families lack of legal employment and/or lack of work permit was accompanied not being able to make family plans for the future.[32] Lacking appropriate residence permits adolescents encountered problems planning their professional future. In one family from Ecuador, for example, the second daughter lost her mother's legal residence status when she turned 18. Not having a legal stay permit anymore, she was thus not able to take the exams at her vocational dentistry school (I-27). In some cases, the children felt marginalized for not being able to participate in activities like their peers (e.g., not being able to go on holiday with their family, requiring many legal documents for school trips etc.).

The parents on the other hand found it difficult to be in a position of not being able to afford their children security: Being the family caretakers, their parental role demands for them to provide stability and security to their children. Without long-term stay permit or security to be allowed to reside legally in the country, they could not provide their children with the basic security of a socially stable environment.

> "I think maybe I made a mistake[33], but it is not our children's fault. They need to do vocational training in this country. They have done nothing wrong. The little one was born here. She has no contact to Armenia,

---

[32] The family members were often unsure whether they would be allowed to stay in the host country. This was especially difficult for families in which the children had already reached their teens, had been to school for many years in the host country or were even fully socially integrated. The older children often lacked any kind of connection to the parents' homeland and they only had spoken command of the language.

[33] When Armenia became independent and issued national passports, the parents (already living in Germany) recount that they neglected applying for new passports. Thus, the authorities classify them as "unidentified nationality" and the family can neither be sent back to Armenia nor be allowed to stay in Germany.

her life is here, … they don't know the grammar of the Armenian language" (father from Armenia, DE-21)

Moreover the long-term lack of economic and/or residential security was experienced as a lack of dignity, which was experienced as detrimental to the parent's psychological health and in some cases caused depression, anxiety and other psychosomatic diseases (e.g. family BE-65 from Romania).

Problems and Perspectives in the Migration Process

As stated before being integrated into ethnic or cultural networks helped many families coming to terms with everyday life and facing the hardships of migration. Being part of an ethnic or cultural network provided many families with extra security, feelings of home, shared experience and in some cases helped to acquire accommodation or a job. The social capital developed in networks helped families to ease their everyday lives. Other studies have indicated that contact within ethnic networks loses relevance when an immigrant group becomes more integrated into society (see Weiss/Thränhardt 2005).

For most families, returning to their country of origin was out of question because they did not want to take their children out of their familiar environment. The parents were aware that their children would not have the same professional options as in their current country of residence, especially being socialised and educated in the new culture. A few families stressed that they would not have been able to afford their children to have a qualified education in their home country, where their financial means would not have enabled them to. The children played a decisive role in determining the family's future in most families interviewed.

Increased concentration their children is for many parents a proven means of dealing with their unemployment or their loss of professional status and the social recognition associated with it (see: Boehme, Bracalenti & Mefalopulos in this report). The parents believe that the children should take charge of their own lives in the new environment, and, with the help of the parents, a better future should be made possible for them than was available to the parents. This "anticipative behaviour" (Clausen 1976) reveals – similar to that of their children and also that of youths themselves – a view of the future that is full of expectations, that is geared towards the realization of aims, options and visions.[34]

Sometimes, the word "sacrifice" is explicitly used by the parents to describe their lives in relation to their children's. The problems of is parental perspective of the family's present and future can be expounded: parents who express themselves in this way have high to very high expectations of their children in the most diverse areas, and this harbours a considerable potential for conflict within the family. Some children, on the other hand, accept this high level of expectation: Some children respectively adolescents interviewed regarded success in school as their duty to pay back their parents for what they sacrificed due with migration (see Peltola in this report).

---

[34] Sayad (1993) on the other hand shows in an interview with families who migrated to France that the older the parents are, the sooner they come to terms with the past and hand over the (verbal) shaping of the present and the future to their own children.

Some women tried to escape their loss of identity due to unemployment or loss of status by concentrating on their role as wife, mother or housewife, which is more or less equally recognized throughout society (see Boehme, Bracalenti & Mefalopulos in this report). This (backward-looking) concentration on the traditional ideal role can be interpreted as fundamentally problematical, since it can act against emancipatory tendencies and alternative life visions. At the same time, it must be mentioned that migrants who take up traditional roles (again) after migrating do not necessarily regard this as a backward step, for reasons of their own socialization.

Furthermore, many times in the interviews the families developed the perspective of considering migration as a "challenge" and of them being in a permanent state of adapting their expectations to the current conditions of family existence in the host society. In this connection, the comparison was made (as is typical for migrants) between their lives in the host society and the possible – or not possible – life in the country of origin. This was particularly true for families who, despite the loss of their own professional status, were able to realize a secure existence and future for themselves and their children in the host society and who assess with hope their own individual development and that of their family:

> „Life here is like paradise […] Just turning on the tap in the morning, you get hot water. […] If it stays like this it will be a golden future. This is a rich country, not in money, but in quality of life." (father from Afghanistan, DE-19)

Although the majority of families was successful in managing their new professional and social situations after their migration it is not to say that all families who experienced a loss of status – professionally and/or socially – managed to develop successful strategies to deal with. A few examples indicate that family members developed aggression against the host society and held a deep grudge against citizens of the host society for what they felt as being second-class citizens, or fell into depression, for not being able to practice their original profession anymore. A few fathers of the sample felt permanently unhappy for not practising in their old occupations (e.g. as artist respectively as mathematician) anymore and were unable to come to terms with this (DE-3 Afghanistan/Ukraine and DE-13 Uzbekistan).

8. Future Expectations

Considering the future expectations of families, the children played a central role. Almost all families were planning to stay in their current residence country until the children finished their education. Although some parents were dreaming about returning to their original home country afterwards, they often considered this wish as not practical, because they did not want to live far away from their children, whom they expected to stay. One family explained that there was "no business" for them to return to Turkey if their children stayed in Belgium. While in Turkey they would need a lot of economic capital for their children to undertake studies, Belgium guaranteed them equal access to education (BE- 74 Turkey).

