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FROM CHILDREN OF MIGRANTS TO MIGRANT CHILDREN

The focus of this volume is on migrant children. As a research sample, they represent the next consecutive step in the development of research on migration, after men-centered and women-centered approaches.

Switching to children-centered research represents a definite novelty in the approach to migration, since for many decades such research has operated under the assumption that migrants are always adult males (Pedraza 1991, Zlotnik 2003). Both women's and children's participation in migration was considered insignificant. They appeared as additions to or passive beneficiaries of men's decisions to migrate. Therefore, it is correct to say that early studies on international migration were gender and age-biased. Women were not only considered as a negligible part of the workforce (their domestic work for family was not classified as work because it was unpaid), but also as generally inaccessible for researchers because of the language barrier and seclusion within the private sphere.

A definite change came in the 1990s, when the inclusion of women in studies on migration became more numerous. Edward Hofstetter (2005) prepared a vast bibliography documenting trends in studies of female migrants. Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, in their book *Age of Migrations*, write about the "feminization of migration" as one of the important trends at the end of the twentieth century. More and more often, women have become pioneer migrants or main breadwinners in a household. This trend is still continuing, and many publications show that women have become a significant part of the labor force concentrated

on domestic service and care work. Immigrant women have been stepping into “newly vacated” local households in richer countries, from which local women have entered the labor market, be it in their own country or abroad (Slany 2010; Slany, Małek 2005).

Research on migrant children – the focus group of this volume – began in the late 1990s as well. Demographers noted that immigrant children comprised the fastest growing segment of the local populations (Hernandez 1999). Researchers primarily analyzed their adaptation to the new countries. Special emphasis was placed on adolescents and their transition from childhood to adulthood, as well as decision-making processes pertaining to defining their identity vis-a-vis the identities of their parents (Berry, Phinney, Vedder 2006). How they cope with decisions concerning the extent to which they should positively respond to the expectations of the new society and also, at the same time, to what extent they should resist the expectations, values and behavior patterns of their family and community, became a central research topic. Most of the research was concerned with school adjustments, but findings were inconclusive. Both positive adaptation outcomes as well as negative results of the adaptation process were presented in the literature (Vedder, Horenczyk 2006). This highly unsatisfactory outcome stemmed from two facts. First, acculturation measures used for children were identical to measures used for the adult population. Secondly, many difficulties attributed to the migration process were rather age than migration-related. Intra-family conflicts between parents and children could serve as an example of conflict existing in both migrant and non-migrant families, but many researchers attributed them only to the situation of children as migrants in a foreign country. In either case, the acculturation of children has been analyzed chiefly as acculturation within a family or school context.

Surprisingly little research has been devoted to the psychological response of children to the experience of migration on the individual level. The changed and still changing situation of children within migratory flows justifies a closer look at the impact of this process on children’s situations and well-being. Several reasons for such a decision could be specified here.

First of all, migratory trajectories of children and parents do not need to be, and as a matter of fact no longer are, identical or even parallel. Children migrate not only with their parents, or because of their parents’ decision, but more and more often they migrate individually, both voluntarily and involuntarily. Voluntary migrations include educational goals – for example, participation in *Comenius*, *Erasmus* or *Semester Abroad* programs. Involuntary migrations begin because of war or persecutions – children flee their own countries with parents or as unaccompanied minors in search of safety. Secondly, return migration or

immigration of parents could represent emigration of children who are leaving the country to which their parents had emigrated years before, but in which they were born or have spent almost all of their lives. Thirdly, children are involved in the continuous migratory process even if their parents have already settled in some country or return to their country of origin. The group categorized in the literature as Third Culture Kids could be named as a prime example of this category (www.tekworld.com). Fourthly, children-parent dyads mutually affect their social positions. Migration of children might leave elderly parents unattended, while migration of parents might create the so-called phenomena of *Euroorphans* – children left in the home country while parent(s) migrate abroad.

The extended and changed context of children's migration requires a new psychological approach, crossing the limits of the previous one concentrated on acculturation processes and based on an often-cited anthropological definition of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits 1936), which focuses on group acculturation but has been taken mistakenly as a basis for psychological research on individuals (Rudmin 2009). This new approach, so far absent in migration research, originates from attachment theory. This theory was originally based on observation of the relation between a parent/caregiver and a child. John Bowlby (1982/1969, 1973), and his collaborator Mary Ainsworth (1989), noted that attachment relationships are strong and enduring affectional bonds between the attached person – usually the offspring – and his or her caregiver, aimed at maintaining proximity to the caregiver and using him/her as a safe haven during distress and as a secure base during exploration of the environment. Although immediate physical proximity is at first an important component of attachment, later on it normally becomes far less of an issue. Over the course of time, attachment theory has been applied to analysis of affective development beyond the limits of childhood. Partly because of this developmental shift, a psychological sense of “felt security” represents the most viable aspect of attachment in older individuals (Sroufe and Waters 1977). To have an attachment bond with someone means that “feeling of well-being and security are derived from maintaining proximity to some other clearly identified individual who is conceived as better able to cope with the world” (Bowlby 1988: 26–27). Bowlby himself pointed out that attachment to a parent figure represents a part of a larger set of systems that influence maintaining a stable relationship with the familiar environment (Bowlby 1973). Because of the intended scope of attachment theory, it began to play an important role for environmental psychology as inspiration and a departure point in reflection on the relation between humans and places.

The first natural experiment which evokes reflection on attachment between people and places was the forced re-settlement of the population of a Boston

suburb. The psychological effects of this relocation has been analyzed in a well-known study by Fried (1963). Research results have demonstrated that for many residents this relocation and loss of familiar environment has resulted in an interruption in the sense of continuity, fragmentation of spatial identity, fragmentation of group identity and a kind of “mourning” which amounted to a feeling of sorrow similar to that experienced after the loss of a loved one.

Some years later, an emphasis on the attachment to places became a focus in human geography. The chief proponent of this approach, Yi-Fu Tuan (1974), coined the term *topophilia* to describe the affective aspects of the relation with geographic space. The emotional bond between an individual and geographic space transforms this space into a “place”. Tuan’s (1974) approach directed research interest towards the influence of individual experience of residential stability or lack of it on human well-being. Maria Vittoria Giuliani (2003) points out the discussion of similarities and discrepancies in the meaning and function of bonds with places and attachment to people. She stresses the fact that both bonds are persistent over time, they are not conscious until threatened, and in the case of their loss, emotions of grief appear. Paul Marris (1982: 185) also points out that “the relationships that matter most to us are characteristically to particular people whom we love... and sometimes to particular places that we invest with the same loving qualities”. For the majority of people, it is one’s birthplace that is invested with the greatest affection and provides a sense of security and comfort. Interestingly, high mobility, i.e. frequent disruption of relation to place, was connected in some research results with symptoms of malaise, similar to mental and physical health problems resulting from a destroyed relation with an attachment figure (Stokols, Shumaker, Martinez 1983). It should be highlighted, however, that migration does not necessarily result in breaking attachment bonds with people or places. Transmigrants, as described by Nina Glick-Schiller et al. (1994) and Alejandro Portes (1997), are an example of people living simultaneously in “two worlds”: integrated in the host society, but still closely connected to the place of origin.

Nevertheless, attachment theory represents a promising starting point for more detailed and individual-centered, phenomenologically oriented research on patterns of relation between children and places in the course of migratory experience. This is only the beginning of the exploration of psychological dynamics resulting from changes of localities during a life span. An analysis of narrative material, literary autobiographies of children, reveals the variety of meanings and roles that places can perform in the lives of children, with the most frequent feeling of affection associated with security and family love (Chawla 1992; Mateo 2013). An approach based on attachment might help to explore the further phenomenology of children’s migration experience and its impact on the

later course of children's lives. This approach to migration in childhood forms the structure of this special issue. Most of the articles collected here are based on qualitative research, and aim at understanding various aspects of the phenomena of migration from the perspective of children.

As was already mentioned, researching child migrants is a challenging task from a methodological point of view due to the lack of accurate methods, lack of experience with researching children, etc. Therefore, some authors have analyzed migrations in childhood retrospectively: they talked with second generation migrants or adults, who had migrated some years before. Although this perspective does not permit the analysis of children's experiences "here and now," it may shed a new light on the long-term consequences of migration in childhood and on the process of biographical work. Most articles devoted to Third Culture Kids are based on this approach. Another strategy, adopted here by researchers dealing with schooling and education, consist in an analysis of law and institutional solutions, often in a comparative perspective. This approach enables us to take a closer look at the policy towards children migrants and at their rights in the host country. Finally, children's situation may be understood and described by interviewing adults: parents, other family members, teachers, psychologists or other professionals working with children.

Some authors, however, did their research with children. For example, Ewa Nowicka interviewed Vietnamese teenagers in Polish schools, Agnieszka Radziwinowiczówna did her research with young Mexican Americans returning to their parents' country, and Luenha Marinho conducted a "family interview" with both parents and children using multi-sited ethnography. Zorana Medarić and Tjaša Žakelj organized focus groups with pupils from Slovenian primary and secondary schools. Behnaz Tavakoli, on the other hand, managed to do interviews with teenage Afghan girls who had fled to Iran. This category of asylum seekers experience intersectional or multiple discrimination: because of their nationality, gender and age. This approach – not only situating children at the center of interest, but also involving them in the research process – seems to be an important contribution to migration studies.

In the introductory article, Dirk Hoerder, co-editor of the volume entitled *Negotiating Transcultural Lives: Belonging and Social Capital among Youth in a Comparative Perspective*, analyzes issues of educational policy and child migrants' identity-formation from a historical and comparative perspective. He demonstrates how curricula constructed by representatives of dominant cultures were (and still are) aimed at transmitting to colonized or immigrant youths the values and attitudes of the dominant culture. Hoerder also explains how colonized or immigrant children have a broader perspective, since they have the ability to switch between at least two cultural contexts or negotiate between them.

His article brings to mind Homi Bhabha's notion of "third space" (Bhabha 1994) on the one hand and, on the other, Everett Stonequist's concept of marginal man (Stonequist 1935).

The contributors to this volume represent various disciplines of social sciences, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, educational studies and history. Thanks to its interdisciplinary character, this special issue, as a whole, can be read from many perspectives. One has already been presented – the point of view of attachment theory and the role of social and emotional bonds with family, friends and places in the migration process. The other theme present in this issue – even if not explicitly mentioned in the titles of particular articles – is the agency of children migrants and the structural pressures they face. "Agency – structure dilemma" has been present in sociology since its beginning, but thanks to Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Margaret Archer, it has become one of the most important questions nowadays. It turns out that analyzing structural pressures influencing migrants' decisions and their agency can shed new light on the migration process, and this perspective is more and more often applied in migration studies (see, for example, Morawska 2001; Geisler 2013; Grabowska-Lusińska 2012). Traditionally, children were portrayed as vulnerable victims of parents' decisions to migrate and their own resilience and agency were underestimated. It should be stated, however, that children's perception of migration, their adaptation and identity-formation may significantly differ from their parents', and therefore they should be researched independently. What is more, their agency can be seen in the process of identity-formation and negotiating between different cultural contexts.

This special issue is divided into five thematic parts. In the first one, entitled "Constructions of Home by Second Generation Migrants" the authors' attention is focused on second generation migrants or those who migrated in early childhood (referred to as the 1.5 generation). Case studies of Mexicans migrating to the USA (and back home), Polish return migrants and Korean migrants in Germany demonstrate a broad spectrum of identity strategies applied by young migrants. It turns out that in the process of constructing their home, identity and attachment to places, they cannot relate to their parents' experiences. Their perception of both their parents' country of origin and their country of residence may be, in fact, very different. Referring to the classic theory of Stanisław Ossowski, one may say that in the process of migration, parents can transmit to children their sense of "ideological homeland," but their sense of "private homeland" will differ significantly, since it is derived from the experience of living "here and now" (Ossowski 1984). Children's "private homeland" is often located in the host country. Therefore, the boundaries between traditional categories of home and host country, migration, return migration and re-emigration are often

blurred. Second or 1.5 generation return migrants come back to their ideological homeland, but may leave their private homeland at the same time. Agnieszka Radziwinowiczówna and Katarzyna Wójcikowska have demonstrated how child migrants' agency manifests itself in influencing parents' decisions about migration, in deciding to return to the parents' country in early adulthood, and in various ways of negotiating identity.

The above-mentioned themes are also present in the second part of this volume, dedicated to Third Culture Kids (TCKs). This category of migrants, rarely described in Polish migration studies, is particular for many reasons. TCKs migrate with parents, highly skilled professionals, because of their mobile careers. As a result, Third Culture Kids experience multiple migrations that are, by definition, temporary. Agnieszka Trąbka analyzes the challenges they face and strategies they apply in the process of identity construction as far as its continuity and consistency is concerned. She also tackles various ways of identification with places and the meaning of attachment bonds. Katia Mace and Liz Winter discuss the implication of migration for development and identity depending on the age when migration takes place. They argue that adolescents are more vulnerable to the negative consequences of transition from one country to another than pre-school children, and that they are more likely to experience "identity struggles" than pre-adolescents. This tendency may be explained by attachment theory: pre-school children's attachment bonds are limited to or concentrated on generational family, so they are not broken when migration takes place. In adolescents' lives, on the other hand, other people, particularly peers, play an important role, and moving to another country means breaking ties with them. Adolescents' vulnerability in the transition process is confirmed by Kornelia Zakrzewska-Wirkus. In her article, she highlights the importance of the migration pattern: not only when migration takes place, but also the number of transitions. She tackles, as well, the role of religious or spiritual coping strategies, especially in their intergenerational dimension. Raymond A. Powell, on the other hand, applies the modern concept of Third Culture Kids to historical and biographical analysis of John Calvin's life and works. He raises the question of whether the phenomena we are discussing are really new, and proves that using concepts and theories from contemporary social sciences may shed a new light on historical analysis. It is worth highlighting that being a Third Culture Kid, associated with postmodern or late modern times, is not an entirely new phenomenon. For example, missionaries' children, children of European aristocracy and colonial administration employees fit into this category.

As has already been mentioned, when parents decide to migrate, children may accompany them or, especially in the case of short-term or circular migrations, stay behind. Both scenarios are discussed in the third part of this volume. Firstly,

Paula Pustułka describes educational strategies of Polish mothers in Britain and Germany, concentrating on the identity issues. She presents four mothering models and highlights the advantages of hybrid models, open for negotiations and integrating elements of different cultures. Secondly, Adela Souralova presents an interesting “care chain” (Hochschild 2000) created among Vietnamese migrants and Czech nannies in the Czech Republic. She explains how nannies acquaint migrant children with the dominant culture, becoming their “door to the majority.” The other two articles in this section are dedicated to the problem of the separation of parents and children due to migration. It is worth mentioning that taking gender into account in migration studies has resulted in a great deal of research devoted to mothering in the context of migration, while very little has been said about migrating fathers. For example, “moral panic” connected with so-called “euroorphanhood” has broken out mainly in the context of migrating mothers, and they became the first to be blamed (Urbańska 2010). In the public discourse, women’s migrations were perceived as abandoning their families, while the same decisions made by men were treated, on the contrary, as an act of care for their kin. This is one standpoint in the highly emotional and politicized (at least in Poland after 2004) debate about migrating parents. There is, however, a concurrent standpoint: interviews with mothers demonstrate the “centrality of children” in their narrations (see Paula Pustułka’s article in this issue). Migration in this light is perceived as a self-sacrifice for the sake of children’s happiness and chances in the future, and as an expression of good parenting. Similar conclusions may be drawn from Frances Pine’s fieldwork conducted in the 1970s in a village in Southern Poland. The village had rich migratory traditions, and women’s migrations were inscribed in the role model of a good mother – hardworking and sacrificing herself for the needs of her children (Pine 2007).

Luena Marinho’s article demonstrates the importance of including in research different actors engaged in the migration process. She explains how transnational child-raising arrangements are made between Angola and Portugal by interviewing both the migrating parents and children left at home. Thanks to this, she gives a more complex picture and reveals some discrepancies between these two perspectives. Joanna Kulpińska devoted her article to the same problem, but in a different geographical region. She describes the situation of children left behind in Babica – a small village in Poland known for its migratory traditions. Her article can be read in the context of classic research by Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz (1938).

The fourth part of this special issue tackles the problem of changing educational systems, and of different educational challenges faced by child migrants and teachers working with migrants. Migrating children and their parents have several educational options: local public or private schools,

international or American/English schools and, sometimes, a national school abroad. The choice depends on the child's linguistic competences, planned time span of the migration and the economic resources of the family. International schools, with multicultural staff and students, are claimed to be a friendlier place, where an adaptation process can take place smoothly. Public schools, at least in Poland, have little experience with foreign-born students, who constitute less than 1% of all pupils. Izabela Czerniejewska, who compares international and public schools in Poznań, claims that we should not over-generalize, and that also in public schools migrants may encounter an individual approach and welcoming attitude of school staff. What must be mentioned is the economic aspect as well: international schools, often elite and prestigious, are beyond the reach of most migrants. Monika Rerak-Zampou also compares two types of schools (Polish and Greek schools in Athens) as far as students' adaptation process is concerned. Her article is interesting, as one of the few dedicated to Polish migration to Greece. Małgorzata Kułakowska focuses on post-2004 migrations from Poland to the UK and takes a closer look at the situation of Polish children in British schools. She and Beatrix Bukus also mention the policy of host countries in regard to the collection of statistical data about migrant pupils and their categorization.

Policy is also a theme of the last part of the issue, focused mainly on minor asylum seekers. On the one hand, Behnaz Tavakoli, Zorana Medarić and Tjaša Žakelj reveal examples of violence and discrimination against migrant children in different contexts: Tavakoli focuses on the extremely difficult situation of Afghan girls in Iran, who experience intersectional discrimination, while Medarić and Žakelj concentrate on the violence and discrimination of non-Slovenian pupils in Slovenian schools. Their research also reveals multiple discrimination: because of ethnic origin, because of age or socioeconomic status. This part consists in an example of good practice as well: Katharina Benedetter and Marianne Dobner describe cultural trainings for minor unaccompanied refugees organized by the International Organization for Migration in Austria. They are aimed at facilitating integration of young refugees into a host society and consist in providing them with in-depth knowledge about Austria and discussing with them cultural differences, ways of participation in the host society, etc.

We hope that this issue will be interesting for sociologists, psychologists, and representatives of education studies, as well as for professionals dealing with problems of children migrants, such as teachers, social workers, policy-makers and psychotherapists. We would like to thank all of the authors and peer reviewers for contributing to this special issue of *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*.

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EDUCATION FOR A TRANSCULTURAL LIFE-WORLD
OR FOR A HEGEMONIC NATION? SCHOOLING
IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, IN FRANCE,
AND IN CANADA, 1830s–2000s

To understand transcultural education in societies with children from many cultural backgrounds, this essay looks at socialization in colonial-hierarchical settings and uses the analysis of cultural impositions to discuss consequences and needs in present-day immigration societies. The analysis begins with an historical approach to intercultural education. In a first section, focusing on British as well as French and Dutch colonies it analyses memories as reflected in life-writings of colonized resident children in schools run by in-migrant – “third-culture” – imperial administrators and teachers – a remote-control education. Present-day constructs of mono-cultural national values may be equally remote to the life-worlds of many-cultured societies. The second part traces the migration of imperially-educated students and working adults to the (former) colonizer core with India-to-England (late 19th to early 20th century) and Suriname-to-The Netherlands (1960s–2000s) as examples. In a third section, as an exemplary case for today’s multicultural cities, I discuss French-speaking university students from North and West Africa in Paris, i.e. migrant students facing a national/nation-centred/nationalist educational system. In a concluding part, I will interpret present-day Canada’s educational practices in terms of transcultural socialization. How did children and adolescents connect the “facts” learned in educational institutions to their everyday lives -- if they did so at all?

THE NARROW WORLDS OF IMPERIAL EDUCATORS

Empires are expansive and, in traditional imperial historiography, have always been studied as such. In contrast, colonizer-empire builders' narrow self-enclavement is described in life-writings by those colonized: Macro-regional, even world-wide imperial spaces were ruled-administered by narrowly self-referential men (Halbwachs 1925). The power to define colonial education systems' broad frame of reference as well as specific schools' curricula rested with core-born and core-residing elites, predominantly men, though, in matters of education and social services, elite women could have an input. The power over curricula included the power to place oneself at the top of the social-cultural-racial hierarchy. This centre-periphery relationship has been discussed in terms of "white vs. coloured" or, to avoid the cliché that white is not a colour, white colonizers and other than white colonized. However, the colonizers were internally divided by gender, class, and region, as well as by being core-born and core-residing, core-born and colony-residing, and colony-born and colony-residing, the latter designated as "creole" – white creole, to be explicit. A further group were migrants from numerous European cultures living in colonies closely connected to the imperial centre like Britain's "white colonies" Canada and Australia or Algeria as *département* of France. The imperial ideologues assigned them the label "ethnics."

The colonized were, of course, even more heterogeneous than either colonizer or other migrants. Retrospective life-writings indicate that men and women, already as school-children, had to create their own frames of reference since neither were imperial long-distance curricula related to their life-worlds nor were the "natives," even if they accepted and reproduced what they had been taught, permitted to enter the colonizers' social enclaves. The self-referentiality of colonizer-imposed curricula conflicted with both everyday lives and diversity of the colonized. The imperial ideologues, administrators, and teaching personnel

- (1) as regards children of the allegedly inferior colonized cultures professed to intend to elevate them,
- (2) as regards the creole-born white-skinned descendants of their own "stock" or "race" assumed that these would remain mentally tied to "mother tongue" and "fatherland",
- (3) as regards migrants from other European cultural backgrounds posited that these, too, needed uplift to the imperial referential culture.

In addition to closely core-connected colonies like Canada and Algeria, this also concerned colonial societies which were considered extensions of the core like Dutch Indonesia, French Martinique and Guadeloupe, and British India and Jamaica.

The largest of empires, the British, will serve as exemplary case. While missionaries came to the colonies with a comprehensive body of religious texts, dogmas, rituals, and practices, state-side educators had no comprehensive view of educational goals, many-cultured lifeways, or needs of pupils. Britishness as “identity” seemed “natural” to them and no analytical stance ever emerged. Socialized gut-feeling called “National Identity” trumped intellectual questioning of cultural relations and interactions. Unquestioned notions of “the British nation” or “the superiority of the white race” in general and the Anglo-Saxon Whites in particular placed colonizers in a mental ghetto which most of them never left.¹

In India, Thomas Babington Macaulay’s notorious *Minutes on Education* (1835), adopted as policy by Governor-General Lord Bentinck, proclaimed that “natives” were to be “English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect” (Stilz 1982: 56). In Canada, a century later in the 1930s, the Ontario Department of Education’s manual ruled: “The teacher should not fail to emphasize the extent, power, and responsibilities of the British Empire, its contributions to the highest form of civilization, the achievements of its statesmen and its generals, and the increasingly important place that Canada holds amongst the Overseas Dominion.” This program was formulated half a century after Canada’s Dominion status (1867) and after full independence (Statue of Westminster, 1931) – the gatekeepers of education had not noticed. They aimed at indoctrination of what they considered Britishness. Their reproach that Others, if “coloured,” were inferior or, if white like French-Canadians and Canadian immigrant ethnics, were culturally in limbo, folkloric, or clannish was but a rhetorical smokescreen to hide their own “clannishness” and, in the case of British-Canadian elites, their unwillingness to identify with Canada (Baldus and Kassam 1996).

English-origin emigrants often did not expect that in “the colonies” any change of attitudes would be necessary; they moved across the world “under the Union Jack.” Rather than looking up a flagpole, they might have levelled their gaze to see and understand everyday life. Native-born Canadians, whether of English, Scottish, other European, Chinese, Sikh, or other background and who, under the alleged equality of Empire were British subjects, wasted little time to make clear to newcomers from the English segment of the British Isles that adjustment was necessary and expected. Caught unaware, many English-minded “old-stock” Ontarian and Maritime Provinces’ elite members remained imprisoned in self-referentiality, while those labelled “ethnics” commented on the incongruity of having arrived in Canada and being taught about Britain. Only some English, having considered themselves well informed through novels about “Indians”, did

¹ For a broad survey of education see Mangan 1993; for a long-term differentiated view of British personnel and merchants in India see: Lange and Pandurang 2003: 178–188.

realize that knowledge about Canada, including that of policy-makers, was close to zero. Such core-referential gentry-class Englishmen became a socio-ethnic group about whom their neighbours told more jokes than (in)famous Polish jokes were ever invented. English immigrant women adjusted and performed far better. To the colonized, the male colonizer elites appeared as misfits.

Immigrants from cultures other than the respective imperial one knew that their decision to migrate implied coming to terms with the new society. In what might be called an “early discourse analysis” they understood that the British-centred frame of reference had no relation to Canadian communities and life-worlds:

– When, at the time of World War One, the Province of Alberta, where bilingual schools for immigrant children existed, imposed monolingualism, immigrant parents angrily commented: “The minister of education lies when he says that Alberta is an *English province*. *Alberta is a Canadian province*, where everyone has equal rights.” In a poem, “English Culture” (1914), another immigrant complained: “We help Canada rise / In Commerce and all things.../ We will tell the whole world: / ‘English culture is peculiar.’” (Czumer 1942: 104–12, 118–119)

– Serafina Petrone, of Italian background, attending the Port Arthur (Ontario) teachers’ seminar in the 1930s disconcertedly noted: “Ontario education was British in substance. British and Canadian were synonymous.” She had to memorize British money, liquid and linear measures, achievements around the world: Magna Charta, steam engine, defeat of the Boers, Calcutta, Plains of Abraham, Waterloo, Khartoum (Petrone 1995: 165–91).²

– Helen Potrebenko provided a gendered perspective. In school texts British culture was male – men had built the empire and, Queen Victoria excepted, royalty and politicians were male: “I learned that everything English was good and the exact opposite of Ukrainian. So if Ukrainian men were chauvinists, English men were not. This led to a great many misunderstandings.” She *learned* that women were weak and boys were strong but she *experienced* that boys often were stupid. She was taught that English society was free and democratic unlike the Ukrainian autocratic paternalism – “I learned the truth” belatedly (Potrebenko 1981: 40).

State-side education and training had absolutely no coherent frame of reference. Ontario’s British-origin elite, if visiting London, would have been looked down upon as creole, as colony-born. This very same elite socialized children into a *British*-centred world and at the same time excluded them from British-Canadian social institutions.

Do modern nation-states, their well-established elites and tradition-ensconced administrators, clinging to a mythical past, do the same with immigrant or

² See also Russian-Jewish Canadian Fredelle Bruser Maynard 1964: 70–78; Canadian author Margaret Atwood (1972: 29) shared this experience in the 1960s.

third-culture-kids in the present? Are modern bureaucrats, well-paid and deeply entrenched, as distant to the lives of lower-income groups of resident and immigrant background as colonizer elites were to the colonized?

Immigrants had and have to negotiate several life-worlds: the frame of reference school-teachers taught and teach, the practices “national”-background elite members imposed and impose, and their own everyday lives. Such inconsistencies might have placed children “in limbo.” Life-writings, however, indicate a different outcome: The children became aware that no single cultural mould existed, that they had to question what was proposed to them.³ The teachers’ rhetoric and the lived structure were mutually exclusive; their parents’ worldviews, norms and praxes differed from those in school; neither parents’ nor teachers’ worlds fit daily peer group practices and many-cultured exchanges. If the alternative, children overwhelmed by the contradictions, did occur, it was never mentioned by those who wrote autobiographies. Forced to question hollow mono-cultural rhetoric, they had and have to negotiate their lives through the contradictions and find their own way. Children’s peer groups, often considered immature or designated as “*sub-culture*”, are a generation ahead of their parents and their teachers! They will determine culture and history in the immediate future. They became, in the example, Canadian long before the elites who demanded Canadianization did. The elites were “provincial,” unable to come to terms with the wide, many-cultured world in front of their doorsteps, while the average immigrants negotiated many cultures – if often in conflictual exchanges.

To the 1950s this self-enclavement under a common flag occurred in Britain’s other “white colonies” and among colonial elites in general. An English-language and English-minded school system had first been imposed on Gaelic-language Ireland. Later, Australian elite families had self-colonized: Jill Ker Conway (1989: 96–104) was forced to learn about Britain rather than Australia as were African-Caribbeans in Jamaica, Indians in South Asia, others elsewhere.

– In Jamaica, pupils learned values in school “under the title of the ‘British Way of Life’” and received “a sanitised version of British society and manners which was made to appear the very height of excellence” (Pilkington 1988: 11).⁴

³ In 1940s and 1950s Canada, when the U.S. Chicago Men’s School of Sociology’s paradigm of immigrant dislocation still reigned paramount, sociologists Helen MacGill Hughes and Everett Hughes in Montreal argued that no society offered newcomers only one road to acculturation (E.C. Hughes 1948; Hughes and MacGill Hughes 1952). See Hoerder 2010: 138–66, and Hoerder, forthcoming 2015.

⁴ When Afro-Jamaican men were sent to the U.S. during World War Two as agricultural labourers, they did take advantage of their Britishness to demand from their racist employers free weekends and cricket grounds (Hahamovitch 1997). Michelle Cliff, in her novel *No Telephone to Heaven* (1996: 95 *passim*), took up the issue of education in a colonized setting. See also Andrea

– In India, the British supremacist school administrators imposed a British view of individual lives and of the world.⁵ Author Bharati Mukherjee, later living in the U.S. and Canada, remembered her 1950s education in Calcutta – i.e. after independence: The British mission school to which all Indians, who could afford to, sent their children, “taught no Indian history, culture, art, or religion” (Blaise and Mukherjee 1986: 170–71). Vijay Agnew, who came as a foreign student to late-1960s Canada, realized that she had no answers when asked by fellow students about her country and culture of origin (Agnew 2003, 2005). Cultural theorist Arjun Appadurai (1991:1) commented after his migration from Bombay to Britain and North America, “I gradually lost the England that I had earlier imbibed in my Victorian schoolbooks.” Queen Victoria had died in 1901 – more than half a century later her Age’s frame of reference lived on in schoolbooks meant to educate children who would live well beyond 2001.⁶

– In Egypt, Edward Saïd, educated in British-run schools in the 1940s, recalled the disproportionate emphasis on the Battle of Hastings and other such “fascinating” events (Saïd 2002: 65–84, 95, 113, 131, 135, esp. 69). In Alexandria, the English in general – like the French – were considered arrogant and unwilling to become part of the multi-ethnic society (Awad and Hamouda 2006: 122).

British and nation-states’ expansiveness of rule and provinciality of thought clashed throughout imperial and national history. White English-speaking “colonials” could talk back and demand rights or step-by-step independence while non-English-speaking “non-white” colonials could talk only among themselves. The colonizer elite like the modern national education-systems bureaucrats lacked intercultural competence. Thus, it required wars “for independence” to send the British back to the province they called THE imperial “centre”. Imperial expansiveness and national monoculturalism never achieved transculturality and local embeddedness.

All of this was similar in the other empires. Aminata Traoré, a cultural producer of national renown in present Mali, formerly part of French West Africa, noted that in this part of *la francophonie*, late 20th-century Maliens have to learn from modern African authors, “que nos ancêtres n’étaient pas les Gaulois, comme on nous l’avait enseigné à l’école primaire, mais des hommes et des femmes debout qui avaient résisté aux descendants de ces derniers.” In

Levy (1999: 175), describing her (black female) experiences in 1970’s London. Her Jamaican parents had left on a banana boat in 1948.

⁵ Also documented is the former British imperial practice to hide insane colonizing personnel in special asylums for whites so that the coloured colonials might never see a demented British (Ernst 1991).

⁶ See also Ghosh 1993. Mir (2010) discusses how the colonizer state and missionaries endeavoured to prune “unruly languages” to fit their ideological as well as print technology imperatives.

Martinique, the anti-colonialist activist and writer Aimé Césaire also had learned the infamous cliché: “Nos ancêtres les Gaulois avaient les cheveux blonds et les yeux bleus...” Throughout the colonies, French educators, as provincial as those of other empires, imposed this snippet of “knowledge” that was wrong even in France.⁷ Traoré entitled her book “the rape of the imagination” (Traoré 2002: 31; Césaire 2006: 36). To “destroy the African soul” in order to impose a modern [i.e. nationally French] education on the colonized, had been the goal of French imperial educators in the West African societies (Dravie-Houenassou-Houangb 1988). The Dutch case, with Suriname as example, will be discussed below.

Thus educators, seemingly expansive and definitely hegemonic, taught about themselves, passed on their childhood socialization, and assumed their superiority as “natural.” They epitomized an imperial provinciality unable to understand movements for cultural affirmation or, in political terms, independence, in human terms, self-determined lives. This raises many questions:

– Would not only the colonized but also the empires have been served better by a “human capital”-approach in training and education, geared to develop capabilities to the best rather than inculcate ideology?

– Would not, under a “social capital”-approach, both sides have benefited from cultural exchange and transcultural capability?

Under “imperial provinciality” practices, the powerful in the metropole as well as in the colonies could afford a narrow frame of reference and punish subalterns (whether classes, women, children, “ethnics,” or “colonials”) who did not accept their assigned place and behaviour in it. Subalterns had and have to pay close attention and negotiate multiple frames of reference to avoid punishment. Only the powerful can afford to restrict themselves to mono-cultural intellectual and social capabilities, to self-enclave. Subalterns need to be better equipped. A (brown) “boy” of a British officer in India or a (darkish) Ukrainian immigrant in Alberta needed many-cultural capabilities. The powerful could rest on their monopoly over societal resources.

Imperial mono-referentiality led to single-lane scholarship and to the so-called master narrative. Those who could switch between frames developed discourse theory, introduced subaltern studies, and created post-colonial theory. They could accommodate multiple narratives. Of the theoretical innovators and discourse theorists, most had been socialized in bi- or many-cultured experiences in their own lives,⁸ for example by migration from Lucknow to Oxford or from Algiers

⁷ This identity-construct has recently been challenged in the exposition, “Gaulois, une expo renversante”, Cité des Sciences et de l’Industrie, Paris, Oct. 2011 – Sept. 2012, and the catalogue Malrain and Poux 2011.

⁸ Of the French-language theorists, Roland Barthes had lived in Romania and Egypt, Frantz Fanon in Martinique and Algeria, Jacques Derrida and Pierre Bourdieu in Algeria. Other theorists

to Paris. They came to understand the limitations of a single frame of reference. Similarly, working-class immigrant children in Winnipeg's schools and highly educated upper-class Indians at British universities, from experience, "knew" that, in many respects, their teachers were uninformed, narrow, or plain wrong. This awareness provided a potential for developing views and life-trajectories of their own and for resistance.⁹

IMPERIAL EDUCATION AND MIGRANTS' REALITIES OF LIFE IN THE (FORMER) CORE OF THE EMPIRE, 1870s–2000s

From the education of resident subalternised children by educators of foreign imperial cultures we now turn to the migratory experiences of younger and older adults to the imperial core societies, Indian students and intellectuals to late 19th and early 20th century Britain (Lange and Pandurang 2003: 177–200) and Surinamese domestic and caregiving workers to The Netherlands, 1960s–2000s (Marchetti 2010). Having accepted British or Dutch education and norms, they were English and Dutch – so they had been told. Both carried their frames of mind with them but, in contrast to the colonizers, did not have the power to assume their own superiority.

"[British] Men in an enclave ruled a society they did not understand [in India] and, in turn, alike numbers of the colonized society migrated to England both to comprehend their rulers and to gain university degrees that permitted entry into the global-imperial-colonial system of administration and thought. Just as Europeans who carried their frame of mind and their power with them, Indians carried their different frame of mind with them. Both influenced, subverted, distorted, and fertilized each other." (Lange and Pandurang 2003: 178) The cultural characteristics the British educators pressured their students to imbibe were, however, not necessarily internalized. The British imperial interest was clear – since India's many cultures as a whole could not be controlled by British in-migrating personnel a "local," i.e. sub-continental, buffer-class of British-educated elite members had to be created and formatted to execute the mercantile, racial, cultural, and political goals of the distant core. The intended passionate admiration for British (or European) qualities of character, however,

experienced two (or more) regimes in one society: Antonio Gramsci and Mikhail Bakhtin, for example, the transformations to fascism and Stalinism respectively. In Britain, Stuart and Catherine Hall, the former of Jamaican origin, questioned imperial-national discourses.

⁹ This assessment is based on children with capabilities to discern. In some families, classes, or cultures infants in the decisive first three years of socialization are prevented from developing capability to discern.

was inculcated in an increasingly imperially impoverished society. The result could be a “brown *sahib*” or a critical observer, even an anti-colonial activist.¹⁰

Coming, i.e. being admitted, to British universities as students, Indian young men wanted an intellectual relationship but at the same time demanded independence from paternalism, duplicity of rhetoric and practice, supercilious whiteness implications. The British administration’s practices seemed not as impartial and rational as the imperial rulers announced and, perhaps, believed. “The mythology of England as a place of law, culture and scientific rationality” collapsed when the young intellectuals experienced and empirically observed their treatment as brown men at white English institutions. Numerous future leaders and theoreticians of independence studied and practiced at prestigious English institutions. Their “mentors” did not “see” this intellectual-political development right before their eyes. The imperial *gaze* served as *blinder* while the subalterns’ experiences and perceptive analyses incorporated more than one perspective and thus opened vistas and options. Out of the attempt to be incorporated into a flawed system came non-cooperation as a first step towards independence. Teaching is a two-way process, perhaps even a multi-directional one, not merely an adult-to-child, white-to-“coloured”, first-world to third-culture kid one.

Experiences of common people, women and men, who migrated to the Netherlands from Suriname (independent from 1975) in the 1960s, were similar: “Look, in Suriname you were raised as Dutch. Your language is Dutch. Your school is Dutch. You know some places in the Netherlands: The Hague, Amsterdam, Utrecht. You learn about them. You learn how the Dutch experienced the war. You learn all about food. You learn also how they dress. [...] But when you arrive here, then you know something: they are white [...] we were black [...] and only the river, the sea, divided us from each other. But exactly the same education that you had there, you had it here. So, you are a ‘black Dutch’. Only, you are born in Suriname, South-America” (Marchetti 2010: 72 quote from interview). As in the British and Indian juxtaposition, the post-migration lifeway experience did not fit the curriculum-culture. This raises questions, in particular in men and women who had believed from their own interest and life-projects that, what they had learned, equipped them for travelling and for getting a job and supporting themselves. Actual racism and hierarchization had not been part of the Christian schools’ teaching. From the late 1940s on, the colonizer government in Surinam had increased options for education and for learning of the Dutch language. As a result, and positively, migration became an additional option for life-courses. But the mythology of Western societies as equal and as offering non-

¹⁰ Schools for women, including those of lower caste, were set up only by (women) missionaries.

discriminatory labour markets collapsed upon arrival. Afro-Surinamese women expressed bitterness and frustration in their feelings about The Netherlands' reality which betrayed their – curriculum-grounded – hopes and life-plans. The school-developed Dutch cultural capital turned out to be useless in Dutch society: They knew everything about Dutch life and state as long as they were in Suriname and nothing once in Dutch society – as one interviewee put it (Marchetti 2010: 113). In an inferiorizing process, the Dutch state pushed them into low-rung labour market segments. In addition – like their upper-class Indian counterparts – they had learned nothing of the history and institutions of Suriname. A further grievance was that their Dutch “hosts” – or hostile employers – knew nothing about Suriname and did not intend to learn. This asymmetry was experienced as societally embedded unfairness.

Beyond the Indian and Surinamese experiences we might ask, how immigrant Chinese pupils and students – dispersed in a global diaspora – digest teachings about Western culture: They arrive in Western societies with knowledge of the barbarity of the opium wars in which the British government imposed drug consumption (1840s) and of the destruction and looting of the royal summer palace by western soldiers (1860). Colonizer barbarity is in the minds of the descendants of those who suffered from it, but not necessarily in the minds of present-day children as descendants of those who perpetrated it. Memories of those ruled and of those ruling are different.

If migrant acculturation, the way they use their human capital to the best for their own life trajectories and the way societies benefit from immigrant capabilities, is restrained by unfairness, hierarchization, and low wages, alienation and cynicism develop. The policy goal – in proclaimed, avowed, or rhetorical versions – is, however, belonging and embeddedness. Politics of rule, education in myths, immigration policies of exclusion and subalternization sap the very foundations on which people intend to build their lives *and* upon which western liberal states proclaim to rest (Anderson 2013).

COMPARISON ACROSS TIME: SCHOOLING AND LIFE-WORLDS IN TODAY'S MULTICULTURAL CITIES¹¹

While the education in imperial contexts seems absurd in retrospect, *national* value-education still seems pertinent in particular to conservative educators even

¹¹ The subchapter is based on research in Hamburg (Nora Räthzel), Bremen (Irina Schmitt), London (Phil Cohen, Les Back, Michael Keith, 1996), Paris and Toronto (Dirk Hoerder), Calgary (Yvonne Hébert et al.), and on studies by other scholars on other cities.

though societies are many-cultured. Many youth in schools as well as students in universities in today's post-colonial – post-colonization – cities come from former colonies or they are the children of immigrant parents. In Germany¹² and Austria as well as other states without a colonial past they are often considered as “in between” cultures, not embedded in either one. In France, Britain, and the Netherlands, migrants from the colonies usually arrive with (perfect) knowledge of English, French, or Dutch. They usually also speak the language of their culture of origin fluently and, sometimes, a third language. They are linguistically better skilled than children of mono-cultural national parents. Based on two research projects, I will discuss students at a university in the suburbs of Paris and pupils in schools in Germany, England, and Canada.

Self-referentiality (i.e. nation-centred culture) as a paradigm of education is costly. It requires power and institutional hegemony to impose such one-way culture on children having been socialized as infants in multi-directional cultural options. Multi-referential or transcultural capabilities permit negotiation and translation and avoid the cost of an enforcement apparatus. Such capabilities, belatedly, are being developed in modern post-imperial colonizer core-turned-immigrant societies. In the post-imperial age, both metropolitan residents and post-colonial migrants in the metropolises send their children to the same schools unless municipalities can impose (or residence patterns result in) segregation. Pupils and students may face (the remnants of) a mono-cultural British or French or other imperial or national master narrative, but they live multicultural exchanges in their respective peer group. Nation-state school curricula often still emphasize the culture – narrow, open, or even diverse – of the receiving society. Children and adolescents may face mono-cultural and self-referential teachers or open-minded ones.

In France, young people *issues de l'immigration* – who have left the segregation of the *banlieues* or as immigrant middle-class adolescents with French citizenship have entered the universities – do not consider themselves as “ethnically slotted” but as engaged in a self-determined trajectory with options both beyond the two frames of reference, their family and the receiving society, and with options beyond this dichotomy. Their worlds are cosmopolitan or open-ended. “Je suis donc imprégnée des deux cultures, qui m’ont toutes deux servi à forger mon identité,” said Samira L., a student at the Université de Paris 8 – Saint Denis-Vincennes. Nihat, a boy of Turkish parents born in Hamburg, Germany, commented about his neighbourhood: “[It] is multicultural. Everywhere you go you are accepted [...]. I mean, if you look at that line of shops, the Turk starts there,

¹² The German Reich's colonies, acquired from the 1880s, were taken over by the Allied Powers after World War One.

and there the Albanian ends. And where the Albanian ends, the Yugoslav starts with his shop. And I mean, living together here – if we would look at Greece or Turkey and here, where the Turkish ends, you see only Greeks and they are fully satisfied with it. I am also learning Greek.”

However, next to this empirically grounded picture, parallel non-embedded spaces exist. First, young people, usually boys, who want to control a territory and form groups of alleged mono-ethnicity: “the Turks” vs. “the Russians” in Hamburg.¹³ They rely on force and rule and do not develop capabilities and options. Second, young people with no chance in the job-market – because of discrimination as much as lack of human capital – feel (and are) cornered and often turn to aggression like the media-hyped, in fact small, riots in Paris *banlieues* in 2005. Both groups (like empires) are constructed by bullying weaker ones and, often, include young men of different cultures (like the imperial cores). Like all expansive-provincial imperialists they fight for control over a territory, their own bordered province in which they live their narrow identity. Third, children, again boys more than girls, from “problem” families, in which the parents did not manage the *métissage* from one society to the other, in which children have neither supervision nor role models, and for whom educational institutions have neither resources nor will to help, may turn to delinquency or withdrawal. All three groups lack individual and social capital to move between perspectives, cultures, and options – their limitations force them into self-referentiality (Räthzel, Hieronymus, Hoerder 2000; Hoerder 2004, 2007).

In present-day France, the French-born children of immigrants complain that colonialism and slavery are not part of what they learn in school – the curricula remain *patrimoine*-enclaves in a multicultural society. They, like their French-origin peers and young immigrants in 1930s Canada, are denied access to their parents’ past and, thus, to the reasons for their presence in France. France’s curricula are as national-provincial as the British ones were imperial-provincial. One young woman described the negative result as *honte et haine*, self-denigration and self-hate (Kerchouche 2003; Theliam 2004). Pupils, realizing that *their* past is being short-changed, sometimes turn against other ethno-cultural-religious groups accorded pre-eminence in curricula: French curricula do not mention colonialism but emphasize the holocaust and the Dreyfus affair and North African-background youth complain about the Jewish stuff, “les trucs des juifs,”

¹³ “The Turks” is a label for “guestworker children” of several cultures like “Pakis” in Britain, “the Russians” refers to people of widely varying cultural background having (been) migrated (by their parents) from the post-Soviet Union territories to Germany under presumption of a “German-ness” derived from ancestors who migrated eastward from the Germanies many generations ago.

which – seemingly – is as irrelevant to the many-cultured Muslim-French youth as their past is to Christian and Jewish French.

Such students neither demand a complex multicultural education nor deep excursions into history but information “à temps reel” relevant to their lives. This was also the implicit demand of children in the British Empire: Education that fits their lived space and provides options for a life-course rather than one that transforms-brainwashes them into an imperial-provincial dead end. Labelling such construct – like French *la patrimoine*-provincialism – “mainstream” or “master narrative” only serves to increase cynicism. Young people living in a many-cultured local or glocal world are far more perceptive than pretentious masters of empty narrative. Depending on their socialized capabilities, students leave such “education” with the capability to switch codes and frames of reference or with imbued provincialism or with a cynicism critical of cheap ideology but without perspectives. Self-referential provincialism, whether of self-enclaved immigration societies or of self-enclaved immigrant families, prevents young people from leaving assigned slots and taking advantage of options. Imperial curricula, whether in colonies or imposed on internally colonized, are useless.

TRANSCULTURAL EDUCATION IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES IN THE PRESENT: THE CASE OF CANADA

In Canada the policy of multiculturalism was announced in 1971 – a clear case of politics catching up with reality. “Diversity is our strength” became a proud motto – still unimaginable in France or Germany and many other societies. In education this implies that no hegemonic Canadian values would be taught – a step easy to take since the two dominant, self-styled “founding nations” had never been able to agree on a single master narrative of nationhood and national identity. A first move involved development of curricula that were committed to “democratic” practices and values. All Canadian citizens regardless of gender, cultural background, or colour of skin (“race”) were to have the same chances – no privileges for values and master narratives of founding nations. “Citizenship is defined by the way we see the world around us, local, [regional,] national and global, and by the part we choose to play in it.” Thus citizenship education is a whole way of action for teachers and educational institutions; it is neither mere knowledge of institutions nor is it a celebration of – alleged – historical achievements (Osborne 1988: 118).

Since “democratic” practices refer to the political sphere and the state, the “whole way of action” needed to be expanded to include societal and economic aspects as well as basic human values – universal human rights rather than

particular national adaptations. In 1982 the Constitution Act incorporated as Part I the “Charter of Rights and Freedoms.” While groups could live their traditions, these could not constrain the rights of individuals – in many cases a protection for women and children under 18 years of age. Group cultures were to contribute to the whole of society – thus they need to be translated in creative encounters to other groups, a process of adjustment to neighbouring cultures in itself. Sharing was the premise, not protection of ethno-cultural particularities, not a “mosaic” with parts fixed in a pattern but a “kaleidoscope” with ever changing constellations. Pupils and students during their crucial development years – and sometimes their parents – were to acquire a sense of responsibility for each and all regardless of differences in culture, ethnicity, gender, social class, sexual orientation, religion, and ability/disability. Difference was to be accepted and appreciated rather than merely recognized and tolerated. Cultural groups, whether Polish-Canadians or South Asian-Canadians or other, could not, in the name of tradition, demand unconditional adherence. An “exit option” had to be available to members born into a cultural group permitting departure for a culture of their choice.¹⁴

While the term “multi-“ or “inter-cultural” assumes distinct cultural entities to exist, the concept of *transcultural* emphasizes overlapping spaces, continuities, adaption or *métissage*. Educational materials and practices are thus based on a scholarly Transcultural Societal Studies that integrate the study of a society and its patterns and institutions (“social sciences”), all types of representations of it (“discursive sciences”), and the actual practices (“lifeway or habitus sciences”) in the context of legal, religious, and ethical norms (“normative sciences”), the somatic-psychic-emotional-spiritual-intellectual characteristics of individual men and women (“life sciences”) and the physical-geographic context (“environmental sciences”). Transculturation is the process of individuals and societies to change themselves by integrating diverse cultural life-ways into “dynamic” new ones (Hoerder 2010; Hébert 2001, 2003; Cohen 1999). Education is for children, not for empires or nations. Its values are universal human ones, equal for first-, second-, or third-culture kids.

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¹⁴ In Canada, the major institution of development of new curricula was the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE). Texts in the U.S. include among others Manning and Baruth 1991, Gollnick and Chinn 1990, Grant and Lei 2001, Davidman and Davidman 2001.

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I. CONSTRUCTING HOME BY SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS

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CHILDREN OF SÁNCHEZ 50 YEARS LATER: AGENCY OF TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN

PREFACE

In the title of this article I refer to Oscar Lewis' classic book. I use the figure of "children of Sánchez" as a symbol of Mexican vulnerable groups. This category is diverse and is constituted of people of all ages, children and youths among them. In the second half of the twentieth century (im)migration to the U.S. became a popular strategy to overcome the poverty among many Mexicans. Although most of the migrants have been adults, it is hard to underestimate the role of children in the transnational mobility. They are both a reason for their significant others to migrate and they are migrants themselves. Parents decide to emigrate to improve life opportunities of their offspring (Dreby 2010: x, 2). Moreover, children often cross the borders of nation-states with or without their parents. However, migratory studies have overlooked children's perspective for a long time. Only recently this tendency has started to change, and migratory studies are becoming less "adultist" (Tyrrell 2011: 23).

The objective of this article is to examine the agency of transnational Mexican children and to identify what influences it. By agency I understand the ability to decide independently and to be included in decision-making process. I start from the premise (see: Boehm et al. 2011: 7) that migratory studies have

overemphasized push and pull factors for decades and have underestimated actor's subjectivity (e.g. Lee 1966). To make social studies less reductionist, we need to adopt the viewpoint of our interview partners and expound their agency. A turn from structural factors to transnational actors and their agency does not place us in the branch of microsociology, though. Structural factors determine the agency of individuals. Therefore expounding of the individuals' agency will explain how social structure inter-twines with lives of transnational individuals. Transnational actors are subject to the U.S. and Mexican migratory policies. The analysis will show the interdependence of the individuals and nation-states' policies.

Family members, especially caregivers play an important role in both increasing and circumscribing children's agency. Therefore, the study must involve families and their experiences. For children – especially the youngest – family is the most important reference. I adapt “children-in-families approach” (Tyrell 2011: 27) and I put the experience and perspective of children and youth front and center. Although I have opted for case analysis, I believe that the cases I present below indicate certain tendencies.

I am particularly interested in case of migrants from La Mixteca, a region situated in the East of Oaxaca, in the South of Mexico. Intensive migratory flows from La Mixteca started in the mid-twentieth century and led to the emergence of transnational communities. By this term are understood prime communities localized in Oaxaca and daughter communities, situated in the central and northeast of Mexico and in various municipalities in the U.S. (Kearney 2006: 53). According to Michael Kearney, transnational communities form a third space, above the borders of nation-states (*ibid.*). Families move between localities. Second-generation children belong to transnational communities, hence – like their parents – they treat the prime community as reference point (Besserer, Kearney 2006: 12). The inclusion of the community and families, which constitute the meso-level of the analysis, should prevent us from methodological nationalism (Wimmer, Glick-Schiller 2002).

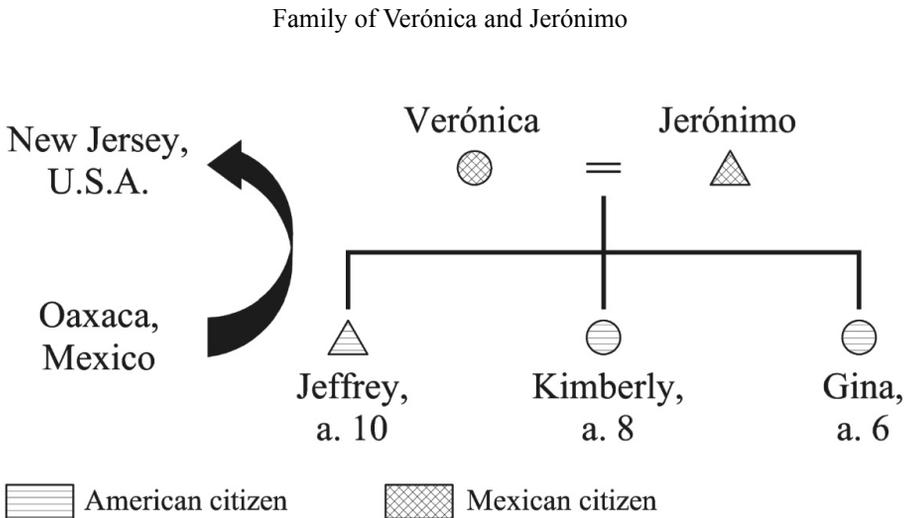
I have worked in a transnational community that originates from a *pueblo* (rural municipality) San Ángel. It is situated in area of La Mixteca called Mixteca Baja. International migration from San Ángel was initially dominated by men. American labor market and the U.S. migratory policy (e.g. Bracero Plan) favored them (Boehm 2012: 15). Children's and female's immigration started with the U.S. migratory regulations aimed at family reunification (Verea 2003: 84–85). Two important bills let immigrants regulate their status: Immigration and Nationality Act (1965) and Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986) (Massey et al. 2009: 58). However, the majority of people from San Ángel crossed the U.S. border after the aforementioned regulations had already been introduced. Some of them did it accompanied by their children.

I am also concerned with the agency of the U.S.-born children of Mexican (im)migrants. According to *ius soli* they are American citizens. For the second-generation children, *migration is already an internal part of their personhood* (Boehm 2012: 120). Many of them auto-define themselves as “Mexican-American”. The reasons why the children come to *pueblo* vary. They also have different levels of agency.

In 2012 I received Mexican Government Scholarship for Foreign Researchers, which enabled my fieldwork in Oaxaca. I worked in San Ángel among children and adults. In *pueblo* I carried out extensive participant observation. Interviews with children and their caregivers contributed valuable data as well. To protect migrants from the community who are unauthorized in the U.S., I use pseudonyms for the *pueblo* and my interview partners. I would like to thank them for sharing with me their testimonies. I would also like to express my gratitude to my Mexican advisor, professor Federico Besserer for his valuable guidelines and to Lilia Solis Arellano for having introduced me to the community of San Ángel.

CHILDREN OF VERÓNICA AND JERÓNIMO: U.S. CITIZENSHIP AS A MEANS TO REGULATE PARENT’S MIGRATORY STATUS

Figure 1.



Jerónimo and Verónica were born in San Ángel. As adults they decided to migrate to the United States to improve their living conditions. Their children were born in America. Jeffrey is 10 years old, Kimberly is 8 and Gina is 6. By August they all will have gone to primary school, as Gina is entering the first grade.

U.S.-born children of migrants automatically obtain dual citizenship (Passel, Cohn, Gonzalez-Barrera 2012: 15). It is a migration policy tool that mitigates the second generation's loyalties toward two states: the one where they were born and the country of their parent's origin (Portes 2007: 658). Verónica's and Jerónimo's migratory status is still irregular, as they had gone to the U.S. *como mojudos* [without state authorization]. Although they have passed several years there, they have been unable to put in order their documentation. According to available estimations, one third of all families of immigrants are of mixed legal status in the U.S.A. (Capps, Fortuny 2006) and there are over 3 million U.S.-born children in families headed by undocumented migrants (Passel 2005: 3). A great part of them are Mexicans. The U.S. population of "unauthorized" Mexican immigrants was estimated to be of 6,1 million in 2011 (Passel, Cohn, Gonzalez-Barrera 2012: 7).

Verónica and Jerónimo, aware of their "illegality" and deportability decide not to leave the U.S. Should they visit their parents in San Ángel, they would face dangerous border crossing on their way back to the U.S. They fear being caught by a border patrol or being hijacked by drug traffickers. Their children, however, can cross the border, as they are holders of the U.S. passports. In 2012 they came to San Ángel for the first time to spend their summer holiday with the part of the family they had not known before. Their grandmother Gloria, whom I had known for a couple of months, told me before their arrival: "I am going to have little Americans at home. If you want, you can come and talk to them". One evening I came to her home. Three siblings were playing with their cousins whom they had met only a couple of days before.

Jeffrey is not very talkative, but he responds all my questions politely. Gina, the youngest of the siblings, barely says anything; she prefers to play with her peers. Kimberly prefers to speak English rather than Spanish. Gradually we start to speak Spanish, though. Their American accent is quite strong. With each other they communicate in English and they speak Spanish with their parents. Verónica and Jerónimo do not speak English.

Before the arrival of her grandchildren Gloria was worried what food she would serve them. "*Puro cereal*" ["Only corn flakes"], she complained. Gloria was sure they wouldn't like spicy food. Contrary to her expectations, her grandchildren took to Oaxacan cuisine, though they did not eat chili. However, they often complain that they would like to eat pizza in San Ángel. Gloria

explains that in so doing they show their disrespect to *pueblo's* – and her own – poverty. Kimberly presents her genius for tact and diplomacy, explaining that even though San Ángel is impoverished, it is beautiful. Many second-generation children that come to the prime community think of it as a poor, infertile place. They are influenced by their parent's vision of imaginary homeland (Hirai 2009: 97). Jerónimo and Verónica remembered *pueblo* to be poor. Members of the second generation are also influenced by American social imaginary. Some of them believe that Mexican people wear ponchos and sombreros. The U.S. educative institutions transfer stereotypical cultural content and by that means socialize transnational children to homogeneity (Scott 1998).

One of the factors that influences transnational children's agency is their gender. Even though Kimberly is two years younger than Jeffrey, she feels responsible for him, assuming the role of foster mother during the holiday. In Spanish she tells me that she assures that Jeffrey would not exceed on sweets.

Kimberly: He just likes to eat pizza, all *junkfood* [she says in English the words written in italics]. So my mom put me in charge to look after him: do not take *soda*, do not eat *candy*, only twice a week he can take *soda*. And twice a week he can eat *candy*.

Researcher: And do you take care of him?

Kimberly: I take care for him because I'm more responsible.

When Verónica told her daughter that she was more reliable than her older brother, she increased girl's agency. It seems that although Kimberly is younger, she has higher level of agency than her brother.

When Verónica and Jerónimo decided to “send” their children to Mexico for holiday, they started building a house in San Ángel. I could observe it being constructed since the beginning. Bricklayers were working efficiently and fast. They were receiving money regularly, which motivated them to work well. In times of the American economic prosperity many migrants decided to build their houses in *pueblo*, and local builders had much work. However, the U.S. economic crisis badly hit transnational economy of San Ángel. Many of its members who live in the U.S. have lost their jobs and consequently their relatives in prime community receive fewer remittances. Some of the migrants were deported from the U.S., others were coming for a while to visit their families and were unable to cross the border back. Few community members could afford a new house.

