

Education and Culture DG
Lifelong Learning Programme

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Multilingual Practical Training Guide

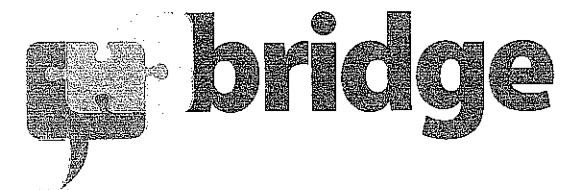
Manuale didattico multilingue

Mehrsprachiges praktisches Handbuch

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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 at all 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

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Description of the project Bridge

'Bridge: Successful Pathways for the Second Generation of Migrants' is a European project (Project number 502260-LLP-2009-1-IT-GRUNDTVIG-GMP) based on the cooperation of different organisations in seven European countries, experienced in European cooperation and various kinds of European projects, Grundtvig included.

The seven organisations participating in the project consortium are:

- Università degli Studi di Milano, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Italy (project promoter)
- BEST Institut für berufsbezogene Weiterbildung und Personaltraining GmbH, Austria (coordinator)
- Univerza na Primorskem, Fakulteta za humanistične študije Koper, Slovenia
- University of Glasgow, Faculty of Education, United Kingdom
- CFL, Centrum för Flexibel Lärande, Söderhamn, Sweden
- ROC Nijmegen, Netherlands
- WREDE Ideenmanagement & Projektbetreuung, Germany.

The situation of second generation migrants (SGM) is similar throughout Europe: they may encounter cultural, linguistic and social difficulties, sometimes they have to face prejudices and their self-esteem can suffer as a consequence. The main idea behind this project is to prevent such situations of prejudice and self-discrimination, particularly among young low skilled second-generation migrants, when they are looking for a job.

The bridge between different cultures and a path towards social inclusion is what the partnership seeks to develop for teachers and trainers of second generation migrants. The partnership produced materials which should be useful to both teachers/trainers and second generation migrants who are looking for a job and want to improve their self-esteem and communication skills.

What do we understand by 'second generation migrants'? The definition is controversial and is therefore an important part of the Multilingual Practical Training Guide for adult educators and their trainers; additionally, within the project there is a handbook for autobiographical pedagogical approaches with a theoretical background and practical suggestions on how teachers, trainers and guidance counsellors can apply the autobiographical approach to support second generation migrants. This handbook includes explanations of the term 'second generation migrants' and focuses on the main results of the training course and the pilot test, which were developed during the life of the project. It is hoped the multilingual practical training guide can be adopted in all Europe by anyone interested in adult education for SGM.

The main BRIDGE products are:

- a 20-hour training course based on intercultural competences and on autobiographical narratives for teachers/trainers in adult education whose learners are second-generation migrants. The course was organised by all project partners in their countries during the project lifetime to improve the educators' social cultural competences and teaching approaches towards the above mentioned target group
- a 16-hour training course for second-generation migrants already carried out during the project lifetime in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden
- a CD-ROM with policy recommendations on improving the quality of adult education for SGMs
- the *Report Handbook on Autobiographical Pedagogical Approaches* for working with Second Generation Migrants
- and this document, *the Multilingual Practical Training Guide*, for teachers/trainers in adult education whose learners are second generation migrants.

More about the project, the products and other BRIDGE outcomes can be found at the project website: <http://www.bridge2g.eu/>.

Explanation of the term: a/the second generation of migrants

The full title of the BRIDGE project is '*Bridge: Successful Pathways for the Second Generation of Migrants*'. In the process of our research it became apparent that in the literature there are several terms used to denote the target group of the project. Examples we found of terms being used were 'second-generation immigrants', 'second generation disadvantaged immigrants', 'second generation youth of Turkish, Moroccan and former Yugoslavian descent', 'the immigrant second generation', ethnic minorities etc.

Like any term used to refer to a particular group of people, 'second generation migrants' is potentially problematic. There is a danger it reduces people to a label, to one particular aspect of their identities. Despite its shortcomings, we think the term serves a purpose since research suggests that 'second generation migrants' face a different social reality from those of the 'first' generation. We agreed that the target group of our project was 'second generation disadvantaged migrants' but in our different countries this group is differently denominated. In any case, we would re-emphasise that all terms are problematic and that one of the basic aims of this project, in fact, is to promote critical discussion and analysis of the terms being used.

Introduction

(by Karin Kronika)

The *Multilingual Practical Training Guide* describes and analyses the group of people for whom the term 'a/the second generation of migrants' (SGM) is used. The guide brings insight into the second generation migrants in Europe with particular attention paid to seven European countries - Italy, Austria, United Kingdom, Slovenia, Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany. These topics explain why this concept is relevant in humanities, social sciences, pedagogy and adult education. The content of this training guide is based on the more recent sociological and anthropological literature and on the main results of qualitative research with second generation migrants carried out by the European partnership of the *BRIDGE* project. This qualitative research was based on 140 narrative interviews with second generation migrants across the partner European countries during the period October 2009 until January 2010.

After an initial discussion of the definition of the term SGM and a more general description of second generation migrants in Europe, some particular topics will be discussed. Discussions will draw on the main results of the qualitative research done by the project partners to hopefully provide a more in-depth understanding of the life stories of second generation migrants in different countries and the opportunities and major obstacles they encounter when entering the labour market. These special topics which this guide for training courses proposes are the following:

- **Migration theory and Second Generation Migrants.** This section will review what the literature shows has been understood by the terms 'migrants' and 'second generation migrants'.
- **Theoretical perspectives on migration and Second Generation Migrants.** This section will briefly discuss the major sociological theories explaining the phenomenon of first and second generation migrants.
- **Identity construction of Second Generation Migrants: a gender approach.** This section will talk about 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 will be highlighted.
- **Prejudice, racism and Second Generation Migrants.** This section will discuss and explain the different forms of ethnic prejudices and racism which second generation immigrants are faced with during their daily life and the impact it has on their self-esteem.
- **Emotions in the everyday life of Second Generation Migrants.** This section will discuss emotions and how important they are in the daily life of second generation migrants and how an autobiographical pedagogical approach can help provide second generation migrants with emotional support.

- **Second Generation Migrants and the entrance into the labour market: opportunities and risks.** In this part of the multilingual training guide we will 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.

This training guide offers different assignments, both oral and written, to adult educators and trainers and other readers in order to foster reflection and understanding of issues affecting second generation migrants in their country. These assignments are related both to readings drawn from the sociological literature and to the everyday life and teaching experiences of the course participants. Participants and scholars may find further answers to their questions in the section on the project website (www.bridge2g.eu) listing additional readings, videos and films about second generation migrants and autobiographical approaches.

Migration theory and Second Generation Migrants

(by Alenka J Spreizer)

Introduction

Social scientist in the USA started to discuss about the new second generation immigrants in the 1980s, long after the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, which regulated the post-1965 immigration or 'the new immigration' to the USA and which attracted scholars' attention mainly to the first generation. After 1980 there were several censuses conducted in the USA and the second generation of migrants (SGM) were perceived as a distinctive category.¹ Scholars tried to explain the processes of adaptation of the SGM who are very heterogeneous group of people, which is difficult to define. Some scholars underlined that the efforts for adaptation of the SGM is unique phenomena, which cannot be compared to the situation of their immigrant parents, nor to the European immigrants who arrived in the USA at the end of 19th century.

The main differences between the immigrants and the SGM are:

- first, the descendants of European immigrants were mainly 'white' and consequently, the process of assimilation depended mainly on the dilemmas of conflicting cultures and on the issue of leaving a culture in conflict with 'the USA culture' behind, and
- second, the structure of the labour market and the economic possibilities changed dramatically: in the 1960s immigrants were welcomed since the labour market needed less qualified workers and later in the 1980s they became redundant due to the economic changes.

SGM also attracted some scholars' interests in many European countries. For the purpose of this project we explored some studies of scholars, where they defined the concept and the reason why this concept was important for educationalists: Why this group of people, who is extremely heterogeneous, is conceptualized as a particular target group. Within this chapter, we need to clarify a basic notion of migration theory, which is now present in social science and humanities. For the purpose of this course we are going to open basic sociological and anthropological knowledge, which will be elaborated then in the chapter **Theoretical perspectives on migration and second generation migrants**. Some assignments for the reflection of the definitions are given at the end of this section.

¹ Portes, A. and M. Zhou (1993). 'The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants post-1965 Immigrant Youth', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 530, pp. 74-96. The quotation refers to page 74.

What is migration theory?

Migration in recent theoretical perspectives is conceptualised within the context of profound shifts in global economy and society. The political dimension of migration is taken into account on the one side, and movements of people which are stimulated by ecological disasters and wars are taken into consideration. A broader conception of migration which understands migration flows as a phenomena, whose flows flow in different directions (multivectoral phenomena), and as a process of flux and flow, also analyzes changes that are stimulated by the individual, relative autonomy of culture or identity of migrant not subordinate to external categories.²

In migration theory the twentieth century has been discussed as an age of migration.³ Migration theory is a broad field of knowledge approached from most social sciences and humanities. Somebody noted as a problem the fact that social scientists do not approach this study from a shared paradigm.⁴ Anthropologist Caroline Brettell and historian James Hollifield tried to gather scholars to start a cross-disciplinary conversation about the issue of migration theory and to provide a framework for a discussion.⁵ While some social scientists approach the field from a top-down macro approach, and focused on immigration policy or market forces, many historians started from bottom-up perspective and described individual experiences of migration of people who moved to a host country left their country of origin. Migration could be defined as a field of interdisciplinary knowledge or as a multidisciplinary discipline in theory and methodology. There are many theoretical disciplines which approach to migration and migrants.

Globalisation, different forms of movement and social change

Sociologist Papastergiadis define migration as a global phenomenon:

'Migration ... surrounds and pervades all aspects of contemporary society ... The modern world is in a state of flux and turbulence. It is a system in which the circulation of people, resources and information follows multiple parts'.⁶

In contemporary global world the route of movement of people, things and information is not stable and migration should be understood in a broader sense. Instead of trying to give historical explanations for migration or sociological analysis of specific causes for migration, sociologist

² Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The Turbulence of Migration. Globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 35.

³ Castels, S. and M. J. Miller (eds.) (2003). *The Age of Migration: International Population movements in the Modern World (Third Edition)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

⁴ Brettell, C. and J. H. Hollifield (eds.) (2000). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Discipline*. London, New York: Routledge. Massey, p. 2.

⁵ Brettell, C. and J. H. Hollifield (eds.) (2000). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Discipline*. London, New York: Routledge. p. 2.

⁶ Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The Turbulence of Migration. Globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 1.

maps the general flows of people. He differs between global and turbulent contemporary flow in contemporary migration from more structured patterns of earlier historical movements. He conceptualizes contemporary migration as a global and turbulent phenomenon and as a regular feature of a modern life, when people, things and information travel in many multiple directions, and people have different experiences of movements from very traumatic to very pleasant ones. According to his theory turbulent migration he differentiates four phases of migrations:

1. Historical patterns of migration in the time of the transatlantic slave and colonialism; in this time migration was predominantly forced and coercive, and was possible when the tall ship was invented.
2. International labour migration or a second phase of migration in Western Europe; within this phase there was first the process of industrialisation and depeasantization of the west, when peasants moved to the cities and they did not always stay there; and second, the colonization and industrialization of the New World.
3. Chain migration was a movement to foreign places also to a New World, motivated mainly by the suggestions of the migrants' own kin, which often led to the formation of migrants' communities, who created social networks and who offered a working opportunity to newcomers. This was possible when the steamship was invented, when the travel became quicker and more secure.
4. Post-Second World War migration period with expansion of the industrialization. This phase is connected with the trend when employers need supplement national labour resources, and when the flow of people changes direction to the reverse flow of colonialism: newcomers were migrants from the peripheral spaces of the (former) colonies.⁷

Who are we talking about: defining the 'second generation migrant'?