It is fair to assume that the future expectations and hopes of the families interviewed in the project were not particularly different from those that non-migrant families would express. Those families who had acquired secure residence status and therefore residency rights and were professionally integrated hoped above all for health, future job security for their children and, if possible, economic improvement for their family. Those families without rights to residency and/or job security hoped chiefly that they would soon be able to adjust.

The vast majority of families intend to stay in their new countries of residence in the foreseeable future. As said before the most important single reason for this was that the parents did not want to uproot their children and/or thought that the children would have better future options in the host country, professionally, socially and/or culturally. The decision to stay was consequently a family decision. At the same time, many parents – and a few children – contemplate the idea of returning to their original home countries in the farther future.

Quite a few adolescents – being socialised as an immigrant – were considering further migration, for professional or personal reasons. Most of this group were considering migrating to a different European country or the USA to work or study, while some of them were planning to follow their fiancés or partners to where they may move.

In a few cases, the (grand-)parent generation was contemplating or already conducting shuttle migration, spending a few months a year in a flat or house they owned in their original home country and the rest of the year close to their children respectively grandchildren. For the older generation, the health care provisions in the host country was another important incentive, besides seeing their (grand-)children not to re-migrate completely. (e.g. DE-17 Turkey, DE-20 Turkey).

9. Conclusion

In what way families and family members negotiate and deal with the life situations they face, what sort of coping and problem-solving strategies they develop, depends on a variety of internal and external factors. Various individual, inter-relational, cultural and socio-economic predispositions (e.g. religious orientation, cultural orientation, egalitarian or patriarchal family structures, levels of trust in the family, the parents' educational background and many more) as much as external factors (e.g. access to language courses, ethnic networks, employment and residence situation and different others) strongly influence the possibilities of the family to come to terms with their new living situations.

Finally, it is very difficult to draw clear-cut conclusions from the described systematisation, balancing negative against positive effects of migration at the end. Many families managed to outbalance the negative aspects experienced by different positive ones: for example losing the own professional status was experienced as less important as the economic security gained for the family with migration, or a general feeling of "safety and security" for all family members. Some families demonstrate that a creative negotiation of hardships experienced helped them to draw beneficial effects for their individual strength and closeness of family relations (see also Bade et al 2000). Although many families were greatly affected from the hard emotional sufferings they experienced in the course of migration and integration, some demonstrate vivid examples of how these "costs" were regarded as "challenges" and how they were finally mastered as such. Without wiping away the various degrees of hardships experienced by most families (which are not measurable and describable with the tools of the social sciences), many families in the sample fortunately succeeded in mastering these challenges to achieve a state of positive integration in the host societies or at least a perspective on to the own future.

The costs of migration are numerous and afflicted many families heavily, especially in the first years after their initial migration. In the long run however, the benefits of migration

outweighed the costs in many families. In approximately half of all the 77 families interviewed migration and integration can be deemed "successful" for all family members t the time of interview. Bearing in mind that talking about „success" is a difficult category to define, moreover since families were not asked directly, we refer to those families where all members are relatively content with their living situation in social, economic and psychological terms, relations within the family seem relatively intact, looking at it from the detached perspective of the social researcher (Again, referring to the aforementioned selection of the sample and qualitative methods, this assessment is by no means representative).

In nearly the other half of all families being interviewed, the evaluation of migration and integration situation is more ambiguous and positive and negative effects are felt quite strongly in the family. In many cases of this category, the migration effects family members differently. While it was a success to guarantee safety of the family and particularly opening future perspectives for the children, the parents continue to feel and suffer from many aforementioned hardships (in about a quarter of all interviewed families). In some cases the parents experience different levels of integration success, one partner being happy with his or her live while the other feels continued difficulty to integrate into society, due to unemployment, loss of job opportunities or lack of contacts.

In several other cases where the migration and integration experience can be regarded as ambiguous, the family is benefiting from an improved and/or secure economic situation, while the psychological hardships experienced still weigh heavily on its members (in approx. ten families from the sample). Even more ambiguous are life stories of a few families, where the parents or the whole family still live in isolation from the host society, some of them strongly rejecting the culture of the host country. But only in four families interviewed the migration experience could be understood as a "failure". In one case, family relations between mother and son were permanently corrupt and the family did not overcome the hardships caused by a long separation period. In another case, the parents had still not been awarded a stay permit after 15 years, were suffering from depression and fear of having to leave the country again, uprooting their children, who had been completely socialised and educated in the new culture. In a third family, not all children stayed and the mother considered her migration with the on-going insecurity and lack of papers as mistake.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the analysis of the interviews is only a record of the objective life situations and the subjective-emotional self-positioning of a family in the migration process or the host country at the time of the interviews. In the meantime, all of the families interviewed have moved forward in their respective life situations. They have either moved somewhere else, have found (new) work or their children have started school. It is a characteristic of social research that informational value of the results given in this report are limited to a certain period of time. However, they do highlight aspects of 77 families in the course of migration that (can) be repeated in this or another form in the migration process of families in Europe.

References

Alitolppa-Niitamo, Anne (2004): The Icebreakers. Somali-speaking Youth in Metropolitan Helsinki with a Focus on the Context of Formal Education. Publications of the Population Research Institute Series D 42/2004. Helsinki: Väestöliitto

Bade, Klaus J./Dietzel-Papakyriakou, Maria/Hoffmann-Nowotny/Nauck, Bernhard/v. Schweitzer, Rosemarie (2000): Sechster Familienbericht – Familien ausländischer Herkunft in Deutschland. In: Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (Hrsg.): Familien ausländischer Herkunft in Deutschland. Sechster Familienbericht. Bonn: Bundesanzeiger Verlagsgesellschaft, S. 1-236

Badawia, Tarek (2002): Der dritte Stuhl. Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, Frankfurt a. M.

Booth, A./Crouter, A.C./Landale, N. (Eds.) (1997): Immigration and the Family. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum

Bourdieu, P. (1983): Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital, in: Kreckel, R. (ed): Soziale Ungleichheiten. Soziale Welt, Sonderheft 2, Otto Schwarz & Co., Göttingen, pp 183-98.

