

Lifelong Learning Programme

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Multilingual Practical Training Guide



Manuale didattico multilingue

Mehrsprachiges praktisches Handbuch

Praktični večjezični vodnik za usposabljanje

Flerspråkig praktisk utbildningshandbok

Meertalige Praktische Trainingsgids



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Preface

The *Multilingual Practical Training Guide* is a compilation of basic facts and advises for the teachers and trainers who work with second-generation immigrants. It was generated in an European Union programme for lifelong learning and edited by principal researchers of the project. The table of contents shows that the authors have thoughtfully systematised their material in order to provide as much help as possible, and as much alertness as possible, to the educators who deal with this group of population. As the authors rightly point out in the introduction, lumping people into any groups is an arbitrary business that, at best, highlights but one aspect of human social existence. This sensitivity for theoretical exactness as well as ethical concerns remains a constant throughout the text, thus providing education for educators as well.

The first chapter, titled *Migration theory and second generation migrants*, brings a well-rounded series of explanations of basic facts, concepts, both legal and social theoretical, and practical delineations of the problem at hand, namely migration and all its complicit phenomena: globalisation, first and second generation of migrants, various perspectives on migration processes, etc. Of special value is the subchapter on legal and practical definitions of second-generation migration in various EU countries. This chapter, like all the following ones, concludes with a summary in the form of "assignments for adult educators and trainers", and opens with a short introduction.

The second chapter titled *Theoretical perspectives on migration and second generation migrants* brings a systematic survey of three most current divergent perspectives on migration processes: the network theory, assimilation theory and the transnationalism prospective. This chapter concludes the theoretical part of the guide: the following chapters address issues that are both much more concrete and of immediate concern to any person who, in the capacity of a trainer or an educator, deals with people whose parents were foreigners. Chapter three, titled *Identity construction of second generation migrants and gender approach*, addresses (self)understanding issues that may be especially troubling or seen as controversial by either second-generation migrants or their social surroundings; gender issues are treated to begin with. The fourth chapter entitled *Prejudice, racism and second generation migrants* addresses issues that all migrants of first and second, and the following generations, may encounter regardless of gender and age: namely, racist prejudice and bigotry in its diverse and sometimes sublime forms. Chapter five, titled *Emotions in the everyday life of second generation migrants*, in a sense brings together the themes addressed in previous two chapters by shifting the perspective to the experience of the individual. Many hypothetical and generalised situations are described and as previously, illustrated by individual testimonies that familiarise the reader with the scope of problems and specific vulnerabilities that second-generation migrants and their parents, prforce of circumstance, incorporate in their individual, family, transgenerational and social arenas.

All the said chapters bring, aside to comprehensive explanations, an abundance of instructive materials and elucidating testimonies that an intercultural teacher should find of great help when working with second-generation migrants. In summary, the guide in question is carefully prepared, bound to raise awareness of intercultural realities, and a compilation of expert knowledge made readily accessible to educators.

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Preface

The volume Multilingual Practical Training Guide, edited by Alenka Janko Spreizer and Silvana Greco focuses on disadvantaged second generation migrants and various social, cultural, economical and other problems they face. The volume is an outcome of an international research project Bridge: Successful Pathways for the Second Generation of Migrants.

The volume on the one hand provides theoretical discussion on recent migrations in Europe and their various consequences, and on the other hand represents excellent intercultural manual for trainers and educators, who work with migrants and their descendants in various fields. Throughout the past century and especially since 1980s Europe has witnessed profound changes instigated by migration processes. Different types and forms of migration have had profound and lasting social, cultural and economic effects in Europe. In social sciences, migrants are primarily associated with issues of demography, economy, social exclusion and discrimination, cultural changes, assimilation and integration, transnational connections, multiculturalism etc. On the contrary, descendants of migrants, or second generation migrants, receive less attention, and too often various problems they face, are not thoroughly analysed, problematised and dealt with. Initially, the authors of the volume stress that second generation migrants are not explored as a uniform group. It is in fact a rather problematic category, because it is not clearly and uniformly defined and because actual individual examples and experiences often diverge from the common understanding of the concept. However, this also entails an important and socially critical message: despite the fact that second generation migrants in Europe are not a uniform group, their social, economic, educational and employment situations in different countries and different contexts are often very similar. They are predominantly characterized by prejudices and stereotypes, discrimination, social exclusion or even racism aimed at migrants as well as their descendants. This message opens important issues of exclusionary politics and practices of European multiculturalism, which allows different groups to coexist, but conversely also promotes discrimination and ghettoisation of those perceived and/or labelled culturally (too) different from the majority.

