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Families and Intergenerational Relations in Migration: Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstrcat

In a worldwide context of growing migration processes, international research confirms the central role that families play in the migration plans and strategies of individuals, including the decision to emigrate and which family members must or can do so. The family also takes on considerable importance in defining subsequent modifications, such as the length and development of migratory projects. The "migrant family" is located in a social system where roles and relationships can be partially or completely different. The settlement of individuals in the receiving country, and their changing migration plans and strategies follow multiple pathways. The experience of migration, with its cultural and emotional break-ups can redefine and reorganise networks and relational dynamics, particularly between men and women, parents, grandparents and children. In particular, transnational families designate family networks composed of members who live in two or more countries, but maintain a sense of 'familyhood' across distance, time, and exchange, to various degrees, care and support. Relevant are the various ways in which they maintain family ties and connections across national borders and across generations and the pressures and transformations that may arise within and across the generations because of their embeddedness in different socio-cultural contexts.

Keywords: family migration, transnational families, intergenerational relations

Introduction

In last decades, the issue of international migration is very topical and relevant in the global public debate, where the countries bordering the Mediterranean area are often protagonists, as places of departure, transit and destination of the migration flows. In particular, many scholars Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017) addressed the transnational experience of families and conceptualized international migrants and their kin as transnational families with increased mobility and improvements in both travel and communication technologies, more and more people are in fact experiencing transnational family lives.

The analysis of specific intergenerational relationships within these family is important to look for different strategies that people use to keep and develop a cultural identity that is in the middle of at least two different cultures. Examples of these are values and family traditions, food and language and so on, the could be very different from the country of destination. Another important issue is the differences among generations (first, second third and so on) in the migration flow. What about those who firstly migrate and those born in the new country? Is there the same perception of family's ties with those living in the country of origin? Which are the main features in maintaining family relationships across space and time?

The main purpose of this paper (and of this part) is to provide an overview of different standpoints on the relationships between migration processes and the ties among generations in migrant families. More specifically, this special issue offers innovative perspectives on how these specific relations are maintained, changed, reconstructed across time and space in the experiences of generations in migration.

1. Family relations and migration processes

Although the family dimension is a privileged object of study for the sociology of migration, the migrant family as such has been theorized in Europe only in the last decades Ambrosini (2019, 2020). For years, the family belonging of migrant people, which instead constitutes a central element of their identity and plays a fundamental role in the migration process, remained in the background.

In a global context where migration processes are growing, Italian and international researches confirm the centrality of the family in the migration plans and strategies of individuals (Gozzoli and Regalia, 2005; Ambrosini, 2011; Kofman-Fraler and Schmoll, 2011; Zanfrini, 2012; Crespi, Meda and Merla, 2018), i.e. the decision to emigrate and which family members must or can do so.

Therefore, assuming a family perspective on the migration phenomenon means, in a peculiar way, to widen the gaze and consider the relevance and strength of the links between the different components along a multigenerational temporal and relational axis (Baldassar and Merla, 2014;

Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017), considering that transnational dynamics, circular mobility processes and the financial-economic crisis have contributed to make the relationships between families, countries of origin and immigration countries even more articulated.

In recent decades, migratory phenomena have taken on such proportions in Europe that they have become of major political, economic and demographic importance. In the context of increased international mobility, the role of the family in migration is a particularly interesting subject of study. In fact, most of the time, it is within the family that one decides to migrate, organises migration, progressively implements integration processes in the new environment and later makes the choice to return to one's own country or to settle permanently in the host country.

The family proves to be a real protagonist of migration dynamics, in defining strategies of survival and integration, protection and sustenance (Ambrosini, 2011) and three are the main reasons that make it necessary to put the family subject at the centre of the migration scene.

The first, more evident, concerns the goals and purposes of migration. Most migratory movements develop for family reasons: not only in Italy family reunifications are constantly increasing, but also in other countries the percentage of foreign immigrants moving for family reasons is very high, even if the figures may differ significantly between countries, depending on the migration policies decided by national governments.

Secondly, the centrality of the family in migration concerns every phase of the migration process: the decision to migrate, its developments and many related problematic aspects cannot be understood without taking into account family strategies for survival and/or affirmation. It is the family that often designates which member can or should be a candidate for departure, that identifies migration or accommodation opportunities in a given country, that finances the migration project. It is always the family that establishes a series of mutual obligations between the migrants and the family remaining in the country of origin. It is within the family that the choice to return to the country of origin or to settle permanently in the host country is often made later. The family investiture of the migrant foresees, therefore, a series of ethical aspects, which confirm his identity and protect him or, vice versa, can expose him to uprooting.

A third reason to focus on the family as a real subject of migration is that such a perspective can allow to articulate the problems and consequences

related to immigration in a foreign country in an enlarged time perspective, not flattened on the present. Every real migration crisis, when it occurs, always concerns family issues and dynamics and occurs in periods that often escape the eye of those who are attentive to the period immediately following their arrival in a foreign land. They are also crises in which the difficulty that the family manifests in creating adequate forms of cultural mediation between its own system of internalised meanings and the new cultural practices offered by the host society, is highlighted.

In migration processes, a series of changes in family life can produce new and original configurations of social relationships and emotional ties, as well as economic and cultural exchanges. The family also takes on considerable importance in the definition of subsequent changes, such as the duration and development of the migration plan; moreover, these pathways and their configuration could change marriage and couple patterns, ways and forms of cohabitation (Ambrosini and Abbatecola, 2010; Ambrosini, 2019).

The migrant family finds itself inserted in a social system where roles and relationships could be partially or completely different and family relationships are able both to act as a bridge between migrants, the country of origin and their new context; but also to create a network of closed relationships in self-referential and poorly integrated communities (Kofman, 2004; Kraler *et al.*, 2010; Novara, Romano and Petralia, 2011). The relationships, roles and individual identities within the family end up being redefined. The integration of individuals in the host country and migration strategies follow multiple paths: family reunification, mixed marriages, mail-order marriages, small or large families, couples without children.

If in the family dimension, migration takes on the meaning of a "choice" in order to be able to offer their relatives and in particular future generations better life prospects, the voluntariness of this "choice" is neither taken for granted, in a tension, latent or explicit, between the well-being of those who emigrate and the needs and expectations of the left behind family, nor is it exhausted when migrants have rebuilt their family nucleus in the land of immigration. This demonstrates that migration is part of a larger family history that also marks relations between genders and generations (Zanfrini, 2012; Crespi, Santoni and Zanier, 2017).

The challenge for migrant families is to find the "right balance", to keep the parts, the generations, the differences and rework the meanings. The family dimension is the place where traditional practices are imported, new lifestyles learned, cultural aspects and subjective choices meet and clash, giving rise to a multiplicity of expressions (Lagomarsino, 2010; Naldini, Caponio and Ricucci, 2019). It is the space in which educational processes are imbued with the ambivalence between the maintenance of traditional cultural codes and the desire for integration, for social rise in the context of the host society, between the desire to control the choices and behaviour of children and confrontation with society that emphasizes the values of emancipation, equality between men and women, personal autonomy.

2. Transnational families: distance and time in intergenerational relations

In this essay we intend to deepen a particular theoretical challenge, which especially in the last decades has investigated migration with reference to the transnational experience of families and the aspect of relations between generations (Fouron and Glick Schiller, 2001; Goulbourne *et al.* 2010; Mazzuccato and Schans, 2011; Carling *et al*, 2012; Mazzuccato, 2013; Baldassar and Merla, 2014).

The phenomenon of transnational families is not new - over time there have been many different forms of human mobility and family separation - the concept of transnational family (Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding, 2007; Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002) has provided, since the beginning of the last decade, a convincing interpretation of the complex intersection between family and migration. Bryceson and Vuorela define transnational families as families "whose members live partly or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective well-being and unity, that is, of familiarity, even beyond national borders" (2002, p. 3). This classic definition indicates the difficulty and opportunities to hold together emotional ties and caring responsibilities while operating in different cultural and geographical worlds.

It is therefore despite distance, that people in the same family maintain a sense of familyhood (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002), of intimacy (facilitated by new technologies and the development of communications in general) that makes physical distance and therefore physical absence not only an obstacle to the bond, but an opportunity to redefine it (Regalia, 2012).

With the transnational families approach the focus of the analysis shifts from the individual to the family. While this approach themes and addresses family ties, meanings, roles and identities across national borders and takes into account complex relational processes and scenarios, "it also values other social actors at different levels, such as civil society and the state, and the various ways in which all these actors articulate and influence each other in the migration paths of families" (Baldassar, 2008). In fact, as recalled by Mazzuccato (2013), it must be considered that in some cases transnational family agreements are the compulsory result of migration policies in the host countries.

In many studies the expression is used precisely to evoke the awareness of how the links woven through the migratory experience of one or more of its members, but also the links (economic, political, cultural, religious) maintained with the community of origin, have an impact on family and intergenerational dynamics (Zanfrini, 2012). Particularly interesting is the reflection proposed by Boccagni and Lagomarsino (2011) in pointing out that at least a part of the transnational links depend on the phase of the migrants' life course, and on the phase of their family life cycle, before other variables more often emphasized; for example, the human, social and economic capital of migrants, or the structure of opportunities they face.

Transnational households are sometimes referred to as "multi-local" or "multi-situated" (Schier, 2016) or as families living separated on a spatial-geographical level, thus giving prominence to the experience of the spatial and physical dimension of closeness and distance. Although family studies have emphasized geographical proximity as a prerequisite for interaction and exchange with families, thus hiding family ties that cross national borders, the main research of the last decade (Carling *et al.*, 2012; Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Mazzuccato *et al.* 2015; Mazzucato and Dito 2018) have shown that individuals' migration choices are not only related to the needs of their families but also that migration affects the migrants' countries of origin.

Several studies on transnational families highlight the fact that intergenerational care is organised and negotiated at a distance and that family obligation and mutual relations continue after migration (Mazzuccato and Schans, 2011; Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Zontini and Reynold, 2018).

The perspective of transnational families intersects migration, the family and migration and social policies (Baldassar *et al.*, 2014). It takes into account the interactions between migration flows and policies in migrants' host countries, and as such, its approach goes beyond the study of migration itself, so as to include both those who move and those who do not, and the way they relate to each other in a broader relational and political-economic context. Transnational are all families who lead a transnational life, including those who are generally not seen as migrants, such as elites working in multinational corporations and highly qualified people moving in Europe to institutional, academic or professional positions in the EU, expats etc.

Moreover, the notion of transnational families also draws attention to the temporal dimension, because the emotional and material needs of a person are strongly linked to phases of the individual life cycle, even if individuals vary in the intensity with which they live and express these needs. Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding (2007) and Baldassar and Merla (2014) dealt in particular with the concepts of transnational care and care circulation. Care, in this perspective, is seen as one of the central processes (practices and services) that maintain and support family relationships and identity, and that circulate mutually - albeit unevenly - between family members over time and at a distance. Time also influences the decision-making process of transnational families: often the choice to move (or not) is linked to a particular threshold or stage of life, such as the completion of the schooling of children, the care of elderly parents or career planning. Therefore, the life cycle of the family heavily influences any decision taken by an individual or a mobile group (Suàrez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie, 2002; Regalia, 2012). Even after an individual or a group of family members has moved, one wonders whether and how family ties between those who have moved and those who have been left behind will be maintained.

Likewise, as pointed out by several authors (Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Naldini, Caponio and Ricucci, 2019), with time - and in particular with the passage from the first to the second generation and then to the following

ones - transnational contacts weaken substantially producing profound changes. This may be partly due to the lack of daily physical interaction, but also to the progressive cultural distance between generations and the language barriers that may arise over time.

Living apart and maintaining a sense of unity is one of the challenges facing transnational families. Some of these processes take place within the symbolic boundaries of the family, on what we can call the "inner front", while others occur outside these symbolic boundaries, on the "outer front" with society. Maintaining this distinction as an analytical framework for the study of transnational families can help to shed light on some specific features of the phenomenon. The concept of transnational social field (Levitt, Glick Schiller, 2004) indicates that the subjective identities and the negotiations to build them take place within a space that contains values and practices belonging both to one's own nationality and to the host country. When two or more different cultural and normative models are compared, as is the case with transnational families, the possible results are multiple and very nuanced in terms of identity management and cultural practices: some families are probably influenced by the habits and values of the receiving society, while others may be less subject to cultural influences, up to a total closure. In this process it is also important to recognise the role played by different social actors, including those outside the family - such as the state, the receiving society, etc. - in this process.

The expression "transnational families" also means the persistence of family ties in time and space that migrants manage to maintain throughout their lives. Therefore, besides families temporarily separated by migration, the definition of transnational family can also apply to all those whose existence is however marked by the experience of migration (Zanfrini, 2012). As observed by Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding (2007, p. 13) "the resulting idea of the transnational family is intended to capture the growing awareness that members of families retain their sense of collectivity and kinship in spite of being spread across multiple nations". In transnational families, therefore, relationships and roles do not depend only on proximity, physical cohabitation is reduced, shared feelings and mutual obligations remain. In the face of an experience of impoverishment of contacts with family members, the need arises to explain why and how some of the distant relatives are nevertheless part of one's own family.

Emotionally significant ties are reconsidered and recoded (Ambrosini, 2019).

3. Families and generations in the migratory experience: some considerations for research

If the study of relations between generations is present in migration studies (Valtolina and Marazzi, 2006; Scabini and Rossi, 2008; Kofman *et al.*, 2011), observing the migration phenomenon through the family, the fundamental core of the process of adaptation to the host society, makes it possible to rethink intergenerational trajectories and, above all, to recognize how the effects related to migration can continue to manifest themselves over time, becoming independent from the experience of geographical mobility.

Therefore, investigating the migration phenomenon in the family dimension, also means using an intergenerational approach, based on the idea that it stages more bloodlines, more generations. It means hypothesizing that costs and benefits of migration transition are visible only in the passing of time and in family history (Ambrosini, 2011); it means looking at the weave of bonds that, like invisible but solid fibres, hold together or separate the paths of those who make up the family (Zanfrini, 2012).

These considerations are linked to a particular perspective of analysis on the relationship between family and migration, the generational one of particular interest for the proposed issue in this part. This perspective gives an account of the diversity of expectations and expectations that accompany the different generations involved in family migration projects, shedding light on the related aspects of vulnerability.

Often it is only starting from the appearance of the second/third generation and now also the following generations in some contexts that it is really possible to connect and re-elaborate past and future, the needs of the family culture to which they belong and the needs of the new social environment, thus overcoming the reasons of the symbolic and real division that often unites the history of the first generations of immigrants. It is like saying that the decisive game for a possible integration of foreign people is played along a "time axis that unravels over several generations",

in which the themes of justice between generations (the sacrifice of parents, the loyalty of children) and the recognition/appreciation of the inheritance that the adult generation leaves to the next one acquire particular significance (Kraler et al., 2010; Crespi, Santoni and Zanier, 2017:

In particular, being able to establish a bridge and a connection with the values of one's own culture of origin and at the same time keeping the exchange with the cultural context of welcome open and alive is the most appropriate way to experience positive levels of well-being (Regalia 2012). With respect to the risk of fragmentation that the migratory event introduces into personal and relational life, knowing how to integrate and therefore make the different souls and the different parts of one's life experience dialogue and live together seems to be a crucial resource for the younger generations. The sometimes dramatic experience of the younger generations of migrants in building a solid identity structure highlights the importance of distinguishing between different levels of adaptation within a sufficiently articulated time span. An initial insertion without problems, or with manageable difficulties, is often only a phase of a longer path, studded by crises and regressive phases, that can characterize the life of every migrant, especially of the younger ones.

The care of the bond with the children and with the following generations refers, therefore, to the possibility of allowing the new generation access to the sense that the origins have had and will have in the family history. The well-being and the construction of a stable identity for the youngest members of the family will pass through the possibility given to them to keep in touch with their family history, to grasp its meaning in the inevitable alternation of interweaving, continuity and transformation compared to the past. The not easy task for the adult generations concerns the selection of their own "priorities" in terms of cultural norms and reference values, putting them in dialogue with the needs and desires of their children so that they can combine them with those of the new context. This also implies that the adult generation is able to accept the "foreign" part of its children, i.e. it is able to accept that the same children are partly different from what it had imagined them to be.

While researching on these themes it is therefore fundamental to make explicit and follow a perspective that brings out "the intergenerational depth" of the stories and events that unravel from migration. Looking at migration from an intergenerational point of view means accepting the idea

that it involves several generations, several genders and their intertwining; it means assuming that costs and gains are visible only in the passing of time and in family history; it means looking at the weave of bonds that, like invisible but solid fibres, hold together or separate the paths of those who make up the family; again, it means dealing with success or failure to stay in the dimension of mutual exchange.

Conclusions

In migration processes, the family is the environment in which internal solidarity is reorganized and priorities are redefined according to available resources. Every (migrant) family is a world of its own, a microcosm made up of bonds and stories, roles and resources, affections and events. Due to its expected function as a bridge between the individual and society, and between generations, the family can facilitate the integration of its members in the host country or sometimes make the process of inclusion difficult in an attempt to maintain the culture of origin and ties.

Finally, the extent to which migrants and their families could be included into the world of work, social fabric, welfare systems and participation structures reveals the level of openness of society to change and innovation, testing the nationalistic social principles (linguistic, ethnic, territorial equality), which provided the basis for the construction of modern Western states, and which still constitute for part of Western societies a source of pride and social claim, but above all a source of difficulties in the conception of a multicultural society. Territoriality is no longer the only, nor the main, organisational basis of social, political and cultural life. Ethnic, gender and generational differences configure circumstances and orientations that lead to the integration or to social distance of the family that has experienced migration paths, but in any case lead the whole society to question its own principles of social belonging, rights and duties, and its organization of collective life.

The essays presented in this volume deal with several aspects that can be outlined back to some of the above mentioned themes and in particular to the relationship between generations and the transmission of culture and identity (Marta Scocco and Francesco Chiaricato) and the relationship between generations in long-distance/transnational family relationships and in the destination society after migration (Dhëmbo and Santagati).

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Family Migration and Educational Mobility. Pathways to Success in the Autobiographies of Girls of Moroccan Origin

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Abstract

The article proposes an in-depth analysis of the link between family migration and educational mobility, using data deriving from an original qualitative study on successful students with an immigrant background. First, a conceptual framework is provided, identifying some crucial theoretical and empirical issues concerning migrant families: educational mobility as a family strategy and project; the challenges of intergenerational transmission in revisiting cultural and ethnic identities; the importance of the "act of passing on" trough family relations. Second, autobiographies of students of immigrant origin are used to examine whether and in what conditions family functions as a driver of educational success. Through the biographical approach, strategies and narratives students adopt to represent family migration and the relationships with parents are reconstructed. Finally, using the outlined conceptual frame, the emblematic stories of Amna, Ikram, and Sole, three girls of Moroccan origin, are chosen and analyzed, in order to illustrate different ways values, norms, and behaviors are negotiated in order to reshape family identities and ties, towards the common goal of educational success.

Keywords: Family migration, educational success, students with an immigrant background, intergenerational transmission, biographical approach.

Introduction

Migration is a family project for upward social mobility. In particular, migrant families hope to offer their children a better future through the educational opportunities that are unavailable in their countries of origin. The fact that immigrant parents were mobile and ambitious enough to migrate already distinguishes them from non-immigrant families (Schneider, Crul & Van Praag, 2014).

Empirical evidence shows that students with an immigrant background live in a better social condition compared to that of their parents and have higher school performances, especially if they are girls (Unesco, 2019). Recent data also shows that school success is possible for vulnerable migrant students and nearly one fourth of this group, in OECD countries,

does achieve it (2018). This phenomenon highlights that the family background of immigrants does not represent merely a social disadvantage, transmitted from one generation of immigrants to another (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). In families with few or no resources – as migrant families often are – where there is no capital to pass on, there are still non-tangible assets, as well as the family's history, that can offer support in the difficult, but not impossible, route towards educational success and social mobility in the country of arrival (Delcroix, 2019).

Undoubtedly, migrant families play a key role in the complex and broader process of handing down material and immaterial resources, including those experiences, feelings, identities, meanings, and values, which can affect the careers and projects of new generations. This process still needs to be analyzed further, focusing on the renegotiation and adaptation of relationships and expectations across generations (Attias-Donfut & Cook, 2017). Starting from this premise, the article proposes an in-depth analysis of the link between family migration, educational mobility, and intergenerational transmission, using data deriving from an original qualitative study on a group of successful students with an immigrant background.

In the following paragraphs, 1. I will provide a conceptual framework in order to analyse and interpret the research results. Reviewing the sociological literature on family migration and children's education, I identify three crucial aspects, referring to structural, cultural, and relational dynamics. Specifically, I will present some considerations on educational mobility as a family project, focusing on the contents and mechanisms of intergenerational transmission that foster success, considering cultural continuities and discontinuities, agreement or conflicts among generations. 2. Then, I will present the *Su.Per. Project* (Santagati, 2019), on which my analysis is based. The autobiographies of a group of successful students of immigrant origin, collected in a set of upper secondary schools in Northern Italy, allow me to examine whether and in what conditions family is a driver of educational success. Using the biographical approach, I will reconstruct themes, strategies and narratives students adopt to represent family migration and the relationships with their parents, reflecting on the pursuit of success through education. 3. Finally, using the outlined conceptual frame, I will present and analyze the autobiographies of Amna, Ikram, and Sole, three adolescent girls of Moroccan origin, whose stories

illustrate different ways subjects can negotiate their role as successful students, both within the family and in the school environment, reshaping generational identities and ties in their host country.

1. Conceptual Framework

To analyze the successful trajectories of immigrant students, first, a conceptual framework is outlined, in order to sum up some issues that are crucial in the literature, exploring the link between family migration and investment on education.

1.1 Educational Mobility as a Family Strategy

Sociological studies agree that migration represents a family project of intergenerational mobility, in which education represents the main route to success (Azzolini, Mantovani & Santagati, 2019). In general, students with an immigrant background do better than their parents in school and have good performances, but their successful trajectories are viewed as "unexpected pathways" in the US research (Haller, Portes & Scott, 2011). Indeed, many social, cultural, and context conditions offer second-generation immigrants, particularly girls, an alternative biographical trajectory: for example, the opportunity to choose one's education and, later, one's profession; the possibility of achieving a higher level of education than their parents or mothers; these are the main opportunities offered to second-generation women.