Breckner, Roswitha (2005): Migrationserfahrung – Fremdheit – Biografie. Zum Umgang mit polarisierten Welten in Ost-West-Europa, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie (1981): Die Ökologie der menschlichen Entwicklung. Natürliche und geplante Experimente, Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie: Recent Advances in Research on the Ecology of Human Development. In: R.-K. Silbereisen, K. Eyferth, G. Rudinger: Development as Action in Context - Problem Behaviour and Normal Youth Development. Berlin: Springer 1986, S. 287–310.

Castles, Stephen (2003): Towards a sociology of forced migration and social transformation. Sociology 37:13-34.

Ceylan, Rauf (2006): Ethnische Kolonien. Entstehung, Funktion und Wandel am Beispiel türkischer Moscheen und Cafés, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

CJD Eutin (Ed.) (2007): Community Force. Social Inclusion and Ethnic Networks in Four European Countries. Project Report. Funded by The European Commission – DG Employment, Social Affairs & Equal Opportunities. Eutin

CJD Eutin (Ed.) (2008): Examining Social Capital as a Means of Enchanching the Integration of Immigrants. Final Report. Funded by The European Commission – DG Employment, Social Affairs & Equal Opportunities. Eutin

Clausen, Lars (1976): Jugendsoziologie, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer

De la Hoz, Paloma Fernández (2007): Familienleben und Migration. See: http://www.familienhandbuch.de/cmain/f_Aktuelles/a_Elternschaft/s_1026.html

De la Holz, Paloma Fernández (2002): Migrantenfamilien und Integration in den EU-Mitgliedsstaaten. Zusammenfassung. Ein Report der europäischen Beobachtungsstelle zur sozialen Situation, Demographie und Familie. Österreichisches Institut für Familienforschung.

Elias, Norbert/Scotson, John L. (1990): Etablierte und Außenseiter, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M. (Original 1965).

European Commission (2007): Joint Report on Social Inclusion and Social Protection. Memo/07/66. Brussels

Gestring, N./ Janßen, A./Polat, A. (2006): Prozesse der Integration und Ausgrenzung. Türkische Migranten der zweiten Generation, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Granovetter, Mark (1983): The strength of weak ties. A network theory revisited. Sociological Theory 1, pp 201-233.

Haug, S.; Diehl, C. (Eds.), (2005): Aspekte der Integration. Eingliederungsmuster und Lebenssituation italienisch- und türkischstämmiger junger Erwachsener in Deutschland, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Herwartz-Emden, L./Westphal, M. (1998): Akkulturationsstrategien sowie Generationen- und Geschlechtervergleich bei eingewanderten Familien. Expertise für den 6. Familienbericht der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bonn

Mead, George Herbert (1934): Mind, Self and Society. Edited by Charles W. Morris. Chicago

Nauck, B. (1999): Sozialer und intergenerativer Wandel in Migrantenfamilien in Deutschland. In: Buchegger, R. (Ed.): Migranten und Flüchtlinge: Eine familienwissenschaftliche Annäherung. ÖIF Schriftenreihe, Nr. 8, Wien, S. 13-69

Nieke, W. (2000): Interkulturelle Erziehung und Bildung. Wertorientierung im Alltag. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Niephaus, Y. (1998): Allgemeine Belastungen von Familien in der Migration. Expertise zum 6. Familienbericht der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bonn

Oswald, Ingrid (2007): Migrationssoziologie. Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft

Park, Robert Ezra (1950): The Marginal Man. In: ders. Race and Culture. London: Macmilian, S. 345-392. (Original 1928)

Sayad, Adelmalek (1993): Eine deplatzierte Familie. In: Bourdieu et al (Eds.): Das Elend der Welt. Zeugnisse und Diagnosen des alltäglichen Leidens an der Gesellschaft. Univ.-Verlag, Konstanz

Schütz, Alfred (1972): Der Fremde. In: ders. Gesammelte Aufsätze, Bd. 2: Studien zur soziologischen Theorie. Niejhoff, Den Haag, S. 53-69.

Simmel, Georg (1992): Exkurs über den Fremden. In: ders. Gesamtausgabe. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M., S. 767-771. (Original 1908)

Weiß, K.; Thränhardt, D. (2005): Selbsthilfe, Netzwerke und soziales Kapital in der pluralistischen Gesellschaft, in: Weiß, K. & Thränhardt, D. (Hrsg.): Selbsthilfe. Wie Migranten Netzwerke knüpfen und soziales Kapital schaffen. Freiburg: Lambertus, pp. 8-44.

Zimmer, J. (1986): Interkulturelle Erziehung als Erziehung zur internationalen Verständigung. In: Borelli, M. (Hrsg.): Interkulturelle Pädagogik. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, S. 46-63

Policy Recommendations

Family policies in Europe are extremely diversified between the various Member States. Nevertheless, our research findings indicate that migration and integration policies in European countries do not address migrant families as such. Accordingly, one essential issue is the extent to which families of immigrant background have access to services and institutions (e.g., health care, school, social housing) of the host country. In fact, in most cases migrant families can only access the services and institutions of the reception country either as autochthonous families – when and if they are allowed to do so - or as immigrants - i.e., individually. The stories collected through field research demonstrated how the lack of attention to the immigrant family is the core problem affecting even the services specifically addressed to immigrants. What is questioned in the interviewees' accounts is not the sensitivity of operators/employers within those services, but rather the "structural" lack of attention to the migrant family as such. Although this is certainly more true in countries, such as Italy, where the welfare system is weak, rather than in countries (e.g., Finland) that can rely on a strong welfare tradition, the outputs of the Interface research project highlight that many of the difficulties that migrant families encounter in their integration process proceed from this neglect.

Beyond calling for appropriate policies addressing migrant families, the following policy recommendations mean to point out some of the most serious constraints that migrant families encounter and that, in our opinion, risk to hinder their integration process in the host society.