Multilingual Practical Training Guide is a six-language volume, based on extensive anthropological and sociological research among second generation migrants in different countries. It aims to provide adult educators and trainers with theoretical and practical knowledge on defining and understanding migration and life of second generation migrants, their identity construction, the importance of the role of emotions, gender issues, prejudices and social exclusion they encounter, and issues of entering labour market. Theoretical discussions in the volume is clear and successfully complemented with practical pedagogical assignments. The training guide enables people working with second generation migrants to better understand their situation, and help them fight various forms and dimensions of racism they encounter in daily life and in labour market – stigmatization, segregation, exclusion, institutional racism etc.

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Multilingual Practical Training Guide

pointed out that educational qualifications are highly correlated with the social and economic capital of the family.⁹⁵

Segmented assimilation theory

In the 1990s a new sociological theoretical framework was developed by scholars such as Alejandro Portes, William Haller and Patricia Fernandez-Kelly and Zhou in order to explain the socio-economic incorporation of second and third generation migrants in the United States. It is the well-known 'segmented assimilation theory' that wanted to criticize the dominant assimilation perspective. According to this latter perspective, SGM will be easily integrated into the labour market of the country in which they have been born or to which they came when they were young as they are similar to 'native' inhabitants since they have assimilated through primary and secondary socialization the norms, values and attitudes of the country in which they now live. In addition, since they grew up in the country of destination they know perfectly the native language in which they live compared to first generation migrants. The first scholar who criticized the optimistic dominant assimilation theory was Herbert Gans in the early 90s. He argued that in an increasingly knowledge-based economy, children of 'immigrants' without an advanced education and coming from a family with low level of social and economic capital would not have been able to access the jobs that allowed them to reach upper-middle class standards. They may stagnate into manual, low-paid jobs similar to those of their parents.⁹⁶

From this first critique the theorist of segmented assimilation analyzed a 'model' to explain the different modes of incorporation of the second generation of migrants and possible outcomes. According to this model, based on the longitudinal data of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) from the 90s until 2006, they have identified three main pathways and outcomes for the second generation migrants compared to the first generation. These depend on three different main factors:

1. Background factors for first generation migrants (the parents). The model of the segmented theory identifies three main background factors. First, the human capital possessed by the parents. The higher the level of *human capital*, the higher the chance for the second generation to improve their position in the labour market. Second, the *social context* of the country of destination and the *reception* by government authorities (legislation, policies) (hostile reception vs. sympathetic reception). The less restrictive the social context, the easier the integration in the country of destination for the first generation migrants. Third, the *family structure and composition*. The stronger the bond within

the family of the second generation, the more attention will be paid to children and this leads to a reduced probability of becoming involved in juvenile delinquency.

2. Intergenerational pattern of acculturation. The model of the segmented theory identifies three different intergenerational patterns: i) dissonant acculturation (the second generation rejects the culture of their parents and break with the ethnic network community); ii) consonant acculturation (the second generation assimilates completely to the culture of the country in which they live); iii) selective acculturation. In this case the second generation maintain both cultural backgrounds and languages (biculturalism) of their parents and of the country in which they grow up.
3. External obstacles. The model of the segmented theory identifies three main obstacles to entrance into the labour market for the second generation: i) racial discrimination; ii) a dual labour market (insider workers with many rights and outsider workers in low-paid jobs); iii) inner-city subculture, which means proximity to juvenile delinquency (criminality, drug smugglings etc.) and the risk that the second generation is socialized into this culture.