This process of upward mobility is confirmed also in European studies on the rise of a new elite including young people with immigrant parents, who gain entry into high-ranking positions of leadership (Crul et al., 2016). This group reveals new patterns for social mobility – based on a slow and gradual accumulation of resources and opportunities over time – that allow second-generations to move into a social world that their ethnic group has never previously inhabited in the country of immigration.

This structural process of educational and social mobility is rooted, according to the research tradition on "immigrant optimism" (Kao & Tienda, 1995), in a specific set of values, which is distinctive of migrant families, an ethos based on sacrifice, social redemption and emancipation,

that explains the strong educational motivations to succeed transmitted by migrants to their children (Colombo & Santagati, 2010). These values are also typical of the children who, often in the face of parental failure, believe in hard work and commitment in order to succeed in their individual and family project. They are extremely powerful and propel students to sacrifice much of their social life in order to focus on their education.

The significance of migration as an investment in their offspring's education made by immigrant parents creates a strong sense of obligation towards the parents, as well as pressure on the children, but emerges as part of an optimistic vision of the immigrant as someone who hopes in the improvement of life conditions and in social mobility for the whole family (Portes & Hao, 2004). All immigrant parents have high educational aspirations for their offspring and, consequently, aspirations are indeed a key explanatory factor of the educational success of their children, as parents' high ambitions translate into support for and expectations of their offspring's perseverance in education.

1.2 Intergenerational Transmission: Revisiting Cultural and Ethnic Identities

Migratory experience varies from one generation to another, often amplifying and exacerbating generational differences: migration represents an experience of cultural change for families and different generations of migrants that reshapes life courses, restructuring family life in a new socio-cultural setting (Attias-Donfut & Cook, 2017).

An inevitable implication of family migration is the transformation of the socialization process, whereby the contents of what is transmitted can no longer be taken for granted, and values, norms, and memories have to be revisited in a situation where reflections and discourses around the self are particularly intensified and challenged. In the passage from the first to the second generation, the chain of transmission can be interrupted and a generational discontinuity often occurs in various cultural domains, such as belonging, identity, language, religion, way of life, women's role, values, etc. The shift of place due to the migratory experience complexifies the generational transition, creating a discontinuous process which fosters distancing from those attitudes and affiliations held in the country of origin, in favor of membership in the new society (Salih, 2000).

Second-generation biographies highlight aspects of both continuity with and rupture from the previous generations, for example in the realm of ethnic, gender, and religious identities (Crespi, Santoni & Zanier, 2017, p. 195). From a sociological point of view, however, people do not permanently belong to a certain group and identities are not fixed, but rather are context-, meaning- and time-specific and they involve shifts and contradictions. The concept of "social location", proposed by Anthias (2011), seems adequate to analyze the "changing identities" of second-generations, considering cross-cutting dimensions such as gender, ethnicity, and religion, as opportunities and constraints interacting with the chances provided by the social structure. Ethnic and gender identities are constructed and reconstructed, in a process that includes meanings, actions, and practices, which gives a temporary definition to self and otherness.

These socio-cultural contents of intergenerational transmission, however, seem to be an *ambivalent inheritance*, which includes both resources and constraints. On the one side, the children of immigrants share some of these resources with their parents, adopting some of these cultural aspects. In this intergenerational process, for example, religious references are important, especially among Muslim families, which represent an important and increasing part of immigrants in Europe (Al-Rebholz, 2013): in this case, children have a mandate to perpetuate cultural and religious traditions. However, there also families who adopt educational norms less geared toward the transmission of tradition and more focused on child development and, as time passes, migrant children are increasingly moving away from strict religious observance (Belhaj et al., 2017). Changes in gender relations are also taking place, following the decline of traditional patriarchal norms: sometimes, women experience a process of liberation in the host country, a way of escaping from a controlling and hostile social environment, by encountering educational opportunities that offer girls greater freedom.

In any case, the definitions of tradition and modernity are not unchangeable, as tradition should be understood as that set of day-to-day knowledge and practices through which a symbolic space can be changed and reconstructed. Among Muslim women, research identifies a process of negotiation of their multiple belongings and consequent reconstruction of the social link between subjectivity and the public sphere (Massari, 2014): different narratives and strategies concerning modernity and being

modern, which oscillate between inheriting and revisitating one's religious affiliation, coexist and often overlap within the complex cultural scenario of European societies (Acocella, Cigliuti, 2016). Certainly, second-generation immigrants appear more able than their parents to draw from multiple frames of reference and cultural traditions, because their immigrant background has made them well-equipped to function in a multi-ethnic and diverse environment.

1.3 Intergenerational Transmission: the Importance of the Act of Passing on

The intergenerational transmission of values, norms, and belongings develops through family relations that are maintained, revisited, and changed across time and space: the process of socialization depends on families' capacity to give meaning to past and present experiences, and on parents' ability to legitimate their own culture of origin in a dynamic way, eschewing silences and contradictions.

In her studies on working-class families originating from Maghreb, Delcroix collected life stories from both parents and their offspring, in order to demonstrate that the aim of intergenerational transmission is to pass something on: the *act* of 'passing on something' is, in and of itself, the most important point, more than *what* is actually passed on. Moreover, in families with scarce resources and non-tangible assets, both moral values and love can be passed on, thus giving meaning to the migratory experience (2019, p. 42). After all, intergenerational transmission is an important social action *per se:* it means placing children in the generational tree, showing them that they are one among others. They are originated by others: this reveals and exposes a social world that is already there, and will generate something new or similar to previous generations, and will have to be passed on to others in the future (Sarthou-Lajus, 2018, pp. 20-21).

This act of transmission is very important in migrant families: family migration reveals itself as a profoundly relational experience, which shapes the everyday life of different generations, both before, during, and after migration, intervening on how family members interact with each other. The migratory experience changes social relationships by altering intergenerational and gender roles, drawing upon and transforming emotional bonds (Crespi, Santoni & Zanier, 2017).

Within migration studies there are two main (opposite) propositions used to describe family change following migration. On the one hand, family cohesion has been assumed to be stronger in immigrant families, compared to non-migrant families in receiving countries (Albertini, Mantovani, Gasperoni, 2019). On the other hand, greater levels of conflict and disintegration have been recognized in migrant families, given the contradiction between traditional family values and the drive for individualization of the country of arrival (Attias-Donfut, Cook, 2017). However, neither of these hypothesis has really been validated so far. Rather, research has revealed the fluid nature of relationships within migrant families and the complex process of renegotiation that take place within both generations, which involves elements of restructuring, contestation, compromise and sometimes conflict. However, conflicts and solidarity are not incompatible and often coexist in settlement processes in order to foster the successful development of children in a new environment (Santagati, 2020)

2. A Study on Successful Students with an Immigrant Background

Drawing on this conceptual framework, I use qualitative data collected in 2017 during the Su.Per. project (*Success in educational pathways of students with immigrant background*: Santagati, 2019), to analyze the different roles of the migrant family in the pathway towards educational success for their offspring.

The research is based on written autobiographies of students attending upper secondary schools in Northern Italy (Province of Brescia) and aims at identifying factors that lead to educational excellence, highlighting difficulties and obstacles that these young people have to face. The educational autobiographies of these students are used, in this article, to deepen our understanding of the mechanisms, strategies and narratives they adopt to describe migration and family experiences, reflecting on the implications of their past, on the pursuit of success through education in the present, and on their imagination of the future. The biographical approach enabled me to reflect not only on *what* is transmitted between different generations (material and immaterial resources), but also to

consider *how* the process develops through specific intergenerational relations (Apitzsch & Siouti, 2014).

Students wrote independent educational autobiographies, using a self-interview grid, used to guide them in recollecting and recounting the most relevant experiences, encounters, emotions and choices in their educational trajectory. The grid was structured in 34 points, with an introductory presentation and a final section on personal data (for the methodology, cf. Santagati, 2018). The students' narratives give access to the ways they understand and interpret their place in the world: they are stories of location, dislocation and relocation (Anthias, 2002, p. 498); of migrants belonging to different generations, that intersect the host society, their homeland, and migrant groupings. These three dimensions are not just physical, but are also cultural and symbolic: as Anthias points out, the stories produced in the migration process are more than merely stories, as they involve modes of making sense of the dislocation, in an active way.

In the following analysis, I focus on the autobiographies of some Italian-Moroccan girls, selected among the 65 collected stories (44 girls, including 12 of Moroccan origin): their stories are emblematic of the pathways of children and parents belonging to one of the largest migrant communities present in Italy. It is a community of older settlers, characterized by a significant duration of stays and stability in terms of family presence, especially in the Regions of Northern Italy, with a relevant presence of student of Moroccan origin, but born in Italy, in the school system (Santagati & Colussi, 2020). Furthermore, the class position (characterized by low socio-economic status), cultural origins and religious affiliations of these families (mainly Muslims) make this group quite interesting to analyze in terms of the process of intergenerational transmission, and its consequences on the relationships between generations and between genders.

For the analysis, I take into account specific questions of the self-interview grid I consider to be particularly relevant for the aims of this article. Firstly, the texts have been analysed using open coding, in order to identify students' narratives and define some key points, which were then used to develop a focused coding grid, based on the three aspects outlined in the initial conceptual framework:

1. Choice of upper secondary school; choices after upper secondary school; future projects (EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY)
2. Effects of immigration (or parental migration) on my educational career and experience (FAMILY MIGRATION and RELATIONSHIPS)
3. Who am I? Am I a successful student? What helps me be a successful student? (CULTURAL TRANSMISSION AND FAMILY RELATIONS)

After an in-depth analysis of the 12 biographies of the girls of Moroccan origin participating in the project, I chose to focus on the autobiographies of three successful students. I consider their stories as emblematic and useful in shedding light on the interconnections of the three elements discussed so far (educational mobility, cultural transmission, family relations, etc.). Indeed, the reflections of Amna, Ikram, and Sole on the link between family migration and educational experience may offer some insight on family relations, generations, and migration, confirming the fluid and complex renegotiation that take place across generations to ensure the successful settlement of the family and of their daughters in a new environment.

3. Differentiated Pathways to Success: the Stories of Amna, Ikram, and Sole

3.1. Amna: Trusting in Education and in God, Living in a Good Family

Amna was born in Morocco in 2000. She came to Italy legally with her mother at the age of three in order to join to her father, who had immigrated for work and was, at the time, well-established in the city of Brescia. Amna is the first of four children and she is the only one born in Morocco. Her parents belong to the working-class: her father has a diploma and works as a welder. Amna can be defined as a second-generation migrant, whose educational career took place wholly within the Italian school system: when the study was conducted, she was a seventeen years-old student, attending a Human Sciences lyceum.

For the purposes of her autobiography, she decided to call herself "Amna", an Arabic female name meaning "peace": in her name, as her story highlights, she tries to combine family values and her school experience in a harmonious way. She experiences an unexpected and

challenging educational path for the daughter of immigrants, thanks to the material and emotional support of her family and within a frame of cultural continuity with respect to her parents in most domains (religion, language, values).

Who is Amna? Amna presents herself as a girl of Moroccan origin. Since the beginning of her text, Amna highlights the main characteristics of her identity: she defines herself as a "normal Muslim girl", definition in which the normality seems to emerge from her attempt to combine character qualities linked to diverse value systems: in fact, she is Muslim and thus serious, controlled, loyal, helpful; at the same time, she is dynamic, proactive, ambitious, a girl who wants to be empowered through education, despite her immigrant background.

Amna is a normal seventeen-year-old Muslim girl, she is very active, full of desires and, above all, full of dreams to achieve. My family knows my qualities well, these are: determination, self-control, seriousness, loyalty. Perhaps I'm also stubborn and quick-tempered. There are two aspects that only those who know me see: my desire to help others and my desire to become a doctor.

From the lyceum to university. Amna was "lucky enough" to arrive in Italy before the beginning of kindergarten, an experience which ensured she was exposed to essentially the same learning conditions as her peers. She chose the lyceum, a turning point in her educational path, from which she gradually decides she would like to continue studying at university. Amna considers education as the only way to transform impossible dreams in pragmatic plans and realistic goals which one can achieve: good marks and the high quality of the institute she is attending have convinced her to cultivate a challenging project. The choice of the lyceum constitutes a central biographical turning point (Al-Rebholz, 2014): the most important and unique rupture in her life project.

I chose to go to a Lyceum and, therefore, I automatically made another choice: to go to university. I think university is the key to make my dreams come true: I'd like to graduate in medicine and become a doctor. School is an institution where we spend a lot of time… my classmates, sometimes, see school as a prison… for me school is the only means to achieve my goals, it is also a way to model my personality, to increase my culture, to improve... I am a realistic girl and I don't like to fantasize,

but I have many dreams and if I want them to come true I have to be pragmatic. These dreams will only come true if I believe in myself and, above all, in education. Initially I chose this school with the intention to continue studying Nursing. But, during upper secondary education, I realized I could expect more from school… I understood that my school gave me a good cultural background, so that I can achieve more ambitious goals… From wanting to be a simple nurse, I started to aspire to be a doctor.

The change in her university project – from "nurse" to "doctor" – represents, for Amna, an imagined educational mobility via higher education, in which the role of her family is crucial for different reasons: Amna's parents have given her moral support, they have taught to her to persevere and persist, to wait and to be patient, to trust in her talent and in God, to engage in education: these are the qualities that can ensure the success of future projects.

I am a very determined girl and I have a motto: jamais abandoner, *that means "never give up". It is thanks to my motto and to the moral support of my parents, if I am a girl aware of her skills and inclinations… I can say I am at the beginning of my long journey. My parents have taught to me to wait patiently and to live the present, sure I could realize my projects in the future… As we say in Arabic:* من قصد باب دخله ولو من حديد. *The translation sounds like that: "Whoever knocks on a door will enter although it is made of iron". The meaning is this: if you focus on a goal that seems impossible, you will achieve it. God willing, you will achieve your goals, but… let things take their course.*

Amna is also identified by her teachers as a "successful student" and participated to the Su.Per. project. Writing her educational story, she affirms that her migrant background is the point of distinction in her biography, one aspect of pride for herself and her family, that makes a difference compared to her other classmates: linguistic and cultural competences and awareness are generated by the migratory experience, by the habit of moving and a curiosity towards otherness.

My migrant background is my strong point: I am proud of being an immigrant. If I was a girl like the others, I do not think my teachers would select me as an excellent

student. I would not be able to speak four languages, to know about many cultures, to be so open-minded.

Intergenerational Continuity in an Open Society. Undoubtedly, Amna's assumption that her migrant background is a factor of success implies that family and cultural origins are crucial in her pathway to success. Amna affirms the primacy of her Muslim identity over her Moroccan identity, stressing that her family makes the active choice of maintaining their cultural roots, by practicing Islam, reading and studying the Koran, and using Arabic in everyday life. However, this cultural continuity between her country of origin and her country of arrival, as Amna writes, is not in contrast with Italian culture, but rather it is made possible by the nature of the Italian social environment, which offers the right conditions to benefit from freedom of expression, worship, and opinion.

I am a Moroccan girl, but primarily I am a Muslim girl. My family and I have decided not to forget our roots, even if we are not in our country. We have done so by maintaining our religion, culture and language. My brothers, sisters, and I have studied the Koran and the Arabic language, and at home we speak Arabic. If we have been able to keep our traditions alive, it is thanks to Italian society, which is very open and tolerant.

However, the decision to migrate provokes irreversible consequences on certain cultural habits and practices, producing a cultural mix within each single components of a migrant family. The feeling of extraneousness perceived both in Morocco and in Italy are evident in Amna 's lifestyle, which is considered modern, transgressive, or traditionalistic, depending on the situational point of view. In Amna's account, this is the "natural" consequence of migration: an adaptation that is always partial and incomplete, and never completely adheres to either of the two "presumed" cultures she has inherited.

In my opinion, migration presents one negative aspect, namely that of staying away from your home country and feeling as a foreigner both in Italy and in your home country... When we moved here we chose to be foreigners in Italy and in Morocco. We live in Italy, but belong to another culture. During our settlement in Italy, we have witnessed the mix of the two cultures directly and it is not possible

to divide them now. Let me explain: when I am in Morocco I act like an Italian, I use the ways of doing and thinking of Italian people and this makes me appear like a foreigner in my country. I'll offer an example: in Morocco girls go out only if accompanied by a family member; my brothers and I used to go out unaccompanied and Moroccan society sees us as transgressors, anti-traditionalists or even sinners. The same thing happens in Italy, when I do not go dancing on Saturday night because I prefer to stay at home and watch a good movie with my family. Here I am considered as a traditionalist, because I do not share the same idea of fun. This happens because we live in two nations, two ethnicities, two cultures. Thanks to this, we have an open mind, but we cannot completely belong to either country.

Family, a Place of Support, Love, and Respect. High performances and high expectations in the educational field are the main traits of Amna's autobiography: these traits are rooted in the family   experience – both cultural and religious – in which Amna receives and learns character qualities, attitudes and values. Some evidence of this process of cultural transmission comes from the description of the good relationships between Amna and her parents. Amna gives particular importance to the exclusive relation with her mother, characterized by trust, mutual understanding, and constant proximity. Mother and daughter are 'best friends', in Amna's words, because they have grown into their roles together and they know each other very well. Amna uses two arguments to explain the specificity of her relationship with her mother: unlike many young people who consider their parents to be their worst enemies, Amna opposes to this view, declaring that her family includes her best and only friends. Moreover, she recalls a sura of the Koran to remark the emotional and spiritual significance of mothers, linking together parental role, religious and cultural values, and meaningful relationships in an excellent synthesis.

A friendship that began when I was born and I hope it will last until we die, that is my relationship my mom. With her I have always had a wonderful relationship based on mutual trust and understanding. It has always been present, at all times, I grew up with her and she grew up with me. My mom is the only one who really knows me and knows everything about me, as one of the Koran suras says: "heaven is under the feet of our mothers". Many young people consider their parents their bitter enemies, whereas for me they are my only friends, especially my mom.

The positive dynamics of Amna's family emerge in the narration concerning the moment when she had to choose her upper secondary education, a very important step both for the student and for her parents. On the one hand, Amna's family represents a 'good place', in which love, respect, and support allow freedom of choice and, above all, have enabled Amna to follow her inclinations, desires and dreams, by enrolling in a lyceum and thinking about gaining access to the Faculty of Medicine. This is an unexpected path for a daughter of immigrants, but it was made possible thanks to the material and moral support of her family: her parents' trust in Amna and her maturity, her mother's ability to console her in contrast to the prejudice and skepticism of others, the positive words that circulated in her family, the high educational expectations and pride of her family members. On the other hand, however, teachers and classmates have low expectations for Amna's educational and career choices, they say negative words and are full of prejudice: they predict educational failure and recommend low-profile school choices, as the only route that might be expected for a student with an immigrant background. Although the voice of the family seems to be louder than that of teachers, the support of family and the help of God represent for Amna her strong points in order to achieve her dreams, or at least to persevere and imagine a positive future for herself as a doctor.

During these past few years, I have made choices that will affect my future, especially the choice of upper secondary school. This choice was very important to me, and it was important for my parents too. My teachers do not trust me and they advised me to attend a vocational center because, in their opinion, I should expect to fail soon. But I decided to follow my heart and my parents. I respect and love my parents very much. They gave me the freedom to choose and their full support in doing so. I still remember a phrase my father said when I asked him to help me: «make your choice and follow your heart. I shall not intervene in your choice, you are now a mature girl and you know what you want, I will support you economically and morally, I will not demand anything from you, I will only ask you to make me proud». My mother, on the other hand, dried the tears my teachers and classmates provoked with their racist prejudices and remarks. There is a phrase said by a classmate of mine that I remember very well and that really bothered me: «the only thing you can grow up to do is mop floors, you will never be a doctor in a hospital». After hearing the good words of my parents and the bad words of the

society I live in, I decided – being a very stubborn person – to follow my heart and choose a Lyceum. I am very proud of myself, of my parents and of my choices. God willing, with the support of my parents, I will make my dream – which is also that of my mother – come true: I shall become a doctor. By doing this I am sure that I will make my father proud.

3.2. Ikram: Uncertainties in Educational and Biographical Choices

Ikram was born in Italy in 2000 and she has an Italian citizenship. Her parents have lived in Italy for 30 years but they finished compulsory school in Morocco: her father is a factory worker and her mother takes care of their two children. Their migration follows the typical path of a Moroccan family, with the reunification of the wife with the husband who immigrated 10 years earlier. During the research, Ikram was attending a vocational institute, that she does not consider the right choice for her future job.

For the Su.Per. Project, Ikram choose an Arabic name whose meaning is "honor": she defines herself as "the third generation of her family in Europe", an Italian-Moroccan girl, trying to combine Italian and Western cultural aspects with her Moroccan and Muslim origins. She is, at one and the same time, 'Italianized' but devoted to her Moroccan culture, occasionally risking a clash between these opposite cultural trends in everyday life.

I am Ikram, an Italian-Moroccan girl, born in Italy in 2000... I am the third generation in Europe, because my grandfather, the father of my father, emigrated to France, while my father preferred Italy. My family is scattered all over the world: I have relatives in Morocco, Spain, Italy, France, Lebanon, although we never manage to meet. The main reason for emigration was the lack of work for everyone: everyone fought for their dreams, they fought for a dignified life. I am very Italianized, I have Italian friends, I follow Western culture. Despite this, I could never give up on my origins, which I love and try to keep alive within me, day after day, even if many times it is difficult and I find myself clashing with real life.

An Unusual Professional Choice. During the project, Ikram was attending a vocational institute, chosen because it was close to home. She considers this to be a wrong choice, which did not correspond to her

ambitions, and felt it will probably not be very useful for her chosen future career as a flight attendant. On the one hand, the choice of a vocational track is quite expected in pathways of students with an immigrant background, within families featured by low economic and cultural capital. On the other hand, Ikram imagines in the future a sort of rupture of her biographical trajectory, expressing her preference for an unusual job for Moroccan girls of her community.