Policy Recommendations

1. The analysis of the data collected within the framework of the European project INTERFACE casts a light on the main role played by the family unit in both the migration process and the integration process. This is even more important when both processes rely mainly on social networks. Integration policies should, as a result, not only focus on the individual but also on the family unit in regard to the positive role it has on migrant's incorporation into the host society. **Integration policies are generally too individual-oriented and this is the reason why, in relation to our results, we recommend them to be more collective-oriented.**

2. Women migrants give the impression they experience their migration trajectory with different difficulties than men. In general, little attention has been given to understand those obstacles. To reduce them is therefore quite a challenge. In fact, migrant's integration policies often miss to take into account gender particularities. Being gender-blinded, they regularly miss their first goal which is to integrate migrants, both women and men. The findings of the INTERFACE-research project highlighted the disempowering/empowering effect that migrating can have on men and women.

The lead position in the family that men usually had in their country of origin may be challenged by the migration process. For instance, it is not rare that men suffer from less employment opportunities than women in the host country. Moreover, the type of work that men and women do may also incorporate them in different kinds of social networks. This may

influence the way they incorporate into the new society. For instance, women migrants may have more chance to develop external links (outside their family and/or ethnic community) than men manage to develop at school or at work (often in the domestic sector). The findings of the research project demonstrate the core role often played by women in the migration process. They provide family members with strong emotional and economic support. In most cases, women endorse a multiplicity of roles: being workers but also a wife, a mother, a sister and even sometimes a grand-mother. This plurality of roles should be the object of more attention by policy makers when framing 'new integration policies' for migrants. Consequently, the migration process may change men and women's roles. This new familial reconfiguration is not an easy one to experience and may require some specific support. As a result, integration policies should also take into account this disempowering/empowering effect related to both the migration and integration processes and which may affect men and women differently. In fact, integration policies towards migrants should always incorporate a gender dimension. Men and women migrants have different experiences of migration but also of integration. **Integration policies should therefore become more gender sensitive** if they want to be successful.

3. Families that suffer from social deprivation because of migration should also be the focus of more attention. An important obstacle that both women and men suffer from is the problem of the recognition of their diploma. This is often a crucial issue for high-educated migrants who have generally applied for asylum. **Special policies must be taken in each country to help high-skilled migrants find a job related to their competences**.

4. Our research findings underline the importance of the family unit in the migrant integration process. While the European Union recognizes the fact that family reunification measures are not only a way of bringing families back together, but they are also essential in facilitating the integration of third-country nationals into the EU, the **Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification** tends at the same time, to make it more difficult for migrants to reunify. Rather than promoting the integration of migrant family, this new directive tends to limit the chain migration development. It tends to ignore the fact that integration processes are facilitated by the presence of family members in the host country. Moreover, restraining access can lead to an outbreak of the family which at the end could also lead to frustrations on the side of the migrants. In fact, to pin down the possibilities to reunify may impede not only the migration process but also the integration process. The dispersion of family members in more than one country can make it more difficult to actively take part in the receiving society. **Restrictive family reunification laws are therefore counter-productive for the integration of new migrants into the host society.**

5. The needs of migrant families differ from both individual migrants and refugees. **Public policies that are efficient since the very beginning of migrant families' stay should be implemented** and immigration officers should be trained and prepared to provide support, including emotional support, to migrant families as well as individuals.
To this respect, it is also necessary to devote attention and support the work of independent organizations focusing on providing assistance to immigrants. The staff of NGOs and associations should be equally trained and provided with instruments aimed at developing their professional capacity to deal with specific issues related to migrant families.

6. Having children implies that a couple has to invest into their family's future, since a great concern becomes securing the children's psychological and physical well-being and

educational and professional future. Families who hold only a short-term residence permit or are "tolerated", refugees and asylum-seekers are deprived of many chances to invest into their children's and family's future. This is harshly felt in countries where children 'inherit' their parents' residence status. Migrant families must be protected from the year-long threat of forced return to the parents' original home. In order to avoid this economically and psychologically unacceptable situation, families of short-term residence status or otherwise insecure residence status (refugees, asylum seekers) who have been living in the host country for several years should be subject to special regulations allowing a family future:

Explicitly, adolescents who hold a short-term residence permit who can acquire a school qualification in the host country or have already successfully finished their school education, **should be improved in their status in order to enable them to acquire further job qualification in the host country, commence work in a qualified occupation or visit university.** This regulation is in line with the EU intention to increase the number of qualified workers and supplements the "Action Plan" of the German Federal Government to improve the status of young "education domestics" ("Bildungsinländer") in order to secure the basis of qualified employees (published by the Bundesministerium des Innern, Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales on 16.07.08).

7. Youth policy can be considered a policy sector which inevitably crosses policy borders: youth matters are embedded in social, educational, cultural, family, employment and health policy, to mention a few. Migration & integration policy framework addressed to family and young people calls for a horizontal and integrative view. Given the great significance of family and parents for young immigrants (as shown by our research findings), the interrelatedness of youth, family and migration policies should be taken into consideration and **family matters should be acknowledged within different practices of youth policy** (addressed towards young people with immigrant background).

8. Additionally, both young migrants and their parents, i.e. migrant families, should be given voice in the political debate concerning matters affecting them, as they are the best experts concerning their own situation and have a lot to contribute. There is a **need for more "participatory" policies that involve more directly migrant youth and families**, as well as other civil society actors, in all phases of the policy-making process – from the identification of needs, to the elaboration of appropriate responses, and the definition of specific policies.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

Case Study One:
A Family with Somali Background in Finland

Marja Peltola

I visited three times a family originating from Somalia: a mother and her six children, five daughters and a son, aged from 16 to 24. Besides the six children, another two children, the eldest son and daughter, were living in the same area with their own families. The eldest son and daughter had been the first to immigrate to Finland as asylum seekers in 1996, the rest of the family had followed them in 1998. The father of the family had deceased before the emigration and the mother had acted as the head of the family since. The family lived in a rental apartment in outskirts of Helsinki. The mother was working as a child minder with support of Ministry of Labour (the Ministry supports employers to employ unemployed people for certain periods). Two of the daughters were doing vocational studies and two were studying in upper secondary school. The son had been working on electrical field, but his contract had just ended at the time of the interviews. One of the daughters had gained Finnish citizenship and they were expecting another sister to gain it shortly. The others had not considered applying for citizenship necessary.