When the siblings came to San Ángel in June, the house wasn't ready yet and Gina, Kimberly and Jeffrey stayed with their grandmothers (every few days they passed on from one grandmother's house to the other). Although they very much

liked to play in the building site, they were not allowed to, as it was dangerous. Instead, the children calmly frequented the place to supervise the construction. In fact, they administrate their parents' issues in the prime community.

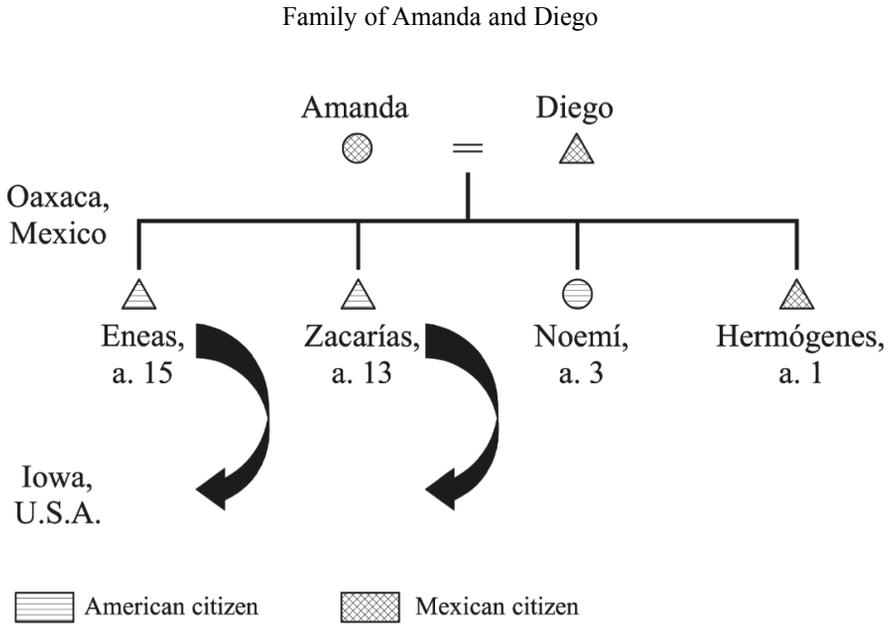
The U.S. citizenship increases the level of transnational child's agency. Michel Foucault demonstrated that power is not built-in certain institutions (1975). On the contrary, it is dispersed within social relations, families among others. We have to bear in mind, however, that power in families is not *inherently parental* (Tyrrell 2011: 26). Power and agency are continuously negotiated between family members. Analysis of agency requires including institutional frames and structures that shape human actions (Eisenstadt 2009: 58). Curiously, (il)legality is an important factor that can alternate or even redefine the dispersion of power within families. Traditionally in Mexico the level of parental agency is high, but migration, transnationalism and (il)legality may challenge this pattern. We can hypothesize that the citizenship might give power over "unauthorized" parents to second-generation children.

By categorizing individuals according to migratory status, the nation-state creates a deportable alien, i.e. an individual whose life is determined by the sovereign state power (De Genova 2010: 38). His or her deportability consists in uncertainty and insecurity about the future. A deportable individual is not sure whether they will be able to persist in their place of residence. By sowing this type of confusion among deportable persons, nation-state acquires what Wolfgang Sofsky has called "total power" (Sofsky 1997: 24). It can foil any plan of sovereign action of an individual. Building a house in Mexico is a rational strategy of deportable migrants uncertain of their ability to remain in the U.S. in the future. Some transnational parents have even decided to "send" their U.S.-born children to Mexico, guided by the fear of being deported and consequently having their children in state custody (Boehm 2012: 63, 127).

In transnational communities where a label "deportable" or "illegal" is rather a norm than an exception citizenship is a sort of a capital for second-generation children and for their parents. In spite of their age, Kimberly and Jeffrey understand the logic of deportability and illegality that concerns their parents. According to the existing law, when the U.S. citizens are of age, they can petition for regulating migratory status of their parents. Kimberly and Jeffrey already know that in eleven years time Jerónimo and Verónica will come to their house in San Ángel and Jeffrey *arreglará sus papeles* [he will put in right their documents]. It will let them come back to America.

CHILDREN OF AMADA AND DIEGO: U.S. CITIZENSHIP AS A MEANS TO REGAIN AGENCY

Figure 2.



Many transnational parents are incapable of regulating their immigration status in the U.S. before their children are of age. In such cases, deportation might disintegrate family. “Transnational families with members of mixed U.S. legal status living apart for years at a time have become a norm... since immigration legislation in 1990s and... post-9/11 U.S. practices”, as Deborah Boehm states it (2012: 16). Diego’s deportation fragmented his family. I heard his story several times. For the first time we listened to it with my Mexican colleague, anthropologist Lilia Solis Arellano. Diego and his wife Amada shared with us their transnational testimony. Later, during my fieldwork I often dropped in for a chat. They would always recall their sons who live in the state of Iowa, 15-years-old Eneas and 13-years-old Zacarías. Whilst we were talking, Amada and Diego would be playing with their younger children who live in San Ángel: Hermógenes, aged 1 and Noemí, aged 3. Hermógenes was born in Mexico, Noemí was born in the United States and she is a U.S. citizen. I heard the family story once again three months after I had met Diego and Amada, when Eneas and Zacarías came down to *pueblo* for holidays.

Diego was fifteen when he went to the U.S. for the first time. He worked in several states, but he chose to stay in Iowa. At the age of 20 he went to San Ángel. He was already an adult. His migration to the U.S. was rite of passage for him to become man (see: Boehm 2012: 120). Indeed, when young migrants visit prime communities, others perceive them to be men (Boehm 2012: 122). In 1995 in San Ángel he met and married four years younger Amada. They decided to go to the U.S. together. In 1997 Eneas was born. Birth of a child often changes transmigration into settlement (Górny 2010). Diego took steps to regulate his migratory status. In 1999 Zacarias was born and they bought a house in Iowa. In 2009 Noemí was born. However, in 2010 Diego lost the case in migratory court and he was offered to sign the order of voluntary departure¹. He had three weeks to leave the U.S. to prevent himself from receiving the order of removal. They believed that in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico they would be able to apply for a Green Card and return to Iowa.

The decision-making whether to migrate shows explicitly children's agency (Tyrrell 2011). I was particularly interested how children and parents remembered inter-family negotiating. Eneas recalls when he was told about the family's departure to Mexico.

Eneas: My parents explained it to me, but I suppose Zacarías wasn't with us at the table. They told me that we were going to go to Mexico for about two months and that it was because of the documents. They told me that it was Immigration [and Customs Enforcement²] and stuff.

Researcher: When did they explain it to you?

Eneas: In the U.S. about two months before coming here, to Mexico. I suppose they told me it after my thirteenth birthday.

Naomi Tyrrell names three degrees of child's agency in decision-making on whether to migrate: the first one, when parent(s) inform(s) a child about their decision; the second, when parent(s) consult(s) "child over the decision to migrate"; and the third when a child participates "in making the decision to migrate" (Tyrrell 2011: 28). According to Eneas' testimony, his agency was restricted. Amada's account, also formulated in retrospect, presents less tokenistic consultation process.

¹ Voluntary departure is a procedure which consists in leaving the U.S. at migrant's expense. It is considered a return by the U.S. authorities, i.e. an individual is not imposed certain amount of time when he or she cannot reenter the U.S. (Simansky, Sapp 2012: 2).

² An agency of Department of Homeland and Security, which is responsible for enforcing "the nation's immigration ... laws" (<http://www.ice.gov/careers/>).

Amada: I even talked to them [Eneas and Zacarías] and I told them: “If we go, it’s gonna be very hard to come back. And really, life in Mexico is completely different to life here [in the U.S.].

Diego: It’s a very abrupt change.

Amada: I said it to them and they told me: “No, mummy, we don’t wanna stay here. We’re a family and we’ve never separated and we’re not gonna separate now. Where one of us goes, off we all go!” The younger [Zacarías] told me that. So I said: “Well let’s go”.

Amada presents inter-family negotiating in which all the family members have equal decision-making roles. Zacarías, then aged 11, admits that he did not apprehend the reasons of their departure from Iowa. Although second-generation children understand their ability to help their parents to regulate their migratory status, the logic of deportation is beyond their comprehension. Amada did not receive deportation order, so, in spite of Diegos’ deportation, she could have stayed in Iowa. Though, the sense of responsibility for their offspring, the need of mutual support and solidarity influenced parents’ decision. Emotions and sentiments shape and structure the transnational mobility (Boehm 2012). Diego and Amada wanted to take care of their children by bringing them to their own hometown when it turned out that they wouldn’t get the Green Card in the U.S. consulate in Ciudad Juarez. Since transnational children have little agency in decision-making on whether to migrate (Massey 2009: 2–3), I agree with D. Boehm to call their mobility “placements” rather than “migrations” (Boehm 2012: 117).

Parental and child’s interpretations of the best interests of the latter are not always alike. For Eneas and Zacarías taking up education in Spanish was difficult, which is common for students who have always learnt in English (Hamann, Zúñiga 2011, Levitt 2001: 84). Their teacher’s attempts to facilitate their adaptation to Mexican school were insufficient and their colleagues behaved in a discriminative way.

Children experience significant shifts in economic status as they are “placed” in different parts of transnational space (Boehm et al. 2011: 12). Kevin, an U.S.-born son of another transnational couple from San Ángel could not believe that in Mexico they had their own detached house. In New York they used to rent a small apartment in Bronx, where he lived for 10 years. Once he was in San Ángel, he felt rich and his peers also perceived him in that way. “Stay-at-home” children, i.e. those who have not left prime community might feel jealous of the American clothes, backpacks and stationery that their classmates who have lived in the U.S. use. They might vent their anger and resentment mocking American accent or school problems of the latter.

Quarrels with peers, misunderstandings with teachers, linguistic problems and alleged low quality of teaching in Mexico made Eneas decide about his return to Iowa. Once again, the decision to emigrate was not preceded by inter-family negotiation.

Eneas: I wanted to go and I told my dad “I don’t wanna keep learnin’ here. I wanna go and learn there [in Iowa]”. And he asked “Why? You like it here”. I told him “Yes, I like Mexico, but not learning [here]”. So, he said “I’m gonna call your uncle. Let’s see what he says and if you can stay with them and stuff”.

By taking a decision independently, Eneas gained responsibility. He was able to decide for himself as a non-deportable person, an U.S. passport holder who can cross the border without the burden of “illegality”. On the other hand, his decision led to family separation. Amada and Diego let Zacarías choose either to return to Iowa or to stay with them. He decided to go with his older brother. Little children though, do not have autonomy in transnational movement (Boehm 2012: 126). The parents decided that Noemí would stay with them, hence she was a baby in 2010.

Various adults negotiate the placement of children in transnational space (*ibid.*: 118). Diego and his brother, an U.S. citizen made an arrangement that boys would stay with their uncle. Contrary to popular approach, transnational children sometimes prefer to stay with foster parents in another country than with their biological parents in the prime community (Shepler 2011). Diego and Amada gave up parental rights to Diego’s brother and sister-in-law. The latter provide economically for the boys.

“Transborder” parenthood (Stephen 2007) is riddled with difficult decisions. When I knew her, Amada was considering crossing the border without state’s authorization to be able to take care of her adolescent sons. State’s policy affects the most intimate sphere of migrants’ life. The story of Diego and Amada is not an isolated case. According to the U.S. Department of Homeland and Security, only between 1998 and 2007 more than 100,000 parents of U.S. citizen children were deported (U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2009: 5). This number refers to all groups of foreigners; statistics concerning Mexicans are not available. However, since 2007 the number of removed parents has probably been much higher, in view of the fact that the total number of deportations was bigger in the years to come after 2007 (Simanski, Sapp 2012: 5). The pattern that all the family migrates to Mexico does not predominate after the deportation of one of its members. Deportations have fragmented most of the families in transnational community from San Ángel. In *pueblo* I came across a few men who were separated from their family as a result of deportation. Transborder fathering is

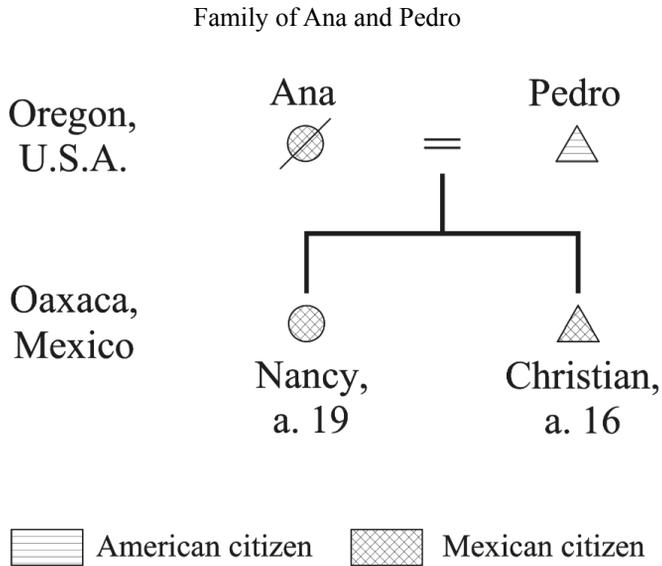
difficult. The authors of the introduction to the book “Everyday Ruptures” write that “social relations are ...—and have always been—reconstituted translocally” (Boehm et al. 2011: 10). In case of deported fathers who come to San Ángel alone contact with their spouses and offspring who stay in the U.S. often gradually disappears.

Transnational intimacy is marked both by continuity and disruptions (Boehm 2012: 15). Diego and Amada talk on the phone weekly with their sons. Eneas and Zacarías come to San Ángel for every summer holiday. In 2011 they saw their younger brother for the first time. In 2012 Hermógenes was already a toddler and his brothers played with him and with Noemí. They have much affection and tenderness for their younger siblings. The next year they come, Hermógenes will already have started to talk. As I have previously stated, for young Mexican males, transmigration to the U.S. and work experience is a kind of rite of passage to become a man. Eneas and Zacarías don’t presume to be adults. On the contrary, during their holidays in San Ángel all the family tries to “make up for lost time”. Eneas and Zacarías assume the role of sons, they search for tenderness and attention of their parents, something they feel they lack at their uncle’s home. They also take the role of elder brothers, taking care of their siblings. The continuity and disruptions of this family consists in seasonal variations: spending time together in the summertime and disruptions for the rest of the year.

CHILDREN OF ANA AND PEDRO: “ILLEGALITY” AS A DETERMINANT OF TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN’S AGENCY

Hitherto I have expounded the agency of children who constitute the second generation of migrants. Rubén Rumbaut provides a useful categorization that concerns the age at which children migrate or are “placed” on the other side of nation-state border (Rumbaut 2004: 1167). Rumbaut proposes to call 1.25 generation youths that migrate between the age of 13 and 18. Many of them go directly to the workforce (*ibid.*) and they are less inclined to acculturation than those who can attend school in the U.S. The 1.5 cohort consists of children who migrate or are “placed” abroad between the age of 5 and 12. Finally, 1.75 generation are the children who are “placed” in the U.S. before their fifth birthday. According to Rubén Rumbaut, the generation 1.75 easily adapts to the receiving society and their experiences are similar to those of the U.S.-born second generation (*ibid.*). Its members often consider themselves Mexican Americans, are bilingual and they understand American culture codes. However, legal status might be a huge difference between the second and 1.75 generations.

Figure 3.



Nancy is 19 years old. I first knew her in March 2012. In the forthcoming three months I could observe her and talk with her on a daily basis, because I was her neighbor. I also knew her shy brother Christian and her two grandmothers who live in San Ángel. Nancy and Christian now live with their parental grandmother. I would often join that elderly woman for a chat, when she was spending hot evenings on the porch of her house to protect herself from the heat prevailing inside.

Nancy's biography has been marked with different placements. In the kaleidoscope of changing places where she lived, her parents were the only constant. She was born in Mexico City, but when she was one year old, her parents migrated to San Ángel. There her younger brother was born. When Christian was a baby and Nancy was three, all the nuclear family emigrated to the U.S. At this time Nancy's father, Pedro, was a U.S. permanent resident, but the rest of the family used false documents to enter the U.S. In state of Oregon kids went to preschool. In the U.S. they moved a lot and Nancy didn't participate in the decision-making over their relocations.

Nancy: We never were in one house; I have never grown up in one house. I can't say, "I grew up there". No. Since I was a girl I've moved a lot. From one apartment to another or from a house to another, or to an apartment. I have never been in a stable place... It has never been something serious. To be in a house.

Nancy did not pompously celebrate her fifteenth birthday as Mexican girls use to do. At the time her mother was suffering from cancer. She neither celebrated *sweet sixteen*, something that she had always dreamt of. Her mother Ana passed away when Nancy was 15. It was the first big separation in her life. Her mother would always speak to her in Spanish. After Ana's death Nancy would give up speaking Spanish.

Although she had lived for 15 years in the U.S. and graduated from American high school, she was "undocumented" migrant. A lawyer advised Pedro "to send" kids back to Mexico to put in right their migratory documents. In 2011 their father "placed" Nancy and Christian in Ciudad Juarez, where they would petition for documents. However, contrary to their attempts, they were imposed 10-years ban to reenter the U.S. Because it was impossible to come back, siblings were "placed" in San Ángel.

It was the second heartbreaking rupture in Nancy's and Christian's biographies. A deportation order separated them from their father who remains in the U.S. and provides for them economically. As D. Boehm puts it, "the U.S.-Mexico border... serves as a physical barrier to family reunification" (2012: 63). Placement in Oaxaca also separated Nancy from her friends. Now she keeps in contact with them only via Facebook.

Deportation order obliges an individual to alternate their life plans. The goals that we set have spatial aspect and they are related to certain territory. Christian hasn't graduated from high school yet; he participates in a distance-learning program. Internet connection in *pueblo* is bad and siblings frequently have to go to the state's capital where Christian can use the Internet on a daily basis. When I met Nancy, she was rethinking her plans for the future ("I haven't done anything in a year's time"). She declared that she wanted to attend a course in International Fashion Arts in Paris ("I'd like to go there for a time. It's only a three-month course. I suppose three months is ok for me, I don't want to be far away from my dad"). Two years after her deportation I found out that she has not done that and that she lives in San Ángel.

I am inclined to think that deportation entails far bigger culture shock for a member of 1.75 generation than for an individual who emigrated as a teen or adult. Children that constitute 1.75 generation are brought up not only by their parents of (im)migrant origin. In U.S., like in other so-called Western countries, children are "governed by both state and civic society" (Tyrrell 2011: 24, Boehm et al. 2011: 16–17). Also peer group influences on the socialization of the 1.75 cohort's members (Boehm et al. 2011: 11).

The identity of children who are labeled "deportable" and "undocumented" is unstable (Boehm 2012: 127).

Nancy: Practically I feel American, because I was brought up there [in the U.S.], my parents showed me American life and I don't... Yes, I'm Mexican, but I feel more American.

Nancy's Mexican identification is mainly political; it is a label that nation-states attach on transnational individuals on the basis of citizenship. Though Nancy was deported and refused by the U.S. nation-state, she perceives herself to be "more American".

Linguistic problems contribute to culture shock that experience migrant children after the deportation. Nancy and Christian lack fluency in Spanish. At the beginning of their stay in San Ángel the communication was very difficult:

Nancy: For three months I didn't speak anything. It was very difficult. My cousin's husband speaks English and I could communicate with him. I told him what I wanted and he said it to my grandmother. Or my dad called me and told my grandma what I wanted.

Moreover, there are other differences that contribute to culture shock. Transnational individuals brought up in the United States cannot accustom to gender-structured relations in Mexico.

Nancy: The people here are very narrow-minded. First of all, they can't stand seeing you talk with boys; secondly, [they criticize you for] the way you dress, the way you speak, with whom you hang around, with whom you go out, with whom you don't go out, who comes to see you at home or why comes to see you. This is different [than in the U.S].

Gender relations are structured differently *en ambos lados de la frontera* [on either side of the border]. The difference is even greater when we take into consideration that Nancy used to live in an American city. In San Ángel gendered relations consist in strong control of feminine sexuality, what once was called "marianismo" (Stevens 1974). In indigenous *pueblos* of Mexico gossip often serves as a way to control on women's sexuality (Gil Martínez 2006: 49). The age transforms the bargaining position of a transnational female. In case of Kimberly, being a girl could increase the level of her agency. Little girls' and boys' agency is created in different contexts than youths' and adults' (Boehm et al. 2011: 8).

CONCLUSION

To explore the agency of transnational children I focused on a particular social situation, i.e. on their coming to a Mexican *pueblo*. I considered cases of children from so-called second generation, and 1.75 generation (children who experienced migration to the U.S. before their fifth birthday). I was interested how and why those children were “placed” in their parents’ place of origin and whether they had any agency in intergenerational decision-making.

Members of both 1.75 and of the second generation are bilingual, they go to American preschools and schools and many of them feel Mexican American. However, legal status might be a huge difference between the two categories. It is not my attempt to deny that the second generation in the United States suffers from discrimination and racism (Portes 2007: 665). I just want to emphasize that the second generation due to *ius soli* is non-deportable. Mexican children who were “placed” in the U.S. are deportable unless their migratory status could have been regulated. In my opinion, deportability is the most important predicate of transnational child’s agency. American citizenship is an important asset that may increase the level of agency in inter-family decision-making.

It is true, however, that the “threat of deportability” affects all the children of undocumented parents. In that sense, “illegality” also concerns the second-generation children. I agree with Joanna Dreby that it embraces “their fears of separation, awareness of illegality, and dissociation with their immigrant heritage” (Dreby 2012: 842). As Eneas’, Zacarías’ and Noemí’s example showed, the deportation of one member of the family entailed the placement of all the rest of it in Mexico. Sometimes, however, children choose to live with foster parents in their country of citizenship. The case of Eneas showed that his own educational ambitions confronted with his father’s removal caused that the members of the family couldn’t reside in the same nation-state. Diego’s deportation fragmented his family and demanded caregiving arrangements with his brother.

Michael Kearney (2006) emphasizes multidimensional influence of the nation-states’ borders on identity and class. It can be extrapolated on the field of gender. For transnational individuals border crossing entails subordination to different definitions of femininity and masculinity. Confrontation with *machista* Mexican culture for an individual brought up in the U.S. might therefore be a source of a culture shock. Indeed, social control and gender-structured relations in *pueblo* restrict Nancy’s agency and demand different behavior than the one that was accepted and expected in the U.S. Gender roles imposed over women in Mexico are often confronted with the figure of *macho* (Stevens 1974).

The influence of gender on transnational children is highly contextual. It seems that age determines this impact; the level of agency might be higher in case

of young girls. In the transnational community many people share the viewpoint that girls are more responsible than boys. Therefore adults put girls in charge of their sibling, including elder brothers.

I argue that deportability is an important determinant of transnational children's agency. This factor has often been disregarded in transnational studies. The impact of children's own deportability in case of 1.75 generation and of parents' deportability in case of the second generation shows the links between the nation-state and lives of families and their members. Nation-state labels individuals as "illegals". By doing that, it deprives them of agency. Giorgio Agamben (1998) introduces the concept of *bare life* that he ascribes to *homo sacer*, i.e. a human whose life is stripped of political significance (see also De Genova 2010). Deportation not only affects individuals, but also their families, by leading to heartbreaking ruptures, which cause pain and suffering (Boehm et al. 2011: 14-15). Neither in the U.S. nor in Mexico professional support is offered to members of fragmented families. Some of them can count with the support of the transnational community, but the wounds that the separation opens are not easy to heal.

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HOMECOMING OR ADVENTURE? MOTIVATIONS OF POLISH RETURN MIGRANTS WHO GREW UP ABROAD AND THEIR DETERMINANTS.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the article is to analyse the variety of motives and circumstances of return migration present in the narratives of Polish migrants, who grew up abroad and returned to their country of origin as young adults. I am interested in the reasons for which they came to Poland and how the decisions were made – whether they were individual or collective, which biography determinants influenced them. I will pay particular attention to the role of the national factor in decision making and the meaning attached to the planned migration.

The research consisted of 17 in-depth interviews with representatives of this category. The interviewees had spent a great part of their childhood in different countries of the western cultural sphere. Among them were three individuals who had spent some time in Arabic countries, although they had attended international schools. The length of their stay abroad varied from 6 to 20 years, and the age upon return to Poland was from 16 to 27.

The main characteristics of the interviewees are presented in the table below:

The empirical material – the migrants' narratives – was the starting point in the analysis process. In the next phase I considered issues of more general nature and referred to some theories and categories, existing in social sciences. It should be emphasized that they were collected narratives which guided me towards some references. The theoretical concepts were not taken *a priori*. This approach, inspired by the grounded theory and ethnography (Konecki 2000, Charmaz 2009), made it possible to look at the phenomena which interested me from the perspective of interviewees and allowed me to preserve serendipity – crucial in qualitative research. I was able to discover some phenomena, which

at the beginning of the study I hadn't expected and I hadn't search for (Konecki 2000: 27).

Table 1.

Main characteristics of the interviewees

| Number/ Name of the interviewee* | Age | Country of emigration | Length of migration |
|----------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1- Gabriela | 24 | Australia | 20 |
| 2- Bartosz | 27 | Italy | 6 |
| 3- Małgorzata | 28 | UAE, Belgium, Netherlands | 9 |
| 4- Robert | 23 | Italy | 10 |
| 5- Barbara | 30 | USA | 20 |
| 6- Joanna | 30 | Italy, Syria | 12 |
| 7- Hanna | 26 | Russia, USA | 10 |
| 8- Monika | 24 | Denmark | 16 |
| 9- Izabela | 24 | Germany | 13 |
| 10- Kamila | 23 | Romania | 14 |
| 11- Michał | 30 | Sweden, Germany | 18 |
| 12- Natalia | 24 | Germany | 17 |
| 13- Karol | 24 | Sweden | 18 |
| 14- Maria | 19 | France | 18 |
| 15- Justyna | 29 | Germany | 18 |
| 16- Wojciech | 28 | UAE | 7 |
| 17- Weronika | 24 | Australia | 7 |

*Names of the interviewees have been changed

MOTIVATIONS OF RETURN MIGRANTS – THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The answer to the question when and why migrants decide to return to their country of origin is one of the main areas of migration studies' interests (Cerase 1974, Gmelch 1980, Iglicka 2002). Getting to know the motives of return is interesting in itself and it is also crucial to understanding the subsequent experiences of the adaptation and identity processes.

The most cited classification of returns is probably the one created by Francesco Cerase in 1974. He identified four types of returns based on their reasons: return of failure, return of conservatism, return of retirement and return of innovation (Cerase 1974). Taking into account the current knowledge and the increasing complexity of migration processes, this typology seems to be insufficient. Its usefulness is limited to the description of the first generation of migrants, who left as adults and because of economic reasons. However, it is not adequate to analyse the category which interests me – children raised abroad, just starting their adult, independent lives. The hitherto research on the second-generation migrants shows that their experiences are exceptional, different from both those of their rooted peers and from those of their parents – the first-generation migrants (Conway, Potter 2009). These people have much easier starting point in the country of emigration than their parents had – they graduated from the local schools, have high cultural and linguistic competences and social networks. Therefore, it is even more intriguing why they decided to return to their country of origin – usually less economically developed.

The issue of return migrants' motivation is also interesting in the context of the discussion on the relationships between individuals and the territory and the importance of national divisions in the contemporary world. Over the last decade the thesis of deterritorialization has gained popularity. According to them, the individual's bonds with the native ground get weak, and the importance of transnational communities increases (Appadurai 1996). However, the voices opposing these theses are strong and vivid as well. Many researchers claim that home and place, rooted in a national territory are vital to the individuals as a source of identity, values and social relations (Gupta, Ferguson 2004). Return migrations are considered as one piece of evidence. Andrew Steffanson claims that among migrants dispersed around the world the desire to "return home" is not only a reaction to the difficulties of the emigrational life and the minority status. It is an expression of a deep psychological need to return to the roots, their own place in the world. According to the author, this phenomenon is becoming increasingly common, taking the form of a comprehensive social project, defying to the dominant paradigm of global mobility and cultural hybridization (Steffansson 2004:3). Therefore, the question arises whether these observations are adequate to describe the experiences of young people raised abroad? To what extent the return migration is for them "a return to the roots" – a real or imaginary home, to what extent the decision is made due to some other criteria (e.g. economic, educational, family)?

Having analyzed the collected material I distinguished four types of returns, based on the main motive that guided migrants in making this decision. It should be emphasised that these are declared motivations – those that interlocutors

wanted to tell the researcher and were able to articulate, and often – to rationalise (Nowicka 2010: 195). Usually in the narratives a number of reasons coincided with each other. However, interviewees attributed to one of them a decisive importance.

RETURN AS A FAMILY STRATEGY

The first type of return is to follow the plans of the whole family. In this group, the parents took the decision to return, and their children, although theoretically had the opportunity to stay in the current place of residence, accepted that choice and adapted to it. This situation occurred mainly among people who emigrated as children or teenagers with parents who received an offer to work abroad (usually in international or diplomatic institutions). The migration was therefore planned as temporary. This led to the formation of a specific attitude – the readiness to return. These people usually remembered Poland well and stayed in contact with it through regular visits. As a consequence, they were connected with it, at least in a symbolic, but very often also – a realistic way. Although they felt good in emigration, they perceived themselves as “guests”. This role seemed to them permanent and they did not try to change it.

As a direct reason for the return, the migrants from this category usually indicated financial and organizational difficulties that would arise if one family member remained abroad. The statement of Robert, who had lived for seven years in Italy can be recalled here. He graduated from middle and high school and began the study at University there. To explain how he came to Poland, he says:

I returned to Poland with my parents when their work contracts expired. There was no possibility for them to stay in Italy, so I returned with them. As I would then have had to pay for an apartment, cover the expenses, it would have been quite expensive .. even very expensive, so it wouldn't have been a sensible choice. If the whole family had decided to settle down in Italy, no problem, I would have been happy to stay there as well. However, in this situation – I preferred not to.

The interviewee raises pragmatic reasons first. Independent living in Italy would be in his opinion too expensive for the family. However, it seems to be a kind of rationalisation, while the key element was the need of relationship with relatives. It is worth pointing out his idea of home:

For me, home is wherever me and my parents live. Really, it's a place where we can meet, eat together, talk, watch TV and that's all and it doesn't matter

where ... the place is really abstract. (...) and the location doesn't matter. The most important thing is that we're all together – my mum, dad, brother and me. In fact, that's all. Nothing more.

For the interviewee, home is primarily the relation with the family, based on the shared time and space. He assigns no importance to the place where it is located. In the further part of his narrative he declares that he would have wanted to stay in Italy (he has very positive memories of emigration), if the whole family had taken the same decision. However, leaving this country with his family caused neither regret, nor fear, because the relatives ensured him security and a smooth readaptation.

The experiences of Bartosz are similar. He had lived with his mother more than six years in Italy too. The end of his mother's work contract coincided with his graduation from high school. In contrast to the previous interviewee, he decided to stay in Milan and start his studies there. Remembering that time he says:

During my final years of high school, I considered staying and studying in Italy, despite the fact that my mother was returning to Poland.

However, after a few months he stopped his studies and at the age of 20 returned to Poland:

I was alone. The situation made this plan impossible and I had to come back, I had no choice. I didn't manage to get a room in the student dormitory and unfortunately, I was forced to rent one. It turned out that the room was outside of Milan, not very cheap – 350 euros, an expensive commute(...) There're economic issues, and other things. Because I realized pretty quickly that student life in Italy, maybe not everywhere, but at least at the faculty of law, didn't seem that interesting to me. (...). On the other hand, I am known for not being very independent, so dealing with everyday things such as the laundry, shopping, preparing food. I wasn't used to it, unfortunately.

It seems that once again we can observe a kind of rationalisation – the statement “I had no choice” is an attempt to explain in pragmatic terms the decision, which was determined emotionally. The thing that bothered him most was the homesickness, the lack of support and close relationships in the country of emigration. Moreover, despite being an adult, he was not ready to live independently. Coming to Poland was an expression of the need to return home:

I was looking for... or rather, I needed this home to finally feel free, without any extra responsibilities. Because, you know, especially at the end of school, I really felt these responsibilities, and I really needed someone to tell me "Tomek, you're at home, nothing wrong can happen, you don't have to do anything. Be yourself, do your thing, feel free"

In this statement there is a clear motive of familiarity, which is for the interviewee the essence of the home. This brings to mind Alfred Schütz's reflections about familiarity and intimacy based on the direct relationship (Schütz 2008: 216). The narrative shows, however, that the interviewee connotes the state of "being at home" not only with the family, but also with a place – his home country. The combination of these two elements provides him a sense of authenticity and safety, as the environment is understandable and predictable. Life in emigration required constant learning of a new culture to gain social acceptance.

The return can be a family strategy, even when the individual arrives to the country of origin alone. One example is the biography of Joanna who as a five year old went with her parents to Italy for six years, and then after a year in Poland, for the next six years – to Syria. After graduating from high school, she was not determined where she wanted to study. She did not see perspectives for herself at university in the Arab culture and considered education in different countries. In her opinion, it was the parents who decided about her arrival to Poland:

Finally, I think it's my mum who decided (...) It just so happened to be, that, in that year, my grandmother died and the apartment where she lived was reclaimed (...), so we didn't inherit it. So they planned to buy me a flat as it would then be easier for everybody, as if anyone came to visit Poland, they would be able to stay at my place. I think that these practical issues were very important.

The quoted statement indicates that the needs of the family decided in large extent about the interviewee's situation. The grandmother's death and the loss of the family house probably violated her parents' feelings of being rooted in Poland. They decided to tie up another family member with the homeland, creating an "anchor" there. It should be noted that the interlocutor's parents throughout emigration period kept close relations with Poland and encouraged their daughter to get to know the Polish culture. The interviewee also had a positive attitude towards the country of origin (although she knew it mainly from holidays with the grandparents), so she didn't oppose to that idea. Upon arrival to Poland, however, her situation was more difficult than of the previous interlocutors. In

contrast to the other people from this category she had to start her life in Poland alone. She had no family support, which can be crucial, especially for very young people. She didn't experience the arrival to Poland as a return, as she did not know the reality of the country and had no family or social networks. For her, it was rather just an educational migration with no definite expectations and visions.

SENTIMENTAL AND PATRIOTIC RETURN

Sentimental and patriotic return is a desire to find oneself in the home country due to the perceived (despite the years in emigration) strong ideological and sometimes also habitual bonds with Poland. It was mainly the experience of the interviewees who were born abroad or emigrated as small children and whose parents had been planning to settle permanently in the country of emigration. Although they had high competences in the local language and culture, they could not avoid the feelings of strangeness or even alienation. They were looking for their source in their ethnic background. Gabriela, who had lived in Australia for 20 years, says:

In Australia, it was good, but I'd never felt at home there as the Polish people are a cultural minority. I didn't maintain close relationship with the Polish community there, so for a really long time I didn't have anyone to talk to.

The sense of alienation and uprooting provoked the desire to find her own place in the world, among people who are similar to her. Although she was in Poland only a few times during her childhood, and her parents tended to assimilate, she created strong ideological bonds with the country of origin. Its image constructed from a distance had become a basic point of reference in her identity construction. She was convinced that the symbolic relation with the homeland and the awareness of her roots will translate into a sense of familiarity, not available in emigration. It is expressed in the phrase:

I always thought that in Poland people would understand me.

This sentence reveals the superficiality of the relationships experienced in Australia. We can recognise the longing for deep relations and the belief that they can be found only in Poland, in contact with compatriots, which she imagined as being similar to her. This idealized vision motivated her to get a scholarship in Warsaw, and then – transfer herself to a Polish university.

Michał, who had changed his country of residence four times, declared similar motivations. Narrating how he found himself in Poland after almost 20 years of living first in Sweden, then in Germany, he says:

It was also the homesickness I think. And that patriotic thing – the lack of the culture and being around those people with whom I could joke about the same topics. In my case I noticed people were very important, especially the family; maybe because I lost it so early – departures and constant movement meant that I couldn't build relationships. And I think homecoming, the need to be closer to my family, was the first reason.

The interviewee emigrated from Poland as a ten year old, so the homesickness was mostly of sentimental nature. Poland was associated with the period of his childhood – a carefree time, a big family, which he missed after years in emigration. He was also tired of the life typical for “a modern nomad” – cosmopolitan, not related permanently to any community or place. Although for a long time it gave him freedom and satisfaction, then he experienced “the state of homelessness” – the lack of rootedness, fixed points of reference, consistent meanings which could constitute a permanent source of identification (Mikołajewska for: Melchior 1990: 264). Choosing Poland for the place of settlement was motivated by a longing for the family, but also by the belief, that although he lived and adapted in many places, it was only in Poland that he could experience complete familiarity. It was supposed to manifest in a number of small, everyday matters, common meanings, comprehension of all nuances and understatements (Schütz 2008). It is symptomatic that during the interview, the interlocutor consistently emphasized the importance of differences of mentality and relationship patterns. They were, in his opinion, the barrier to rooting in emigration regardless the fluency in a language or a good professional position. The principal motive of his return was therefore the need to settle down in a place where he would be a member of the community unconditionally. This need played a crucial role also in Hanna' life. The girl emigrated with her parents, who were working in diplomacy, twice – first to Moscow, then after a few years – to New York. Having graduated from high school, she gave up the opportunity to study in the USA and returned to Warsaw alone:

I don't know how to explain it without falling into pathos, I just really like to live here, I really like this place. It's the feeling that I am more at home here. I was not interested in a college kid's life, I really wasn't. I don't like this idea of community activities. I wanted to go to a normal Polish university, to normal classes, to have my own life, and to live in the city, this city. I like this city

much more than others. (...). Here in Poland we can have friends for twenty years and not much has changed. Americans are not used to creating such deep bonds, because they have the tendency to move constantly, (...) They are just good friends, but here it's not so... you know when you have friends here, you can feel that you have a second family, right? And there you cannot have this feeling, because it's just a different type of relationship.

The interviewee perceived the American model of life as strange, not consistent with her needs and temperament. However, an emotional bond with Warsaw was also essential. She avoided the word "patriotism", stipulating that she did not want to fall into pathos, but in her statements there were vivid feelings towards both the city of origin, which despite many years in emigration remained her private homeland and the whole country. In addition, she was convinced about the uniqueness of emotional relationships in Poland, rooted in the childhood and adolescence period, and the cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 2007). However, the desire to live in Poland could also be a reaction to the trauma caused by involuntary leaving the familiar environment in childhood:

The scar that it [migration] leaves is a constant struggle for a sense of security and for conditions that are controllable and dependent on me. In my case it's a reluctance to change. For me, it was all very exhausting mentally and caused some problems. This is a really difficult experience, as someone takes you and leaves you somewhere.

The uncertainty experienced in the early stage of life, made her strive for rooting and leading her adult life in a familiar, Polish environment.

Another motivation is a desire to get to know the country of origin, to experience living in a place of ideological identification. This attitude is presented by Kamila, who after 14 years in Romania (between 2 and 10, then 14 and 20 years of life) and finishing French school there, resigned from the opportunity to apply to University in Paris and returned to Poland:

I'm planning to work as a press attaché, so I'll move – changing where I live every four or five years. I'll only know Poland from holidays and occasional trips. So it would be good to also have some memories related to different places and to stay here for some time so as to know what it's like to live in Poland. So I came back. I decided that I would see what studies and life in Poland are like.

Although her life plans involve multiple migration, the interviewee wanted to live in Poland, at least for a couple of years to get to know her homeland from the perspective of everyday life. According to her, only a long term stay could

allow her to get attached to the homeland with a private (habitual) bond through personal memories and experiences.

The patriotic attitude, sometimes took the form of not only the hopes and sentiments, but also a duty towards Poland. The aforementioned Michał, who emigrated to Sweden in the late '80s, encountered a widespread negative image of his country – perceived as backward and primitive. This experience has formed his belief that he represented the country of origin and was personally responsible for its image and situation. One of the important factors was therefore, a sense of mission:

That was – an inner hope or even a duty, to contribute, to improve the picture of Poland. [wyw.11]

The key role in shaping this attitude was played by his teacher, who just before his migration said: “Michał is leaving, but one day he will come back and build a new school for us”. This apparently minor situation had been interpreted as a commitment which accompanied him during all years abroad. The awareness that he gained resources and competences unavailable for his compatriots resulted in a sense of responsibility toward the whole society:

Then a kind of resolution started to build in me... that I would return and contribute to improving, making the situation here somehow better. Maybe not necessarily to build a new school, but that I would help somehow. On the other hand, I was ashamed, because I am a rather shy person and I didn't know how to do it, but I thought that I could be helpful.

The way in which the speaker perceives his role brings to mind the concept of a migrant as a social innovator (Weinar 2002), who can transplant western ideas and experiences onto the Polish ground. His return to Poland was supposed not only to change his personal situation, but also to contribute to the country's development.

Although in this category, the emotional and ideological dimension plays a dominant role, a more pragmatic aspect of decision can be also identified. Observing the changes in Poland – economic development and opening to western influences, the interviewees predicted their chances for professional career and success, difficult to reach in western countries. The experiences acquired abroad – education, cultural and linguistic competences were examined in terms of the capital (Bourdieu 1986 for: Weinar 2002: 41), which could bring the greatest benefits when located in Poland:

I also thought that since a lot of people left, and I'd gained this knowledge, this experience, it would allow me to get a good job here. And in ten or twenty years, when Poland would reach this western standard of living...by this time, I could have a managerial position, or my own business. But will I have a career? This would be very difficult for me to achieve abroad.

In this narrative, we can see elements of the return of innovation from Cerase's typology – motivated by the belief in professional opportunities and relatively better starting point in the home country. Due to the more or less direct barriers posed to second-generation immigrants, it would be difficult to the interviewee to achieve similar position in Sweden:

In Sweden it is like that – it is not talked about much, but in most cases if there is a firm, and there is a discussion about who should take over a position, you can live there from early childhood, but the fact that you come from somewhere else matters subconsciously.

This fragment illustrates the opinion, widespread in this group, about prejudices of western societies towards immigrants and their exclusion from certain positions. The Return to Poland, being “at home” was a chance not only to experience familiarity, but also, thanks to competences and language skills, to have a successful career.

ROMANTIC RETURN

A special kind of motivation for return migration is the desire to build a relationship with a Polish partner. It was possible among migrants who visited Poland regularly, and therefore they had an opportunity to establish contacts with young compatriots. These acquaintances were usually developing over several years, but encountering difficulties in maintaining a relationship in spite of the spatial distance. After some time the partners reached the conclusion that they had to take decisions about their future. For example Natalia says:

We started dating again and eventually we had to decide either he goes there or me -- here.

Karol had a similar conviction:

I came to Poland every summer, and she also came to me in Sweden once, but it was a long-distance relationship. We got to the point, where either we try something together or we split up.

In both cases, the relationship reached a critical point and required reevaluation. It should be also noted that because of the romantic experiences, the image of the home country itself could undergo some transformations. Natalia, who emigrated with her mother to Germany at the age of two recounts how Poland gained a special charm in her eyes, after meeting her future fiancé:

For a really long time, I thought that Poland was so backward. Maybe it's because I always came to the village, to my aunt, and the house was never finished – especially inside, if the boiler wasn't turned on, there was no hot water, which I had never experienced in Germany, I opened the tap and the water was always warm. And my aunt worked in a bakery, very hard. I saw her get up at 4 am, and return in the evening or late in the afternoon, so everybody was working hard – that is how I saw it. And only then, I started dating my current boyfriend, and we started to travel around (...) I got to know a different Poland and then I started to look at it in a different way. (...). So it was like that: when I came for a week, I visited everybody for three days, and then, we went for example to Zakopane.

Poland seen from the perspective of the family village and Poland showed to her by her fiancé are two different realities. Under the influence of new experiences the interviewee began to perceive the country in a different way. The emotional involvement and the attraction of the newly discovered image of Poland facilitated the decision to migrate, start studies and a family here. Probably, if not her fiancé, she would have remained with her former image of homeland and not treat the return to the country of origin as an alternative to life in Germany. Justyna, who also lived for more than 15 years in Germany, was even more impressed:

I was so delighted with everything that I had no problem to change the place of living.

All positive emotions experienced in the relationship were transferred to the surrounding reality – Krakow seemed to her a magical city, full of possibilities. Although her family did not cultivate Polish traditions, and the interviewee almost did not know her country of origin, she did not perceive the migration as a sacrifice, but rather as an exciting adventure.

The decisions of all interviewees from this group had an individual character, they took them because of the partner and the desire to share life with him or her. They attributed much less importance to the fact that they moved just to the country of origin. If not for the relationship, they wouldn't have found themselves in Poland at this stage of their lives. They had planned their future in the countries of residence, appreciating the higher standard of living. The long-term and deep commitment changed their priorities and initial assumptions.

Despite the dominant romantic motive in the narratives, the pragmatic aspects appear as well. Since the decision to live together was taken, it was almost “obvious” that the interviewees would join their partners in Poland. They thought it would be easier for them to adapt in Poland, than for their partner in their countries of emigration. They assumed that because of their specific biography and skills they would manage much better also on the labour market. Although they had not lived in the homeland for years, they treated the knowledge of a mother language and their Polish origins as a guarantee of smooth adaptation. Moreover they perceived their parents as much more related with the local environment:

He has his own company, as a carpenter, and he doesn't know any foreign language, well, he can communicate in English, but very poorly. And I didn't have anything there.

The respondent does not assign much value to what she had left in Germany, she graduated there from high school only, so she could continue her education anywhere. In contrast to her partner, despite having spent many years in Germany, she did not have a sense of rootedness or stability. She also observed significant differences between the German and the Polish society, which were a source of alienation. The bilingual girl assumed that she could cope with everyday life with no problem, and her skills could be an asset in the professional life. A similar belief that for the partner relocation would be a much larger “revolution” than for him is expressed by Karol:

The choice was – either I move, I have already begun my studies, but I can move and start some part-time studies here... or Basia will move, but it wouldn't make any sense, as law is really related to one country...she would have to start her studies again, learn the language at the same time and it would be extremely difficult when it comes to law. So I moved back.

Throughout the emigration the interviewee had maintained regular contacts with his grandparents in Poland, and as he stated “in Krakow he felt at home”. The relocation did not mean for him having to start everything from scratch. It was rather the return to a place that was already largely known, because as he claimed, he already lived between the two countries:

In my life, each time I was either leaving one or coming to the other. I've moved so many times between Sweden and Poland to live here and there that my life has never really fallen apart. And maybe that's why I have become immune. I've never had any barriers and it [self-identification] has never really troubled me much.

What is interesting in the quoted account is the use of words ‘moving’, ‘leaving’, ‘coming’, which blurs the traditional distinction between leaving and returning. None of the places was defined as a fixed point of reference, which would organize the world as known space and strange space. Moreover, the specificity of his studies allowed him to continue them in another country, while his girlfriend’s legal education could bring tangible benefits only in Poland. Again, we are dealing with calculation – a rational analysis in which country the couple have a chance of a more comfortable and affluent life.

It seems that the interviewed people also wanted to prevent the other person from the shock of adaptation in a completely foreign country, which they often observed in their parents or among friends, as Natalia says:

He wants to stay in Krakow, but I also didn’t want him to move to Germany. I know Polish, I can speak Polish, so I will improve it faster than he take learning a new language. He also doesn’t speak English very well. He is such a man that wouldn’t have a lot of problems and my colleagues are also really cool and they would take care of him. But it’s not that easy, because for them it would also be hard work and I didn’t want to make anybody’s life harder . I did not want to teach him something in this relationship, but just to live with him and see if it’s good, if it fits me.

The interviewee was aware of the difficulties, which every emigrant experienced at the beginning, and expressed the concern that they could also adversely affect their relationship. Her partner’s migration would be an unnecessary disturbance of the normal rhythm of life. Like the other cited interviewees, she did not foresee that in Poland she would encounter problems typical for emigrant. Polish environment, though almost unknown, was not perceived as strange by her. The fact that she was coming to her country of origin gave her the sense of confidence and inspired to take a risk and start living with a beloved person in a new place.

ESCAPIST RETURN

In some, though relatively rare cases, the return to the country of origin was the result of some rapid and sometimes dramatic changes in the interviewees’ personal lives. They were accompanied by a need to “get away” from the current environment, forget about difficult experiences. It seems that the interlocutors wanted just to change the place of residence, to find new goals. The destination – Poland has, at least in on the level of declaration, secondary significance. An example is the attitude of Barbara, who describes her return to Poland:

It was a coincidence, I graduated, I went to California, where I worked for a while, then I moved to Hawaii, also for a really short time. My relationship with an American fell apart. Actually it had been falling apart a couple of times. I knew that we had the strange tendency of going back to each other, even though it wasn't a good idea. And at the time when I came back from Hawaii, I didn't have an anchor anywhere in the USA. I was going to New York, but I had too little money to start there. And I hadn't seen my family for quite a long time. So I decided to come to Poland, to visit my family, to get a job somewhere, and live at my mom's place, save some money and move to New York. It was supposed to be such a temporary adventure.

As a result of migration and multiple moving houses, the interviewee did not have in the USA any fixed point of reference or any close group where she could find consolation after her difficult experiences. When the relationship ended, she suffered from a strong sense of loss and loneliness, so she decided to come to Poland. It was motivated mostly by the need of the contact with the family, who returned a few years earlier. Standing at life's crossroads, she chose the loved ones, looking for a sense of security and stability. The fact that she found herself in Poland was the consequence of the fact that her parents were just living there – in this sense the place alone did not matter. However, it was certainly not accidental that she turned to the family – to her roots – the only stable structure, which she had in her life. She returned home, defined not as a place, but as a system of relationships.

A similar mechanism – an escape from personal problems is present in the relationship of Maria – born and raised in France. She wanted to distance herself from the troubles in the family home. The stage of her life favoured taking on new challenges:

My mum said that ... she actually gave me the idea that it would be nice, for example, to go to Poland, get to know it (...), I wanted to have a little break from them, because at this age, you know... My parents were divorcing, I mean –they were together and they were not together. I was fed up with all this... and I thought that it was a good idea, because I've heard that it's valuable to spend some time abroad, to have such experience. I'm a person who likes experiments , so it didn't scare me... I willingly came here, because I thought "I'll get to know a new culture", because while in France, I'd never had such a possibility.

At the time of family breakdown the interviewee needed to separate from problems. Moreover, the quest of new experiences is also expressive in her narrative. She actually did not know her country of origin – she rarely visited her family, her parents did not cultivate national traditions, so she had no access to

the Polish culture. As a result she treated migration to Poland as “travel abroad” – a kind of experiment, adventure:

Arriving in a new country, a new adventure. When I'd already booked the ticket, then I couldn't wait any longer, I was thinking – Oh my God, I'm coming to a new country, I'm getting to know new places, new people, new language, everything in Polish. And I really treated it as a some kind of super-adventure, that not everybody can experience.. I was really happy about this, such an adventure! (...) For me it was just a trip to a foreign country, not a return or even a trip to the country of my parents' origin. This was a new country for me. A country just like England or the USA.

An important role was played by a desire to understand the culture, language and customs better, although the respondent did not feel any emotional connection with Poland, she identified herself only as French. That striving was rather of cognitive than emotional character.

For migrants from that group the arrival to Poland was just a stage in a longer cycle of migration and the stay here was intended to be temporary. One of the interviewees, however, decided to settle down permanently when she got an attractive job offer and then met a partner with who she started a family.

A big spontaneity of the decision and a short period of preparation were characteristic for most of the researched migrants, especially for those who came to Poland on their own initiative and without the family . Natalia remembers that:

Now, as I recall it, it's all in a terrible hurry was. If I was about to take the decision now, I would probably think it over more, these pros and cons. And then (...) For me it was a rush and I didn't even really think about it. When I'm thinking about it now, it was like this: “it's ok, I'm going, I'll start some part time studies here, it gonna be all right.

The relation of the cited girl reflects the experiences of other interviewees. Many of them, admit in retrospect that they should have thought over their choice better and get ready for such a radical change. Natalia, only in retrospect estimates that she made a mistake relying entirely on the spontaneity:

I was looking for some advice on the Internet, but in general I was thinking “and why do I need this advice as I'll simply try myself?.” But still, there was one piece of advice not to go out from your environment and not to have any

substitute, not to go into emptiness .. One thing was – searching for a job before arriving anywhere – getting a job first and then moving out. Because it's about social relations or about the money, or formal procedures in the offices that you need to follow(...) First, take care of things just like these that are not too cool and then, when everything's done, take care of yourself and your life in this place. First – organize, then have fun, and not vice versa.

It seems that unique optimism and the belief that in the country of origin all things will “naturally” work out were the main source of troubles experienced after the arrival – a sense of alienation, the difficulties of adaptation¹. Most of the interviewed people had not expected any problems, regardless of the strength and nature of their bonds with Poland. People associated ideologically with Poland had planned their migration as a return – in the traditional sense of this word – to what is familiar. For those who had experienced a sense of alienation in emigration, this expectation was a result of longing for a cultural intimacy and undisputed affiliation. Migrants who had managed to build abroad close relations with people of different ethnic origin, did not expect that they can feel a distance in contacts with compatriots. Although the interviewees' family home and environment of the first, important events and relationships were rather in the foreign country, upon coming to Poland many of them had expectations of Schütz's *Homecomer* (Schutz 2009). The symbolic relation with Poland and the belief that it will automatically become their private homeland, distinguished them from typical newcomers – immigrants. Usually, especially among the people who emigrated very early, the confrontation with the homeland was a source of frustration. A few migrants whose ideological bonds with Poland were weak, perceived this movement as an adventure or an experiment. Initially, it bore all the hallmarks of the “reconnaissance migration” – was a kind of attempt with a possibility to withdraw to the previous country of residence (Weinar 2002: 67).

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¹ Complete results of the research are presented in my MA thesis, written under the supervision of prof. E. Nowicka-Rusek, defended at the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University in 2010

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SECOND-GENERATION KOREANS IN WEST GERMANY: GENERATION OF HEIRS OR FASHIONER OF A FAITH OF THEIR OWN?¹

INTRODUCTION

I mean, our parents' needs increase. I think that we have to position our parents in our community when they get older and weaker... But I do not think that we have to adopt their understanding of a Korean church. Because this kind of Korean church is not our church and is not so important for us.

– A second-generation Korean woman

When asked how she planned to adjust to the generational change in her Korean church in the near future, the second-generation Korean woman quoted above asserted that she and other second-generation congregants ('we') have a different understanding of what a migrant church should be. They believe that the congregants of the first generation have misconceptions about how to shape this time of transmission. Most of the younger congregants want to be active participants in this process of change. Actually, no outright discourse between older and younger congregants about the place of the second generation within Korean churches can be observed. Cultural and hierarchical structures of the churches complicate the possibility of younger congregants obtaining an equally forceful voice. But the question is this: is the second generation a generation of heirs, or is this generation fashioning a faith of its own? What strategies can they use if they wish to find their own way of religious practices in the churches of their parents?

¹ See Kim 2010, who discusses second-generation spirituality in Korean American Churches under the working title „A Faith of Our Own“.

The quote above illustrates that the second-generation congregants have an idea of how the churches should look like, but that they want to respect the liability the older generation feels for its faith and that they feel responsible in some way for its cultural and religious tradition.

At the current stage of development, new religious spaces are a result of negotiation processes. Intergenerational tensions are a result of these processes and should be understood as a field of tension between groups within Korean churches. Each of these groups attributes a different sense to the place of religious mediation and of the community because of the different circumstances of migration, their deviant cultural and religious socialization, and their unequal life phases.

The intergenerational tension, or conflict, itself should not be understood negatively per se. It is not a matter of primary concern. The research concentrates rather on how the second-generation congregants deal with it and how it has an impact on the processes of change in migrant churches. The tensions are the result of a reciprocal relationship between the migrant churches and their environment. Other fields of tension could be observed in migrant churches, too, such as economic matters or questions of personnel.

However, these points will not be discussed in this paper, because intergenerational tensions, in particular, seem to be the primary factor for institutional change of these religious organizations. Applying a sociological perspective to religious institutional change is perceived in this context as a change in the religious practice, religious communication and structure of the social form.

The assumption is that second-generation congregants create, in an act of empowerment, new religious spaces within and outside their parents' churches, while the congregants of the first generation hold on to their idea of an immigrant church. Processes of identity formation of second-generation Korean Germans arise along with intergenerational religious, cultural, and social dissonances within their churches. It is a clash between older and younger congregants over values, which results in generational group building in the churches, dissonances over worship styles and misunderstandings in communication, and challenges hierarchical structures.

I will first provide some information about the history of Korean migration to Germany and will then summarize some theoretical considerations about intergenerational tensions. After that I will seek to ascertain intergenerational tensions between the congregants of the first and the second generations within the Korean churches. What are the reasons for cultural and intergenerational tensions? Secondly, in this suspense-packed context, the negotiation of religious beliefs and practices as well as new forms of community building occur and so

more traditional forms of religious communities are transformed into more fluid and translocal forms of collective identity.

The major goal of this paper is to demonstrate a typology of strategies which the churches and the congregants of the second generation deploy. For that purpose, I will cite four examples from the data, which show the formation of new social spaces that are intertwined with religious change. The main thesis of this paper is that the intergenerational tensions, and the identified strategies which are consequentially related to them, play a powerful role in the construction and reinforcement of Korean religious identity in second-generation congregants. This perspective enables a wider understanding of individual and collective ways of looking into new areas of religious negotiation, concerning especially the transformation of religious ideas and practices coming along with institutional change. In the conclusion, I will provide an overview on development trends in this religious field. In the following section, I will first present some theoretical considerations about the intergenerational transmission of religious and cultural traditions.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT TRENDS

This year (2013), a touring exhibition is celebrating the Korean community in Germany and chronicles in impressive pictures taken by the photographers Herlinde Koelbl and Kim Sperling the story of the lives of mine workers, nurses and their families.² At the same time, 2013 is the 50th anniversary of the labour recruitment agreement of 1963 between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Korea. In the exhibition, seven families and 15 individuals are presented. Around 18,000 South Korean guest workers arrived in Germany between 1963 and 1977. In the beginning, they were sought only on a temporary basis. On 16 December 1963, the ‘Programme for Temporary Employment of Korean miners in the West German Coal Mining Industry’ was signed by the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Korea. This agreement formed the basis for the immigration of an estimated 8,000 miners. In 1970, a similar agreement regulated the immigration of some 10,000 Korean nurses to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Germany needed these guest workers and the young Koreans saw in the contracts an opportunity to improve their personal living conditions and to escape from a country which had been ravaged by the Japanese occupation and the Korean War. Reasons for emigration were generally poverty and the hope

² For further information about the exhibition see <http://korea-migration.de/wordpress/>.

that they would be able to earn enough money in Germany for their families in Korea. South Korea was, in the early 1960s, one of the poorest countries in the world.

About half the Korean guest workers remained in Germany after 1977. The others returned to Korea or drifted off to other countries such as the USA or Canada. Today the Korean people work in various capacities: as cooks, taxi drivers, or nurses. Many are already in retirement.

The guest workers who stayed back in Germany created communities of faith. Because of language difficulties and cultural differences, they did not begin worshipping in the indigenous churches of the host society. They first came together in private rooms and established bible study groups. Step by step they founded their own congregations and searched for religious leaders. Most of the migrant churches in North Rhine-Westphalia were evangelical and were founded in cooperation between the EKD (Evangelical Church in Germany) and KNCC (Korean National Council of Churches) (An 1997: 36).³

Religious services may have been the primary motive for attending the ethnic churches for many congregants of the first generation. Various social functions, which the Korean immigrant churches serve, seem to be important to these people. Four major social functions that are being served till this day are: 1) providing a sense of fellowship for Korean immigrants; 2) maintaining the Korean cultural tradition; 3) providing social services for church congregants and the Korean community as a whole; and 4) providing social status and positions for Korean adult immigrants. Owing to the fact that the older congregants gained no recognition in their jobs as mine workers and nurses, the Korean churches offered them the possibility that they could serve an important function in the churches and accept a responsibility, such as choir directing, continuous budgeting or cell group leadership.