I did not expect much from high school... Honestly I think I made the biggest mistake of my life to choose a school only because it was close to home. Actually, at the end of middle school, I had no ideas, I did not know what I would like to do in the future. So I opted for this school, a vocational institute with a health focus, hoping that it was something I would like in the future... it wasn't like that, but I continued... now I am attending the third year, I feel good... I find no difficulty in studying. I like to study, because I think a good future is going to be influenced by the present.

When Parents are not an Obstacle. Ikram highlights that her fortune is made up of the good relationships within her family, who do not prevent her integration and do not hinder her from further study. Her parents and relatives appears in her story not as an obstacle in the path towards her desired career, but rather as people that simply insinuate doubts about the challenges of achieving a good work-life balance in this job and the risks connected to flying. However, these concerns remain in the background and Ikram looks for and finds, in some ways, her meaning of life in her vision of traveling and flying, working and feeling free in the sky and in her life.

I consider myself lucky, very lucky in many aspects, including the fact that I have a family that has not stopped my integration. Not all my peers have had this opportunity. I do not have a very clear idea about what to do at the end of the high school, but I will certainly go on to achieve my biggest dream. As I mentioned earlier, traveling for me is equivalent to life, so I will be happy to do a job where travel is key. One of my biggest goals is to be able to become a flight attendant. Since I was a child I loved planes, I had models of them, I counted them when they passed in the sky. I don't care how much I will have to study, what exams I will have to pass, this is my dream, my goal, my future job and in order to achieve it I

will do my best. Usually I'm not a girl who believes in herself very much, but I love this job, I really think I can do it, and I believe I will do it. Talking to family and friends they do not seem so convinced about this. They say things like "how will you manage with your future family?" or "aren't you afraid?". Well, traveling and working, flying, feeling free, alone, far from the land … it will be wonderful.

Ikram is seen by teachers and classmates as an excellent student, although she does not seem very convinced of this representation. On the surface, she looks confident: a girl able to live in two worlds simultaneously, able to understand, accept, and respect the different values, rules, and models of each. However, in her biography, she wrote about the negative and positive implications of immigration on her school career and, above all, and on her uncertain and confused attempts to identify and locate herself at school and among her classmates. On the one hand, she strives to make herself similar to others, but her peers look only at her diversity and exclude her. She reacts with desperation and tears, with thousands of questions, until she begins to accept and indeed enhance her physical and personality differences.

My teachers, but also my classmates, define me as a good student and yes, I could be, but I certainly don't think I'm among the best students, because excellence is an unattainable goal. Whereas I am only a girl, who lives in two completely different worlds. She understands them, accepts them, but above all she respects their values and models. I am Ikram, the one who goes on despite everything, despite everyone.
Being a daughter of immigrants has had implications on my school career, both negatively and positively. For many years, I have tried to make myself look like the others, while society prevented me, marginalized me, clearly told me "you are different". And I cried, asking myself thousands of questions: why am I different? what distinguishes me from others? the look? the character? Then I tried to get closer to the way others looked. This was a very wrong attitude, because now I find myself saying: I am different, it is true and I am also proud of it. Never abandon one's true identity to make others happy.

To Wear the Veil: a Choice to Postpone. Her family appears in Ikram's writing, when she reflects on future choices she will have to make in both the cultural and religious domains. She feels quite uncertain as a girl about the transition to adulthood, postponing the decision about whether to

abandon or adhere to the religious and cultural values and practices of her family, particularly regarding the veil. To wear it, risking her hard earned integration both at school and then at work, or not to wear it, risking exclusion from her community: for Ikram, that is the question. She says that the veil does not represent an obstacle to integration, but she chooses to take her time as she still needs to convince herself of which route to take, mainly because, in a secularized society, a veiled girl could experience discrimination in the labor market.

For these reasons, Ikram seems inclined towards a cultural discontinuity with respect to the religious background of her Moroccan relatives and friends in Brescia. In this analysis, Ikram repeats many times that "her parents are not like others Muslims", they are not so severe and they do not intend to limit her freedom of choice. But the feelings of confusion, loneliness, uselessness, and dissatisfaction are dominant in her experience, as people belonging to her Muslim community begin to say "The time is coming…", as a negative refrain and a self-fulfilling prophecy, which Ikram can still escape, however, thanks to the liberal and understanding attitude of her family.

A crucial passage for a non-Western girl is the transition from being a child to being a woman, and to be a woman you must behave in a specific way. Thank God my parents are not like others, but surely there are some people in my family and among my friends who are. I am a Muslim girl, but to be a good Muslim you have to wear a veil, so that some beautiful man will want to marry you. Many people believe that this no longer exists, but it does exist. Maybe there is no longer that severity. I'm sure that every person, man or woman, has freedom. Certainly in a non-Western country it is appreciated that a woman stays at home and respects some parameters, including the veil. I don't see the veil as an obstacle, but in order to wear it I need to be convinced and, above all, I need time. Living in a Western society, in a school based mainly on secularism, but above all wanting to make certain dreams come true without constraints does not help. For every girl who goes through this period, the fear is that of not being accepted, of having to throw out years of integration, just because of a different aesthetic. This is what a different girl feels: she is confused, she knows that she can go on feeling lonely for 99% of the time, but she always wants to be close to someone for the remaining 1% and she is afraid of losing that someone, simply because of a veil on her head. This has repercussions on school life, because when you are with people like you, they

say things like "the time is coming…". Confusion. And I think of things like loneliness. And I feel bad. I remember when I was attending the third grade and had those few friends, but they could still abandon me at the most important moments. And I feel useless, for not being able to satisfy anyone, not my family, not my friends, not myself.

3.3. Sole: Inside and Outside, a Clash of Civilizations

Sole was born in Morocco in 1997 and she arrived in Italy at the age of seven with her mother and her brother, in order to join to her father. He had settled in Brescia for the time necessary to prepare for the family reunification, thanks to a stable job and an adequate flat to receive his wife and his children. "Those who emigrate always look for something. My father was looking for a job and I was looking for a future", Sole said, pointing out the different push factors that explain the migratory process for the various members of the family. After the arrival in Brescia, the family had another two children who were born in Italy.

Sole's parents have a middle-high level of education (her father has a degree, her mother has a diploma), although the family has a low socioeconomic status due to the fact her father is a factory worker in a weak and unqualified position in the local economy.

Escaping from the Destiny of an Immigrant through Education. Sole arrived in Italy during primary school, starting from the 2nd Grade, interrupting the educational path she had begun in her country of origin: she did not show any specific educational or linguistic problems, and she rapidly obtained good results and a high performance. In continuity with this profile as a high-achiever, Sole attended, a lyceum first, which led to her first experience of school failure, that she linked to her attempt to challenge her disadvantaged destiny as an immigrant. After failing a year, she then changed schools, and choose a vocational institute, which became her "home", a refuge where she could avoid the internal and family conflicts connected to her religious and cultural identity; a good place to get ready to fly.

In her educational biography, Sole points out the good relationships she developed with the teachers and the negative ones she has with her peers. Teachers always saw positive aspects in Sole, who is a shy girl and an excellent student, whereas her classmates teased her for her diversity and

her marginal role in the class. In this process, she learned to defend herself by focusing on studying, reading, learning foreign languages and enjoying art. Her first choice, the lyceum, however, turns out to be problematic and Sole decides to change school, falling back on a less demanding school, as is expected of a daughter of immigrants.

In a long-term perspective, this change appears positive and, finally, Sole found a school she could call "home", with wonderful and attentive teachers, in which she did her best, she could commit, she was able to find herself. School represents a refuge for her, where she can learn how to take care of herself and she can find adults who care, a place in which she can put on wings and learn to fly.

Primary school was a walk in the park for me, in terms of learning. However, I did not have many friends, maybe because I was different: my classmates were not horrible to me, some were really kind, but no one was really my friend. I was always the one who was different from them, the one who comes from Morocco and who speaks another language. So I grew up with the idea that I am different. However, I was the Italian teacher's favorite pupil. Perhaps she saw something positive in my diversity. During middle school, I was a shy girl who was good at school… a girl who was teased sometimes by her classmates… It was a time in which I learned to be strong and defend my diversity, because if you do not react, if you do not make yourself heard, people will eat you alive. I learned to value myself and I took refuge in my studies, especially literature, art and foreign languages. Reading was my salvation.

I passed the middle school exam with full marks, I was more and more proud of myself. I just had to choose a school after that. I chose the linguistic Lyceum, but it was not the right choice, or it was simply not meant to be. Adolescence, infatuations, suffering, friendships, quarrels with parents... one trouble after another. I was no longer the innocent and shy girl, I became something else, I became what I am today: myself. I did not pass the first year in the Lyceum and I decided to change school... Yet, it was the most correct wrong choice I have ever made. Now, I want to talk about this place I call home, my school, because here I found myself. In this school I met teachers who became beacons for me… I'm thinking that this experience will end very soon… I think that this school gave me a pair of wings and I learned to fly. I have studied hard, I have obtained good marks and also a scholarship. The worry about disappointing my teachers, those who have

seen so much more in my being different, and always encouraged me to give the best.

Her chosen name, "Sole", is an Italian name meaning "sun", it summarizes well herself representation as a girl of the South, a Mediterranean girl, committed to managing her different cultural roots, mediating conflicts and looking for a solution to the cultural clashes she has had to face: this perspective is pursued by distancing herself from her parents and through a significant and long-term investment in education.

I am Sole, I am an immigrant, daughter of immigrants. I was a Moroccan immigrant, but now I no longer am, because now I am Italian, the result of belonging to two different cultures, a strange Italian girl, I am olive-skinned, I have curly hair and almond-shaped eyes, that reflect both the Saharan sand and the Mediterranean sea.

No Relations with Parents. For Sole school represents a 'good place' where she experienced care and motivation, whereas within her family (and inside herself) she is at the centre of a cultural clash represented by the discontinuity in the transition from the one generation of immigrants to the other. Her parents are described as not integrated and critical of their daughter's Westernized habits and customs. Consequently, Sole says she has no relations with them, they often fight and argue, and she feels they have never supported her in her life choices and in her school career. The conflict is large, evident, inevitable: Sole lives contradictions and tensions between her identity, the opinions of her parents towards her behaviors and attitudes, and societal requirements and pressures. This experience has generated a sense of loneliness and self-sufficiency, where Sole has sought happiness, comfort, and trust only at school and with her teachers.

Unlike me, my parents have not been able to integrate as well as I have, that is why I have no relationship with them. On the contrary, we often argue and fight: the clash between mentalities is quite large and evident. The relationship with my parents has never been good, they have never supported me in my choices, because according to them I am too Westernized and I behave in a way that is not typical of our culture. I have had to grow up fighting between who I am, what my parents tell me to be and what society wants me to be! You know, it is not easy to grow up

between two cultures, especially if they are one the opposite of the other, because the clash with parents and with oneself is inevitable.

Having no one who believed in me, I have had to believe in myself, alone. Over time, I have grown up on my own and I have become self-sufficient, but I have especially learned to accept myself. Am I Moroccan or am I Italian? But why can't I be both? So school became my refuge. In the morning I wake up happy because I leave home and I go to school, to a place where people believe in me. I have developed good relations with many teachers, with some I developed a relationship that is a bit like family, I joke, I laugh, we fight... in short, a relationship of trust, what I have not experienced at home.

A clash of cultures. Migration is a process of no return, given the changes that derive from it in terms of identity, ways of thinking, etc. For Sole, this was the positive effect of migration, but for her family it was not the same. She can say she is a full-fledged Italian and Moroccan, she does not want to choose, because within her "the cultural clash has a happy ending". Even within a process of cultural transmission characterized by discontinuity and negative and conflict-ridden family relationships, forms of cultural composition and negotiation can occur (cf. Zeroulou, 1985).

Sometimes I wonder how I would have been, if I had not flown to Italy... would I be the same girl I am today? Surely immigration has had an effect on my way of thinking, it has become a Westernized way of thinking. According to my parents, this is a negative thing, but for me it is not like that, for me it is a very good thing. Although there are many Italians who still say: "Go back to your country!", I would like to answer "No, I want to stay here. This is my country". I am so attached to my country of birth, Morocco, a wonderful land, full of culture, full of beautiful places, full of people, full of love, I consider myself a full-fledged Moroccan girl, even if I am Italian. I consider myself a full-fledged Italian girl, even though I am Moroccan. I am the clash between cultural differences that ended in a positive and happy way: I am grateful for this wonderful opportunity.

Concluding Remarks

The autobiographies of Amna, Ikram, and Sole are only three cases of several successful paths undertaken by immigrant girls within the Italian

educational system. However, they are quite representative of second-generations' trajectories, of girls who have engaged in a process of upward mobility thanks to an individual and family investment on education. The three girls, independently from their migratory path, are committed in this process of improvement, distancing themselves from their parents' low socio-economic status and low cultural capital, through courageous choices of long-term and demanding studies, in upper secondary school when it is possible, or postponing their ambition for the future.

The autobiographical narratives of these three girls offer a complex picture of the pathways towards educational success and upward mobility. This common goal is pursued by different modes of negotiation of values, norms, and behaviors, in which traditional or modern ways of life cannot be analyzed as a simplistic or binary dichotomy, as other research has pointed out (Al-Rebholz, 2013).

Rather, educational success and social mobility coexist with different strategies among both students and parents: in the intergenerational transmission, cultural continuity and the maintenance of religious affiliation (as in the case of Amna) or cultural and religious decline and discontinuity, Westernization and secularization (see the story of Sole), or even uncertainty and indecision in religious practice (cf., Ikram) can be compatible with structural and educational integration (as highlighted in Santagati, Argentin, Colombo, 2019). Moreover, successful students are girls with different family experiences: some are like Amna, they come from a supportive family, a good and safe place, a family-refuge of respect and love. But experiences of educational success also characterize Sole's biography, who has more limited and conflictual relations with her parents, and finds her refuge in school and teachers.

The educational paths of the three students are grounded in family, social, and personal experiences in progress, composed by different elements combined in a more or less harmonic way, within their changing and uncertain identities, and within family relationships, which can be more or less positive. To understand these mechanisms that reshape and redefine values, identities, and relations, from one generation to another, it is important to continue studying and collecting biographical documents and stories of families. Through the biographical approach, it will be possible to analyze even more in-depth the intersection of cultural origins and social structure (Anthias, 2011), taking into consideration the double

nature of the intergenerational transmission, a process concerning culture, signs and meanings, and also the dynamics that contribute to placing individuals in the social hierarchy.

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Transnational Families' Experiences.
A Research on Generations of Italians Living in Belgium

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Abstract

The research in question, through a qualitative methodology, analyzes how socialization processes can evolve through generations within the family dimension. Migration experiences are indeed very different from one generation to another. Moreover, it turns out like the transnational social fields in which migrants and their descendents are embedded, span different countries and form a significant context for their everyday lives. The country chosen as case study is also for this reason Belgium, where the Italian presence is still very relevant and rooted in the territory. The study was attended by descendants of Italians who emigrated in the country after the Second World War. It seemed relevant to propose a research that deal with the Italian emigration of the past, analyzing however the most recent implications. The result is a complex renegotiation process of the migratory experience that takes place in the family dimension across generations, both of relationships and of transcultural practices.

Keywords

Intergenerational relationships; transnational social field; emigration; Italy; qualitative studies.

Introduction

Migration has become a family based project, whether it involves the migration of the whole family, the formation of family post-migration or the financial support of family in the country of origin (Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017). Adopting a family perspective on the migration phenomenon means considering the relevance and strength of the links between the various components along a multi-generation temporal and relational axis (Kofman *et al*, 2011; Dubucs, Schmoll and Pfirsch, 2017). In this research, it has been considered a particular theoretical trend that within *migration studies* has investigated the family dimension in the transnational perspective (Bauer and Thompson, 2006; Charsley and Shaw, 2006; Ryan *et*

al, 2008; Christou and King, 2010; Goulbourne *et al*, 2010; Mazzucato and Schans, 2011; Carling *et al*, 2012; Zanfrini, 2012; Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Ambrosini, 2019). Moreover, it turns out like these transnational social fields in which contemporary migrants and their descendents are embedded (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004) span different countries and form a significant context for the everyday lives of a growing number of children and young people (Reynolds and Zontini, 2006).

In this research, trough an intergenerational approach, it seemed interesting to propose a study dealing with the Italian emigration of the past (Corti, 2003; Colucci and Sanfilippo, 2010; Colucci and Gallo, 2015; Gjergji, 2015*)*, analyzing its most recent evolution. Mainly in order to study how socialization processes (Castles and Miller, 2014; Zanfrini, 2016; Ambrosini, 2020) can evolve through generations within the family dimension, especially among those who have not chosen to emigrate. This research would through greater light on the impact of migration on the bond and support that passes between family generations adopting a transnational approach (Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017).

The country chosen as case study is also for this reason Belgium, where the Italian presence is among the most relevant in the country and is also very stratified and rooted in the territory (Martiniello, Mazzola and Rea, 2017). The continuity of migratory flows, which over the years have changed shape and scope, but have not stopped, makes the presence of Italians in Belgium an interesting laboratory for analyzing dynamics and processes of migratory phenomena (Martiniello 2016, p. 157). The contribution has been focused on second generations of Italians living in Belgium, children of the first migrants who arrived in the country between 1946 and 1976 (Morelli, 2002; 2004; Corti, 2003).

Through the literature examined, in the first part this paper will discuss the relation between the family dimension and the migration processes, particularly referred to the transnational social field. In the second part, it will be introduced the research design, including the research subjects, the methodology chosen and the analysis approach. Lastly, drawing on interviews data, it will be provided an understanding of the impact that migration experiences could have on intergenerational relations and on socialization processes within the family dimension.

1. Migration experiences and families

In the last few decades *migration studies* reveal an exponential growth trajectory, especially since the mid-1990s (Pisarevskaya *et al.*, 2019). However, this has not produced an equal diversity of topics in the field. Instead, the data showed that there have been several important shifts in terms of which topics have been most studied in *migration studies* (Pisarevskaya *et al.*, 2019). Following Portes' predictions (1997), "transnationalism" shifts attention away from "geographies of migration", and indeed, research shows that "geographies of migration" gave way to "mobilities", the most prominent topic in the last decade. This trend is supported by the focus on "diasporas and transnationalism" and "identity narratives" since the 2000s, including literature on migrants' and their descendants' dual identities (Pisarevskaya *et al.,* 2019). These developments indicate a paradigmatic shift inside the *migration studies*, possibly caused also by criticism of methodological nationalism (Sayad, 1999; Schiller, 2010). Moreover, data show that themes of "families and gender" have been discussed more in the 21st century, which is in line with Portes' predictions (Pisarevskaya *et al.*, 2019).

Taking into account these developments, this contribution will focus on the family dimension in relation to the migratory experience adopting a transnational approach. Research on migrant families has been slow to emerge (Kofman, 2004) and only in recent decades has witnessed a growth in interest on migrant families in both research and policy arenas. Nevertheless family is increasingly understood as essential to migration, influencing migration strategies, supporting the migration experience, and shaping transition to settlement (Nauck and Settles, 2001). As said migration has become a family based project, whether it involves the migration of the whole family, the formation of family post-migration or the financial support of family in the country of origin (Attias-Donfut, Cook 2017).

In this research, it has been considered a particular theoretical trend that within *migration studies* has investigated the family dimension in the transnational perspective especially in recent decades (Bauer and Thompson 2006; Charsley and Shaw 2006; Reynolds and Zontini 2006; Ryan *et al.,* 2008; Christou and King, 2010; Goulbourne, *et al.,* 2010; Mazzuccato and Schans, 2011; Carling *et al*, 2012; Baldassar and Merla,

2014). Nowadays, thanks to increased mobility and improvements in both travel and communication technologies, more and more people are experiencing *transnational family's lives* (Baldassar and Merla, 2014). Various scholars have observed and studied the transnational experiences of families and conceptualized migrants and their kin as transnational families with increased mobility and improvements in both travel and communication technologies (Reynolds, Zontini, 2006; Christou, King, 2010; Goulbourne *et al.*, 2010; Mazzucato, Schans, 2011). Those family members who remain in their place of birth or ancestral homeland, become part of social relationship stretched across time and place, even though they might never actually relocate or move at all. As Bryceson and Vuorella (2002) underline, despite being separated by distance and over the time, members of *transnational families* maintain a *sense of family-hood*, thank to which they continue to feel they belong to a family even though they could not see each other and be present physically for a long time (Baldassar and Merla, 2014).

As Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding (2007, p. 13) clarify, the concept of transnational family is intended to capture the growing awareness that members of families retain their sense of collectively and kinship in spite of being spread across different nations. Therefore, in transnational families, relationships and roles do not depend only on proximity and physical presence. Shared feelings and mutual obligations remain. Emotionally significant ties are rethought and recoded through physical absence.

2. *Intergenerational relations and transnational social field*

Taking a family perspective on the migration phenomenon means observe the different relations between the various components along a multi-generation temporal and relational axis (Dubucs, Schmoll and Pfirsch, 2017). Migration experiences are very different from one generation to another and they often could underline or exacerbate generational differences (Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017). Therefore, a generational approach illuminates several debates in contemporary migration and mobility studies. By introducing "generation" as a key variable, it may help to understand migration processes from an intersectional perspective (Kofman *et al*, 2011; Dubucs, Schmoll and Pfirsch, 2017). Thus, it is

necessary to develop studies in order to identify intergenerational relations within migrant families and to observe the impact of migration experiences between generations.

While generational transition can prove problematic post migration, as parents and children adapt to the new country at differing rates, research and policy has been overly concentrated on the divides this creates and has, consequently, problematized migrants families as traditional and resistant to integration (Kofman, 2004; Foner and Dreby, 2011; Waite and Cook, 2011). Evidences show a more complex understanding of migrant families (Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017). It frames migrants families as fluid structure of intergenerational adaptation, renegotiation and change, and capable of supporting the transition of both parent and new generations as well as at times sites of conflict and contestation (Kofman, 2004; Creese, 2011;).

Therefore, the issue of the second generations becomes relevant in relation to the *transnational families (*Mazzucato and Schans 2011). Influenced by the work of Lewitt (2009), it is possible to consider transnational second generation as embedded in a social field created by cross-boarder connections between sending and receiving countries, irrespective of the frequency of physical travel to their country of origin. The transnational social fields in which contemporary migrants are embedded (Levitt, Glick Shiller 2004) span different countries and form a significant context for the everyday lives of a growing number of children, young people and in general second generations, descendent of first migrants. Transnational family relationships are valuable social recourses in reaffirming notions of cultural, ethnic and family belonging.