Technically, scholars connect Second Generation Migrants with the Post-Second World War immigration. SGM attracted the interest of scholars when they noticed, for example, that they are, according to the censuses quite numerous group: by the 1980, 10 percent of the dependent children in the household in the USA were SGM.⁸ According to them, the 'second generation immigrants' were those people who were defined as 'native born children with at least one foreign born parent or children born abroad who came to the United States before age 12'.⁹ Second generation migrants attracted the attention because sociologists noted a different pattern of the second generation migrants adaptation, which differed from their parents' and from pre-WW

⁷ Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The Turbulence of Migration. Globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 23-30.

⁸ Portes, A. and M. Zhou (1993). 'The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants post-1965 Immigrant Youth', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 530, pp. 74-96. The quotation refers to page 75.

⁹ Portes, A. and M. Zhou (1993). 'The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants post-1965 Immigrant Youth', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 530, pp. 74-96. The quotation refers to page 75.

I immigrants' adaptation: SGM are pertinent as a particular target group for educationalists because of wide difference in linguistic, educational and psychological outcomes within the adaptation process of adaptation.

Migrants: first and second

According to the on line dictionaries and on line encyclopedias, the concept of the first generation migrant may be used to describe at the same time an migrant to a country and the children of migrant parents, first in a family line to be born in a new country.¹⁰ The term 'second generation migrants' is thus dubious: One of the main puzzling things is a fact that the SGM are actually a first generation, who came in childhood with their parents. The definition was perceived as problematic, similar as it is difficult to define the 'first generation'. The problem of this dubious definition is that children who came into a new country with their parents could be actually defined as the first generation, but in the sociological theory of migration they are often defined as 'second generation'.

The meaning of 'generation'

Generation labelling is complicated also due to the reason that migrant generations may not be equivalent to the genealogical generations of a family: A family with two parents and two adult children may be defined as first generation migrants – all persons were born and socialized outside a new country, but on the level of kinship they are genealogically connected as first and second generation. And if parents would have another child in a new country, this newborn child will, on the one hand, considered as second generation migrant, while on the other it will belong to the generation of his or her siblings.

Definition in accordance to the place of birth

Rumbaut deconstructed the term 'Immigrant First and Second Generations', and analyses the meaning and definition of the SGM, used by USA scholars. The term SGM can define foreign born children of immigrants and USA born children with at least one immigrant parent. As 'foreign born children of immigrants', those are defined who had immigrated to USA before the age 12. These foreign born children are also defined as the 1.5 generation or 1.5G. The term 1.5G refers to people who came to 'new country' before or during their teens and they were already included in the process of socialisation in their home county: They continue with the socializa-

¹⁰ Immigrant Generations – Wikipedia a free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigrant_generations (approached 22.7. 2010)

tion and assimilation process in a 'new' or in a 'host' country.

The crucial thing for the SGM is, that they are born and socialized in the country, which was the chosen as a 'new' country, as a target of migration for their parents.¹¹ According to Rumbaut the term SGM is technically an oxymoron, in as much as persons born in one country cannot simultaneously also immigrants to the same country.

Definition in relationship to life stages

Some scholars take into account relationship to life stages at the time of arrival into a new country. Life stages seem important since scholars perceived differences in the mode of adaptation of people who migrate as adult and as children; they noticed also difference in adaptive outcomes vis a vis the native born children and foreign born parents. This seems a reason why certain scholars consider those categories, which were elaborated before the term SGM was coined.

Rumbaut explained that for studies of the modes of acculturation of immigrants it is important to have available data on the nativity of parents; i.e. the country of birth of the mother and father.

Then it is important to have available the information of country of birth of the respondent, and if foreign born, the age at the time of arrival and date of arrival. Elaboration of the concept of the first generation and SGM is then important for understanding the differences amongst different ethnic groups of immigrants, different age groups (or generational cohorts) in the mode of adaptations into the 'new' or 'host' country.

Scholars elaborated in details some more concepts, such as 'half-second generation', 'second generation native born'; 'the foreign-born' and 'US-born'; they differentiate also 'parental generation' and 'filial first' and 'filial second' generation. Those who are interested in a more detailed elaboration of these SGM concept they may consult a website of the BRIDGE project.

Definition of SGM within some European countries

Some scholars who explore the integration processes of children of post-Second World War immigrants in Europe also define the category of second generation, which is also a relatively new phenomenon in Western European Countries, and which attracted the migration scholars mainly in the 1990s. Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen explained that structural integration has become more difficult in the present and as a consequence of globalisation, the 'children of immigrant' are less likely to assimilate.¹² Until recently, there have been a few international

¹¹ Rumbaut, R. (2008). 'Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States', in A. Portes and J. DeWind (eds.), *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. New York Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 347.

¹² Crul, M. and H. Vermeulen (2003). 'The Second Generation in Europe', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, The Future of the Second Generation: The Integration of Migrant Youth in Six European Countries, pp. 965-986. The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.

comparative reports focusing on SGM in Europe. One of the topics, which raise the interest of European scholars, is the comparison of integration process of immigrants in different European countries.

It is crucial to note that in some European the term SGM is not widely used amongst scholars and that some researchers warned on the danger of labelling.

Assignments for adult educators and trainers

What is known about migration and migrants? Description of the activity for adult educators

After the initial theoretical explanation of the term 'Second Generation Migrants' and after the explanation of some definitions by US scholar, the teacher divides participants into pairs or smaller group (composed of 3-4 participants) and then he or she asks participants to reflect on their knowledge of SGM.

Teacher should provide some initial questions, such as:

- What is known about migration and migrants in our county?
- Are you aware of any difference between first and second generation migrants?
- How do you understand the difference?

The participants should get materials for jotting down the results of the discussion or they should make a poster. Teachers may then continue with the theoretical explanation or help participants reflect on the given theoretical explanation in comparison with their own knowledge.

- What kind of life (and/or teaching) experiences do you have with migration and migrants?
- Do you know somebody who is known or who represents him/herself as a SGM?
- Do you know somebody who may be labelled SGM?

This assignment may need more guidance if the groups are beginners. In this case educators/trainers may help participants with some suggestions. This activity may help reflecting on the term and basic knowledge about migrants.

Duration: approximately 10 -20 minutes.

Reflection on the definition of first and second generation migrants and migration: worksheet 1 for adult educators and trainers

Discuss with your colleague or with a smaller group the following questions.

- What is known about migration and migrants in our county?
- Are you aware of a difference between first and second generation migrants?
- How do you understand the difference?

Write down your answers and give this sheet to your teacher.

Reflection on question of 'How do second generation migrants represent themselves': description of the activity

Teachers show some video clips of musicians (rap singers, hip-hop singers and other musicians of different styles of music) to her/his participants for a discussion on the question: How do second generation migrants represent themselves? Teachers may start a discussion with a question about established artists in their country who are known as second generation migrants. They could also use videos in different national languages. The topics of the video should explain the representation of migrants in Europe.

After participants looked at the video clip, teachers invite them to start a discussion on the question of how the chosen musicians represent themselves. Invite students to discuss the biography of the musicians. Try to find texts of different styles of music (such as rap songs or hip-hop music) about the migrant identity, or different cultural backgrounds or way of life. Invite people to discuss topics such as appreciating cultural difference or criticizing it, and reflecting on gender ethnic stereotypes, addressing the important message about co-existence etc. Do people cherish their cultural background or are their origins and identity a subject of parody and irony? Do they have anything to say about stereotypes? How do they deal with criticism? Or do they have another message?

Based on video and lyrics from popular culture and the internet, YouTube etc. and also on pictures from the websites of musicians, adult educators and trainers should encourage reflection on the representation and the image of the chosen artist. Consider how the chosen artist represents migrants in the visual material, the use of language, dress and outfit. Discuss in groups what kind of messages the songs communicate? Invite adult educators and trainers to write down their opinion.

This assignment is generally appreciated among different groups with different levels of experiences. This activity may help deepen reflection on the term SGM and knowledge of the migrants. Additionally it may deepen people's awareness of their own ethnic and cultural background. Adult educators may develop and adapt this activity to the different groups of participants with migrant backgrounds. The assignment could be introduced during the theoretical part concerning the definitions of terms.

Duration: 20-30 minutes.

Theoretical perspectives on migration and Second Generation Migrants

(by Silvana Greco)

No research is without action and no action is without research (Kurt Lewin)

Introduction

In this part of the multilingual training guide we will focus on three main theoretical perspectives in order to understand the migration process and the phenomenon of second generation immigrants. This is based mainly on the sociological and anthropological literature. In the first section we analyze migrant network theory. In the second section we will describe assimilation theory and briefly mention the main critiques against this approach, including segmented assimilation theory, which will be developed further in the next chapter on the entrance of second generation migrants into the labour market and their employment mobility. In the third section we will consider the transnationalism perspective. In the fourth section we describe three assignments for trainers and teachers in order to consider these theories in more depth.

The Migration Network Theory

Migration network theory has its roots in Ravenstein in the 19th century who underlined the importance of the migration chain in order to understand the migration process. He pointed out that 'who migrates is not the single individual alone but the social networks in which migrants are embedded'.¹³

The concept of embeddedness was first developed by Karl Polanyi's *Great Transformation* and then re-formulated by the American economic sociologist Mark Granovetter in 1973 with *The Strength of Weak Ties*.¹⁴ The concept affirms that the social relations that each person has are integrated (embedded) in social networks. These social networks produce trust among the people who are part of these networks and they create relations in which many different resources are exchanged such as information, obligations, duties, economic resources. These resources are usually called *social capital*.

Hence, focusing attention on migrants' social networks makes it clear that the migration process is a *social process*,¹⁵ not only an economic process as hypothesized by the new economics about migration. In other words, migration is not only determined by the economic laws of supply and demand of work. More precisely, migration is not only determined by employers in the 'rich

13 Faist, T. (1997), 'The crucial-meso level', in T. Hammar, G. Brochmann, K. Tamas and T. Faist (eds), *International Migration Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford: Berg.

14 Granovetter, M. S. (1973), 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, Issue 6, pp. 1360-1380.

15 Ambrosini, M. (2008), *Un'altra globalizzazione. La sfida delle migrazioni internazionali*. Bologna: il Mulino, p. 17.

countries' demanding labour (for example due to a shortage of specific professions or types of native workers) and migrants coming from the 'poor countries' offering their labour force to the employers in the country of destination (supplying them with low skilled work which the native-born population is not willing to do anymore). Migration is determined by social relationships and interactions between persons in one country (the country of origin) and persons in the country of destination who are tied together in networks.

According to migration network theory, migrants do not migrate individually but networks migrate. Migration is a process that both depends on and creates social networks.

As Alejandro Portes has underlined 'networks not only help the arrival of other immigrants but they permit stronger contact in the future between country of origin and country of destination thanks to remittances, to some travel back to the country of origin'.¹⁶

Migrant networks constitute a complex supra-network of migrants, second generation migrants and non-migrants both in the country of origin and in the host country.

Hence, single migrants leave the country of origin thanks to the help of migrant networks that can be informal, made up of relatives, or more formal networks both in the country of origin and in the country of destination. These networks provide migrants with a lot of resources:

- information about how to leave the country,
- information about which documents are needed to leave the country,
- information about where to go once he/she arrives in the country of destination,
- information and support in finding a job in the county of destination etc.