The model of the segmented theory thus identifies three main paths and outcomes for the second generation of migrants.

- Path 1. If the first generation (parents) has achieved middle-class status based on high human capital (formal education and occupational skills), there is a good chance that the second generation will enter professional and entrepreneurial occupations and achieve full acculturation.
- Path 2. If the first-generation migrants (the parents) are in working-class occupations but have strong co-ethnic communities, then there is a strong probability that the second generation will attain middle-class status through educational qualifications and will achieve selective acculturation. By selective acculturation the authors mean a preservation of the parental language and elements of the parental culture along with the acquisition of the culture of the country in which they live English and American ways.
- Path 3. If the first-generation migrants (the parents), are in working-class occupations and belong to only weak co-ethnic communities, then the SGM risk a dissonant acculturation, which means the rejection of parental culture, a breakdown of communication with their parents and low educational qualifications. This can lead the second generation migrants towards two outcomes: stagnation in subordinate manual jobs or downward assimilation into deviant lifestyles.⁹⁷

95 Coleman, J. S. (1988), 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure, pp. S95-S120.

96 Gans, H. (1992), 'Second-Generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the Post-1965 American Immigrants', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 15, pp. 173-192.

97 Portes, A. and Fernández-Kelly, P. (2008), "The Adaptation of the Immigrant Second Generation in America: Theoretical Overview and Recent Evidence", *Center of Migration and Development*, Working Paper, No. 2, pp. 1-50.

Racial discrimination theory

This theoretical approach focuses on the 'demand side' of the labour market and different scholars have identified diverse forms of racial discrimination shown by employers towards existing or potential workers.⁹⁸ These authors have identified roughly three types of discrimination, shown at different stages of involvement with the labour market.

- The first type of discrimination is at the moment of recruitment and selection of the workers. The authors further classify this into indirect or direct forms of discrimination. Indirect discrimination at the moment of recruitment is rooted in the institutions and on the regulation of the labour market. Direct discrimination varies, depending on the nationality of the worker, which ethnic community s/he belongs to, facial features and their colour of skin.

For example, some recent research in the United Kingdom has demonstrated that in some economic sectors employers show strong preferences in recruiting people: they privilege the relatives of workers already working in that specific organization over foreigners. In other European countries, such as Italy, second generation migrants are discriminated against because they often lack social capital,⁹⁹ resources that people can use and acquire - such as information, trust, duties - from the social networks in which they are embedded.¹⁰⁰ Social capital is a crucial resource for entering the labour market.

Although direct discrimination is banned in almost all European countries by strict legislation, in many cases second generation migrants are still victims of racism, as confirmed by our respondents. Some French scholars have indicated that being a resident in a specific neighbourhood of the French banlieue, can be a strong barrier against entry into the labour market.¹⁰¹

- Second, another form of discrimination lies in the different working conditions between natives and second generation migrants. Native workers can be paid more than second generation migrants or may receive more benefits in terms of economic bonuses at the end of the year, a higher salary, a better equipped office etc.
- Third, employers discriminate between workers in the advancement of their careers.

98 Some scholars who have focussed on discrimination in the labour market are: Bovenkerk, F. (1992). *A Manual for International Comparative Research on Discrimination on the Grounds of Race and Ethnic Origin*. Geneva: ILO; Bovenkerk, F., Grass, M.J., and Ransoedh, D. (1998). *Discrimination against migrant workers and ethnic minorities in access to employment in the Netherlands*. Geneva: ILO; Aubert, P., Le Divenah, J. (2001). "Construction d'une politique de lutte contre les discriminations: rôle des intermédiaires de l'emploi". Paper presented at the VI International Conference "Metropolis", Rotterdam, November 26-30.

99 For more information about the concept of social capital see the article of Alejandro Portes: Portes, A. (2000). "The Two Meanings of Social Capital." *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March), pp. 1-12.