Zontini and Reynold (2018) look at migrant children and young people as members of wider networks that go beyond the nuclear ones and suggest that: "the real and symbolic transnational engagement are pervasive taken-for-granted aspect of family life. They might vary in intensity from family to family and from time to time, but they remain latent and can be activated or reactivated at variuos time" (Zontini and Reynold, 2018, p. 433). In their research, Zontini and Reynold (2018) underline how, considering variations and differences in youth's transnantional experiences, however they have a link to their parents' homeland that is more than just symbolic. It is real and embodied, in the meaning that these generations maintain communication across national

borders, they express emotional and material attachment to their parent's homeland. Furthermore they express and live this condition in the everyday interactions with others.

3. *Methodology*

Considering the theoretical issues, in this research it seemed interesting to propose a study focused on the past Italian emigration *(*Gjergji 2015; Tintori and Colucci 2015*)* analyzing however the most recent implications, for different orders of reasons. First of all to underline how migration processes are phenomena whose effects persist over time and borders, connecting people and generations through a transnational logic, which goes beyond the methodological nationalism (Sayad, 1999; Schiller, 2010) that today risks being a limit of the "research" in itself. It also seemed to be relevant to bring out a different point of view on the migration phenomenon, the ones of Italians as foreigners, often set aside despite the evidence emerged from statistics concerning the most recent Italian emigration abroad (Fondazione Caritas Migrantes, 2019; IOM, 2019). Moreover, over the years the scientific interest on Italian emigration has mainly focused on the historical evolution of the phenomenon or rather on the recent flows and therefore, the experiences of these second generations is currently little investigated (Colucci and Sanfilippo, 2010).

The research in question, through a qualitative methodology (Corbetta, 1999; Creswell and Poth, 2018) analyzes how socialization processes can evolve through generations within the family dimension, especially among those who have not chosen to emigrate. Considering the *transnational social fields* in which migrants and their descendents are embedded (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004) as a significant context for the everyday lives, the research will examine in the families' dimensions: relationships between the different generations of migrants (Caponio, Schmoll, 2011); opportunities and consequences of a *transnational families' experiences (*Zontini, Reynold, 2018).

The country chosen as case study is also for this reason Belgium, where the Italian presence is among the most considerable in the country and is also very stratified and rooted in the territory (Martiniello, Mazzola and Rea, 2017). According to AIRE statistics in 2019 in Belgium there are almost 271.919 Italians citizens (Fondazione Caritas Migrantes 2019). From an

historical perspective, it was after the second World War that Italy experienced a second relevant wave of mass migration due to the critical economic and social situation (Tintori, Colucci, 2015). These migrations stimulated and assisted by the governments took place throughout Europe, especially in this direction, from South to North. Italians started to emigrate to Belgium thanks to the agreements signed by the governments in 1946. Only in the 70s, considering the new political and economic contexts, the Italian net migration return to be positive (Morelli, 2002; 2004; Corti 2003). This continuity of migratory flows over the years makes the presence of Italians in Belgium, especially trough a family dimension an interesting laboratory for analyzing processes of migratory phenomena.

The contribution has been focused on second generations of Italians living in Belgium, descendents of Italian migrants who arrived in the country between 1946 and 1976 (Morelli, 2002; 2004; Corti, 2003)[1]. The data for this article are mainly drawn from 32 biographical interviews (Bichi, 2000; 2002) carried out in Belgium[2] between May 2018 and September 2019. The choice was oriented towards the biographical interview in order to bring out the experience of the participants (Gobo 1998; Bichi 2000; 2007). All the interviews were conducted in dialect or Italian language[3]. The respondents respect a roughly gender breakdown (17 females and 15 males). Italians associations in the country and migrant support organizations were used to recruit participants.

In the interviews, were examined their considerations of maintaining transnational ties and how they perceived these experiences in a family dimension. The approach chosen for the analysis of the interviews was an intergenerational type in order to better investigate the complexity of the socialization dynamics of different generations in the space of everyday life (Levitt, 2009; Reynolds, Zontini, 2006). In sum, three types of information were sought during the interviews and coded the data accordingly: (1) their experiences of family; (2) the ways how they live and maintain

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[1] Using the year of arrival in Belgium of the first generations as a survey criterion, the second generations can be identified.

[2] The interviews were carried out in the cities of Brussels, Tubize, Genk and Charleroi.

[3] In the last part of this paper, *Findings and discussion*, all the interviews' quotes reported have been freely translated into English language.

transnational ties; (3) and the reasons why they maintain them through an intergenerational approach[4].

4. *Findings and discussion*

Intergenerational relations: between crisis, gift and reciprocity

In line with the studies observed, in the interviews the migratory experiences are lived and elaborated in a very different way through generations involved in the family dimension. As said, by introducing "generation" as a key variable, it may help to understand migration processes from an intersectional perspective (Kofman *et al.*, 2011; Dubucs, Schmoll and Pfirsch, 2017).

According their family's experiences, interviews reveal clear moments of intergenerational conflict and crisis, which concern above all the second generations involved in the research. The family project is being reconstructed mainly around the central position taken by the children and sons, who then have a "moral" obligation to social succeed in the host country, take care of the family as a return gift for their parents' sacrifices. Moreover, these generations often play an important role as helpers at younger age than non migrant families. Since they have a better knowledge of the language and of the social code than their parents, they are able to serve as mediators between them and the social environment. The most integrated children in the new society, especially from a linguistic point of view become parents of their parents or take choices, responsibilities that parents cannot take due to lack of knowledge.

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[4] After collecting the data, the interviews' transcripts were managed through the qualitative computer program NVivo 12. The interviews' transcripts, together with all data collected (field notes, literature), were managed through the qualitative computer software. The anonymity of the participants was guaranteed through the attribution of a reference code to each person. The approach chosen for the analysis of the interviews was an intergenerational type in order to better investigate the complexity of the socialization dynamics of different generations in the space of everyday life (Reynolds and Zontini, 2006). The created codes for the encoding focusing on: family dimension; types of transnational practice, aspirations for maintaining transnational ties and perceptions of individual integration progress and the life in Belgium.

One year mom was almost without income, with six children [due to my father's death] ... I was going to high school [at the moment], I quit, I went to normal school, I got that diploma there, and I immediately went to work, to make sure that mom had some money ... and also the coal, which we could warm up .
(I_2G_M_N8)

The issue under consideration becomes even more relevant when the school experience is analyzed in the interviews. In that case the second generations underline, in some cases, the loss of authority and educational ability of their parents, which is a consequence in part of the phenomenon mentioned above.

Our parents were not informed, my mother was not informed. My father was always at work. We had to rely on ourselves, they never asked us for our intentions. Our parents hoped for us a good job. It was already a great thing for them if we had found a job. For our parents the first thing was to work. Today we want university [a good education] for our children.
(III_2G_F_N6)

The interviews' analysis reveal moments of contrast and critical issues between the different generations in the everyday life. But despite the reported evidence seems to confirm the possible conflicts and crises of which the generations are protagonists in the complex intra-family dynamics (Ambrosini, 2020) in the migration process and post-migration context, other dimensions emerge from the narratives taken into consideration.

In particular, the migratory experience lived by the first generation is constantly reprocess by following generations through the notion of "sacrifice" and "reciprocity". Family reveals as a social capital, capable of generating reliable, continuous social bonds based on the symbolically generalized means of exchange of reciprocity. The "reciprocity" dimension therefore also seems to outline family and intergenerational dynamics, with reference to the migration phenomenon. And therefore, the personal choice of the first migrant or the couple who decided to live in another country, through the shared stories in the family dimension, become a sacrifice made but for the benefit of future generations.

The effort they made to come here [in Belgium], are also values that belong to you, I want to say, they left Italy, they took an important decision, and they wanted to make us aware they did it for us ... and in the future, we will explain it to our children, in another way, but we will try to do it. (III_2G_M_N5)

From this point of view the intergenerational relationship, made up of shared values, respect and responsibility towards other generations, is strengthened. Children and grandchildren aware of the sacrifices faced by parents and grandparents, are consciously and respectfully linked to a culture that has been given to them. These approaches reveal the fluid nature of migrant families and the complex renegotiation that take place across both generations to ensure the successful settlement of family in a new land (Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017). In this sense, therefore, the migratory experience, but above all its narration and sharing, becomes a family memory, preserved and transmitted through the generations, helping to define the identity of individuals, to strengthen not only relationships of the family unit but also those with the family beyond the borders, between the host country and the country of origin.

According the literature two main opposing proposition have been set up to describe family changes following migration (Attias-Donfut and Cook, 2017). On the one hand family cohesion is assumed to be higher in immigrant families in the receiving countries. On the other hand, the second proposition suggests greater family disintegration, alienation and conflict due to the contradiction between traditional family values and individualization. As analysed interviews reveal, migration involves all family generations linked by a complex set of gift, debt and reciprocity. In addition, conflicts and solidarity are not incompatible with each other, and the notion of ambivalent relationships is applicable to migrant and non migrant families. Inevitably migration brings specific changes in the functioning of families following migration. Thus, rather than a fracturing of intergenerational relations, the research has revealed complex processes of renegotiation that take place in migrant families that involve restructuring, contestation, compromise and in some circumstances conflict (Foner, 1997; Kofman *et al.*, 2004).

Transnational practices and the everyday lives

Through the interviews carried out, the transnational perspective also emerges, so that the creation of a transnational social field constitutes a significant context for the daily life of migrants' descendants. The transnational relations and practices, within certain limits, have an impact even on those who do not experience any type of mobility, precisely because they live in a space permeated by exchanges and the contributions that the mobility of others has produced (Zontini and Reynold, 2018). Immigrants' children could be in any case conditioned in their everyday life and in the ways of building themselves by transnational social field. Therefore through the interviews it becomes relevant to analyze the various experiences in the way in which, descendents of Italians emigrated in Belgium after the Second World War, live and maintain this transnational social field.

A first aspect that clearly emerges from the interviews conducted is that, transnational connections shaped their ideas of what ad who constituted families. In their accounts families emerged as broad, where presence/absence and spatial proximity/distance were normalized. As for many of the interviewees, having family members in other countries and maintaining close relationship even if infrequent contacts, has an important social value, because it enabled them to be part of a dispersed family network. Many of the participants noted that absent family members are just as important as physically present ones.

Yes, we are still in touch via what sup, with the cousins...Almost every day ... and now my daughter is getting married, [...]... and the family from Italy will be there too [...] yes relations are still alive with the family on my mother's side. (I_2G_M_N8)

Secondly, interviews shows different practices and family rituals in which absent members are made present: video and phone calls; material objects; family narratives and memories; travelling for vacation and celebration of life-cycle. A further demonstration of how, the migratory experience does not end within the first migrant experiences but clearly influences the future generations, in the elaboration of cultural, spatial and family references.

Moreover, from the interviews, it is possible to find some of transnational migrant characteristics in the daily life practices shared between generations (Zanfrini, 2016). Such as a double belonging or the frequent use of more than a language. Basically, this condition is not experienced as temporary, but on the contrary as a conscious, permanent and strategic condition, when, for example, it allows to manage commercial or financial activities. The second and third generations, embedded in transnational social spaces, open real spaces of coexistence between different cultures. Considering also the peculiar nature of the interviewees' group examined, in which the Italian language has been transmitted and preserved through generations, as a fundamental element of Italian culture, but also as a tool, to communicate both within the family in Belgium, with the older generations, and with the family beyond the borders, through transnational relationships. It has allowed them to keep alive the bond with the family in Italy, to move more autonomously in the contexts of origin and to deepen knowledge and customs of Italian culture.

Until Mom died, Italian was spoken at home because... Mom did not understand the Belgian language and was not even able to speak it. Let's say we have always been ... we always have a family that we care to stay together. (I_2G_M_N7)

My grandmother was and is still very present, she helped me to grow up with Italy in my heart ... she arrived [in Belgium] just after the war, so she remained with her culture, her language, her country [...] she did everything as if she remained at XXXX ... and [...] I lived like this, and she transmitted these little things to me in a gentle way, we didn't have to make much effort, [...] she introduced me to her country, the food, the relatives, the sufferings, the difficulties ... but always with this pride of being Italian. (I_3G_F_N2)

Language competence became not only an asset for cross-cultural communication and a potential advantage, but it also strengthens a sense of belonging within families (Reynolds and Zontini, 2006). The knowledge of one's own cultural and therefore linguistic origins was not in these cases a reason for exclusion or lack of integration in Belgian society.

It has always bothered me that ... here it wasn't a problem when the Belgians said to me "you are Italian", but when I went to Italy and my relatives said to me "you are Belgian" ... as a child you are looking for an identity, you want to know who you are and I have always felt Italian ... at one moment I said to my cousins...I am more Italian than you are in Italy ... [...] you are always complain about Italy ...before I was always upset about that.... now I don't care anymore ... I think we represent the real Europeans... we are the generation who live outside of Italy ... we are not fully recognize by either one, so then we are Europe. (III_2G_M_N5)

And this is beautiful, because if as Italians in Belgium we are not [fully] recognized on either side at least we are lucky enough to know two cultures. And we have the opportunity to know more cultures and it is important, it is pleasant. (I_3G_M_N3)

As already analyzed, the interviews show that second generations have rather had to acquire all the tools and information useful to live the two worlds of reference. Different but still important. By maturing a greater awareness of their own history and in the continuous conflict between estrangement and belonging, the second generations were also able to develop a plural and flexible identity. Contrary to popular perceptions, as literature underline, having a transnational family experience and being integrated into the receiving society is "not a zero-sum game" (Reynolds and Zontini 2006, p. 433).

Conclusion

This contribution explores migration processes through a family perspective, with the aim to consider the relevance and strength of the links between the various components along a multi-generation temporal and relational axis (Dubucs, Schmoll and Pfirsch 2017).

The study carried out on second generations of Italians in Belgium, has allowed to observe the Italian emigration of the past, analyzing however the most recent implications in order to underline how migration processes are phenomena whose effects persist over time and borders, connecting people and generations through a transnational logic.

Through a qualitative methodology the research analyzes how socialization processes can evolve through generations within the family dimension, especially among those who have not chosen to emigrate. Considering the *transnational social fields* in which migrants and their descendents are embedded (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004) as a significant context for the everyday lives, the research examines in the families' dimensions: relationships between the different generations of migrants (Caponio, Schmoll, 2011); opportunities and consequences of a *transnational families' experiences* (Zontini and Reynold, 2018).

The interviews' analysis reveal different aspects. Firstly, how migration experiences involve all family generations linked by a complex set of gift, debt and reciprocity. The research has revealed complex processes of renegotiation that take place in migrant families that involve restructuring, contestation, compromise and in some circumstances conflict. Moreover, interviews reveal transnational relations and practices, which have an impact even on those who do not experience any type of mobility precisely because they live in a space permeated by exchanges and the contributions that the mobility of others has produced. Although the interviews carried out concern a migration that took place after World War II.

To conclude, family has proved to be a relevant dimension in the migratory experience and in the post-migratory context which is in line with Portes' predictions (Pisarevskaya *et al.*, 2019). This contribution reveal once again the fluid nature of migrant families and the complex renegotiation that take place across both generations to ensure the successful settlement of family in a new land.

Therefore, the use of "generation" as a key variable, help to understand migration processes and mobility studies from an intersectional perspective (Kofman *et al*, 2011; Dubucs, Schmoll and Pfirsch, 2017).

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How does informal transnational social protection bond families across boarders? The case of Albanian migrants and their transnational families[1]

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Abstract

Understanding the relationship between migration, social protection and doing family in transnational settings is important, both at academic and policy level. Migration disturbs safety nets and it created new realities such as transnational families. Migrants and their left behind families try to close the gap that arises between mobile social needs and static services and provisions. In doing so they (re)invent doing family in a transnational context and the protection they offer to one another primarily in the form of remittance, knowledge transfer, time and emotional care tend to provide solid grounds for bonding them across borders. Looking at the case of Albanian migrants and their transnational families, we reconfirm old patterns and sketch new trends in informal transnational protection practices which construct main fundamental ties holding transnational families together and are key in building and strengthen intergenerational solidarity among Albanian migrants and their left behind family and kin.

Key words: migration, social protection, transnational families, informal transnational social protection, Albania

Introduction

Migration – one of the defining issues of the globalised world, is often the 'talk of the day' be it in a mainly sending, receiving or transit country context. While this has concurred with an intensification of research in the area of migration, it was only in the early 2000s that significant interest was channelled on the issues of migrant's access to social protection (Bilecen & Barglowski, 2015). Even then, literature on migration and social protection

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evolved around the centrality of the nation-state and issues of migrants' access to formal social protection in destination country (Pelliserry, 2013). But immigrant's access to social protection goes beyond welfare policies of receiving states and the emerging field of transnational social protection is shading light on sending states policies and informal strategies developed by immigrants (together with market, community, family actors) in the context of transnationality (Vathi, Duci & Dhembo, 2019; Faist, 2013). The informal arrangements and practices that involve migrating individuals and their left behind family and kin constitute the informal side of transnational social protection (Boccagni, 2017) whose diverse forms and effects need to be explored also in the light of doing family and intergenerational relations in transnational settings.

Understanding relationships between migration, social protection, and doing family in transnational settings is highly relevant, both at academic and policy level. Transnational social protection, understood as the aggregate of remittances and transnational care practices (Boccagni, 2017), is critical in how leavers and stayers of the transnational families negotiate and maintain mutual obligations across time and space (Baldassar et al., 2007; Wright, 2012). Transnational social protection practices include relationships cultivated over distance, resources being circulated, visits and time spent together along other context-specific factors that shape transnational care (Boccagni, 2017; Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Kilkey and Merla, 2014). While studying such practices is often challenged by issues of limited visibility, multi-sited developments, and strong variations over migrant life course, it is of crucial importance as it help outline migrant households' potential to bridge the gap between mobile social needs and static services and provisions (Boccagni, 2017, p.174-175). In doing so, transnational families (re)invent and practice 'doing family' in transnational contexts and the nature and frequency of these activities have the potential to bond families across borders.

Still, effects of migrating family members on those left behind have been documented to be mixed ones, depending also on the individual circumstances (Demurger & Xu, 2015). Similar to the left behind members of family and kin, the migrant is a gendered subject, embedded in a range of social relations (Castles & Miller, 2003) which are important in understanding migratory behaviours (Faist, 2004) as well as the potential repercussions in the realm of social protection (Kordasiewicz et. al., 2017).

Employing a transnational methodological approach helps in better exploring and understanding practices and transactions between migrants and those left behind (Amelina & Faist, 2012). Transnational families, whose members "live some or most of the time separated from each other but yet create a feeling of collective welfare and unity" (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002, p. 3), provide an ideal setting for such explorations. Transnational family members may not always agree on economic and social support strategies and their agendas might differ, but their ties and responsibilities often continue, in distance, in physical presence or absence (Crespi et al., 2018; Reisenauer, 2018), as they explore common grounds on which to cater for those individual agendas. Frequently, such grounds involve different strategies and practices comprising migration as a social protection strategy as well as informal transnational social protection practices which continue across time, space and generations.

Beyond the recent growing interest on informal social protection and sending country perspective, there is yet a clear need for more research which explores relations between informal transnational social protection perspective, the perspective of the sending country context, and transnational families (Albertini, Mantovani & Gasperoni, 2019, p.1693). It is in this framework that this paper aims to provide further insights and understanding on the nexus between migration, social protection and doing family in a transnational setting by exploring the informal transnational social protection strategies and practices among Albanian migrants and their left behind families. In the following sections, we first account for the theoretical framework in which our investigation is set and the relevance of our selected case, before we move to detailing the methodological approach. Results are presented and discussed under the main pillars of informal transnational social protection – remittances, knowledge transfer, time and emotional care. Finally, concluding remarks highlight main messages in terms of findings as well in terms of needs for further research.

1. *Migration, Transnational Social Protection and Transnational Families*

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) entitles every member of a society to the right of social security; yet, less than a third of the world

population has access to that (ILO, 2014). Mobility (migration and return) from one society to another seems to add extra barriers. Nevertheless, it is only in the last decade that interest on issues of migrant's access to social protection has started to intensify (Bilecen & Barglowski, 2015), primarily evolving around the centrality of the nation-state and issues of migrants' access to formal social protection in the country of destination (Pelliserry, 2013). While such analysis was imperative to stabilize "the structurally poor position" of migrants in that respect (Bommes, 2000, p.90), it did not account for the multitude of informal strategies and practices that individuals and families employ to cover for the welfare gap stemming in the context of an overlap between lack of (full) membership in receiving states and lack of territorial residency in sending ones (Raithelhuber et al., 2018).

Indeed, migration and social protection are intertwined in several respects that go beyond the relation between immigrants and receiving states. Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003) were the first to distinguish between migration as a social protection strategy and migration as a condition leading to vulnerabilities that require specific social protection instruments (p. 4). Access to and quality of social protection are among the drivers for (re)migration and return. The most common framework applied is the 'push-pull model' that includes determinants in country of origin, in that of destination, and personal motivations (Lee, 1966). The 'new economics of migration decision theory' (Stark & Levhari, 1982, p.191) shades more light on the micro-level interactions that contribute to migration related decisions. At the household level, these interactions come in various forms including a 'contractual agreement' of the household with migrating member (Massey et al., 1993), a similar scheme is valid also for situations of return and remigration. When it comes to the personal motivation, apart from individual characteristics (age, gender, and education), family setting and conditions play an essential role in migration decision-making processes, plans and strategies (Crespi et al., 2018; Schüring et al., 2017).

Further, migration context provides an ideal framework for analysing distant relationships (Reisenauer, 2018, p.110) and, while there is a variety of different family types and settings, gender and intergenerational relations are found to be highly relevant in any of them (Crespi et al., 2018). At the same time, such relations reflect and shape demographics, economic,

cultural and social developments in the society, leading to an increase of scientific interest on family relations (Karpinska & Dykstra, 2019). However, most work in the area has focused on transnational child-rearing (Parreñas, 2005) rather than intergenerational ties in adulthood, on 'old' rather than 'new' migrants (e.g. migrants from Central and Eastern Europe), and primarily studying patterns, determinants and consequences of intergenerational relations in European families (Albertini et al., 2019) and in receiving country context rather sending ones (Vathi et al., 2019).