Hence, being a member of a network enables 'individuals to command scarce resources'.¹⁷

Moreover, according to Alejandro Portes, this capacity to mobilize resources on demand constitutes social capital. 'This means that social capital is not a property of the individual, but rather it exist *in*, and is *drawn from*, that *persons's web of relationships*'.¹⁸

In addition, once migrants arrive in the country of destination, these migrants' networks support them with different forms of social capital.¹⁹

More precisely, these migrant networks aim to:

1. facilitate the socialization of the *migrant culture*.²⁰ Indeed, when migrants meet together

¹⁶ Portes, A. (1995) (ed.). *The Economic Sociology of Immigrations*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

¹⁷ Portes, A. (1998). 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology'. *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 24, pp. 1-24.

¹⁸ Portes, A. (1998). 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology'. *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 24, pp. 1-24.

¹⁹ Portes, A. and J. Sensenbrenner (1993). 'Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social determinants of Economic Action'. *The American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 98, No. 6, pp. 1320-1350.

²⁰ Socialization is a term used by sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, politicians and educationalists to refer to the process of inheriting norms, customs and ideologies. It may provide the individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within their own society: a society itself is formed through a plurality of shared norms, customs, values, traditions, social roles, symbols and languages. Socialization is thus 'the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained' (Wikipedia).

er thanks to these networks, they reinforce their culture of origin: they re-affirm their norms, values, habits, behaviours and traditions.

2. support changes based on *reciprocity*. Migrants have to adapt to a new social and economic context. These changes are possible thanks to the relationships with the migrant network based on the principle of reciprocity: for examples, the networks provide them with different kinds of information about everyday life in the country of destination (work, health care, school and so on) which facilitates integration into that society,
3. reinforce bounded solidarity – group solidarity – in order to strengthen friendship, the relationship between relatives, maintain contact with common origins etc.,
4. reinforce the trust in the migration process despite many obstacles and difficulties (due to problems of language, culture or bureaucracy).

In some cases migrant networks play a crucial role for the supply of work to migrants and the setting-up of an ethnic economy. Indeed, many migrants find their first jobs thanks to little business and enterprises started by other migrants: ethnic restaurants, clothes shops, information and communication services (internet points). As we will see in the next section these ethnic economies also represent a successful point of entrance into the labour market for second generation migrants.

Assimilation theory

The assimilation theory and its recently revised formulation try to address how migrants and second generation migrants, once they arrive in the country of destination, 'integrate' or 'should integrate' into that particular society.

In a European context the concept of integration is much more often used than that of 'assimilation', particularly in France. It emphasises the socio-economic dimension of the social inclusion of migrants into the host society.

By contrast, the concept of assimilation, a product of America in the 1920s with the 'Chicago school', refers to the cultural dimension of inclusion and more precisely to the sharing of the same language, norms, values and customs which, as it is perceived, immigrants should internalize. Migrants should assimilate into these cultural backgrounds in order to become positively 'included' into the society of destination.²¹

Assimilation is understood as a linear process: migrants assimilate into the new social context, internalizing the cognitive perceptions, life styles, values and norms of the native population, becoming more and more 'similar' to the natives.²²

²¹ Ambrosini, M. (2007). 'Integrazione e multiculturalismo'. in Santerini, M. And P. Reggio (eds), *Formazione interculturale. Teoria e pratica*. Milano: Unicopli. pp. 70-98. The quotation in the text refers to page. 71.

²² Ambrosini, M. (2008). *Un'altra globalizzazione. La sfida delle migrazioni internazionali*. Bologna: il Mulino. p. 182.

Main critiques

The concept of assimilation was theorized for the first time in the 1920s by two important sociologists of the so-called 'Chicago School', Robert Park (1864-1944) and Ernest Burgess (1886-1966). They studied the migration process in the city of Chicago and its main consequences on urbanization: For these scholars assimilation is: 'a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life'.²³

From this first formulation the assimilation theory has developed in a normative, theoretical perspective.

If migrants want to integrate successfully into the country of destination, they really 'should' assimilate the language, norms, values and habits of the individuals of the country of destination. Moreover, the quicker the migrants lose their cultural values, norms and social practices which distinguish them from the native population, the faster they will be accepted by the native population and experience an upward mobility into society.²⁴ Migrants have the duty to assimilate themselves as quickly as possible for their well-being and for the good of the whole host society. Indeed, cultural assimilation, in particular, has been seen as a precondition for integration into the labour market and for further advancement into social stratification.²⁵

Moreover, in recent years assimilation theorists²⁶ have also stated that the assimilation process started with the first generation of migrants will finish with the second generation of migrants, who will be completely assimilated into the host country since they arrived in the country of destination very young or were even born in that country. This assimilation of the norms, values and habits guarantees a successful integration in the mainstream society.

This theory was criticised during the 1990s. One critique concerned the underlying assumption that the "native population" has an essential identity and homogenous culture very different from those of migrants. In addition, the risk of emphasizing the cultural differences between natives and migrants as being not compatible could lead to a new form of racism (cultural racism).²⁷ Another critique concerned the unequal integration of migrants: it is natural that migrants have to enter into the labour market in the last level of the social hierarchy. Only if they assimilate

23 Park, R.E. and E. Burgess (1924), *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, p. 735.

24 Ambrosini, M. (2008), *Un'altra globalizzazione. La sfida delle migrazioni internazionali*. Bologna: il Mulino, p. 183.

25 Ambrosini, M. (2008), *Un'altra globalizzazione. La sfida delle migrazioni internazionali*. Bologna: il Mulino, p. 182.

26 Waters, M. (1994), 'Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-generation Black Immigrants in New York City', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 28:795-820; Alba, R.D. and V. Nee (1997), 'Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 826-874; Alba, R.D., Logan, J. and K. Crowder (1997), 'White Ethnic Neighborhoods and Assimilation: The Greater New York Region, 1980-1990', *Social Forces*, Vol. 75, pp. 883-912; Alba, R.D. (1998), 'Assimilation's Quieter Tide', in N.R. Yetman, *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

27 Taguieff, P.A. (1999), *Il razzismo*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina (or. ed. 1997).

well, can they dream of climbing the social ladder. Finally, in the 1990s sociologists in the United States such as Alejandro Portes, William Haller and Patricia Fernández-Kelly and Min Zhou²⁸ strongly criticized the dominant assimilation theory based on their longitudinal quantitative sociological research about the second and third generation of migrants in the United States. These authors developed the well-known 'segmented assimilation theory'. In particular, they found out that only a minority of second generation and even third generation migrants in the United States had been allowed enough upward mobility to join the middle class. Another group of second generation of migrants reached only partial incorporation into American society while another, the major part of the second generation, risked being trapped in lower-paid jobs than their parents (the first generation of migrants) or even experiencing downward mobility (strongly marginalized in the labour market and at risk of social exclusion).

The Transnationalism Perspective

At the same time as the development of segmented assimilation theory, another theoretical paradigm arose known as transnationalism, which emphasizes the dual connection of migrants and their descendants both with the country of origin and with the country of destination – and throughout their lifetime, not only in one particular period, like the moment of arrival.

For transnationalism contemporary immigrants are not perceived as persons who are 'uprooted' from their country of origin, as is the case with assimilation theory, but are perceived as transmigrants. Transmigrants are persons who 'become firmly rooted in their new country maintaining multiple linkages to their homeland'.²⁹

Thus, 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.

In this paradigm there are three main approaches that can be distinguished.

First, the pioneers of the transnationalism paradigm at the beginning of the 1990s were the anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc. According to these scholars today great changes have occurred in migration. Thanks to the development of information and communication technologies (ICT) and low cost transport, migrants and their descendants no longer, as in the past, cut off economic, social and political links with their country of origin. They maintain instead strong ties both to the country of origin and to the country of destination.

28 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; Zhou, M. (1997) 'Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans (Winter), pp. 975-1008.

29 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 in the text refers to page 48.

Practical Assignments for adult educators and trainers

Transmigrants and their activities: description of the activities for adult education teachers

The aim of this assignment is to encourage course participants to consider what it means to be a 'transmigrant' according to concept of transnationalism.

First, the teacher invites the course participants to form groups of 3-4 people and to elect one chairperson. Second, the teacher explains very briefly the concept of 'transmigrant' as a person who is not 'uprooted' from his/her country of origin, as is the case with assimilation theory, but someone who becomes firmly rooted in his/her new country maintaining multiple bonds to his/her homeland.³³

These linkages with the homeland are maintained with different kinds of activities at different levels: economic, political and socio-cultural.

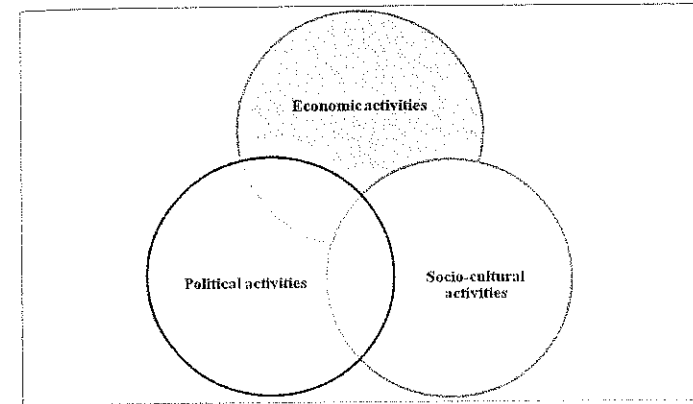
The teacher asks his/her course participants: what are these activities?

Third, the course participants discuss the questions in their groups and their chairperson notes down their answers. Fourth, the teacher invites each chairperson to share his/her answers with the rest of the course participants. If the course participants have not guessed all the activities, the teacher will provide additional information (see table 1 - Transnational activities in which migrants and second generation migrants are involved at different levels).

Duration: approximately 45 minutes.

³³ 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.

Transmigrants and their activities: worksheet 1



Write down the transnational economic activities you might expect migrants to have, given they will be in constant contact both with their country of origin and their host country.

Write down the transnational political activities you might expect migrants to have, given they will be in constant contact both with their country of origin and their host country.

Write down the transnational socio-cultural activities you might expect migrants to have, given they will be in constant contact both with their country of origin and their host country.

Identity construction of Second Generation Migrants: a gender approach

(by Eva Brajković)³⁴

Introduction

In this chapter we will discuss the aspects of gender formation and the construction of gender differences in various cultures such as gender and the division of labor, gender and the division of private and public space and gender regarding dominance and submission. Then we will look into some general research findings on gender and migration on a global scale and on gender and second generation migrants in the context of the European labor market. We will give examples of different conceptualizations of gender differences in practice and provide advice and instructions on how to gather information on this topic from the people involved to better understand their views and avoid prejudice. This should be an important note to trainers and teachers of SGM because only considering these variations in perceptions and understanding of gender differences they will be able to fully apprehend, educate and thus help their target group.

Theory on Gender

Gender is one of the universal criteria for human social differentiation and an enormously important factor in the construction of the identity. Following the definition provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) gender identity is an outcome of the circumstances in which women and men live, including economic, cultural, historical, ideological, and religious factors.³⁵ This definition clearly states that gender is not something natural or God-given³⁶ but refers to socially constructed differences between the sexes and to the social relationships between women and men. These differences between the sexes are shaped over the history of social relations and change over time and across cultures. There are two fundamentally different ways of regarding gender differences:

- There are certain biological differences between men and women which are referred to as sex differences.
- In practice gender differences are codified and institutionalized socially and culturally: for this aspect the term *gender is used*.

All human societies conceptualize differences between men and women, and all consider such differences to be important in certain regards. However there are important variations in the ways relationships between men and women are worked out and therefore it is difficult to gen-

³⁴ This text was initially written by Eva Brajković and then shortened and edited by Alenka Janko Spreizer.