100 Greco, S. (2011). "Seconde generazioni: il passaggio dalla scuola al mercato del lavoro tra opportunità e rischi". *Working paper Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano, p. 4.

101 Roulleau-Berger, L. (2009). "Le seconde generazioni di fronte alla precarizzazione e all'etnicizzazione del lavoro in Francia". *Sociologia e politiche sociali*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 47-57.

Native workers are preferred and are more likely to be promoted than second generation migrants.

Transnational approach

This theoretical approach is different from the other three since it does not only focus on the country in which the second generation lives but also on the country of origin of their parents. This perspective was born in the 1990s as a critique against the assimilation theory and segmented assimilation theory started by the anthropologist Nina Glick Schiller. Hence, transnational migration 'is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement'.¹⁰²

For this reason according to Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc immigrants have to be understood as 'transmigrants'. More precisely, transmigrants are 'immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state'.¹⁰³

As the Italian sociologist Maurizio Ambrosini points out, transnationalism introduces a double-sided perspective, looking from the country of origin towards the country of destination on the one hand and, on the other, looking at all levels (micro, meso and macro).¹⁰⁴ Consequently, to understand also the socio-economic integration of the second generation of migrants we need to look at the connections and networks in both countries - the country of origin of their parents and the country in which they grew up. Some of our respondents, such as Chinese second generation migrants in Italy, for example, have interesting working careers that see them going back and forth from Italy to China and vice versa. They have worked as professionals and managers in China because of their advanced knowledge and educational credentials acquired in Italy. In addition, they have often very well paid jobs also in Italy having started to work from very young since they have a particular competence that very few Italians have: knowledge of the Chinese language.

102 Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and C. Szanton Blanc (1995). 'From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration'. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (January), pp. 48-63. The quotation refers to page 48.

103 Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and C. Szanton Blanc (1995). 'From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration'. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (January), pp. 48-63. The quotation refers to page 48. For more information about transnationalism perspective see: Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and C. Szanton-Blanc (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects and the deterritorialized nation-state*. New York: Gordon and Breach; Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and C. Szanton-Blanc (1992). 'Transnationalism: A new analytic frame work for understanding migration'. in Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and C. Szanton-Blanc (ed.), *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: Race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Science.

104 Ambrosini, M. (2008). *Un'altra globalizzazione. La sfida delle migrazioni transnazionali*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Summary

(by Karin Kronika)

The aim of this *Multilingual Practical Training Guide* is, based on the work of the project partners, to provide adult educators and trainers with a broad theoretical and practical background on people who are descendants of migrants and who are sometimes referred to in the social sciences as 'second generation migrants'. After background information about the *BRIDGE* project and an introduction, there is an analysis of **Basic concepts: Definition of Migrants and Second Generation Migrants**. The main intention of this chapter is to problematise the idea of labelling people: it shows that the term was invented in the USA within a particular political background and with changes in migration legislation. Then, the part on **Theoretical Perspectives on migration and second generation migrants** gives three main approaches to think about migration. In this chapter, the major sociological perspectives explaining the phenomenon of first and second generation migrants are discussed.

The following chapter deals with the **Identity Construction of Second Generation Migrants with a Gender Approach** defining the identity construction of second generation migrants and the role played by their different cultural backgrounds (the country of origin of their parents and that of the country in which they live). Gender differences are highlighted.

In the next three chapters, a detailed analysis of typical everyday situations of particular second generation migrants is given analysing different forms of **Prejudice, Racism and Second Generation Migrants** which second generation migrants most often have to face during their daily life and the impact racism has on their self-esteem.

In the fifth chapter, entitled **Emotions in the Everyday Life of Second Generation Migrants** the author discusses emotions and how important they are in the daily life of second generation migrants. The last chapter of this guide is about **Second Generation Migrants and entrance into the labour market: opportunities and risks** to focus on four main theoretical approaches which explain the socio-economic integration into the labour market of second generation migrants, drawing on the sociological literature and giving insight into the segmented assimilation theory.