Besides, the older male congregants were engaged as members of the executive committee of their respective churches or presbyters.⁴ Six evangelical

³ The foundation of Korean Evangelical Churches in Germany took place in 1965. A Korean protestant PhD student named Hong-Bin Lee in Göttingen was appointed by the Protestant synode in Lower Saxony to take care about his compatriots. He called this first Korean communities Na-Geo-Ne-Communities, which characterize people who travels around and remains only for a certain time at a place. (Jeong 2008: 46)

⁴ For older Korean congregants being a Christian is more a matter of obligation. The rules and routines of the church determine activities. For example, gender hierarchy, because women feel locked in to doing "soft" departments like service work, education and choir, while "hard" departments, such as finance and preaching, are maintained under male leadership. (Chong 1998: 272) Women are not only prohibited from the position of pastorship, but female congregants of a church cannot become elders, although they are allowed to become deaconesses.

churches, which cooperated with the EKD, received financial support for a spell. However, the churches are all financed by donations today. The weekly church services, the common meal and leisure time activities have become possible as they are based on the congregants' participation.

The Korean pastor Sung-Hwan Chang, who practiced counseling in North Rhine-Westphalia, mentioned in a report on the situation of Korean Protestants in Germany that there are 13 communities at this time. Currently, over 34 representative Korean churches in North Rhine-Westphalia can be identified.⁵ The number of congregants of each community varies between 15 and 400 people, and lay people are the impetus behind most of the religious activities. Most of the churches are located in university towns such as Dortmund, Bochum, Essen, Düsseldorf, Köln (Cologne) or Aachen. Only one community in Düsseldorf was able to buy their own church. The other communities rely on rented rooms for their worship services. Demographic changes, economic difficulties and a shortage of young people are just some of the problems which the churches have to deal with today.

Not only in North Rhine-Westphalia, but also throughout Germany, Korean immigrants are less noticed like other immigrant groups (Turkish immigrants for example) and are classified as being very well integrated and highly educated. The congregants of the second-generation often grew up as bilingual and bicultural individuals, many of whom today have a strong educational background in common. After the spurt in Korean churches since the 1970s in North Rhine-Westphalia, the growth of the second generation has coincided with a drop in their participation and attendance in these churches.

Helen Lee, an American researcher, writes in this context about a 'silent exodus of church-raised young people who find their immigrant churches irrelevant, culturally stifling, and ill-equipped to develop them spiritually' (Lee, 2009: 99). Some of the complaints that second-generation Korean-Americans have against the first generation is that the immigrant church seems more like an ethnic institution rather than an authentic religious institution. This is one of the primary criticisms leveled by many second-generation Asian Americans within the immigrant church and a major reason for Lee's so-called silent exodus.

But there are scholars like Min and Kim who argue that the claims of the silent exodus are exaggerated. After surveying 102 young Korean adults in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, they concluded that Korean Protestant

⁵ The number of the churches fluctuates. "Representative" means in this context, that the Korean migrant churches are visible in the public sphere. They have for example an website, an official address, be part of an religious institutional network or associated with a Korean church, and be present with social activities in the public sphere.

immigrants have been fairly successful in transmitting their religion to their children. About two-thirds of them have preserved their childhood religion and built second-generation congregations with English ministry services (Min/Kim 2005: 279).

But the US situation is not comparable with the German situation. The history of Korean migration to America is different—the Korean population is much bigger and in consequence the second and third generations have more resources to build their own churches. Furthermore, the religious, cultural and social circumstances are different for congregations in Germany. Carroll and Roof show that ‘(...) congregations constitute the dominant form of religious gathering in American society’ and ‘(...) a congregation becomes a staging ground for generational conflict and efforts to mobilize influence’ (Carroll/Roof 2002: 9, 10).

In Germany, the Evangelical and Catholic churches are the dominant religious institutions and congregational chapels and migrant churches are all around the people. But they don’t have the same extent of social meaning. The analysis, therefore, must take into account the context of Korean migrant churches in Germany and the personal living conditions of the Korean Germans.

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING INTERGENERATIONAL TENSIONS IN ETHNIC CHURCHES

It is important to introduce the sociological perspective that will provide the theoretical basis for the empirical analysis of the formation of new religious spaces in the context of the religious identity-building of second-generation Korean Germans and the evolution of ethnic churches. Researchers have developed ideal typical models of life-cycles for ethnic churches (Mullins, Yang/Ebaugh 2001). On the basis of assimilation theories, which are being assumed, the development of the churches depends on their ability to offer services in the language of the majority society, with which the members of the second and third generations grow up. Churches which were originally mono-linguistic change into bi-linguistic churches. Tensions between the generations are being seen in the course of these changes.

However, this theoretical focus falls short. Because, above all, it is examined from a top-down-perspective regarding the extent to which the ethnic churches have to adjust to generational change through new services and structural adaptations. The assumption now is that Korean churches, with a rising grade of institutionalization, are slow off the mark to deal with tensions and conflicts. Therefore, the strategies which the second-generation Korean Germans develop

independently, if their religious institutions cannot take their needs sufficiently into account, have to be examined now from a bottom-up perspective.

In order to understand the social and religious praxis of the second-generation Korean Germans, which can lead to a transformation of the ethnic church, theories about formation of identity and intergenerational conflicts have to be considered. Rumbaut (1996) determined that it could be a challenge for children of migrants to constitute their identity, because they have to 'adapt in social-identity contexts that may be racially and culturally dissonant' (Rumbaut 1996: 123). Intergenerational tensions about values and normative expectations could arise in this context (Rumbaut/Portes 2001: 307).

Already Karl Mannheim (1952) had assumed that social circumstances have an influence on different age groups. Younger generations do not have the same experiences as older generations; they interpret their environment on this basis. The norms and values of the congregants of the first generation become manifest in a general organizational framework of their ethnic churches. The cultural and religious transmission from one generation to another occurs within the families and is institutionalized in the ethnic churches. But the transmission is determined through three principles: gender-and-age-based hierarchy (male-dominated), social interaction (unwritten norms and unspoken expectations such as 'deference for elders') and frequent participation (at sermons, bible study groups, celebrations and group activities) (Chong 1998: 270–80).

The members of the first generation were raised in a so-called 'mono-racial' and 'mono-cultural' society in Korea, which emphasizes a strict social order in communities. The transmission has to be seen in the context that the congregants of the first generation 'put a strong emphasis on group interdependency and conformity to group norms, whereas their individualistically oriented children tend to resist such pressure to conform to parental mentalities and traditional moral norms' (Park 2003: 76). Second-generation Korean Germans are influenced by western ideals of democracy, equality and individuality and disagree with the older congregants' views on hierarchy and authority. The social and cultural imprint of this generation can lead to intergenerational tensions and conflicts.

Conflict has long been considered intrinsic to social relationships, but became formally integrated within mainstream sociological thought with Georg Simmel's classic essay on social conflict (Simmel 1908: 247–336). He assumed that tensions and conflicts between people could have an integrative function in social relationships (Simmel 1922 [1955]).⁶

⁶ Conrad leaned on Putnam and Poole formulated a definition of conflict, which says that conflicts are communicative interactions among people who are interdependent and who perceive that their interests are incompatible, inconsistent, or in tension. (Conrad 1990: 286)

According to Prasad, '[t]he word 'conflict' carries a negative connotation. Since conflict can upset status quo, it should also be considered as a predictor of change. Conflict and change operate as a two-way system and therefore conflict of a certain type can be very adaptive for progress' (Prasad 1992: 18). In this sense, the potential which intergenerational tensions could have for further developments should be taken into account.

METHODS AND DATA

The analysis for this study⁷ is based on a data obtained through participant observation and informal talks in 14 Korean ethnic churches in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia in West Germany, and 21 in-depth interviews with second-generation Koreans, lay members and church leaders, and reviews of relevant literature. Of the 21 interviews, three interviews were conducted with German pastors, 11 interviews with second-generation Korean-Germans, two interviews with first-generation Korean-Germans (a Korean nurse and her German husband), and five interviews with pastors and church leaders.

In addition to personal interviews, I engaged in observing participants for two years (2011 and 2012) within 34 identified churches as well as related church events, seminars, Korean New Year celebrations, Christian holidays like Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, and special intercultural events like Korean-German worship between Korean and German congregations.

The analysis, described in this paper, uses the approach of Jochen Gläser and Grit Laudel.⁸ For the preparation of the analysis, crude data has been extracted from an already existing text—in this case, interviews with congregants. The data was transcribed and imported in MAXQDA software for content analysis. After being extracted, the data was processed and finally evaluated. The whole analysis was carried out in the German language.

⁷ This article is based on research conducted for the PhD project in progress "Institutional Change of Korean-German Churches in West Germany through Intergenerational Tensions" at the Young Academic Research Group "Networking religion" at the Ruhr-University Bochum. The research group "Religious Networking – Zivilgesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Potentiale religiöser Vergemeinschaftung" is funded by the Ministry of Innovation, Science, Research and Technology of the German State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

⁸ Gläser, J./Laudel, G. (2004): *Experteninterviews und qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

GENERATIONAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE CHURCHES

I would like to present four examples of fields of tension between the congregants of the first and second generations, which I had observed in my fieldwork:

Orientation of the first-generation congregants towards their home country:

In the interviews, many of the older congregants spoke about the hardships they had experienced because of immigration, their position as guest workers in Germany society, and their lives and working conditions over the past few years. Many shouldered these hardships to subsidize their families in Korea and to facilitate a good life and education for their children. The Korean churches served as places of transmission of religious and cultural identities through religious services, Korean language courses and celebration of festivals, like the celebration of the Korean New Year's Day. Thus, congregants of the first generation find it upsetting when younger congregants born in Germany try to re-create church. And tensions often come to a head over issues like church attendance or active participation in church groups or the choir.

Some of the congregants of the second generation reject religious, social and cultural traditions. In fact, they don't reject the cultural roots of the older members, but they are geared to German culture. In contrast, the second generation feels that it is being dismissed by the first generation and finds that it has expectations from it that cannot be fulfilled.

Many of the interviewees said the older congregants expect that their church will never change and that the next generation should preserve it. A 31-year-old Korean man says:

The church is not only a community of faith. Rather, it is a culture club. But it does not take us into consideration (...). And many things that we discuss in the church are escapist and uninteresting to me. The church serves as a surrogate family for older members. For the sake of my mother, I go to church, even if I'm not in the mood for it.

The quotation illustrates that the ascription of sense regarding what a Korean church stands for is not comprehensible to the younger congregants. There is no active debate about this blank space, since the older congregants do not accept the fact that their orientation is being questioned. Another conflict lies in the second generation's ambivalence towards the basic cultural norms of the church: in spite of their internalization of many of the basic ethnic cultural norms, there nevertheless exists a considerable amount of questioning of these norms on the

part of second-generation members. This, in effect, represents a challenge to first-generation authority. The first-generation members prefer a monocultural setting, but the younger generation often feels restricted by such rigid ethnic identity boundaries.

Particularistic versus universalistic orientation:

Some second-generation congregants would like the churches to quit their particularistic orientation towards the ethnic community. They wish for a church that tries to reach all people with their Christian message, and do not emphasize Korean culture exclusively. The exclusion of other national groups and the privilege of the language of the Korean ethnic group gave some people the impression that their churches aren't universal churches. For example: a Korean Pentecostal church, called 'All Nations Church', has 95 per cent Korean members. The son of the Pentecostal pastor of this church, who studied theology, says:

Our church is named All Nations Church and it is Korean and it should have a strong sense of cultural bonding with other Koreans. I think the gospel at that point transcends, the gospel of Christianity at some point should transcend, cultural exclusions to become inclusive, for example, for students in their town. I mean a church like our church needs to create that social space for people in other ethnic cultures to flow in their worship.

His statement embodies the conflict developing between the church's religious mission and the ethnic function it is serving for its older members. In former times, the church carried a Korean name. The deletion of the Korean element ought to symbolize the departure of a particular orientation.

The adherence to Korean traditions and the Korean language is deemed to be a constraint for further developments of the churches by some second-generation congregants. Differences and difficulties in language have apparently created communication and relational problems, fuelling divisions in ministries and enlarging the generation/language gap. A constant dilemma facing Korean German congregations is the relationship between Korean-speaking first-generation parents and German-speaking Korean youths and young adults. In addition to the usual tension between older adult parents and the younger population, language barriers heighten tension and dissuade healthy, ongoing communication.

Liberalism vs. Conservatism:

The traditional Korean church is often guided by the values of authority and hierarchy. Some pastors and elders prefer strictness in confronting demands for

change and preventing children from adopting the values and lifestyles of German society. They are critical of non-Christians, non-Koreans and non-churchgoing second-generation Korean Germans and advise their members against dangerous temptations like cigarettes, alcohol, drugs and premarital sex. Two positions became clear in the interviews: these referred above all to the topic of alcohol consumption. Some internalized the Christian values and are trying to meet the expectations of the community. The relinquishment of alcohol is being justified theologically by a young Korean woman, who argues:

I would not like that alcohol stands between me and God. Nothing should cloud my perception (...) I've solved this question for myself: God is in first place. He wouldn't like at all that we give up something. But there are moments in which, I think, a glass of red wine would be ok. But I also know that I actually don't need it.

On the other hand, there are young congregants and Korean parents, who do not find this kind of value orientation. But they cannot show their liberal orientation in their church. A 26-year-old Korean woman says:

For example, smoking and drinking. The first generation, our parents, drum it into you that it is quite unchristian. But many of us drink a beer, you know. Or smoke. I also smoke, for example. Until half a year ago, my closest friends did not know this even partially. The congregants of the second generation knew it, but, for example, our Korean foreign students and older congregants did not know it, because they could not handle it.

These values often come into conflict with the younger generation, whose lives have been heavily influenced by Western ideology, such as democracy, equality in school and university and ethnically heterogeneous circle of friends. The result is a power struggle between older and younger generations, where the pastors and leaders of the second generation seek the freedom to lead their communities, while the older generation is slow to adapt and hand over authority and control.

Different expectations on worship styles:

The style of worship and music often become a source of conflict within the Korean churches. Contrasting preferences in liturgy, style of worship and music have led to quarrels in some congregations with second-generation congregants. A young Korean woman, a congregant of a Presbyterian church, says:

The worship that we celebrate on Sundays is still very antiquated. It is like 30 years ago. Hardly anything has changed there. But we're playing drums at the beginning of praise. That is already a big improvement. I wish that the worship style becomes a little bit younger. I don't know how to change it, but someday it will happen.

This quote shows that the young woman does not find the worship style very attractive. Both the topics of the Korean sermons and the liturgy follow the interests of the older congregants and do not include the young people much. This especially applies to those churches in which the majority of the congregants belongs to the first generation. Only the bigger Korean churches, like those in Aachen, Cologne and Düsseldorf, can establish a second German speaking worship service. Frequently, they additionally hire a second pastor for this service, who ideally speaks German or is born in Germany. In these churches, the worship style is hardly criticized and young adults from other cities also visit these worship services. Carroll and Roof say in this context: 'The choice of liturgy and music is more than a preference, it is a symbolic expression of identity and of religious meaning implicit within that identity' (Carroll, Roof 2002: 10).

As apart from the common meal, the worship service is the central religious element of the Sunday meetings, the congregants of the second generation expect a religious experience, which gives them sense and makes a difference, in contrast to their profane every day world. The church represents less a shelter but is rather a meeting place, where they can experience a community feeling. Many of the interviewees were disappointed that the older congregants do not want to get involved in new religious practices such as loud singing, application of electronic music instruments and clapping with hands. They have met these actions in Christian youth seminars, which are often led by charismatic pastors. Presbyterian Korean churches, in particular, oppose the introduction of charismatic elements into their worship services.

Charismatic religious practices exert a special fascination for the Korean youth since they put the personal experience of the participants in the foreground. There are few doctrinal principles and the emotional life of the congregants is emphasized to a greater degree. The worships are more open to improvisations and the offerings of the Holy Ghost can award power, which is otherwise regarded as insignificant. This adjustment of interest towards charismatic religious elements is a theological problem for Presbyterian churches.

After this short comment on intergenerational fields of tension, the next section deals with observable changes on the level of religious action and will discuss a typology of strategies in reaction to the fields of tension mentioned.

NEGOTIATING RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN NEW SPACES OF RELIGIOUS INTERACTION

The following typology of coping strategies, on a meso level of analysis, should represent an arc of suspense about the ways in which second-generation Koreans find their way of preserving the cultural heritage of the first generation and develop a faith of their own at the same time. These strategies were born from these intergenerational tensions.

1) Self-determination and mobility:

Some second-generation congregants are no longer attending the Korean churches of their parents, in which they grew up, on Sundays. During my field research I met Presbyterian teenagers, who drove into another city with their smaller siblings, or families, in order to take part in a worship service of Pentecostal churches which are especially oriented to the second generation. The return trip often lasts over two hours. Music, singing, clapping with hands and youth near sermon topics play a central part in the worship services. The parents are not pleased with this decision of their children. But some parents give their children the leeway as they are afraid that they would otherwise not go to church anyway. Those who switch accept the long journey, because the worship is led by a young second-generation pastor, or because the new church, in contrast to the prior church, offers more child care.

The reason for switching from one church to another is actuated by dissatisfaction and yearning. These young people changed their church without changing their residences. In consequence, the Korean churches compete with each other for their young congregants. The originally familiar relationship with the parental churches is being replaced in favour of a rather market-oriented and individualistic decision-making by the second-generation Korean Germans. Those Korean churches gain new members, and adjust themselves to the needs of all of their members.

2) Displacement: Layman organization as alternative to established churches

A group called GIL was founded in 2002. GIL is the acronym for ‘Gott im Leben’ or ‘Life in God’. In Korean GiL/길 means ‘way’. First, a group of over 100 second-generation Korean Germans founded a church for their generation. But it was too difficult since they did not have enough resources, no second-generation pastor and no experience about how to establish a church. In addition, the number of congregants was never stable. They currently have about 50 congregants. GIL turned into a lay organization with a low hierarchical system and a weakening of gender differences. They organize their meetings

on Facebook and have established a worship service, which takes place every two months in Korean churches in different cities in North Rhine-Westphalia. A pastor of each congregation acts as a guest preacher in their worship. They themselves determine the content, themes and style of worship. In this way, they have established a space of interaction beyond the established churches without interrupting the connection with their parent churches.

GIL has been accepted by the pastors and elders because they do not perceive GIL as a serious competitor. This is an example of layman organizations which open up new social spaces for religious and social interaction. At the same time, the example shows that the second generation simply does not leave their churches and their religiosity decreases.

3) Separation/differentiation: the establishment of second-generation worship services within the church

Korean Christians, with their different generational backgrounds, have different church-related needs. The church is an important venue for immigrants who negotiate their adjustment to Germany; conversely, many young adults want their own worship service within the churches to be independent of those of their parents' generation. The phenomenon of establishing a second-generation worship service is only found in large Korean churches with 150 congregants and more, and can be seen as a reaction to declining membership numbers, the low bonding force of the churches, and different linguistic abilities. Only four churches in North-Rhine Westphalia have a second-generation worship service on Saturday or after the Sunday worship service. There is a remarkable difference between the worship styles of the first- and second-generation congregants. Some churches incorporate many elements of mainstream evangelical Christianity. Worship is led by a band of musicians on electric guitars, drums and synthesizers, with lyrics projected onto large overhead screens.

A Presbyterian pastor has criticised the attitude of some younger congregants, saying that they are more concerned about fun and experiences in worship than about concentrating on intensive bible studies, for example.

Second-generation Koreans mentioned three aspects about why they prefer their own worship service. First, they prefer German-speaking worship services. A 30-year-old Korean woman says:

We do not have the old songs, but rather the new songs, and sometimes we can also sing in German or English. Because... our mother tongue is somehow Korean, but somehow also German. I think that it does make a difference if you worship in Korean or German. It feels different if I pray the Lord's Prayer in German or Korean.

The possibility of religious experience is linked to the mother tongue. The religious practice is sensed by her as being meaningful if the language does not generate any distance to the religious content. Another point, which is important to her, is the use of 'new songs'. These contemporary songs of praise focus on themes of victory, joy, love, celebration and intimacy and are emotionally charged. They are recited by a praise team. This generation is influenced by the media and pop culture (Beaudoin 1998). They can identify more easily with songs in English in the style of evangelical music, as in America, than older congregants.

Secondly, they like the more friendly and intimate atmosphere and social interactions in the worship service for the second generation. A 24-old-Korean student explained:

The atmosphere is much warmer and much closer than in the main worship service. It is not just sitting around and listening to the sermon. For us it is more of ...togetherness. We can talk about everything and I know everybody. It is not so anonymous. It is more like in a school class. I like it very much.

While stricter social norms and values determine the interactions of the congregants in the main worship service, hierarchical and gender-based norms are less strict in the second worship service. This is because all participants are approximately of the same age, belong to the same generation, and have a higher rate of members from other countries, such as those in Africa, China or Latin America. The last point applies especially to Pentecostal churches. The establishment of a second-generation worship service is an active coping strategy, which is accompanied by a structural differentiation of the church.

Thirdly, some younger congregants prefer the possibility of a third space or spatial separation within their churches from older Koreans. A 30-year-old Korean woman says:

It is a space where we're not forced into a role or have to attend a service which is not pleasant for us. It's a platform for second-generation congregants. We are spatially separated and I wouldn't like to come in contact with the congregants of the first generation. So we don't quarrel.

The quotations show that potential conflicts are avoided through spatial separation. Older and younger congregants are separated within this Korean Catholic church. Once a month there is a worship service for second-generation Korean Germans. So that the generations don't meet, the older members visit a worship service in the neighbouring town. This kind of passive coping strategy is uncommon and is not approved by most of the pastors. However, this handling

ensures that the congregants of the second generation will not leave the church forever.

4) *Cooperation of second-generation pastors:*

‘We are a group consisting of second-generation Korean pastors, who share the awakening of Germany and Europe as a common vision,’ said a young Pentecostal pastor, who is cooperating with two other Presbyterian second-generation pastors and is a founder member of a group called EXODUS. He said: ‘We believe that Korean immigrants play an important role in God’s Revival Plan for Germany, Europe and the whole world. In particular, we are convinced that God has called and enabled the second-generation Koreans to contribute to this revival plan’. His statement is a characteristic claim in the Pentecostal movement.

In recent months, they were able to build an interdenominational network of ‘spiritual leaders of the second generation’. Their goal is to prepare the second-generation Koreans in Germany through spiritual guidance and training about their responsibilities within and outside their communities. EXODUS offers personal counseling and support as well as ways of consulting the communities. They want to reconcile the first- and second-generation congregants. For three years, they have organized a conference to talk about the future of the Korean churches and the role of the second generation.

Figure 1.

A Typology of Strategies on the Member Level and Institutional Level

| Member Level | Institutional Level |
|---|---|
| Self-determination/mobility: Switching from church to church (religious market) | Separation/differentiation: Second generation worship service |
| Displacement: Lay organization: GiL/길 (German: Gott im Leben/Korean: way) | Cooperation: EXODUS: Network of second generation pastors |

Cooperation among second-generation pastors forms a small network, which is unique in this form in North-Rhine Westphalia. Since they could not express their concerns within the Korean associations that still existed, they banded together. With EXODUS, they want to function as an institutional bridge between the second-generation congregants and their churches. This kind of coping strategy can be seen as a reaction to a lack of discussion about the change of generations

within the Korean churches. Admittedly, the interdenominational network is still small, but they offer a space for discussion at their annual meetings. The following table summarizes the results that have been discussed earlier.

CONCLUSION

Contrary to the assumptions of theorists like Herberg (1955), who argued that the second generation would turn away from the church, or Mullins (1987), who predicted that with the cultural and structural assimilation of the second generation, the attraction of ethnic churches would diminish—because social and religious needs can be better met within religious organizations of the host society—second-generation Korean Christians are neither assimilating into mainstream churches nor abandoning their faith.

Most of the second-generation Korean Christians do not want to adopt the cultural and religious traditions of the first generation, like the way runners pass a baton in a race. The second-generation Koreans I have met in Korean churches are more or less just as religious as their immigrant parents. But it is important to note that they are searching for new ways to fashion a faith of their own and change institutional structures, which are less hierarchical and gender-based, more lay-organized, and more engaged in implanting charismatic religious elements into the sermons.

The three levels of transmission of religious and cultural traditions—gender- and age-based hierarchies, forms of social interaction and the frequent participation in religious practices—are the main areas of conflict. Three changes can be observed: First of all, the second generation is more open-minded to charismatic religious elements, which rest upon an increasing dispersion and power of charismatic Korean churches and their engaged second-generation pastors. There is a desire for closer social interactions and intensive religious experiences, which reminds one of ‘Eventisierung des Religiösen’ or ‘eventisation of religion’.

Secondly, they turn away from gender- and age-based hierarchies, which leads to two different developments. The first is the establishment of second-generation worship services in bigger Korean churches and the next is self-organization out of the churches.

Thirdly, the churches are no longer a shelter for all congregants, but tends towards multiracial and universalistic-oriented places. Young religious second-generation leaders (particularly Pentecostal pastors) are aiming to influence mainstream Protestantism by practicing and marketing religion that is flavoured with Korean expressions of Christianity. The emphasis on ‘Christian’ identity, and

not primarily on a Korean identity, is a sense of connectedness to a community of believers that transcends ethnic divisions and stands in contrast to the secular host society.

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II.

“ON THE ROAD AGAIN” – IDENTITIES OF THIRD CULTURE KIDS

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BEING CHAMELEON: THE INFLUENCE OF MULTIPLE MIGRATION IN CHILDHOOD ON IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION¹

Like nomads we moved with the seasons... As with the seasons, each move offered something to look forward to while something had to be given up... We learned early that 'Home' was an ambiguous concept, and, wherever we lived, some essential part of our lives was always someplace else. So we were always of two minds. We learned to be happy and sad at the same time. We learned to be independent and accept that things were out of our control...

Paul A. Seaman, *Paper Airplanes in the Himalayas. The Unfinished Path Home*

One of the most important characteristics of contemporary societies is mobility. It refers not only to humans, but also to the transfers of information, money, things and images. Old metaphors of society as a machine or “global village” were replaced by “flows”, “scapes” or a “rhizome”. John Urry declared that sociology should concentrate on different kinds of mobilities and not on society (Urry 2000). In their book “The Age of Migration”, Stephen Castles

¹ This article is based on the research conducted in the frames of PhD dissertation entitled „Strategie tożsamościowe globalnych nomadów. Mobilność jako kreator biografii” defended at Jagiellonian University in 2013.

and Mark Miller claim that not only the number of migrants is steadily growing (estimated at 214 million people in 2011), but also that forms of migrations are more and more diversified. Among these new phenomena are, for example, lifestyle migrations and blurring boundaries between tourism and migrations, feminization of migrations, and their global and transnational character (Castles and Miller 2011). Numerous highly skilled workers decide to move abroad *in* the job or *for* the job, usually for at least a few years' assignment. In such cases, they are most often accompanied by their families. Although research indicates that this kind of migration may be challenging for the family as a system – especially for “trailing spouses” and children (difficulties with adaptation of employee's family members are the most common reason for ending foreign assignment prematurely), these issues were rarely analyzed by sociologists. This article is an attempt to fill this niche. It focuses on children who have “spent a significant part of their developmental years outside the parents' culture” (Pollock and van Reken 2009: 13) because of one or both of the parents' job. They are referred to as Third Culture Kids or “global nomads” (McCaig 1996).

This category of migrants will be characterized in the first part of this paper. Third Culture Kids (TCKs) were analyzed mainly in the United States, where the term was coined, and in Japan under the names *kaigai-shijos* and *kikoku-shijos* (Pollock and van Reken 2009, Cottrell 2012). I will summarize the results of previous research, and then present my theoretical framework as well as methodology of the research. Mobile childhood experienced by TCKs is connected with specific challenges and opportunities. Yet, in my opinion, it is impossible to generalize the whole category of “global nomads” and their psychological characteristics or biographical patterns. People react differently to the pressures and opportunities they face. Therefore, I will highlight the role of agency in the process of identity construction, taking into account that this process takes place in particular structures influencing people's attitudes and behaviours. Identity became one of the fundamental concepts in the social sciences in the last decades. In this article I opt for Jerzy Szacki's general definition of identity as “a way in which, more or less consciously, we locate ourselves in a social world” (Szacki 2004: 22). I agree with Szacki and with Manuel Castells that the role of identity is to regulate our relationships with the world and that therefore building one's identity is an inevitable task.

I will thus describe the challenges connected with mobile childhood and identity strategies applied by TCKs concentrating on three issues: the question of control over one's biography, the question of cohesion and continuity of identity and the specificity of global nomads' social relations.

PROTOTYPE CITIZENS OF THE FUTURE? – THIRD CULTURE KIDS IN RESEARCH

The term Third Culture Kids was coined in the late 1950s by American sociologist couple Ruth Hill and John Useems. They went to India to research men educated in Britain who then returned to India, and American expatriates living in Asia. They coined the notion of “third culture” and in the book entitled „Men in the Middle of the Third Culture: The Roles of American and Non-Western People in Cross-Cultural Administration”, they define the term as “cultural patterns inherited and created, learned and shared by the members of two or more different societies who are personally involved in relating their society, or segments thereof, to each other” (Useem et al. 1963, as cited in: Evanoff 2000: 127). The Useems were accompanied in India by their three children and from observing them functioning in this “third culture”, they coined the term Third Culture Kids (TCKs). Initially they were described broadly as “children who accompany their parents into another society”, but there were four main categories of TCKs identified: military “brats”, missionary kids, foreign service kids and corporate “brats” (Pollock and van Reken 2009: 15). In most cases the parents’ job had a representational character that influenced the whole family, including children. Also, back then, expatriates used to live in enclaves or compounds that were rather isolated from the local society.

The notion of “third culture” did not gain popularity in academia, which may come as a surprise taking into account its resemblance to Homi Bhaba’s “third space” or cultural hybridity – both so prominent in contemporary sociology and anthropology. Although Ruth Hill Useem was a professor at Michigan University for a few decades, the concept of Third Culture Kids did not enter mainstream migration studies either. Instead, many governmental and non-governmental organizations were created promoting the notion and offering counseling, practical information, and facilitating networking for expatriates and TCKs.

In the nineties David Pollock and Ruth van Reken, who worked with TCKs for some time as members of Families in Global Transition (FIGT), wrote a book on the subject, entitled simply “Third Culture Kids. Growing up among worlds”. They present the following definition of a TCK:

A Third Culture Kid is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents’ culture. The TCK frequently builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture may be assimilated into the TCK’s life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background (Pollock and van Reken 2009: 13)

Since then, the notion becomes more and more recognized among TCKs, also thanks to the Internet and particularly to social media networks such as Facebook. In this paper I will use Pollock and van Reken's definition of TCKs, although I do not presume their sense of belonging— it is one of the issues I research during the interviews.

METHODOLOGY

Since the aim of my research was to understand biographical consequences of international mobility in childhood and the process of identity construction, I chose the approach of interpretative sociology and the biographical narrative interview as my method. It implies that I was interested in how my interviewees interpret their biography and the meanings they give to their experiences. Biographical narrative interview, inspired by Fritz Schütze, is a method that corresponds very well with these goals. At the beginning I asked my interviewees to tell me the story of their lives and did not interrupt them nor ask any questions. In the first phase I just listened and encouraged them to speak. I then asked them to develop the plots I found most interesting or where it occurred to me that they might have omitted some details. Not until the last phase of the interview did I asked “theoretical” questions referring to my research questions (regarding the definition of home, the role of Internet, the notion of TCKs, etc.) (Schütze 1997, 2012). Data collection and analysis was organized in accordance with the constructivist version of grounded theory by Kathy Charmaz (Charmaz 2009).

I conducted and analyzed 53 interviews with adult TCKs of different nationalities. I used snowballing and purposive sampling in order to differentiate the sample. As I mentioned before, researchers usually focused on TCKs of American origin, which is a specific category in many ways. I wanted my sample to be differentiated by nationality. TCKs' biographies are connected with at least two countries and I believe that while researching such transnational categories one should abandon “methodological nationalism” and not impose nationality as a main variable (Beck 2007). One is not only a member of a nation-state, but may as well be a member of a transnational community or social movement, one is either a consumer or producer of goods. I do not claim that nationality is not important anymore – I want to understand its role and meaning to TCKs. Talking to people of different nationalities enables having a broader scope and comparing between different categories. The characteristic of the sample is presented in the following table:

Table 1.

Characteristic of research sample

| Variable | Categories | Number of interviewees |
|--|--|------------------------|
| Age | 20–29 | 23 |
| | 30–39 | 21 |
| | 40–49 | 5 |
| | 50–64 | 4 |
| Parents’ country of origin | Poland | 21 |
| | United States of America | 10 |
| | Other (Germany, China, India, UK...) | 22 |
| Gender | Woman | 36 |
| | Man | 17 |
| Parent’s occupation² | Academic teacher or researcher | 11 |
| | Foreign service (military) | 9 (1) |
| | Transnational company or foreign assignment | 18 |
| | Other (medical doctor, architect, artist...) | 14 |

“PACK YOUR STUFF, WE’RE MOVING!”.
CONTROL OVER “LIFE OF ONE’S OWN”

The question of agency and control over the process of identity construction is in the center of contemporary discussions on identity. Individualization released people from the influence of social institutions, such as nation state, social class, and family, and made them responsible for “the life of their own” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). The issue of agency and control in global nomads’ lives may be analyzed in several dimensions. Firstly, as a control over one’s moves, secondly as a possibility to make decisions concerning one’s life at a particular moment, and thirdly, as a sense of influence on how one’s life looks, conviction that it is a result of one’s own plans and actions.

My interviewees did not have control over their mobility during childhood. Their parents were sent abroad by their employer (in which case they themselves

² I refer here to the occupation of the parent, whose job required migration (in my research it was always father, apart from families in which parents divorced and a child travelled with mother).

had limited influence on the moment of move and on the destination) or made the decision to move on their own. In the latter case they could choose time and destination taking into account the child's welfare. Ambassadors and foreign service employees move every few years and while their families realize when the move will take place, few are aware of the destination until the last moment.

Some parents inform their children months before the planned move is to take place, and prepare them for this transition, others tell them only at the very last moment. My research confirmed the observations made by Ruth van Reken and David Pollock that children need to prepare for the transition, they need to say goodbye to their friends, places, etc. Some of my interviewees mentioned that the most traumatic transitions were those, when during holidays they were informed that they were not going back "home" and that "home" was going to be somewhere else from now on. This experience results in the belief that they do not have influence over their life. Theories of acculturation stress and culture shock (see article by Kornelia Zakrzewska-Wirkus in this issue) demonstrate that the lack of linguistic and cultural competences and social networks during the adaptation process may result in lower self-esteem, self-efficacy, and even depression. The support of the family appeared to be crucial for many TCKs in the new place of residence. Unfortunately, the fact that family is the sole source of support at the beginning, may have negative consequences for a child if there is a crisis in within the family system.

Feeling that all decisions influencing their life are made by their family, TCKs want to "break that cycle" and start to live on their own. Usually this begins when they start college, but some of them start their independent life in high school. It should be highlighted however, that before the end of college it is rarely economic independence, since parents usually pay tuition fees. One exception from this rule is worth mentioning: TCKs of Polish origin coming back for college to the parents' country gain financial independence relatively quickly. This is possible because higher education in Poland is free and the linguistic (usually fluent knowledge of English or French) and cultural competences of these TCKs make them very attractive on the Polish job market.

In terms of agency, one of the most interesting phenomena I identified during my research was the long-term influence that their mobile childhood had on TCKs' adult lives. There is a category of global nomads that feels determined by their past. They feel that their present life is not shaped by their decisions, but by the way they were brought up.

At first it was just something that happened to you – you had no control over where you moved, what you did, and then later you start to see these kinds of

values manifested in your later life, for example the wanderlust, the itch to move, the itch to travel and the judgment of people who don't travel, looking for a job that allows you to travel internationally, so yes, I definitely look at it like "this was an opportunity and I do want to utilize this opportunity to make more out of my life. (...) So I think that my upbringing had a lot to do with where I ended up now. My parents started to look for a job in the UN about five or six years ago, and I ended up in a school where the biggest recruiter is the UN and Peace Corps (Mira, 28).

Mira's words illustrate how certain decisions made by parents for their kids – choice of school, extracurricular activities, ways of spending free time and the values – had important influence on that child's adult life. Obviously, this influence may be perceived by the latter as an opportunity or may be criticized as oppressive. Very often its perception changes over time and what was seen as forced, troublesome, and painful during childhood or adolescence is appreciated later on. Another important plot mentioned by Mira, and by Gabriela (see below), is the intergenerational transmission of privileges – of economic, social, and cultural capital. TCKs' attitudes toward this privileged life range from pride and idealization to critique and rejection and are very often ambivalent.

But especially in an international school, we were raised to believe that we would one day rule the world, because our parents ruled the world, so we just assumed we would too. So when you didn't get into an Ivy League college, you were expected to commit ritual suicide (laughter). I don't know, it was a very high pressure. I admit, it was very elitist, but you were just expected to be ambitious. I only know like one person from my high school, who didn't go to university. Because everyone was expected to be super, super ambitious (Gabriela, 25).

Ayana, on the other hand, represents a category of women, who, around the age of thirty-five realize that this lifestyle (mobility, higher education, demanding career and travels), which is so natural to them, led them to a certain point where they are single, and sometimes feel uprooted and confused.

I definitely think that if you have family, the straight path is the easier way to take, but at the same time I think that whether or not you have family, also depends on which path you're on. Sometimes it's a bit like... you have to make sure that you're on the right path.

Do you think it is impossible to change the path?

No, it's not impossible, but it is hard. Like, I could do it, but it is hard. When I think of being in the same place forever, it's not that attractive. Or it has to be a place I really want to go to, that has something special about it, like Tanzania, New

Orleans, maybe Ethiopia. But it has to be a place with something. I can't go to... like my entire family is in Dallas, I cannot just go and live in Dallas (Ayana, 38)

In the case of Jenny, this long-term influence from her mobile childhood and feeling uprooted refers to an internalized urge to move every couple of years. For many TCKs, staying mobile is all they know, it is the “default option”, settling down somewhere is what really requires a reason.

I really felt that and it was an important moment for me, because I felt like I needed to try and stay, try to build this into a home for me. My plan right now is to stay. And actually I can't imagine leaving, even though 6 months ago I wanted to leave for sure. It's because I've programmed my brain – it doesn't know anything else; you stay a couple of years and then you go, that's how it works. It's like this automatic thing I do. But no, my plan right now is to stay. (Jenny, 36)

Jenny decided to settle down in Germany because she realized that due to her mobile lifestyle she does not have a home, and now, at thirty-six, she would like to build one. Very often only after meeting a girlfriend or a boyfriend, does the thought of settling down occur to global nomads.

RELATIONSHIPS OF TCKs

The crucial role of “significant others” or primary groups in the process of identity construction impels us to take a closer look on a TCKs' social relations. What is the specificity of TCKs families? How do their relationships with peers look like? Do they prefer to hang out with people who share their international experience? And, last but not least, what is the role of a virtual TCK community?

One of the first characteristics of TCKs' families are close bonds between their members (Pollock and van Reken 2009; Schaetti and Ramsey 1999). My interviewees mentioned that either their siblings or their parents were their best friends during their time abroad and that they tended to spend more time with their family than their peers and more than they used to spend before leaving their country of origin. It should be stressed however, that migration usually takes place due to the father's job and it is the mother who has to dedicate extra time to kids. Very often, her assistance is needed during activities that a child used to perform on his/her own in the country of origin, such as going to school and extracurricular activities, doing homework, etc. As a result, it sometimes happens that mothers feel overwhelmed by their own problems with adaptation and the

pressure to assist their kids in the transition process (Nukaga 2008). Children are not satisfied with this situation either: very often they feel over-protected, deprived of the independence and freedom they used to have.

Another research demonstrated that a child's adaptation and wellbeing in the new country of residence is influenced by the mother's adaptation (Schaetti 2000) and relations with peers. The latter is more important in the case of schoolchildren and becomes crucial during adolescence. Therefore it appears that the pre-school years, when a child does not have strong bonds outside his or her family, are the best moment for a move. On the other hand, however, strong intra-familial bonds and a lack of alternative sources of support makes a child extremely vulnerable in the case of a conflict or crisis, such as parents' divorce, conflict of values, lack of acceptance for the child's lifestyle, etc.

When it comes to choosing a school, there are several options: a national school abroad with a curriculum from the parents' country, a local school in the country of residence (private or public), and an international school. Obviously, not every option is available for everybody. The first one is available mainly for Americans and British, in some cities for French, German and Dutch expats. Others, such as the Polish, must choose between a local or international school and, additionally, send their kids to Polish school on weekends. International schools on the other hand, have very high tuition and if the parent's employer does not subsidize the fees, it may be unaffordable for many families. Although international schools are usually elitist and contribute to reproduction of privileges, as outlined above, they represent a much more welcoming and accepting environment for children. In comparison with local schools, they are usually less homogenous, both staff and pupils are used to foreigners, their staff and students are more open, and it is easier to relate to others with similar experiences there. TCKs in local schools, especially if they look different than the majority of pupils or do not speak the language, may experience bullying or isolation. According to my research, this is much less likely in an international school. I will not develop this issue here, as the whole section of this issue is dedicated to educational problems of children migrants and TCKs.

No matter what school a child will attend, the first challenge is to learn the local language. My interviewees claimed that because of that, the first school year is the most difficult and it takes more than two years to feel truly comfortably in a new place. TCKs very often speak about the solitude and difficulties in finding friends. Usually, they have two or three close friends, but do not belong to cliques or circles. TCKs coming to the US or western European countries feel that in comparison with their peers they are immature or even childish, as far as boyfriends/girlfriends, cars, make-up, etc. are concerned. On the other hand, when they come to those countries to attend college, they have opposite impressions: American teenagers are immature and have very little knowledge

and interest in the world outside of their country. Global nomads that move every couple of years and have experienced many partings, may suffer from difficulties with commitment in relationships:

When we move around so much, it might be one of our survival skills – not be attached. If you attach yourself to too many things and it keeps getting broken, it's like... How many times can your heart break? How many times can you cry because you're losing a friend? At some point you're more like: "I'm just going to be very careful about who I become friends with, because my heart has been broken so many times. So unless this person is really special, I'm not going to get too involved". I want to be able to drop them if I have to – if I leave, if they leave, if something happens (Philipp, 24).

Apart from “technical” problems with finding friends (language barrier, bullying, homogenous and closed environment), some TCKs speak about the solitude inherent to their biographies. This issue also applies to romantic relationships, which is one of the “problematic” spheres for many TCKs for two reasons. Firstly, they may have difficulties with finding “the one” due to cultural differences, and secondly because of “commitment issues”. Not only are they afraid, but their partners may be reserved when seeing their hesitant attitude.

I claim that the main challenge TCKs have to face is feeling different or foreign and, what is even more important, being treated as such. According to Kathleen Finn Jordan, 74% of TCKs perceived themselves as “outsiders” both in their passport country and in their country of residence (Finn Jordan 2002: 213). My interviewees, like *bricoleurs*, formed their identity out of different elements coming from different cultural contexts. For most of them, identity was constantly “under construction”, it was a fluid concept. Their social environment, however, forced them to identify themselves once and for all, to somehow relate to existing national or ethnic categories. Labeling and lack of recognition for the identity they constructed, faced mainly by TCKs whose appearance was different than the dominant group, were one of the most frustrating experiences.

“Where are you from?” is another one. Well, ironically, when I'm in Spain I understand perfectly why they ask, because they know I'm not Spanish. And I'd have to say I'm Korean. But sometimes I say I'm Spanish, although I understand what they mean with that question: “You're an outsider”. So when I say I'm Spanish, we always get to the same question: “Ok, but where are you from?” (...) Spain is like war, every day. I have to prove them that I can speak Spanish. That was really funny, because I used to be a teacher – I taught Spanish to foreigners. And that is something that Spaniards couldn't really expect. “She looks Chinese and she's teaching Spanish?” (Jin, 28)

[in Nigeria] I might have looked a lot like the people there, but then I would open my mouth to speak and they were all like: “Oh, this is the American kid!”. That was how I was perceived. I wasn’t perceived as someone who belonged to that culture, even though I have a heritage that connects me with it. Having to actually prove this was really interesting – “No, my dad is from here!”. And they were like: “No, you can’t be”. Being told who you are is a very interesting experience (laughter). Being told: “No, you’re not from here. You have no connection to here. You are foreign, you are different”. I had to go through almost the same process upon my return to the States. In my mind-space, I was American. You know, with Nigerian and Brazilian influences, but basically American, a New Yorker. But being put into that environment and being told: “Ok, no, you’re not a New Yorker, you’re not an American. Passport – no. Mother – no. Father – no”. I was always being redefined by other people’s expectations, by people telling me constantly, who I am. I had to prove who I am and I questioned it myself: “Wait a minute. Am I really that?” (Obi, 40).

Ewa Nowicka identifies two kinds of being foreign: subjective (*obcość podmiotowa*) and reflected (*obcość odzwierciedlona*) (Nowicka 2007; 2008: 264). The first one implies a sense of not belonging to a specific culture and feeling like an outsider. The second one refers to the way one is treated by others. The two above-mentioned citations illustrate how the reflected foreignness can lead to the subjective one. The fact that one’s identity is not socially recognized makes people doubt their identity or fight for it. Therefore, TCKs often look for the company of people with similar experiences, who would understand that the answer to the questions “Where are you from?”, “What is your nationality?”, etc., may be very complicated.

In this matter, there is a difference between European and American TCKs. The former usually do not know the notion “Third Culture Kids” and hang around with migrants’ children, children from mixed marriages, in other words anybody, who has had some kind of multicultural experience. Many American TCKs on the other hand, are familiar with the notion and with the Internet resources, meeting groups and organizations dedicated precisely to them. They internalize the notion in an international school, through friends or – which is very interesting – by searching for it online or at a library, usually during a psychological crisis or difficulties during adaptation.

I was in the fourth year of college. So pretty late. But you know what’s interesting? It wasn’t that I came across it, I was looking for a term to describe people that moved around like me, I was looking for it, I went to the library to do research. I thought that there must be some sort of term to describe it (Yanyu, 27).

The moments when my interviewees described how they came across the notion of “TCKs” were very emotional and moving. Reading the book by David Pollock and Ruth van Reken (the “bible”, as they call it), they experienced immense relief and felt validated. In many cases this moment can be described as a “turning point” (Strauss 1997; Schütze 1012) in their biographies.

I googled it and saw that there are some doctors actually studying it and researching this as a job. I was like: “This is interesting”. I remember I was at work, in the airport. I was opening offices for a company. We had an airport office and I’m the only one at the airport, it’s 7 o’clock. I remember going through this list and almost getting teary-eyed – this was everything I wasn’t able to vocalize, that I’ve been going through for the past 8–10 years. It was like an epic moment, I still remember it – it was amazing! (Daniel, 32)

Yes, exactly. So I read the book and it was a revelation! There is a word for it! There is a word! You know, it explains everything that you were going through at the precise point, which is definitely a relief: “Oh, I am not a freak! There is an explanation, it is normal and there are other people like these out there!” And it’s normal that I didn’t assimilate too well, because before I thought that I was just bad at human interactions (laughs). (Mia, 27).

The next step, after getting familiar with the term, may be engaging in one of the offline TCK communities³. In some cases we can speak of “professionalization of identity”, when personal identity as a TCK is very tightly combined with professional life. It concerns mostly counselors, artists realizing projects related to being a TCK, etc. The TCK community – mostly virtual, with a few offline islands – may be perceived as “sociation” (Urry 2000, chapter 6), or an example of new “tribes” or “networks” described by Zygmunt Bauman or Michel Maffessoli. John Urry defines sociation as a community joined by choice and in search of emotional satisfaction (not based on traditional criteria such as nationality, age or ethnicity). It is relatively easy to become a member and equally easy to leave this community; “these sociations enable people to experiment with new kinds of dwellingness which are often temporary and involve diverse mobilities. They may empower people, providing relatively safe places for identity-testing and the context for learning new skills” (Urry 2000: 143). Bauman is skeptical whether these communities may successfully fulfill the role of traditional communities in providing support and frames of reference in the process of identity construction (Bauman 2007). The example of the TCK community proves however, that it is

³ Offline communities are located in major American metropolis (New York City, Los Angeles etc.) and in few Asian cities with numerous expatriate population (Singapore, Hong Kong etc).

possible, at least to some extent. Understanding the notion and getting in contact with other TCKs helped many interviewees to cope with psychological crises, build an identity, and offered them social support and validation. My interview partners mentioned another problem: identity formed and validated within this community was not recognized by other members of society, who insisted on referring to traditional categories like national identity, class, etc.

BEING CHAMELEON: COHESION AND CONTINUITY OF IDENTITY

Sociologists and anthropologists theorizing about late modernity, highlight rapid changes which influence people's everyday life, the role of mediated experience and "the intrusion of distant events into everyday consciousness" (Giddens 1991: 27). These characteristics are particularly evident in TCKs' biographies. Not only are they obliged to relate to different social contexts at the same time (some of which are geographically distant), but these contexts also change over time. The words of one of my interviewees, Dustin, very clearly illustrate this lack of continuity and sudden break of biographical trajectory:

Well, I remember that as soon as we arrived to the new place it was just like the beginning of the new kind of reality, I guess. It's like you get on the plane and this part of your life is immediately forgotten, I am not gonna see it again. So as soon as we arrived to the new place I thought: "wow, this is a new world that I am arriving in" (...) My behaviour changed, I would do what my friends did. I would talk about what people there were talking about. For instance, when we moved to Saudi Arabia, when I was young, what people did was play Pokémon – I'd never seen it before, but eventually I made my way into it and started to play, and then, when we moved to Kuwait people there would play computer games, they would stay in the city and play computer games, so I started to play computer games, and then when we moved to Saudi Arabia again, what people did there was go out and smoke and drink, so I started smoking and drinking. And then we moved to Abu Dhabi and people had these fake ideas to go out to bars and night clubs and the beach, so I would do these things. And everything changed, my values changed, there were no values actually... I was just a child. Pure pleasure was my intention, pleasure and some kind of friends, I guess (Dustin, 22).

This citation brings to mind Kenneth Gergen's concept of "saturated self" (Gergen 1991). It seems that some TCKs, like Dustin, opt for "relational self", meaning there is no one, core authentic identity, but rather many contextual selves depending on social relations. One's main goal is to learn how to efficiently

manage these different selves without thinking about traditional concept of identity or being true to oneself. In accordance with that, the most popular metaphor used by my interviewees to describe their identity was “chameleon”. Some of them stipulated that “blending in” refers only to their behaviour and not to their “inner self”, which remains unchanged and stable.

Keeping constant and integrate identity when relating to many different social and cultural contexts at the same time (home, school, different groups of peers), is another challenge TCKs have to face. Many global nomads find themselves in the position of “marginal man” (Stonequist 1935), or experience “multifrenia” (Gergen 1991) as far as language, values, or nationality is concerned.

When I’m in Korea, I’m not Korean. When I’m in Spain, I’m not Spanish. But I’m both (Jin, 29)

There was this time, the reason why I made my film⁴, I realized, I felt like I was a different person in each of these places. When I was in Japan with my family I would be one way. Then when I was in my international school with my friends, I would be like a different person. In England I would be a different person, here I am a different person. I was like four people and I was like: “Which one is me? Why am I fake in one place?”. I felt, that I must be fake sometimes if I am not the same person. I freaked out, I did not know which one was me. I thought there should be one self. I should be consistent. Obviously what I figured out through the film was that that’s not how it works. My discovery was that I obviously have to adapt, depending on my environment. It’s all myself but I am different, because of the different cultures and circumstances I’m put in. Because all through my life I’ve been put in different cultural circumstances and I had to adapt to survive. It’s like a part of me, it’s not like I am being bad in one place because I am not being the same as here (Sara, 24).

Sara’s words bring to mind a question analyzed by representatives of “reflexive modernization school”: Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash. They wondered if in late modernity, creating cohesive and continuous identity is possible at all. According to Beck, individualization uprooted people from traditional institutions such as the nation state, local community, class or even family, and imposed on them the obligation to build their identity. They cannot find an anchor in the outside world anymore and the only signpost they have is their own experience (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Scott Lash is even more radical in his opinion about late modernity:

⁴ Sara made a film about being a TCK.

The contemporary individual, Beck never tires of saying, is characterized by choice, where previous generations had no such choices. What Beck often omits to say is that this individual must choose fast, must – as in a reflex – make quick decisions. Second-modernity individuals haven't sufficient reflexive distance on themselves to construct linear and narrative biographies. They must be content, as Ronald Hitzler has noted, with *Bastelbiographien*, with bricolage-biographies in Lévi-Strauss's sense. The non linear individual may wish to be reflective, but has neither time nor space to reflect. He is a combinard. He puts together networks, constructs alliances, makes deals. He must live, is forced to live in an atmosphere of risk in which knowledge and life-changes are precarious (Lash 2001: ix).

Anthony Giddens, who agrees with Beck and Lash in general characteristic of contemporary society claims, however, that people still try and succeed to build coherent and continuous identity. The fact that they change attitude and appearance in multiple contexts does not prove that they have no inner core of self-identity. On the contrary, most people are able to effectively integrate their demeanour into their personal narratives, which contributes to the sense of coherence and continuity (Giddens 1991: 100). Coming back to global nomads' dilemmas, the notion "Third Culture Kids" sometimes enables them to frame different, sometimes contradictory, experiences and integrate different demeanours into their personal narrative. In such cases "being a TCK" is like a basic identity, which encompasses others:

There are different, cultural pieces of me, but saying that I'm a TCK allows me to continuously pull that together. So it's not like I feel South Asian today and tomorrow I'll feel French or something else. It's more like I'm allowed to feel all those things at the same time. To me, that's how being a TCK keeps all things together.

And you need this frame and continuity in your life?

Yes. I need that, or else I'll constantly try to figure out why I feel like this, but I also like that and do this, while it doesn't make sense to me. Being a TCK allows me to hold all that together as a person. It's a way to make everything make sense. There was a time when I didn't know TCK and that was when I had a cultural identity crisis, I was falling apart. I just didn't know how to make things fit together (Dewanshi, 29)

Obviously, there are people who do not know the term TCKs and are still able to form their identity. One of the strategies is "dual" identity (Kłoskowska 1996; Łukowski 2001), applied most often when a person did not move very often and spent many years in one country. I identified this strategy among Poles whose parents had a job in France, Brazil, or the USA, and who stayed there during the

majority of their school years. When defining who they are, they referred to the parents' country ("ideological homeland") and to the country of residence, their "private homeland" (Ossowski 1984). Another common strategy among TCKs consists in looking for general terms describing their multicultural and mobile lives:

I want to be a global citizen and be based in different places. (Mitali, 29)

I feel very globally-minded. I call it "worldcentric" (Divank, 30)

I: *Where do you consider to be your home?*

Paul: (laughs) Planet Earth. I don't consider myself American. It's one of the things I don't often say – particularly here, in America, because people are kind of nationalistic and proud of being American; maybe not that much in New York, but still... To me, a passport is rather a nuisance, I'd rather not have those. I understand some of the relevance of it, but a lot of the stuff is just overdone, it's a pain. (Paul, 41).

Paul represents yet another category: those, who do not identify with their passport country nor with any other country. These people do not want to fit into national categories, because they perceive them as oppressive and not reflecting their identity. Ulrich Beck called institutions of the First Modernity (nation state, local community...) "zombie categories" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Although their death was proclaimed a few decades ago, they still remain an important point of reference for many people. My research seems to confirm this observation. TCKs' national identity was rarely clear-cut and unambiguous, yet they referred to national categories. Perhaps the explanation lies in their social relations: it is not their subjective need to define themselves as American or Polish, but they are constantly asked to do so and are thus confronted with other people's expectations and labels.

CONCLUSION

Ewa Nowicka, who analyzed identity strategies of people coming from mixed marriages, claims that there are specific dilemmas and problems in their lives, but also opportunities and strategies for using social capital and benefiting from their situation (Nowicka 2007: 105). In my opinion this observation also applies to TCKs. Participants of my research had different appraisals of their biographies, ranging from:

I sometimes feel like my life is just a series of uncomfortable adjustments, you know... (Philipp, 24).

But we never say: "It's all brilliant" or "You're so unlucky not to be travelling". No, because it's challenging, makes you feel lonely, all the old friends move on eventually, like ours did. We're not trying to make it sound like it's wonderful. There are moments when it is, obviously, but there are moments when it's not. (Stephanie, 49).

To

Well, It is very broad... very rich, I am super happy with this experience. This is the best, that could ever happen to me, really! I've grown up internally, mentally and everything. My eyes opened for so many different things (Kasia, 42).

To me it was a good fortune, it was my prize on the cosmic lottery, as one of my Asian friends says... Because it is not my merit, right, but just a cosmic lottery. I was lucky that this journey took place and that my stay in Asia was just in this age when a child opens for the influence from the outside world. (Wojciech, 60).

If we take into account two common traits for all the TCKs, we can see that challenges and problems are connected with mobility, while opportunities and advantages result from the contact with many places and cultures. My research also indicates that American TCKs highlight the negative part of their experience more, whilst Polish TCKs insist on the positive part. This short essay did not cover all the interesting plots in TCKs biographies. I focused on the identity dilemmas and strategies in three dimensions: agency and control over one's life, cohesion and continuity and social relations. Some of the problems mentioned here, such as construction of national identity, choosing schools and relating to peers, may refer to other types of migrants as well, while others are specific for TCKs. Dilemmas and strategies described in this essay also prove that global nomads' biographies illustrate main problems with identity construction in late modern times. It is important to analyze their adult lives in order to better understand the consequences of multiple migration in childhood.

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ADOLESCENT AND PRE-ADOLESCENT MIGRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR IDENTITY

A growing number of individuals experience multiple international relocations during childhood (Cockburn, 2002). One such group are ‘third culture kids’ (TCKs). TCKs spend “*a significant part of (their) developmental years outside of the parents’ culture*”, typically because a parent’s employer required them to undertake an overseas posting (Pollock & van Reken 2009: 13; McCaig 1992). Research has established that TCKs share distinct skills and challenges (Gerner et al., 1992; Cottrell & Useem, 1994).

Confusion over loyalties, sense of belonging, personal and cultural identity in adulthood is frequently cited as a challenge for TCKs (Downie, 1976; Pollock & van Reken, 2009; Fail, Walker & Thompson, 2004). TCKs often use their parents’ nationality to define their cultural identity. They accept their ‘foreignness’ during sojourns overseas and expect to ‘fit in’ upon repatriation. Instead, many find their identity challenged. Discovering that the place thought of as ‘home’ feels foreign and confusing is distressing (Gaw 2000; Huff 2001). Some claim repatriation is more traumatic than migration (Fry, 2009; Hill, 2006). Repatriated TCKs often feel misunderstood, or socially marginalized (Huff, 2001). Both depression (Downie, 1976) and suicide (Schubert, 1986) in this population have been attributed to identity issues, such as feeling unable to fit in following repatriation. Some struggle with their identity throughout adulthood (Fail et al. 2004).