³⁵ International Organisation for Migration, <http://www.iom.ch> accessed 28. 7. 2010.

³⁶ Look also in Eriksen, T. H. (2001), *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

eralize about gender. Gender can thus best be studied (and understood) as a relationship – men are defined in relation to women and vice versa – and this relationship is conceived differently in different societies.³⁷ One of the main focuses of comparative research of gender differences (in anthropology, sociology, cultural studies etc.) has for a long time been the relative powerlessness and allegedly universal subjugation of women, forming the basis of debate both in favor of and against Western notions of *discrimination* and *power*. In this regard it has been argued that, although women in many societies are deprived of formal political power, they may exert considerable power domestically and indirectly. It has also been suggested that the concepts of researchers (anthropologists and others) dealing with discrimination may be ethnocentrically biased. Even if women in traditional Middle Eastern societies seem – from a European perspective – discriminated against and powerless, they may perceive their situation otherwise.³⁸ In our interviews with second generation migrants we have had opportunity to listen to different testimonies providing evidence for this presumption. Examples will be provided in the following chapters.

Gender in the division of labor and the private versus the public

Even in societies with simple division of labor and little occupational specialization, women's work is distinguished from men's work. Generally speaking the most typical cases of communities, where a division of labor based on gender is the most important, are hunter-gatherer or foraging societies.³⁹

In many men-dominated societies men tell stories of an original matriarchal social order when 'everything went wrong', before it was eventually transformed by a mythical cultural hero. Such myths may be considered an important aspect of ideology: together with the disproportionate emphasis put on hunting as a means of livelihood, they contribute to legitimating (or justifying) male supremacy.⁴⁰ Although women may carry out as much or more work than men, they are nearly universally responsible for domestic work – child rearing, cooking and cleaning. Men, on the contrary, tend to be responsible for the household dealings with the outside world. Some anthropologists, Eriksen reports, have seen a principal cause of the subordination of women, ultimately rooted in biology, due to women's lack of physical mobility during pregnancy and

³⁷ Eriksen, T. H. (2001), *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 124-125.

³⁸ Eriksen, T. H. (2001), *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press, p. 126.

³⁹ One must keep in mind at this point that humanity has consisted exclusively of hunters and gatherers for the greater part of its existence. Eriksen, T. H. (2001), *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press, p. 126.

⁴⁰ We should nevertheless note that if in male-dominated societies (that is: most known societies) the female subordination would be regarded as natural, there would be no need for such ideological myths: the stories are told as warnings that the women may rise again unless men are vigilant. Eriksen, T. H. (2001), *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press, p. 128.

suckling.

Rosaldo thus suggested that power discrepancies between the genders are related to the distinction between the public and the private spheres in society: men control the former and women are confined to the latter. This distinction has been criticized as ethnocentric – it is said to be meaningful in modern societies but not necessarily in others – but it is nevertheless well established and implicitly assumed in much comparative research on gender.⁴¹

Dominance and submission

It looks like women almost everywhere have a lower rank and less power than men. This observation is although far from unproblematic:

- First, there are very significant variations between gender relations in different societies, ranging from nearly complete equality, to societies where the women's influence over their own destiny seems very limited.
- Second, concepts such as rank, *subordination* and *discrimination against women* are themselves problematic since they may be based on the assumption that equality is desirable.

Many of the people studied by anthropologists insist that the genders ought not to be equal but should rather be complementary. Finally, it is not entirely certain that men and women understand the same thing by power and power discrepancies. Eriksen reports that during his own fieldwork in societies which were apparently strongly male-dominated, he often met men who sincerely complained that their wives, who controlled the domestic domain, decided everything in their lives.⁴² An interesting example for reflection on dominance and submission of women is the Muslim veil which is often perceived as symbol of female submission by the Europeans. But if you talk to Muslim migrant women and their daughters that wear the veil, the story is quite the opposite. S., second generation migrant, whose parents originate in Egypt, told us that she chose to wear the veil herself. She indeed was encouraged to do it by her friends in Egypt whom she keeps in touch with through the internet, but her family actually wanted her to think about it first, because wearing the veil is a responsibility and it should not be forced to anyone:

Because if I had to do a thing by force, I would stop doing it: I would not be doing it for my faith, for God, but I would be doing it because I was afraid of my father or my mother who had forced me to wear it. No, in my case it's absolutely not like this. Not even my parents forced me to wear it. (S., SGM from Italy).

41 Eriksen, T.H. (2001), *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 128-129.

42 Eriksen, T.H. (2001), *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 129-130.

She explains the arguments of Islam for the custom of wearing the veil:

Most of all it's for the protection of the woman, because let's say that it withdraws the unpleasant gazes of men. This is, let's say, the fundamental purpose of the veil. [...] Because I noticed especially with my friends, hearing their jokes ... they maybe, the men look mostly at the woman's body, not the woman herself. [...] They especially notice the body, the beauty of the body, the hair; let's say, yes, the body. This thing annoys me because they look only at the woman's physical beauty. It's not fair in my view. If you look at a woman, it's her intelligence that makes her beautiful.

S. didn't like the vulgar jokes and the touching that some of the boys performed on her and her friends. Since she put on her veil, they treat her differently, they respect her privacy. She had some problems with a teacher who was convinced that her wearing the veil was an evidence of oppression:

So, after class she [the teacher] called me and spoke to me in a strange tone saying: Why do you wear it? I replied: Because it's part of my religion and it's my choice. But she continued to talk: No, it's not your choice, you are conditioned by your family, you are conditioned by your religion, Muslim women are always submissive, maltreated by men, you don't have your own will and you cannot do anything about it. [...] And she did not give me any time to reply, to clear things. She was telling me her opinion without hearing mine so I didn't answer her and I had to repeat 5 times her exam. (S., SGM from Italy).

It is exactly such misconceptions and the lack of listening to the other person that generate and cultivate the 'cultural' misunderstandings.

Gender and migration

International organization for Migration (IOM) reports that until the mid-1980s migration was regarded as a male phenomenon.⁴³ Migration is nowadays often seen as gender neutral because it deals with the process of the movement of persons. However, it is in fact gender-related because migration impacts differently on men and women, and on different groups of men and women in their process of movement. Jolly and Reeves⁴⁴ report that some discussions on international migration refer to a *feminization of migration*⁴⁵. However, this term is, in their view, questionable: There has been an increase in the numbers of women migrating in certain regions (e.g. Asia), so in this sense a *feminization of migration* has taken place in particular areas. Furthermore, the term is sometimes used to describe the change in migration patterns, wherein women are

43 Jolly, S and H. Reeves (2005), *Gender and Migration. Overview Report*. Bridge. Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk>, p. 1.

44 Jolly, S and H. Reeves (2005), *Gender and Migration. Overview Report*. Bridge. Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk>

45 Look also at Oishi, N., (2002), 'Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach'. *Working Paper 49*. Center for Comparative Immigration Studies. <http://www.ecis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrk49.PDF>.

increasingly moving as independent migrants, for example in search of jobs, rather than rejoining male family members.⁴⁶

Most decisions to migrate are made in response to a combination of economic, social and political pressures and incentives. Inequalities within and between countries create incentives to move:

- Seeking to make money is one important motivator of migration for both women and men.
- The motivation may be to join a spouse who has migrated (family reunification) or to escape gender discrimination and constraining gender norms.
- Yet migration may be forced by traffickers or displacement may be forced by natural disasters or conflicts.
- Conversely, cultural constraints and gendered international emigration and immigration policies may limit women's ability to migrate.⁴⁷

On the global scale, despite the overwhelming presence in unskilled job categories, two trends in contemporary labor migration have intensified, both involving male as well as female migrants:

- *diversification* (more source and destination countries; more skill levels/different occupations), and
- *polarization* (between skilled and unskilled migration) resulting in an ethnic stratification among migrants. The overall proportion of skilled women, however, is still far lower than that of their male counterparts.⁴⁸

Migrant women are often forced to accept subordinate and less secure employment. In the UK and Canada domestic work and care in households constitutes together with nursing the most female dominated sector. Researchers also highlight the significant degree of deskilling and disqualification that many migrant women with full high school and even university degrees experience.⁴⁹

Awareness of gender-related phenomena exposes roles and relationships between men and women that can be subtle as well as obvious. These relationships are defined in and by the social structures and systems of the societies people live in. The experience men and women have as migrants differ, and most of the differences are due to the role, behavior, and relationships that

46 Jolly, S and H. Reeves (2005). *Gender and Migration, Overview Report*. Bridge, Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk>, pp 6-7.

47 Jolly, S and H. Reeves (2005). *Gender and Migration, Overview Report*. Bridge, Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk>, p. 9.

48 Piper, N. (2005). 'Gender and migration'. A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, Asia research Institute, National University of Singapore. www.gcim.org/attachements/TP10.pdf, p. 6.

49 Lazardis in Piper, N. (2005). 'Gender and migration'. A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, Asia research Institute, National University of Singapore. www.gcim.org/attachements/TP10.pdf and Scrinzi in Piper, N. (2005). 'Gender and migration'. A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, Asia research Institute, National University of Singapore. www.gcim.org/attachements/TP10.pdf.

society assigns to, and expects from, a woman or a man in a country of origin and a country of destination.

Gender and migration in relation to the participation of Second Generation Migrants in the labor market

Some researchers report that in some communities traditional gender roles have an impact on the education of young SGM. For example they state that in the Netherlands Turkish girls, though performing relatively well in school, are more likely than Moroccan girls to drop out to marry or work. The authors think that this seems to be the »price« for a strong ethnic cohesion, which apparently also tends to enforce traditional gender roles.⁵⁰

In another article other scholars write that differences in sociocultural status between the Turkish and Moroccan SGM in the Netherlands appear at first to be wider than their educational differences. Yet such a conclusion has to be tempered as soon as gender is taken into consideration. The educational trajectories of young Turkish men appear less tightly interwoven with traditional ideas in the Turkish community than the trajectories of the young women. Among the Turkish SG women, there is a large group that stays behind. More than for their male counterparts, their decisions to drop out of school or not to pursue education are based on considerations like early marriage, having children and becoming full-time housewives. Moroccan SG women on the other hand, report the researchers, have gained more freedom to continue their education and to postpone marriage and childbearing. This leads to better secondary school achievement, which in itself motivates them to persevere and move on to tertiary education. Once they have completed higher levels of schooling, they will obviously be keen to convert their diplomas into meaningful employment. In this way, education has become a driving force for young Moroccan women to achieve equality in other areas of life as well. Their strong motivation, in comparison with the formidable obstacles faced by many young Turkish women, constitutes what is perhaps the most remarkable contrast between the Turkish and Moroccan second generations in the Netherlands.⁵¹

Some German official reports clearly show lower participation rates of foreign girls in vocational training, especially for Turkish and Greek girls (although 'foreign female youth' is only partly the same group as 'female second generation'). Others, by contrast, like the survey on second generation migrants in a southern German city 'Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies

50 Crul, M. and H. Vermeulen (2003). 'The Second Generation in Europe'. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4. The Future of the Second Generation: The Integration of Migrant Youth in Six European Countries. pp. 965-986. The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., pp. 973-974.