Migration processes have resulted in new socio-spatial formations such as transnational families where core elements of the nuclear family, like sharing the same household, do not apply (Schüring et al., 2017). When adopting to new circumstances, such as those created by migration, families tend to adopt with new practices and forms of "doing family". The increasingly accessible communication and traveling make the maintenance of transnational relationships more doable, even when members of families and relatives are physically distant (Reisenauer, 2018; Baldassar, 2007). These new forms, include among others, new (informal) arrangements to provide social protection to family members in the context of transnationality. Transnational families engage in two main types of such cross-border practices – financial remittances and transnational assistance and care (Boccagni, 2017). We draw from the narratives of Albanian migrants to further investigate on such practices. The following section contextualises the relevance of our case study in this respect.

The context

Since the early stages of out-migration in 1990s, Albania has been one of the top recipients of remittances in the world, in per capita terms and as a share of its GDP (Vullnetari & Kings, 2011). Yet in 2018, Albania topped the list of European countries of origin for first-time asylum applicants to EU countries and is still one of the most migratory nations (EUROSTAT, 2018). In only three decades, the various migration waves, patterns, routes and destinations have generated a particularly diverse and rich migration landscape among Albanian migrants[2] with specific challenges related to formal social protection and transferability of social security (Dhembo, et

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[2] See, for instance, a comparison of the Albanian migrant communities in Greece, Italy and the UK in Vathi, 2015, p. 29-30.

al., 2019; Gemi, 2014). These data alone make Albanian migrants an interesting case to be examined from the migration perspective.

Further, Albania provides an interesting case to be explored also from the perspective of social protection resource environment theory (Levit et al., 2016) as a very dynamic one in terms of the share and interaction between formal and informal resources. In Albania, the social protection system that was established anew in the early 1990s, following the decline of a dictatorial regime, has largely failed to promote social inclusion and the country is still challenged by issues of absolute poverty, deep socio-economic disparities and little social mobility (Duci & Dhembo, 2017). Albania's welfare spending compares unfavourably to EU countries and countries of the region (WB, 2018) and performance of welfare services scores low also in terms of citizen's satisfaction (IDM, 2016, p.5). All these add to an interesting and dynamic social protection resource environment as well as to a potentially rich and divers set of mechanism and tactics citizens employ in navigating formal and informal social protection resources.

In Albania, a primarily familialistic care regime with a growing deficit of state-regulated formal care services (Dhëmbo, 2012) and often poor quality and access on existing ones (IDM, 2016), obliges family members to step in and reinforces a high level of intergenerational interdependence, similar to other Eastern European countries (see Karapinska & Dykstra, 2019). Consequently, family ties of Albanians are expected to be strong, and family members to engage in frequent contact and exchange of support across different settings. These combined elements of Albanian context in terms of migration, social protection, and doing family dynamics make Albanian migrants and their transnational families a fit case for exploring our research question on how does migration, transnational social protection and doing family interact to influence and mirror a sense of family, bonding and intergenerational support in a transnational context.

Methods

This paper uses data generated from a research project on migration and social protection that employs a qualitative, comparative and transnational approach. As other scholars have noted, employing qualitative methods within a comparative and transnational approach is more suitable and helpful in capturing, exploring and better understanding practices and

transactions between migrants and those left behind (Amelina & Faist, 2012). An integrated approach is also a best fit in exploring informal transnational social protection decision-making strategies and processes as it helps overcome challenges in studying them while depicting migrant households' potential to bridge the gap between mobile social needs and static services and provisions (Boccagni, 2017, p.174-178), all of which have the potential to strengthen family ties in transnational settings.

It is in this framework and with the purposes of further exploring and understanding such practices that a total of 33 narrative interviews were conducted with Albanian migrants during Fall 2019 – Spring 2020. All the interviewees were reached using snowballing method. Two 'hot spots' of high intensity and diversity of migration profiles were targeted, namely Tirana (the capital) and Kukës (the district with highest % of outgoing migration)[3]. Initially, the first cases were identified with the help of local NGOs that cover migration issues and assist return migrants in both areas. Then migrants themselves were asked to recommend other cases.

A maximum variation approach was aimed in terms of gender, age, host countries, legal status at host country, family setup, and migration experience (including return and remigration), and a minimum of 2-3 cases were interviewed per each category. At the end of the data collection process, an almost equal number of women and men were interviewed, ranging from 25 to 55 years old. Almost ¾ of the participants were married and parents (to be), two participants were divorced, three engaged/in a relationship, and eight were single at the time of the interview. The interviewed migrants lived at least some part of their life in a transnational family setting and spent on average 7.5 years in counties other than their country of origin, with the shortest period of 5 months and the longest of 22 years, at the moment of the interview. Their migratory experiences ranged from migrating to one destination country to having changed up to five different ones. Host countries altered from 'old destinations' such as Greece and Italy, to more recent ones such as Germany, the UK, France and Sweden along with North American destinations – the USA and Canada.

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[3] Only in 2016, the mayor of the town of Kukës reports for some 6,000 people to have left the town. https://www.syri.net/politike/239950/kukesi-po-zbrazet-nga-emigracioni-shehu-jep-shifrat-e-trishta-te-varferise/

Results

Sending back home: Remittances and Knowledge

Migration and social protection are intertwined in several respects (Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003). Migration is often a substitute for (lack of/failed) social protection in origin country. A weak safety net and/or lack of opportunities to provide care and support for the family if choosing to stay or return, keeps families in a transnational situation. Migration, on the other hand, is argued to disturb safety nets. In particular, when the ones that leave home are the adult children, ageing parents are deprived of potential care and support. This is especially unsettling in societies where families play a crucial role in care and welfare provisions (Zhou, 2012) such as in Albania (Dhëmbo, 2012). Thus, the migrating member of the family has to cater not just for unmet needs that pushed him/her to leave, but also for new arising ones in a transnational setting, and *remittances* are often the key response.

Earlier in this paper, we pointed out at high remittances as a defining characteristic of the Albanian migration. In 2003, Mai & Schwandner-Sievers estimated that an Albanian with a good job outside the country could support at least five people in Albania (p.941). Gemi (2014) documents that most common forms of economic transnational exchange between Albanian migrants and their left being families include sending money to support family, build / reconstruct homes in Albania, or invest in activities that build status back home (p. 412). We find all these forms to still be present in the experiences of our interviewees along with new evolving practices and dynamics.

The only thing we regret is not being able to spend time with our parents... At least, we try to support them financially. We send them Lek [Albanian currency] as much as we can, because if it is for their pensions in Albania, they can't afford even the monthly medicines that they need. (Legal F migrant, 50, Greece)

Financial support tends to diminish over time such as when the migrant child does not intend to return (Wolff, 2019) or when the pressure from the family to remit becomes too high to sustain (Schmalzbauer, 2004). A higher level of integration in host societies, marring/starting a new family there, or economic crisis in host countries, have also contributed to lower levels of remittances among Albanian migrants in the recent years, as less money is available to send back home or cover visiting costs (Michail & Christou,

2016; Gemi, 2014). However, our participants' narratives show that financial support remains a fundamental element in doing family in transnational setting. Regardless of any decline in amounts/frequency of remitting, remittances – one of the most obvious forms of informal transnational social protection (Boccagni, 2017, p.176), continue to be essential and irreplaceable. Remittances are promptly reported as main form of intergenerational solidarity, be it as support migrant children send to their parents or migrant parents send to the children and other family left behind.

Financial support for my family comes first! Luckily, my family does not have only me helping out and they are quite well off, but I still consider sending them money as a sign of responsibility towards my parents. (Legal M migrant, 26, Germany)

In the early migration years, there was a clear trend of predominantly (young) men that would migrate with the main aim of providing for the left behind family (Vathi, 2015; Gemi, 2014). Among more recent migrants, there is a higher incidence of women as well as migration of the older generations in the family which seem to have led to new dynamics in terms of remittance flow. Unlike the traditional expectation for an upward wealth flow in counties with poor welfare provisions where the financial support flow is expected to go up family line – from migrant children to parents (Baykara-Krumme 2008; Karpinska & Dykstra, 2019), as previously observed among Albanian migrants (Gemi, 2014), we find the current flow to have more of a bidirectional nature in terms of intergenerational support. While support for (ageing) parents continues, our data reveal a pattern of parents (re)migrating to support (adult) children left back home and/or build a future for them in the host country so that their transition upon reunification is smoother.

When the crisis hit Italy, I decided to move to Germany. It was primarily for my daughter. I'm hoping to do the papers soon and be able to make her and her husband join me. She graduated several years ago but she has not worked a single day. Her husband works here and there, part-time jobs. So Germany was a better option for them, not me – I'm too weak and tired now to start everything anew. (Legal M migrant, 55, Germany)

Similar to Wolff (2019) findings, we find older members of the family, who have spent most of their (professional) life in Albania but have

recently migrated to be highly involved in remitting. They do so not only to support (adult) children left behind but also prepare for potential return by reinforcing their economic and social capital in their origin country. The following is an example of parents in their fifties, who have taken the advantage of the Electronic Diversity Visa Lottery to migrate to the US – primarily to support their children and prepare a "sure start" for them in the host country before returning one day.

We've worked so hard these last years but at least we've managed to meet our goals. The main reason we left was to help our son get out of prison. Thanks god we've done that and he's now engaged and well settled with his fiancé. We've bought them a small flat. We thought it is good to have it also as a place for us to stay every time we visit or when we return. We've bought him a car too and now we're supporting him to start a small business. We want him to engage in some activity that would keep him away from troubles and make him more responsible and independent…I hope! I don't know but, as a parent, I'm never able to put myself first. Although my children are both adults now, I constantly think of how to best support them (Legal F migrant, 55, USA)

Others provide us with an alternative explanation that what seems as a decline in remittances is in fact a different form of saving and using money for the family members left behind. This is primarily the case for those who plan reunification with family members though processes that are expensive, as explained by this male asylum seeker in the USA.

*We [*together with brother*] sent money back home every time it is needed, but given that I need to pay to bring my fiancé over here and my brother is without paper [*irregular*], we try to save as much as possible so that we have enough money to cover for that. This is our way of contributing for the family. Back home we've already settled things – we own a big house, we've bought them two cars, our father still works, my fiancé works too, and they're financially doing ok. Our task now is to save money for what I just explained. (M Asylum seeker, 29, USA)*

When trying to support their transnational families, migrants may transfer not only financial resources but also *knowledge*. Literature on migration and knowledge transfer has explored extensively on issues of transfer and spread of knowledge, technologies and practices as agents of economic transformation (Wang, 2015). But knowledge transfer goes beyond economic dimensions, ranging from political and cultural knowledge (Demurger, 2015) to knowledge related to health care and birth control (Roosen & Siegel, 2018). Albanian migrants, make no exception.

They engage in transferring, together with their money, knowledge on how and where to invest remittances, technology and practice (particularly in agriculture and construction) with many investing for improved housing and living conditions (Gemi, 2014), fostering also new living styles. The following case shows how a low-skilled Albanian migrant has gained new perspective on women's education while being away from his family, and how this has been transferred to and influenced his wife's life back home.

Wife and sons are still in Albania, unfortunately. Luckily they live with my parents and that takes away some of the concerns… I've tried my best to always support them, improve their living conditions. I've always catered for their needs but also pushed my wife to complete high school, and now she's studying to become a teacher. I've pushed her get a driving licence and also bought her a car. I've come to believe that everything you invest in a woman's education will have high returns. (Legal M migrant, 41, UK)

Unlike money transfers that are easier to identify and appraise, knowledge transfer is often difficult to estimate. However, when asked to think and share their experiences along these lines, a much less explored topic emerged – knowledge transfer on how to successfully (re)migrate. It seems that the most important knowledge migrants amass, send back, or use for the benefit of the left behind family, is how to better inform and guide decision-making process and plans of migration/reunification with family members left behind. This includes knowledge regarding best routes, opportunities, destination countries settings and legal context, and how to protect them from fraud during the process.

"Sharing is caring" - Time and Emotional Care

Money and knowledge transfer are emotionally and relationally embedded and the relation they have with other forms of transnational forms of informal social support and care are critical to their impact (Baldassar et al., 2007; Wright, 2012). Although money and knowledge may diminish, that does not necessarily lead to a decline in other forms of care and time spent in doing family. Even when family relationships are geographically dispersed, they are characterized by a certain level of stability (Baldassar & Merla, 2014, p.6). Yet, distance does challenge various elements of the relationships which do require physical presence/proximity (Reisenauer, 2016, p.146). That is why distance and possibilities to visit

family back home are important factors our interviewees report to have seriously considered when deciding where to migrate.

The main reason I chose Germany was to emigrate in a legal way and be able to visit my family as often as I want – something not possible if I'd enter the UK illegally, which was the only other alternative I had at the time. (Legal M migrant, 26, Germany)

Dykstra and Fokkema (2011) suggest that frequent face-to-face contact increases emotional closeness and facilitates other forms of exchange. Indeed, being able to visit and spent time with family back home is very important for our interviewees. This is particularly stressed by those whose possibilities to visit are limited or non-existent. Migrants who reached host countries illegally or who have been through periods of irregular status (i.e. being not able to visit back home), report this as the "biggest mistake" they did when deciding to leave illegally and the "worst outcome" of a non-fully informed decision. For irregular migrants not being able to be there for the family in good and, particularly, in bad times is unbearable and more troublesome as compared to other limitations that come with an irregular status, such as lack of access to services and provisions in the host country.

I've lost closeness with many of my colleagues and friends, but also with some family members and relatives. It is a very difficult decision, you know? In good or bad times, you can't be there for your family. It is a decision that, in a way or another, made me lose the essence of life. Everyone that comes here like I did [illegally], for as long as they live here, have lost right to live as an emotional human being. Trust me, it's all lost! (Irregular M migrant, 28, UK)

Factors such as distance and mobility gain a particular importance in intergenerational relations when elderly family members are involved in the "equation" of the decision-making process, as this granddaughter explains:

I was so keen to leave…but then again, I thought so much those days of my granny – 80 at the time. I was worried that if I wouldn't be able to get papers in order when the time of my student visa runs out, I would have to stay illegally and probably not be able to see her ever again. This was my biggest concern. (Legal F migrant, 25, UK)

Other activities that contribute to the emotional care are often taken for granted. Similar to what Reisenauer (2016, p.103) finds for the Turkish migrants in Germany, for most Albanian migrants we interviewed, it took

encouragement and probing to make them elaborate on what they seemed to underestimate as routine elements of doing family in a transnational settings, such as time together and communication via technologies. Communication technologies have made proximity and/or mobility not an absolute prerequisite for family solidarity (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997) and advancement of technology and increasing access (especially at origin country), has made certain dimensions of the transnational relationships possible, regardless of distance and mobility options (Karapinska & Dykstra, 2019, p.1732).

Indeed, even among our interviewees, much of the time spent together and emotional care is exchanged via technology. Often, these serve as a substitute/compensation for lack of visits, be it due to immobility or when visits are a burden – when needing permission from work or when there are long, expensive distances to be travelled. Thus, most of our interviewees report to exchange with family back home on (almost) daily bases, challenging also timezone differences.

We've very good and close relations with our children. They are both adults now and have started their own families but there is no single day we don't call each other. We stay up till 1 a.m. just to chat for 5 minutes when they finish their work day. We're very strongly connected as a family, although very far. (Legal F migrant, 55, USA)

Nevertheless, (possibilities for) frequent communication does not mean sharing it all. In fact, one way of showing emotional care in TF context is by censuring information. Senyurekli and Detzner (2008) show that migrants censor information passed to their parents in the country of origin. Parents back home apply the same strategy and conceal information on troubling events (Wolff, 2019). We find this to be valid also when parents are the migrant members of the family and (adult) children the left behind or returned members. Marital relations seem to make no exception either.

I talk almost anything with my wife, but there're things I don't share, as I don't want her to worry. When you're far from each other even something small seems like a huge problem. For example, if there is some work related issue, I share it with my friends at work, why bother my wife with that?! (Legal M migrant, 44, Germany)

Migration may create physical as well as emotional distance which might lead relationships between family members, particularly partners, go under a lot of strain. While visits and technology are accommodating, they

are not enough. Our interviewees report to often combine them with additional 'guarantees' of care and support from people who are physically present, such as other (extended) family members or friends.

They [parents] don't tell me everything, although I call them daily. But I have my colleagues and friends back home who are doctors and I've asked them to keep an eye on my parents' heath and report to me [laughs]." (Legal F migrant, 35, Sweden)

Physical presence is important also for maintaining parent-(young) children relations. Parreñas (2008) finds that absent father, viewed as the one making sacrifices to provide family financially, rely primarily on the wife to care for family. We find no evidence of totally absent fathers; however, mothers were often do engage also as interlocutors between distant father and children.

I don't talk to my kids with the same frequency as with my wife, but I learn everything from her – whatever issues they might have with health, school... Then, when I talk to the kids, I ask them to kind of summarise what has happened during those days but there are no details. (Legal M migrant, 44, Germany)

Gijsberts and Lubbers (2013) suggest that family unification in host country or relationship with a native partner may strengthen links with receiving country which could imply that ties with homeland may loosen. While this holds true for our respondents with reference to the host country, none of them described signs of a weakened relationship with the left behind family members. On the contrary, several of them made even clearer plans on how to better support their family members back home once their status in the host country changed due to marriage/reunification with nuclear family members.

Because of her EU passport, my mother in-law can freely enter the UK, so I've been totally focusing on working things out for my family side. In September, I helped my sister's husband enrol in a master studies program here. This coming September, I'll do the same with her. At the same time, I've started procedures for my brother to transfer his studies from Albanian here; he's a second year student of civic engineering. I'm sure that when we all unite over here, we'd be of great support for one another. I've advised all family members that have come on a tourist visa to never break any rules. That might be a problem for my plans later. No plans for my parents yet, as they have few more years till retirement and do not want to give up their jobs back in Albania. I'll come up with something for them too, when time is right. (Legal F migrant, 25, UK)

Overall, our interviewees were keen and proud to share that they either were in the process or were planning reunification with at least one family member left behind. Persisting in reunification plans appeared to be held as indicator of highest levels of dedication and emotional care in their TF.

Concluding remarks

Transnational social protection practices are the realm where migration, social protection and doing family intersect in transnational settings. Informal strategies and practices that migrants and their left behind families advance in a context of transnationality, which include remittances, knowledge transfer, time and emotional care (Boccagni, 2017), constitute major pillars of doing family and intergenerational support in transnational families. Investigating the narratives of Albanian migrants and their transnational families, this paper confirmed the persistence of old practices and strategies and outlined new emerging ones.

Remittances continue to be a fundamental tie in transnational families. Although research has documented oscillations in the intensity of remittances, particularly form migrants in host countries hit by economic crises (Gemi, 2014), the practice of sending money back home persists and is maintained as an important indicator of solidarity in the family. What seems more recent, is a trend for a bidirectional nature of intergenerational support: on one hand, (adult) children sending back to (aging) parents, on the other, parents sending back to (adult) children left behind. Saving and using money for family back home come also as investments to legalise status of migrating members of the family or to enable reunification. Knowledge transfer, although less visible, is an important attachment to these practices, particularly in guiding decision-making and planning processes of migration/reunification with the key element being how to avoid illegal/irregular migration, which can later lead to emotional strains in transnational relationships.

In this light, being able to visit frequently is very important for emotional care. While greater access to technology and more affordable travelling have made sharing time and emotional care in transnational families more doable, physical presence is particularly important for couples and intergenerational relations as those between parents and young children and younger members of the family and the elderly. Apart from keeping in touch on permanent basis, migrants manifest their

emotional care by participating in events and gatherings of the family, by censuring troublesome information, and by continuously working their way towards reunification. The latter is primarily pictured in host countries and return is rarely an option. In this respect, more needs to be investigated on the dynamics of transnational families after (partial) reunions while there is a growing tendency of parents with a professional carriers that do not want to leave until retirement and the repercussions in social protection and social security

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The Transnational Food Network of the Italian American Families. Business, Gender and Generation at the beginning of the XX century

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Abstract

This essay will focus on the relations between food, gender, and generation among Italian Americans at the beginning of the XX century.Four different issues are explored: the generational connections related to food consumption, the roles of wives/mothers, husbands/fathers, sons and daughters and their relations inside the ethnic family, the transnational business based on family-run companies and their Atlantic trade network, and the influence of the American society among second generation Italian Americans. Familieshad been the center of a generational shock, in which parents forced sons and daughters to accept an "invented" tradition to keep the power on new generations. Food also played an important role in family business development in Italy and United States. These transnational companies established a well-structured network thatmolded the Italian and American industrial landscape. This article will correlate cultural and social history of the Italian American families with economic and business history to show the way Italians shaped their ethnic identity in the United States.

Keywords: Food History, Transnational Studies, Italian Americans, Business History, Migration History.

1. Food and generational connections

At the turn of the Century a growing number of Italians migrated from the newborn Kingdom to America. The first wave of Italian migration was mainly characterized by male temporary workers – sometimes they were defined "men without women" (Harney, 1979) and their wives "widows in white" (Reeder, 2003) – with a high percentage of return trips to Italy. After World War I, restrictions in the American migration laws, family reunifications and second-generation growth, helped the establishment of an ethnic resident community in America. Therefore, advertisements – and their messages – published on ethnic newspapers must take into consideration not only the classical categories of race, class, and gender, but

also generation, that caused conflicts, problems, and economic opportunities inside families and communities.