The family's story illustrates many sides discussed in previous chapters. Having a mother with relatively limited knowledge of Finnish language, the daughters had adopted helping her with the language and in some formalities whenever her competencies were insufficient as their natural responsibility. The mother had nevertheless preserved the authority inside the family, even though there had been even quite severe conflicts and negotiations concerning the appropriate amount of Finnish influences adopted by the daughters.

The Post-Migration Context

When arriving in Finland, the first impression for the family had been a shock related to bad weather and coldness. The 21-year-old daughter describes coming to Finland as encountering "*a whole different world than where I was coming from*". The family had no other relatives in Finland except the two eldest children. Feelings of loneliness and displacement resulted in increased significance of present family members as the primary social context and a source of support and familiarity. As the 16-year-old daughter stated:

> Well yes, us, this has, that we've become closer [with each other] when, when we live here in Finland, it is so far away from your own home. Then... support is only your family and everything, in the start, when you get, when you don't get friends.

The five sisters living together spent a lot of time together, sharing their thoughts and supporting each other. Even though they had created wide social circles around them later, the closeness between them had remained:

> Daughter (21): We became friends, as sisters. That we are...

> Daughter (16): Nowadays, even though we have different friends we enjoy each other, because we are used to it since when we were small. More we support each other and everything. […] I never do things they don't know and they don't do what I don't know.

Even though the presence of the family was considered a very positive element after the immigration, for the mother having several dependent children with her had also meant many new worries regarding to their well-being. She did not know the Finnish society and therefore it appeared threatening to her: "*Many worries. Because, our children are with me. And I don't know here in Finland, [whether things are] good or bad.*" She nevertheless told that life had been harder for her in Somalia, since after the death of her husband, she had had to provide for her eight children all by herself. Thanks to the social security system in Finland, her immediate concerns about daily living had evaporated.

As interviewed young people often did, the daughters considered their mother having carried the heaviest load brought by migration, sacrificing and taking risks before emigration and carrying all the responsibilities with her dependent children in an unfamiliar environment after the immigration. At the time, they considered themselves having been careless, childish and irresponsible.

> Daughter (21) [pointing out to her little sister, why it was easier for her to settle down]: Moreover, you were a child. Mom chased you. Mom was the one who… went through all the hardest things, while we didn't have to worry about anything. Didn't need to be, mom even took us to school.

Shortly after arriving to Finland, the daughters had started the school and learned Finnish language quickly there. Nevertheless, at first they had had problems and felt themselves lonely, since they had no common language with the other children.

> Daughter 1 (21) Well it was a little… with school friends, when we c-, couldn't communicate. […] It was hard, yes… Like, a little, just to wander around alone, sit alone and… it wasn't nice. And then when pupils wanted to get to know me and, we didn't have a language.

The 19-year-old daughter pointed out that bullying was common in Finnish schools. Being different in any respect was enough to give a reason for bullying and thus pupils with different ethnic background or language were easy targets. Besides outspoken comments, negative differentiation was also generated in more subtle ways, such as looking and becoming aware of being the target of looking (Rastas 2002). Even if not meant to be hostile, the gazes produced hurtful feelings of otherness.

> Daughter (16): There were moments when you feel yourself very much as an outsider. […] Or, well, I remember in lower level of comprehensive school, […] the children are not used to foreigners. Or, the scarf, the culture and these, they are so young, they don't know. Then they think that it's somehow weird, that this girl next to us is weird, why she wears s-, why she doesn't wear trousers, why she's wearing a scarf and these. Then, those gazes can, like, actually kill you. Yeah… like, those kinds of sad things.

Since the cultural differences between Finland and Somalia are multiple and deep, especially in the beginning the contrasts between the two seemed hard to overcome and live with. Islamic religion was very important for the family and it articulated often as the most significant difference between them and majority of Finnish families. The mother considered Islamic belief to be the most important thing for her to pass on to her children. The daughters expressed strongly that they had adopted and internalised the Islamic values their mother had wished to pass on to them. Even though having Finnish friends among others, they had not adopted characteristics of Finnish youth culture but distanced themselves from many habits of Finnish young people, such as drinking alcohol and resisting one's parents. When asked what

she was doing with her friends, the 19-year-old daughter told they were usually hanging out in the mall, shopping and went on: "*at least we are not going to any party*"[by party she meant Finnish young people's weekend festivities, generally involving use of alcohol]. Religion's role in the family's life was such remarkable that the 19-year-old daughter stated it exceeded the importance of family and parental authority, which was subordinate to, though analogous with the authority of religion:

> Daughter (19): Actually, the family doesn't, like… we have, we are Muslims of course. So, it's the religion that affects us mostly, in comparison with the family. Because, if I, like, do what… […] if I do mostly what God likes, everything, or if I obey my own religion, then my mother is satisfied.

Differences in religion also were a source of many misunderstandings, especially in the beginning. The daughter described their first encounters with Finnish children in school as follows:

> Daughter (21): Everything that Soma-, I mean our religion forbids is allowed in Finland. And everything that… [is part of their religion], like people in Finland are, like, "whatever is that?". Like that, they don't even get what it means. […] That was our culture. It was the weirdest thing. [laughs] Like… in school, when we fasted for the first time, all the pupils kept just asking, "really, are you not gonna eat the whole day, how's that possible?"

For the 16- and 21-year-old daughters, especially passing to the upper level of comprehensive school (in age of 13) articulated as a shift after which their initial problems started to fade and social circles widened. At the moment of the interviews they claimed to have masses of friends from school and "*from everywhere*", both Finnish and with other ethnic backgrounds. The mother had remained socially more isolated instead, having difficulties in finding language courses at first and partly due to communication problems being unable to find work for a long time. Even at the time of the interviews, her social contacts limited mostly to the other people with Somali background living in the same area.