51 Crul, M. and J. Doomernik (2003). 'The Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in the Netherlands: Divergent Trends between and Polarization within the Two Groups'. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4. The Future of the Second Generation: The Integration of Migrant Youth in Six European Countries. pp. 1039-1064. The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., pp. 1059-1060.

towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective', show few or no gender differences in vocational training and labor market participation.⁵² It seems very likely that female migrant children, regardless of their generational status, still have to overcome gender-specific obstacles on their way from school to labor market. Their participation rates in vocational training and employment are lower, especially for Turkish young women. At the same time, recent data indicate that young migrant women achieve higher educational levels than men, and the increasing number of migrants holding white-collar positions is, according to all sources, mainly a female phenomenon.⁵³

Swedish researcher Lena Nekby reports that gender differences in labor force participation patterns have been established in numerous studies. Due to childbirth considerations and greater time investments in the home, women have traditionally had lower employment rates than their male counterparts and a greater sensitivity to economic stimuli. In addition, female immigrants may have different employment patterns relative to native women as well as relative to their male immigrant counterparts. On the other hand, cultural differences may play a greater role in choices concerning labor market participation for immigrant woman. Experience in the host country is likely to alter these norms and over time, the tradeoff between labor and leisure time is likely to become similar to the norms of woman born in the host country.⁵⁴

52 Worbs, S. (2003), 'The Second Generation in Germany: Between School and Labor Market', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 1011-1038.

53 Worbs, S. (2003), 'The Second Generation in Germany: Between School and Labor Market', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 1011-1038.

54 Shoeni in Nekby, L. (2009) *Employment Convergence of Immigrants and Natives In Sweden*, http://www.ne.se/paper/wp02_09.pdf, p. 5.

Assignments for adult educators and trainers

Imagining gender from photographs: description of the activities for adult educators

The adult educator looks at the photographs on the worksheets with his or her participants. Then she/he invites her/his students to imagine a short description of a life story for each of these women and divides people into several groups. Each group selects a photography for description. The participants write on their worksheets the answers to the questions about personal origin, name, migration background, country of origin, family/ relationship and status, and the lifestyle as listed in the worksheet.

After finishing their answers the adult educator leads his/her participants to compare their invented stories with their colleagues and try to analyze her or his own worksheet. The groups discuss the questions on the worksheet:

- Why did you choose the specific origins of the women?
- What kind of knowledge did you base your imagined story on?
- Which representations can you identify in your and your colleague's descriptions?

This assignment may demand strong guidance when the participants are beginners. Be sensitive to the personal stories of participants: some may bring out traumatic stories which then demand psychological support and guidance. In this case the trainer needs to check if the participants are willing to share their intimate experiences. Sometimes it is good to avoid events which are too traumatic. In certain classrooms, moreover, it might be better to suggest that people tell a story which belongs to someone else (like role playing a friend with a different ethnic background). This assignment is also very useful for self-reflection among adult educators.

Duration: 30 – 45 minutes

Imagining gender from photographs: worksheet 1



Photographs were taken by 1-3, 6 Anders Ramstrand, Sweden, 4 Ingrid Wrede, Wrede, Germany, 5 Mitja Spreitzer, Slovenia

Chose one of the photography and then answer the questions.

- Where does she come from?
- What is her name?
- Is she a migrant?
- What is her country of origin?
- Is she married?
- What is her job/occupation?
- How does she live?

Now compare your invented stories with your colleagues and try to analyze them by answering the following questions:

Why did you choose the specific origins of the women?

What kind of knowledge did you base your imagined story on?

Which ideas can you identify in your and your colleague's descriptions?

What may some of the women have in common?

Prejudice, racism and Second Generation Migrants

(by Silvana Greco)

Introduction

In this part of the multilingual training guide we will focus on prejudice and different forms of racism of which, according to our qualitative research, almost all our respondents (second generation migrants) have been victims. In the first section we will briefly outline the development of racism. In the second we will describe basic forms of racism. In the third section we will examine the forms of racism used against second generation migrants, based on the findings of our qualitative research, and its consequences for them. In the fourth we will consider explanations of racism based on sociological literature. In the fifth we will describe one assignment for trainers and teachers which is useful for helping people examine the different forms of racism, including those used against second generation immigrants.

The development of racism

Racism is influenced by a range of historical, social, political and economic factors. It takes different forms in different contexts and as a result has been defined in many different ways.

A first broader definition of racism, which we can propose before analysing the different forms of racism in the next section, is a doctrine that divides human beings hierarchically into different 'races' in which some are 'superior' and others are 'inferior'.

The criteria for division of human beings into different races are based on biological factors such as different facial traits, bodies, genes, hormones (classical racism) or on cultural differences and practices (cultural racism). In the latter the arguments are that the cultural difference in terms of values, norms and customs of the 'inferior race' are enormously different and completely incompatible with those of the 'superior race'. Moreover, since the cultural background of the 'inferior' is so different, the people belonging to this 'race', a term which now has become a taboo, have to be excluded from the 'superior' race.

There are different perspectives on how racism is considered to have developed. Some scholars from a range of disciplines (anthropology, history, sociology) think that racism and its different forms have always existed because it is a 'typical trait' of human nature.⁵⁶ The arguments behind this is that racism is understood as a particular modern form of ethnocentrism, which is an anthropological concept. These scholars argue that in each society – traditional, modern and post-modern – human beings have always seen themselves as belonging to a particular social and cultural group and have judged other cultures from their point of view. Every group has

magnified its own culture, its own Gods and has been proud of its ancestors. Every group thinks that its culture, norms, values are the only correct ones and despise those of other groups, those of the 'foreigners'. As Summer affirms, the main characteristic of ethnocentrism is to divide humanity into 'we' and 'they, the Others', exaggerating the positive element of 'our' culture compared to those of the others which are devalued and denigrated. By contrast, other scholars argue that racism, which differs from ethnocentrism, started and is strictly connected to the rise of modernity. Racism is a social construction of West-European modernity.⁵⁶ It grew with the development of capitalist colonial expansionism into continents such as Africa and India, a 'necessary' step in procuring low-cost raw materials for capitalist development.

Elementary forms of racism

In addition to the broader definition of racism, many scholars have tried to identify different forms of racism that have been realised in history. From the sociological and philosophical literature, we can identify four main forms of racism which are very often strongly interconnected (see Figure 1) – Main categories of racism:

- First of all, a '*cognitive racism*' is constituted by a person's beliefs, ideas, pre-constructed opinions, racial prejudices and stereotyped assumptions about other cultures perceived as 'inferior' to his or her own. For example, a white racist thinks that a black person is inferior to white people.⁵⁷ These beliefs are reinforced by prevailing social attitudes towards people who are seen as different and are often a reflection of the values which underpin social relations and institutional practices. Behind these opinions and ways of perceiving reality, there are generally three main attitudes: i) an *essentialist perspective* concerning identity which means that the racist person thinks that human beings can be categorized into different races due to different physical and cultural traits and that these traits are perceived as permanent; ii) *stigmatization* of the victims of racism. The victim of racism is seen as having a particular stigma.⁵⁸ These stigmas make them 'impure' compared to the 'superior race' and threaten the social order; iii) the belief that some human beings are not civilizable.⁵⁹
- Secondly, these racist cognitive beliefs can have an impact on the ways in which individuals interact (social interaction) and their behaviour with the group which is a victim of racism. These behaviours and actions concern both the different kinds of *racist practices* in everyday life but can also be more formalized and institutionalized by specific actions and policies of governments, such as residential *segregation* (marginalization)

56 Taguieff, P.A. (1999), *Il razzismo. Pregiudizi, teorie, comportamenti*. Milano: Cortina (or. ed. 1997).

57 Taguieff, P.A. (1999), *Il razzismo. Pregiudizi, teorie, comportamenti*. Milano: Cortina (or. ed. 1997).

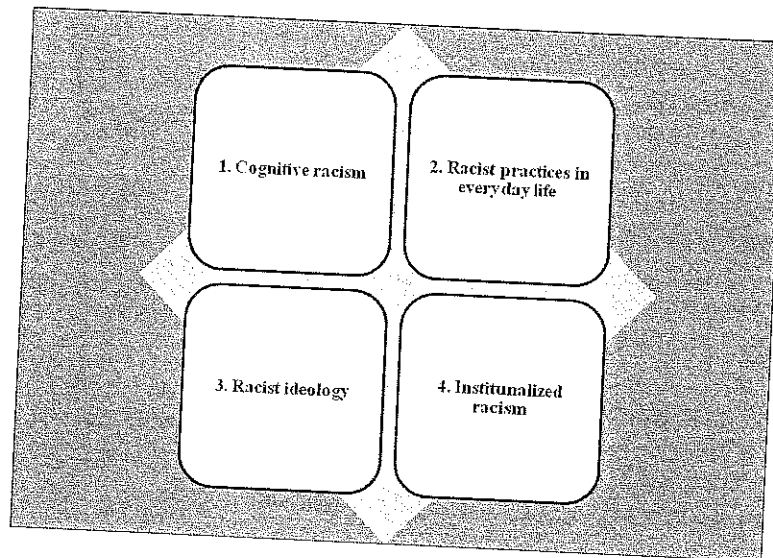
58 Goffman, E. (1963), *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice-Hall.

59 Taguieff, P.A. (1999), *Il razzismo. Pregiudizi, teorie, comportamenti*. Milano: Cortina, pp. 63-66.

of ethnic minorities, different forms of *discrimination* on the basis of 'race' in different areas of social life, such as *verbal and physical violence*. This can develop into persecution, even to the extent of extermination or genocide of a particular social group⁶⁰

- Thirdly, *ideologies*.⁶¹ The birth and development of ideologies based on ethnicity and race are strongly connected with the birth of the Nation-State in early modernity and with the imperialistic development of capitalism from the 19th century onwards. Indeed, there are strong links between the birth of the Nation-State, the definition of citizenship, the mechanism of inclusion (who belongs to the Nation-State and who has a right to citizenship) and exclusion (who is excluded from the Nation-State and does not have the right to citizenship) and the definition of the foreigner⁶²
- Fourth, another form of racism is '*institutional racism*' or 'systemic racism' which occurs when institutions such as governments, legal, medical and education systems and businesses, discriminate against certain groups of people based on race, colour, ethnicity or national origin.

Figure 1 – Main categories of racism



Source: elaboration of the author

60 Taguieff, P.A. (1999), *Il razzismo. Pregiudizi, teorie, comportamenti*, Milano: Cortina, p. 67

61 Balibar, E. and Wallerstein, I. (1991), *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, New York: Verso.

62 Siebert, R. (2003), *Il razzismo*, Roma: Carocci, p. 93.

Racism against second generation migrants and its consequences

From the analysis of the qualitative research based on 140 in-depth narrative interviews, all recorded, it transpires that almost all second generation migrants have been victims of racism. The racist behaviours and attacks from native populations are experienced from early childhood until adulthood and affect different areas of social life: at school, work, everyday life – in public transport, supermarkets, stadiums, streets.

The forms of racism were different, from verbal insults to violent physical attacks. In addition, in some countries, like Italy, institutionalized racism is notable in applications for new residence permits, which can take up to a year to be processed.

The consequences of racism at school for the second generation of migrants which came out from our interviews are that it affects people's state of happiness and self-confidence. Our results and the sociological literature have underlined the following effects of racism on second generation migrants: lower self-esteem or feelings of failure; feeling anxious or depressed; being afraid of going to school; having trouble studying and concentrating in class; staying away from school; feeling anxious and unhappy; falling behind in schoolwork; getting lower results in exams; not speaking their first language for fear of being teased or picked on; rejecting their own culture and parental values; being confused about their own identity; being aggressive or disruptive.

In addition, these different forms of racism can also affect school attendance, the emotional climate and educational outcomes.

All these negative experiences in early childhood and adolescence may then affect a person's self-perception and self-esteem in early adulthood.