Cultural and historical experience of Italian migrants must be analyzed following the transnational approach, that provides tools to understand migrants as people who build bonds in the hosting country and from the land of origin. Members of the diaspora don't lose their original identity at all, even when migrations are permanent, and have ties to two worlds without being fully part of either (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994; Choate 2008; Green and Waldinger, 2016; Harzig, Hoerder and Gabaccia, 2009; Waldinger 2015). Ewa Morawska (2001) and Nancy Foner (2005) have shown how the duality of this phenomenon makes migrants both *im*-migrants – people that go *to* a country – and *e*-migrants – people that come *from* a country. Italian experience can be explained analyzing familial transnational networks in an age during which was taking place a national building process that consequently established connections with the identities of families "here" and "there". Scholars such as Roger Waldinger (2015) have defined these dynamics "deterritorialized nation-state building", where nation building goes beyond the geographical and political boundaries of a State and members of the diaspora are connected to two worlds(Choate, 2008).After Italian Risorgimento, the nation-state concept evolved to a community by descend, deeply linked to blood and kinship (Banti, 2011). Consequently, the national idea in Italy was structured towards the definitions of "us" and "they", or "in" and "out" the familial community. In addition, during Italian Liberal Age, Governments tried to nationalize Italians bot hat home and abroad and to keep Italianness among second generations. During the first Italian Ethnographic Conference, Francesco Baldasseroni (1912, 179-81) talked about the ways millions of Italians could keep, lose, or modify their own traditions in the continuing exchange between the culture of their homeland and the hosting country. Food, with language and religion, emerged as a central element to keep tradition alive.

In the 20s and 30sthe second generation – who knew Italy just by the stories told by parents or through mass media and cinema – quantitatively surpassed the first one. This new generation, often disparagingly described as 'hyphenated generation' by the WASP élite, was more accustomed to American foodways and refused the culture of mothers and fathers, causing a generational shock. Parents forced sons and daughters to accept a

tradition to keep the power on new generations. Actually, the tradition they claimed to belong to, was an ideological construction suitable for the American life, that witnessed the decline of the patriarchal family. In this view, the culture, the tradition of familism and the idea that Italians eat "like a family" are invented traditions, and the Sunday dinner (Cinotto, 2001, 29-118) seems to be a generational compromise. In addition, during the interwar years, Fascism tried to foster national and ethnic identity among Italian Americans to pretend loyalty during economic and political campaigns, using a so-called parallel diplomacy (Luconi & Tintori, 2004; Pretelli, 2005) based on cultural (Baldoli, 2000; Carletti & Giometti, 2016;Cavarocchi, 2010; Frezza Bicocchi, 1970; Pretelli 2006), economic and political strategies (Pretelli, 2009, 2012; Santoro, 2003). Through this kind of diplomacy Italian Americans were asked to choose Italian food first to help the military, economic and political goals of Italy.

Food and foodways are essential to understand the transnational dynamics acting in migration processes. Foodways are one the most important elements that characterize a group. The illusion to cook and eat the traditional way fosters the myth of the authentic origins of food and practices, shaping and reinforcing the idea of fixed nature over time. Foodways go beyond the issues about "what" we eat or drink. It is essential, indeed, to answer "when", "where", "why", "with whom" we eat or drink something. Buying and consuming specific products can define gender roles inside families, especially the relations husband/wife and parents/sons. Daily food practices are deeply connected with gender and generation categories, especially in the domestic sphere (Parsons, 2015; Cairns, Johnston, 2015; Beagan et al., 2014; Muzzarelli, Tarozzi, 2003; Garroni & Vezzosi, 2009). According to Giovanna Campani (2000, p.122)the lives of migrant women and their daughters cannot be merely described as a conflict between two cultures, but we need to focus on the combination of different and new cultural models, where generation is crucial.

Starting from the works of the main scholars who analyzed the political (Luconi 2005a), economic (Luconi, 2002, 2005b), cultural (Bevilacqua, 1981; Cinotto, 2001, 2008, 2010, 2018; Diner, 2001; Gabaccia, 1998; Teti, 2001; Zanoni 2010, 2014, 2018) and gender (Zanoni, 2012) issues that influenced the dietary customs of first and second generations and the notion of Italianness connected to food consumption, this essay will explore the transnational food networks established by migrant families and the

meanings connected to food and family in a diasporic background. Central historical sources will be the advertisements published on ethnic newspapers, that depicted and promoted Italian and American foodways influencing different generations and their families, and the interviews with second and third generation Italian Americans who described their childhood and adolescence in the ethnic neighbor during the 20s and 30s.

2. *Wives and husbands, sons and daughters*

After Italian national reunification began a process of gender distinction to define the masculine and feminine roles of the new "Italian" citizens. Following this trend, Italian food trademarks chose different representations of Italian productivity: the first one was related to emigration, especially masculine, and economic and commercial development. The second one depicted Italian women tied with the old-fashioned world of the countryside, alien from the industrial modernity and rationality, a sort of authenticity and tradition keeper. This is particularly clear among some Italian products recognized as symbols of Italianness, such as tomatoes. The trademark "La Napoletana", for example, depicted a woman in traditional dress inside a tomato[1]. The images of tradition, Italianness and authenticity were therefore strictly connected.

Fig 1. Advertisement of "Pomidori La Napoletana", in, *La Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, 18 novembre 1922, in IHRCA.

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[1] Ad in *La Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, 18 novembre 1922, in IHRCA.

During World War I, Italian women began to be depicted no just as simple migrants, but also as active consumers of ethnic products. Economic and cultural ties established between mothers, daughters, and grandmothers on the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean played a central role in shaping transnational consuming identities. This active role hardly fitted with the convictions of Italian and American ruling élite that considered female migration as a passive element of family reunification (Gabaccia, 1996). Ties built with the family left in Italy were deeply exploited by advertisements in the ethnic newspapers, that explained how women could maintain Italian traditions and commercial networks through consumption. According to Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar (2001) women operated in transnational networks building the so called "gendered geographies of power". Thanks to this model scholars such as Elizabeth Zanoni developed an analysis where Italian American women consumption activities "connected the private domestic realm to a transnational public sphere of commerce and trade" (Zanoni, 2014, p. 79). Consequently, Italy was represented as a Nation both of male producers and female consumers. If one of the main purposes aimed to link consumption to support the workers of the land of origin the roles had to be strictly gender divided. In a1937Florio advertisement, while male workers were depicted in the factory putting labels on the bottles of marsala, women were shown farming and harvesting grapes in the vineyard. The commercial chain was therefore composed by a class of male workers who produced food that mothers and wives in the United States would have bought thanks to their ability to recognize Italian authentic quality. Food could also mold conjugal relations through advertisements that portrayed men suggesting women how to make husbands happy. In December 1926 the Banfi company, an Italian American import and retail company, published a "Love Letter" wrote by an anonymous husband who suggested women to buy four bottles of liquor for their loved ones for Christmas, an appropriate gift for men[2]. Atlantic Macaroni company published a letter wrote from Chicago by miss Rosina to her brother to thank him to have sent her a box of

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[2] "Che cosa offrirete all'uomo del vostro cuore il giorno della festa universale più intima e cara? Fate trovare sul tavolo 4 bottiglie una per qualità di: Marsala Florio, Ramazzotti, Fernet de Vecchi, Vermouth Cora che saranno 4 sorgenti di benessere e d'allegria per voi e per lui". Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 23 dicembre 1926, in IHRCA.

maccheroni to make a "bella figura" with relatives, friends and paesani[3]. This kind of dialogue was an exception because the exchange of opinions about home economics or childcare was generally a female issue. In another advertisement Atlantic Macaroni reported a telephone dialogue between a woman and a grocer, underlining that the presence of the Maccheroni Caruso Brand could have brought back "Peace in family"[4].In a similar way, John Fante (1938) described that spaghetti cooked by the mother of the young Bandini symbolized the rediscovered Italian family union.

Since the beginning of the century, furthermore, ethnic newspapers hosted sections specifically dedicated to women, such as *Per Voi, Signore*, thenin 1933 *Per Voi, Signore e Signorine*maybe more appropriate to include younger generations, and *Nel Regno della donna* on the *Progresso Italo Americano*, *Per la famiglia e la casa*, on *Corriere d'America* and *La Guida della Buona Massaia* on *Tribuna Italiana d'America*. Often in these sections female became famous role models, for example Isabelle Kay, who gave information and suggestions on home economics and childcare,Betty Crocker (Marks, 2005) and Petronilla (Muzzarelli, 2013). The women depicted, anyway, were usually assimilated in the modern American consumption system but, being connected to Italian tradition, they could offer a correct and healthy life of the family. The wife was also e mother, a role that must provide sons the possibility to eat filling and healthy food, something that previous generations lacked. Images of women could also recall generational relations, for example the role of daughter. The Ronzoni Macaroni tagliatelle were as good as "your mother did"[5], becoming therefore n authentic product that daughters, once became wives, could use to make their husbands happy. In food advertisements can be found dialogues between women about past generations know-how. This knowledge was perceived as an essential element to satisfy the tastes and

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[3]Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 19 dicembre 1926, in IHRCA.

[4] "Mandatemi subito 5 casse assortite di Maccheroni Caruso Brand ché non voglio mai più restar senza. Ho provato maccheroni di altra marca ed è stato un vero disappunto per me e mio marito, e, siccome non voglio altre spiacevoli sorprese, d'ora innanzi per la mia tavola vi è posto solamente per i famosi Maccheroni Caruso Brand che non mancherò di raccomandare ai miei parenti ed a tutte le famiglie che conosco". Advertisementin *Corriere d'America*, 26 luglio 1925, in IHRCA.

[5]Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 14 novembre 1926, in IHRCA.

desires of men. In 1939, Caffè Pastene, on the *Progresso Italo Americano*, reported a dialogue between newlyweds particularly pointed to women readers. The wife asked to her husband how much lucky he felt to have married a woman that was able to cook so well and he answered that he was happy because the coffee was as good as his mother one (Zanoni 2012, p. 47). In this example Caffè Pastene tried to become the channel used by women of different generations to preserve the tradition of Italian coffee culture. In general, mothers had to be a sort of cultural transmission tool of the so called "belonging structures" (Gedalof, 2009), for example foodways, traditions and childcare (Bona, 2018; Cinotto, 2018; Giunta & Sciorra, 2014). Mothers tried, not always with success, to teach to their daughters to cook Italian and regional traditional recipes, such as ravioli. Often parents introduced their sons and daughters to traditional rites, keeping a strong gender division. Mothers taught to daughters to cook tomato sauce[6] and bread[7], fathers brought along their sons to see the preparation of wine and cold cuts. According to the kind of education parents wanted to transmit to their daughters, to be a good Italian wife it was necessary to learn cooking, especially in the Italian way. Women were therefore depicted not only as mothers and wives, but also as daughters, who, once married, must follow the tradition of their ancestors, especially for what concerns foodways.

I learned everything from my mother. […] Well, I learned how to make all these Easter pies or cookies and the different kind of cooking…everything Italian cooking. Now I got married. I was only 15 years old when I got married. And I… I got along. I knew how to cook. And when I'd make bread I knew how to do everything[8].

Since childhood, the attentions of daughters had to be focused on their fathers. Felsina Ramazzotti, for example, pointed its Christmas message to daughters, suggesting them to give a bottle of liquor to their fathers as a useful and kind gift for the male breadwinner[9]. At the same time husbands, fathers and sons were offered roles too, especially safeguarding and care of wives. The VOV liquor, for example, suggested a man how to resolve the

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[6] *Interview with G.B.,* in IHRCA, COHP.
[7] *Interview with T.D.,* in IHRCA, COHP.
[8] *Interview with* R.C., in IHRCA, COHP, p. 13.
[9] Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 2 dicembre 1926, in IHRCA.

health problems of his wife[10]. Father had to teach male traditions to his sons, as showed by Chianti Melini wine. Sons had to learn traditions and responsibilities of their lineage and at the same time fathers had to transmit good hospitality manners[11]. According to an interview with a second-generation Italian American, however, there were some exceptions to this scheme. In his family the mother was the keeper of the tradition of wine making, because she learnt in Italy how to distinguish by touch the most appropriate grape to have the best wine quality[12].

The roles showed were confirmed in the dynamics of the Sunday dinners, towards which second generations built – or refused – their Italian American identity. These images provided an ideological support and the confirmation that the Italian traditions were correctly followed in a public and private sphere, defining cultural boundaries between Italian neighbors and those of the "others". The Sunday dinner ritual was used also to define the Italian "whiteness", an ethnic group that ate "like a family", in contrast to the newly arrived, especially Puerto Rican (Cinotto, 2001, pp. 29-145). Possibilities to keep bonds through food with kin in Italy could also be imagined or real. In 1926 Eugene Petrosemolo – an Italian American merchant – offered to Italian American consumers the opportunity to send Perugina chocolate to relatives and friends for Christmas[13]. In this way migrants could share with the Italian family a common rite through the consumption of a traditional Italian product.

3. *Business, networks, and transnational families*

The network established by recurring transatlantic voyages of people and ethnic entrepreneurs connected the familial relationships with the import-export marketplaces, feeding a wide movement of assets and goods. The letterssent to and from Italy reveal a high presence of packages containing beans, chestnuts, and dried mushrooms to the United States and coffee to Italy. These foods became the tools to keep bonds left at home

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[10] "Mia moglie allatta e ogni giorno deperisce maggiormente, cosa debbo fare?", Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 31 gennaio 1926, in IHRCA.

[11] Advertisement in *La Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, 7 gennaio 1939, in IHRCA.

[12] *Interview with L.P.*, in IHRCA, COHP.

[13] Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 6 novembre 1926, in IHRCA.

alive and not to lose the original identity[14]. The letters helped also to inform specific branches of the family about economic conditions or working and commercial opportunities that could be established between the two nations[15]. Sometimes migrants attached photographs where they showed they ate as the affluent society did in their homeland – especially meat and white bread – witnessing an achieved richness in the hosting society (Cinotto, 2009).They often sent home remittances to improve family conditions and to try to move up the social and economic ladder of their sons (Corti, 2009), or to buy land or a new home. It commonly was a familial strategy structured on men leaving home for some years – five years on average – while wives invested remittances showing a specific agency in breaking social norms. If the male breadwinner could still decide how to share the remittances, women at home could get in touch with "public institutions, notary's offices, took decisions about economic transactions and land commerce" (Corti, 2009, p. 312), traditionally considered specific occupations for men. This exchange of information, goods and assets could establish well-structured networks based on family relations, like the Argentinian one that involved the Solas, described by Samuel Baily (1988), or the three branches of the Zanones, Boggianos and Signaigos. These branches connected Sopralacroce, near Borzonasca in the province of Genoa, to California, Illinois, and Missouri[16]. The American branch of the Zanones can be found in America already in XIX century when Domenico and Erasmo Zanone started managing farms in Eureka, California. Sopralacroce remained the headquarter of all businesses, especially when Giovanni Battista Zanone began to work as attorney for relatives and migrated friends who owned plots of land in Liguria and in the province of Piacenza. The Boggianos established their prosperity capitalizing the earnings of sharecropping and financial credit. Agostino Boggiano used these assets to invest in some business not directly linked to farmland. The years covered by the correspondence reveal the presence of almost three little companies directly run by Agostino. The first one, in 1885, was the "Boggiano, wholesale and retail dealer in and shipper of foreign, California and domestic fruits". Then, a restaurant and a pasta

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[14] "Epistolario Raffetto", "Epistolario Lagormarsino", "Epistolario Morello Podestà", in Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare (from now ALSP).

[15] Carteggio Costa-Rebizzo, in ALSP.

[16] Espitolario Zanone, in ALSP.

factory, "Uccello & Boggiano", then known as "Chicago Macaroni Company" that won the special ribbon prize during the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, thanks to the production of sixty-five different kinds of pasta (Portaluppi, 2011). Steven J. Boggiano started a bar in St. Louis with his brother Angelo. The Signaigos, third branch of the family, were merchants and dealers of Californian and tropical fruit in St. Louis, working not only in the city market but establishing business relationships in Illinois, Indiana, Kansas and Kentucky, thanks to the American rail network. Family networks could also serve to establish multinational companies that deeply influenced the economic developments of both Nations. A paradigmatic example can be symbolized by the Del Gaizos, a family of Neapolitan origin. Vincenzo Del Gaizo, one of the first Italian exporters of canned vegetables, established a company in 1880 focused on the North American market. After Pure Food and Drugs Act (1906) he understood that his company had to follow the new American food production standards to defeat the competition in that market. So, he decided to split the company in two branches, an Italian one – ran by his wife and his three sons – and an American one – ran by himself. After his death, his sons developed the company establishing bonds with Italian and Italian American business communities, adopting modern and efficient means of production and promotion (De Ianni, 1998). The role the entire family, and especially Florindo Del Gaizo, played in the ethnic community went beyond the economic and financial milieu. Florindo took part in the "Serie Napoletana" of the Fernet-Branca campaign in 1926[17], proving not only the importance of his family in the transnational food network, but also the centrality of family and entrepreneurship in the ethnic community. Family networks and the ability to adapt in different social and economic backgrounds were essential to develop the Locatelli company, especially when the sons of Giovanni Locatelli followed his path expanding the international market of the company. Umberto, in Italy, was the reference point, while Mattia from 1906 to 1915 lived in Buenos Aires to lead the Argentinian branch and Ercole opened new offices in New York (Mantegazza, 2005). These companies, born as little family-run business, once inherited by sons, became international corporations assimilated in the American capitalistic dynamics.

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[17]Advertisementin *Corriere d'America*, 28 marzo 1926, in IHRCA.

The ethnic entrepreneurship included not only big companies, but, above all, the small grocery store, often family run. Robert Foerster (1919) showed how easy was for a family to start a little fruit stand, because the start-up capital was limited, and relatives represented free labor that worked to develop the business. These stores were key actors in defining the borders of the ethnic neighborhoods because represented the presence of a specific ethnic community in that area. The ethnic grocery store also represented a landmark that could guarantee the authenticity and the quality of the products sold. This was particularly clear during the campaign against food sophistication and counterfeiting. Some advertisements asked consumers to buy olive oil boxes only from the local store[18], that also provided home delivery to women that could not go away from home because of their job[19]. In addition, after the working day, the grocery store could become a place to hang out for men. A second-generation Italian American remember that her father's grocery store usually reopened at evening to let men talk about sport, politics, and smoke the cigar[20]. This role played by the grocery store made the family name known, respected and more powerful among the ethnic community. Pietro Pastene, from Genoa, for example, was honored on the *Gazzetta del Massachusetts* and described as a sort of new Columbus of Italian merchants. He established the Pastene company in 1874 in Boston and then his sons transformed it in a big multinational company, adapting it to the modern American economic structures[21].

When the second generation grew up, relations with Italy became more symbolic and negotiated with the American culture, that included for example an increased attention to the nutritional and sanitary issues linked with production and packing of products. Consequently, advertisements underlined modern and sanitary qualities of the production – American qualities – connected with the Italian know-how. In 1915 Viviano & Bros Macarony Company – Chicago – highlighted its American hygienic

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[18] Advertisements in *La Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, 14 aprile 1934, in IHRCA.

[19] *Interview with N.D.C.*, in IHRCA, Chicago Oral History Project.

[20] *Interview with N.T.*, in IHRCA, Telegraph Hill Dwellers, San Francisco, Oral Histories Project, Box 2.

[21] *Pastene si trasferisce in grandiosa località*, in *La Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, 13 febbraio 1937, in IHRCA.

production process in the biggest pasta factory of the United States[22], the Iowa Macaroni–Des Moines –was described as the one of the most innovative factories ever[23] and the Ronzoni Macaroni – New York – combined American modernity of the factory to the Italian know-how of the workers. Second generation ethnic entrepreneurs understood they could offer the so-called Italian style products to let Italian Americans experience Italy outside Italy. These products projected a national identity among migrants, offering images and meanings useful to deal with a daily life in a society that considered Italians at the bottom of the racial and economic ladder. Moreover, these entrepreneurs realized that Italian food demand did not imply authentic food but a symbolic consumption that could be obtained through specific marketing campaigns. Italian American manufacturers were aware of the prejudices about processed food by Italian consumers, especially first-generation women, who considered cooking a way to affirm their own identity and role inside the ethnic family and community. Consequently, they offered to consumers the possibility to go back home with imaginary and consume Italy outside Italy, fostering the sense of nostalgia among first generations.

4. *Different food for a different generation*

During the interwar years Italian American ethnic newspapers showed a countertrend in depicting women if confronted with Fascist Italy. The regime started a campaign to distinguish the so-called "authentic woman" – a positive image where female identity was strictly related with farmland and with the roles of mother and wife – to the "crisis woman", described as "pale", "gaunt", "transparent" and as a product of Hollywood (De Grazia, 1992). While in Italy Mussolini launched the so-called "fat campaign", on the ethnic newspapers were often published advertisements of medicines to easily lose weight. The Oil of Koren reported the outlines of a man and a woman before and after the treatment[24]underlining that the Koren method was followed by the most popular cinema actresses, by businesswomen

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[22]Advertisement in *Il Risveglio*, 1915, in Immigration History Research Center Archive (from now IHRCA).

[23]Advertisement in *Il Risveglio*, 1923, in IHRCA.

[24]Advertisement in *Il Progresso Italo Americano*, 15 febbraio 1920, in IHRCA.

and housewives[25]. The Florio company directly targeted mothers and daughters, suggesting them to keep fit and young through Marsala consumption[26]. This company sometimes used strong messages, such as in 1926 when a woman could read "Pale women are pitiful. They usually are tired, emaciated, discouraged"[27]. These messages focused especially on second-generation Italian Americans because they were more influenced than their parents by the American culture. They experienced and assimilated it in the cinemas or in the meeting places where they hung out with friends. According to Pietro Bevilacqua (1981) meat consumption and, in general, the impact with the variety, and quantity, of available foods in America caused a deep anthropological change. Some observers noted that qualitative and quantitative improvements physically transformed second generations which had no more the appearance of their parents but they began to look like famous American actors, singers or sportsmen (Ruggiero, 1937; Mayor Des Plances, 1913; Siciliani, 1922).The American mass media judged the Americanization of Italians by their physical appearance or their daily diet. In 1939 the review "Life" described the assimilation of Joe di Maggio in terms of food preferences, sweet and sour chicken instead of spaghetti (Busch, 1939, p. 63-9).Consequently, was born a generational conflict about the public way to be American – and so accepted – and Italian – and so derided and considered something un-American and undesirable. The Italian American teacher Leonard Covello reported that his Italian students considered embarrassing the manners – and the smells – of their parents in the public sphere, so they started to refuse everything that could sound Italian (Covello, 1934, 1958, 1967). School became soon an important element of awareness because it was one of the first place where second generation Italian Americans experienced their otherness towards the Anglo-American world (Tirabassi, 1990). American authorities and institutions such as the Household Arts Education Department of Teachers College of New York and the Association of Practical Housekeeping Centers of Chicago considered public schools central places to assimilate the second generations. These

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[25]Advertisement in *Il Progresso Italo Americano*, 2 maggio 1920, in IHRCA.
[26]Advertisementin *Corriere d'America*, 9 febbraio 1926, in IHRCA.
[27]Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 15 novembre 1926, in IHRCA.

institutions organized classes to teach migrant girls how to cook in a better – and American – way.