Since the children were much more fluent in Finnish language they had assisted their mother in situations that required wider vocabulary, especially in the health care and with social services. The more advanced language skills of the daughters led not only them adopting more responsibilities in helping their mother with various social dealings, but also made it easy for them to hide certain things from their mother. After finding language courses and employment, the mother's Finnish skills had improved, but the daughters described how they previously used to communicate in Finnish when they did not want their mother to understand everything:

> Daughter (21) There are things we don't want to tell to mom, and then we speak, like, in Finnish…
> Daughter (16) No, not anymore [laughs] […] In the old days, she sat there and we were just chatting like this. She didn't catch on anything special. Well she understood we spoke about something but she was like, "I'm not impressed by the things of these youngsters". But nowadays, yes, she's like…
> Daughter (21) You cannot anymore… do tricks like that.

Cultural Differences and Combining Somali and Finnish Culture

As was typical for the interviewed parents, the mother was comparing her own principles of upbringing her children with those of Finnish parents and seeing the wide gap between the two as a potential source of problems in her relationship with her children. Due to growing up in the middle of Finnish culture, the mother saw immigrant children in general changing and

being less willing to follow advice of their parents. For the mother, "*family should be as one*", a unit that sticks together and also resolves possible problems within its own sphere.

> Mother: When the child grows up… there comes little problems. But… we, mm, our culture and culture here in Finland, it's different. D-, d-, different religion. Our, in our culture, and our religion, there's… children hear [listen, *shows her ears*] their parents. There. Here in Finland, if… a child grows up, (s)he often doesn't, doesn't hear her/his parents. […] That's why, little problems arise. […] If there is problems in life, in our country, every child and family, parents and everybody, are one, at home. […] Here in Finland, it's different. That why… little, little… a problem.

The closeness of family was important for the daughters as well. The 16-year-old daughter stated, after explaining she understood Finnish people's habit to leave their parents in old age homes as of Finnish culture: "*For us it would be a curse, if I left my mother now, even though she's done hard work for me*". However, the daughters explained that many cultural habits that are in Somalia considered natural and obvious become more problematic after immigration. A clear example of these was "home rules" traditionally addressed to young people: perceptions of appropriate clothing, behaviour and curfews among others. While the daughters did not consider these rules redundant or wrong, but in deed thought they could and should be followed in Finland as well, they emphasised they needed to be somewhat adjusted.

> Interviewer: Do you think that immigration changes some things inside the family?
> Daughter (21): It changes. Terribly much, like, I think. […] For example there're like, kind of family rules that do not adapt in Finland, rules, those. Then you have to, like…
> Daughter (16): Or, yes they adapt, but… it's a bit more difficult.
> Daughter (21): You couldn't, like, live in Finland the way you live in Somalia, like that.
> Daughter (16): Young people's rules and these. Or there it's a little easier because guys are in in those rules themselves, or they know everything… but then here it's different case, because… eh, putting a scarf. And for example those, then, here if you're, if you haven't known those when you're young, then it's all suddenly a little difficult to force.

These proved having been a topic of conflict inside the family. When trying to protest against the curfew set by her mother by staying out late, the youngest daughter had faced the fury of not only her mother but also her sisters. Thus, the front lines in the negotiations are not necessarily following the generational lines. In this case, the family as a whole wanted to preserve the stricter rules concerning girls' curfew and participated together in the educational admonishment faced by the rebellious daughter. The importance of the opinion of siblings is worth noticing here: whereas the mother's attitude was considered old-fashioned and therefore of lesser significance, the sisters' opinion had more weight for the youngest daughter on this matter.

> Daughter (16): When I was 15, I was like crazy, […] I always left, like, I came back home from the movies at midnight. […] Then, where we come from, it's, even though it's a big girl she can't come at this time. Then, she [her mother] was mad and everything, and I was like, I was in a huff for two days, I thought that yeah hey, I want to have good time too and everything. […]
> Daughter 1 (21): But we have a good rule, that when one girl makes a mistake, then the three others and mother are all over her, then she doesn't want to make that mistake again. When she knows that everybody is against her. She won't dare! [*laughs*] […]
> Daughter 2 (16): First, I thought it's just mom, that mom is older, outdated. Then I saw my own sisters who were yelling at me, even the one who is one year older than me, she, too, was saying that "*hey I haven't done anything that bad*", then I was like, oh, it was quite bad…

Regarding the curfew, the youngest sister had finally agreed with the rest of the family and reported at the time of the interviews being content with it. Negotiations concerning clothing had nevertheless been with different inner dynamics and different results, the daughters resisting the rules together. In order to be stylish, they had started to wear tighter and shorter

skirts and tie their scarves the way that uncovered neck. After long process of negations the daughters had finally gained some concessions from their mother. The older brother of the girls had taken quite different position instead, resisting the more liberal clothing style and making complaints to their mother, claiming she let the girls do anything they wanted. Thus, it may in some occasions be the representatives of the young generation, who adopt the most traditional views and want to stick with the cultural norms of the country of origin. At the time of the interviews, some kind of consensus had been achieved: the daughters had changed their clothing style back to a bit more traditional direction and the brother on the other hand had grown used to the new style of his sisters.

> Daughter (16): And also about clothes, there were a lot of disagreements. [MP Oh.] When style, when style was, like, we don't use trousers, but we use long boot up 'til here [shows with her hand], then a skirt 'til here, and then the scarf like this, the hair showing a little bit from behind and everything… Then you look stylish, then earrings, necklaces and then we walk… mom was, like, "*what is this*?". […] that "*you're not going out like that, it's better you go naked than you go like that*". I was, like, "*aaargh, mom, can't you see how stylish I am, look at me!*" [laughs] […]
> Daughter (21): … like, bro, usually Somali boys are, like, uptight, like that, girls are not allowed to hang about freely… girls are not allowed…[Daughter (16): They were, like, old-fashioned, those.] to use, like, tight clothes and like that. But, no can do, when mom was like a little bit of help. Then bro always shouts, "*mom, this is all your fault, because you give these girls everything they want*." He rages. […]

These positions also illustrate the gendered nature of cultural norms and negotiations on them. Somali tradition tends to guard and limit young girls and women more than boys and men (Tiilikainen 2003, 180; Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007, 28). Thus men and boys may experience the greater freedom of women in Finland may be experienced as a threat. The mother's agreeing with the more liberal clothing style was hard to accept for the brother, who saw the concessions being due to the "female power" of their home, which he disapproved.