All these negative experiences related to racist attacks can also have a negative impact when second generation migrants enter the labour market. From our findings the racist behaviours and attacks are generally less frequent in adulthood and in the labour market and generally take other forms: more the form of discrimination than that of verbal and physical attacks. As T. affirms:

Yes at my work I sometimes experience it. People will come up to me and speak to me in a rude manner even though I'm being polite. I've also noticed that after I serve a customer and I put my hand out to receive the payment, they don't want to put it directly into my hand but rather lay it out on the table for me to gather it because they don't want to come into contact with me. I suppose the colour of my skin disgusts them. There's not much I can do when this happens. I feel bad, but I just go on and do my job. (T., woman, part-time waitress).

Feeling disgust is a traumatic experience for one's own dignity and self-confidence. It produces

a strong sense of shame and a feeling of not being fully human, as Franz Fanon already highlighted in the 1950s.⁶³

Different explanations for racism

In the social sciences there are different explanations for racism. We will explore three which focus on different aspects of racism.

- The first explanation focuses on the historical conditions in which racism developed and highlights mechanisms are collectively constructed in order to support racist ideologies. Racist ideologies are based on ethnic and racial stereotypes. Stereotypes are standardized and simplified conceptions of groups based on some prior assumptions. The term *stereotype* (*στερεότυπος*) derives from the Greek words *στερεός* (*stereos*), 'firm', 'solid' and *τύπος* (*typos*), 'impression', hence 'solid impression'.⁶⁴ According to social psychology stereotypes have different functions. First, a cognitive function which helps us understand a complex phenomenon by simplifying it. Second, stereotypes have a normative function. They protect the values and beliefs of a specific social group, which are considered positive, while they emphasize the negative traits of the Other social group (in our case SGM). Third, stereotypes serve to justify and differentiate. Using stereotypes helps us to evaluate positively the collective actions of 'our' social group compared to those of the 'Others'. It helps to differentiate between 'We' and the 'Others'.⁶⁵
- The second explanation of racism focuses on the personality of the racist person.⁶⁶ From a psychoanalytic perspective, the theory that explains which psychological processes characterize the racist person, is the theory of projection. Projection, what was firstly introduced by Sigmund Freud and then further developed by his daughter Anna Freud, is a defensive mechanism in which qualities, feelings, wishes or even 'objects', which the subject refuses to recognize or rejects in him/herself, are expelled from the Self and located in 'another person' ('the Other') or thing. As Renate Siebert affirms, the mechanism of projection offers the subject two kinds of benefits. One, it gives the subject the opportunity to think about himself only in positive terms. Two, the negative elements, which are projected onto the Other and not tolerated, can be eliminated through the persecution of the Other.⁶⁷

⁶³ Fanon, F. (1996), *Pelle nera, maschere bianche. Il nero e l'altro*. Milano: Marco Tropea (or. ed. 1952).

⁶⁴ It was invented by Firmin Didot in the world of printing: it was originally a duplicate impression of an original typographical element, used for printing instead of the original. American journalist Walter Lippmann coined the metaphor, calling a stereotype a 'picture in our heads' saying 'Whether right or wrong [...] imagination is shaped by the pictures seen [...] originally printers' words, and in their literal printers' meanings were synonymous.

⁶⁵ Villano, P. (2003), *Pregiudizi e stereotipi*. Roma: Carocci. See also: Allport, G.W. (1958), *The Nature of Prejudice*. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books and Memmi, A. (1989), *Il razzismo. Paura dell'altro e diritto alla differenza*. Genova: Costa e Nolan.

⁶⁶ Adorno, T.W. (1950), *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper and Row.

⁶⁷ Siebert, R. (2003), *Il razzismo*, Carocci: Roma.

- The third explanation for racism focuses on the victims of racism and on the physical, psychological and social consequences of racism, which we will now analyze.
 1. According to recent literature, the consequences for the victim of racism are at least four. First of all, being a victim of racism has a *physical consequence* for the person's body.⁶⁸ Not being recognized and constantly feeling the disdain and hatred of others, as well as physical rejection – for example, when someone on public transport refuses to sit near a 'coloured' person – leads to a great *sense of solitude*, according to Franz Fanon.
 2. As well as the physical consequences of this rejection, racism has strong psychological consequences for victims of racism: it reduces self-esteem and self-confidence due to different forms of 'miscognition'. The German sociologist Axel Honneth has developed a theory of recognition based on Hegel's theory of the 'struggle for recognition' and Mead's social theory of the significant Other, which is very important for understanding racist behaviours and ideologies.⁶⁹ For Axel Honneth, being recognized by the Other produces self-esteem while miscognition – not being recognized by the Other - leads to disrespect and humiliation, and reducing self-esteem and self-confidence. Forms of disrespect identified by Axel Honneth are: i) physical violence such as abuse, rape and torture, which has an effect on the physical control of a person's body; ii) the denial of and exclusion from some rights (economic, social and political) which lead to a loss of self-respect and self-worth; iii) denigration and insult which deny value to a specific group of people, which threatens their honour and dignity.
 3. Moreover, recent studies have demonstrated that racism has a strong effect also on a person's *health*. A range of health problems including high blood pressure and heart disease, depression, anxiety, low birth rate and premature birth can all be caused directly by people's personal experiences of racism.
 4. Finally, the different forms of racism affect not only individuals but also has a larger impact on the *whole of society*. It destroys community cohesion and creates divisions in society. It is the opposite of the democratic principle of equality and the right of all people to be treated fairly.

⁶⁸ Fanon, F. (1996), *Pelle nera, maschere bianche. Il nero e l'altro*. Milano: Marco Tropea (or. ed. 1952).

⁶⁹ Honneth, A. (1996), *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Practical Assignments for adult educators and trainers

What do I know about racism? Description of the activities for adult education teachers

First, the teacher invites all course participants to form groups of 3 and provides each group with the worksheet for this exercise (see worksheet 1).

Second, the trainer explains that the aim of the assignment is for each group to consider what different forms of racism exist. Each group has 30 minutes for discussion. To facilitate discussion, four main categories of racism have already been identified. Through the group discussion, the group should find different examples of these main categories and write them down on the worksheet. These categories are related to: i) cognitive racism; ii) practices of racism in everyday life; iii) racism as an ideology; iv) institutionalized racism

Third, once the discussion is over the adult educator invites each group to discuss its findings with the rest of the group. The trainer can expand on other forms of racism that were not mentioned by the course participants.

Duration: approximately 1 hour.

What do I know about Racism? Worksheet 1



Photo by Aanette Ramstrand

Please write down some concrete examples of different forms of racism. Racism related to ideas, opinions and ways of thinking about the world.

Racism related to specific actions in everyday life. Think about your workplace and other areas of your daily life such as in buses, supermarkets, at sporting events

Racism related to ideology, both in your own country and in other countries and moments in time.

Racism related to different institutions such as governments, legal, medical and education systems and businesses, which discriminate against certain groups of people based on race, colour, ethnicity or national origin.

Emotions in the everyday life of Second Generation Migrants

(by Silvana Greco)

Introduction

In this part of the multilingual training guide we focus on emotions and how important they are in the daily life of second generation migrants and how an autobiographical pedagogical approach can help provide second generation migrants with emotional support. In the first section we will define emotions while in the second section we discuss why they are important for individuals and society. In the third section we will analyze more in depth the different emotions - both positive than negative - that affect the everyday life of second generation migrants whether in the family, at school or at work. In the fourth section we will underline the role of emotions in intercultural pedagogy in supporting the self-esteem of second generation migrants and we will describe two assignments for trainers and teachers, who work with second generation migrants.

What are emotions?

There are many different definitions of emotions in the sociological literature⁷⁰ and they vary according to authors and their different theoretical approaches. A common feature of all authors is to highlight different key components of emotions, which are strongly interconnected. These key components, which determine the emotional experience, are, according to Bernardo Cattarinussi:⁷¹

1. a cognitive component which refers to the stimulus that produces an emotion,
2. a physical component which produces changes in the body and in the psychological state of a person,
3. an expressive and communicative component which refers to different expressions and ways of communicating emotions. The main three routes to communicate emotions are through the face, voice and body,
4. an intentional component which refers to the intentions and the ways a person acts or reacts to an emotion. With action we do not just mean a positive action (for example, escaping from a difficult event when the person feels fear) but also a negative action (refusing to act; just thinking).

Hence, emotions are an articulated, dynamic and multidimensional process in which all the components of this process are involved one by one. Like all processes, emotions also have a

70 The sociology of emotions was born inside mainstream sociology during the mid-70s of the last century, first in the United States although some articles had already been written in the 50s and then it developed also in Europe.

71 Cattarinussi, B. (2000). *Emozioni e sentimenti nella vita sociale*. Milano: Franco Angeli. p. 19.

start, a duration and an end.⁷²

From ancient time there has always been an interest in classifying emotions into different categories.

From the sociological and the psychological literature we can distinguish between three main categorizations. A first group of sociologists and psychologists distinguish between two groups of emotions: fundamental (or primary) and secondary emotions, which derive from the previous one.⁷³

The fundamental emotions are at least six: *fear* which arises in the face of danger; *anger* arises as a reaction to an injustice; *sadness* arises after a loss or when an individual stops fighting; *happiness* is a state of complete well-being, that can accompany individuals in a period of their lives, a result of acquiring many desires and being able to express oneself, being able to enlarge one's knowledge and being able to express creativity; *interest* generates 'a feeling of wanting to investigate, become involved, or extend or expand the self by incorporating new information and having new experiences with the person or object that has stimulated the interest'⁷⁴; and, finally, *disgust* is an emotion connected to refusing to eat or to be contaminated.

A second group of categorizing emotions is the one that distinguishes between *positive* emotions such as joy, love, affection, gratitude and *negative* emotions such as hate, anger, sorrow.

A third categorization clusters the different emotions together in different 'areas' putting together similar emotions and their functions. In particular Bernardo Cattarinussi identifies different areas: the Self, well-being, eudemonia, inadequacy, fear, binding emotions, rivalry, society.⁷⁵

In box 1 we propose a new categorization which distinguishes both positive from negative emotions but also the different function of emotions.

Box 1

Positive emotions and feelings

Eudemonia: Joy, happiness, humor and pride.

Binding emotions: solidarity, tenderness, sympathy, compassion, friendship, love, trust, loyalty.

Vitality: calm, serenity, gratitude, contentment, interest, curiosity, wonder, excitement, satisfaction, having fun

Negative emotions and feelings

Malaise: indifference, melancholy, sadness, grief, frustration, burn-out, loneliness.

Inadequacy: shyness, embarrassment, pain, shame, guilt, sorrow.

Rivalry: resentment, envy, jealousy.

Hostility: disgust, disdain, indignation, hate, naughtiness, cruelty, anger, rage.

72 Denzin, N. K. (1983). 'A note on Emotionality, Self, and Interaction'. *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 89. No. 2, September. pp. 402-409.

73 See Izard, C. (1977). *Human Emotions*. New York: Plenum; Ekman, P. And W.N. Friesen (1986). 'A new pancultural facial expression of emotions'. *Motiv. & Emot.* No. 10, pp. 159-168; Plutchik, R. (1995). *Psicologia e biologia delle emozioni*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

74 Izard, C. (1977). *Human Emotions*. New York: Plenum. p. 216.

75 Cattarinussi, B. (2000). *Emozioni e sentimenti nella vita sociale*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

The distinction between positivity and negativity of the emotions for the single actor is related to the overall inner moment that affects a person, not the consequences of his/her actions. For example, fear is a negative emotion which helps a person running away from a violent person. On the other hand, fear can have a negative impact on the person if she/he is completely overwhelmed by that emotion and hence prevented from reacting.

Why are emotions important for individuals and for society?