Second generations were more inclined in consuming new American products such as chewing gum and Coca Cola. Some big American companies understood this dynamic and included some advertisements in the ethnic newspapers, balancing the American and the Italian elements. Coca Cola, for example, portrayed images where consumption was interlinked with morality, respectability, and American democracy. In 1926 Coca Cola published an advertisement on *Corriere d'America* that showed how this company was able to be integrated in the daily life of the ethnic community among gender, class, and generation categories[28]. A young couple is going to consume a glass of Coca Cola in a bar. Everything recalls the common American imaginary during the Prohibition Era. Through the open doors it can be noticed the scene of an ethnic working-class vegetable market. The caption at the bottom "everyone asks for Coca Cola" reveals the existence of an Italian consumption market of Coca Cola, depicted by second generation Italian Americans during a situation of "controlled" transgression. The open doors describe the ethnic background in which the scene is happening, and the first-generation readers are reassured that inside that bar there is nothing illegal or against the morality.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be asserted consumer society played an essential role for the structure of the Italian American family and the relationships between two generations. If parents in interwar years established real or imagined connections with families left in Italy and used the ideas of family and respectability to distinguish themselves from the newly arrived – African Americans and Puerto Ricans – their sons began to refuse the Italianness of their parents. Sometimes they mediated it with their daily American life, being Americans during the week and in the public sphere and Italians during the Sunday dinner and at home. At the same time, food business could be an economic opportunity to develop transnational networks where families on the two sides of the Ocean had to cooperate.

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[28] Advertisement in *Corriere d'America*, 4 maggio 1926, in IHRCA.

The Italian branch of the family began to produce food and send it to the American one that established a commercial network in the ethnic communities. This branch offered also permanent information about new trends on consumer tastes and new regulations about food production. In doing so, the "American" family molded Italian industrial production processes that had to change to be accepted by American society. Once established and structured the company in the United States the ethnic entrepreneurs started selling in the market some "Italian style" products to foster the sense of nostalgia among Italian migrants and to offer them to experience Italy outside Italy. In doing so, second generation Italian American entrepreneurs started to use American ways to manage their companies underlining in the advertisements a supposed, and invented, Italianness. As this essay showed, food and food practices had ad in important impact in the daily life of the migrant family becoming one of the crucial element of distinction between the first and second generation.

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Gender Dualism between Platitudes and Half-truths[1]

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Abstract

In modern economic systems, discrimination – and the resulting allocative inefficiency – occurs when "individuals with the same economic characteristics receive different wages and the differences are systematically correlated with certain non-economic characteristics of the individual". A significant example of this is occupational segregation: the gender stereotypes from which it originates reduce the efficiency of the economic system and the prospects for development, determining, on the one hand, under-utilization of the female workforce and, on the other, a distortion in the investment in human capital (Hartmann, 1976). The former can be translated in terms of the gender pay gap (articulation of the more general global gender gap index) even though there has long been a decrease in the gap in the employment rate. Female employment remains more concentrated in precarious, low-skilled, and therefore low-paid jobs. This depends not only on the glass ceiling (which hinders the careers of professional women) but also on a greater inequality among women themselves, between high-skilled and low-skilled workers. It entails the risk of producing feedback effects that not only perpetuate the gender gap but feed, within the female population, the same dynamics found between men and women. On these premises, this paper investigates how two factors - the widening economic gaps and the crisis of the last decade - have impacted on the gender gap trend. We will also consider the consequent structural and socio-cultural changes.

Keywords: gender gap, work, female employment, discrimination.

1. The female labour market: essential features

One of the most important economic and social phenomena in the European countries from the 1950s onwards was the return of women to

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the labour market, in search of non-domestic and paid work (Gallino, 2012). It is a 'return' of the female component in the labour market in the sense that, at the beginning of the industrial development, its contribution was significant in both agriculture and textile manufacturing. Furthermore, during the two world wars, women replaced in factories the men fighting abroad. Subsequently, following the rural exodus and, above all, the development of heavy industry, women reduced their participation in the labour market. This trend was halted with the beginning of the Tertiary Society, to which female employment is now closely linked.

In Italy, the female presence in the labour market began to decline from after the Second World War, reaching its nadir in the early 1970s. Several factors contribute to explaining this 'estrangement', including the stable and adequate levels of income reached by an increasing number of male breadwinners, the weak diffusion of services, both private and public, and new domestic technologies, and a low level of female education. In the following period, both the activity rate and the employment rate started to recover.From1972 to 1992, the female employment rate increased by almost 7 percentage points. This growth stopped from 1993 to 1995 and then resumed and intensified from 1995 to 2007 when the employment rate of women aged 15-64 increased by 9.2 percentage points. However, this growth has been very uneven, especially from a territorial point of view: from 1995 to 2007, the employment rate of women grew by 11-12 percentage points in the Centre-North, but by only 4.5 points in the South (Svimez, 2012). Concerning the type of employment, in the period under examination, women are employed mainly in the public sector, marked by better and higher guarantees. Since the 1980s, the rate of feminization has reached 60% in the public sector and 50% in the larger public sector (Isfol, 2005); about 26% of women have a stable job in the public sector compared to less than 18% of men. In addition, the growth of the business services and consultancy sector, together with the increasing level of education of women in employment, has led to a substantial increase in the number of self-employed women. To these, we must add the emerging collaborations, project-based contracts, and work-for-hire which, regardless of legal regulation, have the characteristics of both self-employment and unstable employment.

2. The crisis and its gender effects: current situation

The most recent statistical data (OECD, 2012; Etui, 2018) show that in Italy just over a third of the employed are women. Although the Italian female employment rate has increased in recent years, reaching 48.8%, its growth remains slow; Italy is among the worst countries in Europe in terms of female participation in the labour market[2].

The gender gap narrowed slightly in 2018 as regards wage equality (reached in 51% of cases) and the number of women in upper-level positions (34% globally).However, proportionally, fewer women have joined the labour force or participated in political life. The infrastructure needed to help women enter or re-enter employment – such as childcare and care work support – is underdeveloped and unpaid work remains mainly the responsibility of women (Dire, 2018). Therefore, part-time employment has also grown, and women rely on it much more than men, especially after having children. According to ISTAT data for the first quarters of 2019, 32.8% of women work part-time (compared to 8.7% of men). One of the reasons lies in the imbalance between partners in managing work and care. Rather than being a helping tool, the increase in part-time employment is mainly due to its involuntary component. In the first quarters of 2019, it exceeded 60% of the total compared to 34.9% in the same period in 2007 (Istat, 2015b, 2020). Involuntary part-time, accompanied by precariousness and increasing over education[3], denotes the worsening of the quality of work for women (Istat 2020). In general, the quality of employment in a country relates also to the possibility of reconciling paid work with family care needs.

Motherhood represents an additional element, after precariousness, identifying the Italian female labour market. Throughout the country, the lack of participation in the labour market for mothers with children under

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[2] In the Netherlands, two-thirds of all employed women work, in Germany half. Only Greece performs worse than Italy, with only 45% of female employment. The result is that, according to the latest Etui Report (2018), the gender employment gap in Italy reaches 18%.

[3] ISTAT measures over-education as a percentage of the employees with a higher qualification than that required for that profession out of the total number of employees. While this percentage increases for both genders, women, despite achieving higher educational qualifications, find it more difficult to find an appropriate job.

three years is high because nurseries are less widespread and available than kindergartens. As the number of children increases, the employment gap increases, up to over 14 percentage points in the case of mothers with two children: 69.2% and 54.8% in the EU27 and Italy respectively (Istat, 2013). In Southern Italy, 2012 saw an increase in the employment rate of women with young children due to strategies aimed at supporting family income in the face of job loss from their partner. However, this indicator fell again in 2013, more than that of women without children, widening the considerable territorial gap in the ratio of rates (10 percentage points). Despite a general reduction over the years in the traditional asymmetry of gender roles within the family, in couples with children, the female contribution to family-related needs continues to be much higher; especially in Southern Italy, where childcare services are much less widespread. This is reflected in the uneven distribution of working women in economic activities, with a concentration mainly in low-paid jobs compatible with the management of domestic responsibilities (close to the place of residence, with flexible working hours, etc.) – what the relevant literature calls 'horizontal segregation': concentration of female employment in a small number of sectors and professions. The four main causes of occupational segregation in Italy (measured by the rate of the feminization of employment) are: family roles, sexual discrimination, training choices, and the mechanisms regulating career paths in hierarchically structured organizations. Employed women are concentrated mainly in few occupations, often linked to social (not to say anthropological) stereotypes and traced back to the traditional roles of domestic and care work. They are teachers, secretaries, clerks, hairdressers, nurses, shop assistants, social workers, cashiers, dieticians, etc.), a sort of 'familism by default' (Albertini, 2009) (see tab. 1). In summary, catering employees, sales staff, secretarial assistants, and nurses are the professions with the highest positive balance between entries and exits from employment (Istat, 2016). These jobs entail low pay, low qualifications, and limited career prospects but are more compatible than other activities with the management of family responsibilities[4].

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[4]Another significant element is that the increase in female employment (especially in the South) is due to women with a lower social status who are employed in unskilled professions. These are the so-called 'breadwinners', *i.e.* family members whose earnings are used to support other members. The percentage of families in which the woman is the sole

After the crisis, the employment rate gap has narrowed substantially to 18.9%, but the situation worsens in case of children: 11.1% of mothers with at least one child have never worked. At the same level and in the same jobs, the wage gap remains at 7.4% in 2019. Moreover, the higher the level of education, the greater the gap: if a male graduate earns 32.6% more than someone with a high-school diploma, a female graduate earns only 14.3% more. Besides, as already mentioned, women are faced with many difficulties in progressing their careers (Istat 2020). However, this picture requires further consideration. While, during the crisis, female employment has interested mainly low-skilled professions, particularly carers and domestic helpers, in the last four years, the growth saw an increase in qualified professions[5]. In the second quarter of 2017, the number of women employed in the intellectual professions is 19.2% of the total (+1.4 points compared to the second quarter of 2013), with a growth of about 200 thousand employed, particularly secondary school teachers. There is a significant growth also in the professions linked to commercial activities and services (an increase from 25.9% to 26.1%), mainly due to catering service providers. The group of technical professions also shows an increase, albeit modest (incidence increases from 16.2% to 16.4%), mainly due to the nursing professions. The group of executive professions in office work remained substantially stable, dropping just from 18.4% to 17.8%, despite an increase in the number of employees in secretarial and general affairs. For what concerns the various sectors, in family services around nine out of ten employees are women, in education more than three quarters, and in health care the female component is at about 70%.

As shown in the latest Gender Gap Report, the current problem in Italy does not lie in political representation or female presence in Parliament but, rather, in opportunities and participation in economic life, followed by

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source of income increased: 12.9% (compared to 12.5% in 2013) (Istat, 2015a), including women who have returned to work, after being a housewife, for personal or family needs. However, as for men, the number of unemployed and 'discouraged' women is increasing: with the economic crisis they end up settling for minor undeclared jobs as maids or beauticians, often working from home (Gambardella, Morlicchio, 2005).

[5]This could also be explained by the fact that women over the age of 50 remain in employment because of the increase in the retirement age. There is, therefore, a reduction in the employment of Italian women between the ages of 15 and 34, while the employment of foreign women between the ages of 35 and 49 is increasing, mainly concentrated in family services.

unequal pay: Italy ranks 125[th]out of 153 countries (World Economic Forum, 2020).

3. Economic issue, social issue

The traits of the female labour market show a social issue lurking behind the purely economic question. The under-utilization of the female labour force translates into the gender pay gap, an articulation of the more general global gender gap index, whereby a woman and a man enjoy the same access to employment and pay, but this formal equality masks a substantial inequality.

Women are becoming more and more 'equal', *the power is in women's hands*, therefore, they remain false myths, commonplaces within a society that preaches equality but that in fact experiences inequality, marginalization, sexism, inequality of access to health, education and political emancipation (women vote less, work less, participate less in political life)[6].

Two further factors affect female employment [and career prospects]: automation, which Is having a disproportionate impact on the roles

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[6]Iceland is the best-performing country in terms of equality between men and women. The data suggest a regional divergence depending on world areas, with 22 Western economies witnessing an improvement in political empowerment for women compared to the rest of the world. This means that the 'gap' in Europe is narrowing. For example, when it comes to women in Parliament, these Western economies – which collectively closed 41% of the gap – saw reverse progress in 2018. After Iceland, we find countries such as Norway (with 83.5%), Sweden (3rd, 82.2%), and Finland (4th, 82.1%), as well as Nicaragua (5th, 80.9%), which has increased by one point, and Rwanda (6th, 80.4%), whose steady multi-year rise has stopped for the first time. The newcomer among the top 10 places is Namibia (10th, 78.9%), the second country in sub-Saharan Africa to do so. Among the group of G20 countries, France once again took 12thplace (77.9%), losing a position compared to last year, followed by Germany (14th, 77.6%), the United Kingdom (15th, 77.4%), Canada (16th, 75.5%) and South Africa (75.5%). The United States lost two positions to 51stplace (72%) and other countries fell below the 100th position, such as China (103rd, 67.3%), India (108th, 66.5%), Japan (110th, 66.2%), the Republic of Korea (115th, 65.7%), Turkey (130th, 62.8%) and Saudi Arabia (141st, 59%). Italy is among the last places in the ranking as far as Europe is concerned: only Greece, Malta and Cyprus perform worse. In absolute terms, compared to 2017,Italy goes from 82ndto 70thplace, but it is surpassed by Nicaragua, Namibia, Costa Rica and Honduras, where enormous progress is being made in terms of access to education and the possibility of exercising working autonomy (Word Economic Forum, 2018).

traditionally performed by women, and female underrepresentation in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) areas of growing employment. Analyses, broken down by gender, on the levels of education reached and the subsequent school-work transition, well represent the low use of human capital in Italy, particularly for the female component. Young women have significantly higher levels of education than their male peers; however, there are large differentials, to their disadvantage, in employment rates on leaving school. In percentage terms, women graduate more than men, but not in the disciplines of IT and engineering. This insidious imbalance risks increasing the work-related gender gap since IT and engineering are the basis of many of the professional skills of the future. Low participation of women in the development of the digital world, moreover, risks making it less open and inclusive, incorporating stereotypes and prejudices typical of a male-dominated culture into the software systems and algorithms that will regulate societies.

Table n. 1 shows that women work to a much greater extent in education and health care, but less so in STEM, which, as mentioned above, record a 76.9% of male employees compared to 23.1% of women.

Table 1 – Employeesand salaried workers by profession and gender – 2016

ATECO sections 2007	Total	Men	Women	Men %	Women %
12-entrepreneurs, administrators, and directors of large companies	122	102	20	83,7	16,3
21-specialists in mathematical, computer, chemical and natural sciences	185	142	43	76,9	23,1
22-engineers, architects, and similar professions	156	128	28	82	18
26-training and research specialists	1.136	229	907	20	80
31-technical professions in the scientific, engineering and production fields	951	809	143	85	15
32-technical professions in health and life sciences	619	178	441	29	71
41-secretarial and office machine employees	1.217	329	887	27	73
51-qualified professions in commercial activities	1.072	394	678	37	63
53-qualified professions in health and social services	218	37	180	17	83
54-qualified professions in cultural, security	929	343	586	37	63

and personal services					
71-industrial plant operators	*301*	*254*	*47*	*84*	*16*
82-unskilled professions in domestic, recreational, and cultural activities	*446*	*52*	*393*	*12*	*88*

Source: Personal elaboration on ISTAT Labour market survey data

The gender segregation in the workforce has been increasing over time, as shown by the trend in Charles' index[7]. In the years 2004-2008, the index remained stable at average values below 1 (0.87) but it has systematically increased since 2009, reaching 1.04 in 2019. As already highlighted, the most feminized professions, those with the higher percentages of women, are domestic, recreational and cultural activities (88.8%), training specialists (79%), office work or customer care (70.3%), education, health and family (65.2%), which have remained stable in recent years. There has, however, been an increase in intellectual, scientific, and highly specialized professions, with an increase of 44.4% with the decisive contribution of women (Istat, 2020). Table 2 shows the trend over the last four years.

Table 2 - Employees and salaried workers by profession and gender – 2016-2019 – (in thousands)

Period	2016		2017		2018		2019	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Ateco 2007								
Total	13.233	9.525	13.349	9.674	13.447	9.768	13.488	9.872
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	644	240	643	228	638	234	673	235
Total Industry (b-f)	4.710	1.234	4.746	1.240	4.779	1.280	4.754	1.289
Total Industry Excluding Constructions (b-e)	3.395	1.146	3.422	1.148	3.465	1.188	3.503	1.200
Constructions	1.315	89	1.324	92	1.315	92	1.251	89
Total Tertiary (G-U)	7.879	8.050	7.959	8.206	8.029	8.253	8.060	8.348

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[7] The Charles or Ratio Index is the sum of the deviations of the logarithm of the gender ratio of each professional category from the national total. If its value is zero, it denotes the absence of segregation. The index then measures the over- or under-representation of women in specific professions, depending on whether it is positive or negative (Charles, 1992).

wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	1.927	1.315	1.946	1.342	1.948	1.339	1.923	1.363
transport and storage	864	221	886	223	897	233	907	236
hospitality and food service activities	682	713	718	733	719	741	732	748
information and communicationservices	387	175	395	170	430	173	435	183
financial and insurance activities	363	286	352	286	357	284	349	286
Business services (l-n)	1.336	1.255	1.319	1.248	1.359	1.279	1.386	1.322
public administration and defence, basic social security	843	420	826	434	807	435	808	435
education and health (p-q)	941	2.433	954	2.523	956	2.523	970	2.542
other collective and personal services (r-u)	536	1.233	563	1.247	555	1.246	550	1.232

Source: Istat- dataretrieved 4 July 2020.

As a result, women in the labour market have more discontinuous careers and lower salaries due to lower access to top positions. These disparities, in turn, lead to harder economic conditions, especially for single mothers, and systematically lower pension benefits.

4. *The gender gapthrough the lens of the economic theory*

The data makes it possible to focus on one of the main effects of the crisis: the strengthening of the function of 'reserve labour force', or replacement, that women perform on the labour market, thus representing the workforce segment with the most precarious link with the market. From a historical point of view (Marcuzzo, Rosselli, 2008), analyses on the segmentation of the labour market investigating discrimination, both race- and gender-related (Reich, 2008), date back to the 1970s. However, institutionalists had already focused on the analysis of differences and

inequalities (Gilman, 1998[1898])[8]and women's role depending on the economic development of the system. When reaching more advanced levels of development, the productive function of women seems to be reduced, in the sense that their predominant role shifts from producers to consumers (Veblen, 1899, p. 180). From this point of view, Veblen is a forerunner of more recent debates, from the negative effect of gender discrimination on economic development to the economic and social recognition of care work and women's domestic work in general (Veblen, 1894). Another significant aspect concerns the reflection on how culture and economy[9] can promote the persistence of gender stereotypes and, at the same time, explain that of inequalities (Dugger, 1996). In this sense, Tilman (2004, p. 44) states that "The institutional needs of the patriarchy manifest themselves in the modern work organization through a striking level of occupational segregation where men often continue in their roles of domination by occupying the more predatory employment positions" (see alto Tilman, 2003).

Inrecent decades, the model of women's participation in the labour market in Italy has changed, especially on the age at which women enter the market and their highest educational level (CNEL,2012). However, the effects of the crisis and the consequent cuts in the education system have led to a 'discouraging effect'. This 'discouragement' is due to the increasing difficulties in capitalising on one's qualifications in the national context. Generally, the discriminated individuals who have a lower probability of obtaining a job tend to reduce their level of education, reducing, at the same time, their degree of competitiveness in the labour market (Myrdal,

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[8] This circumstance could be interpreted considering the recent diffusion of gender studies as an analytical category in the academic field, as well as the diffusion of feminist economics, but also the comparison and dialogue between the various heterodox schools of economic thought (Paulì, 2014). Feminist economics can be defined as an elaboration of economics aimed at improving the economic conditions of women (Strober, 1994). It is necessary to distinguish between feminist economics and gender economy. The analytical category of gender is understood in a weak sense as an element that accountsfor the differences; in a strong sense as an element to identify, through gender, the difference in power between men and women in society, as well as the structures and constraints (including legal norms) that cause and uphold them (Robeyns, 2003).

[9]According to Veblen, the economy and culture interact in the real economy, understood as a process of social reproduction.

1966[1944])[10]. Thisaspect affects mainly women, who thus give up one of the main factors of protection and competitiveness.

Regarding pay inequality, orthodox theoretical positions tend to explain its increase by emphasising the role of globalisation, migration, and technological change. However, Paul Krugman (2002), referring to the US context, argues that none of these motivations can convincingly explain this dramatic expansion and suggests an explanation linked to the increased tolerability of social norms in the face of growing inequality. Although these arguments are not specifically used to explain gender differences, they may be useful to analyse the gender pay gap (Piazzalunga, Di Tommaso, 2015). Indeed, studies on the subject often tend to neglect the social determinants of change and focus only on individual characteristicsbased on the theory of human capital. But focusing on individual characteristics neglects factors such as the working environment, the market itself and the economic context (Rubery *et al.*, 2005), following a new form of methodological individualism.

Therefore, although we can now observe greater symmetry between the lives of women and men, this convergence has been substantially unilateral. This "asymmetric convergence", together with gender segregation and the pay gap, contributes to increasing disadvantages for women in the labour market and their earnings and retirement income.This perspective raises questions about the comparative value and status of work and how wages are determined. Assuming wages are partially determined by social norms, we can then analyse the link between pay and the social value of different forms of work. Such a link, indeed, is central to gender equity issues (Grimshaw, Rubery, 2007). On the other hand, attracting women workers in sectors with low feminisation rates entails the need to implement policies to support the organisation of working time with services and infrastructure for harmonising work and personal life.