Present Day and Future

At the time of the interviews, the family claimed to be happy with their lives in many respects. While they still named racism as one of the worst features in Finland, they considered Finnish society having changed to be friendlier and more welcoming for people with different ethnic backgrounds. The 16-year-old daughter contemplated her own position between the Finnish and Somali cultures in a very analytical manner. Her recent visit in Somalia had made her to see many changes that had taken place in her own behaviour and thoughts since the immigration:

> Daughter (16): When we visited still in Somalia last summer, then… really it was very weird that, even though here in Finland I know I'm not Finnish, eh.. every now and then I say "yeah, I'll never…", some people say "soon you become like a Finn", if you come, if I get children here and so forth. I'm always, like, "I don't think so" and like that. Then once, when I visited Somalia, then […] it was hard for me to get used to… […] Nobody understood me. Then it was like… like that, I am quite changed myself.

The ethnic identity thus had come under reassessment in a novel manner as the experience of estrangement creates feelings of displacement. As the 21-year-old daughter put it:

> "In Finland you think you are a foreigner. Then you go to Somalia, and again you think you are like a foreigner. Where do you belong? You don't even know anymore."

For the daughters, finding their own space and a way to be accepted had not been easy, but demanded a lot of struggling and negotiations. The youngest daughter considered, however,

that along with the growing amount of different subcultures in cultural landscape in Finland, she had been more able to locate herself in this picture the way she wanted. The quote nonetheless reveals that the room for negotiating about borderlines of socially accepted identities in Finland is not that great.

> Daughter (16): Like, nowadays you get your own space here a little quicker. Here in Finland. […] In the same way I we-, I take the same, like, shirts and these, but then I just put them on with a different style. And styles, now, I can imagine, the heavy metal diggers, hiphop and these appeared, so then I can go as well, like, aargh, there is only just room for me. To do it in my own way. And that is, it is really nice.

After living nine years in Finland, the family feels content with their lives and has managed to attain several landmarks often considered as indicators of integration, such as education, contacts with work life and social contacts. While the mother's social life is still mostly limited within the Somali community, her motivation to learn the language and workings of Finnish society better is high and if she succeeds in finding further employment, her integration process is likely to progress faster than before. The daughters have clearly contemplated their position quite much and at the moment of the interviews reached very analytical and mature standing between the two cultures. Without losing respect towards their own cultural and religious values they have picked up selectively and remoulded elements from Finnish culture, thus creating a space and a style of their own. Mutual support between sisters as well as constructive and understanding guidance of their mother has without doubt played a central role in this process.

Case Study Two:
Different Gender Approaches

Verena Boehme, Raffale Bracalenti, Alessia Mefalopulos

The case presented below is not included amongst the 13 families cases studied in the chapter on downward professional mobility and gender. The wife here has a positive evaluation of the family's migration experience as opposed to the perception of her husband; unlike most of the other cases, however, this woman experienced a gain of professional status as a consequence of migration, whereas her husband experiences downward mobility. Beyond illustrating many of all the dynamics described above (such as self-empowerment and challenged gender roles), this case will also provide an example of how the two genders' approach may differ when coping with the question of work in host society. the family presented comes from Bangladesh and has been living in Italy since 1998 (family number I-24). The couple arrived with tourist visa and overstayed, but soon became legal thanks to the "Sanatoria" (a particular Italian legalisation) in the same year. They have one child, who was born in Italy.

The couple Nasima and Attik had both completed university studies already before their arrival, in Russia respectivley in Daka. Nasima had a degree in Psychology and Attik in Mineral Engineering. Integration in the labour market of the host society was nevertheless experienced differently by each of them.

Attik's View

> "I am an engineer (He stands up and indicates his University Degree, framed and hanging from the wall of the living room) …Anyway, I just forget about my diploma, because it hurts me when I think about the fact that I graduated and cannot do my original profession. It still affects me … I cannot work for what I studied and it hurts"

Since his arrival in Rome he has always been working, but he only managed to find unskilled jobs, such as dishwasher, bricklayer, barman, and waiter. Being born and grown up within a rich family in Bangladesh, and having never done these kind of jobs, he found a lot of difficulties in accepting his change of status. In particular, he complains about the hard working conditions:

> "At the moment I came to Italy, there was no rest, there was no disco, no cinema. For nine years I never went to the cinema with her. I don't want to go, because I would not feel well, always thinking about work and saving money (…). I worked like a slave, because I was afraid that if I would loose the work, I could not provide for my family. (…)"

However, some month ago he decided to risk starting with his own enterprise, and he has his own stand where he sells all kinds of goods for housekeeping. Although, as he says, he is now starting to feel better, his approach to the majority society and population is getting worse:

> "Where I work now, there is a really bad street environment, even worse than I experienced as dishwasher and as barman and waiter (…) Luckily during my time as a barman there were these students who used to come, so I understood that Italy is not totally like this. First I thought, my god, where did I arrive, everything is so disgusting! The dishwashers and the cooks communicated only with dirty words,

the environment was so disgusting…But now, my new working environment in the last three month is even worse!"