Although the interest in emotions goes already back to ancient times with philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, it is after the 1960s that there has been a rising interest in emotions by social scientists, including psychologists and sociologists.⁷⁶

The reason for this increasing interest in the scientific community started with the awareness that 'human beings are not only motivated by rational and economic principles but also by other principles related to emotional attachment and involvement with other persons such as desire, values, moral beliefs and attitudes.'⁷⁷

This new awareness criticized the 'logos' as the supreme ideal of modernity that started with Descartes and its idea to build a society governed by the Intellect and the Knowledge⁷⁸ while emotions and feelings were looked at with suspicion. Moreover, passion was seen as a transgression from rational and balanced behaviors and attitudes.

First, not only are individuals moved by emotions in their daily social interactions but as recent scientific findings have underlined, emotions have a strong impact on individuals' health, which is here understood as the 'state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being' and not merely the 'absence of disease or infirmity'.⁷⁹ Indeed, according to psychologist Barbara Fredrickson's theory broaden-and-build model of positive emotions, 'positive emotions such as joy, interest, and contentment share the feature of broadening an individual's momentary thought-action repertoire, but they also share the feature of building the individual's personal resources, ranging from physical and intellectual resources to social resources. Importantly, these resources are more durable than the transient emotional states that led to their acquisition. By consequence, then, the often incidental effect of experiencing a positive emotion is an increment in enduring personal resources that can be drawn on later, in other contexts and in

76 Cattarinussi, B. (2000), *Emozioni e sentimenti nella vita sociale*. Milano: Franco Angeli, p. 22.

77 For more information see: Thoits P. A. (1989), 'The Sociology of Emotions', *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 15, pp. 317-342; Etzioni A. (1988), 'Normative-affective factors: Towards a new decision-making model', *Journal Econ. Psych.*, No. 9, pp. 125-150; Hochschild, A.R. (1975), 'The Sociology of feeling and emotion: selected possibilities', in M. Millman M. and R. Kanter (eds), *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*, New York: Anchor, pp. 280-307.

78 Moravia, 1995: 19 in Cattarinussi, B. (2000), *Emozioni e sentimenti nella vita sociale*. Milano: Franco Angeli, p. 23.

79 World Health Organization (1946), 'Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization as adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, 19-22 June, 1946; signed on 22 July 1946 by the representatives of 61 States (Official Records of the World Health Organization, no. 2, p. 100) and entered into force on 7 April 1948.

other emotional states'.⁸⁰ By contrast, negative emotions such as fear, anger, rage etc. narrow the 'thought-action repertoire' and reduce the personal resources on which an individual can rely on.

Secondly, emotions such as loyalty and gratitude can on the one hand foster the social cohesion of society as has been already argued by one of the founders of sociology, Georg Simmel.⁸¹

More precisely, as Helena Flam states in her recent book with Debra King entitled *Emotions and social movements*, these two emotions 'cement social relations converting them into permanent institutions'.⁸² Indeed, emotions are important also for the formation of different institutions such as those associated with religion, sports and politics.

Religious beliefs and practices are characterized by strong emotions and feelings. If we think of the Christian Bible and in its Commandments there is a constant reminder to develop positive emotions such as love, friendship and compassion and a negative judgment towards other emotions such as hate and envy (for example, the well-known commandment 'Thou shall not covet thy neighbour's wife'). In addition, as stated by Emile Durkheim, emotions are an important part of collective rites including religious rites, which enable the expression and reaffirmation of shared beliefs, norms and values and are thus essential for maintaining communal stability and group harmony. Feelings of reverence and obligation create the social bond that holds the individual to society, overcoming any tendency to move away from it.

Recent sociological literature has underlined that most collective sports, such as football, can be understood as collective rites which foster the social identity and beliefs of a particular team and social group. The forms of these rituals go from handshakes, opening and closing ceremonies⁸³ or the wearing of uniforms to chanting during the game. As Bernstein, Elvin and Peters point out 'the symbolic function of ritual is to relate individuals through ritualistic acts to a social order, to heighten respect for that order, to revivify that order within the individual and, in particular, to deepen acceptance of the procedures which are used to maintain continuity, order and boundary and which control ambivalence towards the social order'.⁸⁴

In politics too emotions play an important role. If we consider the way politicians communicate, they use sentences that evoke deep emotions in their audience in order to increase the effectiveness of their communication.

On the other hand, emotions can represent also the motivating force for the rise of social movements which aim to protest against the social order of a society and to renovate it, introducing new values and norms. One example would be the 'grieving mothers' movements that rose up in many countries in the globe. They emerged spontaneously from the sorrow and grief at having

80 Fredrickson, B. (2000), 'Cultivating Positive Emotions to Optimize Health and Well-Being', *Prevention & Treatment*, Vol. 3, pp. 1-25.

81 Flam, H. (2002), *Soziologie der Emotionen*. Konstanz: UTB, p. 12.

82 Flam, H. and D. King (eds) (2005), *Emotions and Social Movements*. London, New York: Routledge, p. 21.

83 Goodger, J. (1986), 'Ritual Solidarity and Sport', *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 219-224.

84 Bernstein, B., Elvin, H. L. and Peters, R. S. (1966), 'Ritual in education', *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 2, No. 51, pp. 429.

lost one or more relatives (a son, a daughter or a husband), as with the movement of the 'Mothers of Plaza de Mayo' protesting against the military regime in Argentina⁸⁵.

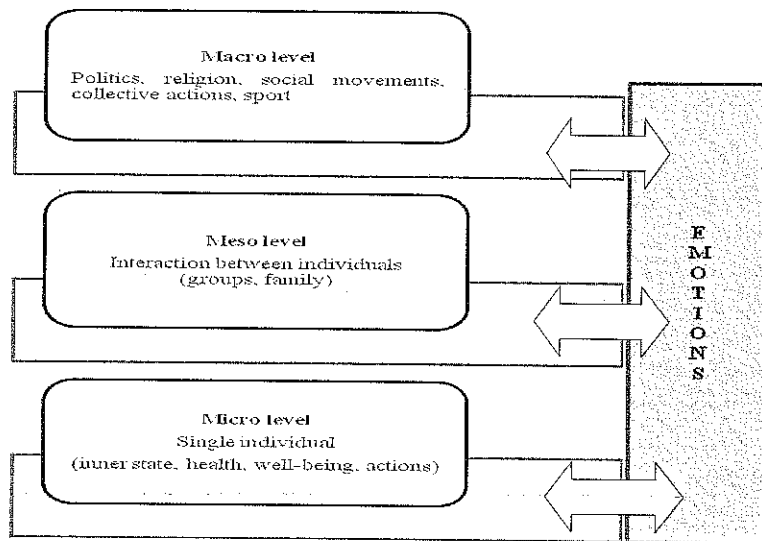


Figure 1 – Interconnections of emotions at different levels

Source: designed by the author

Positive and negative emotions in the life of Second Generation Migrants

In this section we will briefly concentrate on positive and negative emotions that feature in the biographies of second generation migrants who have been interviewed by us at different moments of their lives: their arrival in the country of destination of their parents (for those who were born in the parents' country), in the family, at school and at work.

In the family

The positive emotions that the children of 'immigrants' remember when they arrive in the country of destination of their parents are happiness due to the discovery of a new country with a higher quality of life and better socio-economic conditions. This discovery brings often wonder and excitement:

My feelings when arrived here... I saw it as a beautiful village with mountains. It was

⁸⁵ Flam, H. and D. King (eds) (2005), *Emotions and Social Movements*. London, New York: Routledge.

wonderful and I liked it immediately very much. I was really impressed. Everything was so modern here, so new and so beautiful [...] (D., 25 years-old, unemployed, married with 3 children).

Other positive emotions are the relief of sorrow for having finally arrived safe in the country of destination.

On the other hand, second generation children remember the arrival in the country of destination as a very difficult moment full of negative emotions due to several reasons: i) a difficult journey; ii) separation from their grand-parents (in the majority of cases), friends and classmates while their parents emigrated; iii) adaptation to a new country with a different culture (beliefs, norms and values); iv) re-insertion into their family with their parents which they hardly know. First of all, the journey to the country of destination is often very difficult, made under harsh condition, long days without food and with worries about arriving safely. Some arrive in the country of destination escaping from war and therefore strongly traumatized from this event and full of fear.

Second, the housing conditions of many second generation migrants in the first period are very poor. Very often they live at first in a hostel and then in overcrowded apartments with other immigrants in order to reduce the cost of living. This causes a lot of *frustration* and *ambivalence* because generally in their home country second generation migrants lived in big houses with gardens. This 'downward residential mobility' is lived with great *anxiety* and *frustration* both by the parents and the children.

Third, at the very beginning for their lives in the new country the parents have to find a job and re-enter the labour market. Very often the first generation migrants are forced to re-enter the labour market occupying the lowest position in the occupational scale, the most dangerous, precarious, toughest and lowest paid jobs,⁸⁶ although in many cases they have a relatively high level of education. The consequences of this difficult entry for the first generation migrants into the labour market in the country of destination brings a lot of tension and frustration to the family. Moreover the parents have little time to dedicate to their children in supporting them in their difficult adaptation to the new country. Hence, children often feel abandoned and find no real support in their great sufferance and depression due to the separation from their beloved grand-parents and friends in their country of origin and the lack of real support from their immediate family because they work the whole day.

Fourth, the process of family reunification is very often complex since the children of 'immigrants' have to find again a role in the family. This process is particularly difficult when one of the parents – the mother or the father – has separated and remarried someone with whom he/she has other children. Many second generation migrants suffer from jealousy towards their stepbrother/stepsisiter. The literature indicates that another moment of conflict inside the family

⁸⁶ Ambrosini, M. (2005), *Sociologia delle migrazioni*. Bologna: il Mulino.

occurs when migrant children grow up within both the cultural heritage of their parents and that of the social context in which they now live and into which they are socialized.⁸⁷ The norms and values can differ very much from one cultural background to another and this makes the identity process of second generation migrants more complicated than for indigenous adolescents. What norms and values should they adopt and/or discard from their parents, without making their parents reject them? What norms and values should they adopt from the society in which they live and which should they reject? Is it possible to integrate both cultural backgrounds? This difficult process of identity formation that second generation migrants have to make can generate different kinds of emotions: from frustration and sadness, since the adoption of the norms and values of the 'host' society can make the parents angry especially if they differ 'too much', to a sense of inadequacy. That said, many second generation migrants also feel proud to be part of another cultural background and nationality different from that of the country in which they live.

At school

At school many second generation migrants meet 'native' inhabitants, building new relationships and making friends. As Paola Di Nicola points out, friendship is 'a relation of *affection and trust* between two or more individuals which are bound together in a relationship in which they intentionally exchange different things including gifts'.⁸⁸

Friendship between second generation migrants and natives can arise for many reasons such as sympathy and empathy but also because of a positive recognition of diversity. D. states:

Most children were curious to play with me, I think because I was different from them and maybe they had never had an African friend before. I think they all wanted to have an experience of having a different friend so they liked me to be their friend. (D., 20-years old, part-time waitress).

That said, for many SGM the first years at school are remembered as difficult since they didn't know the language of the country in which they lived and grew up and that made the learning process very hard. Hence, many of them remembered a strong feeling of inadequacy in comparison to their classmates but also negative emotions such as hate towards the learning process itself. In addition, besides the difficulty of learning the language second generation migrants also have to become familiar with a new schooling system which might be very different from the one of the country of origin of their parents. In some European countries such as Austria and Germany, the school systems are very demanding and challenging. Moreover, teachers impose strict discipline compared to other countries such as Italy.

⁸⁷ Leonini, L., and Rebughini, P. (2010). *Legami di nuova generazione. Relazioni familiari e pratiche di consumo tra i giovani discendenti di migranti*. Bologna: il Mulino.