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[10] Particularly about racial discrimination. See, for example, the Appendix to *An America Dilemma*, where we find an analysis of the racial problem in the United States in which it is possible to grasp some suggestions that compare the condition of women and that of American blacks in the society of the time.

5. Women's work in the cognitive economy

Dualism and segmentation allow us to understand how the structure of the labour market has developed, with peculiarities depending on the country. The theory of dualism explains why a significant proportion of workers remain excluded from improvements in working conditions and job stability. In a nut shell, we observe the formation of a 'primary labour market' made up of privileged and well-paid workers, and a 'secondary market' characterised by precarious, underpaid workers and generally weaker categories.

The transformative scenario of the labour market is linked to the new paths of the global economy or the new cognitive capitalism[11] (Castells, 2002; Vercellone, 2006; Fumagalli, 2007) within which the issues of gender gap and feminisation of labour occupy a prominent place, also in the light of the above considerations.

Saskia Sassen postulates "the existence of a systemic relationship between globalization and the feminization of waged labour": "production structures that cannot transfer offshore and must function where there is demand can use female labour, while structures that can transfer abroad can use low-wage labour in less developed countries" (Sassen, 2002, p. 126, personal translation).

All this can be translated into a consequential process of feminization of labour. On the one hand, for "an exponential implementation of low-cost labour in global markets, on the other hand, in the Western context, because it signals the trend towards the progressive inclusion of women in tertiary production (women from the South of the world are transformed into waged reproductive substitutes for women from the North, to the detriment of their reproductive capacity/will; women from the North are

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[11]The production of wealth is increasingly based on immaterial elements, *i.e.* intangible goods, which are difficult to measure and quantify and which *derive directly from the use of the relational, sentimental, and cerebral faculties* of human beings.

pushed towards production and even towards the horizon of artificial and/or sterile life)" (Morini, 2010, p. 2, personal translation).

Work performance changes both quantitatively and qualitatively: working hours increase and tasks often cumulate, marking *the disappearance of the separation between working hours and free time* and a greater individualisation of working relationships. Moreover, work performance is becoming more and more immaterial: *relational, communication and cerebral activities* are becoming more and more co-present and important. "Women seem to represent a model to which contemporary capitalism looks with growing interest, both in terms of the *forms* of work (precariousness, mobility, fragmentation, low pay levels) and in terms of content, given the new anthropological centrality that work claims to assume through the intensive exploitation of quality, skills and individual knowledge (relational skills, emotional aspects, language, propensity to care)" (Morini, 2010, p. 3, personal translation).

In other words, cognitive capitalism appropriates the polyvalence of women's work, exploiting all the experiential value of women (typical of the Fordist era and made up of silent, loving and invisible support activities for production) which today is subsumed by production and therefore commodified. The idea of infinite adaptability and flexibility (double and triple roles) on which cognitive capitalism insists are well known to women. There is a female tendency to transfer modes and logics of care work, particularly the mother-child relationship, within professional work; and "this cultural attitude of women becomes functional to the needs of contemporary corporations. The work-sphere pretends to be a living body, which needs all the time, all the care, all the words and all the actions. If life itself (bio-economic accumulation: see also Martini, Vespasiano, 2013) joins the economic game, women are pushed to divert all the time, all the care, all the words, all the attention towards the *enterprise-living body* all the time" (Morini, 2010 p. 10).

Conclusions

The low participation of women in the labour market is largely due to the more general issue of the reconciliation of care hours and work hours (Saraceno, 2013). This means, on the one hand, the difficulty of combining domestic care and work and, on the other hand, the lack of services that make it possible to carry out the two activities (De Pascali, Forges Davanzati, 2014).

This research does not claim to be an exhaustive representation of data on female participation in the labour market. It aims to pinpoint, through data, the main critical issues that the recent economic crisis has brought to light in terms of gender inequality. The crisis has reduced gender differences in the labour market, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. On closer inspection, however, this is more linked to a worsening of the conditions of the male labour market than to a real improvement in working conditions for women – *i.e.*, a positive outcome due to a relative worsening for the male component. Female employment remains concentrated in precarious, low-skilled, and therefore low-paid jobs. And it is not only the question of the glass ceiling (which hinders the careers of professional women) but also a greater inequality between women themselves, between high-skilled and low-skilled workers (Saraceno, 2017, 2015). It entails the risk of producing feedback effects that perpetuate not only the gender gap but also, in the female population, the same dynamics existing between men and women. In addition, the austerity policies implemented in recent years because of the crisis have led to a general reduction in welfare, and specifically in gender welfare (Vincenti, 2012), with the consequent change in the age composition of the population. This had negative effects on the rate of productivity and, ultimately, economic growth.

Paradoxically, the crisis erupted at a time when more attention was focusing on the gender impact of public action, which has gradually faded. As a result of the crisis, old and new structural disparities seem to overlap (Eige, 2014; Bonomi *et al.*, 2013). The issue of reconciliation, and the way it has been addressed, reflects the degree of viscousness of a market that insists on considering female unemployment as less problematic than male unemployment (confirming, in a sense, a traditional stereotype that men should work rather than women). We could go further and mention that

the way women are integrated into the market has not, contrary to expectations, dampened gender imbalances, worsening their real capacity for social negotiation. This could be a "false emancipation" or a "partially accomplished emancipation" (Bolzani *et al.*, 2010).

In the face of the objective difficulties, however, it should be pointed out that the typical characteristics of the new cognitive work have allowed the reorganization of two macro-environments that directly draw on the female experiential scope: space and time. On the one hand "the spatial reorganization: the home office or the domestication of work, outlines the new home landscape of work. Private and working life integrate within the domestic spaces and the two areas are transformed and hybridize each other. Does the home expand to encompass the work itself or vice versa is it work that violates an intimate and protected area?" See also the symbolic aspect of the aesthetic reorganization of workspaces inspired by the culture of difference and diversity, as Eleonora Fiorani (2003) notes. The office and the work station are becoming nomadic: "work and its geography are expressed through scattered, decentralized, virtually connected workstations and this configures, in relapse, the new changes of living" (Fiorani, 2003, p. 246). "[...] Secondly, the reorganization of time, time that by modifying itself annuls the difference between working time and free time, altering even that between waking and sleeping. Think of the end of the alternation of the various social times, the introduction of a day perceived as if there is practically no suspension" (Morini, 2010, p. 10, personal translation).

The survival strategies prompted by the crisis, precarious work, discrimination, and gender dualism, conspicuously complicate the existence of women, making the possibility to manage both the private and public sphere even more difficult than it had previously been. However, these same strategies make us "glimpse a greater capacity of women to *move on quicksand*, as Bauman would say (2005, p. 131). In other words, a greater adaptive capacity that makes them more resilient and reactive. Men – due to their current social-historical conditions, including a sexualized social construction – show more difficulty in adapting to the new multi-purpose and qualitative dimensions required by the new enterprise in the new world. Precisely those characteristics, therefore, that make women attractive for the current labour market, *precisely their adaptive capacity*, can potentially be transformed into the greatest limit with which the labour

market could be confronted soon"(Morini, 2010, p. 20, personal translation).

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Review of Gili, G. & Maddalena, G., The History and Theory of Post-Truth Communication, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, pp. 110

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Abstract
Review of the book *The History and Theory of Post-Truth Communication*, recently written by Guido Gili and Giovanni Maddalena.

Keywords:
Post-Truth,Fake News,Communication, Manipulation.

The book deals with an extremely relevant and frequently discussed topic not only in academic context, but also in popular debate: the "post-truth", of which fake news is the main expression. The authors of the book, Guido Gili and Giovanni Maddalena, professors at the University of Molise, start their analysis from the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* that in 2016 elected the term "post-truth" as the word of the year and defined it as a term "relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief" (p. 1).

The authors underline that, although the term "post-truth" is a new word, this debate is not so recent. Attempts of reality manipulation have always occurred in history, as, for example, in the case of the famous Donation of Constantine with which the popes founded the temporal power of the Church, or the Ems Dispatch that led to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. Even the Protocols of the Elders of Zion for a long time have been considered a blatant proof of the Jewish world conspiracy; or, in another context, the facts never happened that during the French Revolution caused the "Great Fear" admirably described by Georges Lefebvre (p. 3). Nonetheless, today there is a renewed interest on this topic,

as the birth of neologism demonstrates, and the book provides some interesting answers on the reasons for the return of its topicality.

The main thesis supported in the text is that the reason for the success of the concept of post-truth and fake news comes from the weakening of the direct relationship between truth and reality, or, in other words, between knowledge and reality. The question revolves around the following problem: if we take for granted the idea, strongly developed since the end of the nineteenth century, that reality is unknowable as such because each subject interprets it differently according to his own intellectual schemes and culture, then we should conclude that we do not have adequate tools to make true statements until proven otherwise. That implies that between representation of reality and truth there is not necessarily a relationship of correspondence. This conception, which weakens the reference to truth in the knowledge of what is real, has become mainstream in the twentieth century in many disciplinary fields, described by the authors in extremely clear and exhaustive pages (pp. 46-64).

With the *Nietzsche-Renaissance* in the philosophical field, with the affirmation of the constructivist perspective in the sociological debate, with the diffusion of the concept of *performance* in the semiotic-linguistic area, with the idea that objectivity is a *de facto* impossible goal in journalism studies, the possibility of describing reality in an "objective" way has been increasingly eroded, so that everything has come to be considered as "interpretation". Consequently, if everything becomes interpretation, it is no longer possible to identify a criterion that distinguishes true from false. Therefore, according to this idea, everything can be supported and claimed.

Of course, the authors do not question the fact that "constructivist" cultural trends have also generated positive effects, such as "important interpretative and creative developments […] in many disciplines, as well as enabling the democratization of knowledge by arguing that all individuals and social groups can be producers of knowledge" (p. 65).

At the same time, Gili and Maddalena believe that the importance given by these perspectives to "interpretation" in the knowledge of reality has more easily allowed the growing spread of manipulative practices of public opinion through the media, as it is increasingly difficult, following these trends, to draw a clear distinction between newsmaking and propaganda, interpretation and manipulation.

However, such manipulative practices of public opinion have not emerged in recent years. In fact, the authors reconstruct in accurate and effective way the manipulative techniques and strategies on which intellectuals of different disciplines have reflected since the end of the nineteenth century. Thus, for example, Gili and Maddalena recalls Gustave Le Bon's work (1895) dedicated to the psychology of the masses, in which the distance that separates the crowds, animated by emotional drives and impulses, from the truth is well highlighted (this is an aspect of which the political leaders who want to guide people and who build their persuasive mechanisms on this basis are aware) (pp. 36-38). Additionally, the two authors refer to Harold Lasswell's classic (1927), *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, where the importance of symbols in any political propaganda activity is analysed (p. 39). Furthermore, changing the context and shifting the focus to manipulative techniques in the economic sphere, some sociological *bestsellers* by Vance Packard (1957), Herbert Marcuse (1964) and David Riesman (1950) are taken into consideration, in which, albeit the different sensibilities and perspectives, these scholars raise the problem of the manipulative processes implemented by the mass consumption industry that through the mass media push the consumers to buy (pp. 41-46).

This demonstrates that the use of manipulative tools is not a specific feature of contemporary life. What makes them today even more persuasive and pervasive is the fact that they are used in a cultural context in which it is extremely difficult to discern what is trustworthy from what is not, a fake news from a true news, an opinion from a fact, since the reference to truth and the reference to reality has disappeared.

It is therefore easier for those who make use of manipulation to implement captivating communication strategies through techniques that the authors analyse in the first part of the book with very current and relevant examples (pp. 11-33). First of all, the authors refer to the technique of opportunism, defined as "a communicative strategy in which particular signs and gestures are used not to reveal who one is, but instead to appear to be someone he or she is not" (p. 13) (consider the communications created by pressure groups that are passed off as news). They continue with the example of the proliferation of news that do not describe events, but that present opinions, comments and statements solicited by the media themselves, in which the reference to the facts and events that generated

those statements is lost (pp. 18-21). Later they analyse the creation of pseudo-events, i.e. events whose only purpose is to be taken into consideration by the media to ensure visibility to those who produce them (pp. 21-23). Additionally, they mention factoids, i.e. facts that never happened, but that become real due to the fact of being transmitted by the media and produce real consequences (consider, for example, the case of Protocols of the Elders of Zion, used as evidence of Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world) (pp. 23-25).

With respect to these manipulative techniques, in the final part of the book the authors pose a crucial question: how is it possible to defend ourselves against manipulation and fake news?

On the one hand, the most usual answer given to this question by intellectuals and scholars suggests to multiply educational courses in critical thinking, so as to teach individuals to distinguish between true and false news and to recognize those evidently false. On the other hand, according to a positivist attitude another answer proposes to rehabilitate a hard version of truth and reality through a "return to the facts" naked and raw, which as such would be difficult to manipulate.

However, Gili and Maddalena refuse both these solutions. In the first case because the recourse to courses aimed at arising critical thinking would strengthen "scepticism, understood as withdrawing from the pretence of truth and systematically suspending belief in all sources, [which] is actually at the root of the problem of post-truth and is unlikely to be its solution" (p. 96). In the second case because "when it comes to narrating and interpreting complex and controversial events, this diagnosis necessarily leads us to surrender to the fact that ideological prejudice, imperfections of language, and constraints in the information production process inexorably encase the real world in stereotypical visions" (p. 98).

Therefore, the authors put forward their own proposal that they define as "rich, relational realism […] based on a continuity of meaning between the reality of references and consciousness" (p. 98). This rich realism should lead us to consider the media as tools capable of increasing and strengthening the possibilities of knowledge of reality, which in itself has already a sense that individuals contribute to discover, enlighten and develop with their communicative activity. Therefore, it is necessary to re-establish the very close link that exists between communication, knowledge and reality, which requires a critical awareness of the mechanisms of

functioning of the media and a rediscovery of the natural desire for truth that, according to the authors, belongs to persons.

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Review of Luca Tateo, *A theory of Imagining, Knowing and Understanding*, Cham (Switzerland), Springer, 2020, pp. 1-97

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Abstract

Review of the book *A theory of Imagining, Knowing and Understanding* by Luca Tateo. In this book, Tateo describes, argues and defends the central role of imaginative processes in the construction of everyday and scientific knowledge, and, especially, in human development.

Keywords: Cultural-Historical Psychology, Imaginative Processes, Human Development.

In the first chapter, *Introduction: The Myth of Hippocrene*, Tateo opens his book with the following sentence: "This is a book about imaginative work and its relationship with the construction of knowledge" (p. 1). More than a simple projection of the content that will be presented on the following pages, the sentence locates the starting point of the perspective adopted by the author on the theme of imagination - and imaginative work - and knowledge that will be sustained throughout the book. First, imagination is conceived as work and, thus, as a process that involves effort and action undertaken in a given time and space. In this sense, imagination holds a material basis and it is *real-ized* in the permanent *inter-action* of the subject in the world involving body-mind as a whole. Second, by analyzing the relationship between imaginative work and the construction of knowledge, Tateo proposes another important argument for his reflections: knowledge is not given, but constructed. That is, he brings the subject's action back to the center of the discussion by assuming that knowledge is transformed throughout human history by the action - individual and collective - of all subjects that affect society. In this sense, knowledge is not only given - passed passively - from one generation to the next, but involves tension, contradiction, ruptures and dissent.

Tateo stands for a dialectical perspective of knowledge, one that assumes all forms of knowing as non-neutral and non-static, hence culturally-constructed through imaginative processes and in permanent reorganization due to individual and collective deeds. In the first chapter, Tateo presents imagination as a higher mental function fundamental to human experience, due to its role in the production and apprehension of knowledge. By defending it not as a product but as a process - imaginative activity -, the author locates imaginative work in everyday and scientific knowledge and in the arts. For instance, when demonstrating the ancestral interest of humankind in the act of imagining, Tateo brings as an example the myth of Hippocrene which, based on the figure of Pegasus, provides a complex symbolism on the relationship between imagination and knowledge. Then, he defends the epistemic value of imagination, both in basic and applied research, an understanding that is based on the assumptions of Maria-Noel Lapoujade, Dennis Sepper, Leslie Stevenson and on his own works on epistemology and imagination. Finally, the chapter is concluded with Leonardo da Vinci's imbricated link between imagination, knowledge, and art.

In Chapter 2: *A Glance on the Imaginative Processes*; Tateo reinforces the understanding of imaginative work as an activity, assuming it as an intentional act which is carried out in terms of a goal oriented towards the future: "Imagining is an activity involved in promoting or inhibiting meaning-making" (p. 14). He exemplifies the relevance of imagination in science recognizing instances that are absent in the empirical world - from gap "feeling" to gap "filling" - based on the experiment of "Hume's blue". He also gives as an example the effort made by scholars to define the principles and to find the constituent elements of chemistry in the periodic table in a conference held in Germany in 1911. Based on Vygotsky and Lapoujade propositions, Tateo argues that imagining is fundamental to expanding the field of experience and a fundamental part of knowledge creation. However, pointing to the best-seller book "*50 Shades of Gray*", he also demonstrates how art might fail in promoting this movement of expansion when it doesn't transgress the limits of the empirical world and classical logic.

On the third chapter, "*Imagination in Science*", Tateo delves into the role of imaginative activity in scientific investigation. Early noted by the natural sciences as being present in the entire scientific process - from the moment

of observation to the formulation of hypotheses - , as reported by van't Hoff, Tateo highlights that imagining is a teleogenetic action useful not only to identify causal relationships, but also for expanding the limits of science producing new research goals. The author brings examples of how imaginative activity acts in all branches of science, not only in terms of creating something new, but at the very desire of persisting in the investigative process: "The imaginative activity [...] is purposefully directed toward existential, political, theological, and economic future goals" (p. 20).

The author presents another important element when he argues about the historical understandings of imagination on the chapter "*A Brief History of an Unachieved Definition*", and reflects on the various definitions that have been created in the Humanities and Social Sciences on the topic. Through a chronological overview, Tateo explains the dimensions pointed out by different authors, contextualizing and highlighting the obstacles and challenges of each perspective. However, "to close the circle" (p. 30) - as the author says - a definition based on the constant characteristics and expansions throughout the historical framework is proposed. Expanding the historically related notion of imaginative work as a mere reproduction of the past or the exclusive creation of new elements *not-yet-existing* in the empirical world, Tateo argues that imagination is a core higher psychological function to comprehend the present and project the future in a dialectical process that includes the concrete-abstract relation - *non-imaginative and imaginative -* in a complementary dimension.

In Chapter 5: "*Imaginative Processes and Generalization*", Tateo expands his discussion when he introduces the role of imaginative activity in the construction of discourses in everyday life and scientific literature and includes the concept of intersubjectivity. Considering the individual, the others and the tools culturally produced by the humankind, Tateo discusses the production of scientific knowledge through a dialectical perspective in which the relationship between *imaginative* and *non-imaginative* processes are necessary and essential for inference, generalization, and, above all, for the creation of new syntheses that surpass the *status quo* present in science.

To conclude, on Chapter 6, entitled "*Conclusion: How Can We Build a Theory of Imagining*", Tateo ends by defending his theory of imagination from the perspective of Cultural-Historical Psychology. The author returns to some arguments presented throughout the book and analyzes the

sociogenesis of imagination, pondering its characteristic to expand and, at the same time, limit knowledge construction. In this sense, he emphasizes the complementarity of *imaginative* and *non-imaginative* processes in everyday life, science, human development and in the collaborative act of constructing the world, expanding the possibilities of connections between cultural and symbolic elements.

After Chapter 6 - in which Tateo synthesizes the central elements of the book's general proposition - the following two chapters are written by collaborators in which they comment, while expanding, some of the arguments addressed by Tateo. In Chapter 7, entitled "*Don't block the path of inquiry": Imagination, Inquiry, and Knowledge*", Dazzani and Filho begin with initial remarks organized in two topics: (1) positing imagination as a fundamental ability to know the world; and (2) proposing the exploration on the role of imagination in the process of investigation or inquiry based on Charles Peirce contributions.

The authors first bring the thoughts of Peirce to introduce how signs are related to humans' ordinary involvement in the world and, therefore, how the dynamics of experimentative and imaginative works "lead to the discovery of new (and surprising) aspects of reality" (Dazzani & Filho 2020, p. 59). In this sense, the pair doubt-belief creates movement and incites a genuine - and necessary - act of inquiring reality. Thus, inquiry is directly related to the relation human-world, hence thought-sign, to which the authors highlight the concepts of continuity (synechism), interpretation, and representation, based on Peirce's proposals: "when we talk about inquiry, we are talking about the way our mind behaves in the continuous of the world in the effort to symbolize the experience - to make it part of the human symbolic universe" (p. 61).

Finally, the authors describe Peirce's types of reasoning - deduction, induction, and abduction - related to the imaginative work. According to Dazzani and Filho, while deduction and induction indicate how something must be or show how it operates, abduction is the logical operation that introduces a new idea and infer how something may be. Thus, abduction is taken as a form of cognitive imagination, an inferential type of reasoning and the first step for scientific inquiry. Hence, reside in it the possibility to expand knowledge into *not-yet-known* fields.

In Chapter 8, "*Imagination in Science*", Poliseli and El-Hani begin by summarizing Tateo's main arguments presented in the book - from history

and philosophy of imagination to the defense of it as a core higher mental function both in everyday and scientific reasoning. Later, the authors pose questions and comments in order to discuss and expand some issues brought by Tateo, such as the need to better define and characterize the concepts of *knowledge, understanding, ideas, and hypotheses*; to clarify *mediation*; and, also, the description of what means *non-imaginative work*. Finally, Poliseli and El-Hani propose connections between Tateo's arguments and "developments in philosophy of science and intercultural communication" (p. 70). In concluding remarks, the authors highlight how Tateo's insights and propositions compose a fruitful scenario for the upbringing of new perspectives on imagination - and imaginative work - resulting not only on the development of the scientific field but also of new creative solutions for contemporary problems experienced by humankind.