Many individuals, such as former child migrants, associate with TCK identity struggles (Pollock & van Reken, 2009). Accordingly, Pollock and van Reken (2009) introduced a new term: ‘cross-cultural kids’ (CCKs) for individuals who

'lived in – or meaningfully interacted with – two or more cultural environments for a significant period of time during childhood' (2009: 31). The CCK taxonomy proposes nine groups, children who: frequently relocate within their own country (domestic TCKs); have multi-racial, or multi-cultural parents; are from a minority cultural group; live on frequently crossed national borders; are schooled abroad or attend schools that operate in a different culture to their homeland; international adoptees; child refugees; and child migrants.

CCK identity struggles may be influenced by *"the age or ages when (migration and cross-cultural exposure) occur"* (Pollock & van Reken 2009: 147). Research with child migrants suggests that the age at which a child migrates influences their acculturation process (Richman et al., 1987; Virta, Sam & Westin, 2004). Child migrants commonly experience initial adaptation difficulties, but those who form good relations with both their parental and adopted cultures are less likely to experience long-term emotional or psychological disturbance (Aronowitz 1984; LaFromboise et al. 1993; Coatsworth et al., 2005;). Considering that concepts of nationality, ethnicity and culture become more salient in adolescent thought, and language acquisition becomes more difficult, integration is likely to be more difficult for adolescent migrants (Cross 1987; Phinney 1989; Kroger 2000). Research into whether age-related factors in migration influence the likelihood of identity struggles is not currently available and may be of significant value.

STUDY AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTION

This study sought to explore the identities of seven individuals who migrated multiple times during childhood, but did not have the 'traditional' TCK experience of living within expat enclaves overseas. It aimed to offer a new method for investigating identity in this under-researched demographic and discern any underlying age-effects that might explain why some struggle with their identity and others do not:

RQ: Does age at migration influence the likelihood of identity problems in seven individuals, now aged between 22 and 30?

METHOD

This research is underwritten by social constructionist epistemology. The methodology combined narrative psychology, symbolic interactionism and thematic analysis, enabling it to explore individual differences whilst remaining consistent with social constructionism.

The narrative approach sees participants construct their identities within discourse, explicitly and latently, through the information they choose to recount (Sarbin, 1986; McAdams, 1988; 1996; Burr, 2003; Murray, 2008). Semi-structured interviews were used, enabling participants to recall experiences in their own words, without interruption or imposition of ideas from the researcher (Mishler, 1986). To obtain rich data about childhood migration experiences, an ‘episodic’ rather than ‘life’ interview approach was chosen (Flick, 2002; McAdams, 1988).

The interview schedule had a two-part format, consistent with Mead’s conception of ‘the I’ and ‘the me’ (1934). The first part encouraged participants to talk in the ‘I’ form. Through recollection and disclosure of information, participants established past social and personal circumstances and latently constructed their past identity. The second part required participants to talk about their identity explicitly, to obtain information about the ‘me’ – how they understand their identity.

The study’s exploratory nature warranted the use of data-led thematic analysis. Analysis involved interpretation, to extract both semantic and latent themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Analysis was guided by the application of established social psychological theories on group membership and identity (Mead, 1934; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Reflexivity was given high importance, to ensure analysis was firmly rooted in the data (Etherington, 2004; Murray, 2008).

Participants

Participants were two female and five male graduate students from Cambridge University and London University, aged 22 to 30 (Figure 1). Purposive sampling, whereby researchers select the ‘*most productive sample to answer the research questions*’ was used (Marshall, 1996: 523). Each participant migrated at least once between the ages of 4 and 14, attended school in a new culture and remained in one country throughout the rest of adolescence. These criteria maximised the possibility of making inter-participant comparisons. Migration experiences could be compared across a similar time-frame and background, and subsequently be assessed, in terms of how they influenced identity.

Participants were fully informed about their right to withdraw from the study, its aims, procedures and the minimal risk involved. Ethical considerations ensured that interview questions were meaningful and sensitively posed. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured by allocating participants random initials (BPS, 2009). Participant ‘S.P.’ requested that one country he lived in be anonymised. Hence, it is referred to as ‘Xxxia’.

Table 1.
Participants' backgrounds

| | Name (sex) | Age | Age at migration & school transitions | Migration or country of residence during school transition | School Type (University) | Language knowledge before starting school | Parents' nationality | Siblings |
|---|------------|-----|---|--|---|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | I.E. (M) | 24 | 6 years 9 years 13 years 18 years | Pakistan – England England England England | State State Public University | None Competent Fluent Fluent | Pakistani | 1 older sister 2 younger brothers 1 younger sister |
| 2 | K.G. (F) | 23 | 18 months 7 years 8 years 9 years 18 years | Sweden – Pakistan Pakistan Pakistan – Sweden Sweden England | n/a British Bilingual International University | n/a Some Competent Competent Fluent | Pakistani | 3 older brothers |
| 3 | M.M (M) | 22 | 3 weeks 4 years 5 years 6 years 8 years 18 years 22 years | Greece – Canada Canada – France France – Hungary Hungary – Canada Canada – Greece Greece – Scotland Scotland – England | n/a n/a n/a State International University University | n/a n/a n/a None Some Fluent Fluent | Yugoslav & Italian/ Hungarian | n/a |
| 4 | C.T. (F) | 30 | 4 years 6 years 9 years 18 years 21 years | Venezuela – England England – Spain Spain – U.S.A. Vermont – Boston U.S.A. – England | Play group State State University n/a | Competent Competent Fluent Fluent Fluent | Venezuelan & English | 2 older sisters 1 younger brother |

| | Name (sex) | Age | Age at migration & school transitions | Migration or country of residence during school transition | School Type (University) | Language knowledge before starting school | Parents' nationality | Siblings |
|---|---------------|-----|--|---|---|---|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 5 | A.G. (M) | 26 | 9 years 10 years 12 years 14 years 19 years | Russia – Spain Spain Spain – England England England | n/a State Independent Independent University | None Some None Fluent Fluent | Russian | 1 older brother 1 younger brother |
| 6 | T.L. (M) | 26 | 10 years 12 years 14 years 19 years 23 years 25 years | China – USA California – Ohio Ohio – New England New Eng.–Rhode Island USA – China China – England | State State Private University n/a University | None Competent Fluent Fluent | Chinese | 1 younger brother |
| 7 | S.P. (M) | 27 | 10yrs 11 years 12 years 20 years 23 years 24 years | Russia – 'X' 'X' 'X' 'X' – England England – USA USA – England | State State State University University University | None Some Competent Proficient Proficient Proficient | Russian | n/a |

Data Collection and Analysis

Interviews were conducted in English, recorded using a Roland Corporation, Edirol R9 mp3 device, and transcribed immediately afterwards. Interviews took place in the participants' residences, to maximise their comfort. Each lasted 45 to 60 minutes.

In adherence with Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines, analysis included: familiarisation with the data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes, defining and naming themes; and producing the report. Both semantic and latent themes were extracted.

Quality Assurances

Reflexivity was tested by sharing data with external auditors, asking participants to content-check their transcripts and review themes in follow-up interviews (Smith, 2003). The interviewer (first author) has a similar background to the participants; the second author does not, each audited the other's perspective and modified the study's design to reflect as balanced an interview protocol and analysis as possible. Two adjudicators assessed the work to highlight any shortcomings in design, analysis or unintended bias.

FINDINGS

Five main themes were identified. For the purpose of clarity these are presented under two headings – 'the I' and 'the me'.

'The I' – participants' migration and school narratives

Narratives ranged from positive to rather negative, demonstrating that individual differences are paramount in migration experiences. Analysis produced three inter-related themes: language acquisition, peer attitudes and peer-group cohesion. These factors can potentially explain the variation between participants' experiences.

Table 2.

Quotations characterising participants' narratives

| No. Age | Name (Sex) | Age at migration | Country | School | Representative Quotation |
|---------|------------|------------------|--|--|--|
| 1. (24) | I.E. (M) | 7 9 13 | England Same county Different county | State (homogenous) State (mostly Asian population) Public/boarding (international) | 'In my first school, I got teased for being the only Pakistani guy in the class' 'That second school was absolutely fine because I was part of the system now. I had a history, kids knew me, I had friends, we all went to the same junior school' 'I was picked on more at this school than any other school because it was very English, very male and very old.' |
| 2. (23) | K.G. (F) | 8 9 | Sweden | Bilingual International | 'It was difficult at first (...) I was very confident as a young kid (...) I didn't have any problems myself' 'I remember having a lot of fun, especially 3 rd , 4 th , 5 th grade, it was like the best years of my life.' |
| 3. (22) | M.M. (M) | 6 8 | Canada Greece | State International | 'I loved it. Yeah. I got along really well in school there and y'know, I lived really close to my best friend' 'In the beginning, not pleasant. I didn't like it. (...) but then afterwards, and I remember the last 4 years of school, I enjoyed it. I had a good time.' |
| 4. (30) | C.T. (F) | 5 7 9 | England Spain U.S.A. | State State State | 'I don't remember feeling a massive transition, I think I was too young' 'I completely settled into life in Spain, loved it, you know, my friends and school' 'I do not have a bad memory of, I mean that period of my life, I think of it now as one of the happiest' |
| 5. (26) | A.G. (M) | 10 12 | Spain England | State (homogenous) Public | 'My memories of Spain are very sunny, happy and unproblematic' 'I spent 7 years at that school, I'm not in touch with anyone there, I think that speaks for itself.' |

Table 2.

| No. Age | Name (Sex) | Age at migration | Country | School | Representative Quotation |
|---------|------------|------------------|---|---|--|
| 6. (26) | T.L. (M) | 10 12 14 | U.S.A (California) Ohio New Hampshire | State (diverse) State (homogenous) Private/boarding | <i>'I felt like an outsider because I didn't speak the language, because I didn't feel comfortable with the culture.'</i> <i>'In Ohio, that's when the realisation became a lot clearer that I'm an outsider again (...) because of how I look.'</i> <i>'It wasn't as painful as my adjustment to Ohio but it definitely made me realise, I guess, it made me feel inadequate to a certain extent'</i> |
| 7. (27) | S.P. (M) | 9 11 12 | Country X Province X Province X | State (homogenous) State State | <i>'I remember only happy thoughts, I dunno, it was a really relaxed life, Like everyone was friendly.'</i> <i>'Well then it was difficult (...) in the gymnasium people really didn't like the fact that you do well in school.'</i> |

Language Acquisition

Participants who acquired several languages through migration reported second language acquisition (SLA) being quicker and easier at a younger age (M.M., A.G., K.G., S.P.). This is consistent with the ‘critical period hypothesis’ which states that SLA is minimally effortful for young children, however, neurobiological changes at puberty make mastery of a second language harder (Lenneberg, 1967; Penfield & Roberts, 1959). Analyses of the evidence for a ‘critical period’ show that age is not as relevant to success in SLA as motivation and opportunity to interact (Singleton & Lengyel, 1995; Robertson, 2004). However, the sample data show that both motivation and opportunity to interact were influenced by age-related social factors.

Accented speech evoked teasing, reducing the number of interactions participants wished, or had the opportunity, to have in their new language. K.G. remembered being teased for her pronunciation but claimed she was too young to be affected. Those who encountered teasing at an older age were upset by their experiences. I.E. recalls being teased, aged seven and again aged thirteen, for ‘*not speaking English properly*’. T.L. claimed peers ‘*made fun*’ of his accent. A.G. reports ‘*being the victim of bullying for having an accent*’. However, this only began after his second migration, aged 12: ‘*in Spain the accent wasn’t much of an issue but in England it became an issue, like people would make fun of my accent*’. This may be age-related, because younger children’s tolerance of difference is higher than that of adolescents (Colley, Berman & van Millingen, 2005). Although adolescents can master a second language, an accent can stifle SLA. S.P. and A.G. accept that they still have slight accents in English. This may be because they started learning English as their third language aged 12, whereas M.M. and K.G. began learning their third languages aged eight and nine respectively.

Table 3.

Participants’ linguistic trajectories

| Participant Number | Sex | Name | Age of Second Language Acquisition | Age of Third Language Acquisition |
|--------------------|-----|------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 4. | F | C.T | Bilingual from birth | |
| 3. | M | M.M. | 6 years | 8 years |
| 1. | M | I.E. | 7 years | |
| 2. | F | K.G. | 7 years | 9 years |
| 7. | M | S.P. | 9 years | 12 years |
| 5. | M | A.G. | 9 years | 12 years |
| 6. | M | T.L. | 10 years | |

Lenneberg (1967), Oyama (1976) and Scovel (1988) assert that a native accent in one's second language becomes nearly impossible to achieve after adolescence. A foreign accent can create difficulties for immigrants who assimilate their new culture and present their identity as such. Categorisation into a national identity relies upon fluent use of that nation's language, a linguistic discrepancy will raise questions about the categorisation (Fiske, Neuberg, Beattie & Milberg, 1987). Accent may also be significant for domestic TCKs and migrants whose move does not require SLA. C.T. recalls trying to speak with an American rather than English accent in her US school. Accent betrays difference, which can complicate acceptance amongst peers.

Peer Attitudes

Each participant except C.T. recalled incidents of teasing or bullying. The data showed a difference between the things pre-adolescent and adolescent migrants were teased about. T.L. recalls being teased for *'not being able to speak the language properly, having small eyes, not interested in sports, (...) growing up as a kid in elementary school those are some of the things that it was tough to look past (...) at that time it did mean a lot when people were saying that stuff.'* Most instances of teasing before adolescence were based on perceivable differences, such as looking different (T.L., I.E.), having different table manners (I.E.), speaking differently (T.L., I.E., K.G.) and acting differently (T.L., S.P.). Perhaps this is because young children tend not to stereotype based on material in the media and form their impressions of others at an individual level (Cameron et al., 2001; Colley et al., 2005).

During adolescence teasing based on national stereotypes became prevalent, as expected (Phinney, 1989; Cross, 1987; Colley et al., 2005). A.G. claimed migrating to England aged 12 was harder than migrating to Spain aged 10, because he encountered a *'much harsher environment, much more hostile (...) the Russian clichés would just come out'*. S.P. and T.L. also recalled the use of negative stereotyping. Around adolescence people begin exercising their *'capacities for reflecting on the past and future (and) develop a greater interest in one's own ethnic background'* (Kroger, 2000: 127). They become more involved with national media and learn about constructs such as nationality, ethnicity and culture. They discover new ways of characterising themselves and others. Differences become more salient. Incomplete knowledge about these constructs may lead adolescents to stereotype. Social constructionism posits that mental representations of cultural groups are informed by prevailing discourse about those groups; the prevalence of negative discourse will produce a negative construct (Burr, 2003). If a society holds negative views about an immigrant group, adolescents may latently inherit those views through enculturation.

Discrimination against immigrant groups strengthens native group boundaries, making membership seem less achievable (Verkuyten & Reijerse, 2008). It reduces opportunities for interaction with the native group, potentially stifling SLA. Furthermore, it makes a sense of pride in belonging to one's native cultural group difficult to establish (Chavira & Phinney, 1991).

Peer-group Cohesion

Following their pre-adolescent migrations M.M., C.T., K.G., S.P. and A.G. had few problems and claimed their peers were "*friendly*". Participants claimed that their younger siblings had fewer difficulties than themselves (C.T., I.E., A.G.), whereas older siblings had more difficulties (C.T., K.G., I.E.). K.G. states: '*the eldest one, he got into 7th grade and people at that age are not very nice, so I think he had a more difficult time adjusting in terms of, you know, the trends and learning the lingo and just trying to fit in (...) we were all at the same school and I think he was definitely bullied for a while because he didn't really fit in,*'. I.E. and C.T. present similar accounts. A.G. migrated to England aged 12. I.E. moved to boarding school aged 13. T.L. migrated within the US at the age of 12 and again at 14. S.P. migrated within 'Xxxia' aged 11 and 12. It was these transitions that they found most difficult. Adolescents, who have been at the same school for some time, are likely to have formed groups which are difficult for newcomers to join. Due to this social cohesion, peer acceptance was harder for adolescent migrants.

To conclude, participants who relocated during adolescence recalled more negative social experiences than pre-adolescent migrants. Three factors made migration harder for adolescents: language acquisition, awareness of ethnic and cultural differences, and peers' more longstanding, less permeable social groups.

'The Me' – How participants conceptualise their identities

Two themes were identified: distress and no distress regarding identity definition. Participants who migrated during adolescence experienced more distress over their cultural identity in adulthood. Individual differences could be accounted for by the degree of acceptance or rejection participants encountered from others, both in their native and adopted countries (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Mead, 1934).

Table 4.
Representative quotations about participants' identities

| No. & Age | Name (Sex) | Representative quotations about how the participants currently conceptualise their identities | Parents' nationality | No. of migrations | Identity |
|-----------|------------|--|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. (24) | I.E. (M) | <i>"I see myself as very equal. I think I have the best of both. I like to think that I've taken the best of being Pakistani and the best of being English and it's a new kind of identity, new kind of culture that I've created, you know, which I'm going to pass on to my children, and hopefully they pass it on to their children, (...), I can't renounce me being Pakistani any more than I can renounce me being English... they're both exactly the same. To me, I'm very proud of being English, if England is playing football or they're playing cricket I do support them, the same with Pakistan. And if they're both playing together I support both of them, you know, then in that sense I don't lose"</i> | Same | 1 | Mixed – No Distress. |
| 2. (23) | K.G. (F) | <i>"I've thought quite a bit about it actually (...) moving away from home was sort of my way of finding my identity on my own, separate from the family environment" "I think I'm neither or..."</i> | Same | 3 | Mixed – No Distress |
| 3. (22) | M.M. (M) | <i>"I think I'm still working on that, I think I have a relatively poor conception of what identity is." "I'd like to feel that I am, that I have selectively absorbed things from a variety of cultures"</i> | Different | 7 | Mixed – No Distress |
| 4. (30) | C.T. (F) | <i>"I just feel like a mix" "I feel like a different person in different circumstances (...) I'm a different person with my family and a different person um, in the theatre or..."</i> | Different | 5 | Mixed – No Distress |

| No. & Age | Name (Sex) | Representative quotations about how the participants currently conceptualise their identities | Parents' nationality | No. of migrations | Identity |
|-----------|------------|--|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 5. (26) | A.G. (M) | <p><i>"Definitely Russian. Yeah, for sure, like there's no two ways about it in my mind. Anglicised... westernised, that's the word for it, not as much Hispanicised, but certainly anglicised"</i></p> <p><i>"People still put me down in their phones as 'Russian A.G.'"</i></p> | Same | 2 | Mixed – Minimal Distress |
| 6. (26) | T.L. (M) | <p><i>"When I'm in China I feel American. But then, when I'm in America I feel less American. I don't feel Chinese, which is interesting I think. And when I'm in England, for example, I'm American"</i></p> | Same | 5 | Mixed – Some Distress |
| 7. (27) | S.P. (M) | <p><i>"I still feel like I'm half Russian half 'Xxxian' but, its more useful to tell people that you're Russian"</i></p> <p><i>"I've been in England for 8 years now, so it will be wrong to say these are the only 2 things, I am partly becoming British as well"</i></p> | Same | 6 | Mixed – Some Distress |

No distress

I.E. has lived in England most of his life. He is involved with the Pakistani community and has visited family in Pakistan several times. I.E.'s narratives suggest that he is truly bicultural, identifying with both of his cultures equally and being equally accepted in both. He claimed: *"in Pakistan I embed myself back into my old culture; it feels as though I never left. So, I stop speaking English completely, (...) back there I always wear Pakistani clothing, um, I always speak the language, I try to behave like they do, I basically become...Like if you looked at me in Pakistan you wouldn't be able to tell whether that guy is from England or not."* He discussed two incidents intended to demonstrate how 'native' he is to both cultures. At school he remembers having *"an altercation with a group of guys"* where he defended himself and his Pakistani roots. Subsequently, he became captain of the football team, and part of the basketball and cricket teams. Despite his initial difficulties I.E. gained acceptance amongst British peers and became a central member of his social group. However, a 'British-Pakistani' identity is relatively common within Britain, I.E. may not feel as unusual as some of the other participants.

M.M., C.T. &K.G. identified characteristics which they associated with their different cultures but could not articulate their identity in cultural terms. C.T. and M.M. have parents of different nationalities, and M.M.'s mother is a TCK. Having an *"international identity"* was normal within their homes. Like many TCKs, M.M. and K.G. attended international schools where having a mixed identity was common (Fail et al., 2004). Both tried to identify with mono-cultural peers from their native and host countries, without success. K.G. recalls realising *"hmmm, I do not have anything in common with these people"* (Pollock & van Reken, 2009). However, neither had difficulties with being accepted by native peers, and have been mistaken for natives. K.G. claimed *"because I speak Swedish really well, so I sound Swedish, like a Swede, (...) people think they can relate to me"*. Even though both M.M. and K.G. do not fully identify with peers from their respective cultures, they can switch between different cultural scripts. Unlike many TCKs, they have secure membership in each of their cultures, meaning they do not find the inability to pin down a specific cultural identity distressing. C.T. believes she can connect with most people. She recalls an incident when she was working at a Californian health-club with mainly English-speaking clientele: *"you'd kind of be yourself, and then one of the cleaners would come round and speak to you in Spanish and suddenly like this other part of you comes out, it's bizarre (...) I don't know if you're more yourself or a different self, like it surprises me (...) like, 'oh my god!', you know, 'I'm this person too!'"*. Her acceptance within multiple cultures makes it difficult to identify with just one. C.T. claimed to sometimes envy mono-cultural peers who have very

clear ideas about their identity but does not find her lack of identity definition distressing.

Distress

Both T.L. and A.G. experienced difficult transitions at age 12 and 14. A.G. visited Russia nine years ago and “*felt like a complete foreigner. A couple of people said I had an accent in Russian which I didn’t realise at that point. Yeah, I felt, I hadn’t been for a while and I felt definitely disconnected from the culture.*” Even though he did not feel Russian in Russia, he claimed he was ‘*definitely Russian*’. A.G. was asked about this inconsistency during a follow-up interview. He replied that his idea of what ‘*being Russian*’ means is specific. He associates being Russian with his “*family and their friends (...) my idea of Russia is limited to classical musicians.*” Although A.G. understood that Russians perceive him as foreign, he is accepted as Russian within his family and their network of friends. Within the ‘I’ section of his interview A.G. disclosed that university peers still identify him as Russian. His efforts to gain native group membership at school were countered through teasing and exclusion. His membership in English culture is still challenged, possibly because of his accent. However, he has secure membership in a small subsection of Russian culture, and so self-identifies as Russian.

T.L. returned to work in China at the age of 23. Discovering that he did not feel ‘at home’ was painful: “*when I went back people treated me not as Chinese but as an American and so, again I was becoming an outsider, to a place that I’ve called home. (...)they behave, I think, differently around you, and in reaction you behave according to how they treat you, right? So, they treated me like a visitor and I felt like a visitor.*” Throughout the ‘I’ section of the interview, T.L. frequently mentioned being treated like an outsider in America, he claimed: “*I think I failed to convince people I was one of them*”. Native’s responses in both of T.L.’s cultures suggest he does not have full membership in either, leading him to feel like an outsider in both. Pollock and van Reken report that TCKs often experience identity problems upon return to their native country (2009). They realise they do not have membership in the group they always thought they belonged to, but are equally aware that they do not have membership in their previous host cultures. This makes it difficult to determine where they belong. Perhaps T.L.’s struggles stem from being treated as a foreigner in each of his cultures.

S.P. has not visited Russia since he left, aged 10, but prefers to self-identify as Russian in conversation because it is “*easier*”. At school, when native ‘Xxxians’ asked where he was from he replied “*‘I’m ‘Xxxian’, but then they would say ‘no, no, where are you really from?’ so there was a strong tendency (...) to*

become 'Xxxian' to integrate, to learn the language so you cannot be recognised by your accent". After gaining 'Xxxian' citizenship S.P. started university in England. There he told people he was a dual-national but met similar questioning responses. Peers failed to understand why he called himself "half-'Xxxian'". They were only satisfied when he mentioned Russia, because that coincided with their identification of him: "you tell them 'I'm Russian' and everyone's 'oh yeah, you're Russian, we figured". He claims "recently I had this moment of enlightenment that it's much easier to tell people I'm Russian and not to mention 'Xxxian'". Frequently encountering challenges to the identity he projected led S.P. to identify as Russian in discourse, even though he feels this does not reflect his identity. He feels he is "becoming more British" but English peers still ask where he is from. S.P. has good relationships with all three of his cultures, but does not have full membership in any. He is the only participant who explicitly mentioned identity crises: "major difficulties because you don't know who you are, where you belong to, like, you have this identity crisis and you have to resolve it somehow at some point." Considering the similarity between T.L. and S.P.'s experiences, it is possible that their identity struggles were caused by not having full membership of any of their cultures.

To summarise, participants who received inclusive feedback from native members of their different cultures gained membership in those cultures and did not find their lack of identity resolution distressing. Conversely, participants who tried to establish membership in various cultural groups, but were rebuffed or treated by prototypical members of the group as outsiders, did not achieve full membership of that culture. They could not identify themselves as being from that culture. A.G associated his identity with the culture in which he had acceptance, whereas T.L. and S.P. did not have this option. Without full membership in any culture at the close of adolescence, they had difficulties determining where they belonged. Identity definition was not only difficult for these participants, but also relatively distressing.

DISCUSSION

This study sought to examine whether age-related factors in migration influence the likelihood of identity struggles. The main findings are as follows:

1. Pre-adolescent migrants experienced fewer difficulties in their new school environments than adolescent migrants:
 - Adolescents found SLA more difficult and did not achieve native accents.

- Stereotype-based teasing was more prominent in adolescent social contexts.
 - Adolescents found admittance to friendship groups harder to attain.
2. Being accepted as a native by members of one's cultures improved the likelihood of a positive single or mixed identity:
- Participants with full membership in more than one native group were unsure of their cultural identity but did not find this distressing.
 - Those without full membership in any of their cultural groups reported having struggled with their identity.
3. Age at migration influenced the likelihood of identity problems in the sample:
- Secure membership of at least one cultural group was necessary to avoid identity problems.
 - Pre-adolescent migrants gained group membership in each of their cultures, whereas adolescent migrants did not.

It appears that age at migration did influence the likelihood of identity struggles within this sample. The findings suggest that identity problems stemmed from being perceived as a foreigner in each of one's cultures. The younger a child migrates, the easier they assimilate their new culture. If they maintain their native language and culture they can become bicultural or multicultural. In adolescence, slower SLA, greater awareness of difference, and less permeable group dynamics impede the process of establishing acceptance. Accordingly, adolescents find it harder to assimilate their new culture. This may detract from the maintenance of their native culture, or cause the attribution of less value to membership of it. If the native culture is maintained but membership of the new culture is not achieved, the individual may be left with a sense of inferiority about their identity. If the native culture is not maintained, and membership of the new culture is not achieved, the individual is likely to encounter identity struggles. If they come to acknowledge that they are perceived as foreigners in each of their cultures, trying to answer the questions 'who am I?' and 'where do I belong?' may be distressing, because the answers do not come easily. Thus, membership in at least one culture, as well as value attributed to that membership, are necessary to avoid identity problems.

Figure 5 integrates findings from this study with features of Berry's acculturation model (1997), and the social identity approach (Tajfel et al., 1971, Tajfel & Turner, 1986, Tajfel, 2010; Turner, 2010). It explains the participants' acculturation pathways.

Significance of the study

This study addressed a gap in the literature on age-related factors in child migration, and their implications for identity. Despite its small size, its

contribution is significant. The findings suggest that participants found being 'different' at school difficult. Schools might be able to help immigrant children de-emphasising differences and promoting an atmosphere of multiculturalism. Furthermore, the findings showed that language was highly significant. Parents considering migration might be well advised to ensure their adolescent children acquire basic knowledge of the destination culture's language before migrating. However, the most significant implication of this research is that adolescent migration may have more negative implications for wellbeing later in life than pre-adolescent migration.

Affordances and limitations

The study tested the application of established social-psychological theories of group membership against the more recent backdrop of a social constructionist approach. It successfully bridged these methods by employing a novel methodology, which proved effective in exploring both social factors and individual differences in acculturation and identity. However, a general criticism of the narrative approach is that, due to the reconstructive nature of memory, recollection is sometimes inaccurate (Neisser & Harsch, 1992). The argument that adolescents find it harder to gain the acceptance of native peers is partially based on the testimony of three participants who claimed their adolescent siblings experienced considerable difficulties following migration. Interviewing older and younger siblings might have improved the reliability of the data.

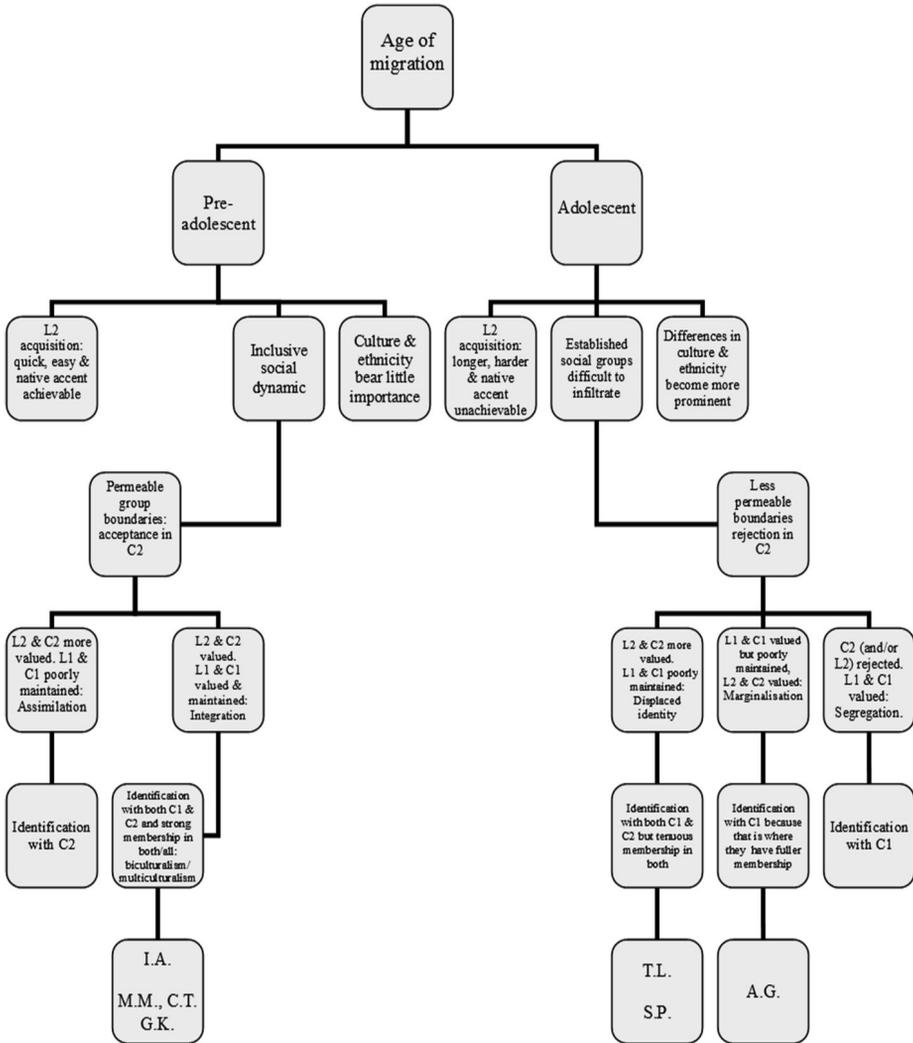
Another limitation of the study its small size. Participants were carefully selected to represent a breadth of experiences: encompassing both pre-adolescent and adolescent transitions. The study intended to gain a thorough understanding of these individuals' experiences and identities, which necessitated rigorous and prolonged involvement with the data, content-checking, member-checking and external auditing (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Flick, 2002; Smith, 2003; Silverman, 1993). To meet these requirements and ensure the data's credibility, a small sample size was appropriate. When evaluating the transferability of findings it is important to consider that the participants were postgraduate students at Cambridge University or London University. Individuals who experienced severe difficulties at school, or significant identity problems, may not have progressed to university¹.

¹ The homogeneity of the sample in terms of the participants' academic success is intentional. These individuals were selected because they successfully navigated migration without falling behind academically, their strategies for negotiating school environments were explored in a different as part of the study to see if they could be recommended to other immigrant students for replication. These findings will be reported in a forthcoming article.

Figure 1.

Participants' acculturation and identity pathways

L1: native language; C1: parental culture; L2: new language 2; C2: new culture



These two developmental routes increased the likelihood of identity struggles within the sample.

CONCLUSION

The study demonstrated that identity is influenced by acculturation, and that acculturation is influenced by social factors, such as opportunity for interaction, acceptance or rejection by peers. These factors were shown to be different in pre-adolescent and adolescent school environments. Age at migration influenced how easy or difficult participants found it to integrate their new culture. Pre-adolescent migrants encountered fewer identity struggles in adulthoods than adolescent migrants. Based on initial findings, adolescent migration complicates the process of building a peer social-support system, which is essential in establishing a sense of belonging. Further research could facilitate the formalisation of acculturation as a developmental pathway for immigrant children. This is currently lacking and is a promising area of investigation that has the potential to help a growing, yet under-researched demographic.

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WHO AM I, WHERE DO I BELONG, WHAT IS MY FAITH? PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL PROBLEMS OF THIRD CULTURE KIDS

The aim of this paper is to look into certain specific conditions of the development of persons who experienced living across cultures in their childhood and to take a glance at typical features of their personalities, styles of attachment, and spiritual life.

I would like to start with the definition of Third Culture Kids (TCK). I use this term in accordance with David Pollock and Ruth Van Reken who defined Third Culture Kids as those “who spent at least part of their childhood in countries and cultures other than their own” (Pollock & van Reken 2001: 6). They do not specify how long this experience should last in order to be labeled as TCK. The minimum they mention is one year. However, the period should be long enough for TCKs to be able to perceive it as having a significant influence on their development. As the authors point out, “...they are raised in neither/nor world” (ibidem: 6). It is neither their parents’ culture nor the world of other cultures in which they are raised. It is a mixture of various cultures, which makes for the development of their own style of life.

Let us take a look at the core experience, which had such an influence on their life. I will briefly describe the stages of cross-cultural transition which is part and parcel of their biographies (ibidem: 64–71):

- Involvement – means to get a foothold, to feel secure and a part of a certain community;
- Leaving – is the stage where, by loosening bonds with others, certain strategies are used, e.g. the diminishing of the significance of those bonds, focusing on a future place of stay, or neglecting the reconciliation of present conflicts (a belief appears that time and distance will heal the relationships);

- Transition – the very heart of the transition-process. It starts in the moment of leaving and ends with the decision to settle and become a part of a particular community. Chaos, doubts, self-doubt, loss of self-esteem, lack of status are part and parcel of this period. As Pollock and Van Reken mention (*ibidem*: 66): “this is the time when families become at least temporally dysfunctional”.
- Entering – the decision to settle down and become a part of a certain community was already made. It is the time to build a new status. If those strivings do not succeed, a tendency to withdrawal appears. It is the time of an emotional roller-coaster.
- Reinvolvement – the role in a new society is set, which enhances the feeling of safety and having a sense of belonging; one can concentrate on “here and now”.

What is typical for TCKs is the fact that they experience those stages either too often or miss the reinvolvement stage. Moreover, they go through the whole emotionally exhausting process during very crucial periods of their development – in childhood or adolescence.

Let us move to the scope of my research. I used grounded theory as the methodological background (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2009). It is an approach in which we develop the theory from data, not the opposite way around, as often done in traditional methods of doing research. We try to put our preconceptions aside and go “into the field”. As soon as we recognize certain analytical categories, we link them and look at the resulting patterns. Then we start to build a theory which may however, have references to existing concepts.

In my research I have applied a mixed-methods design (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2002). I mainly used a qualitative approach, with some elements of a quantitative study. I have conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews, which included some items of J. Fowler’s Faith Development Interview (2004), Adult Attachment Interview by Mary Main (1985) and, for personality assessment, I have also applied the Rorschach Test¹.

The data was collected in the years 2010–2012. The research concerned Polish migrants, who came back home after spending some time (at least half a year) abroad. During the recruitment process it turned out that some of those migrants had not only very recent cross-cultural experiences but also earlier ones, dating back to their childhood, memories of living in a different country. There were 21 persons interviewed in total, out of which 5 participants met the criteria of TCK’s definition by Pollock and Van Reken. What has to be mentioned is

¹ Piotrowski’s system was used in the interpretation of the Rorschach test (Grzywak-Kaczyńska, 1978; 2006).

the way those persons were recruited. They were either my patients² or persons who answered to my advertisement posted on a website for people searching for additional earnings. What has to be stressed here, as a result of these two recruitment procedures, participants were rather not people who successfully managed to adapt to a new environment.

I will focus on five TCKs whose early cross-cultural experience was very meaningful and, as it will be gradually unfold in this paper, in some cases strongly disturbing.

Basic information about the interviewees:

- three men, two women;
- Between 22–29 years of age;
- Different cross-cultural experience: West Africa, USA, Germany, Australia;
- Years of age when the cross-cultural experience took place: 4–18 years of age;
- Timespan of the cross-cultural experience: 4–15 years;
- Education: tertiary or university students;

I was trying to distinguish certain personality characteristics typical for these TCKs. Personality as a construct was based on the psychoanalytical and humanistic approaches. Psychoanalytical terms that served as hermeneutic frames to understand personality formation were: good enough mother, transitional objects, false-self (Winnicott, 1986/2009; 1971/2011), mourning processes (Klein, 2005), self-defense mechanisms (McWilliams, 2009). Also the theory of congruence between self and experience of Rogers (Rogers, 1959) and other psychotherapeutic streams that are derived from Rogers' view (Greenberg's psychotherapy concentrated on emotions or Perls' Gestalt) brought some theoretical background for interpretations. What arose from the data and my attempts to understand those phenomena was a personality comprised of certain self-defense mechanisms which, in principle, are necessary to function but under certain conditions became too rigid and constraining for the inner growth of a person. Loosing contact with one's true experience resulted in building up a "false self" – which was more or less a set of convictions about who somebody would like to be or think they should be, with limited access to one's true self.

There were two personality traits which emerged from the personality-assessment³:

² After two or three psychological consultations. However not patients in therapy or those who declared that they want to start therapy.

³ This division is a large simplification. Yet it has to be made because of the space limit, and because of the fact that a more detailed subtypology was made on the whole group of interviewees (21 persons).

- 1) The anxious: restrained either in expressing emotions or missing the insight; often denied feeling emotions such as: anxiety, sadness, anger; in their life-stories and in the way they unfolded them they seemed to be either reserved in contact with other people or quite dependent; they missed effective coping strategies.
- 2) The impulsive: showed a tendency not to “look before they leap” and were prone to make too quick decisions; they seemed to be over reactive in social situations which predisposed them to experiencing emotional turmoil and anxiety in relationships.

I also observed how the style of attachment contributes to the process of cross-cultural transition. The notion of attachment and its role in human development was derived from Bowlby's theory of attachment in which he defines this construct as: “any form of behavior that results in a person attaining or retaining proximity to some other differentiated and preferred individual” (Bowlby 1980/1991: 39). In case of healthy development, attachment behavior serves as a base for the development of affectional bonds, initially between child and parent and later between adult and adult. Those patterns of attachment are activated throughout the life-cycle (Bowlby 1980/1991; 1988/2005a; 1988/2005b). Bowlby's theory evolved within the framework of the Ainsworth typology of attachment patterns (Salter-Ainsworth & Bell, 1970), which was further developed by Mary Main in Adult Attachment Interview (Main 1985). Based on the typology introduced by Mary Ainsworth and Mary Main I have distinguished three patterns of attachment in this group:

- 1) The anxious-avoidant pattern: characterizes a person who does not go too deep into relationships and often withdraws when he or she feels that the relationship develops toward something serious. However, such a person may have a huge network of “friends” from all over the world with whom he or she maintains rather superficial contact;
- 2) The ambivalent-absorbed pattern: a person with this style of attachment develops deep relationships quickly. They describe themselves as “very open”. They get used to moving to deeper levels of communication fast because very often there was too little time to do it slower. They notice that they are “over their head” in some relationships, which suddenly becomes a burden because they feel abused or disrespected. A very common result of this pattern of involvement in relationships is a sudden break up. The person may feel confused in assessing the level of their relationship (“I never know what base I'm actually on with people ...”);
- 3) The secure pattern: a person relatively (in comparison to the two previous types) able to develop long-lasting relationships. However, they have problems with deepening the contact. They feel safer in the company of

“internationals” and avoid revealing negative emotions (it might be culture-specific, e.g. related to the taboo of expressing negative emotions in the Anglo-Saxon culture).

Only in case of the third attachment pattern we can speak about the relationship with parents serving as a Bowlby’s secure base which made for the ability to build stable relationships in adult life.

I will now focus on some typical psychological problems TCKs often have to face, which seem to be age-dependant. When brought up in a different culture in their pre-school years, they recall those years and that country – its inhabitants and their habits – in an idealized way. They go back to those times with an explicit joy and great sentiment. The interviewees unfold their memories of an idyllic time when they had no problems with peers – were happily enjoying their intercultural contacts with other kids from all over the world. They transitioned smoothly into the local school-system. They point out great disappointment and emotional turmoil they faced back in Poland when they had to adjust to completely different rules at school when it came to contacts with teachers and peers. The homeland of their parents was actually a foreign country to them.

When the transition took place during adolescence more emotional turbulence, anxiety, and feeling of isolation in relationships with local peers was reported. Some of the problems which contributed to isolation were the following:

- I. A language barrier: more acute than in pre-school contact;
- II. The feeling of being different: typical for this developmental stage becomes more acute in a different culture;
- III. The fear of peer-rejection: as a consequence of the previous two factors;
- IV. When cross-cultural transition took place more often (three or more times) and/or during adolescence also the problem with creating and maintaining affectional bonds with other people (attachment) appears.

I will now describe some of the other repeating patterns in the narratives. All of my TCK interviewees pointed out that it is difficult for them to make up their minds when they have to deal with important life-decisions. What they want to study? Where to do it? Where is the place where they will really gain a sense of belonging? What job they would like to have? What was quite repeatable was the feeling of being lost, what we can find in the following narrative of a 21-year-old woman:

Yes, I think I was totally on the edge. I didn’t know in which direction I should go and who to listen to, and I was doing bizarre things. I didn’t know what I wanted, whether I should be here or escape from here because it would be better for me to be there. I really thought it would be better for me to be there. On the other hand,

unconsciously, I thought that I'd rather stay here. And this kind of being on the edge is very disturbing.

We can sense the confusion even from the structure of the sentences. In case of this interviewee the chaos was also caused by the absence of role models who could support her in times of hardship. Lack of strong mother and father figures seems to be a repeatable pattern in experience of TCKs. It might have been caused by the fact that parents felt lost in different culture themselves and did not seem to be good guides in the new environment.

What makes up TCK's life is loss. They had to leave their homes, friends, the whole environment they grew up in. They adopt two ways of dealing with this. Either they try to acknowledge the loss, are aware of it, and speak out loud about it, or go through life completely unaware. However, it is sometimes hard for them to admit that their experiences were very painful indeed (Pollock & Van Reken 2001). My interviewees reported that their parents perceived emigration as a chance for them to have exceptional conditions to develop: they could pick up foreign languages, build up their educational potential – what is there to be sad about? As a result TCKs often suppressed sadness because they did not have the conditions to deal with their losses. Here is an example of a statement of a person (male, aged 24) who did not have a chance to resolve his grief:

This is it, that I had problems with peers right after coming back from Nigeria, because I wanted to share my memories with others. But I couldn't. They always wanted me to stop talking nonsense, as they called it.

A couple of interviewees had problems with their national identities. They perceived themselves in some part Australian/German/American etc. and in some part Polish. This does not have to be negative in itself. What was evidenced in my research, is the fact that such a “patchwork identity” might be problematic when there is a lot of ambivalence and lack of insight into certain parts of it.

What they quite often found difficult is the answer to the question where they actually want to be and where they belong, because everywhere something was missing (“here is okay, but I miss.../”I hate being here because...”). They may spend years in search of the ideal place to stay, not finding one. A new and more tempting opportunity seems always to be somewhere else (in the word of Pollock and Van Reken this phenomenon is called “migratory instinct”).

They may be very good at adjusting to a social environment (cultural chameleons), and this is perfect for establishing superficial relations. However, a problem may appear when they internally feel very insecure. This makes it hard for them to develop deep personal bonds because it demands some

knowledge about who they really are, what are their needs, where are their limits, what can they accept and what is intolerable in the behavior of other people towards them. To build such a knowledge about oneself is necessary to have a “mirror” (however, not a distorting mirror) of significant others which gives an opportunity to have constant self-reflection and to find answers to the questions mentioned above. In case of some of my interviewees they sometimes missed this opportunity, as indicated in the following statement: “...I didn’t know what is normal anymore...”. What may result from this deficit is delayed adulthood – gaining maturity⁴ later than the peers.

It would have been interesting to include in this research a control group of Polish young people who did not experience a cross-cultural transition in their lives and to compare in which aspects their identity formation significantly differs from that of TCKs’.

At the end of my paper I would also like to stress some spiritual factors that play a role in TCKs’ development. I understand religiosity and spirituality as related concepts. Both religiosity and spirituality involve the process of meaning-making in relation to the sacred (Pargament 1997; 2011). Religiosity is a more institutionalized form of these strivings whereas spirituality embraces more individualized expressions of the search of the sacred. Both practices might play a role in moments of crisis, when religion may bring alleviating interpretations of the situation.

What emerged from my interviews is the relation: parents’ spirituality – TCKs’ spiritual coping strategies. When their parents cherished their spiritual core, i.e. they practiced the rituals of their religious formation and they were a source of consolation in difficult moments for them, children seemed to have inherited those needs and attitudes toward religion (this result is in accordance with model of social correspondence, Granquist & Kirkpatrick 2008). However, it refers only to one interviewee, who seemed to present a relatively secure attachment style.

In case of the anxious and ambivalent attachment styles, a big confusion in the spiritual sphere appeared. Those persons were very instable in their faith and possessed a very unstable image of God. They very often reported experiencing strong doubts and being confused whether they believed or not. Hence, their spiritual basis to deal with a cross-cultural transition seemed to be very fragile.

To sum up, the main conclusions from my paper are the following: being a Third Culture Kid might have disturbing influence on personality and style of attachment, but it does not have to when a person has two “good enough” parents who are able to create a secure base for their children. Learning how to use

⁴ Which is defined, simplifying C. Roger’s view, as a self-awareness, self-acceptance and feeling of inner-congruence (Rogers, 1959; 2004).

religion as a coping resource also seems to give a solid foundation in dealing with crises of all kinds. However, it seems to be the rule that the experiences of TCKs implicate some confusion with respect to their identity. A patchwork identity, which they seem to represent, is not a problem in itself, providing they have an adequate insight and accept the cross-cultural elements. A critical problem, which stems from the previous issue, is missing one's sense of belonging. Being in constant search for the idealized "Ithaca" seems to impede TCKs' ability to live "here and now" with acceptance of pros and cons of the reality which surrounds them.

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WAS JOHN CALVIN A TCK? APPLYING MODERN SOCIO-SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON HIGHLY MOBILE POPULATIONS TO HISTORICAL STUDIES

TCK STUDIES

The term “TCK” (Third Culture Kid) first arose out of the pioneering sociological work of Ruth Useem in an attempt to define highly mobile families who live across cultures as having distinct socio-cultural characteristics that distinguish them from others in the places where they currently reside (Useem and Useem, 1955). Useem’s research was paralleled by Norma McCaig and others who explored the same population using the definition “global nomads” (McCaig, 1994: 32–41).

Terms such as TCK or global nomad bring together previous and ongoing studies of specific highly mobile populations (MKs, BRATs, diplomats, multinational corporate families, refugees, other migrant groups). As research on these populations has spread to fields beyond traditional sociology, it has gained an identification as a distinct interdisciplinary field of study. The six year old “TCK Research Network,” for instance, boasts over 130 members, working in disciplines such as religious studies, geography, education, and psychology, while studies of TCKs or global nomads appear in a variety of international publications.

According to the late David Pollock, one of the leaders in this emerging field, a Third Culture Kid (TCK) “is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents’ culture. The TCK develops relationships to all the cultures while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK’s life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar experience” (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999: 19).

THE ENIGMA OF JOHN CALVIN

The sixteenth century Protestant Reformer John Calvin presents a unique challenge to potential biographers. Perhaps never has an individual left as large a body of work and a biography by a close associate, yet remained personally so enigmatic. The challenge is particularly great for historians with respect to Calvin's youth, about which surprisingly little is known.

In the early 1520s (the exact date is uncertain) the young native of Picardy, probably not yet a teenager, left his home to begin his studies in Paris.¹ When the scholar's father decided to shift his son's career from theology to law, Calvin dutifully transferred to Orleans, and also spent a year studying in Bourges. While a few details about colleges, tutors, textbooks, and friends could be added, this summary is not far from reporting all the facts known about Calvin's formative years. Yet despite the dearth of information, a number of historians have concluded that these early years are vital for an understanding of John Calvin.²

This perception that Calvin's youth was somehow particularly important for historians is supported by a modern consensus among those who study Calvin's theology. It is generally agreed that there is very little theological development between Calvin's early writings (particularly the first edition of the *Institutes*) and his later works. Whatever it was that shaped Calvin's thinking occurred before he was thirty. It does indeed seem credible that Calvin's youth, spent as a foreigner in a diverse foreign culture, may have been one of the most important aspects of those thirty years.

Is it possible to use modern research on TCKs to illumine important experiences of John Calvin? Erik Erikson's groundbreaking *Young Man Luther* illustrates both the possibilities and the challenges of applying modern socio-scientific analysis to historical figures (Erickson, 1962). The benefit of possible insights must be balanced particularly against the twin dangers of anachronistic attribution and the drawing of conclusions from insufficient data. Yet at least in the case of Calvin, the advantages of applying modern socio-scientific analysis seem to outweigh the risks.³ So little is known about his early life that any

¹ Calvin, a native of Noyon, Picardy, was born in 1509 (Beza, 1836: 1); Traditionally, Calvin's move to Paris has been dated as 1523, making him fourteen at the very oldest. Alister McGrath argues that 1521 is more likely (1990: 22).

² Denis Crouzet's emphasis on mobility will be discussed below; one historian who stressed the importance of his youth for understanding Calvin is Abel LeFranc (1888: ix).

³ One biographer writes, "Historians have wellnigh exhausted their wisdom and ingenuity in trying to reconstitute the succession of events that marked the earliest years of Calvin. All in all, what we know today is as much as it is possible to know, but for a few details, unless or until new documents are discovered" (Wendel, 1987: 15).

foothold is worth trying. And to guard against some of the inherent dangers in this sort of historiography, this project is purposely modest in nature. Its goal is to determine if it is possible to identify TCK characteristics in a sixteenth-century individual whose life models high cultural and geographic mobility, and, if such an identification is possible, to suggest some ways in which TCK research might fruitfully be applied to ongoing scholarship.

Project Description

After a brief introduction to TCK research, this paper will attempt identify John Calvin as a TCK by showing that Calvin meets the surface criteria for such a classification and that Calvin exhibited typical TCK attributes. Having demonstrated that Calvin might legitimately be considered a TCK, this paper will continue by suggesting ways the insights of TCK research might help Calvin scholars. It will conclude with a reflection on the usefulness of TCK research for historical inquiry.

GEOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL MOBILITY IN CALVIN'S EXPERIENCE

Modern scholars sometimes forget that international mobility in academic circles is not a new phenomenon. By the late Middle Ages, Europe's universities drew both faculty and students from across the continent. This flow of individuals across political, cultural, and linguistic boundaries mirrored similar movements in the fields of commerce, the military, and the institutional Church (Powell, 2008). It was in such a highly international and highly mobile university community that John Calvin would be exposed to people, ideas, and practices foreign to his earlier upbringing.

The University of Paris in Calvin's day was a remarkably diverse environment. University students, numbering perhaps 5,000 in a city of 300,000 people, were traditionally divided into four "nations," or administrative groups: France, Picardy, Normandy, and Germany. Each division could be further subdivided – "France," for instance, the largest of the groups, consisted of identifiably different populations from Bourges, Paris, Reims, Sens, and Tours (McGrath, 1990: 32–33). Yet the divisions would always be somewhat artificial, for of course the university hosted professors and students from England, Greece, Italy, Scotland, Spain and other places not honored within the administrative division of nation. To be a student at the University of Paris was to be exposed to many different cultures; to be a Picard student at the University of Paris was to experience most of those cultures as a foreigner.

Simply to chart Calvin's few known friends and professors from that time in his life is to reflect on a larger map of Europe. Theodore Beza, Calvin's friend, successor, and biographer, recorded the influence of a "Spanish tutor" on the future reformer. Leaving aside this unnamed pedagogue, whom one modern historian has dismissed as a textbook instead of a professor, Calvin was certainly exposed to individuals from different cultures across Europe. His most prominent law professor, for instance, was the Italian legist and humanist Andrea Alciati. Another professor was (probably) the Scot John Mair. Mathurin Cordier, a teacher with whom Calvin formed a life-long friendship, was from Normandy. He was associated with the Swiss Cop family. And one of Calvin's closet friends from among his fellow students was Melchior Wolmar, a German (Beza, 1836: 2, 5; McGrath, 1990: 36–37; Selderhuis, 2009: 13; Wendel, 1987: 18–19).

During the time from when he was around ten to almost twenty, Calvin moved from his native region of Picardy to a second distinct cultural enclave (Paris/Orleans/Bourges), an enclave in which he was exposed to individuals from multiple other cultures and geographical regions.⁴ In addition, during this time, Calvin also made occasional trips to preach in yet a third distinct cultural and geographical area, at Ligniers in the ancient province of Berry (Beza, 1836: 5). In short, Calvin's youth was characterized by high geographic and cultural mobility.

JOHN CALVIN'S SELF-PERCEPTION AND TCK CHARACTERISTICS

It is easy, of course, to demonstrate Calvin's transient lifestyle and exposure to other cultures. Is it possible, though, to prove that this made a difference to Calvin? In fact, it can be demonstrated that Calvin's repeated relocations within cultures different from his own left him with a profound sense of his own "foreignness." The historian Bernard Cottret notes that as an adult, Calvin always referred to Noyon, the city which he had left permanently before he was a teenager, as his "*patria*" (Cottret, 1995: 8). Theodore Beza used the same term to describe Calvin's home: "The intelligence of the sudden death of his father recalled Calvin from Bourges to his native country" (Beza, 1836: 5). Considering both his experience and his own self-expression, one cannot help but agree with French historian Denis Crouzet who charges that mobility, both geographical and intellectual, shaped Calvin (Crouzet, 2000: 33).

More importantly, Calvin's experience not only created in him a sense of not belonging, it also left him with recognizable TCK traits. For instance, Cottret

⁴ One biographer entitled his chapter on Calvin's late teenage years as "The Years of Wandering" (McGrath, 1990: 51).

notes that Calvin himself identified an important aspect of his character as timidity and fearfulness, speaking of his own “modesty, softness, and mildness,” and also of being “timid, soft and cowardly by nature” (Cottret, 1995: xi). Biographers have concurred with Calvin’s self-assessment. One modern writer describes Calvin as a “shy person who was not at ease in company,” one who was “lonely” and “much less confident in himself.” He preferred isolation, had a strong sense of shame, was sensitive to criticism, and at times fearful (Selderhuis, 2009: 23, 24, 29, 32, 33). Yet another modern biographer speaks of Calvin as “cold and detached,” “timid and withdrawn,” “a remarkably private individual” (McGrath, 1990: 17–18). Shyness and introversion are typical perceived personality traits of TCKs, part of a natural adaptive strategy to avoid a sense of loss after too many past relationships have been destroyed by mobility. Social introversion or lack of confidence is increased through a continuing sense of alienation from peers or in social settings (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999: 138–143).

Yet while Calvin was unquestionably reserved and self-effacing with respect to himself, he could also exhibit very different traits. The same biographer who described Calvin as shy and lacking confidence also wrote of him as “confident and assertive” in other settings, and as someone who struggled with his temper (Selderhuis, 2005: 29). Another biographer puts the case even more strongly, saying Calvin exhibited a “courage bordering on intransigence [and] a refusal to compromise,” and that he was “prone to launch into abusive personal attacks on those with whom he disagreed.” In all these instances, Calvin’s boldness was displayed in writing against theological/intellectual opponents. Calvin might passively accept personal slights but was aggressive in attacking those who questioned his theology. This too fits within the normal spectrum of TCK behavior. Arrogance, both real and perceived, is a common TCK characteristic. The experience of being able to “view a situation from multiple perspectives can also make TCKs impatient or arrogant” and lead to an attitude of “judgmentalism” (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999: 103). Although the two sides of Calvin’s personality seem to conflict, they are in fact both typical of TCKs.

Writing of the death of Calvin’s wife, a biographer notes that “it seems that Calvin had many supporters but few friends” (McGrath: 1990: 107). Although Calvin’s personal reserve and shyness may have severely limited his circle of friendship, Calvin’s social situation is more broadly typical of TCKs. Even naturally outgoing TCKs often unconsciously limit relationships because of the dynamic of loss. Typically, TCKs “develop a wide range of relationships” but do not often enter into close friendships (Pollock and Van Reken, 1990: 131–138). In this sense, Calvin fits the pattern. As a pastor and preacher he was in contact with many people, and he had a wide circle of correspondents. But very few among his adult contemporaries could be described as close friends.

A final TCK characteristic worth noting is Calvin's sense of his own unimportance. The conviction that "the individual is nothing in himself" is perhaps the chief reason that Calvin never bothered to pass on the personal details that would be of such interest to historians (Wendel, 1987: 15). It was typical of Calvin that he arranged to be buried in a public cemetery without any marker. In his death as well as in his life he believed he should be pointing to God instead of to himself (George, 1999). Many TCKs are extremely self-deprecating. They may have a sense that they are personally unimportant, and may instead draw their sense of identity not from individual personhood but from the "system" in which they find themselves. While some TCKs chafe within their native system, others find the dynamic congenial. The system provides structure, organization, and meaning (Pollock and Van Reken, 1990: 159–160).

JOHN CALVIN AS TCK: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOLARSHIP

Ultimately, it may be impossible to demonstrate categorically that Calvin was a TCK. The burden of proof is somewhat higher in the case of Calvin than it might be with some other historical figures because Calvin lived his adult life as an immigrant or refugee, so that the obvious impact of cultural and geographic mobility in his writings might equally be attributed to adult experience. Nevertheless, it is entirely plausible to argue that Calvin was indeed a TCK. He certainly meets the criteria using Pollack's classic definition: he "spent a significant part of the developmental years in a culture outside of [his] parent's," and he developed] a sense of "relationship to all . . . cultures while not having full ownership in any." In addition, Calvin exhibited a number of typical TCK characteristics.

Assuming here that Calvin was a TCK, how might the insights of TCK research be applied to Calvin scholarship? There are at least three possible avenues in which scholars might apply modern socio-scientific understandings of highly mobile populations to Calvin. These are studies of his person/character, his theology, and his scriptural interpretation.

TCK RESEARCH AND CALVIN'S PERSONALITY

The Dutch scholar Herman Selderhuis makes much of Calvin's international experience in a biography bearing the subtitle "*A Pilgrim's Life*." Selderhuis also notes something fascinating about the adult Calvin's social relationships. "Throughout [Calvin's] entire life, he smoothly and carefully maintained

relationships with people of high standing. He remained aware of class distinction . . . [he was] someone who associated with people from the upper crust but did not belong there himself” (Selderhuis, 2009: 14). Later, again emphasizing social class, the author has Calvin’s early career as a desperate attempt to “jump from one social class to another, and in the process ended up between the two.” And Selderhuis adds “Calvin was also a participant in this little circle, but once again his problem was that he did not easily fit the profile of either of the circles’ two main constituencies. He did not really belong wholly [to either of the two main parties] and yet there were ways in which he actually belonged to both.” To the biographer, this repeated experience of belonging while not belonging is critical to understanding Calvin: “Here is a tension that can be seen in all of Calvin’s life and thought,” that he always seemed to be stuck in two worlds at once (Selderhuis, 2009: 24–26).