⁸⁸ Di Nicola, P. (2003). *Amici miei. Fenomenologia delle reti amicali nella società del benessere*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, p. 9.

Almost all second generation migrants we interviewed experienced strong negative emotions and feelings such as irritation, shame, sadness at school because they became victims of ethnic discriminations and different forms of racism by their classmates, due to the colour of their skin, their religious and cultural backgrounds. As A. remembers:

It started at school. They teased me because of my origin, because I was Muslim, because I didn't speak properly, because I looked differently. Two boys also attacked me physically. I was very angry for this reason, very sad and irritated. I never said this to my parents because they would have suffered and in addition they had themselves many problems (finding a job) (A., 21-years old, IT assistant).

At work

In most cases the entrance into the labour market is achieved not only via the employment services and/or friendships with other second generation migrants but also to strong *solidarity* among the ethnic group of belonging.

The solidarity among the ethnic minority group is guaranteed by a recognition of a common belonging and trust among their members, with a sense of responsibility for each member inside the community.⁸⁹ This is crucial in terms of job opportunities and moral and financial support in difficult periods.

Other positive emotions that SGM have experienced during their lives are related to the work they do or that they want to do. Indeed, *fun* and *excitement* are also emotions that can play an important role in motivating people at work or in choosing a particular occupation.

As many sociologists have shown work represents not only a fundamental instrument for gaining money, it is also an expression of one's identity. When a person does the work that suits him/her most, then she/he feels a sense of satisfaction and fulfilment.

In recruitment and selection of employment, many second generation migrants remember having experienced ethnic discrimination due to the colour of their skin or their religious beliefs. Then being excluded from their desired occupation, because of ethnic discrimination, provokes anger and sadness.

This kind of discrimination is damaging because the children of 'immigrants' do not only feel the injustice but also feel the 'disgust' of the person who is a racist. Feeling disgust is a strong emotion which is devastating for the self-esteem of the victim.

Emotions in intercultural pedagogy and practical assignments

The use of autobiographical methods such as writing a diary or a letter in intercultural pedagogy

⁸⁹ De Sandre, I. (1994). 'Solidarietà', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, XXXV, No. 2, pp. 247-263.

can help second generation migrants to come more in touch with their emotions, both positive and negative. Moreover, autobiographical approaches are very good at raising awareness and revealing emotions, thanks to particular competences and skills acquired by the adult trainer/teacher, such as being able to conduct an autobiographical narrative, engage in active listening, support interaction between participants etc.

To reveal hidden emotions and become more aware of them is important for a person for at least two reasons.

First, as the pedagogical literature has indicated, behind emotions there are often profound needs (see figure 2 - The relationship between needs, emotions and actions and the role of autobiographical pedagogy) The list of needs in the figure is a revised version of the well-known hierarchical needs elaborated by Maslow in 1962. According to Maslow individuals not only have different needs but when one level of needs is not satisfied then it will then be more difficult to satisfy the next level of needs. The need that has been added is freedom of expression and recognition of diversity which is an important need for second generation migrants. Italian pedagogist Duccio Demetrio has pointed out, children of immigrants have the 'right to receive the recognition of their foreigner side'.⁹⁰

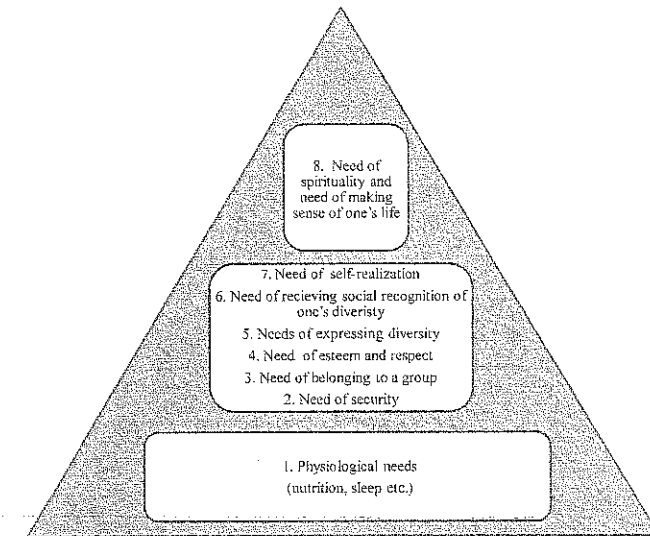
Secondly, as we have seen in the previous paragraphs, emotions have an impact on the well-being of individuals but also on their actions. Positive emotions such as joy and contentment can have an impact on the way people perceive reality. As psychologist Barbara Fredrickson states positive emotions open up the way in which people perceive reality. They widen what she calls the 'thought-action repertoire'. By contrast: negative emotions narrow the perception of reality. Emotions do not have an impact only on the perception of reality but also on the action of individuals (these two elements are strongly interconnected). Positive emotions such as joy, interest and calm support social interaction. They strengthen the bond and ties among individuals. They also support self-esteem.⁹¹

We will now describe two practical assignments both for adult trainers/teachers to support their learning but also for second generation migrants, who are the final target group of the trainers and teachers: i) 'Snakes and ladders', a game about discovering emotions and ii) autobiographical narratives about positive and negative emotions during your life.

90 Demetrio, D. (1997), *Agenda interculturale: quotidianità e immigrazione a scuola*. Roma: Meltemi.

91 Fredrickson, B. L. (2009), *Positivity: Groundbreaking research reveals how to embrace the hidden strength of positive emotions, overcome negativity, and thrive*. New York: Crown; Fredrickson, B. L. and R.W. Levenson (1998), 'Positive Emotions Speed Recovery from the cardiovascular Sequelae of Negative Emotions', *Cognition and Emotion*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 191-220; Fredrickson, B.L. (2000), 'Cultivating Positive Emotions to Optimize Health and Well-Being' *Prevention & Treatment*, Vol. 3, pp. 1-25.

Figure 2 – The relationship between needs, emotions and actions and the role of autobiographical pedagogy



Source: elaboration of the author. The needs are a revised version of the hierarchical needs theorized by Maslow (1962)

'Snakes and ladders': Game about discovering emotions: description of the activities for adult educators and trainers/trainers/teachers

The game on emotions is similar to the well-known game snakes and ladders, or chutes and ladders, which is a classic children's board game. It is played between two or more players on a playing board with numbered grid squares.

The game about discovering emotions is similar to the traditional 'Snakes and ladders' but the board game is different. Each grid square of this board game is numbered and has a particular image representing a particular emotion such as 'joy', 'sadness', 'pride' (see photos below as an example).

First, the teacher invites each participant (player) to throw the dice and go to the corresponding grid. If the number thrown is 3, the player has to reach the grid numbered 3. Second, the participant (player) has to talk about a particular event from his/her life which involved the particular emotion shown on grid (in our example about joy). Third, another participant has to throw the dice and then talk about an event from his/her life which involves the particular emotion of the grid he/she reached and so on. The game finishes when a player reaches the end of the board.

The aim of the game, which is often used in adult education, is to support the socialization of the participants of the course and facilitate a deeper knowledge of the other participants. In addition, as Anzaldi and Ghedini state, 'this game permits to narrate and collect different events of the players that will constitute a 'group autobiography' inside of which the single autobiography of the player can be distinguished'.⁹²

A similar game can be made with a set of cards. Each playing card represents an image and the name of an emotion. The teacher gives each participant a playing card and then each of the players (the course participants) will talk about the particular emotion shown on the cards he/she received.

Duration: approximately 1 hour (depending on the number of participants).

Autobiographical narratives about positive and negative emotions during your life: description of the activities for adult educators and trainers

First, the teacher invites the participants to form pairs. One person will be the storyteller and the other is the person who listens to the autobiographical narration.

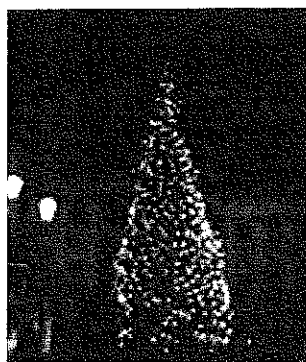
Secondly, each participant has to sit in front of the other. Before starting the autobiographical narration they should look into each other's eyes calmly for five minutes and consider what they can learn about this person, and without judging him/her.

Third, after five minutes one participant will take listen to the story of the other while the other has to talk about his/her emotions. More precisely, the listener asks some questions about positive and negative events at different stages of the storyteller's life and asks to explore together his/her emotional life, taking notes on a paper.

Duration: approximately 1 ½ hour (depending on the number of participants).

⁹² Anzaldi, L. and A. Ghedini (1999), 'I laboratori di formazione per educatori auto(biografici)', in Demetrio, D. (ed.) *L'educatore autobiografo. Il metodo delle storie di vita nelle relazioni di aiuto*. Milano: Unicopli, pp. 103-156.

Grid or cards expressing different kinds of emotion: worksheet 1⁹³



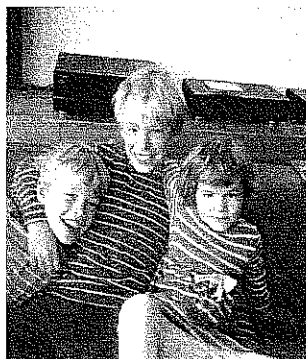
Joy



Sadness



Pride



Happiness



Solitude



Calm



Solidarity



Fun



Anger

93 Photographs were taken by BEST. Austria: Karin Kronika. Austria and Silvana Greco. Italy.

Autobiographical narration questionnaire about positive and negative emotions: worksheet 2



Could you tell me about a positive and negative event you experienced during your childhood?
When did it happen? What do you remember? What did you feel and why were you happy? (If the person talks about happiness)

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

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.

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

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: role 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.

Practical educational assignments to overcome barriers in the labour market

Creative self-presentation: assignment for second generation migrants: description of the activities for adult education teachers/trainers

It is well-known how important positive self-presentation is for a successful job interview. The aim of this assignment is to encourage course participants (second generation migrants) to think about their cultural background and identity as well as the abilities and professional competences they have acquired during their careers and could potentially develop in the future.

First, instead of asking for formal presentations, educators/trainers invite the participants to make a 'creative presentation' of themselves.

Second, the teacher gives each participant a piece of paper and coloured pencils and asks them to write down their names.

Third, the teacher invites the participants to associate a word to each letter of their names, which will tell us something about them, their cultural background, the abilities and competences they have accumulated in the past and might develop in the future (see Figure 1).

For example, if the name of one of the participants is Pedro, then his presentation could be:

- P – Puerto Rico his parents come from Puerto Rico; he is very pragmatic at work and able to find solutions; he is prone to come up with new ideas
- E – Electrician he works as an electrician, is very efficient at work, is very eclectic and can easily adapt to different contexts since he is used to adapting to different cultural backgrounds
- D – Dancing all night long he loves dancing in his free time and doesn't like being unproductive. He speaks Dutch as well as Spanish since he grew up in Amsterdam.
- R – Rosa the name of his girl friend, he is very responsible at work, he always finds reasonable solutions
- O – open to learn new things he is open to learn a lot of new things and he is very open to experiment with new ways of working

Each participant can use different styles for each word and add little pictures near each word. Finally, when each participant has completed his/her self-presentation, the teacher invites the participant to sit in a circle and show his/her presentation to the others, making brief comments.

Duration: approximately 30 minutes.

Creative self-presentation: worksheet 1



Photo by Anders Ramstrand, Sweden

Present yourself creatively.

Please, write down your name and associate a word with each letter of your name. This tells us something about you, your abilities and competences. You can add any photos you would be good to show.



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.



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