He experienced a lot of discrimination and racism, and his personal reaction is a mix of resentment and aggressiveness towards mainstream population, combined with the awareness that Italy has to be exploited as much as possible in order to make his earnings, thus entailing some illegal behaviour. According to his own words:

"A civil war will explode, because we (Bangladeshi) are hot, we are used to manifestations, we are used to answer. We are strong, our life was always fight"

"If we (foreigners in general) don't like Italy, we will devour it (…) now I understood how to rip off Italian government. Rich people like Ciampi, they do not pay taxes. Today, thanks to god, I earned 900 euros, but I declared only 200. It is one example"

Following this logic, his motivation for staying in Italy is exclusively economical, while cultural integration does not enter this horizon. Hence, he does not feel any emotional bonds to Italy and his future projects are projected somewhere else:

"As soon as I will obtain Italian citizenship, I will escape from Italy (…) I'll earn 100 000 Euros in 5 more years and then I will escape. I shall not wait for my retirement pension. My future is not here"

Nasima's View

Facing life in host society stimulated in her a strong emancipation process from the traditional gender roles she was used to in her culture of origin. Reflecting about this process, she mentions:

"Usually women from Bangladesh come to Italy under family reunification and do not know how to approach Italian society. That's what happens to immigrants from Bangladesh. On the contrary, I experienced everything. I dealt with documents. I dealt with the birth for my children. I had to go to the gynaecologist even though I could not speak Italian at all (…) I tried to ask help from outside, I moved a lot. On the contrary, most Bangladeshi women are always escorted by their husbands. It is their husbands, who take them to the doctor, it is the husband, who deals with everything. My reality is different, I experienced everything on my own skin…"

Following her emancipation process, she started asking help from outside, which behaviour caused a lot of positive return. She attended a course of the Province of Rome aimed at empowering immigrants in starting small and media enterprises, and she managed the childcare for her children with the help of a social worker. Since 2003 she has been working as a cultural mediator.

"I am feeling well, because I graduated in psychology and now I am doing this. I perceive that what I do is really useful and it regards also my studies. (…)I like my work. There is a lot of demand for a Bangladeshi cultural mediator. (…)

The fact that she found a pleasant job meant to her not only that she is fulfilling herself through her profession; but also, her working environment represents to her a precious gateway to socialize with Italian people. So through her work she was able to create a network of powerful friendships:

"Talking to my colleagues helps a lot, they provide me mental support, because they perceive in me a friend, a sister, there are this kind of rapports at work. I did not have friends in Italy until I started working. At the moment I started to work step by step I built on new friendships, and somebody became a

real bosom buddy. Indeed, now, whatever thing happens, I call always her to tell about what happened. (…) If I would not work, maybe I would not have these friends."

Given this premises, it is no wonder to find that she evaluates her overall experience in Italy as positive:

"Italy yes, slowly gave me everything. My children are studying, I am working. We managed to arrange a couple of things..."

Nasima openly questions her role as a wife and admits that she is neglecting some aspects of this role in exchange for her role as a mother and as a professionist:

"Thanks to god I found this work. (…) One is solving a problem and it comes another one, it is like this, it is a chain. (…) It is a psychological thing, as soon as Attik perceived that I was doing well, that there were coming other working offers, that I was less present at home, while being more involved at work outside home, it was really hard for him, because on the other side, he always worked in the bad environment of the bars. He was never satisfied about his work (…) Maybe as wife he misses something. That's it. I am not able to offset things. (…) Maybe this family constrains the men, because there are really two different roles. I am really satisfied to be a woman."

Discrimination:
Categorisation Key

The following categorisation was developed in order to assess the experience of discrimination in all families interviewed in the INTERFACE project. Rather than being a guideline for quantitative assessment, the below categorisation served as a first classification for the author, in order to make an initial assessment about the experience of discrimination in different families, select specific families and judge the occurrence of different forms of discrimination. The categorisation key was developed by Milada Horáková.

Direction of discrimination (for the purposes of simplification, only positive experiences were recorded)
0. no reference to positive experience
1. positive experience[35]

Only negative discrimination was analysed thereafter
Where did the discrimination take place?
  0. no experience of discrimination
  1. in the host country
  2. in the country of origin
  3. in both countries

Only discrimination in the host country was analysed further
Intensity of discrimination:
  0. no experience of discrimination
  1. very little discrimination
  2. little discrimination
  3. moderate discrimination
  4. strong discrimination
  5. very strong discrimination
  6. not specified

Duration of discrimination
  0. no experience of discrimination
  1. unrepeated event
  2. repeated but not long-term discrimination
  3. long-term discrimination
  4. permanent discrimination
  5. not specified

---

[35] Positive references concerning assistance from the local community or the broader portion of the majority population in the course of integration were registered if they were a part of the family narrations. We did not record affirmative action, but we do consider it necessary to record the positive experiences of immigrants and not just negative discrimination.

Level of discrimination:
    0. no experience of discrimination
    1. personal
    2. cultural
    3. institutional
    4. structural
    5. not specified

Type of discrimination:
    0. no experience of discrimination
    1. certain misgivings, fear of right-wing extremism, xenophobia
    2. social distance, a feeling that they will always be foreigners, a feeling that they are not welcome, a feeling that they are constantly "the others", a feeling that they don't belong to the social majority
    3. discrimination in everyday life
    4. denigration, disparagement, humiliation, subjugation, debasement, verbal attacks, insults, envy, hatred, ignorance, prejudices
    5. physically attacked on the street
    6. discrimination in the health service
    7. discrimination against children at school
    8. exploitation in work, discrimination in employment
    9. discrimination in terms of housing
    10. problems with members of other minorities, including one's own
    11. not specified

Way in which the family reacts to discrimination:
    0. no discrimination
    1. ignores discrimination
    2. intensive cultural accommodation
    3. improvement of social and economic status
    4. they suffer from discrimination, signs of psychosomatic illness and mental breakdowns
    5. they actively defend themselves against discrimination on an informal level, which manifests itself in the form of a verbal responses to verbal attacks or in other ways
    6. they actively defend themselves against discrimination on an formal level, which manifests itself in the form of a lawsuit
    7. escape, or think about escape
    8. not specified

Residency status of the discriminated party at the time of the discrimination
    1. legal form of residence
    2. illegal form of residence
    3. not specified

Success of integration
    1. successful integration of all family members
    2. unsuccessful integration of all family members
    3. impossible to determine clearly; some integrated better than others
    4. impossible to evaluate