The portrait Selderhuis paints is typical of many TCKs, someone who develops a “relationship to all . . . cultures while not having full ownership in any” and for whom “elements from each culture are assimilated into . . . life experience, [but] the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar experience.” Selderhuis himself relates the issues entirely to class, arguing that Calvin’s fame and position won him entrée to the top tier of society but that he never really fit comfortably in this new environment. TCK research provides a valuable analytical tool for exploring Selderhuis’ insight. What if, instead of social class, the real difficulty for Calvin was in relating to people who did not share his experience of cultural and geographic mobility during developmental years? Most of his close friends and associates were defined not by similar economic or social backgrounds but by having come of age as students in international university environments. It is easy to assume that Calvin related to them because they were all academics, but it is just as plausible that their shared life experience created the bond.⁵

Selderhuis provides an outstanding example of a scholar who recognizes some of the issues caused by cultural mobility but who lacks the analytical tools to develop those insights. In this instance, TCK scholarship would provide an ideal complement to previous research on John Calvin.

⁵ Although it is not known if she was a TCK, one immigrant/refugee who had an important relationship with Calvin was considered his wife, Idelette de Bure. One Calvin biographer details how picky Calvin, a reluctant groom, had been about making a suitable match (Parker, 1975:71–72); Calvin’s subsequent appreciation of his wife obviously suggests she was someone with whom he was comfortable. Alistair McGrath describes him as “desolated” by her death (McGrath, 1990: 107).

TCK RESEARCH AND CALVIN'S THEOLOGY

Like Selderhuis, church historian Timothy George is a scholar who identifies TCK-like traits in Calvin without drawing on TCK research. George makes a compelling case that Calvin's experience of geographic mobility had a direct influence on his theology.

George begins by noting that Calvin was a refugee ("always looked with longing to his native France") ministering to refugees ("thousands of 'immigrants' flocked there from persecution") in a city uniquely located on the borders of three distinct political/cultural enclaves (France, the Swiss cantons, the Duchy of Savoy). From this observation, George makes two specific notes about its practical influence on Calvin's ministry. First, "his role as an outsider on the inside gave him a special appeal to the 'company of strangers,'" the religious refugees who fled to Geneva in part because of Calvin's presence. In addition, George charges that "A sense of displacement, homelessness underlay [Calvin's] difficult dealings with local authorities in the city." So, for George, Calvin's refugee experience shaped his ministry in concrete ways.

But George takes his analysis further. Being a refugee himself did not simply create a sense of empathy for other immigrants or make it difficult for Calvin to work with local government. It also shaped Calvin's larger ministry and thought. Drawing on a phrase used by the theologian Paul Tillich, George concludes that Calvin's status of standing between worlds without belonging completely to either is central to understanding his work: "Calvin's ministry was thus developed 'on the boundary.'"

To George, the basis for a growing interest in Calvin's theology in contemporary Christian and intellectual circles is precisely Calvin's own experience of living between worlds. George argues that "postmodernity has placed us all 'on the boundary'— on the border between the fading certainties of modernism and new ways of understanding the world and its promises and perils. Calvin, a displaced refugee, speaks directly to the homeless mind of many contemporaries looking for a place to stand. 'We are always on the road,' Calvin wrote. Like Augustine, Calvin reminds us that our true homeland, our ultimate *patria*, is that city with foundations God is preparing for all who know and love him. In the meantime, believers are 'just sojourners on this earth so that with hope and patience they strive toward a better life'".

George notices something else of interest about Calvin's theology – Calvinism tended to set people in motion. He quotes the great historian Heiko Oberman to the effect that Calvinism is a religion for "trekkers not for settlers." Its adherents were strongly "international" in outlook and quite likely to travel beyond familiar geographical boundaries in response to the demands of their faith. "Calvin's

followers forsook the religious ideal of *stabilitas* for an aggressive *mobilitas*,” taking their ideas and values into distant parts of the world.

George does not explicitly link this last facet of Calvinism with Calvin’s own experience of high geographic mobility, but anyone versed in TCK research is likely to see a connection. Mobility “is [one of the] major factor[s] in the lives of TCKs,” so common it can be described as “nearly universal.” The transition experience so shapes those who spend their developmental years outside their own culture that the rest of life is often a working out of those issues. Some TCKs respond by never moving as adults, others by moving constantly, but all have mobility as something underlying basic values and orientation (Pollock and Van Reken, 1990: 61–72). It is certainly no wonder that Calvin, a TCK, a refugee, a man who never really wanted to spend his adult life where he did, created a theological movement that sent people out instead of keeping people at home.

Timothy George is an insightful scholar. Even without a TCK-research background, he is able to discern some influence of Calvin’s experience of cultural and geographical mobility on Calvin’s life and thought. How much more powerful would his interpretation be if he were able to draw on work done by TCK researchers?

George is not alone, however, in finding a link between Calvin’s experience of geographic mobility and his theology. As already mentioned, Herman Selderhuis believed that Calvin’s youthful experience of living apart from his home shaped Calvin’s character. But Selderhuis also claims that the same experience shaped his theology as well. Calvin’s youth, summarized as “his constant experience of being a stranger, of being on the road, of continually having to let go” had a direct effect on Calvin’s theology, giving him a strong sense of life as transitory, and creating a longing for “clarity and simplicity in religion” (Selderhuis, 2009: 21). In this interpretation, Calvin’s sense of “life on the road,” based in large part on his own experience of mobility, forms the vital background for understanding Calvin’s doctrine of predestination and providence. Ultimately, the author claims Calvin championed the position that true home is not geographical, but found where the true Church is free – home is where God’s Word is preached, and as such is both heaven and paradise (Selderhuis, 2009: 38–43).⁶

⁶ In his analysis, the author emphasizes the influence of Calvin’s experience as a young-adult refugee, but notes that even prior to this experience, Calvin “had already been somewhat lost in the world (Selderhuis, 2009: 39).

TCK RESEARCH AND CALVIN'S SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION

If Calvin's experience of cultural and geographic mobility shaped his theology, it had an even more obvious impact on Calvin's reading of scripture. In his commentary on Genesis, for instance, Calvin reflects on the experience of Abraham who has been told by God in the first verse of chapter 12 to "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land I will show you" (The Holy Bible, English Standard Version, 2001: Genesis 12.1). Calvin is all too aware how difficult such a command must have been to Abraham, not only because "exile is in itself sorrowful, and the sweetness of their native soil holds nearly all men bound to itself," but because Abraham "had been, up to that time, settled in his nest, having his affairs underanged, and living quietly and tranquilly among his relatives, without any change in his mode of life." It is easy to recognize the empathy of a commentator who believes he too was forced to abandon his home for the sake of God's calling. Calvin even extends his sympathetic interpretation to Abraham's father Terah, saying of him, "It was difficult for the old man, already broken and failing in health, to tear himself away from his own country" (Calvin, 1847: 342–343).⁷

CONCLUSION

So, is it possible to apply modern socio-scientific studies of highly mobile populations to the study of historical figures such as John Calvin? Calvin was arguably a TCK, certainly an adult immigrant and refugee. Numerous scholars have documented the influence of geographic mobility on Calvin, and many of these have gone on to connect this influence with strands of Calvin's thought, theology, or scriptural interpretation. Clearly, in at least the case of John Calvin, recent studies of highly mobile populations would provide useful analytical tools for researchers. Access to the understanding supplied by these modern studies would certainly provide valuable insight for Calvin scholars.

How might these studies be applied to ongoing Calvin scholarship? One obvious direction would be a careful examination of Calvin's many commentaries on scripture. A thorough understanding of TCK experience and characteristics is likely to illumine Calvin's treatment of passages on such topics as exile, pilgrimage, wandering, or home. How, for instance, does Calvin treat Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, four famous biblical TCKs? What about

⁷ This sympathy is notable as traditional commentaries often condemned Terah as a "manufacturer of idols" (Rosenberg, 1985: 1035).

the promise of a land to Abraham, or to the Children of Israel wandering in the wilderness? Does Calvin's experience of geographic mobility inform the ways in which he understands the expulsion from the Garden of Eden? Does Calvin read Jeremiah's exilic writings differently than his own contemporaries writing from their homes? These are all questions that someone well-versed in both Calvin scholarship and TCK studies might fruitfully address.

Another avenue for a TCK scholar to explore would be Calvin's theology. Did Calvin's experience influence the way he understood community, or heaven, or the Christian life? What about his pastoral advice to refugees – how much of his counsel resembles the same advice from contemporaries, and how much is obviously shaped by his own experience? The possibilities are endless.

To touch on a wider theme, considering his unique experience, John Calvin is obviously a strong candidate for consideration at this conference. But could modern research on highly mobile populations be applied to others? I certainly believe so. For instance, consider some of the following prominent historical figures who could be studied as TCKs: Marco Polo, Thomas Cromwell, Mary Queen of Scots, Katherine the Great, Joseph Conrad. Did Katherine reign, or Conrad write, differently because of experiencing geographic or cultural mobility during adolescence? It would be a fascinating project to study any of their lives through the lens of TCK research.

Modern research on highly mobile populations would not just apply to a scattering of individuals such as those cited above. Immigrant and exile communities have existed throughout history. Take two examples from my own field of research. Between 1553–1558, the Catholic religious policy of the English Queen Mary I caused several hundred Englishmen and women to flee to the continent. They settled in cities such as Frankfurt on the Main and Geneva and spent their time as exiles do, working for a living, quarreling with one another, plotting against enemies back home, and dreaming of returning some day to their native land. These Protestant groups are well documented, they have been studied by academics writing in English, French, German, and Latin, many first-hand accounts of their experience are easily accessible, and they would be an ideal subject for someone who has studied refugee or immigrant communities in the modern world. And before these English Protestants left, and after they returned, during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I, other Englishmen and women, this time Catholics, fled England for the continent, settling in cities such as Rome and Louvain. These exiles also are well documented; they left their own paper trail and have been studied over the years by scholars in various languages, including Spanish and Italian. These English Catholic exiles would also be an ideal topics for someone already well-versed in modern refugee or immigrant scholarship. Although both groups are much studied, no one has ever

analyzed them before using modern insights into exile communities. How were their values or choices or interactions shaped by the exile/immigrant experience? Historians are waiting for social scientists such as TCK researchers to help point the way.

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III.

PARENTING IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION

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CHILD-CENTRED NARRATIVES OF POLISH MIGRANT MOTHERS: CROSS-GENERATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS ABROAD

INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to answer a very basic, yet important question: What types of ethnic identities (if any) can we expect to be adopted among the children of contemporary Polish migrants? In other words, this paper seeks to provide preliminary thoughts on the next generation born and/or raised abroad in a post-2004 European Union, highlighting the possibilities for them to identify as Polish, demonstrate attachment to their destination country, or perhaps delineate a novel approach to belonging and identity construction beyond borders. While for most members of this young generation, either born in Western Europe or having left Poland at the pre-school age, it is still early for investigations of the ethnic component in their identity formation, one can already learn about how their sense of belonging is being actively shaped and envisioned by their mothers. In fact, the maternal stories of the cross-generational visions of national and pan-national identities¹ supplied in this article vary to a great degree. More

¹ 'Identities' and 'ethnic identities' are understood here in a broad sense as 'one's sense of self' (Marshall 1994:295), becoming reshaped or hybridized in a particular context of ethnicity, (i.e. Gilroy 1991) upon international migration. As this paper focuses on empirical material, theoretical

importantly, they are closely connected to what can be seen as an ‘ideal type’ of a mothering strategy that different women select for managing family lives abroad. As such, this paper details empirical material collected during multiple interviews with Polish migrant mothers in Germany and the United Kingdom, to the extent that it pertains to the cross-generational sense of (non)belonging of both adult parents and migrant children².

In terms of structure, the paper first succinctly outlines relevant scholarly arguments on the topic. Secondly, the findings and discussions are organized into two sections, starting with a brief overview of the four mothering strategies and their connections to the broader discourses and literature, subsequently proceeding with the core arguments on the ethnic and national issues, pinpointing questions of belonging in maternal narratives. Said evidence is used to illuminate diversity found among Polish women parenting abroad. It argues that a hybridized model of the New Migrant Motherhood should be recognized as a prominent strategy. The paper discusses general discourse as well as practicalities, attempting to answer questions on: *How lives of families abroad are constructed in regards to foreign/national components’ presence in the framings of motherhood?*; and, *What kinds of ethnic identifications mothers envision for themselves versus those they project onto their children?* The paper closes with a brief summary and hints at broader contributions brought about by the project.

HOW LITTLE IS KNOWN ABOUT THE CHILDREN OF POLISH MIGRANT FAMILIES?

Between the discussion of Polish migration as largely economically motivated and labour- driven (see ie. Kaczmarczyk & Lukowski 2005, Fihel & Pietka 2007), and the recent emergence of family-focused small-scale studies and theoretical arguments voicing a necessity for more diversity and transnational approaches (Garapich, ed. 2011, Heath et al. 2012, White 2011, Burrell 2003), there is still very little said about Polish children born and/or raised abroad.

constructions and debates on identities had to be left out for the sake of brevity. One might consult Yuval-Davis 1997, Glick-Schiller 1977 & 1992, Castells 1997, Castells & Miller 1993 for key conceptual frameworks. Condensed arguments on Polish ethnicity constructions are given by Zielinska (2010) and analyses of Polish mobility and ethnicity can be found in Zinovijus (2012), Garapich (2012), Karnat-Napieracz (2012).

² This article stems from my doctoral research and is connected to my PhD dissertation „Polish mothers on the move – gendering parenting experiences of Poles raising children in Germany and the UK”, supervised by professor Howard Davis at Bangor University in North Wales, with a planned thesis submission date in 2014.

Post-2004 scholarly research dealing with Polish children abroad has focused on analyzing entireties of families (White 2011a, 2011b), demographic trends and their potential implications (Trevena 2009), and institutional presence of 'Polish' children in both foreign schools (Ryan et al. 2004, 2008, 2011), and supplementary Polish education (Praszalowicz et al. 2013). The very question of who we mean once talking about the youngest generation abroad remains unanswered: quantitative measurements can normally delineate Polish out-migrants under 18-years of age, native and/or fluent speakers of Polish language in a certain age-group abroad, or school pupils born in Poland, across those having one or two Polish parents yet born in a destination country. None of these however useful tools can cover the whole range of possible intersections, with a matrix of citizenship, ethnic identity, spoken language(s), place of birth, schooling and many other factors being non-dichotomous and often co-existing in singular biographies of contemporary youths.

Irrevocably, novel approaches to studying family lives are no longer statically functionalist and assuming of co-residential nuclear unit (Chambers 2012). New topics, often stemming from the British Family Studies (ie. Morgan 2011, Allan 1999, May 2012, Chambers 2012), are slowly inspiring ideas about Polish ways of "doing family". In this context, lives of Polish migrant children are defined as embedded in the dynamically constructed practices of managing ties and kin relationship beyond national borders (Bryceson & Vuorela 2003), signifying a constant interplay of ethnic identity components from the countries of origin, destination and beyond (ie. Goulbourne et al. 2010, Reynolds 2008). One must keep in mind that "children's identity formation is influenced by at least two distinct, and sometimes contradicting, cultural systems: the home culture and the school culture" (Adams & Kirova 2006:8). Yet, the "studies of the first generation immigrant children's voices [...] are rare, with the exception of some research in the area of refugee children" (Devine 2009: 521). Justifiably concerned with the ethical issues in researching minors, studies that tackle questions about the migrated or the foreign-born youngest questionably 'Polish' generation tend to adopt indirect approaches and refrain from granting voice or *agency* to the children themselves. In migration literature, the paradigm of children's absence is further supported by their portrayal as vulnerable and left-behind victims of the global mobility (Parrenas 2005: 30–56 on dismal view of transnational families and its reasoning). Additionally, the co-residentiality requirement posed on Western nuclear families operates with an underlying assumption that children "have a natural need for stability and security which can be provided by the domestic and familial context [...] [associating] ideal modern childhoods with residential fixity" (Ni Laoire 2010:156; Pustulka 2012). In the Polish context, this is especially visible in regards to poverty, exclusion and behavioural issues

as negative consequences presumably resulting from migration and raised in pedagogical research (Danilewicz 2008, Walczak 2009). Children's vulnerability is further fuelled by the moral panics linked with the sensationalized media-hype around *euroorphanhood* (Walczak 2009, Szczygielska 2013: 129–132, 184–198; critical analysis: Urbanska 2009, White 2011). It is argued here that the applicability of this perspective in the intra-European context cannot be deemed as sufficient for explaining all instances of migratory projects, which may not be normative, economically motivated and/or may position children's future and happiness at a centre-stage of migratory-projects. Although difficulties stemming from transnational separation and subsequent family reunification should be noted (ie. Pratt 2013, Parrennas 2005), an analysis of double standards and gendered consequences of paternal and maternal absences, always more negatively charged for women (Nicholson 2006, Dreby 2006, Parrenas 2005, Pustulka 2012) should be paired with a continued research interest on the lives of reunited families.

As research into ethnicities and migrant communities has argued for a community-contextualized approach through a transnational optic (Glick Schiller 1977, 1992; Goulbourne et al. 2010), a historical overview of research into Polish migrants can shed some light on this issue. For instance, Polish-American and Polish-Canadian diasporas were exemplary in determined efforts towards preserving national heritage and ethnic identity over decades (see: Borjas 2006, Versteegh 2000). Conversely, in the more local cases of Germany, France or the United Kingdom, post-war research into perseverance of Polishness was less optimistic, for that immigrants remained caught by nation state politics of the integration/assimilation frameworks³, and migration research equated nation with ethnicity in the Polish case (Irek 2012:25). In attempt to escape the deterministic trap, recent studies about Poles in Western Europe employ transnational lenses in discussing conditions for building ties with the destination locale and simultaneous preservation of links with homeland, while also modelling integration and separation in a classic manner (ie. White 2011b:137–195). Polish “family identity beyond borders” was addressed by Danilewicz in a historical and theoretical overview within the transnational social space framework (2008, 2011). Nevertheless, national and ethnic identities were for decades conceptualized as sources of belonging – feeling at home, being alike, and familiar. Consequently, a simple “where are you from?” question usually provided an uncomplicated answer stable in nature, making ethnic and national identifications rather powerful, quite dichotomous, and ultimately – well understood (Glick Schiller 1992, Jasinska-Kania & Marody 2002:282–288,

³ For an overview of assimilation/integration frameworks, see ie Piore 1979, Borjas 1985; White (2010) for a revised application to the Polish migrants in the UK.

Inglehart & Baker 2000). While Zielinska reminds that research overwhelmingly suggests that Polish national identity is continuously based in the categories of ethnicity and religion (2010:62), Temple stated that migrants' attachments to Poland are built around emotional aspects of ties with those who remained at what was seen as a 'Polish way of life' (2011b:51) in a nostalgic manner.

All in all, changes brought by mass migration, globalization and postmodernity have resulted in a more elaborate matrix of 'belonging', which still remains somewhat of a 'black-box' in sociological research (Temple 2011b:51). The national and ethnic identities are becoming (to a degree) replaceable by different, more specific or more general identifications (such as Local-Silesian, pan-European, global, transnational, cosmopolitan or Western – taking place of the former ethnic descriptors) (see ie. Castells 2004, Temple 2011b). Indeed, studies of young people's identities pertaining to third culture kids (TCKs) supply examples of complex nature of youth's belonging in the global era (ie. Pollock & Van Reken 2009, Kay 1998, Van Reken & Bethel 2006). Similarly, educational arguments for multicultural classrooms and new language politics increasingly argue for the importance of multilingualism and diversity in schooling setting and beyond (Campbell 2010, Nikitrowicz et al. ed 2011). Perhaps it is in the young generation that the term 'Cosmo-Poles' (Irek 2012:26) is becoming fully applicable and the sole national patriotic narrative of '*ethnicity forever*' (Morawska, c.f. Praszalowicz 2010:17) will be replaced by multiple constructions of identities and belonging.

Although the prospects of family migrants returning home are thus far deemed unlikely (White 2011), one shall keep such possibility in mind and wonder about how children could potentially fare. The work of Goulbourne et al. (2010) addresses global trends of recent interest in return migration of born-abroad younger generations searching for identities (ie. Christou 2006, Reynolds 2008), and the authors rightfully argue that this mobility cannot be fully understood as "return", because "these offspring may not have lived in the country of their parents' birth" (2010: 125).

Linking the abovementioned research themes, this paper will use the narratives of Polish migrant mothers living in Western Europe⁴, justifying this approach by reference to literature on mothers as primary agents of the inner-

⁴ The empirical data consists of interviews, participant observation and (auto)ethnographic approach used in the research project conducted between 2009 and 2012 in the UK and Germany. A combination of narrative and semi-structured interviews was employed, and a non-probabilistic deliberate participants' recruitment was chosen, leading to a pool of over 50 interviews, with a core sample of 26 accounts. Demographic variables of age, education, social class, etc. were considered. For the core group, the average age of the interview-partner was 31.7 years; all but one women remained in ethnically homogenous marriages, fertility was at the level of TFR=2 and a mean age

workings of family lives (Parrenas 2005, 2008; O'Reilly 2010), usually operating as sole decision-takers and, particularly in a Polish context, as 'managerial matriarchs' (Titkow 2007). Concurring with what research on migrants' nostalgia for home suggested (ie. Temple 2011, White 2011), some Polish mothers whose stories are presented here struggle with the permanency of their lives abroad. Others, however, have less difficulty with operating in a more globally-orientated environment. As such, mothers represent a variety of coping strategies and reconciliations (or lack thereof) between the elements that can be assigned to national or foreign belonging. Their reshaped identities have severe yet not unidirectional or easily predictable impact on their children's projected identities, which might come about in a similar or dissimilar manner. It is important to note that in the case of Polish migration to the West, women are still largely seen as mirroring other non-Western females: aside for being the prime home-makers (Parutis 2006, White 2011a, 2011b), they are the agents of cross-generational cultural transmission, responsible for what global context deems the "production of community identity in foreign lands" (Chambers 2012: 128, see also: Yuval-Davis 1997, Temple 2011a:107).

Conclusively, the four distinctive models of motherhood are validly used as 'ideal types' in discussions about configurations of ethnic identifications and belonging of children of Polish mothers abroad, as presented below.

POLISH MOTHERING STRATEGIES: AN OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS & KEY LITERATURE

The context of large-scale West-bound migration should be considered as a potential accelerator of the already observable changes in Polish family lives⁵. Through its focus on mothers and practices of 'doing family' (Morgan 2011), my doctoral research examines how Polish migrant women respond to their foreign, Western surroundings of Germany or Great Britain, respectively.

The analysis of the collected data has resulted in the development of four 'ideal types' of mothering practices found among Polish women parenting in Germany and the UK. Firstly, a somewhat expected set of "managerial

of a child was just below 8 years. On average, an interview-partner has spent just under 7 years abroad at the time of the interview.

⁵ The changes referred to mean the general turn to post-modern theories of family and 'doing family' approaches (Morgan 2011), inclusive of family forms' diversity, changing relationships, issues of fatherhood, childhood and consequences of struggles for equality. Chambers (2012) provides a good overview of recent trends, while Slany (1997) or Szlendak (2010) can be used as references for Polish data.

matriarchy” (Titkow 2007) strategies associated with ‘Mother-Pole’ (*Matka Polka*, MP)⁶ has been discovered. It is important to note that, while ‘Mother-Pole’ model is losing its theoretical prominence and analytical value in Poland (see: Sikorska 2009, Korolczuk & Hryciuk eds, 2012, Titkow 2012), this heritage-embedded approach appeared typical for migrants who re-traditionalized upon experiencing Western surroundings. The second model – the intensive mothering (IM) has characteristics largely compatible with ‘Mother-Pole’ practices, yet it is derived from the Western discourses of presumably scientific approach to the tasks of child-rearing (Hays 1996). Being often referred to as ‘New Momism’ in popular literature and fiction (ie. Figes 2008, Asher 2011, in Poland: Woźniczko-Czczott 2012), intensive motherhood is a costly, laborious, emotionally trying and care-wise excessive practice. Thirdly, a peripheral model of feminist mothering (FM) (O’Reilly 2008, 2010; Kinser 2010) has been noted among women who effectuated (to some degree) an ‘empowered’ approach to their parenting. Finally, the crucial development pertains to the fourth model of New Migrant Motherhood (NMM), an integrative practice of mothering abroad. The women falling into the last category are particular in their attempts to hybridize their practices, rather than choose a pre-existing model. As such, they manage to combine elements found across models in a novel way, while also adding a new dimension of parenting strategies. The four models were found across geographic locations as well as demographic characteristics of the respondents, with the New Migrant Motherhood emerging as a lead approach. While certain factors, such as religiosity or the length of stay abroad have somewhat predicated women to one or the other type of a mothering narrative, the categories were not built in an exclusionary manner, allowing the dynamics and inner-contradictions of individual stories.

The following discussion will attempt to illustrate how mothering and ethnic/national belonging contribute to contextualizing inter-generational differences and the futures envisioned for children: **the way of expressing cross-generational identifications – national (local) versus foreign/binational/international/ European/ global is what separates mothers who adopt distinct strategies**. Through focusing on children’s centrality in the selected characteristic of mothering⁷, this paper uses parenting strategies across the four

⁶ For the sake of brevity, I am using abbreviations for four models when discussing quotes of mothers belonging to given categories. These are MP for ‘Mother-Pole’, IM for intensive motherhood, NMM for New Migrant Mothers and FM for feminist mothering. Analogically, UK and DE are used to indicate the United Kingdom and Germany as respective destination countries of my interview-partner.

⁷ It has to be stated that the full list of mothering characteristics examined in the doctoral thesis is much more extensive and considers twelve areas of differences, such as labour market,

categories as means to explain the inner-logic of ethnicity and cross-generational (non)belonging, as well as their potential implications for both generations of those who migrated from Poland in recent years.

CROSS-GENERATIONAL (NON)BELONGING: FINDINGS AND PERSPECTIVES

This section critically covers core findings around identities and the sense of belonging, both as maternal identifications and as projections for their children, organizing the findings on the spectrum of motherhood models enumerated above.

The women in the ‘Mother-Pole’ category often exemplify re-traditionalization or enforced ethnic Polishness (actual or imagined) in their lives abroad. Strikingly, many mothers in this group do not anticipate that their children who live and go to school abroad, sometimes having been born there and holding only a non-Polish passport, will potentially not identify themselves as Polish. Situated within a specific and singular national discourse, they locate their own and their children’s identity as solely Polish. A short excerpt from an interview with Beata, who has been UK-based since 2004, and arrived there with a toddler who is now a teenager:

“I will never feel at home here and nor should my daughter – she is not British. We just live here”/Beata, UK, MP/

Despite not having plans to return to Poland, Beata does not expand her networks beyond Polish community, similarly encouraging her daughter to primarily spend time with Polish peers, in the Polish Saturday School and Polish church organizations, mirroring the characteristics of Polish lower-educated migrant parents that Anne White described (2011a:26). Regrettably, this approach often borders on antagonism towards “otherness” (see ie Temple 2011) which, for the sake of protecting one’s own now distant culture, becomes the source of comparatively ‘bad’ influence or one that is not up to par values. Asked about German mothers, Lidia has said:

“We, Polish mothers, sacrifice much more for our children – so that’s probably the main difference I see [...] We work harder – compared to other migrants or the locals, we have jobs and take care of the house[...]. Oh and we go to our

religion & religiosity, gender orders, etc. The article gives a snapshot of data related to ethnicity and belonging.

church, so we have guidance, our children are taught about God and rules, and morality – they are not like the children here” /Lidia, DE, MP/

Apart from proving a ‘super-womanhood’ orientation of Mother-Poles, this statement suggests a negative hierarchy which may affect younger generation’s perceptions of their host society. The logic of needing to protect one’s original values and culture in the face of no direct spatial embeddedness seems to differentiate ‘Mother-Poles’ from other strategies:

“It is so hard and so scary! It is all on you to make sense of being a good mother in the face of their practices here, to stand your ground, to fight for your child” / Patrycja, DE, MP/

The examples appear to clearly indicate that ‘Mother-Pole’ abroad in the twenty-first century is still the historically familiar figure of a fighter (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012, Zielinska 2010, Graff 2008). The paradox is that the above quoted Patrycja was unable to clarify her position, struggling to give details of what this ‘fight’ against local ways entails, ranging from yelling at a German doctor that she discriminated her Polish child due to his/her ethnic origins, to making sure that her child (who is now 3-years-old) gets properly married in a Polish Catholic church. One may rightfully wonder how such maternal beliefs will affect the future prospects, with a potential danger of Polish migrant children being isolated or ill-adjusted, struggling to accept their multicultural and multi-ethnic surroundings in British or German schools. Furthermore, it is argued here that family members of ‘Mother-Poles’ exemplify cross-generational non-belonging. While mothers actively act towards preventing children from becoming citizens or feeling at home in their destination country, it is safe to assume that both generations will experience consequences of the long period of life abroad. While for some children, it will become possible to develop new orientations towards local community, their new identifications will likely become a source of conflicts at home, as mothers openly argue for remaining, as one of my interview partners called it, “truly Polish”, preserving a phantasmal notion.

A major difference between ‘Mother-Poles’ and Intensive Mothering is argued to lay in the above-discussed national component: while the former appear universalistic in their ideas of Polishness/foreignism, the latter is marked by certain particularism. Intensive mothering signals a somewhat beyond-borders idea of what ‘good’ parenting should consist in. However, since it is a Western (and ethnocentric) social construct, it does not take into consideration the differences that may occur among those from different cultural backgrounds (O’Reilly 2008 & 2010). It might be argued that just like intensive mothering

removes economic differentiation, assuming that all women-mothers have means to afford intensive expert-advised mothering (Hays 1996), it also downplays the impact of ethnicity. Mothers interviewed have indeed referred to the variable of ethnicity in their parenting in a particularistic manner:

„Well, there is probably a difference between ‘mother-Poles’ out there and myself. I mean, obviously, I have a different cultural baggage, different heritage, but I am a mother, just like other mothers from here and from all around the world here” / Magda, IM, UK/

“I don’t know if there is such a thing as Polish mothers... You mean that maybe we are more protective or something, I don’t know... I think it is very individual – there are pathologies and elites in every nationality, every ethnicity, so for me it is about talking to my sons every day, showing them that I love them and having their trust – is it really such a Polish thing? I see other mothers here that try to do this, too” /Karolina, UK, IM/

“I feel like my motherhood is not very Polish – I only want this one child I have, I think that’s uncommon. I treat my daughter as her own person, don’t want to determine that she’s Polish or German – I am supposed to help her become herself” /Ola, DE, IM/

Motherhood here seems to be less bound by national notions, as the interview-partners generally argued for the importance of open-ended cultural identifications. Sadly, while women wanted the children to have certain understanding of their parents’ origins, they were often the ones who severed ties with Poland and lacked significant relationships back home. Intensive Mothers were surprisingly undetermined about children achieving high linguistic competence: reading and writing correctly in Polish was not as important to them as to the women in the ‘Mother-Pole’ group. When asked about the language spoken at home, these mothers offered quite a pragmatic approach, for example stating that using English or German during homework or some forms of untranslatable play was fine, unlike ‘Mother-Poles’ who viewed foreign language usage at home as non-patriotic. Contrasting the two linguistic ideals symptomatic of ideologies embedded in their respective parenting practices, the quotes from interviews with Basia (IM, UK) and Lidia (MP, DE), delineate the difference:

-Is it important to you that your children speak Polish?

It is the most important thing!
 How else will they remain Polish?
 I would go deaf in an instant if
 my children started speaking
 German to me. I already had to
 do this with them couple of times
 – ignoring requests until they
 switched back, so they learned
 [...] I have to go in every now and
 then when they play because they
 switch to German – it is horrible!
 [...] It is very difficult for me to
 correct them all the time but I
 know I have to” /Lidia, MP, DE/

Not really. I mean of course we speak
 Polish at home, so they know it and
 understand. They actually read Polish
 books better than English ones [...]
 But we live here and I doubt that my
 daughters will be fully proficient in
 Polish – there is no way to overcome
 the language they use to play, to
 interact with their peers.
 I think reading is important but I am
 not pressuring them too much – it is
 supposed to be fun [...] English is the
 international language, Polish as the
 second one is just that extra benefit,
 nothing too special. /Basia, IM, UK/

Language politics constitutes an important dimension on the crossroads of ethnic belonging and educational capital development, additionally playing an important role as a function of intra-family communication patterns⁸. As such, it is argued, it should be examined as a very telling feature of mothering’s impact on the next generation. While speaking Polish is a fortress of ethnic identity and national belonging for Mother-Poles, it is above all a utilitarian decision for intensive mothers. In regards to children’s development, if something is seen as beneficial (and research devoted to bilingualism suggests that speaking another language while growing up is⁹), the intensive mothers will attempt to take advantage of their options. This trait is concurrent with a diversity of ethnic and (pan)-national identifications observable in this group across generations. While mothers mostly acknowledge their Polish roots, some of them openly express the need for fully orientating themselves (and their children) towards the Western locale. Justyna, a 29-year old SPA manager living in North-Rhein Westphalia since 2002 said:

⁸ Results of a study on narratives of language and identity among Polish people in the UK has been published by Temple (2011b) and accounts for generational differences between ‘old’ and ‘new’ migrants’ framings of bilingualism.

⁹ The lack of understanding bilingualism still affects Polish populations abroad, with cases of parents adopting harmful practices of switching to their imperfect English at home, in fear of generating confusion for their children. For more information on this issue in Polish context see: Praszalowicz et al. 2013, Temple 2011b.

“[...]After almost 10 years here, you know how it is, I really have nothing to go back to, not much in common with those who still live there [...] Polish politics or problems do not concern me or my family. I am not saying I stopped being Polish, but I am not sure I still feel 100% Polish [...] My son told me recently that he is German. It was very strange to hear this, but I understand – he does not know Poland, even if I try to talk to him about it, it is not the same” /Justyna, DE, IM/

The inner-struggles of Justyna are exemplary of other Intensive Mothers, who grew up in Poland but may since acquired foreign citizenship and approved their children's different ideas about national belonging. It is also in this group that integrational efforts are most visible, with easily understood everyday practices' examples being Magda who talked about running her home 'like the British do', or Bogusia and Basia who both stated that they plan their family weekends by mimicking the locals, preferring activities aligned with their social class rather than ethnicity – in practice it means that a family trip to a local cultural attraction was more likely than spending Saturdays at a Polish school. Being ideologically treated as partners/agents (Hays 1996, Chambers 2012:78–81), children of intensive mothers are generally able to create their own identifications, although in certain cases the Western orientation becomes dominant. This leaves room for the Polish identity being underdeveloped, a missing component of a heritage in children's later life. Once again, there is a heightened risk of a case of non-belonging, not being able to identify with either home or destination land, as presented by Reynolds (2008) for Caribbean migrant children returning home as adults from Britain and not feeling at home at either destination. On a plus side, with some mothers from this category also identified as Feminist Mothers, examples of pan-national, global and inclusive models of identity formation were also observed and transferred onto one's children. Still, this type of understanding of transnationalism and globality came through mostly in the reflections of the New Migrant Mothers – a group that will be discussed next.

Arguably, New Migrant Mothers present a level of maturity in grasping differences of mothering across cultural contexts: both cross-/transnationally and in the intra-national cases of social class differences. Being in-between, they might not have the same awareness of 'equality in diversity' that Western feminist mothers do, but they are rid of superiority status that the 'Mother-Poles' often attributed to their parenting. New Migrant Mothers tend to be good observers of social surroundings and provide interesting evaluations:

“Young mothers in Poland seem to be very isolated. You are in this 'zone' of mother-Pole, always super-busy with housework and children, even if food

is cooked and the house is clean, then there is always something else – like comparing prices in store brochures, running to the cemetery with flowers, planning family menu for two weeks ahead. Here priorities change... It is about spending quality time with your children and meeting other mothers, other people. This is much better for you – keeps mothers sane” /Ania, UK, NMM/

On the issue of their own belonging, New Migrant Mothers are similarly reflective, aware of the problematic nature of being migrant themselves, and forecasting what being raised abroad may mean for their children:

“It is a process of adaptation and constant re-adjusting – mostly for me; as a grown-up I have to ensure that my foreign-born children who feel at home here – and that’s a good thing and how it is supposed to be!, But still, I need to know that they have a connection to my heritage, that they know their parents’ language.” /Hanna, UK, NMM/

Hanna’s statement illustrates very well a general goal that the New Migrant Mothers share – maintaining a connection to their homeland, while acknowledging and developing ties to their children’s place of upbringing – the destination country. The results from a study on migrants in Israel by Roer-Strier and Strier (2006) concluded with a statement that “parental social cognition, childrearing ideologies, expectations, norms, rules and beliefs tend to preserve meaningful elements of their original cultures (2006:104–105, c.f. D’Angelo & Ryan 2011:239). This study’s findings similarly indicate a duality of maternal practices that oscillate betwixt and between foreign/local and familiar/distant axes. It is visible in Mariola’s account below, when an interview-partner realizes during the story-telling process that being a migrant mother entails a substantial overhead:

“It is a balancing act – you are Polish but live in Germany, so you must obey their rules – for example know the differences in the laws regarding parental do’s and don’ts or learn to speak German, but I guess you also want to make sure that your kid can communicate with your family at home, so you get Polish television. You made me think that it’s actually a lot of extra work to be a foreign mum” / Mariola, DE, NMM/

As migrant mothers have to quickly educate themselves on the particularities of the local Western context, those in the New Migrant Mothers group benefited most from combining elements of Polish and local resources. A powerful example was that of Ania, who now advises newly arrived women on practical issues and advocates attending Polish Saturday schools, yet also encourages Polish women to attend multicultural mother-toddler groups in order to facilitate adaptation to

the lives in Britain, both for them and their children. In a scheme of everyday examples, this was detailed by Hanna, who said:

“This one baby group I went to was really cool hands-on practical crash-course on best practices – a lady from Africa taught us best ways of handling slings and wraps, one Asian friend did a demo on introducing exotic flavours to your little one’s diet, and a local British mum made little flashcards with medical terminology for non-native-English speakers – all super-useful, right?” /Hanna, NMM, UK/

Benefiting from cultural exchange happens simultaneously to women promoting Polish culture:

“I always volunteer to run a Polish day in my daughter school – it is easy for me to serve Polish dumplings [org. *pierogi*] and tell stories and legends, like the one about the dragon in Krakow’s castle [*Smok Wawelski*] – children love it! It makes my kids very proud when we do it, proud to come from Poland [...]” /Celina, UK, NMM/

It is quite important to note that Celina was equally excited about multinational and locally British connections that the family has, as she talked about children playing rugby, Asian family friends inviting them over for a meal, or participating in a very local old theatre tradition organized in her English town of residence. Her case illustrates how New Migrant Mothers continue to operate in bi-national or pan-national contexts of family lives and its members’ ethnic identifications by ensuring that cultural diversity is represented but Polishness is not lost. To return to the opening question of who the children born abroad may become, Kaja, parenting two school-aged children, explains:

“It might sound strange but I feel very European, like I have developed this extra-special term to describe that I feel at home here in Germany, but Poland is also my home. And I do not feel like a stranger in France or Netherlands, where we go for vacation. [...] We have a lot of [Polish] family here from both mine and my husband’s sides, so the children know that this is where we are all from [...] One aunt once asked my son where he’s from and he said he’s a German from Poland, and then my daughter, who just had a lesson at school about European integration said that she is <a citizen of the united Europe> – it was both funny and quite amazingly uplifting, coming from a 9-year-old!” /Kaja, DE, NMM/

While it is impossible to generalize, the accounts of New Migrant Mothers merging or marrying cultures while living abroad paint quite an optimistic

picture. On the one hand, the children raised in these families continue to have tangible and strong links to Poland in respect to the national heritage, culture, language and personal networks. On the other hand, said children do not become alienated or excluded in their new homelands of the Western Europe, being encouraged in their adaptation and integrative behaviors. Similarly, this particular strategy appears to be beneficial for mothers, who create spaces of identities for themselves – as Poles living transnationally abroad.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The paper highlights a fraction of findings of a broader project on migrant motherhood, focusing on aspects of ethnicity and belonging as predicates for future orientations of the new generation of children of recent Polish migrants living abroad, as well as among their mothers. As a broad contribution, it provides an overview of four mothering strategies, with the New Migrant Motherhood (NMM) as an analytical framework, potentially able to facilitate future research into women and children leading family lives abroad.

The discussions on Polish/foreign elements' presence in mothering practices as well as the generalized notions of maternal and children's belonging are summed up in Table 1 below in a comparative manner.

While some areas of this summary-matrix are rather self-explanatory, many remain relatively open-ended. Indeed coming from a small-scale qualitative project, the data allows for a degree of variety in each category, respecting the individual case-by-case treatment of the interview-partners' stories (Wengraf 2001). What is crucial is that there is no optimal model and the complexity of identifications is likely to continuously grow. While New Migrant Motherhood appears to be rather beneficial (in regards to ethnic identities and belonging), the multi-faceted familial trajectories of mobility may equally lead women to the strategies of 'Mother-Pole' or 'Intensive mothering'. At the same time, although Feminist Mothers constituted a peripheral category and were not discussed in scope of this paper, the potential for more women identifying with ideals of empowerment should be acknowledged. As such, a forecast for one strategy becoming dominant is difficult to put forward. It stands to reason that Polish narratives of moral and practical discourses of parenting abroad are inter-related, becoming concatenated at times, while being constantly re-created in a dynamic setting of 'doing family' abroad.

Table 1.

Parenting strategies of Polish mothers

| | Mother-Pole (MP) | Intensive mothering (IM) | New Migrant Mothering (NMM) | Feminist mothering (FM) |
|--|--|---|--|---|
| National/foreign elements within motherhood strategy | <p>Superiority of Polish model over local/foreign practices;</p> <p>Denial and/or a critique of foreign practices paired with a common critique of mothers from different (non-Polish) backgrounds;</p> <p>Universalism</p> | <p>Mothering as beyond-borders somewhat universal (although Western) practice;</p> <p>In fact, it is a Western (ethnocentric) social construct-> slight superiority of Western practices</p> <p>Particularism</p> | <p>Co-existence of Polish and foreign elements within practices;</p> <p>Maturity in understanding differences of mothering across cultural context (no superiority), may build on models found across various national/ regional/ global contexts.</p> <p>Individualism</p> | <p>In general, a pan-national , global and inclusive model;</p> <p>Maturity in understanding differences of mothering across cultural context (no superiority); Largely derived from various feminist ideologies, thus may contain cultural/local elements characteristic of a specific movement.</p> <p>Diversity</p> |
| Sense of belonging – mothers/ children | <p>Mothers have solely Polish identification, rarely any attempts at integration are made, foreign citizenship was not coveted.</p> <p>Children should identify as Polish.</p> | <p>A range of patterns is observed: some women are still connected to Poland, but many orientate themselves towards foreign destination locale.</p> <p>Generally children are allowed to create/ choose their own identifications, Western identities might be preferable</p> | <p>Mothers identify themselves as Polish but may have acquired foreign citizenship. Thriving towards integrating and benefiting from both foreign and Polish belonging.</p> <p>Children are encouraged to be European., as in: part-Polish, part-foreign.</p> | <p>Beyond-national identifications that still value heritage/ tradition.</p> <p>Children are allowed to create/choose their own identifications</p> |

Quite evidently, a phrase ‘questionably Polish’ rather than ‘Polish’ next generation was preferred throughout this paper, for the purpose of highlighting the uncertainty and diversity of the migrated children in question. The Polish state’s efforts in the forms of policies concerning youth of Polish descent abroad are thus far absent, while many contemporary Polish parents do not wish to preserve their national identity and/or cultural practices. Consequently, the future of the next generation will require further research, showcasing the diversity of options available in the era of postmodernity and global mobility. It must be underscored that it is no longer a question of being either Polish or British/German, as (1) the national and ethnic identities are constantly reshaped and reconstructed and may, for instance, result in a dual identification, (2) local (regional) and global (pan-national, pan-European, etc.) identities are increasingly becoming.

Methodologically, the paper contributes to an advancement of giving voice to Polish women. While female migrants have been present in a migratory scholarship for several decades, they often fall victim to the dominant labour market paradigm that sees them solely as workers. The article shows that family ties and maternal obligations can be an equal source of knowledge on contemporary intra-European migration of Poles. In addition, the new ‘maternal voice’ provides an important insight to orientations that can be observed in children’s trajectories (see ie: Chase & Rogers 2001 for similar feminist approach). In itself, the article also indirectly tackles a query into who adult migrants are, a discussion potentially valuable for broader debates of womanhood and nationhood as concatenated concepts (Graff 2008, Zielinska 2010), set in a context of engendered migration (Morokvasic 2004).

Finally, the main concern is a pressing need to address family lives of Poles abroad in a more encompassing way, overcoming the economic explanations that largely under- or misrepresent the profound role of women and children in the migratory projects. Furthermore, the deterministic dichotomy that views families of absent parents (especially mothers) as dysfunctional examples of ‘bad parenting/mothering’ placing them in a stark opposition to reunited (be it in Poland or abroad) co-residential proper, functional and ‘good families’ should be abandoned as insufficient and often harmful. The analysis of ethnic identifications material proves that trajectories and lives of family members are much more complex and entangled in a multiplicity of factors, among which a mothering strategy plays a crucial role.

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THE CZECH NANNY AS A “DOOR TO THE MAJORITY” FOR CHILDREN OF VIETNAMESE IMMIGRANTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC¹

INTRODUCTION: BRINGING UP MIGRANT CHILDREN

Many children² of Vietnamese immigrant parents in the Czech Republic are brought up by Czech nannies. These women are hired to perform various activities depending on the age of the child – from changing diapers and feeding the child (first with baby food, later with “typical” Czech meals) to teaching the first Czech words, childhood poems, or singing songs and doing school homework. By hiring a Czech nanny, first-generation Vietnamese immigrant parents respond to the post-migratory challenges of their family lives: the intensification of work life at the expense of family life, their uprooting from the extensive kinship networks to which care can be delegated and resettlement in a country where the trend of re-familization in social policy leaves little support for childcare facilities. For many of them, delegation of child care is the only way to fulfil the migration project and ensure “better tomorrows” for their children. These children and their experiences being brought up by Czech nannies are the focus of this paper.

Here I present an analysis of 20 in-depth interviews with second generation immigrants (aged 16–25) whose recollections of their childhood with their Czech nanny were at the centre of my wider research. The data for this research was collected between April 2010 and November 2012 when I conducted 50 interviews (20 with second generation immigrants, 15 with their mothers, and

¹ This study was written with the support by the Czech Science Foundation, under the term of the research project “Educational strategies of migrants and ethnic minority youth“ (P404/12/1487)

² Both second generation immigrants (born in the Czech Republic) and 1.5 generation (born in Vietnam who came to the Czech Republic at the age of up to 6 years) are included in my sample.

15 with their nannies). I focused on the broader issues of relationships between caregivers, care demanders, and care recipients which are negotiated in the post-migratory family resettlement of Vietnamese families. Interviews covered the following topics: childhood recollections, ties with parents, relations with nanny/nannies, upbringing and role of nanny/parents in it, meanings of family, kinship ties, and belonging. My research focused on those Vietnamese families who hire Czech nannies, not on all Vietnamese families. The study thus reveals the patterns typical in the lives of particular Vietnamese children cared for by Czech nannies, not all Vietnamese children in general.

Briefly, the position of the children I focus on here is shaped by the intersection of the following kinds of ties, all of which impact on their understanding of caregiving, the role of nanny in their lives as well as their positioning in Czech society. These are:

- (1) Relationship of intimacy, emotions generated in the practice of caregiving
 - (a) child's relations with *nanny*, and
 - (b) child's relations with *parents and their parents*.
- (2) Relationship based on caregiving which generates a sense of belonging
 - (a) child's relations with *Czech* nanny, and
 - (b) child's relations with *Vietnamese* parents and grandparents.

The aim of this paper is to analyse how second generation immigrants who experience the intersections of the above-mentioned relationships retrospectively understand the role of their nannies in their childhood and generally in their lives in the Czech Republic (a country which is not the place of birth of their parents, and in 11 cases even not of their own birth).

My analysis of narratives starts with the basic assumption that caregiving entails not only nurturance but above all *the transmission of skills, and social and cultural capital* (Macdonald 2010, Bourdieu 2001). The classic theory of social capital assumes that it is the “mother’s task to transfer the abilities central to social capital to their children” (Kovalainen 2004: 167). Hence, for many mothers who delegate child care the crucial issue is how to transmit cultural and social capital as well as customs and habitus through nannies “who may not naturally carry the same social and cultural assumptions” (Macdonald 2010: 26). Caregiving is culturally and socially specific, performed in a specific socio-cultural context and driven by particular cultural idea(l)s: the culture is actively transmitted in the caregiving. The question raised here is what happens when the children of parents coming from a particular minority and cultural background are brought up by women from the majority culture. If the culture is actively transmitted in caregiving, what is the content of this culture and what is its meaning for children? In answering these questions, I aim not only to relay the results of a particular case study that is in many regards exceptional (reverse ethnic logic, different

class logic, etc.), but above all to acknowledge the meanings of paid caregiving in the lives of (immigrant) children.

My understanding of these issues is conceptually based in two sets of scholarship. First is the scholarship on second-generation children and their up-bringing in the transnational/postmigratory context. In immigrant families caregiving gains importance as a means of transferring ethnic identity and the feeling of belonging. As Phinney *et al* (2001: 138) wrote, “the family is the major socializing influence on children and adolescents within a cultural context (...), and parental attitudes are likely to be important to ethnic identity” (Phinney *et al* 2001: 138). A study of Vietnamese immigrant families in the USA by Nazli Kibria (1993) shows how the postmigratory redefinition of family life goes hand in hand with accentuation of the Vietnamese cultural identity. “Vietnameseness”, maintained above all in the realm of family life, is the main point of reference helping immigrants to find a new place in the new country. The author also gives much evidence of the parents’ struggle against the Americanization of their offspring in relation to challenges to the gender and generational hierarchies of Vietnamese family life. Furthermore, transcending the borders of national state, many scholars have dealt with the question of how second-generation immigrants who never/rarely visit their parents’ country of origin think of their home and homeland (Espiritu 2003, collection edited by Levitt and Walters 2002, etc.). In this context, Diane Wolf (2002) elaborates the concept of “emotional transnationalism”, while Yen Le Espiritu (2003) offers the notion of “symbolic transnationalism”. Both authors refer to the imaginaries of the homeland which are shaped, *inter alia*, by a person’s position in the family/kinship network. In these studies, the role of parents is essential in the process of transmitting cultural values and mediating the ties to relatives who behind in country of origin, as well as attitudes toward the national homeland.

Second is the scholarship on delegated care work seen from the perspective of children. Surprisingly, the research on delegated care work has not paid much attention to the perspective of cared-for children, both children *currently* being looked after by nannies, and adults with the *past* experience of being raised by nannies. The perspective of recipients (cared-for people) is still missing. Most research studies focus on children left behind in countries suffering from care drain, children whose mothers care for Western children; while these Western children enjoy an emotional surplus (Romero 1997, Parreñas 2005). Children cared for by nannies, it is supposed in general research, benefit from global world inequalities, receiving more care than children of immigrant mothers (working as care workers) who stay behind in the country of origin and who lack the daily contact with their mothers. However, the experience of these children is not addressed; these children are considered a passive link in the care work

relationship. My article therefore contributes to the scholarship on care work focusing on the perspective of care recipients and their understanding of various aspects of delegated caregiving.

VIETNAMESE IMMIGRANT PARENTS DEMANDING PAID CHILD CARE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Vietnamese immigrants are the third largest group in the Czech Republic after Ukrainians and Slovaks. Approximately 60 thousand people live here, which is around 15 % of the entire immigrant population, and 0.6 % of the whole population. Migration from Vietnam to the Czech Republic (and previously the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) was shaped by two radically-differing migration regimes: before 1989 in the context of state socialism it was a strictly state-managed migration between two socialist countries with closed borders; after 1989 it became a classic labour migration shaped by privatization and marketization (see Baláž and Williams 2007, Brouček 2003). This historical specificity of managed migration from Vietnam to the CEE and the continuing migration after the fall of communism in 1989 had a strong impact on the character of the Vietnamese diaspora in CEE which persists to this day (Williams and Baláž 2005). Two features of the Vietnamese diaspora in the Czech Republic are crucial for this article. First is the demographic structure of the Vietnamese population. Compared to other groups of immigrants, the demographic structure of the Vietnamese immigrant population is progressive, with a high percentage of women and children. According to the Czech Statistical Office, in 2005 21% of Vietnamese population were children 0–14 years old (in the Czech population 15%). 78% of the population are of productive age (15–64), and only 1% were older than 65 years old.

Second, the employment structure of the Vietnamese population is characterized by high occupational concentration. As Williams and Baláž (2005, 2007) have noted, a large proportion of Vietnamese immigrants are entrepreneurs in wholesaling and retailing, i.e. owners of small shops and/or open-air markets. Self-employment is thus the crucial aspect of their work life in the Czech Republic. In 2009 around 88 000 (63 000 men and 25 000 women) of foreigners in the Czech Republic held a valid trade licence; of these some 36 000 were Vietnamese (25 000 men and 11 000 women). As mentioned above, self-employment became a strategy for legalizing one's residence (Hofírek and Nekorjak 2009). The parents of all of my interviewees (with one exception) were entrepreneurs – usually both father and mother held the trade licence; sometimes they work in one shop together, sometimes each of them has his/her own shop

(usually selling clothes). The huge time requirements of such employment result in the parents’ lack of leisure time and time spent with their children. As one of my interviewees described:

They work there [in Vietnam] normally as Czech people do here, up to five-six pm. And after work they have their free time, they have their families. We work there, but we have leisure time and the time for our families. But it is not here. Here it is simply every day at work.

Phong³, 23-year-old boy born in Vietnam

Therefore, parents who came to the Czech Republic to pursue a better future for their children than they themselves had (because of war and poverty in the regions they came from) have only a limited possibility to be with their children. The pervasive ambivalence of a family life that is overwhelmed by work life expresses itself in the fact that parents are in the Czech Republic *because of* their kids; however, they are not here *with* them.

The specific position of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech society – maintaining the dual-earner household with no or little support for child care either from kinship (only 1% of the Vietnamese population here was older than 65 in 2005), or from the state, leads parents to find a Czech nanny. Consequently, having a Czech nanny becomes a kind of “norm” within the Vietnamese community. In some cases the nannies pass from one family to another or they are asked to find nannies for their employers’ friends. In the Czech Republic, delegated child care does not have a big tradition; according to statistics, only 1–2% of population employs private child care (Hašková 2008). In sharp contrast to this, the responses of my interviewees indicate that delegated child care is a frequent phenomenon within the Vietnamese community, up to 80–95%. The nannies are usually retired or unemployed women (in rare cases also women on parental leave) for whom working as a nanny is not the main source of income (all of them have a social wage from the state, and at the same time the salary for caregiving is far below the minimal salary), and it is rather a way to fill time than a pure breadwinning activity. None of my nanny-interviewees (N = 15) perceived caregiving as a job, and the children in my sample emphasized that their nannies did not do caregiving only for money, but wanted to find a fulfilling activity after retirement and satisfy their need to be needed (which can no longer be experienced with their own children or grandchildren).

There are several constellations of the nanny-child relationship in terms of the spatial and temporal arrangements, and strength of the ties, as well as their

³ All names were changed.

persistence. The age of the child at the moment when the family seek for a nanny varies between several months (in case of children born in the Czech Republic) to several years (in the case of migrating children). It is quite common that the mother returns to workplace when the child is six months old, and from this time most of responsibilities around the child are on nanny's shoulders. This includes not only caring for the child's well-being but also activities outside the realm of the household – such as visiting the doctors or later the parent-teacher meetings. This is true especially in cases when the child starts living at the nanny's place (6 of my interviewees) and sees the parents only once per week/month. From the logic of this arrangement it is obvious that many parents temporally lose the control over the child's up-bringing when they lose daily contact with them. Although retrospectively the children understand their parents' decision, for some it becomes a painful issue filled with frequent misunderstandings between parents and children (caused both by language barriers, and by the differences in worldviews) and lack of common memories (which are overwritten by shared memories with the nannies).

The intensity of contact between cared-for child and nanny as well as the definition of caregiving outside the logic of employment, result in the emergence of close ties between nanny and child, ties characterized by emotionality, reciprocity and intimacy. In some cases these ties are temporal and the contact between child and nanny is ended when the family stops needing the nanny (which is usually when the child enters kindergarten, primary school, or when he/she is old enough to take care of him/herself). In many cases, however, the relationship between nanny and child is permanent and the contact is maintained until the child's adulthood.

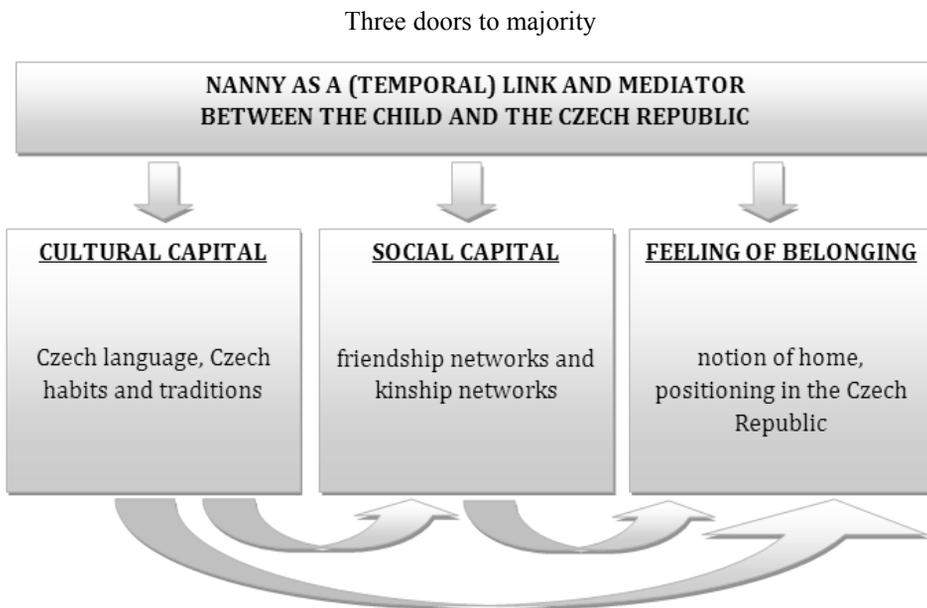
DOORS TO THE MAJORITY AND THEIR MEANINGS FOR CHILDREN

In this section I will present the findings of my analysis that traced the children's emic understanding of the caregiving and the role of nanny in their lives in relation to the Czech Republic and its majority population. To address these issues, and departing from my analysis of interviews, I acknowledge the role of nannies as providing children with a "door to the majority". For this notion I am inspired by Judith Rollins's metaphor of "window to exotica". In her book on the domestic workers and their relationship with employers, she writes that in some cases employers use their domestic workers as "windows to exotica" (Rollins 1985: 157, 166). By this she means the constellation of unequal relationships between the employer and employee, where the latter provides

insight in her own “exotic” culture for the former. Observing ethnic/racial/class differences (in many cases the domestic worker is the only contact with the “third culture” for employers, see also Anderson 2000) provide white middle class women confirmation of their prevalent stereotyping and justification of a system which maintains particular types of persons in a position of disadvantage. The basic difference in Rollins’s analysis and mine lies not only in the reversed ethnic logic of employees and employers, but in the status of what the former provides to the latter: while foreign domestic workers provide their employers *a look* at the exotic culture (hence the “window”), the Czech nannies, as I will argue in this section, offer Vietnamese children with *an entrance* to the majority culture (hence “door”).

During the interviews I listened to many stories from the children’s childhood in which the nanny played the main role. Explicitly or implicitly the role of nanny was acknowledged as being *the mediator, the link between the child and the Czech Republic*. To address this mediation, I sorted the children’s accounts into three sets (doors) in order to depict the differences in the way they operate during the process of what children called “adaptation”.

Figure 1.



The figure illustrates the content of each door and their relationships, as it appeared in the narratives. These are the different layers – interconnected

and deriving from each other – of the everyday life of children brought up by Czech nannies. Each of them appears with a distinct intensity in the narrative of a particular interviewee. Generally, the first door was present in all interviews and all children put a huge accent on it, claiming that it was the most important “contribution” of the nanny to their lives. The second and third doors were emphasised especially in interviews with children who developed closer ties with their nannies (in fact the majority of my interviewees). It is apparent that the door to cultural capital serves as the path to the other two doors, as it is the base on which the relationship between nanny and child is enacted. Similarly, the second door of social capital partly enables the existence of the third door of belonging.

Before I turn to a description of each layer, it is important to highlight the *temporality* of the relationship and importance of these doors in the lives of the interviewed children. It is obvious that the role of nanny and the ties between nanny and child shift over time as the child grows up and his/her needs change. When the child starts primary school, finds friends (both Czech and Vietnamese), and starts spending more time with parents, the position and influence of the nanny in child’s life is weakened. However, in his/her early childhood the nanny is in many cases the primary caregiver, the closest person to the child, performing the majority of tasks around nurturing and up-bringing. She plays an important (if not the most important) role in child’s socialization, passing her cultural and social capital to the cared-for child.

Door 1: Learning Czech and Experiencing Czech Habits

All the children in my sample reported the essential role of their nannies in helping them to become part of the Czech imagined community by showing and teaching them the hidden curriculum of “life à la Czech”. In their narratives, the nanny often plays the role of the *mediator of Czechness* where Czechness is understood as the conglomerate of language, cultural facts, traditions and customs. Speaking Czech and being aware of Czech habits was interpreted as a necessity for their future life, the first step of their wished-for adaptation in the Czech Republic, and the roles of nanny as language teacher and tradition transmitter were highlighted across my sample.

The nanny as Czech language teacher. During my research I observed a huge discrepancy between the parents’ (first generation migrants) and children’s (second generation) knowledge of the Czech language. While the parents’ ability to speak Czech was limited to the vocabulary they needed for their work, their children were fluent in Czech since early childhood: even though Vietnamese was their mother tongue, it was the Czech language in which they felt the most comfortable and which they placed as their number one language. The role of

nanny in language socialization was indisputable. Since early childhood, long before they enter the first state educational institution (kindergarten or primary school), the children are in constant daily contact with the Czech language – including childhood poems, children’s songs, Czech fairy tales, etc. Many nannies also reported that child’s first word was in Czech and not in Vietnamese, as they spent more time with their Czech nanny (so-called “active time” over the day) than with their Vietnamese parents (with whom they were usually only sleeping under one roof).

Being brought up and socialized through and in the Czech language was interpreted as the biggest advantage of having a Czech nanny. However, at the same time, it was simultaneously described by some children and parents as a disadvantage because with Czech nannies the children were deprived the chance of learning Vietnamese. As one mother in my sample told me, for her and her children in some regards it would be better to have had a Vietnamese nanny, because with her the children could learn *their* language (meaning Vietnamese), while later in kindergarten they could learn Czech. Both for children and for mothers, language was perceived as the essential aspect of the children’s understanding of their place in the Czech Republic. As Tuyet, a 22-year-old girl born in Vietnam put it: “I am thinking in Czech, I have dreams in Czech.” Likewise Thi, a 21-year-old girl who came to the Czech Republic at the age of 5, told me that “I love Czech language, so ‘me and the Czech Republic’ it means the Czech language to me”, adding how quickly she learned Czech in her Czech family where she lived till the age of 11 – and also how quickly she lost all knowledge of Vietnamese, as she was in touch with her parents only a few hours a week. The children know they would learn Czech language at school; however, they appreciated that the spontaneous and non-problematic learning with their Czech nanny laid the grounds for their further success in educational system.

The nanny as the transmitter of cultural facts, traditions and customs. Like language learning, the understanding of Czech traditions came spontaneously in the lives of children in my sample. Over the course of the calendar year and during the years spent in the Czech family, the children could observe and experience the many events which – like pieces of a puzzle – gave them a colourful and meaningful picture of Czech cultural values and Czechness. The character of these events varied, from celebrations of big holidays surrounded by many traditions (such as Christmas or Easter), but also the smaller events in the common life of Czech families. Bui, a 19-year-old girl, described her first visit to a rural pig-slaughtering. Trai, now a 25-year-old man, told about fishing with the husband of his nanny, and Ms. Orlová (one of the nannies in my sample) showed me during the interview the photos in which Dui, her cared-for Vietnamese girl, was dressed in folk costume for a folk celebration (consecration

day) in the village where they lived. The nanny laughed when she told how people stared at a Vietnamese girl in typical Czech costume and frantically took pictures of her. Referring to the cultural differences between Vietnam and the Czech Republic, the children emphasised that experiencing some of these events would have been difficult or impossible if they had not had their nannies. Among the activities that Mia, a 16-year-old girl, stressed in the interview was Christmas, which was inevitably connected with her nanny and could not be experienced without her:

Mia: We are always with them on Christmas and have carp and potato salad [a typical Czech Christmas meal].

Adéla: So right on Christmas Eve?

Mia: Yes.

Adéla: So there are many of you there...

Mia: Grandmother, our family, that's five people, and then her daughter with her husband and two kids. Ten people together. Besides they take the dogs...

Adéla: It must be awesome, with a big tree. And so it is since childhood?

Mia: Since childhood, we spent Christmas there with my granny. To be honest, I cannot imagine the Christmas atmosphere at home because in Vietnam Christmas is not celebrated much, so...

The inseparability of particular events from the figure of the Czech grandmother was also articulated in other interviews. Tuyet, whose grandma had passed away, reported that the first Christmas without her “was not genuine”, nor was the preparation for it (such as making the traditional Christmas confections). These accounts make evident the exclusive role of the nanny in transmitting the cultural traditions and the “lessons” of daily life.

In summary, when it comes to the first door, the second generation immigrants in my sample put a huge emphasis on the role of the nanny in mediating direct and personal contact with the Czech environment. This was interpreted as one of the most important aspects of their childhood. Many of them concluded that they would surely *know* about Czech culture and traditions from school and friends, but thanks to their nannies they could *live* these traditions and experience them as *authentic*. In other words, it is the education system which passes on the cultural memory, and the nanny who passes to children the ordinary, daily, folk content of this memory. In accordance with the motto “knowing is not experiencing”, my informants pointed out many small events which – thanks to their nannies – allowed them to “learn to adapt” in Czech society (as many of them put it). At the same time, having a Czech nanny enabled them to understand *where* to adapt and what it means to adapt to an environment which is, thanks to the nanny, less unfamiliar.

Door 2: Being Part of Social Networks

When recalling her childhood Khanh, a 20-year-old girl, described the time spent with her Czech grandmother in the following words:

It was that I felt the part of family. I went with her to see her friends, she took me everywhere and it was automatic that I was with her and other people knew that I come with her. Or when she went to see her daughter, I call her aunt Jana, I came with her too and immediately I went to play with her children.

Like the experiences of other children in my sample, in this account Khanh depicted two kinds of networks into which they could incorporate through their nannies. Both of them had crucial impact on children’s understanding of their relationship to their nannies, as well as to their current images of belonging to their homeland (see below).

First are *networks based on the nanny’s friendship ties*. “People knew that I come with her,” Khanh told me, and described how the friends of her nanny got so used to her presence that when she did not come with her nanny, they were asking where she is and how she is. Caregiving the Vietnamese child caused many nannies problems with their existing friendship ties. For instance, Ms. Dudková reported how some of her friends negatively reacted to her decision to become a nanny, asking her how she can do this job *for the Vietnamese*. She immediately ended her contacts with these people. The same nanny also reported how often she mobilized her social capital to help the cared-for child (for example with teachers or doctors).

And second, more importantly, are *the social networks based on kinship*. As already noted above, the ties between nanny and child are characterized by the emotionality, reciprocity and intimacy. An excerpt from interviews with Mia and Khanh showed that children often call their nannies “grandmother”. This is not only a rhetorical strategy for making sense of the caregiving relationship coded in the context of family life (Murray 1998). More than this, the daily intensive caregiving establishes kinship ties between Czech nannies (grandmothers) and Vietnamese children (grandchildren). The child becomes the part of nanny’s family – for Khanh the nanny’s (grandmother’s) daughter becomes her aunt and her husband her uncle, etc. The children of course know that they have grandparents (their parents’ parents) in Vietnam, but in many cases their relationship with the Czech grandmother (being immediate, intensive, and filled with shared memories) is of same or even greater importance than with their “blood” relatives left behind.

“When I went somewhere, I went there with my grandma,” Khanh and other interviewees stated. The inseparability of the unit of nanny and child

(grandmother and grandchild respectively) was the most important outcome of the child's incorporation into the nanny's network, and the significance of this unit manifested itself in three respects (the third of which is elaborated in the next section). First because it strengthens the ties between the two actors by enabling them to create shared memories and to get to know each other very well. When the nanny becomes the grandmother and the cared-for child a grandchild, the activities performed in caregiving take on a new significance. They start to be labelled as "grandma activities", the activities a child usually does with a grandmother in the Czech Republic (and which because of the physical distance the children cannot do with the mother's mother or father's mother), and which the Vietnamese child can do only with a Czech grandmother (and not with parents). A typical example mentioned in all the interviews were holidays spent at grandma's. From many interviewees it seemed like the grandmother was the epitome of childhood; the time spent with her was described as active and filled with many events which created a relationship based on mutual trust and mutual responsibility. This contrasted with the image of childhood spent without a grandmother, with parents only: "without my granny I would be alone, or with my parents at the marketplace." Intensive daily caregiving lays the groundwork for the knitting of kinship relations between nannies (grandmothers) and children (grandchildren).

It also shapes the external boundaries between the nanny-child unit and other people. The nannies (and to a lesser extent the children) reported many instances of being asked by various people about their caregiving. Their friends wondered why they do it; passers-by asked them about their ties to children who were *evidently* not their own: "How did you get to this child?" "Is it your child?" "You do it for the money?" These questions were addressed to the nannies by various people on the street, in the shops, on the bus, etc. The nannies usually employ the strategy of saying they were related to the children, claiming that the children are theirs, that their son/daughter has Vietnamese partner. The nanny's statement that "the child is mine" played an important role for many of my children-interviewees who must field questions coming from strange people. For instance, Hanh stressed how her nanny without any hesitation affirmed that she is her granddaughter, which she retrospectively interpreted as a sign of emotional bond and shared intimacy; it gave her the feeling of being loved, belonging to a common network with the nanny, and being "her own grandchild".

Door 3: Feeling of Belonging

As with the second aspect of the second door, the unit nanny-child operates as the mediator between the child itself and the Czech Republic. The nanny who declares that the child is hers provides this child not only with emotional

satisfaction, but she also gives him/her the message “I am here for you and I will protect you”. The consciousness that there is such a person, one’s grandmother, to whom the child can turn, was retrospectively for many children an essential step towards their (temporal) acceptance of the Czech Republic as homeland. Yen, a 19-year-old girl born in the Czech Republic, told me that if she had any problem during her childhood, she would run to her grandmother and asked for help (for example when quarrelling with her mother). She described the role of her nanny in the following words:

The most important thing I felt those days was that I just had a grandma. When kids say “I’m going to grandma’s”, so I also had such a grandma. You know sometimes it is hard to stay here only with mum and you have no other support. That is what I felt when I was small. Now I rely on myself, but before I just felt that with grandma, I had some kind of certainty and support.

In Yen’s narration two issues become prominent. First is the symbolic need for a grandmother as a sign of the “normal” family life which can make her life in the Czech Republic more comfortable. Likewise, Minh, a 17-year-old boy born in the Czech Republic, described his need for a grandmother in the following words: “It is, you know, that you just can say ‘I have a grandma’, just the word.” For children who lack the extended kin networks (usually only their parents are in the Czech Republic, in some cases they have aunts and uncles here), a Czech grandmother who is always here for the child becomes the main anchor in their family life.

The second issue is articulated in Yen’s “I had some kind of certainty and support”. The feeling of safety was echoed in the interviews as the main component of the definition of home – both home as family and home as national homeland (Boehm 2012). In many cases, hence, the nanny was part of children’s imaginations of home. Han, an 18-year-old girl born in the Czech Republic, narrated to me her life story, putting a huge emphasis on her current feeling of uprootedness. “I do not know where I belong,” she complained, and identified the source of her uncertainty in her parents’ decision to migrate. In her view, the parents took her home from her when they left Vietnam. However, the feeling of belonging “neither to Vietnam, nor to the Czech Republic” was not part of her life when she was a child. As child, she understood her place in the Czech Republic in relation to her nanny. Han told me:

She [nanny] gave me home at that time. Now she cannot give it to me because I am thinking differently. But at that time [when I was small] she was the home for me. I would not have left the Czech Republic not because of my friends or teachers but because of my grandma. Because my grandma was my home.

Han was the most explicit among my interviewees about feeling home *through* her Czech grandmother. For many children of Vietnamese parents, not just Yen and Han who are mentioned here, the Czech grandmother plays an important role in the process of settling down in the new country. Their imagination of home is very often connected to family and kinship, as it provides people with sense of belonging to a collective. The Czech nanny, who plays the role of caregiver and above all the grandmother, operates as the link binding the child with the nation state. The strength of the third door to majority the nanny opens to the child lies in transcending kinship ties into home-bonding ties, in knitting the child's relationship to the country through his/her relationship to the Czech grandmother.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article has focused on how the children of Vietnamese parents brought up by Czech nannies retrospectively perceive the role of their nannies in their childhood and life generally. My analysis revealed that in children's narratives the nanny and her daily caregiving figures provide them the door to the Czech majority by transmitting to them the "authenticity" of the Czech culture and enabling them to understand and experience what it means to be part of the majority society (by "doing Czech things" and being part of the nannies' social networks). This is not to say that the nannies are the only door for Vietnamese children; on the contrary, children are well aware of the role of the educational system and peer groups in their lives. However, the nannies are the door that shapes the solid ground under their feet, the base on which other relations and competences (the Czech language, knowledge of cultural memory, etc.) are built.

The case of children of Vietnamese parents who are brought up by Czech nannies also shows the functions of caregiving itself. In this article, I have elaborated on the role of caregiving in the transmission of cultural and social capital, which has been acknowledged by many authors. In addition, my analysis revealed the role of caregiving in children's understanding of their place on the globe. Caregiving as the basis of kinship ties (second door) and kinship as the basis of home-bonding (third door) are an essential part of homeland imaginations – in this case both Vietnam and the Czech Republic. Hence for many children their Czech grandmothers become the main point of reference for children's feeling of belonging and understanding of their position in a country which is not their parents' country of origin.

In conclusion, the nannies play the role of a bridge between the Vietnamese "community" and the majority, on the level of integration of second-generation

immigrant children into the educational system and into society in general. Here the burden of integration projects is removed from the state, as this becomes one of the main tasks of the nannies who prepare children for kindergarten, primary school, and generally for life in the Czech Republic. Even though the child's adaptation to the Czech society is not the reason why the parents look for Czech nannies, this result of delegated caregiving is more than welcomed by parents, teachers, and the children themselves. But there are also hidden costs to such arrangements – the gap between well-integrated second generation children and their first-generation parents for whom an intensive work life makes such integration difficult. When the child is old enough (usually around the age of 13), he or she takes over the responsibilities around the household – including not only cleaning, cooking or caring for younger siblings; but above all the children become intermediaries between their parents and the Czech society (usually bureaucracies) by becoming the interpreters and experts in the Czech environment. Having been provided with a door to the majority by their nannies, their growing up is now becoming the “window to the majority” for their parents.

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PARENT–CHILD SEPARATION IN ANGOLAN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

INTRODUCTION

The way of life created by transnationalism leads to changes in family relations, creating specific dynamics and implying care at a distance. This paper looks into transnational families between Angola and Portugal², and aims to address how the parental relationship is perceived within such families. By focusing both on parents and children, it aims to analyse the discrepancies in speech regarding the organisation of care, communication, and perception of proximity. It also seeks to explore how the participants experience the feelings of distance, as well as to analyse the perception of closeness/intimacy between parents and children.

Employing a qualitative multi-sited methodology, which involved interviews with children and parents in the contexts in which they live: Angola and Portugal, allowed for observation within the contexts. The fieldwork was conducted while observing all participants involved, while at the same time obtaining a more in-depth knowledge of the TCRA phenomenon (transnational child raising arrangements), and allowing for comparison between the narratives of parent and child.

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² Results presented in this paper have been obtained from the Transnational Child-Raising Arrangements between Africa and Europe project (TCRAf-Eu) — in the case study Portugal–Angola. The research leading to these results has received funding from NORFACE Research Programme ‘Migration in Europe — Social, Economic, Cultural and Policy Dynamics’. The Portugal–Angola case study was coordinated by University of Lisbon (M. Grassi).

Focusing especially on the perceptions of parent and child, and taking as a starting point interviews with members of six triads (18 interviews), the data presented seeks to establish a basis for further examination of family dynamics when the family is separated by from each other by distance.

The majority of our interviewees are in a 'Father Away TCRA condition', that is, the father is the migrant member of the family. The child is usually living with the other biological parent — the mother — or is living with a family member. The parents are 38 years old on average, and the majority have been living in Portugal for 15 years on average. These Angolan parents migrated in search of a better life and work conditions, even though for most of them the current employment situation in Portugal is unfavourable, as four of the six parents were unemployed at the time of the interview.

The children — four boys and three girls — have an average age of 18 years old, and the majority of them attend school. As for the caregivers, five are woman, and the majority are family members.

This paper starts by giving a brief overview of the migratory context between Angola and Portugal, and also by looking at the historical relationship between the two countries. The next section describes the methodology that was adopted. After highlighting the advantages of using a multi-sited approach, a description of the instruments used to collect the data is presented, and also a characterisation of the interviewees. Then, the predominant forms of family in Angola will be described, as well as the daily life of the Angolan children interviewed. Based on the participant narratives — children and parents — we will analyse the organisation of care, the perception of closeness, and the communication, while exploring the divergences and trying to identify factors behind those discrepancies.

Overall, the interviews reveal that parents often do not have exact knowledge of the care that is provided to their children, and some discrepancies emerge regarding issues like the frequency of parent–child communication, the subject of the conversation, or the practical responsibilities regarding the care. The incongruent perception of discourse between parent and child suggests that some facets of the relationship might be perceived differently by the parties involved. The analysis presented here aims to facilitate the understanding of the impact of migration on children and parents, and also the impact that mobility brings to the organisation of families whose members live geographically apart. Moreover, this is a preliminary analysis providing clues for a future deepening of categories to examine how parents and children reconfigure transnational social relations and how the concept of family and parenting is redefined.

ANGOLA AND PORTUGAL — LINKS AND MIGRATION

The independence of several African countries in the 1960s spurred the migration of Africans to Europe (Olic, 2002, Birmingham, 1995). PALOP³ countries started their process of independence in the mid-seventies, later than other former colonised countries. This was partially due to the Portuguese dictatorial regime that lasted longer than the regimes existing in other European countries.

Migration between Angola and Portugal is of a specific nature, characterized by a long-standing relationship between the two countries. By the fifteenth century Angola comprised several kingdoms with distinct ethnolinguistic characteristics (Silva, 1997; Wheeler & Pelissier, 2009). With the arrival of the Portuguese, led by Diogo Cão, in the year 1482 there was a progressive assimilation that led Angola to become a member of the overseas colony of the Portuguese Empire. It was only on 11 November, 1975, that Angola became a sovereign country, after the implementation of policies and actions as a result of a war waged from 1961 by Angolan nationalist groups against the Portuguese colonial regime. After sovereignty was achieved, a civil war began that ended in 2002.

The migration of Angolans to Portugal began in the sixteenth century, with periods of greater intensification (Grassi, 2010), particularly during the post-independence period (1974/75) with the return of the white settlers who were displaced after independence. They were popularly referred to as ‘retornados’, and would be joined by many Angolans during the 1990s.

The connection to Portugal, through a common language and some cultural proximity, contributed to Portugal being chosen as the destination for many Angolans who sought to escape the armed conflict in the country, or who were seeking a better life and the opportunity to acquire a better education and training. The relationship between the two countries is translated into a migratory tradition rooted in historical and political factors (Castelo, 2007) which has implications on migratory logic and the way in which migratory networks are constituted. There are several studies that focus on the integration processes of immigrants from PALOP in Portugal, as well as their descendants (Machado, 2007, 1997; Pires, 2003; Grassi, 2009).

The migration of Angolans to Portugal, motivated by labour demand, is described by Machado (1997) as having been particularly intense between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s; this flow was accentuated in the late 1990s and the early years of the present century, due to an increase in the armed conflict.

³ PALOP – Portuguese-speaking African countries, which includes Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe.

Presently, due to the development growth of the Angolan economy and the economic crisis affecting Portugal, the flow of Angolans to Portugal is not very extensive. In fact, there is a return of many Angolans to their home country. Nonetheless, according to SEF (Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service) Angolans maintain fifth position in the ranking of the foreign population residing in Portugal (4.9%), with a significant decrease of 8.22%, over the previous year of 2010. In addition, because the number of Portuguese who migrate to Angola is growing, there is, in fact, an inversion in the direction of the migration flow.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

The data presented in this paper was gathered following a qualitative multi-sited approach. Data collection was carried out in two contexts: the migrant's country of origin (i.e. Angola) and their host country (i.e. Portugal), seeking to thereby gain a better understanding of the impacts of migration on family members who are in different geographical contexts. Using this methodology it was possible to observe the context and interviewing the members of the triad allowed greater insight into the reality of child fostering in Angola.

Several authors have expressed great interest in multi-sited ethnography⁴. According to Glick Schiller (2003), multi-sited ethnographic research is a good option for studying transnational migration, in particular transnational family life. Because migration involves moving from one place to another, the research should consider both sending and receiving contexts. The multi-sited approach is suitable for working with a migrant population as it allows access to places and participants who have references to migrants, permitting the researcher to access different social, affective, and territorial spaces of the migrants.

Sample characterization and data collection

The parents who were interviewed had been living in the host country for between ten and 23 years. The migration was mainly motivated by economic factors and the search for a better life. The children of the interviewed parents are aged between eleven and 25 years old. Two of the parents have never met their children because they were born after the parent had already gone to Portugal.

These migrant parents do not maintain a conjugal or emotional relationship with the other parent of the child, as most of them have blended families, that is,

⁴ See the work of Marcus, 1995, 2009; Gille & ÓRiain, 2002; Hage, 2005; Nadai and Maeder, 2005, 2009; Mazzucato, 2008; Falzon, 2009; Lapegna, 2009; Amelina, 2010; Boccagni, 2010, 2012; Coleman & Hellermann, 2011, Pasura, 2011.

families that are constituted by one parent, children from a previous marriage, and a new spouse.

Four of the respondents have a blended family as they have children in Portugal that were born from a relationship with a new partner. According to Lobo (2005) these families are the result of the ‘outputs of successive unions and integrate parents, children, stepparents, stepchildren, grandparents, siblings, half-siblings’.

Most of the interviewees live in a suburban area of Lisbon, and none live in the city centre. These migrant parents have relatively low educational qualifications and have low skilled jobs. Only one of the respondents has completed high school. Due to the economic crisis that is currently affecting Portugal most of the interviewees were unemployed. The two parents that were employed worked in the construction and the catering sectors.

The majority of the caregivers are women, a fact that can be related to the role of females within Angolan families. Women are organisers, carers, and providers of basic livelihood. Costa and Rodrigues (2007:145), in a study with families and looking to the survival strategies and the social reproduction in Luanda and Maputo, state that, in Luanda, there is a ‘predominance of matrilineal families’.

All the children that were interviewed had a kinship relationship with the caregivers: sons/daughters, nephews/nieces, grandsons/granddaughters. This shows the role of the enlarged family in the Angolan society. For Angolans, providing care to children within the extended family is seen as natural and is very common (Øien, 2006). A child moving to the care of another family member with greater economic possibilities is common, especially for those who come from provinces where the structural resources, especially schools, are limited, or who have poorer living conditions. Also in the cases where there is a migration of one of the parents, the extended family often assumes a crucial role in providing childcare. Although the most typical situation involves the child staying under the care of the other parent, in many cases the child is under the care of family members of the migrant parent. It should be noted that the latter situations occur especially in cases where there is no longer a marital relationship between the parents and there has been a remarriage of the parent at home, or there is lack of economic capacity to provide care for the child. Concerning the children, seven interviews were made with children who belong to triads. Interviewed children were mainly male (4M/3F) and aged between 11 and 25⁵ years old.

⁵ Despite the use of the concept of child under the TCRAf-Eu Project, include only individuals aged between 0 and 21 years, the information provided by the migrant parent was that his child is 21 years old. We decided to include this interview in the study because it’s symptomatic of the parent–children relation at a distance.

The data was collected through semi-structured interviews, based on pre-designed scripts for each different participant. All the scripts covered the following topics: the decisions regarding care and caregivers; the organisation of care; education, apprenticeship, and child work; satisfaction and impact of the care arrangement; conflicts, negotiation, and solutions concerning the care arrangement; the impact of TCRA arrangements and reciprocity, rights, and responsibilities; the migration history of the parent (specific for parents); and household and everyday life, relationship with the parent(s), relationship with the caregiver and with others who are also likely to give care and take on child responsibilities (addressed specifically to children). Direct observation of the contexts was also conducted and TCRA maps were developed, so as to systematise information and to obtain access to other important people involved in the care. Next we will address issues related to the family and to the everyday life in which the childcare takes place.

FAMILY IN ANGOLA

Families are not all alike, and the so called ‘European family’ and ‘African family’ have distinct characteristics related to cultural traits and the social structure, therefore there is a complexity of family structural forms.

According to Queirós (2010), Angolan society includes two types of family structure: the ‘traditional family’ type and the ‘European family’ type. The author argues that the traditional family is usually extensive and may be polygamous, this being particularly prevalent in rural areas, even though it is also possible to find this type of family structure in the urban population. In Queirós’s opinion, ‘In families structured according to the traditional system, in general the processes of marriage, parenthood and obeying the principle of heredity uterine lineage (...) the children belong to the mother and family are linked to this’. Regarding the European type family, the author states that it constitutes the legal reference in Angola, saying that ‘the family organisation of European type can be in the form of nuclear family in the strict sense — consisting of father, mother and children, or according to some variants of the extended consanguine family, or a combination of the two predominant types of families: traditional and European’.

The Family Code of the Republic of Angola lacks an explicit definition of family, but in Article 1 concerning the protection of the family, built on the fundamental principles of the code it is considered that ‘the family as the fundamental nucleus of society organisation, is the subject protection of the State, whether in marriage or in de facto union’.

In Angola it seems that the extended family is prevalent. In addition to the couple and their children, this type of family integrates other members such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins, all living nearby or in the same household. Costa and Rodrigues (2007:145) reported that the population growth in the city of Luanda is related to the search for better living and working conditions of migrants, but also because of the war, which resulted in the adaptation of rural forms of living to new forms of urban life. This change led to a readjustment of the family model, from extensive to extended.

In our case study, none of the children were residing with, or under the care of, individuals not belonging to their close family. Specifically, most of the interviewed children were living with their mother, and the remainder living with their grandparents. Based on children's descriptions, the houses where they live are too small to accommodate all the people who live there, even though children do not seem to have the perception that there is a lack of space. The number of people living in the households of respondents in Angola tends to be higher compared to households in Portugal.

Regarding the parents living in Portugal, in all the cases examined there was no conjugal relationship with the other parent of the child. These parents were in new relationships or had constituted new families. They encompass single-parent families or blended families.

Children's daily routines

The interviews with children revealed that their everyday life takes place between school and home. Most of the children are attending school, except for three cases where the child has 'temporarily' stopped studying. These children have stopped studying due to financial difficulties which have prevented them from paying the school tuition fees. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that during the interviews they have shown willingness to go back to school. The house is a space of conviviality, of the realisation of homework from school and household chores. All the children interviewed said they do domestic tasks; these tasks can be varied and include taking out the rubbish, washing the dishes, tidying the room, cooking, and in some cases taking care of siblings or cousins. The interviews also reveal that household chores are performed by both boys and girls, which hints that during the period of childhood/youth gender roles are more equal.

'My tasks were dishwashing and cleaning the floor.' 19 year old boy-triad 6

'Yes, we do different tasks on turns. If I washed the dishes today, tomorrow my cousin washes the dishes, tidies the house.' 16 year old girl-triad 3

The performance of domestic chores is considered, by parents and caregivers, as an important activity that is part of a child's educational process, through which they learn to have a sense of responsibility and discipline. It is seen as preparation for the future.

'I think they do this to prepare them for future life. To learn how, one day, when they don't have to live with their parents, they already know what they have to do, or what is the right for a woman to do inside a house.' Parent 1

'Oh, yes she helps! And that is her duty, she has to learn... it's part of the African education. Are the duties of a house... Everyone has to do the housework, in the country side you have to work in the fields and search for cassava in the field. Not here... housework, cleaning house... we don't have servants. Then she has to do the housework... when she goes to her husband, she will already be prepared.' Caregiver 3

This last statement also shows that the fulfillment of domestic chores by children, besides its pedagogical function, also has an economic usefulness, since it reduces the need for outsourcing a service, that is, to hire other people. The interviews with parents and caregivers revealed that they also performed domestic chores when they were children.

The number of interviews that were conducted does not allow for the generalisation of these findings about the daily life of children in transnational families. However, the daily life of children encompasses several areas in which routines are influenced by how their care is organised. Next, we will look more closely into how the care of these children is arranged.

THE ORGANISATION OF CARE AT A DISTANCE

As in other African countries (Goody, 1978; Alber, 2003) the fostering of children constitutes an ancient practice in Angola. It is a tradition that is strongly embedded in the population; it is seen as a common way to raise children and for dealing with day-to-day difficulties. This practice is closely related to a family's financial inability to raise their children or to send them to school, and gives them hope that their children will have better opportunities and thus be able to reciprocate with help for the family later on. Fostering practices in Angola are mainly informal and TCRA fostering is not usual based on our direct observation in the course of the fieldwork, and according to the information provided by the key participants' testimonies.

When parents decide to migrate, the decision to choose a caregiver that will take care of their children constitutes the first step in the organisation of care. Because of the central role that the extended family has in the lives of Angolans, the decision of choosing one caregiver is usually made with great security and ease. Parents said that it was quite simple to find a caregiver for their children. None of them mentioned the necessity for specific arrangements or difficulties in finding a caregiver. Also the caregivers with whom we spoke accepted taking care of the children because they are regarded as ‘family’.

‘The mother contacted me, explained me why...and the girl...I received, as granddaughter, I received her and she is here.’ Caregiver 4

‘Yes, he’s my grandson, he has to be in my care.’ Caregiver 6

The caregivers interviewed did not mention the existence of a formal care agreement. The commitment to take care of children is justified based on family solidarity. Although they seem to expect some kind of help or support, they did not express it as being something negotiated when they took on this role. Although all the parents said they were satisfied with the care arrangements that their children had, during the interviews some parents revealed they did not have a profound knowledge of how their children’s care was organised. This lack of knowledge indicates a certain level of ignorance as to who is responsible for specific tasks and in most cases, assumes that all responsibilities are supported by the caregiver. It should also be noted that two of the parents interviewed, when asked about the child’s primary caregiver, provided information about the previous (not the current) caregiver, who was a member of their families. This was confirmed during the interviews with children and caregivers, which might raise some questions regarding the completeness of information that the migrant parents have regarding changes in who is the caregiver, or more generally concerning the child circulation between family members.

Children are aware of how their care is arranged, but in some cases they may not have a sense of who is responsible for paying for the goods and services from which they benefit. The analysis of the TCRA maps showed that not all parents have included themselves in the group of ‘important people’ that take care of the children, mirroring the testimonies of some children who also did not mention their migrant parent as an important person in the care that is provided to them. We also noted that when the primary caregiver of the child is the mother, the tendency was for her to be responsible for all matters related to the provision of care.

When the child lives in a household that includes grandparents and aunts and uncles there is a tendency for grandparents to be responsible for basic care tasks, like feeding or medical care, while the monitoring of school related tasks (e.g. helping with homework, or going to school meetings) falls under the responsibility of the uncles or aunts who live in the house.

‘I’ve always been in charge of her health ... school and church is my daughter.’
Caregiver 4

The involvement and participation in care that is given at a distance by parents — both contribute to the recognition that the enactment of parental duties generates identification and closeness between parent and child.

PROXIMITY — THE PERCEPTIONS OF PARENT AND CHILD

The parents who were interviewed described the distance as ‘painful’, stressing that the passage of time only contributes to exacerbating this feeling. Children, on the other hand, react differently — while some claim to feel the impact of being apart, others seem to have become accustomed to it. The maintenance and encouragement of emotional closeness between parents and children are important factors necessary to minimise the negative effects of the distance in the relationship.

Although all parents referred to having a good relationship with their children overseas, even those who they have never physically met, some children do not seem to feel such proximity. The fact that some parents have never gone back to visit Angola since they migrated, or when they went they did not have the opportunity to get together with their children, might, somehow, contribute to different feelings being experienced by parents and children regarding what ‘being close to’ means. We also noticed that some children, when asked about the people who are important in their lives, did not mention the name of their parent, which may indicate the lack of proximity.

The lack of proximity between parents and children is visible in ‘small things’ such as not knowing the correct age of the children, the year/class they are enrolled in school, or avoiding certain subjects, like those that involve a higher degree of intimacy (e.g. sexuality). Some children mentioned it was difficult to speak to their parents because of the lack of proximity/intimacy between them. Next we present some answers that children gave when asked ‘what kind of things do you talk to your dad about?’

‘He only talks that he’s going to come... he’s going to come in December. He’s going to come and pick us up, me and my sister. That’s all he says... he just speaks that I... we both have to go there. With no one wanting to go, no, we got to go anyway... I’m not used to him.’
19 year old girl – triad 1

Occasionally some children said they felt inhibited when speaking to the parent about certain issues, because they did not want to make them worried. They say that sometimes there are issues that they do not want to share with their migrant parents.

‘No, sometimes I don’t talk to her about it. I don’t want to worry her about it’
16 year old girl – triad 3

In summary, the interviews indicate that the emotional proximity between parents and children is affected by factors such as duration of separation, the number of visits that took place during the migration period, the frequency of communication, and the variety of topics covered during their communications. Communication constitutes a key factor for effective maintenance of social and emotional ties, and contributes to assuaging the absence of the migrant parent. For this reason, we will now proceed to examine how communication is established within these families.

THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PARENT AND CHILD

Communication plays a key role in how people relate to others. The development and improvements achieved in transportation and communication technologies — faster, with greater coverage, and more affordable — have contributed to migrants being able to maintain closer contact with their families and with their culture of origin. Appadurai (1996) argues that, due to the new globalising flows of media and mass migration, migration of people is taking place more than ever, and people are becoming deterritorialised from their native or local homes, and are thus transcending national boundaries and travelling transnationally. The author builds ‘a theory of the rupture that takes media and migration as its two major and interconnected diacritics and explores their joint effect on the work of the imagination as a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity’ (1996:3).

Communication within transnational families plays a major role with regard to the maintenance of family ties and feelings of belonging. In the interviewed triads the communication between children and the migrant parent was generally

performed using mobile phones. Children who claimed to use communication tools other than the mobile phone (Facebook and Messenger) were few.

It was also notable that parents and children have a different notion about the number of times they speak with each other. Parents tend to claim to speak more often with their children compared to how often children believe they speak to their parents. The excerpts below illustrate the differences in how members of the triad perceived the frequency with which parents and children talk. Interviewees were asked ‘how often you speak to your child/parent?’.

‘Now, I haven’t talk to him for about 6 months. I spoke with him, he asked for something, and I sent it, but now 6 months have passed since the last time I’ve spoken with him. But I speak with his mother’s sister, of whom I have the number. But when we maintained more frequent contact, I used mobile... twice a week’
Parent triad 5

‘I spoke with him three times.’ 11 year old boy – triad 5

‘About Ana I talk more with my sister, in relation to Olivia I speak with her mother... I’m addicted to talk with my daughters, and I think it’s even because of distance and longing, in a month I call over 10 times. In a month, I use two phone numbers 91 and 92, and both phones have always credit and I call almost all Sundays or Saturdays of the month, I always call.’ Parent 1

‘I just talked to him this Sunday, when I was there in Sambizanga... hum. But he doesn’t usually call to my phone number, he calls to my aunt.’
19 year old girl – triad 1

Usually parents take the initiative to establish telephone contact.

‘It always has been me calling, especially because calling from there to here is very expensive! For us here it is cheaper.’ Parent 1

According to children, school is one of the main topics of conversation with their migrant parents.

‘Knowing about her health, sometimes she asks how school is going ... these minimum conversations.’ 16 year old girl – triad 3

Other topics, such as health, behavior, or projection of the family’s reunification, are also usual in the parent–child conversation.

'He only talks that he's going to come... he's going to come in December. He's going to come and take us, me and my sister. That's all he talks.'
19 year old girl – triad 1

Caregivers tend to find that the maintenance of communication between migrant parents and children is important in order for a healthy and close relationship to be maintained. They consider this as one of the migrant parent's duties. Alongside the communication and monitoring from a distance, other responsibilities include the provision of care. The interviews reveal that parental responsibilities are mostly related to communication with the child, and assisting the caregiver by sending remittances. Nonetheless, the interviews also show that the financial support provided by migrant parents is sporadic, being more effective in times of greatest need, such as illness. Furthermore, some parents seem to contribute to their children's school expenses (tuition fees and materials, such as books, notebooks, smocks — used as a school uniform), also there is greater regularity of remittances when the caregiver belongs to the family of the migrant parent.

CONCLUSION

This short analysis sought to portray family relationships at a distance and how they impact children and parents, taking into account the organisation of care, the perception of closeness and the communication.

The organisation of care shows an informal character, and family networks are extremely important concerning the care of the children — the children are mostly under the care of relatives. Overall, the parents interviewed did not have a deep knowledge of how care is structured, even though this seems to be rooted in the relationship of trust they have with the family.

Most of the children interviewed seem to be satisfied with their care arrangement. They say they miss their parent who is living abroad, but they are not particularly affected by his or her absence, maybe because in many cases these correspond to a separation that has taken place a long time ago. In the TCRA maps of some children, the migrant parent is not mentioned in the list of people who are important to them; it was also noted that in some cases children do not feel enough emotional closeness to their migrant parents. Concerning the impact on children, the distance from their migrant parent is felt mainly as moments of 'sadness'. They report feeling sad because their parents are far away, and they worry about them. The children did not refer to any negative impacts of their parents' absence regarding school performance or health. In turn, the migrant

parents said they were satisfied with the care that they provided to the children, considering that children were under the care of the best caregiver they could have. However, it became evident that there is some unawareness as to how the care for children is organised. Parents were revealed to miss their children, and to experience periods of sadness and concern, especially when children are sick. Still, despite the negative emotional impact of being distant from their children, parents said that it did not compromise their professional performance.

The interviews also reveal an apparent gender balance regarding the household chores that children performed. Bray (2009) states that in sub-Saharan Africa women and girls are those responsible for performing the majority of care in the home, also mentioning that according to earlier literature boys were given a caring role only when there were no girls available. Taking into account the testimonies of children and parents (mostly men), this trend in Angola, does not seem so evident, as both boys and girls seem to be responsible for carrying out household chores and taking care of other children.

As noticed, sometimes the participants have different views of the events. The narratives of immigrant parents express participation in children's lives; on the other hand, in the discourse of children, such participation does not seem to be so intense. Apparently, migrant parents feel closer to their children than children feel closer to their migrant parents. The communication and visits, through which parents monitor and participate in the lives of children seem to moderate the degree of divergence in parents and children's perceptions of how close their relationship is. As Parreñas (2008:1059) states, 'growing up in transnational families presents a wide range of challenges for children. For one, the distance of time and space between migrant parents and their children threatens to weaken intergenerational relations (...) both temporal and geographical separation breeds unfamiliarity, which in turn may lead to variegated feelings of insecurity and loss of intimacy for children'. It seems important that the communication between parents and children is maintained, so that social ties, intimacy, and familiarity, are preserved. According to Scott (2010), the links between different generations of internationalised families contribute to overcoming the impediments to mobility, with a high symbolic value for the unification of the group. Despite the distance, these migrant parents seem to have the same cultural expectations, namely to maintain traditional family values. The results of this study cannot be generalised because the sample is small; however, this contributes to the analysis and discussion of the issue of parenting from a distance.

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THE CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND¹ AND THEIR PLACE IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE. THE CASE STUDY OF BABICA VILLAGE

INTRODUCTION

*In Babica, in almost each house there is someone who has left abroad. [...] The lots of families separated by migration are very tragic. There were a lot of dramatic scenes next to the Consulate of the United States, when not all family members got visas.*² [K.02] These words of one of Babica inhabitants describe in a very good way a common phenomenon existing in this village. Transatlantic migrations, which are very popular in this region, require a very specific family migration strategy. However, before the actual analysis is started, a few words about the studied region should be written.

Babica is a village located in south-eastern Poland, in the Province of Podkarpacie. The beginnings of migration history of Babica date back to the 80s of the 19th century. Migration fever covered the whole village very quickly. The first studies on emigration from this region were conducted by a sociologist Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz. Her research was carried out during the Interwar Period. She presented the conclusions of her studies in the book: *The Village of Malopolska*

¹ In the United States the term *children left behind* is commonly used in American educational programs, called “No Children Left Behind”. The main aim of these programs is an improvement of the individual outcomes in the education of children by establishing the determined standards of the education, which are equal for each selected grade level (<http://www2.ed.gov.nclb/landing.jhtml>). However in this article this term refers to the cases of children left in their home country by migrant parents.

² Own translation of the author. „W Babicy praktycznie w każdym domu ktoś jest za granicą. [...] Najtragiczniejsze rodziny rozdzielone. Sceny dantejskie pod konsulatami, jak nie wszyscy z rodziny dostawali wizę.”[K.02]

and the American Emigration. A Study of Babica Village (Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska. Studium wsi Babica powiatu rzeszowskiego, Poznań-Warszawa 1938), which is considered to be one of the best publications on emigration from the Polish village. The researcher tried to indicate the impact of emigration on the structure of the social organization of rural local community. This detailed study, carried out in Babica by Duda-Dziewierz, gave the author of this article the possibility to continue her research in this village.

The main aim of this article is an analysis of the situation of children left behind in their local community by migrant parents. The phenomenon of children left behind is commonly studied (Ehrenreich, Hochschild 2003; Parreñas 2005; Heymann 2006). There is much research on Polish children whose parents left abroad (Urbańska 2008, 2009; Pawlak 2012; Walczak 2008; Danilewicz 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Danielewicz 1998). Absence of parents is usually considered in the context of negative consequences of the migration process. It is noteworthy that in Poland, the term 'Eurosieroty' (Euro-orphans) is sometimes used to analyze this phenomenon (Winnicka 2007; Kozak 2010; Węgiński 2008). However, this term has a rather pejorative connotation, and it does not exactly reflect the actual situation of these children. Parents staying abroad can still perform the functions associated with the role of parent (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Avila 1997). Therefore, using of the term 'Eurosieroty' in relation to children left behind is in many cases quite inadequate, and the term is not applied in this article.

METHODS

The research on which this analysis is based was carried out in Babica from 2009 to 2012, and in the main destinations of emigrants from Babica in the United States (New Jersey, Detroit and Chicago) from January to May 2013. This study is a part of the doctoral dissertation which is being prepared by the author of this article. The research is still continued. The data was collected by using the ethnosurvey method. The research process consisted of three stages: monographic research, survey, and in-depth semi-structured interviews. The study was conducted among 107 respondents. The sample was selected with the use of the snowball technique.

The analysis carried out in this article is based on the cases of 42 families in which at least one parent emigrated to the United States leaving their children behind in Poland. The interviews were conducted among the migrant parents, their children left behind in Babica, and the caregivers (the other parent, grandparents or other family member). The following table presents the structure of the researched families (Table 1).

As mentioned before, the research was conducted among respondents in both Poland and the United States. The analysis of the studied phenomenon from these both perspectives, the country of origin and the country of destination (Thistlethwaite 1960), makes possible to consider the situation of children left behind and their parents in the broader social context. These two perspectives enable also to grasp this phenomenon in its entirety and allow to explore this phenomenon from different accounts: children left behind, migrant parents and caregivers.

Table 1.

The structure of researched families

| | Father-migrant | Mother-migrant | Both Parents-migrants | Total number |
|--|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Number of migrants | 10 | 26 | 6 | 42 |
| Number of children in each family: | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 9 |
| 2 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 13 |
| 3 | 4 | 10 | 4 | 18 |
| 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Number of migrant single-parents | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Number of families with children left with: | | | | |
| 1) the other parent | 10 | 25 | 0 | 35 |
| 2) grandparents | 0 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| 3) other family member | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Length of stay in the U.S.: | | | | |
| 3–6 months | 0 | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| 1–2 years | 1 | 5 | 2 | 8 |
| 10–15 years | 5 | 3 | 0 | 8 |
| 15–20 years | 2 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| 25–30 years | 1 | 7 | 2 | 10 |
| over 30 years | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the conducted studies.

The research on migration of families can be quite problematic and demanding, especially when we talk about families separated by the migration process. This kind of studies are sometimes conducted only from one perspective:

children left in the country of origin or migrant parents in the country of their immigration. However, only the analysis of this phenomenon from both of these perspectives is essential for a complete consideration of the situation of migrant families.

Conducting research on migrant families causes also other problems which will be explained on the concrete example of research presented in this article. Firstly, as already mentioned, researching all family members is not always possible. There are of course many reasons: from the simple reluctance of respondents to participate in the study, to lack of opportunities to meet and interview them, for example when a parent is abroad.

Secondly, as already emphasized, the interviews were conducted among parents (migrant parents and those left behind), children left behind and their caregivers. Conducting interviews among such groups of respondents was not always simple. What should be noted is that at the beginning of research, Babica inhabitants were quite distrustful, although the researcher comes from this region. Therefore, the respondents were sampled by using the snowball method.

Moreover, the difficulty of interviewing these families was first of all associated with the subject of this research. The separation of family members was equally hard for children left behind and their parents. The children presented diverse attitudes to research: from those willing to take part in the study, to those who did not want to talk about the leaving of their parents.

The interviews with parents were sometimes also quite difficult. Some of them treated emigration and leaving their children as an embarrassing issue. On the one hand, they felt guilty that they could not be with their children. On the other hand, they stressed their sacrifice and satisfaction that they could secure a better economic status or even better future for their children, which could be the way to suppress the feeling of guilt.

Causes of emigration and its mechanism are very important issues of this analysis. Therefore, the considerations presented in this article begin from the short characteristics of emigration from Babica to the United States.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRATION FROM BABICA TO THE UNITED STATES

The first migration streams from Babica to the United States began to flow in the 80s of the nineteenth century. They were dominated by men, who accounted for 80% of migrants (Duda-Dziwierz 1938). The role of women in contemporary migrations was mainly limited to the companion feature, designed to deal with the house in the destination country. Only a few of them undertook work

in the United States. Women who emigrated to work usually were unmarried. Therefore, the purposes of their emigration was not only economic but also matrimonial.

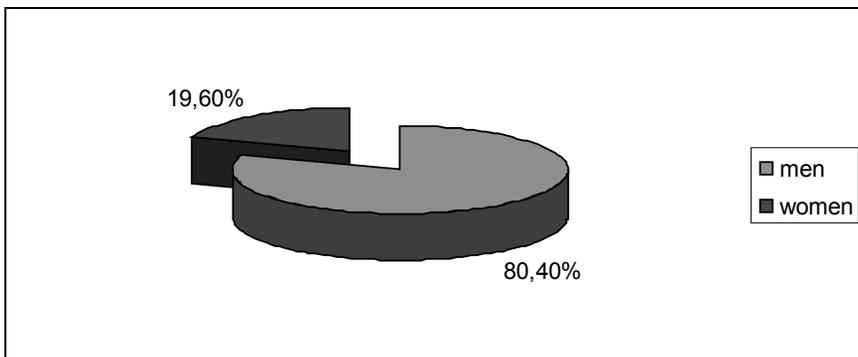
The salaries of working women were much lower than those of men. The women from Babica worked in the United States mainly in factories or as servants. However, as it was emphasized earlier, the man was the first in almost every family to pave the migration way, wandering for the economic reasons and usually working in a factory. Nevertheless, the premise of each trip was a return to their native country. In the United States, they had to only raise funds to support their families left in their home village.

When the man was leaving, the woman had to take up all his duties on the farm. Then her position in the social hierarchy of the village usually increased. A lot of responsibilities rested also on children. They had to work very hard. Children who emigrated with their parents to the United States also undertook paid work to support their families. Though, they also earned significantly less than the men.

Nowadays, a similar phenomenon can be observed: in most cases, one family member leaves to earn money for some specific goals. However, in contrast to the emigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which was dominated by men, in the current migration streams the predominance of women can be easily observed (Chart 1 and 2.)

Chart 1.

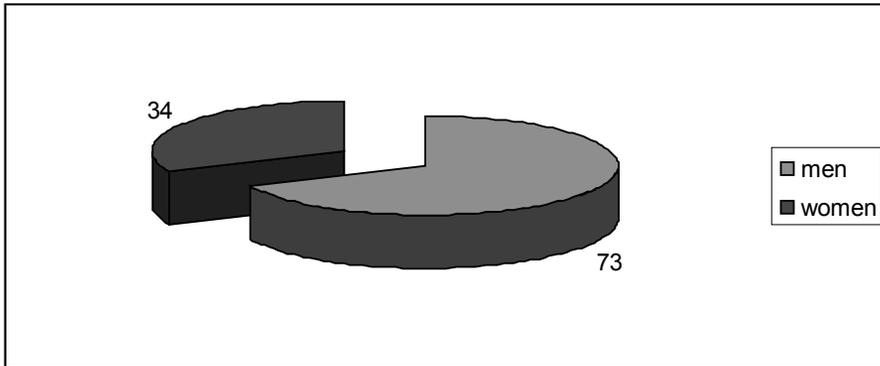
The sex composition of Babica migrants from the late 19th and early 20th century (in %)



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Duda-Dziewierz K., *Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska. Studium wsi Babica powiatu rzeszowskiego*, Warszawa-Poznań 1938.

Chart 2.

The sex composition of present migrants from Babica



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the conducted studies.

The study shows that the factor generating the emigration of women from Babica is mainly a higher unemployment rate among them compared to that among men. There is therefore a situation where a man holds the job in the country and takes the responsibilities associated with caring for children and home, while a woman migrates, becoming the breadwinner.

The increase in the migration of women is also the effect of the rise in the demand for ‘hands’ in typically female occupations, such as a domestic help, nanny or a caretaker, resulting from the absence of the native workforce in those sectors (Ehrenreich, Hochschild 2003). This demand on the labor market in the United States reflects the occupational structure of the immigrants from Babica. Most of women-respondents found employment as housekeepers whose duties included also caring for children or the elderly.

These specific occupations have significant impact on migration strategies of those women. Working as a housekeeper or nanny is associated with the necessity of staying in a house of the employer. It is the main obstacle to the family reunification in the country of immigration. Therefore, women migrate alone, leaving their children in their home country. However, there are also other reasons of family separation due to migration, such as personal reasons, legal factors or simply a family strategy.

As the personal reasons, respondents mentioned mainly the reluctance of their children to leave. There were also some problems with obtaining a visa for all family members. Finally, the decision to split and the emigration of only one or more household members was a result of the family strategy. Migration was

usually supposed to be only a temporary process to earn money for some specific goals and quickly return home. The selection of the household members of to migrate was related to the type of profession that was available in the destination country. About two-thirds of respondents had arranged jobs before their trip to the United States.

The contemporary migration streams flowing from Babica to the United States are mainly created by undocumented migrants. Most of them arrived to the United States with a tourist visa, whose provision they broke by prolonging their stay and undertaking work in this country.

The characteristic feature of the migration process from Babica to the U.S. is still a very dense migration network, which started creating in this village in the late nineteenth century. It is one of the most important factors maintaining the transatlantic emigration of Babica inhabitants. Almost all respondents left to someone well-known to them: a family member or acquaintance living in the U.S. The emigration from this village to America has always been chain migration. Resulting from the existence of migration chains the main destinations of emigration of Babica inhabitants to the United States remain almost unchanged. They still emigrate mainly to three regions of this country: New Jersey (Linden and other neighboring localities), Illinois (Chicago) and Michigan (Detroit).

From the beginning of transatlantic movements from Babica, migration chains were based on blood relations as well as neighboring relations. Nowadays, migration chains are created mainly among family members. Migration histories of many families from this region are often very long and rich. In the case of more than half of the respondents these stories date back to the beginnings of the migration to *the new land* from this village. Departures to the United States became almost family tradition there. In the same time, transatlantic migrations are also a family economic strategy and the way of life for many of Babica inhabitants, which is chosen from generation to generation. Each studied family has very wide experience of emigration to the U.S., started and collected by their ancestors. Many contemporary migrants have also experienced the lots of being the children left behind by their migrant parents. In their adult life, they reproduce the pattern of behavior of their parents and they also migrate alone, leaving their children in Poland.

As a result of all of these factors, the phenomenon of children left behind is quite common in Babica. The position of these children in the social structure is analyzed in the following section of this article.

CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND AND THE EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

According to Everett S. Lee, the decision to emigrate is the result of a rational consideration of the pros and cons (Lee 1966). However, a migrant during his or her decision-making process can not predict everything. The migration process is related to many sometimes very difficult choices.

The emigration to the United States seems to be a very specific process in relation to the phenomenon of children left behind. From the beginning of the emigration from Polish lands to this country, many people decided to leave their families in their home villages and set out on a journey in search of a better life for themselves and their relatives.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the transatlantic movements became a very popular phenomenon. Many families remained separated for several years. The contacts of emigrants with their families left at home were then very hard. They could only write letters, which were sent to family villages by people who returned. In those days, the very strong social control, operating among village inhabitants, helped to raise children, who often did not recognize their fathers when they returned after a long absence. Money earned by migrants was mainly earmarked for the purchase of the land, building a house or paying the debts. The main aim of buying the land was largely protection of children at the time of the distribution of land. Parents tried to make the adult lives of their offspring easier. Then the social position was mainly determined by the size of the property. Therefore, entrepreneurial migrants who managed to save a lot of money were able to provide their children with a relatively good social position in their local community.

Nowadays, the emigration to the United States seems to continue influencing the position of the migrant and his or her family in the social structure of their local community, although to a much lesser extent. In the next parts of this paper, the place of children left behind in this structure is analyzed. An account is given of several factors that affect the situation of these children, such as 1) the length of stay of their parents abroad, 2) the departure one or both parents or 3) a status of the caregivers.

THE IMPACT OF THE LENGTH OF STAY ABROAD OF MIGRANT PARENTS ON THE SITUATION OF CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND

Long-time migrations are an integral part of transatlantic movements. The restrictive immigration law of the United States is conducive to long and often

illegal staying in the territory of this country. Tables 1 and 2 show the length of stay of migrants according to gender.

Table 2.

The average length of stay of researched families from Babica in the U.S.

| | Father-migrant | Mother-migrant | Both- Parents-migrants |
|---|----------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Average length of stay in the U.S. (in years) | 13 | 15 | 7 |

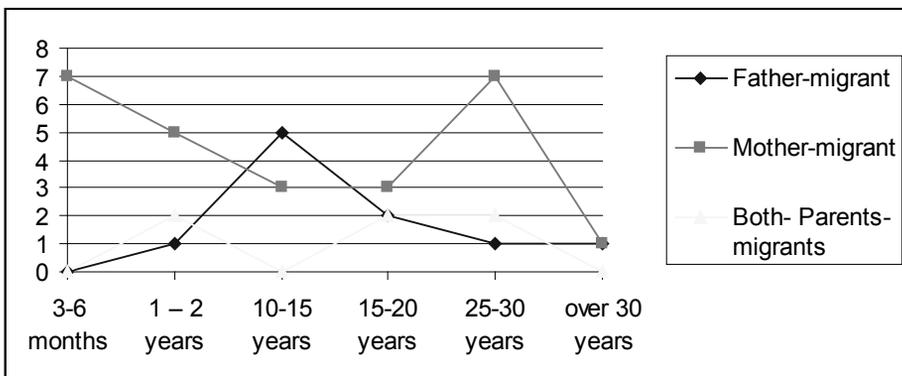
Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the conducted studies.

As it can be seen, the emigration from Babica to the U.S. is mainly a long-term process. More than two-thirds of respondents spent more than 10 years in this country. The length of stay of a parent abroad is one of the most important factors in the analysis of the situation of children left behind.

Chart 3 below shows that the migration strategy of women is more diverse than that of the men. Fathers rather emigrate for a long time, although initially they plan to spend only one or two years abroad. Mothers leave their children for a short period such as 6 months as well as for much a long – from 10 to even 50 years.

Chart 3.

The length of stay in the U.S. according to gender of parent-migrant from Babica



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the conducted studies.

The length of stay abroad of a parent or parents impacts on the strength and quality of family ties. The United States is a specific case in comparison with the emigration from Poland to European countries. The restrictive immigration policy

of this country is a very important factor determining the migration strategy of each family. As it was pointed out earlier, migrants from 27 families from Babica spent more than 10 years abroad. More than a half of them had never visited their family in Poland since their departure, which was a consequence of their illegal status in the U.S.

Illegal migrants usually stay in destination countries as long as they can or as long as they reach their goals. For some part of my respondents, this goal was earning money for buying a car, building a house or for current expenditure by the family left behind. The majority of respondents emphasized the need to raise money for the education of their children as the main aim of their emigration, because they wanted a better life for their children. They thought that thanks to the higher education it will be easier for their children to find a job in Poland and their children will not have to leave their home country and work as hard as their parents do. Most of these children were well-educated and found good jobs in their adult lives. Only one-third of the children from the researched families thought about the emigration to the U.S. or any other country in the future.

The most important factor maintaining the ties is the quality of contact between migrants and their families left behind. New technologies make these contacts much easier now. However, for some of my young respondents these contacts were not enough. In their opinion, phone or skype calls could not replace real contacts with their parents. Some of them, especially younger children, did not even want to talk to their parents on the phone, because they probably could not understand this situation.

The loosening of family ties can be easily observed in some cases of the studied families. Parents returning after 15, 20, 30 or even 50 years, as it was in the case of one family, were the long-awaited guests, but they were often known only from photographs. After their returning, they could see that their hard work abroad had brought benefits. However, they often felt sorry for so many years spent in separation from their relatives, because they noticed that they did not really know each other at all. Migrants who came back after so many years had often problems with adaptation, they could even experience the culture shock. Their roles and related expectations were often modified. Women did not take care of children of their employers any longer, but they needed to take care of their own children and grandchildren. Therefore, suddenly this remote virtual world became real, and for some of them finding their way in it was again very difficult. At the same time, children needed to take care of their parents after their returning.

To sum up, it can be seen that the length of migration is a very important factor which impacts not only on the strength of family ties but also on the whole family structure. Although parents still maintain their status in the family

structure, they can not perform all roles assigned to this status. Some parts of their roles are transferred to the caregivers of the children. Therefore, the positions of all members in the family structure seem to remain unchanged, however in many spheres caregivers can often become closer and even more important for children than parents.

The roles of caregivers in the case of emigration of one or both parents.

Men's push emigration for money has been a traditional life strategy in this region, known here for years. Therefore, the absence of the father seems to be nothing unusual. This is also largely a result of the traditional division of roles: a man – a breadwinner, a woman – a housewife. However, this traditional division of roles has already nothing in common with the reality. As it was noticed earlier, nowadays women predominate in the migrations from Babica. The emigration of one of family members changes the traditional division of roles. However, it does not apply only to the roles of parents who due to their functioning within a transnational network, can still perform their parental duties (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Avila 1997). It rather applies to children, in relation to whom expectations rise at the time of the emigration of one or both parents. In the case of the emigration of one parent, the majority of his or her obligations is transferred to the other parent and their children. In the case of the emigration of both parents the situation is more complicated. Children usually have to change their place of living, move to the house or apartment of their caregivers. It is often related to a change of their social environment and it increases the stress caused by the leaving of their parents. In the cases of emigration of both parents, for all of the respondents the caregiver was a person who they knew very well and were on very good terms with him or her, which made the separation with their parents little easier for them. However, their position and expectations related to them were usually modified. They became part of another structure and needed to find their own place in it.

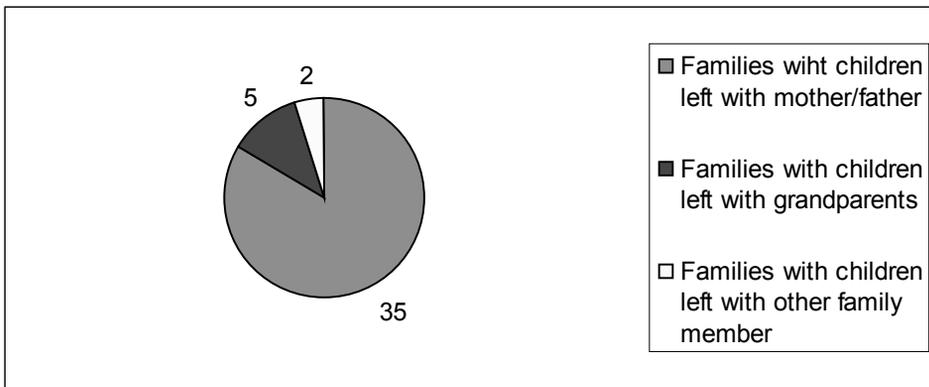
In the cases studied in Babica, children were left with one of the parents, grandparents or with any other family member (Chart 4). There were various attitudes of children to the caregivers. Almost all respondents stressed that other family members could not replace their real parents. However, they usually established very strong bonds with their caregivers. For some of them caregiver became much closer to them than their absent parents. Almost all respondents emphasized that their caregivers assured them a good care.

Different children saw their parents' decisions to emigrate in different ways. Most of them were grateful to their parents and appreciated their sacrifice made for them. However, some of them did not understand why their parents had left and it was hard for them to accept this situation. In those situations, the caregivers

usually tried to explain to the children why their parents had left and they cared for the good relations between the children and their parents abroad. Therefore, the role of the caregivers in migrant families is crucial for the functioning of these families.

Chart 4.

The composition of caregivers of the children left behind by the parents-migrants from Babica



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the conducted studies.

A CASE STUDY OF BABICA FAMILY

For a more detailed analysis, this section of the article refers to the specific case of one family from Babica. Full names have been deliberately altered. Family Pasternak consists of 5 members: mother Ewa, father Wojciech and three sons: the eldest Piotr (currently 29 years old), Michał (27 years old) and the youngest Robert (20 years old). In 1998, Ewa and Wojciech decided to emigrate to the United States. They planned then to stay there only for 6 months in order to earn money to finish the renovation of their house. They went to their friend, who helped them to find jobs. Ewa worked as a charwoman. Wojciech found a job in a construction site. They left their children with Ewa's sister. The boys were then 14, 12 and 5 years old. However, not only the emigration of their parents was for them a source of big changes. Half a year before the emigration, whole family moved from the neighboring Lubenia to their newly built house in Babica. The event was a very significant change for the boys. The change of the school and

friends was associated with high stress. After half a year, they had to experience other changes. They moved to the house of their aunt, who already had their own three children: two daughters and son. The eldest daughter was then 15 years old, the second daughter was 14 years old, and son was 12 years old. Therefore, as can be seen, the middle daughter of the aunt was the same age as Piotr, and the son of the aunt was the same age as Michał. This situation helped the Pasternak's sons integrate with the new environment.

After 6 months Ewa and Wojciech decided to not come back to Poland. They had jobs and earned enough money to live in the U.S., and to send money to their sons to Poland. Meanwhile, in the *old country* they could probably have problems with finding jobs. Before they emigrated, Ewa did not work. She was a housewife, who took care of their youngest son. Ewa's decision not to come back was very hard for her sister. She had to take care of six children. Of course, she received money from their sister and brother-in-law, but money is not enough to raise the children.

Ewa and Wojciech made phone calls to their children every Sunday. Each conversation ended with the words *I love you*. After several years, for the youngest son Robert these words had become only an insignificant ritual. He knew his parents only from photographs, and the aunt began to play the role of mother in his life. However, she also emigrated when he was 16. She went to her husband to Ireland. Then Robert moved to his parents' house and lived alone. The second sister of her mother visited him only from time to time.

The situation of his brothers was different. Considering Ewa and Wojciech's undocumented residential status in the United States, resulting from the fact that they arrived in this country with tourist visas, they could not visit their children in Poland and the children were not able to visit their parents, either. After four years, the eldest son became adult and could get his passport. Then he got a tourist visa and went to his parents. He started working with his father in a construction site. He still lives in the U.S.

The second son, after he became adult also got a tourist visa and went to the United States during the summer holidays. However, after two months he got back to Poland, because he wanted to graduate from the high school. He also left few times for the U.S. during his study. However, currently he does not visit his parents any more. He graduated from the Cracow University of Technology (Politechnika Krakowska) and works as a construction manager in a very prosperous business in Poland.

Analyzing the history of this family one can observe the impact of emigration of parents on their children. One important phenomenon which can be noticed here is a change of strength of family ties due to migration. It can be seen how different the family ties are which bind each of the Pasternaks' children to their

parents. The eldest son Piotr is characterized by the shorter period of separation from his parents. He remembered them very well and felt very close to them. Michał met with his parents after 6 years of separation. He also felt quite close to them. He treated his aunt only as his temporary caregiver. He summed up the time spent at his aunt's house in one sentence: *By taking care of us, my aunt did not do us any great favor, because she lived thanks to the money sent her by my parents.*³ [Dz.03] However, Michał did not want to stay in the U.S., mainly because of the strong bonds created in his home country among his friends, especially because of his younger brother. He felt responsible for his brother and tried to take care of him.

Robert could visit his parents only two years ago, after 13 years of separation. It was a very emotional experience for all of them. However, his parents seemed strangers to him, known only from photographs and phone calls. He felt more involved with his aunt than his parents. He came back from the U.S. after a month and he would rather not plan to go there once again soon. The relations among their friends and family in Poland were more important for him than the emigration and life with his parents in the United States.

The history of Pasternak family can be an example of the functioning of families in which both parents emigrated to the United States. A situation of children left behind by both parents is of course most complicated for children. In those cases, migration has the biggest impact on the family and it demands a well-considered reorganization of family life. The loosening of family ties is not the only problem in this case. The lonely life of Robert in the house of his parents in the age of 16 seems to be quite disquieting. It can be observed that the initial family strategy of migration prepared before the departure, could not work for a longer time.

The example of this family also shows the children's different attitudes to the caregivers and to the emigration of their parents in relation to the length of separation. The longer the time of separation, the greater attachment to caregiver and the bigger acceptance of the decision of parents about migration. Children just get used to the situation and live according to created rules.

CONCLUSIONS

The position of Babica Americans was always very high in this community. Re-emigrants enjoyed a considerable admiration, but also aroused jealousy, particularly among people not involved in international migrations. In the

³ „Moja ciotka opiekując się nami nie zrobiła nam żadnej wielkiej przysługi, bo żyła dzięki pieniądзом przysyłanych jej przez naszych rodziców.” [Dz.03]

decades, the position of re-emigrants was always higher comparing with their position before migration. It was mainly the effect of the economic capital which they brought with them from the U.S.

The emigration of one family member affects the position of the entire family, also children. Children whose parents are abroad seem valuable friends for their peers, mainly due to things sent them by their parents. They also usually have more pocket money than other children. The position of the Pasternak's brothers was always quite high among their colleagues. They had a house, where they could organize parties, and money which they spent in an uncontrolled way. Parents staying abroad are still a source of pride. On the one hand, these children are proud when they can boast that their parents are abroad, but on the other hand, they are jealous of other children's parents staying at home.

The phenomenon of children left behind is in this region something completely normal, known here since the beginning of the emigration from this village. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the time of separation was fairly shorter. Usually, men left their families for a few years and then they got back to their home village or they brought their wives and children to the U.S. Nowadays, the period of separation includes often a significant part of childhood, adolescence period and sometimes also the adult life of child.

The emigration to the United States is a very specific case. In contrast to the emigration to European countries, regular visits of parents in Poland or their children's in the U.S. are often impossible, mainly due to the restrictive immigration policy of this country. Therefore, the maintenance of family ties at the distance seems to be quite difficult, despite recent technological developments, which in the same time makes the transnational parenthood possible.

The main aim of this paper was to analyse the position of the children left behind in the social structure of a local community. Resulting from the research, this position seems to be quite high. Most of these children are very well-educated. Thanks to the money sent by their parents, they have a much easier start in the adult life than many of their peers. They have got houses, cars and although they earn money, they are (at least to some extent) still financially supported by their parents. Life without parents teaches them to be more independent and how to cope with difficult situations. This conclusion can be found in many other studies on children left behind in virtually all regions of the world. The efforts of parents to provide their children with better future, therefore, do not go to waste. However, this aim involves sometimes a great expense, such as broken families or the accompanying longing for both children and their parents for, like it could be seen, most part of their lives. Therefore, their position in the community structure is quite comfortable, however the structure of their families is often quite complicated, and finding themselves in it can often be difficult for them.

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IV.

CHILDREN MIGRANTS IN DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS – CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

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ADAPTATION AND CULTURAL CONTACT. IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN WARSAW HIGH SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the problems of adaptation, acculturation and integration that children of immigrants in Poland are facing. The research is focused on immigrant children attending Polish schools mainly in Warsaw and investigates both the perspectives of children themselves and of school as an institution. It includes refugees, temporal employees and economic immigrant children. Adaptation in foreign school life is affected on the one hand by the primary socialization and on the other hand by the individual experience of the child in the country of immigration.

The issue of the study seems to become more and more important in Poland – the country that entered the process of globalisation already one generation ago. Globalisation, the key concept of the contemporary social sciences (Kempny, Woroniecka 2003) is a cultural fact gaining impetus. The process has its socio-cultural aspect: people from different cultural backgrounds are coming into contact with each other and it is far from smoothing away the problems relating to cultural or perceived physical differences. In this way, globalisation may actually be an exacerbating factor – being physically closer, different people do not

become culturally closer; on the contrary, they become “more stranger” (Simmel 1975; Sumner 1908; Merton 1982; Nowicka 1990; Nowicka, Łodziński 2001).

These general issues appear with particular intensity in the situation of transnational emigration. For example, the number of immigrants in Poland is growing together with the questions about the Polish educational system. Different situations of emigration produce different types of challenges for the host country’s school methods and goals.

In Poland, there are: (1) children of diplomats and long-term contract employees, whose stay in Poland is strictly determined, (2) children of economic migrants who choose between long-term stay in Poland or further migration, or even when returning home, their stay in Poland is an element of the individual life strategy of the family, and finally (3) children of political refugees and persons who attempt to receive the legal status of political refugee, whose stay in Poland and life plans for future are strictly defined by the decision of Polish authorities. This research is mainly about the first two categories of people mentioned above, the conclusions however, may be of interest for researchers dealing with children of refugees.

METHODOLOGY

There are many publications on immigrants in Poland written from various disciplines’ perspectives: demography, sociology, social anthropology and psychology. They depict numerous aspects of migrants’ life in Poland. However, all of them deal with adults. To be sure, problems of children adaptation, acculturation and assimilation have been ignored or treated marginally. In Poland, every child under 18, including a foreign child (i.e. having no Polish citizenship), has legal right to free education. It means that all immigrant children, having their own language, cultural habits and patterns of functioning in school, attend Polish schools.

The situation of the immigrant child at school has its legal, practical and moral aspects; one cannot ignore them while analyzing their adaptation processes. At the same time, as stated earlier, we should note that the number of immigrants in Poland is growing together with the questions about the Polish educational system. It is closely connected with the increasing migration as a result of open frontiers and the relative attractiveness of Poland for various groups of migrants.

The Polish school system consists of three levels: 1) six years of elementary school, 2) three years of secondary school (*gimnazjum*) and 3) three years of high school (*liceum*). The first two levels are obligatory. The child – according to Polish law – should attend school until 18 years of age. Foreigners i.e. persons

without Polish citizenship regardless of their national or ethnic origin, should be accepted in elementary and secondary schools with the same rules as Polish citizens. The third level is not compulsory and is not available for immigrants without a tuition fee. After 1989, there are public and private schools of every level in Poland and in both types we can meet children of immigrants.

TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

The terminology in scholarly discourse about migrations and migrants is rather unclear and vague. In order to communicate clearly, we need to sharpen, and improve the basic terminology of adaptation and to develop a precise definition of the concept. To do so, it is necessary to distinguish between the practical and the psychological aspects of the main processes of migration.

In the case of migration, a person and/or a group meet generally with different physical and social environments. To operate successfully and “smoothly” (with no conflicts and traumas) one needs to change one’s “original” behavioural pattern (not necessarily one’s views, opinions, and values internalised in the home culture). One’s behaviour has to be perceived by members of the receiving society as “normal”, “understandable” and “acceptable”. In everyday life, members of the receiving society are not interested in a more profound internalisation of the value system by a migrant. These are components of “practical adaptation”. When functioning „smoothly” one may feel either “happy”, “satisfied” “OK” or not.

When there is congruity in both aspects of adaptation, we may speak about good practical and psychological adaptation. In the absence of congruity, we may speak about good practical adaptation and bad psychological adaptation. However, it may occur that an immigrant does not estimate properly his/her situation of being happy and not functioning well in practical life. This rare case can be found among those immigrants whose life is not dependant on practical functioning in the society of immigration e.g. because of good financial situation in home country.

– acculturation

Acculturation – from the migrant’s point of view – is a much more profound process of real acceptance of new norms, ways, patterns and values of the receiving society. It requires serious changes such as the internalization of the new value system often linked with the rejection of the value system of the home country. The acculturation process often results in cognitive dissonance and internal family conflicts (Nowicka 2013; Szymańska 2006; Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2011).

– integration

Having numerous meanings, often identical with adaptation or acculturation, the term „integration” becomes extremely fashionable and popular in public discourse. It also tends to be identified with assimilation – the term is disliked as it implies inequality and superiority when one should assimilate to a more developed society.

WHY IS SCHOOL SO IMPORTANT FOR THE PROCESS OF ADAPTATION, ACCULTURATION AND INTEGRATION?

I have chosen the situation of cultural contacts at school because I wish to emphasize that the institution of school is extremely important for the processes of adaptation, acculturation and integration for an individual migrant and often the entire group of immigrants in the receiving society. The process of adaptation, integration and acculturation of young immigrant is strongly influenced by the cultural background of the immigrant child.

The most important factors are the norms regulating behaviours of a young person in relation with adults belonging to (1) the native group and (2) the group of “ethnic strangers”. Norms regulating different behaviours of boys and girls in relations to adult women and men, teachers and school children, teachers and parents are of special importance. The reality of immigration in Poland during the last several years provides extremely different (partly opposite) examples: Vietnamese and Chechen children (particularly boys).

Basil Bernstein (1990) wrote about the enlarged socialisation, claiming that one gains more competence during the secondary socialisation. It's not however always in accordance with the primary socialisation. School is a sort of the prolongation of family authority, but socialisation is not simply a continuation of primary socialisation which takes place in the family. The secondary socialisation may be its development and its supplement or it can be in opposition to the home (primary) socialisation. Usually socialisation is divided into two levels: primary socialisation in the family which ensures the child's orientation in the society with its norms, patterns and an understanding of the place of the individual in the society as a whole. The second level includes the secondary socialisation during which individuals learn how to function in various social roles and gain success. The two levels work for the whole life of the individual starting from the moment of entering the school system.

During school years, the secondary socialisation can be continued with the same system of values or can be in profound conflict. In case of young Vietnamese children in Polish schools, their continuation of certain crucial values

of original Vietnamese tradition and its compatibility with the Polish way of socialization is of great importance. There are also cases of total contradiction of values as teachers indicate the children (mainly boys) coming from Islamic countries. Generally, there are no educational (social) problems mentioned by Polish teachers in their work with Vietnamese pupils; the only technical problem may be the lack of proper language competence and difficulties in conversations with Vietnamese parents. General acceptance and even glorification of acquiring education are one of the important features for Vietnamese culture which have crucial influence on the attitude of Vietnamese children attending Polish school. Vietnamese culture requires submissiveness, calm and obedient behaviour in contact of a child or a young person with any older person and particularly with the teacher whose social position is extremely high¹.

The Polish school system is a part of Polish culture, so the immigrant child becomes competent which, in some ways, may differ or even can be in conflict with cultural values transmitted by the child's family. It is only at school that the young migrant finds out that the environment is not culturally, socially or ethnically uniform.

Jerzy Nikitorowicz speaks of the stage of split autonomous identity, which is in agreement with John W. Berry's typology of acculturation. The immigrant child in Polish school is a different person than the same age child at school of the home country. The development of the young person in the situation of school cultural contact may go through the following stages: isolation, accommodation, reorientation (controversies between the values of two groups – individuals who already changed culturally and the immigrant group as a whole). The last stage can be observed among students learning in Polish high-school and universities who acquire the feeling and awareness that they are different from their parents and family members who did not attend Polish school.

The school as the institution with its specific organisation, its division of labour, social roles and statuses is extremely important for the process of adaptation, integration and acculturation of immigrants because of several traits of interpersonal contacts in the school situation. Below I indicate only some of those features:

- At school, children experience physical and cultural contacts for a long time, five days a week, almost all year round, during many hours almost every day.

¹ One of the Vietnamese girl called her 35 years old woman teacher "Babcia" (Grandma) that expressed her reverence. The teacher, unfortunately, felt offended as treated as an old woman that means a lower position in Polish culture.

- For an immigrant child, the contact has a particular importance because Polish children, Polish teachers and Polish school workers ensure permanent contact with Polish social and cultural system.
- Moreover, the objectives, goals and the ideology of the school system consist of many elements essential for the adaptation and acculturation of the immigrant child. The school system has a special role in the socialisation process because it is centrally guided by the government of the country,
- It intentionally reasserts the adaptation to the life in the country and the internalisation of values seen as important for the country.
- As a result, the school plays a special role in the transmission of a particular culture and social memory characteristics of the receiving country.
- Also, the scope of knowledge required in Polish schools differs in many aspects from the one required in the home country.

All of the above mentioned features of the school system make the Polish school a school of a foreign country, the first complex and unknown labyrinth in which the immigrant child must find his/her individual way. It is a form of adaptation which is not a forced acculturation nor integration. Teachers who have permanent contacts with immigrant children at school mention situations when the child of for example a refugee family from Chechnya is expected to behave according to Polish norms and patterns. Chechen children with the trauma of war experience are usually suspicious, mistrustful, distant and often even aggressive.

Adjustment to the school regime, rigour and discipline that are difficult for the children, create serious problems for teachers. Polish teachers had contact with Sudanese children who have never attended school and cannot adjust to the school environment. The perspective of the school system differs sharply from the perspective of the immigrant child and those of his/her family. For the typical teacher, the idea of a “good pupil” in practice consists of several traits: it is mainly a pupil who makes no troubles for the school (teachers, administration, school-mates). The pupil (Polish or immigrant) should be quiet and hardworking, not necessarily brilliant. It is also good, but not indispensable to have an adequate preparation for the school and its requirements. To be a good pupil means to have certain sociocultural qualifications. Those children who fit well the ideal pattern are permanently praised by interviewed educators, even when they show poor results in learning.

Vietnamese primary and family socialisation in the Vietnamese culture foster a good adaptation in Polish school system. The quiet, calm, submissive and hardworking Vietnamese child is an ideal student even if he/she does not receive good marks. Interviewed teachers often praised Vietnamese pupils as exceptionally good students but when we asked about particular and specific

results in every area, it came out that the child receives poor grades. Those migrants who never attended any school and who have no background of valuing education as such, have serious problems with adaptation to the school environment.

Teachers who experienced contact with immigrant children and faced problems resulting in the situation of cultural contact insist that attitudes and methods of work should be highly individualised. Teachers should be prepared and psychologically trained, oriented on individual work and requiring a lot of patience, as it is expressed by Kaja Malanowska (2012). Immigrant children speak fluent English but have difficulties in reading and writing. The school in this case may offer only general knowledge about functioning in Polish society without any application of the regular school program.

METHODOLOGY AND EMPIRICAL MATERIALS

I conducted the subsequent research about foreign children in the following years:

The school-year 2002–2003 in Warsaw high schools, in 2003–2004 in elementary and secondary schools, and in 2005–2008 among university students. The first two above-mentioned studies referred to immigrant children of all nationalities, and the last research dealt only with young Vietnamese immigrants. My investigation in 2002–2003 resulted in the following statistics, which was not in agreement with the official data of the Ministry of Education. Children of immigrants attended 48 general high schools in Warsaw – 35 public schools and 13 private schools. In public schools, we had 72 children of immigrants which includes 44 Vietnamese, 4 Mongolians, 3 Ukrainians, 2 Armenians, 2 Slovaks and 2 Japanese. We met also 1 of each of the following nationalities: Russian, Byelorussian, Chinese, Liberian, Bulgarian, Brazilian, Saudi, Nigerian, Hungarian and Syrian. In private schools, there were 36 children of immigrants, including 4 Vietnamese, 3 Chechens, 3 Armenians, 2 Japanese, 2 Bulgarians, 2 Koreans, 2 Georgians, and 1 of each of the following nationalities: Hungarian, Ukrainian, Angolan, Israeli, Mongolian, Azerbaijan, Austrian, Indian and American.

The Vietnamese children were and still are the most numerous immigrant-children population in Poland. They constitute more than a half of the total number of all immigrants in public high schools in Warsaw and about 40% in all types of Warsaw general high schools (48 from 108). It is interesting and informative to note that the results of our research in all Warsaw general high schools are radically different from the data we had acquired from the Department of Education at the beginning of our research. The numbers were different in many areas.

The authorities at the Ministry of Education informed us that Ukrainian children are the most numerous, followed by Armenian children and in the third place are the Vietnamese. This discrepancy indicates the lack of a general orientation in the problem of immigrants at schools and misinformed administrative authorities.

We visited 48 high schools which declared that they have immigrant children, and in 25 of them the research was conducted more systematically with numerous visits. As the result, 45 interviews were collected (registered and transcribed). In some schools, we (the interviewers) were easily accepted and treated friendly, but in some other, headmasters and more rarely teachers were discouraging and at times even hostile. The problem of young foreigners at school seems to be a delicate and an uneasy subject to talk freely and frankly. Eight years later, when I intended to reconduct the research, it came out that it is practically impossible to do the research because (1) of legal difficulties – schools became much more closed in a literal and social sense, (2) school teachers and school headmasters are usually extremely reluctant to let anybody from the outside into their schools. Interviews concerned problems of adaptation: relations with teachers, school-mates and the Polish society in general.

My research materials concerning the previous years are based on the experience of teachers as expressed in publications, conferences and private conversations. During the years which separate the first and the last research, visible and significant changes can be noticed in the field of study, among others: a growth of interest in immigrants, immigrant problems and their solutions discerned in general discourse in Poland. The phenomenon is evidently the result of Poland's integration in the European Union's legislation and the European institutional order.

This article concentrates on materials collected in Warsaw high schools. The high school prepares young pupils for college and university education and as a result, the role of intellectual elite in the diasporic or transnational group. I focus on the following questions connected with the position of the immigrant child in the Polish school system:

- 1) legal and institutional rules regulating school attendance in the case of young foreigners;
- 2) teachers and school administration relations with the immigrant child;
- 3) the image of Poland and Polish school in the young foreigner's mind;
- 4) adaptation to the school environment and to life in Poland among young foreigners;
- 5) differentiation of the immigrant child's situation in Polish school in relation with the child's country of origin, the aim of sojourn in Poland and the length of time of the sojourn.

POLAND AND POLES VIEWED IN FOREIGN STUDENTS' EYES

The immigrant child arrives to Poland either (1) in the age when it is not possible to have any sort of knowledge, image or stereotype of the country of immigration, or (2) in the later age when the person has certain opinions about the foreign country formed before immigration. The latter case requires a profound knowledge of the image of the country of immigration (in our case Poland). The stereotypes are ready-made, circulating in the home country of a migrant child and shared and transmitted by the child's family members. The image influences expectations and the feeling of superiority or inferiority expressed in numerous behaviours at school and in other environments.

The relations with Poles are influenced by general attitudes towards foreigners in the „receiving country” and stereotypical image of the particular country of the foreigner experienced by immigrants. There are important factors in smooth and effective adaptation in a new environment. I intend to describe the perspective of young foreigners living for a relatively long time in Poland. The emphasis is on school-children who often spend several years in our country, sometimes attending earlier Polish elementary school and sometimes only secondary school or just high school, so they lived in Poland for several years.

While describing Poles and their relations with other immigrant children in my study, I used expressions such as “nice”, “helpful”, “sympathetic”. These descriptive adjectives were always used by young Vietnamese describing Poles. These expressions seem strange, odd because they are extremely general and banal, casual and curt. The Polish researcher in the situation of contact with the immigrant interviewee evokes the situation when the young foreigner feels obliged to be polite and kind, never criticizing people who are defined as their hosts. This is a younger person's duty in Vietnamese etiquette, especially when the Polish researcher is obviously older. At the same time, my informants indicated Polish traits that differ from other nations', showing profound reflection. One of the interviewed boys said:

I was startled that people do not smile in the street with no reason, as it is in Australia. At the beginning I had a strange feeling because of this. Besides, there is this constant complaining and being dissatisfied, and distant. On the one hand I did not like it, but on the other hand yes, I liked it because you can frankly talk with the Poles and get advice from them. You do not hear always from an Australian: 'do not worry', 'everything will be good'. Here everybody is treated more individually.

One of the Vietnamese schoolgirls mentions other Polish character traits:

“Poles are more spontaneous, because Vietnamese, particularly seniors, are distant, nice, pleasant but distant”.

The comparison between the Poles and the Israelis comes out entirely differently.

There (in Israel – E.N.) people have more sense of humor; there is no censorship, there is more freedom. People are less cultured. People do not use so often polite expressions. Over there people are more dynamic. People can laugh at themselves. I miss the Israeli sense of humor.

However, they most often referred to Polish tolerance in contact with other cultures; even more often they stress Polish tolerance in contact with physical otherness of foreigners. The high esteem of Polish tolerance has a very important influence on the general evaluation of Poles and Poland.

The opinions expressed by my young interlocutors are not unequivocal, though, negative opinions speaking directly about racism and intolerance seem to be more often in group interviews. Our Vietnamese informers express the most favorable opinions about Poles; it is from them that we may most often learn that Poles are “nice, friendly, ready to help”. If we hear something different from them, it is rather in the context of explanation and justification of their disliked behaviors, than condemning them.

As an illustration I shall cite a response to the question about problems that foreigners have in Poland with fascism: “I mean... you know may be I understand them (Poles – E.N.), because I am not in my land, but such behaviours are never pleasant (...) Now not so much, but when I was younger, it was often the case”. I had the opportunity to find the same tendency fifteen years ago during my research entitled “Poles and Poland in Others’ Eyes” (Nowicka, Łodziński 1993) devoted to the adaptation of foreign students learning in Poland. Vietnamese students most seldom complained and expressed critical opinions; they were always extremely positive when speaking about Poland and Poles (Nowicka 1993). I was prone to explain this fact by specific Vietnamese cultural characteristics requiring a polite behaviour of the guest in the host country.

When asked to compare Poland with other countries that they had occasion to visit, our interlocutors stress that Poland is a place much more open to other cultures. A young Vietnamese says:

(...) There are plenty of foreigners in Poland, but Poles are generally very tolerant. I mean, is sundries, but in comparison with other countries they are really more tolerant. (...) I have friends in Germany and they speak that Germans are not tolerant.

We can conclude that at least young Vietnamese feel well in Poland, better than in other European countries. They do not face open aggression, reluctance, hostility as it occurs in many other countries, like Germany.

The image of Poland and Poles is much less favorable among dark-skinned young people. Two girls coming from African countries – Kenya and Angola had the most pessimistic opinions about Poles:

I know that people from Kenya do not want to come to Poland. Those who had visited Poland, tell that the Poles are very intolerant and this opinion had spread around and I think this is partly true though I personally have no drastic experience that somebody had beaten me, but I was hussled. In elementary school it occurred that money was stolen from me (...) My colleague, he is Mulatto, he was attacked already two times when he left school (Kenyan student).

The girl from Angola introduces still another element of contacts with the Poles: In the street, people stare at me, especially the old people. I feel bad in the tramway. “Now I am already used to it. I understand young children, but adult people? I am at the center and everybody looks at me. How can I feel?”. In this case, astonishment and the intruder’s interest in strange and unknown outlook is interpreted as a xenophobic behaviour. The ground for this kind of behaviour has its root in Poland’s minimum exposure to international contacts during long decades. We may optimistically conclude: these reactions of naively expressed astonishment and interest will disappear with the intensification of international contacts which is already occurring in Poland and in all Central-Eastern Europe.

Sociological studies (Nowicka, Łodziński 2001) inform us about a systematic decrease of xenophobic reaction and an increase of open attitudes towards foreigners in the society in general. However, our interviews indicate that critical opinions about Polish attitudes towards foreigners dominate and are more numerous than casual and positive opinions. Vietnamese students seem to be all in all more positive and very polite.

There are elements of Polish cultural norms which are evaluated positively and in this context compared with the equivalent norms of the children’s country. It refers to parents-children relations and women-men relations. Young Vietnamese often speak about these cultural differences: “The Poles are more liberal, because the culture of the Far East is something like confucianism. One must respect parents and what they think even more. We need not always to accept it, but we should not oppose them either”. A young girl from Mongolia says similarly about the strong dependance between children and parents in her country:

Mongolia differs a little by its culture and its child-rearing practices. There are different rules for upbringing, I don’t know how to say... Here for instance, when

a child is 18, he or she may do everything. In Mongolia up to the age of 20 children hold on to their parents like grim death and, obey them.

Also the relation between persons of different sex are not identical:

Vietnam is more traditional and there for example relations between a girl and a boy, in every area, any conversation, any form of conversation, for instance in school ... is treated as... tactlessness... so treated... Children are treated as too young for such things.

A Vietnamese girl says about relations between children and adults:

... Because adults in Vietnam treat us so that, I don't know... for instance when we want to make friendship with people from another country, or to have a boyfriend, they are not allowing and they say that we are still too young and that they are afraid of us. And for the majority of us when they want to change something, our parents should treat us as adults and give us more liberty.

One of my interlocutors answered this way to the question about those Polish customs and norms which deserve adaptation to his own life: "For example girls are here different than in Syria, more... I don't know how to say, I cannot express it...". When the interviewer suggests that probably girls in Syria are more closed, the informer answers assertively: "No, no, not in Syria, absolutely. But here everything is more open..."

Young foreigners evaluate in a variety of ways the cultural differences when they have the occasion to perceive them in Poland. Some of them prefer their own native tradition with stronger family bonds, others prefer the ways observed in Poland.

The school system in relation to foreigners

For our respondents, school, schoolmates and teachers make a very important social environment. Children spend several hours at school, they have an important part of their social activities at school, and there they make friendships and have important contacts with adults. Thus, their image of Polish schools influences strongly their image of Poland in general.

A young student who enters the Polish school has usually a low or a poor competence in the Polish language, with an inadequate general cultural knowledge and at times no knowledge of the Polish history and its socio-political reality. At the same time, there are no legal and practical regulations about procedures such as the behaviour of teacher and the school principal in relations to the immigrant child. Moreover, there is an absence of regulated support system for children with

different cultural backgrounds. Teachers have to manage practically without any external help; they have to decide on their own on how to evaluate the effects of immigrant child's school-work which is not always comparable to the results of the Polish children. My young respondents informed me that teachers treat with more tolerance the grammar and stylistic mistakes done by the foreign students in their written and oral works. Only in few schools these students may have special help on the part of teachers which is most often in the form of individual consultations. Sometimes they are totally left alone without any special interest on the part of the school system, even when they have serious difficulties at school.

My young interlocutors often understood "help" as having lower expectations on the part of teachers with a less severe way of evaluation: "They rather helped us, they had less expectations. Foreign students perceive these teachers' policy as harmful". One of the girls said bitterly:

From grammar school (gymnasium – from 7th to 9th grade – E.N.) I had two teachers – the teacher came and explained, but she did not correct me. She said that I didn't have to write. At high school, I had a problem because I didn't have to write in gymnasium. All groups wrote and she said that I am a foreigner and I do not have to write. I wrote a few sentences. In high school (lyceum; Polish secondary school – E.N.) it is different. Our teacher says, that I don't write well. I have a big problem. Instead all additional lessons are perceived as real help.

There is one high school (lyceum) in Warsaw, which has a very good reputation, a private, and expensive school where I found this ideal system of individual work with a foreign student. One girl says: "Everybody helped, they tried when I had something..., always I had an appointment for consultations, and everything was explained". The same attitude was mentioned also in one public school.

The Image of the Polish school

Most often my young interlocutors like Polish schools and particularly their class communities. Young immigrants use very positive terms when they describe their class-mates. Most often, they feel accepted and liked by the Polish children. A girl from Vietnam says: "I think, they like me" If they speak about unpleasant events and manifestations of intolerance, they underline that it did not happen in the high school, but somewhere else – in the street, or at an earlier stage of school education.

Polish schools have little experience in dealing with an immigrant child and little formalized assistance in the process of their adaptation to the school environment. Yet, spontaneous positive behaviour on the part of the teacher or

headmaster, their empathy and interest in the child's situation may serve as an important factor of a good adaptation. Readiness to help and condemnation of intolerance may significantly influence a good adaptation of a foreign child.

Teachers' and headmasters' attitudes are generally described as creating a good and decisive atmosphere. One of my informants said:

The school is tolerant, people are very tactful, especially after this affair with² ... When we had a geography class, people discussed but they were delicate. I am very grateful because of that – a Vietnamese student says.

From an Armenian boy we learn:

This is the best in this school, the teacher is not lofty – he doesn't look down at you, he is more like a colleague. You learn with less stress, if you do not manage, it is obvious that you can approach him and ask for help. Also the teacher can compliment you.

Another Vietnamese student says: "The school is O.K., tolerant. May be one percent of students (Polish school-mates – E.N.) is not tolerant. I have no troubles."

To sum up, we can observe a high discrepancy between the general image of the Polish society and of the Polish schools in young foreigners' statements. The Polish society is assessed much more severely than the Polish schools. I would suggest two types of explanation: 1) Increasing contacts with foreigners in the last few years, which result in less exoticism associated with the image of a foreigner in the younger generation; for older generation it is still a much more unusual situation; 2) Warsaw high schools have young people already selected – more ambitious and knowledgeable, better informed about other cultures, more tolerant and interested in cultural variety of human kind. Warsaw teenagers have much more opportunity to have contacts with cultural diversity than the older generation. This is well shown through the mass media, as well as through real contact with the foreigners. In numerous educational TV series produced specifically for young Polish children and teenagers we see that they are in contact with physical and cultural diversity; the main roles are played by children of different skin colour, and at the same time using fluent Polish language. The young generation of Poles who learn in high schools, as we can assume, represent a more open attitude towards foreign cultures and their representatives.

² In 2003 Vietnamese owners of small restaurants were accused of serving cats and dogs' meat and to beating alive animals before the slaughter. This news was widely reported in all Polish media. Vietnamese small gastronomy suffered a considerable decline as the result of this report.

Warsaw high schools gather ambitious young people who – almost without exception – plan further university education, and are perceived as future social elites and who also identify themselves in these categories. Though it is obvious that this ideal is very distant, it is certain that the intellectual climate of such a place differs significantly from analogous climate of vocational schools. In this selective function of Polish highschools we may look for the factor of such a positive image in young foreigners' eyes. It should be noted that it cannot be extrapolated to all forms of the Polish school system. Moreover, we should remember that this research was conducted only in Warsaw; that certainly makes our results limited to the most metropolitan and multicultural city in Poland. Young Poles learning in Warsaw have much more opportunity to have contacts with foreigners than students in smaller towns.

It is also possible that the positive image of Polish high schools in the eyes of foreign students may come mainly from Vietnamese students. They are well known as highly regarding the education and above all have responsibility and obedience resulting in a sort of submissiveness in contacts with adults and people of higher status. The Polish school for them is the place where their values, ideals and ambitions are realized, it provides chances and opportunities that are difficult to acquire in their own country. They often become the top of their classes, often receive awards and are winners in various competitions (regional olympiads in humanities and sciences for high school students) and most often teachers and principals highly praise them and they become the pride of the whole school.

Generally, Vietnamese are known as being quiet, polite and non-contentious, they are most often described as kind and nice. This is why they provoke very positive reactions on the part of schoolmates.

However, it happens that foreign students are critical about some aspects of the Polish school system. The criticized aspect of the Polish reality is related to the particular child's ethnic/national background of a criticising person; they criticise those aspects of school in Poland which radically differ from their own cultural expectations. For instance, Vietnamese students sometimes do not like "to establish short distance" and according to their opinions, students must have reverence and obedience when in contact with teachers. Our Brazilian informer said that student-teacher relations are "too formal and distant" in Polish high-schools: "I was not used to so many polite expressions, especially among young people. It is similar with adults, particularly with teachers. In Brasil we treat teachers as our friends."

The reaction of the young Vietnamese to the same question is extremely different, they have reservations to Polish school-children behaviour; they criticise too little reverence in pupil-teacher relations in Poland. They often cite Vietnamese proverb, which says that if someone has taught you even only half of a word, you are obliged to respect that person.

Some of our foreign informers admit that the school in itself fulfill some of their expectations, but they are not happy about the fact that they learn in Poland, i.e. a post-communist country not well respected in the world, so that the education obtained here will not be valued neither in Western countries, nor in their homeland. Our Israeli respondent said: “The idea to come to Poland was not good because when I will graduate from high school here (my degree – E.N.) will not be accepted in Israel.”

Yet, all in all, immigrants do not object Polish schools. The image of Polish schools tend to be the consequence of a general evaluation of attractiveness of the Polish educational system as seen not only in the perspective of the individual experience but through general expectations that the young people have from the educational system.

School gives a better starting point in the future life, to go to university. (...) Besides, one can develop further one's own interests. I don't know..., language, whatever, everything that comes to your mind you can do elective courses, learn about everything. There is no problem (...)

This is the way a young Armenian advertises one of Warsaw highschoools. Similarly, a positive opinion is expressed by a school girl born in Angola: “My uncle, who studied in Poland, (...) told me that I may have some problems with learning because the level of education is so high in Poland.” High expectations and high level of school curriculum are often stressed by our foreign interlocutors. This is the opinion of a young Vietnamese girl: “In this school I like that language is on the high level, that the atmosphere is so international, and I like this curriculum and so on...”

Thus, Warsaw highschool is perceived as the place where pupils are faced with high expectations and gives a broad scale of opportunities for the individual development and not only for the intellectual development. Teachers are often very flexible, they try to adapt to the needs and interests of their pupils. In this way, highschoools in Warsaw with their fundamental tasks are attractive for young immigrants. Parents of many of our informers were students in Polish universities, from them they have learned about Poland as the country of a high quality education.

Economic attractiveness of Poland

Economic interest in a country is usually the most important element taken into account in the process of decision making for migration. Defining the other country as an economically attractive place for permanent settlement together with assessing the economic situation of the native country push people to

migrate. The hope for a better standard of living, of a better future for children, that in the far and unknown country migrant may find chances for their main dreams' realization are considered as pull factors. The most crucial element of these dreams is the improvement of the material standard of living. Thus, we may reasonably assume that opinions about Poland in general are strongly related with the economic attractiveness of our country based on a lower economic standards of the country of earlier residence.

For some migrants, Poland is the place to escape from extreme poverty, war and political oppression. For Armenians, very difficult material situation and total degradation of their country is the reason for their migratory decision and their arrival to Poland. This is why Armenians perceive the economic conditions in our country in positive terms. In comparison with Armenia, Poland looks promising in terms of their basic needs' satisfaction and reasonable life conditions. A young Armenian said frankly: "As to work and future life perspectives I would certainly like to live here, because the perspective of development is broader here."

For a considerable number of migrants, Poland is not a transit country of temporary migration. Those migrants who do not plan to settle for good in Poland plan to migrate to another more attractive country (Okólski 1999). However, a large number of migrants treat Poland as the place where they want to wait for the end of difficult times in their homeland. They do not think about leaving for a more economically attractive country, but about coming back to their homeland.

The economic situation in Poland is perceived in positive terms also by the immigrants from the Asian countries, most often from Vietnam. A considerable number of Vietnamese children who study in Polish high schools have parents who were students in Poland, and later decided to remain in this country also because of material reasons. They could return home (and even sometimes were instigated to do this), but they decided not to go back to poverty. In comparison to Vietnam, Poland offers a relative economic stabilization, together with a better social atmosphere in comparison with other countries. Generally speaking however, in the reported research, young people express negative opinions more often than positive ones about the economic conditions of living in Poland. A young boy from Abkhazia depicts the economic situation in our country in the following words: "It is difficult to live here from the financial perspective etc. particularly when you are a foreigner, a refugee..."

Israeli students say similarly: "Here in Poland it is difficult to make money."

I may conclude that the economic aspect of life in Poland is not a crucial element in the image of our country at least as expressed in conversations with young foreigners.

The image of the Polish culture

In declarations received from our young informers, Polish cultural tradition is highly esteemed. They especially refer to Polish traditionalism which is revered as a very positive national characteristic of the Poles. Sometimes I encountered even fascination with the Polish traditionalism. A young Australian who was asked about comparison with other countries he knew with personal life experience, told me: “In Poland I like the reverence for the past. The Poles cultivate the history of their own country, because they have something to be proud of (to boast about). Australians, for instance, they do not attach great importance to history.”

A young Vietnamese reveals another aspect of the attitude to the Polish tradition among immigrants as seen from a certain distance:

I treat Poland as my second homeland because I have spent most of my life in Poland, but I have my roots in Vietnam. I think in Vietnamese language. (...) I know the Vietnamese culture better (...). Polish culture is totally different than the Vietnamese culture, but because of that difference I'm very interested in it.

The Australian boy was less restrained in his opinion and we received an elaborate speech full of sincere fascination with the Polish culture:

Yes I like it (the Polish culture – E.N.) very much, especially romanticism, the literature of Polish romanticism. Besides, I love the celebration of Christmas. These 12 dishes, lay on the table, carp, this is all wonderful. This is not such market-like as in Australia. In Poland, these Holidays are really family reunions. People are not only interested with gifts, which play a secondary role. Christmas in Poland gives positive impressions. I like Easter very much (too), all this going to the church with a basket for consecration. The Polish culture is truly cool.

Our Brazilian informer also cannot be indifferent to the Polish traditions: “I like many Polish customs, e.g. *lany poniedziałek*, *thusty czwartek*”³. Other interesting elements of Polish culture is discerned by an Armenian girl: “I like very much the customs of the Polish Highlanders. They do not have this city small man mentality who runs for cash. It is important that they have strong family bounds. Also they produce *oscypki*”⁴.

³ „Lany Poniedziałek” – Monday after Easter Sunday, boys pour water on everybody they meet particularly young women. The custom is also called “śmigus dyngus”. “Tusty czwartek” (“Fat Thursday”) – the last Thursday before the lent, traditionally dedicated to eating sweets and cakes. The most popular are “pączki” – donuts filled with rose marmalade.

⁴ This is a special salty cheese made by Polish Highlanders .

The fact that there was no negative opinion can be the result of the situation of the interview conducted by a Pole; the situation where the interviewed persons are restrained from expressing critical remarks.

In group interviews, we find an echo of individual identity strategies and identity dilemmas; young immigrants who live for a longer period in Poland feel that they are closely related to cultural traditions of this country. Moreover, they want to perpetuate this close relation, and at the same time they are reluctant to lose their own traditions and identities.

Let us show how a Kenyan girl is describing customs and habits practiced in her family:

This is such a mixture, because when I was born, my parents were still students, there was a multitude of their friends from Kenya, from Liberia, so I was brought up in the spirit of their culture – of my parents. But my younger sisters, who are much younger than me, were adapting more to this Polish culture, so in my family everything is mixed. (...) We are cooking diverse dishes, we celebrate Easter, Christmas a little differently, there is also a little of the African culture... As to Christmas, this is above all, that we do not have Christmas Eve, as such we make a supper, but certainly it does not consist of 12–13 dishes, the fast is not obligatory, so we eat meat and we can consume alcohol. Usually we invite multitude of our friends, friends of our parents, this is also a family celebration, we also have gifts, but dishes are different.

Similarly the rule of “mixing cultures” is practiced in the family of our Vietnamese informer: “We celebrate all holidays, which are in Vietnam... and some Polish holidays.”

Immigrants rarely manifest an attitude of total “merging” into Polish reality, though at times this situation may also happen. Sometimes foreigners attempt so much to gain the acceptance of the Poles, that they give up their own traditions or – at least – pretend to do so. They tend to hold that Polish traditions are so lively – and it is often true – that they accompany customs brought by their parents’ generation from young immigrants’ homeland.

The image of Poles/Poland and young immigrants’ plans for their future

The majority of highschool students immigrants plan to stay in Poland at least for a few more years to study in Polish universities. Some of them could even point out a particular institution and department they want to continue their education in this country. Few young immigrants mentioned universities in the Western Europe or America but nobody had clear emigration plans connected with any Western country. “As to my education, it is certain that it will be in Poland. I want to study economics at the SGH (Warsaw School of Economics

– a prestigious Warsaw school – E.N.)” – our Vietnamese informer says with no hesitation. A young man from Abkhasia has similar plans: “Some people, many of my friends, also foreigners, want somewhere... to the West, to Germany, but ... I don’t, you know, in general I want to live in Poland in the future.”

An Armenian boy says similarly: “Certainly I would like to study here, to finish here my education and to work. I would come back, if I have a proper financial position, if I have a secure and safe life there.”

In this respect, attitudes of young immigrants often differ from their parents’ vision of life. Young people seem to be more acculturated, better adapted and emotionally connected with Poland than people from their parents’ generation. More often parents express their wish to have their children in Western universities, they (not their children) are suggesting and organizing further education in the more prestigious universities, in a richer country for their daughters and sons. Of course, it is the case of more affluent families who can afford this sort of expenses. Sometimes family ties decide of a particular country chosen as the future life place for their children. One of the girls from an African country says:

I am in a journalism class, so I will probably choose journalism, I will study here, though, I am not sure because my mother have plans to send me somewhere abroad, but I will rather stay here. My mother has a lot of sisters and brothers in the US, they also study there, some of them are already working and have their families and children there. Mom wants me to go there.

The same student says that her parents have very clear plans for their own future place of living; they desire to come back home after their children will live on their own: “They plan to go (home – E.N.), but only when my younger sisters will finish high school. I suspect that they will leave Poland someday in the future.”

This is not an exceptional case. Many young people mentioned their parents’ plans to return home. This is true in the case of the majority of Vietnamese and Armenians, most of whom intend in more or less distant future to return home.

The present work in Poland is treated only as the way to earn money, guaranteeing a stable existence after returning to their homeland. Of course, interviews provide only declarations, and yet it seems to be meaningful that affirming the desire to return home is so often and so strongly expressed among my interviewees. “They say that in some time they will leave for Vietnam, for sure they will do it when they grow old” – reports a young Vietnamese, talking about her parents’ ideas for future.

Our young respondents have less clear plans when they are asked about family plans – their getting married in Poland and with eventual Polish life partners. When we asked, whether they imagine organizing their family life in Poland, they often answered that they still do not have an idea about their future mature life, that this was a distant perspective.

Estimating generally, half of our informers declares the wish to spend their whole lives in Poland and the other half declares that the wish to return home. The latter declaration is connected with the country of origin, called “home” and with the economic motive of emigration. This is true especially among Armenians who form one of the largest immigrant groups who have clear return plans, however the plans are presently rather not very realistic. Sometimes young people feel responsible for their country of origin:

I have such a plan, that after graduation from university, because I want to study international relations, I will go there and will work in some United Nations Organization. At first I would like to do something for my country. I know that it is perhaps a utopian dream, but I hope that when I have success in something, e.g. graduating from the university, I will have means to influence the improvement of its situation.

Yet, many young people coming from various countries feel very emotionally close to Poland and this country is attractive for them. This feeling makes them plan to stay here and settle here for good: “I know that if I went there (back home – E.N.), I would have this language barrier and there is a different mentality, another culture and I would have to change it a lot. I got used to these customs here” – says a young Liberian. A girl from Abkhasia has even a more clear attitude: “I would like to visit (Abkhasia – E.N.), but not return there for good. This is because all in all I plan to settle my life here. To visit – yes, absolutely.”

A Hungarian girl has different plans than her parents; she says frankly: “We just plan to leave (to Hungary – E.N.) for good, but I would rather stay. My parents do not know yet, but I have my own plans. I could live with my friend, because she is already adult, and she lives alone.”

These young people who do think about permanent living in Poland, do not plan further migration to a more attractive country, they rather plan to return to their homelands.

For immigrants from Asian countries, Poland is a Western country of a higher material standard of living, with higher level of education and an old Western culture. Among interviewed groups, only children who arrived from Israel perceive Poland definitely negatively; informers from other countries react in a diverse way to our question about their plans for the future. They express

opposing opinions about Poland and their life plans are different accordingly – a few of them planned to remain in Poland. It can be interpreted in terms of their type of migration (defined by the period of employment of their parents or the economic orientation to find a place for a “better life”).

One of the important factors determining the image of Poland among young foreigners is their own experience in Poland, which is sometimes connected with intolerance and xenophobic forms of behaviours. Africans who experience the most hostile acts from the part of Poles in Warsaw, say most often about leaving Poland and inhabiting permanently in one of the Western countries, where the level of tolerance is higher, where people are not astonished when they see a person with a black skin colour.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We may summarize that Poland has become a relatively attractive country of immigration because of: (1) its relative easy access, (2) relatively high standard of living, (3) its safety and (4) its high level of education. Moreover, Poland is no longer only a transit country to other, more attractive countries; it becomes an ultimate aim of migration. The situation produces true challenge for the Polish institutions, especially for the education system.

The adaptation and acculturation of young migrants in Poland require subsequent interdisciplinary research. The research should be systematically repeated because of, on the one hand, the progressing transformation of the Polish society and, on the other, – serious changes on the international scene. One of the important changes in Poland relates to the education system, the sphere of life crucial for the conditions of adaptation and acculturation among young immigrants. At the same time, the intensity of transnational contact on the territory of Poland is undergoing major changes. Those changes include different national groups of immigrants who decide to enter the frontiers of the Polish State and the children of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds attend Polish schools. Future researches, in my opinion, should distinguish with more scrutiny the situation of various categories of young migrants: refugees, temporal employees and economic immigrant children in Polish schools.

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PUBLIC OR INTERNATIONAL? MIGRATING STUDENTS IN TWO TYPES OF SCHOOLS OF POZNAŃ.

INTRODUCTION

Migrations have changed since last century. While at the beginning of the twentieth century people mostly emigrated permanently to the USA, Canada or Western European countries, in the twenty-first century, permanent migrations are not as common anymore. The mass influence of globalization on our everyday life and the development of tools have enabled us to communicate and send information, photos, money and other valuable things quickly, cheaply and without borders. Consequently, migration has become achievable for anyone, preparations to move have become possible even in short time periods, and migration projects are no longer perceived as final and complete. Moreover, those who have tried to live as a “modern vagabond” can always come back to the country of origin, settle down for some time, and move again. In such a framework, it is extremely interesting to study the population of children who were born while migrating, for whom migration is an inherent part of their lives, influencing their perceptions of reality.

I assumed the modern liquidity and unpredictability of migration should be taken into consideration when choosing respondents for my study. Thus, the sample involved three categories of students from public and private schools. The first category covered foreign-born children with no connection to Poland who came to the country with their parents and began attending educational institutions in Poznań. The second group included Polish citizen children with at least one Polish parent. The third category included children of migrant parents who did not migrate themselves, but experienced longer or shorter periods of separation from their parents who migrated outside of Poland for work. This

taxonomy has been constructed solely for the purpose of organizing my research material; the reality is much more complex and complicated. Indeed, there were instances of children whose parents had left Poland permanently, returning home only for holidays, or those whose parents worked abroad seasonally. Some could be called “patchwork migrant families”. For example, two Polish children were adopted by a Polish-Spanish couple; they went to Spain and received Spanish citizenships, but after three years came back to Poland. The children had problems with the Polish language at school and were living with their non-Polish-speaking mother; ultimately, they had to return (or migrate) to Spain again due to reasons unrelated to their education. These children were perceived neither as foreigners nor as citizens, but encountered similar problems as all children with migrant histories.

In my research, I tried to explore the trajectories of migrating children in the context of their education process, which not only is the most time-consuming part of their lives but also appears to be a crucial determinant in their futures. The main research question concerned the role of schools in re/integrating students into the Polish educational system. I proposed the hypothesis that the outcome of integration varies depending on choice of school – public or private. However, during my fieldwork, it became evident that even if both types of schools had different languages and curricula, the ways of working with migrating pupils were similar to some extent. Regardless of the individual life trajectories of the students, the schools expected obvious and predictable patterns of migration – either the children would stay in a country permanently and attend the school or the children would immigrate somewhere else and leave the school. This factor – educator expectations – can have more consequences on migrant children’s experiences than the differences between type of school – public or private.

This article is based on an exploratory ethnographic study run in 2010 and in 2013. I interviewed teachers and headmasters twice and observed children in the school environment – in both public and private schools in Poznań, Poland. I was able to talk to some parents, and I made some observations of their homes. During the three-year period between my interviews, the situations of my cases changed significantly – the children grew up, some children moved to other schools, some parents moved to other countries or decided to settle down in Poland, some school principals changed. Because of the dynamism of these situations, I experienced difficulties maintaining contact with some cases. A couple of “good respondents” who gave me detailed information in 2010 disappeared (probably migrating again) before I could interview them in 2013, and I could not continue the research with them. After three years, I returned to four schools (three public and one private) and three families to deepen my data and compare conclusions. It was extremely interesting to meet them again, see their problems with a time-

perspective and observe the solutions they undertook. The schools also changed – some students left, but new migrants also appeared. Even if the conducted study did not provide me with a full picture of changes in the children’s lives, it helped me better understand their motivations and needs. I noticed that some problems which stayed with them over the course of observation may have changed in definition but unfortunately were not solved.

POZNAŃ AS A FIELD

Although Poznań – one of the biggest cities in Poland – is not a multiethnic place (Buchowski, Schmidt 2012: 11), foreigners have become more visible there thanks to institutions such as the Poznan International Fairs, the leader of Polish exhibition industry, and other internationalized companies as well as cheap flights opportunities. Every year local citizens are getting more used to tourists and visitors from all over the world. The city is known in Poland for its strong economy, and natives believe that this stereotype attracts investors from abroad.

Statistical data show that around 4,500 foreigners live in 2012 in Poznań; most of whom are Ukrainians, Germans, Russians and Belorussians. Smaller groups include Chinese and Turkish foreigners (Bloch, Czerniejewska, Main 2012: 53). In the city, the majority of foreigners belong to privileged groups – they are either medical students receiving education in English (coming from Taiwan, USA, Canada or Norway) or business people from Western European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Belgium and Denmark).

Although the numbers of foreigners in total are not growing, each year there are more foreign children in schools (see: Table 1). In 2009, there were 114 pupils, in 2010, 132 students, and in 2011 and 2012, over 160 students.¹ About 60 per cent of all students attend international schools, and the other 40 per cent is spread in about 40 public schools. It is notable that given the small number of foreign children, quite a large number of public schools interact with them.

Moreover, even if the number of foreigners is not growing, there is an increasing amount of people who have migrant experience themselves or in their households. This may include families coming back to Poland after living abroad, children “left behind” by their parents, or other more complex stories of living in different places.

¹ Data from Education Information System (EIS) 2009–2012.

Table 1.

Numbers of foreign students at public and international schools in Poznań

| Year | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|------|------|------|------|
| Numbers of foreign students at schools | 114 | 132 | 163 | 166 |
| In international schools | 68 | 93 | 106 | 102 |
| In public schools | 46 | 39 | 57 | 64 |
| Number of public schools | 35 | 30 | 41 | 36 |

Source: Developed by the author, based on Education Information System (EIS) in 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. Data from 2009 was verified and corrected by the author because the statistical numbers were equivocal.

While migrant students in Poznań may not be of sufficient size to be noticed by the local policymakers or media, the relatively intimate Poznań migrant milieu has advantages for a researcher. It makes a “cozy place” for research – a laboratory to measure changes in schools and how they influence migrant pupils over the years.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

My theoretical approach of this research was to look at the migration of pupils as a part of a greater phenomenon called “new” migration; a term frequently conceptualized in literature as: incomplete (Okólski 2001), transnational (Vertovec 1999), liquid (Bauman 2007), or superdiverse (Vertovec 2007). All of these characteristics fit the young group of migrants I interviewed. Their migration frequently was not finished, but had significant impacts on their present and future lives. They were still immature – being in the age of identity transformation – but their traveling provided an enriching life experience.

Another approach drove me to think about the human capital young migrants built while migrating. King and Findlay noticed that for university students, migration can be seen as a “brain exchange” among the highly developed countries (2012: 263). If so, why should we omit pupils with their capital? Therefore, I look on young migrants as a highly skilled group with undiscovered potential. Those who attend the international school in Poznań, so called “third culture kids (TCK)” (Baker Cottrell 2001; 2012), are educated to become “valuable world citizens” (International School of Poznań, website). They improve their English and are prepared to continue their education at prestigious universities around the world. The group of migrants taking part in public education is also well-trained – aside from their regular education, they receive language proficiency

and fluency in Polish, without any additional courses. This approach of treating students as added value brought me to think about migrant students and their undiscovered potential. Most pupils are at least bilingual, and many of them experience culture shock (as they live in foreign contexts); consequently, their intercultural competencies are much more developed than their non-migrating Polish schoolmates.

The third approach looks at a child as a free, independent and strong person, not as a helpless and defenseless infant. This approach posits that children are not vulnerable but rather resilient, commenting: “Child migrants often play an active role in assessing their own situation, making decisions about their life trajectories, and negotiating the challenges and opportunities posed by displacement” (Ensor and Goździak 2010: 3). They have parents, but migration experiences imprint on them – and consequently their future lives, their decisions on where to live, their thoughts on if it is better to settle down or not, and their ideas on what to do in life – individually. The research of Ann Baker Cottrell (2001) confirms that experience of migration play significant roles in their future lives.

If schools took into consideration these theories and put them into practice in the educational process, migrant students would take advantage of more opportunities to utilize the potential derived from migration. They would be perceived as valuable students with the unusual potential to bridge cultures and understand different perspectives as well as present strong and influential personalities. If teachers bore in mind that their students were in the migration process, without expectations of the final decision parents would make regarding their country of work, it would provide students a feeling of acceptance, of both their individual situation and their individual skills, both types of schools – public and private – would work better, and educational experiences would support the personality of children. However my study argues that the intercultural capital of migrating children is still invisible to schoolteachers and principals. The problem is the ignorance of the liquidity concept, which prevents teachers from freeing their minds and perceiving children as being here and there or elsewhere.

PUBLIC OR INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS?

Migrating children while in Poznań can choose between a public or international school to continue their education. The two types of school (public or non-public²), even if both follow the governmental core curriculum, differ

² Non-public school with a competence of a public school. In the researched international school the curriculum is authorized by the IBO (International Baccalaureate Organization) to teach

a lot: they have distinct languages of teaching (English or Polish), methodologies, mission statements, and even relationships between school, pupils and parents. These various approaches influence the adaptation of children to the school system and also to their social network. On the other hand, teachers and principals in both types of schools do not differ in perceptions of migrating children. They both assume the process of migration has finished and either that the children are going to assimilate with society (in public schools) or that the children are the children of businessmen who come to Poland for a few years' contracts and will not stay in society (in the international school).

According to the numbers, in the international school, the number of foreigners is apparent, and as the headmaster said: "They have always a priority to attend the school." In 2009, foreign students comprised 10 per cent of the total school population (30 pupils). In 2012, there were over 60 foreign persons and at least 20 students with Polish as their secondary citizenship. There were also some pupils whose parents lived abroad. It is extremely important that most of the foreign pupils in the school are typical TCK; they study at the school for a short period of time – a year, a year and a half, or as long as their parent's work contract. Most of them are expats, but some families stay longer, even declaring to stay permanently. The influence of the stereotypes of TCK pupils, who will not stay permanently, on the equal treatment of all foreign pupils in the international school should be studied in-depth. From some cases I encountered, these perceptions also have negative consequences for the adaptation of children.

In the public schools I visited, the foreign children were a new phenomenon, and usually there were just one or two foreign persons in the school, comprising much less than 1 per cent of all pupils. Those children who adapted well usually stayed until they finished school. Most of the children who attend the public schools are pupils who decide to live permanently in Poland, pupils who were born in Poland or pupils from mixed marriages. There are also children of parents who migrated and left children behind, but there are no statistics on the numbers of these students attending public or private schools in Poznań.

As we know, schools influence the future lives of children (Szymański 2013); thus, the choice of school is important for the parents, especially while migrating. The decision is usually taken according to some reason, such as: migration plans of parents (if they plan to go to another country, return to their country of origin, or remain in Poland), language proficiency in English and Polish (if Polish is the mother tongue for parents or a second language), family situation (if

IB Diploma Programme. IBO is the non-profit educational foundation, offering programmes for students aged 3–19 years, and have network of schools in 145 countries. <http://www.ibo.org/general/who.cfm> Accessed: 04.07.2013.

one of parents is a Pole, if the child is bilingual), official school rankings (high or low), economic issues, as well as other reasons (Czerniejewska 2010: 61). Moreover, there are other some obvious and unobvious practices that encourage pupils and/or parents to choose a public or private school. I will go through some of these practices to illustrate the situations of migrant children in the school environment.

LANGUAGES TO LEARN

All lessons in public school are taught in the Polish language, except for foreign language classes. There are some bilingual schools in Poznań in which curriculum is run in two languages (e.g., Polish and French), but they were not taken into consideration in this research. The Polish language is commonly described by foreigners as difficult, and indeed, many foreign students have problems with it. Nevertheless, teachers should be aware of other difficulties a migrating child may have, aside from the obvious language barrier, such as: cultural misunderstandings, problems in adapting to a new school, lack of information in his/her native language, problems being accepted by peers or feeling of being a stranger, etc. Moreover, a child can have other family, health, social, economic problems or some unrelated difficulties in classes (e.g., math) (OECD 2006).

In the literature, the language barrier is often mentioned as the first problem that must be solved in Polish schools (Smoter 2006: 17; Pogorzała 2012: 254). Teachers often blame language for all troubles they have with a child; therefore, they believe the best solution is to provide language support. Since 2009, any foreign child or Polish citizen child with language problems can attend additional lessons of Polish provided by the school for one year, two or more hours a week (Dz. U. z 2009 r. Nr 56, poz. 458).

During my fieldwork, I also noticed this language-orientated approach; moreover, for many teachers, it didn't matter if the parent was Polish or not. A teacher working with a boy whose father is Italian and mother is Polish, but speaks to her children in Italian, was discussing the necessity of speaking in two different languages to the boy: "I have objections to that. The mother made it up." She was negative toward the idea of bilingualism, especially because "sometimes he cannot find a proper word" [PL-IT/m/7/2013³]. She repeated the words of a speech therapist who asked the mother to talk to her son in Polish because

³ The codes indicate the cases of children. The first capital letters indicate country of origin (or citizenship of two parents), the lowercase letters indicate sex (m – male, f – female), the first num-

of his speech impediment. Similarly, in 2010, a teacher I met complained about a Kurdish mum who does not practice Polish with her son but continues speaking to him in her native language [IQ/m/8/2010]. Three years later, educators realized that language problems were not the child's only challenges [IQ/m/11/2013]; however for several years, his teachers and mother focused their efforts on improving the language and vocal skills of the boy, ignoring other problems.

In the international school, all lessons are in English, and the program differs from public curriculum according to the program of international education (IBO). But even if the official language of the school is English and all lessons are in English, during breaks, pupils and staff speak their native languages. As the principal told me, and students confirmed, in their free time students meet in small ethnic groups. In some cases, due to the language barrier, students spend time alone and don't integrate with other peers. Those who don't speak Polish are unable to connect with locals; consequently, they prefer to spend time with family and self-study, rationalizing that "education is most important in their lives". On the other hand, they don't have much of a choice.

In the case of a Danish boy who attended the international school for eight years and whose parents said he spoke good Polish, the child admitted, "It is enough to order a hamburger, but not to speak with mates" [DK/m/18/2010]. Usually during school breaks, he listened to the conversation and if he understood, he continued in English, but he was not always able to carry on in English. As the only foreigner in his class, he didn't have any Polish friends; afterschool, he didn't spend time with Poles. The young boy admitted he spent his free time alone, reading, playing piano; the last time he went to the cinema was four years ago [DK/m/18/2010]. While this is just one example, it clearly shows how patterns of the school can leave an imprint on a child's life.

The case of a Dutch family differs a lot: the children attended the English-speaking school, but knew Polish and spent much time with Polish colleagues [NL/m/10/2010; NL/f/8/2010 and NL/m/13/2013; NL/f/11/2013]. They did not alienate themselves from the society. As opposed to the Danish boy who planned to attend university in some other country, the family planned on staying in Poland. Consequently, they paid attention to local language and social network of children with natives. They had a Polish babysitter for the youngest baby who spoke Polish to her; the older children attended local kindergartens. The mother told me: "[My] daughter is choosing Polish friends, because they are not going to leave the country, they are staying" [NL/f/11/2013]. She also planned to send the youngest daughter [NL/f/4/2013] to another school, private but Polish. The

ber represents age and the second, the year of research. All data is available at the author's database. Some interviews with the teachers and principals are also included.

strategy taken by the family was in response to the influence of the English-speaking school, suited perfectly to a typical TCK, but is not fully adjustable for those who plan to stay.

The international school offers Polish language classes and integration events in the school, designed to solve the aforementioned issues. In 2010, Polish classes were not obligatory in the school. Moreover, a proposal from the school principal to run some classes in Polish was unwelcome by parents: "Some mums were unsatisfied, that their children must learn such unimportant language, so they contested the sense of attending the lessons" [International School/2010]. In 2013, Polish classes were made obligatory twice a week, divided in age groups.

Now, finally, in both types of schools, Polish language classes exist, but the problem of integrating migrant children with peers in the school is not solved. In my opinion, language is not the only problem. The main issue here is a hidden assumption of the major aim of the school. Public schools put huge efforts on adaptation to the language and maintaining the average teaching of the school. The international school puts its efforts on adaptation to the school and improving the level of education. Pupils learn language and the school's culture through school socialization, especially at the beginning. Some pupils enter "zero class", where they are supposed to learn English but also are introduced to the values and practices of the school. None of the schools assume that it is their task to prepare migrant children to live in Polish society or to facilitate integration with local children and society.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

Another important issue, after verbal communication and the transfer of knowledge in common language, is teachers' knowledge of other cultures. As Halik, Nowicka and Połec wrote (2006), generally speaking, teachers and principals in public schools have little knowledge about the cultures and countries of origin of their students. During my research, quite often I noticed they made mistakes about the nationalities and citizenships of children and the languages they spoke before coming to Poland. In several cases, teachers did not even have a basic cultural understanding, e.g., a child coming from Azerbaijan was called Armenian, a Hindi girl was thought to have come from Indonesia, and regarding one boy, a school pedagogue said: "He is from... he came from Mińsk... so he is... hmmm?" (Belarusian). Teachers have not recognized the link between the country of origin and the culture of a pupil; rather, they believe they don't need to know this information (a school is not obliged to write the nationality of a child).

Teachers and school counselors are not expected to be experts on the cultural environments of their pupils, but they should be able to name a child's country of origin at least. With an awareness of cultural characteristics and background information on the country of origin, teachers could expedite understanding and, ultimately, teaching. In one school, I interviewed a school psychologist about children whose parents migrated to another country; the psychologist did not know where the parent or parents had gone and did not even notice when the child had joined a parent abroad for a couple of months. She was, however, pretty sure about the behavioral problems caused by migration of parents [PL/m/18/2011]. Nevertheless, the psychologist was very helpful and interested in the research.⁴

In both types of schools, the pupils' culture is not essential knowledge – at least teachers do not recognize it as important. In public schools, teachers do not know because they are not trained in multicultural education issues. They often do not see the connection between knowing the culture and teaching the child. In private school, knowledge of other cultures is considered important, especially when part of school curriculum, but it is seen as additional and not as valuable to be learned. One of the teachers of the school said about foreign pupils: “They don't know their cultures, I know more about it, I teach them it.” He explained that they are globalized children who don't experience cultural shock at all [International school, teacher, 2010].

INDIVIDUAL CASES, PARTICULAR ATTENTION

Foreign children in the international school are “visit cards” of the school; they legitimize the existence of the school. They are treated with special care, maybe with just a bit more attention, than other school students. Children have small classes, friendly teachers, and staff at their disposal. In this environment, the strengths of each pupil are fostered and weaknesses are seen as opportunities to overcome. Children are motivated to do a lot of individual work, some of which is voluntary work for the social community (Community in Service for younger pupils or Creativity Action Service for older students).

In public schools, foreign pupils in Poznań are still a unique phenomenon. Compared to pupils attending schools in the capital of Poland or located nearby

⁴ I encountered a similar attitude several times in my fieldwork; therefore I find this as an important observation: teachers, school counselors and principals, even if they were helpful and ready to introduce the case of a pupil for the researcher, often did not have the full picture of the child's situation. Therefore an interview with a pupil (and if possible with parent or parents) was necessary to understand the case.

the asylum-seekers centers (Kosowicz 2007; Iglicka, Gmaj 2012), those in Poznań schools have different circumstances and individual problems; therefore, they receive particular attention.

In my fieldwork, I noticed the engagement of teachers who felt they had a special mission when teaching an alien. Usually they were very empathetic, working cooperatively with other teachers, discussing the problems of a child, and offering help. Teachers often initiated help. For example, take the case of a Hindi girl born in Canada [CA/f/8/2013]. She started the school at the age of five⁵ and was doing quite well, but in the second grade she went with her mother to Canada for a couple of months. They planned to come back to Poland, so the girl did not partake in any education in Canada. But when she returned to Poland, she had forgotten a lot of what she had learned in Polish school, especially vocabulary. Therefore the teachers organized for special learning support during summer holidays and gave her Polish classes for some time. It was not their obligation; rather, they felt it was their “moral duty”. Now she is in third grade and still has extra lessons to improve her language skills [CA/f/8/2013]. I was surprised to learn that after three years of education, she still receives four additional lessons⁶ to learn Polish. Another case illustrates how teachers in public schools were more inclined towards meeting the needs of a child and his or her future plans. In this case, Polish parents of siblings born in the United States decided that the mother and children would live in Poland. The boy, however, missed his father and was convinced the family would return to join him. He didn’t have friends and didn’t want to study in Polish school. His teacher said, that if she knew: “they are coming back to the States, she would give him promotion to second class, but if they are staying here, it would be better not to give him” [PL-USA/m/8/2010].

Teachers facilitated the process of getting to know the school as soon as possible, even outside the timetable of the school year. In private school, children could attend the school for a week (for free) to check if they really liked it and if they would be able to learn. But also in a public school, I encountered the practice of preparing pupils to attend school; one principal said: “Children got to school in May [almost the end of school year]. But I offered them [the opportunity] to come in June. They could adapt to the school and learn some Polish, before the semester

⁵ She started the school one year earlier with six-year-old Polish mates. Due to education reform, this was the first year in Poland in which children could start education at the age of six or – still according to old regulation – at the age of seven.

⁶ According to the Polish law, a student who has language problems can receive two or more hours of Polish classes a week for one year of education (Dz. U. z 2009 r. Nr 56, poz. 458 and Dz.U. z 2010 r. nr 57, poz. 361). In practice, schools don’t deliver more than the minimum requirement of two hours.

starts. They had quite a lot of mistakes” [PL-ES/m/8/2013; PL-ES/f/12/2013]. This individual approach is very important in teaching migrant students, and this practice was common in both types of schools in Poznań.

When a child has difficulty with classes (because of language barrier or other inability), the solution generally comes when the parents were willing to talk or were assertive enough to negotiate and establish a strategy and share tasks and responsibilities in implementing the solution. In the private school, parents initiating discussions on how to improve the learning process when there is a problem is the norm. A Dutch parent who recognized some learning difficulties of her daughter convinced the principal to find a way to diagnose dyslexia, dysorthographia, and dyscalculia [NL/f/11/2013]. It was ultimately also possible to organize speech therapy sessions during school hours.

Negotiations are possible in public schools as well. The father of Canadian children (he was Polish, but the children were born in Canada and spoke only English) voluntarily supported the teaching process of his children during lessons. He came to the school every day to attend lessons with his oldest son; the father spoke Polish and was able to translate for the son. Unfortunately, he was too loud and disturbed the other children; so after a short period of time, other parents complained that did not want his presence in the lessons. In the end, the headmaster found external volunteers to help the children [CA/ m/11/2010].

All of the given examples happened in both types – private and public – of schools; so I assume that they are not the result of special treatment due to the type of school. It is possible that children received particular attention because of they were foreigners or migrants, but this assumption should be verified by further research.

OUTCOMES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

▪ **Don't look at cultural differences as an obstacle**

The study indicates that – in both types of school – a pupil is an object to teach. The main obstacle in the process of teaching is lack of language proficiency, either Polish (in public schools) or English (in private schools). Teachers see cultural differences not as “added value”, but as an “added trouble” that makes the teaching process more difficult. Therefore teachers try to neutralize problems caused by cultural differences by including the “Polish factor”, e.g., proposing additional lessons of Polish, suggesting more contacts with Polish mates outside the school. Moreover, the perception of cultural differences as an obstacle always appears when a child with a distinct cultural background has any problems; parents are accused of not speaking Polish to children or chided for not teaching

Polish as the first language to children. This problem also appears when parents leave the country or even when a child migrated with the family.

- **Recognize positive aspects of the migration**

Teachers are not inclined toward recognizing the positive consequences of migration. They do not see that migrant children are often more responsible, understand the value of money and construct their identities in the context of migration. A child's migration gives a lot of opportunities – new languages, adaptation skills, the experience of cultural shock and the ability to negotiate different cultures. Experiencing migration empowers children to not be afraid of living outside their country and to understand the consequences of living abroad, a lesson which can contribute to children's human capital in the future.

- **Use the potential of migrant child**

In my research I noticed that teachers ignore the potentials of their pupils. I intrusively asked how they involved foreign children in the lessons; teachers usually answer that if there is an opportunity, they ask foreign pupils to “tell something about their country”. However, in many circumstances, they are blind to the cultural potential of those pupils. Having a Belarusian boy in a class, a teacher confirmed: “The school is having good contacts with Belarus, they had school exchanges, thus they know a lot, but better ask another teacher about it.” Responding to my direct question if the boy spoke his native language, the teacher tried to omit the answer rather than confess her ignorance [BY/m/10/2013]. Paradoxically, teachers ignore the opportunity to learn from the Belarusian boy's personal knowledge and experiences but are willing to learn from organized school exchanges, neglecting the opportunity to use a child's human capital.

EPILOGUE. THREE YEARS LATER...

It is rather impossible to measure the end of integration process. Sometimes due to the introduction of new data, old incomprehensive issues can easily be recognized and understood after time had passed. Consequently, approaching the same respondent some time later or following respondents for a couple of months or even years can provide in-depth empirical insight.

The following case explains the opportunities that can be garnered by long-term or repeatable research. I first met this Armenian boy when he was seven years old and attending the first grade; he was labeled by parents as “a naughty boy” [AM/m/7/2010]. The boy started his education in the Polish kindergarten, and the principal of his school noted: “[The boy] does not have language

problems.” When interviewing the family again three years later, the family had moved to a new flat, and the boy had changed schools. He had to adapt again to the new class and school, but there was no need for additional Polish classes. He was satisfied with the change of schools: “I like the school more, than a previous one, I have good colleagues here” [AM/m/10/2013]. However, in the new school, the principal and teachers noticed behavioral problems:

He came in third class. In the class some children started to call him ‘Rumun’ (which is offensive word, similar to Gipsy). He has different appearance. It is important to kill it [reluctance] in the moment it emerges (zdusić w zarodku). The boy was aggressive, and children were competing and fighting quite often. The situation got better now, but the father also works on that.

The teacher of the boy concluded:

He was frightened. He had an assumption, that he will be not accepted, because he is a foreigner. When something went wrong, he was becoming aggressive. He misunderstood emotions of others. First two months were tough. Now... step by step... of course there are punches, but as usually in sport.

The parents had a different perspective. The father explained that the boy had problems adapting in the new school, but not because of the fact he is a foreigner. The parents thought that the child was “naughty”, but they tried to bring him up the best they could: “It is difficult nowadays, formerly children were different, we also went crazy, but another way. There is no respect toward older people these days.” The father felt responsible for bringing up his son and he worked with him, but still the father was not satisfied. This echoed the same narratives I heard three years ago, but this time I was more perceptive. I recognized something that was slightly visible in my first interviews, but now came to the surface: everybody in the family missed the country they left – the father, mother, grandmother (also living with them), and younger sister. All of them told me stories from Armenia, showing me pictures and movies. I could hear, see, and feel how much they missed their family, and it was noticeable that “the feeling of missing” was a crucial characteristic of this family.

I do not guarantee answers, but I can formulate a couple of questions about the impacts of family atmosphere, values, and cultural approach on children’s integration in schools and behavior with their peer groups. In conclusion, I can say that I lack complex studies of migrants’ children situation, but returning to the same respondents after time gave me a much deeper picture and even helped me recognize other influences on integration.

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SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF POLISH ADOLESCENTS FROM GREEK AND POLISH HIGH SCHOOLS IN ATHENS

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, migrations are a recognized phenomenon with masses of people leaving their homelands to settle in new societies, transforming themselves and their new environments at the same time. During the first half of the twentieth century over 100 million people migrated, voluntarily or forcibly, from one country to another (Aronowitz 1984), and since then the number of migrants has grown further. The total number of international migrants increased over the first decade of the new millennium from an estimated 150 million in 2000 to 214 million people in 2010 (IOM 2010: XIX).

Currently, various forms of family-led mobility have become a major component of migration intakes worldwide. Family-related mobility has been named the main channel of legal entry into the EU, as well as into traditional immigration countries, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States (Kofman and Meetoo 2008: 151). Therefore, it has become essential for mobility to be conceptualized in a broad spectrum of family relations, taking into consideration all members with their individual experiences in the process of migration.

The aim of this article is to draw attention to the social integration of Polish adolescents residing in Athens and to identify the factors influencing this process. The data comes from two case studies: on the social and school integration of young Polish citizens (2010), and on a Polish family and its migratory and educational strategies (2012). The first project involved interviews with Polish adolescents (17 and 18 years old) attending Greek and Polish high schools in Athens. The research problem was investigated from a qualitative perspective. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used to encourage participants to talk freely about their lives. Through this method we wished to elicit adolescents'

thinking and feelings about their social integration experiences in the peer group as well as in a wider, social context. Students from Greek high schools were sampled on the basis of their attendance at Polish Saturday school. The research sample consisted of twelve Polish pupils, six from Polish schools and six from Greek schools (three boys and three girls from each school). The participants attended the last grade of high school and mainly represented the second and one-and-half generation of immigrants; all of them possessed only Polish nationality.

The second case study involved seven in-depth interviews with Barbara, a Polish mother of two children, Kamil, 11 and Dominika, 17. Sessions took place every five to six weeks between February and November 2012 and lasted from an hour to an hour and a half. In this study we looked into family networks, the children's education, residential satisfaction and migratory plans in order to indicate the role of family members, including the children, in the process of migratory strategy formation. During this research issues related to the social integration of Barbara's children arose in every session.

POLISH MIGRATIONS

In the landscape of worldwide migrations Polish citizens occupy a significant place. Poland has been portrayed as an emigration country characterized by one of the most mobile populations among EU Member States (Marouf 2009: 3). For Polish people leaving their country has become a way to overcome socio-political problems and to search for higher standards of living. These were however not the only reasons; Polish citizens often see migration as a part of their path of personal development, a response to curiosity about the world. For many mobile Polish individuals globalization and becoming a part of European Union has changed the word *migration* into *travel*.

Greece – landscape of the destination country

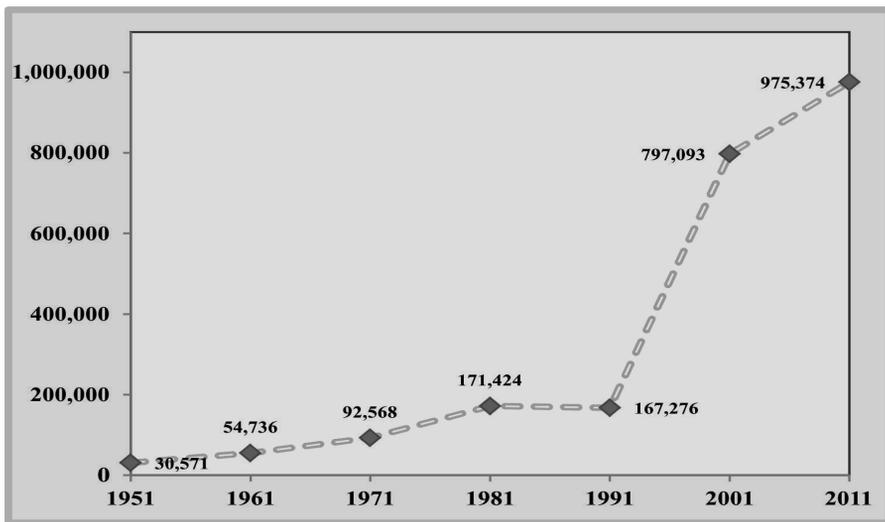
Greece has a long history of immigration. Figure 1 presents data from the Greek Censuses 1951–2001 and the Hellenic Statistical Authority (December 2011/January 2012, <http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE>) on the numbers of foreign citizens in Greece.

Recent research estimates Greece's immigrant population at about 1.3 million, or 12% of the total population of 11 million (Rami, Karakatsani and Le Roy 2011: 14), from more than 120 countries. Rising numbers of immigrants and asylum seekers in Greece can be explained by EU policies such as Dublin II, as well as by the fact that for many years Greece was the only EU Member State in the Balkan area, and by the country's geographical position – with an extensive

coastline with small islands that are difficult to monitor and so become a port of entry for irregular immigrants into the EU. Additionally, the nature of the Greek economy is one of the most relevant pull factors. On the one hand, the large informal economy together with many small family businesses (rather popular in Greece) requires a cheap, unskilled or semi-skilled labour force. On the other hand, young Greeks consider working in menial jobs degrading, therefore immigrants willing to work find employment relatively easily.

Figure 1.

Number of foreign citizens in Greece



Source: Parsonoglu (2008) and data from Hellenic Statistical Authority (<http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE>)

Immigrants to Greece are generally of working age, employed in construction, retail, agriculture and fishing, as well as hotels and restaurants, housekeeping and child care. Baldwin-Edwards (2008) has identified and indicated major differences between the living arrangements of the major immigrant nationalities in Greece, dividing them into two types. The first group represents the nuclear family (Albanians, Turkish, Polish, and Russians), while the second represents more multi-member households (Pakistanis, Bulgarians, Georgians, and Ukrainians).

The surge of immigration into Greece in the recent decades has led to significantly increased numbers of immigrant children attending Greek schools. Since the mid-1990s, the Greek public schools have gradually been faced

with an ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse school population (Rami, Karakatsani and Le Roy 2011: 14). The number of foreign students in Greek elementary schools rose from 10,634 in 1995/96 (Spinthourakis, Papoulia-Tzelepi and Markopoulos 2001: 4) to 45,598 in 1999/2000 (Giavrimis, Konstantinou and Hatzichristou 2003: 424). During the last decade, there has been an even greater increase noticed in the numbers of immigrant students in Greek schools, who primarily come from Albania and the former Soviet Union, but also from other European countries and Asia. In 2005–2007, more than 17% of children born in Greece had foreign nationality, in 2008 there were more than 18% of children born of foreign or co-ethnic returnee parents (Baldwin-Edwards 2008, Rami, Karakatsani and Le Roy 2011: 14). Many of these youngsters are raised in houses where Greek is not spoken at all.

Traditionally, immigrants in Greece have constituted a substantial part of the population and have supported the Greek economy and substituted for the lack of flexibility in the labour market (Siadima 2001). The situation has changed with the emergence of the crisis in 2008. Currently, for Greek media and public opinion-formers migration issues are of utmost importance and remain in the centre of attention, while the attitudes towards immigration in Greece are generally negative.

Polish immigrants in Greece

Greece has never been one of the main destination countries for Polish emigrants. Still, in terms of population size, the Polish community is among the ten largest immigrant groups residing in the country. Polish people moved to Greece mainly in search of work and higher standards of living. Nevertheless, curiosity and attraction towards the country, with its climate, culture and traditions, also worked as pull factors.

Some Polish citizens settled in Greece in the immediate post war period and soon after, mainly due to marriage with Greek citizens, but the first great inflow of Polish immigrants came in the early 1980s after the imposition of Martial Law in Poland. During this phase emigrants came to Greece as false tourists and then stayed as false refugees (Marouf 2009: 6) treating Greece as a transit country on their way to the USA, Canada or Australia. Their number grew every year, with 1987 as the peak year, when 92,767 tourists' came from Poland (Romaniszyn 1996: 324). After 1988, however, there was a steady decrease in the arrival of Polish citizens (Romaniszyn 1996: 324). Between 1987 and 1991 more than 200 thousand Polish people lived in Greece, most of them in Athens; and some of those immigrants still live there now. Men found work mostly in construction or harvesting and women in the service sector. During their stay in Greece

Polish political immigrants managed to create an infrastructure for the economic immigrants that followed.

The next phase of Polish immigration to Greece began with the collapse of the Communist regime in Poland in 1989, after which Polish citizens were free to leave their country. However, at the same time Greece tightened its migration policy; legal entry of foreigners and settlement with the purpose of working became nearly impossible. Hence, Polish immigration started again in 1995 when Polish citizens no longer needed a visa to stay in Greece for periods of up to three months.

At the beginning of the new millennium Polish workers constituted the third largest group of undocumented immigrants in Athens (Siadima 2001: 11) with 80% of people concentrated in Attica. In 2003 the Greek ambassador in Poland estimated that the number of Polish residents in Greece was between 40,000 and 50,000 people (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2006:15). The accession of Poland into the EU did not dramatically change the number of Polish citizens residing in Greece, as it was in case of some other EU countries (just to mention the UK and Ireland). Table 1 presents numbers of Polish citizens in Greece between 2002 and 2011 according to the Central Statistical Office of Poland (<http://www.stat.gov.pl/>).

Table 1.

Emigration from Poland to Greece (in thousands)

| End of year | 2002 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Thousands | 10 | 13 | 17 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 16 | 16 | 15 |

Source: Central Statistical Office of Poland (<http://www.stat.gov.pl/>)

There was a noticeable decrease in the Polish population in Greece after 2008;. Due to the crisis that struck Greece, Polish families started to re-emigrate to other EU countries (e.g. the UK, Germany, Denmark), or chose more distant locations (Canada) or returned to Poland.

The Polish community in Greece has been often portrayed as one of the best organised minorities in the country (Marouf 2009: 2). There are many independent Polish and Polish-Greek organisations that aim at strengthening relations between Polish and Greek citizens. Polish newspapers established by so-called Solidarity immigrants in the mid-1980s with the collaboration of Greek journalists are still published (e.g. “*Kurier Ateński*”, “*Polonia*” and “*Informator Polonijny*”).

The Polish population in Greece remains concentrated in Attica, with the cultural centre in Athens, in Michail Voda Street, where the Catholic Church of Christ Saviour is located. A large informal network of Polish private services is organized around that district (including everything from childcare, to shops, restaurants, legal offices, surgeries, and more). This area is a meeting place for Polish citizens where they socialize and exchange information concerning all aspects of immigrant life in Greece.

In terms of education Polish families in Athens have access to a number of institutions – Greek public and private schools, various international schools as well as the Group of Schools at the Polish Embassy in Athens (GoSaPEiA). However, taking into account the migratory pattern that the majority of Polish immigrants represent, that is economic emigration characterized by low paid jobs, actual school choice concerns free of charge institutions – either the Greek public schools or the GoSaPEiA.

The GoSaPEiA is one of the biggest Polish schools of this kind outside Poland designed to cater for Polish children temporarily residing in Greece. The number of pupils in the school year 2009–2010 (when the first study on social and school integration of young Polish citizens was conducted) was 1358: 709 pupils studying on daily ('regular') basis and 649 on complementary basis, i.e. taking classes in Saturday school intended for children attending Greek high schools. The GoSaPEiA includes a primary, a junior high, and a high school. The language of instruction is Polish; Greek is treated as a second language. The school is coordinated by the Group of Schools for Polish Citizens Temporarily Living Abroad, with its headquarters in Warsaw and is funded from the Polish state budget. Since 1997, the GoSaPEiA operates based on similar regulations as all public schools in Poland, and implements the entire curriculum of the Polish school. The Saturday school curriculum includes Polish language, the history and geography of Poland, religion, and social studies. Graduates of the Polish high school take their final exams (*Matura*) in Warsaw, Poland. Passing them allows to study in both Poland and Greece according to each country's regulations and requirements. The Greek state recognizes the GoSaPEiA as a foreign school. Thus, if its graduates want to study at Greek universities, they must meet admission requirements common for all foreigners, present a translated Secondary School-leaving Certificate, possess a residence permit, go through a medical check-up, and possess a certificate proving their knowledge of the Greek language.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The concept of *social integration* is a broad phenomenon which captures educational and economic outcomes as well as more subtle dimensions such as the composition of people with whom immigrants live, work, and form families (Åslund, Böhlmark and Skans 2009: 2). The integration of immigrants is a complex, multi-dimensional process that relates to all aspects of the social, cultural, civil, economic and political lives of the nation (Ager *et al.* 2003: 4). There is no universal agreement on what is meant by *social integration*, not to mention its dimensions and models. Various authors explain the notion of integration as a situation, phenomenon, process or relations that refer both to immigrants and host societies. In case of relations between the host society and immigrants, integration is usually understood as a process of the incorporation of new elements into the existing social system, whereby such incorporation should take place in a way that the extended system continues to function harmoniously and efficiently (see Koryś 2003). Research suggests that integration always brings about common tasks that need to be done by the immigrants themselves and by the host society. Thus, there needs to be an agreement between both groups that integration is an acceptable way to engage in intercultural relations.

Bosswick and Heckmann (2006: 3 after Esser 2000) proposed four basic forms of social integration – acculturation, placement, interaction, and identification. Acculturation (also referred to as socialization) designates a process by which an individual acquires knowledge, cultural standards and competencies needed to interact successfully in a society. The greatest influence on this process comes from significant others (Turner 1998); at first – parents and close relatives, but with time other people become more relevant: peers, teachers, close friends, partners. Acculturation is a precondition for placement – the process in which an individual acquires a position in the society: in the educational or economic systems, in the professions, or as a citizen. Interaction takes place when individuals form connections and networks – friendships, romantic relationships or marriages, or acquire more general membership of social groups. The last form of integration, identification, has both cognitive and emotional aspects and refers to a process of individuals' identification with a social system. According to this theory, the integration of immigrants into the society of settlement should be understood as a special case of social integration, to which the concepts of placement, acculturation, interaction and identification can be applied. Heckmann and Schnapper suggested that these four forms are basic dimensions of integration and could be conceptualized as structural, cultural, interactive, and identification integration.

The following study is based on a multicultural view of social integration of immigrants. Within this framework integration means the full participation of immigrants in the socio-economic life at the destination country without them having to give up their cultural identity, although with an expectation of the adoption of certain values (European Commission 2003). We approach integration as a process referring to the mutual relationship of an individual (Polish immigrant adolescent) with the host society (Greek society) – the degree to which an individual is connected to other individuals in a network. The consequences of this relationship concern both sides – the host society forces changes but at the same time undergoes some of them itself in the process of integration.

Adolescents and social integration

Adolescence is a time of unpredictable and powerful reactions and responses of great relevance for later life – no other transition in life is as demanding. Experience in peer groups has an important influence on adolescents and is vital for development and expression of autonomy. Their social world is highly complex, characterized by changing relationships with other people, authority figures and institutional structures, and with the society at large. Immigrant adolescents additionally need to struggle to establish and redefine their relationship with the new society. Accelerating geographic mobility, a characteristic of contemporaneity, is a difficult experience for young people. As they adjust to a new life, a new school, a new language, and a new culture, many immigrant adolescents face social and educational challenges. In addition to low economic status, these challenges include the pressure to make stressful adaptations to unfamiliar, evolving roles and relationships within families and social networks, high residential mobility, coping with emotional stress caused by the need to adjust to new social norms and a new institutional environment, family disruptions or separations and inadequate social support to compensate for broken community ties in their native countries (McCarthy, 1998: 16). For youngsters immigration is a difficult experience and in some cases, such as in the case of adolescents that go through complicated stages of human development and face great changes in their biological, cognitive and social spheres, integration processes might not proceed smoothly. As immigrant adolescents function within the contexts of their home, school and community environments the process of resettlement is not monolithic for them, but is rather a series of smaller changes in various life spheres (Birman, Trickett and Vinokurov 2002: 586). Young immigrants are faced with the new physical, social, and cultural environment of the host country and they have to rebuild their social networks. The literature on the subject suggests that adolescents are more likely to make friends with those whom they see most often as well as those with whom they feel they share

characteristics. Therefore, it is often a case for immigrant youth to befriend other immigrant children, especially those of the same ethnicity. Discrimination by their mainstream peers creates an important problem as it leads to segregation in and after school, alienation of recent immigrants, and creation of ethnically enclosed groups of students. Moreover, many immigrant children are brought up in households impacted by various socio-economic issues such as cultural and language barriers, unemployment or underemployment, social isolation, illiteracy, discrimination, and limited civic participation (Van Ngo 2009: 85 after Cooper 2003; Delgado *et al.* 2005; Statistics Canada 2003).

SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF POLISH ADOLESCENTS IN GREECE – THE RESULTS OF TWO STUDIES

From the results of the two projects on Polish immigrants in Athens five main themes regarding the factors influencing the social and school integration of Polish adolescents have emerged: the type of school the pupils attend, Greek language competency, peer relationships and other social networks, extracurricular activities, and parents' socio-economic status.

School

School has the power and tools to trigger positive inter-group contacts thanks to which diverse groups can interact and learn from one another. This, in turn, leads to strengthening the process of social integration. The Polish school in Athens was established for children temporarily residing in Greece. Due to its unique character as a Polish institution in the Greek society, in some ways it led to inequality as it placed Polish students in Polish reality, and created and strengthened networks among Polish pupils. Students attending this school spoke exclusively Polish and learned about and celebrated Polish religious and national holidays. The choice of school, often made by parents, had an influence and corresponded with social integration. Families which planned their future in Greece sent their children to Greek schools. These children seemed aware of the fact that they might stay in the country for longer, thus wanted to belong to the Greek society. Greek schools were places where Polish adolescents met with Greek pupils, socialized with them and generally participated more strongly and deeply in Greek culture¹ compared to adolescents from the Polish school.

¹ In this research we understand the notion of *culture* as shared pursuits within a cultural community; social aspects of human contact, including the give-and-take of socialization, negotiation, protocol, and conventions.

Celebrating Greek feasts and holidays together with their schoolmates and friends connected Polish adolescents with the Greek society. The greater participation in Greek culture seems to strengthen youngsters' social integration.

Greek language competency

Most educators and social scientists agree that it is crucial for immigrant children to master the mainstream language. Mastering it can propel children into the educational mainstream, allowing them to excel at school and improve their chances of successful and meaningful post-graduation employment. It is a generally accepted view that the ability to speak the language of a settlement country plays an important role in the process of integration, as it is a precondition for social participation. Good knowledge of the language of the receiving society facilitates the immigrants' social integration into different spheres of the larger community (Taft 1977, Vegler 1988). Thus, Greek language competency could be regarded as a booster but also as an indicator of the level of social integration of Polish immigrant children residing in Athens.

Polish immigrant students attending Greek schools initially had to deal with language difficulties. However, with time and the help of Greek teachers, the level of language proficiency greatly improved and at the time of the research the majority of them spoke both languages fluently.

At the beginning it was a little bit difficult; I wrote Greek words with Polish letters. I'm only a year in the Greek school, but I already write, although I am still having troubles with spelling. If they ask us to write an essay with 500–600 words I have no problem, I manage. The teachers are very helpful. They are OK for foreigners. (K., 17, GS)

Overall, Polish youth attending the Greek schools had a greater level of Greek language competency than their friends from the Polish school. A Polish mother we spoke to, as well as most of the young respondents declared that they exclusively used Polish at home, watched Polish TV, read Polish newspapers and books, and spoke Polish with friends. In this context the school becomes a relevant arena of Greek language acquisition. The Polish school regarded Greek as a foreign language; our respondents had up to two hours of Greek per week. Relatively little emphasis on Greek language in the Polish school may stem from the fact that it was primarily established for children residing temporarily in Greece with the aim to move back to Poland in the future.

Extracurricular activities in which adolescents participated also influenced their command of the Greek language – boys playing in Greek football clubs had to communicate with their Greek teammates (but also with other nationals – Greek

was a common language for communication in sport clubs). Since adolescents from Greek high schools participated in more extracurricular activities than their friends from the Polish school, they had more chances to practice speaking Greek not only at school but also outside of it.

Peer relationships and other networks

As we have already mentioned, adolescents tend to befriend those whom they see most often, as well as those with whom they share characteristics. In the group of adolescents from the Polish school all respondents stated that they had more Polish than Greek friends. As the GoSaPEiA's entire population was made of Polish pupils, it was difficult for students to befriend Greek peers while at school. As we have said, youngsters tend to spend the majority of their time at school. After school Polish respondents still spent time with their school friends or children of their parents' Polish friends. Polish students from Greek high schools had more Greek friends than their peers from the Polish school. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the majority of Polish youngsters from Greek schools had Greek friends. Possessing more Greek than Polish friends in the group of respondents from Greek schools is explained by the distance to the "centre of Polishness" – Michail Voda Street and its neighbourhood.

I have mainly Greek friends from my school... I live so far away from the centre... there are no Polish people in my neighbourhood that I know of. (K., 18, GS)

This is consistent with the literature that describes integration as a process occurring mainly at the local level. The frequency and quality of personal interactions and contacts between immigrants and the mainstream population in their neighbourhood or district is a key element of effective social integration.

Lack of Greek friends in both groups of respondents was often explained by not possessing enough time, residential mobility and ties loosening with time. Places where Polish pupils met Greeks were the same in both investigated groups – neighbourhood, sport clubs, language schools, school (pupils from the Greek high schools), as well as through friends who knew Greek people. Polish friends, in turn, our respondents met mainly at the GoSaPEiA, through friends, family, and the Polish parish. The fact that youngsters met Polish people through parents and their acquaintances was named the easiest and most convenient way of befriending Polish peers.

If I want to go out and meet with someone, they are usually from my mother's circle of friends, so Polish. But sometimes I also go out for example with Greeks,

who live next to me. A boxing club is next to my block and from there I have some of my [Greek] friends. (K., 17, GS)

Finding out more about the adolescents' personal lives helped us recognize what might strengthen the integration processes. When it comes to romantic relationships, we noticed that youngsters do not have problems with nationality or ethnicity in this context. At the time of research or in the past they had both Polish and Greek partners. However, when talking about future and more serious relationships, some interviewees from the Polish school suggested that they would prefer to have a Polish partner.

I would rather in the future have a Pole. I would like to have Polish children... (Da., 17, PS)

In case of the group of Polish respondents attending the Greek schools none of them spoke about preferences towards a Polish partner. Since romantic relationships might be regarded a pointer of social integration, we noticed a greater level of social integration among respondents from the Greek schools. Still, a larger sample would be necessary to confirm this observation. Yet, it seems accurate to say that even though love is on the forefront of adolescents' minds, issues concerning adolescents' romance are as mysterious to social scientists as they are to teenagers themselves (Furman, Brown and Feiring 1999:2).

Extracurricular activities

Interviewees often shared with us information on how they spent their free time. They mostly went out and met with friends. Participation in various organizations, especially ones connected to sport proved to be interesting. Sport generally contributes to broadening social networks and this was visible in our research. Even though the majority of ties created through participation in sports were rather weak and could be better described as acquaintanceships than friendships, having these weak ties seemed to benefit the social integration of Polish adolescents. Sports enabled these young people to develop networks of friends with similar interests. Sport clubs were places where Polish youth met and cooperated with Greeks, and at the same time a field where they could learn a lot about the Greek society and could also share their experiences about Poland and the Polish culture. Sport clubs proved to be a well-suited arena contributing to the process of social integration not only by enabling social contacts, but also by increasing Greek language competency. As it has been already stated, youngsters from the Greek high schools participated in more and differentiated extracurricular activities compared to respondents from the Polish school.

Parents and social integration of Polish adolescents

Parents' socio-economic status proved to be among the factors influencing social integration of Polish youngsters living in Athens. Attitudes towards and terms on which the parents were with the Greek society, as well as their occupational prestige and socio-economic status corresponded with their children's integration. In the case of some respondents, the parents were responsible for the school selection. Youth tended to have rather strong opinions about educational choices – some interviewees from the Polish school stated that if the decision about the school had been theirs, they would have chosen differently.

I do not like it here. I believe that teachers, most of them, do not know how to explain things well. You must take additional classes and pay for it. But if we are talking about colleagues, then I like it: we often meet after school. My mother enrolled me in this school. She decided that since I am Polish, I should be educated in a Polish school, and not Greek. I would definitely prefer to go to a Greek school. (J., 17, PS)

The majority of our respondents' parents had secondary education and did low-paid, mainly manual, jobs: mothers – domestic help, cleaners, nannies, waitresses, sellers, two unemployed housewives; fathers – construction workers and car mechanics. Within the group of youth from the Polish high school only one mother had higher education (economics). Still, she worked as a cleaner, which, as we noticed, made her daughter embarrassed. Therefore, it could be assumed that the parents' occupation indicating family's social status and allotting the family's position in the society was relevant for adolescents. In the group of Polish pupils from the Greek high schools four mothers and one father had higher education. From these, two mothers were not working, one worked in a pharmaceutical company (office job) and one worked as a nanny and was attending a Greek high school for adults in order to upgrade her level of the Greek language, as she planned to apply for a position of a PE teacher at a Greek school. Her daughter, when talking about her mother's current job, underlined that it was only temporary, and seemed to feel proud that her mom attended a Greek school and had solid plans regarding the future.

In our research children with better educated parents proved to be better integrated into the Greek society. This finding has not been confirmed by any other research in the field of adolescents' social integration and due to our small sample it cannot be generalized. Still, this is an interesting discovery that should be tested more thoroughly in the future.

Lower socio-economic status is often associated with fewer friendship opportunities – poorer children may be less able to participate in extracurricular activities. Youngsters from families with a more stable economic situation tended to go to language schools, sport clubs and sport centres (swimming pool, gym, or boxing club), and so on. Extracurricular activities are areas where friendships tend to be solidified. Yet, these activities can be expensive and require a time commitment from parents (e.g., giving lifts), as well as patience and understanding that this kind of pastime is important and boosts the child's development. Immigrant parents tend not to have as flexible work schedules as native parents and often work longer hours with lower wages. Therefore, their engagement in their children's activities might be limited.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Children of immigrants constitute a significant percentage of the EU population. Their integration into receiving societies becomes a basic requirement for these youngsters to turn into citizens able to contribute to the advancement of their new environments. Social integration of immigrants is a long-term and complex process, which influences and changes both: the host society and immigrants themselves. Migrants can obtain full social citizenship on the basis of mutual respect between different cultures. In this sense they have the actual right to participate and actively contribute to social life on equal terms with destination country nationals (Beqaj & Pieracci, 2006: 2). In case of relations between the host society and immigrants, integration always brings about common tasks that need to be carried out by both parties. For the last couple of years Greece has been struggling with increasing numbers of immigrants. Especially nowadays, in the times of the economic crisis that stroke this country hard, migration issues are of utmost importance and remain in the centre of attention of Greek media, public opinion-formers, as well as a great part of the Greek society; while the attitudes toward immigration are generally negative. This could create an obstacle for the social integration of Polish adolescent immigrants who reside in this country.

Our research showed that the social integration of Polish adolescents residing in Greece depends on the school the youngsters attend, Greek language competency, social networks within the Greek population, parents' socio-economic status, and extracurricular activities. When it comes to the networks within the Greek population, respondents from the GoSaPEiA had generally weak ties; mostly acquaintances, whilst pupils from the Greek schools had both strong and weak networks within the Greek society – friends, romantic relationships, and

acquaintances. Even though all networks are regarded as important for the process of social integration, Polish adolescents from the Greek schools had stronger, wider and more differentiated social networks within the Greek society than the group of adolescents from the Polish school. Thus, if we utilize Lasso and Soto's conceptualization (2005), which infers that social integration can be measured by the number and type of ties and the frequency of contacts, conclusions derived from our study may point to greater integration of Polish adolescents from the Greek schools when compared to respondents from the Polish school. Youngsters from the Greek high schools had more opportunities to meet Greeks, socialize with them and participate more widely in the Greek culture, which in turn positively impacted their integration. The GoSaPEiA, supposedly due to its unique character as a Polish school in the Greek territory, in some ways led to inequality as it seemed to place students in a Polish reality, create and strengthen networks among Polish individuals, even though in its statute it committed to organizing various activities in order to strengthen Polish – Greek relations. Relatively little emphasis on Greek language in the Polish school may stem from the fact that this school was primarily established for children residing in Greece only temporarily and not permanently. Thus, the school seemed to put emphasis on those subjects, which could be helpful and beneficial for children in their future careers in Poland. The relevance of the, often parents', choice of school to the analysis was also visible in the fact that families planning their future in Greece tended to send their children to the Greek schools. These youngsters, realizing that they would probably stay in Greece for longer, wanted to become a part of the new society. The school choice also appeared relevant for the Greek language competency. Obviously, youngsters from Greek schools had to master Greek since they attended schools where it was the language of instruction. Polish students from the GoSaPEiA did not have that chance. Our research, as many others in the field of migration, shows that the language is a crucial factor in the process of social integration of young immigrants.

Parents' socio-economic status also proved relevant for the process of social integration of Polish adolescents. Better-off parents could afford their child's participation in extracurricular activities outside the school, where Greek friendships and social networks in general were made and strengthened. Additionally, those parents seemed to understand the importance of such a pastime for their offspring. Extracurricular activities enabled participation in Greek culture which additionally built up social integration. Especially sport clubs proved important as a well-suited arena contributing greatly to social integration among young Polish immigrants.

Polish adolescents attending the Greek schools gave evidence of being involved in the new society while still retaining their ethnic heritage. These

youngsters spoke Polish and Greek fluently and generally described their life in Greece in a positive context. Pupils from the Polish high school were characterized by high Polish language proficiency and its everyday usage and low Greek language competency, as well as social contacts primarily with their co-ethnic peers. We found that Polish parents in Athens may adhere to Polish language, food, music and TV, and way of dressing with the aim or hope of passing them to their children. Our research confirmed the presence of this cultural transfer mostly in case of adolescents attending the Polish school, but also a partly in the group attending Greek high schools.

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POLISH CHILDREN IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS. INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS¹

The aim of the paper is to present the current situation of Polish children in English schools. The paper provides briefly basic information on recent migration of Poles to the United Kingdom and their situation in England. The data available on Polish pupils is discussed, along with its inadequacies and limitations. The situation of Polish children is determined by the peculiarities of the decentralised English education system, main features of which are presented, with main differences between the Polish education system singled out.

The United Kingdom has had its own history of dealing with ethnic minority pupils since the Second World War (“Education for all” 1985, “The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain” 2002), which undoubtedly influences its attitude towards Polish pupils. However, the emphasis put on the white vs. non-white distinction, still apparent in British classification systems, does not allow easy identification of challenges faced by Polish children or their needs, as they are merged into a bigger Other White category. In this context, the local research projects focused on particular communities are invaluable. The paper draws much from the research carried out at the Social Policy Research Centre at Middlesex University. Still, as the lack of proficient English language skills is one of the main challenges that Polish families and teachers have to cope with, there is a need to present the institutional settings and solutions aimed at children with English as an additional language (EAL), who constitute a growing fraction of the English schools population. The brief discussion of differences between educational achievements

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of EAL and non-EAL pupils follows. The paper closes with the analysis of the role of parents and their needs and expectations.

The recent migration from Poland to the United Kingdom has been a subject of many research projects and volumes (cf. White 2011). The thorough presentation of all those goes well beyond the scope of this paper, where the focus is on the educational challenges and opportunities of children of Polish migrants. However, some basic data on Polish communities on British Isles as well as main characteristics of recent migration waves are needed in order to provide proper context for further analyses, as they influence children's educational status. The last census organized in the United Kingdom supplied some basic information on the volume of recent migration. However, it should be noted that ethnic categories used in England and Wales do not allow easy identification of Polish migrants as they merge all members belonging to "Other White" category in a one big category (Kulakowska 2012). The information on Poles can be taken from the answers to the census questions on national identity, country of birth and passport holders, as well as on language. In 2011 in England there were 573 999 persons with Polish identity, which represented 1,1 per cent of the population (Table QS214EW)².

Researchers from the Middlesex University, authors of the project "Polish Pupils in London Schools: opportunities and challenges", identified: the speed of the migration, its temporary and circular character, the privileged status of European Union citizens, relatively significant geographical dispersion³, "concentration in low status employment" and "lack of familiarity with diversity and multiculturalism" – as key features of Polish migration (Sales et al. 2008:7). The speed of the Polish migration can be illustrated by the difference in the data from two censuses, the number of Poles recorded in 2001 equalled less than 60 thousand people, with more than one third located in London (Country of birth Table 2001)⁴. Geographical dispersion means that for some schools Polish pupils might be the first non-English speakers they have ever had to cater for. Given the latest data on high fertility rates among Polish women residing in England and Wales⁵ and the age structure of Polish population, with the dominant groups of

² In comparison to 561 098 people born in Poland (Table QS203EW), 529 173 people whose main language is Polish (aged 3 and over) (Table QS204EW) and 541 478 Polish passport holders (Table QS212EW).

³ See the Appendix for the Table 1. presenting the numbers of Polish communities across England.

⁴ See the Appendix for the Table 2. presenting the changes in the Polish population between 2001 and 2011.

⁵ In 2010, Poland "became the most common country of origin for non-UK born mothers" ("Births in England and Wales by parents' country of birth" 2010)

age between 20 and 39⁶, one should expect high numbers of Polish pupils also in the closest future (taken into consideration as well that 10% of Polish population is constituted by children younger than 4 years old – approximately 55 thousand). However, it is difficult to estimate whether this trend would continue for the next decades (or whether the number of return migrations will increase), as it will depend on the socio-economic situation both in Poland and England.

The British education system is highly decentralized and devolved (see Machin, McNally, and Wyness 2013), with separate systems operating in four British countries. The focus of this paper is put on the situation in England, therefore the term ‘English system and schools’ are used. There are differences between the Polish and English educational systems which influence the expectations and behaviours of both parents and teachers. One of those difference marked by Sales and others is the fact that even children who experience some learning difficulties and do not manage to acquire all the skills required at a certain level proceed automatically to the next class (whereas in Poland there is a threat⁷ of “repeating” the same programme and missing a year) (Lopez Rodriguez et al. 2010)⁸. Authors pointed also to the fact that children start their education earlier in England (at the age of 5) and to the diversity of types of English schools: along with free state schools, there operate independent (private schools), also called “public schools”, where the parents need to pay fee for the education of their children. Among primary state schools, there are community schools, voluntary-aided (most of them ‘faith’ schools), special schools and maintained boarding schools (Sales et al. 2010: 15).

English local authorities are obliged to collect information on ethnicity of school pupils as well as on their educational achievements (“Ethnic monitoring” 2013). However, it is impossible to differentiate Polish students from others in Other White category, which makes presenting any data on the achievements of this broad group highly questionable. The useful source of information on the number Polish students can be instead the number of students who use Polish language as a first language. According to the data presented at the website of the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum, in 2012

⁶ See the Appendix for the Table 4. presenting the age structure of the Polish population based in England.

⁷ Though it should be underlined that in Poland – according to the Ordinance of the Minister of National Education (2007) – children in grades 1–3 are to be promoted unless special conditions occur.

⁸ The same team of researchers from the Social Policy Research Centre at Middlesex University, London: Rosemary Sales, Louise Ryan, Magda Lopez Rodriguez and Alessio D’Angelo, have prepared a series of research reports, publications and booklets on educational issues which are referred to in this paper.

there were 53,915 pupils in English schools who spoke Polish, which constituted 0,8% of the school population, and made Polish the fifth most popular language in schools (“Languages in schools”)⁹.

Given the scarcity of data available on the national level, it is necessary to refer to local research projects. One of them, mentioned already above, was conducted by the team from the Middlesex University in four primary schools in London in 2008 (Sales et al. 2008:12). The authors described several issues connected with the experience of schooling raised by interviewees (both staff members and parents). The discussed earlier speed of migration resulted in some children arriving in the middle of the school year. That might cause a panic among teachers, especially if a new arrival spoke hardly any English. The speed of migration was often accompanied by “lack of preparation for the move” (14) on behalf of the parents and their children. Some of them decided to migrate for economic reasons, without a definite plan of settling in Britain. They were not aware of the complexities of English education system and the complicated process of finding a school place for their children. Furthermore, in their quest for a best job offer, they might be moving again, thus causing their child to change a school again and start a whole process of adjusting almost from the beginning. However, interviewees also underlined that the education of children is of significant importance to Polish parents and it can even influence the decision whether or not (or when) to come back to Poland¹⁰. Another issue mentioned in the report was “continuing commitment to Poland” (15), impacting (among other things) school attendance, disrupted by frequent and prolonged holidays in home country. As schools are assessed also on “the attendance record of the children” (15), that might cause understandable tensions between parents and school staff members. Some teachers also raised the concern over “Polish children’s [and parents’ – MK] lack of familiarity with dealing with diversity” (18) which led to viewing certain communities with suspicion or even expressing racist remarks.

One of the significant concerns when coping with new arrivals was certainly their lack of English skills. Before presenting findings from the research project

⁹ See the Appendix for the Table 3. presenting the list of top 20 languages. According to the data from the last census, in 2011 out of 529 173 people whose main language was Polish, 68 736 were of age between 3 and 15 (Table LC2104EW). The difference between those numbers can be most likely accounted for by the number of the youngest children who have not yet reached the school age.

¹⁰ The theme of decisions made by parents (on whether or not to migrate and how that can affect the children and their family as a whole) has been further explored in the paper, “Family Migration: The Role of Children and Education in Family Decision-Making Strategies of Polish Migrants in London” (Ryan and Sales 2013).

described above, it seems useful to provide some basic information on the general number of children for whom English is not the first language. As mentioned before, the Polish language is (only) the fifth most popular one out of those spoken by pupils in primary and secondary schools – although it is the most popular “other” language recorded in the last census, spoken by 1 per cent of the population (“Language in England and Wales” 2011). Children with English as an Additional Language constituted 18,1% of the population in state-funded primary schools and 13,6% of pupils in state-funded secondary schools in January 2013, with these proportions varying significantly from one region to another, starting from 5,9% in South West and reaching 55,9% in Inner London (for primary schools, and accordingly 4,3% and 49% for secondary schools) (Local authority and regional tables: SFR21/2013¹¹).

Such a big variation means that some schools and local authorities might be better equipped to deal with the influx of new arrivals and have better access to useful resources than others. This variety in strategies adopted by schools was also reflected on a smaller scale in the research project conducted by the team from the Middlesex University. One of the schools in the study cooperated closely with the local authority, with the specialist unit in place and “a dedicated Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) team” (Sales et al. 2008: 22), catering for needs of newly arrived migrants as well as UK-born EAL children. The school was able to provide children with a 12-week induction programme and extra language support. However, it was mentioned that teachers from other schools had not received similar amount of support in dealing with EAL children, which led to confusion and frustration. The research project report quoted one teacher, saying, “Nobody felt that they had had enough support or been told this is the right thing to do. Everybody was stumbling through the dark” (23). Some other schools mentioned in the report used teaching assistants who worked with children in small groups during the literacy hours (while other pupils studied English). Regardless the setting, the authors admitted that most of the time pupils spent within the classroom, which meant a heavy burden for teachers, who “have to manage classes on their own, inducting new learners while teaching thirty other children often with diverse needs” (25), frequently feeling disoriented and frustrated. Some of the teachers would rely on other Polish-speaking pupils (if available), trying to balance the obvious advantages of such a situation against the risk that they will speak Polish most of the time. In some schools there might be Polish-speaking staff members.

It would be good to put all these experiences in context by comparing them with another piece of research into EAL management strategies. Clare Wardman

¹¹ See the Appendix for the more detailed information – Tables (5) and (6).

described main theories and practice affecting EAL children in UK primary schools (Wardman 2012). In a similar way to previous research, she pointed out “lack of centralisation of funding and resources” (2) and geographical variation in provision of support. As the results she listed: “inefficiencies in funding distribution, time-wasting (...) and a lack of knowledge through a lack of an effective training programme”. Wardman was critical of the current state of research and policies in this field, stating that the study of these issues “remains in its infancy”, while most of the research is “relatively small-scale and limited in its scope”(3), thus not that credible and useful for decision-makers. Certain concepts and practices are debatable by researchers and practitioners, such as “the concept of withdrawal from the classroom for language study” (3), which – while officially not accepted as children are believed to integrate better in “a whole-class teaching environment” (3), seems to be widely and commonly used, at least during literacy hours (as it was also shown in examples discussed above). In her paper, Wardman presented the results of the qualitative study of eight primary schools from Northern England on the “provision of support for EAL children, (...) attitudes towards bilingualism, and the use of the first language in the classroom” (9). Schools in the study varied significantly in numbers of EAL pupils and also in the level of support available. Strategies for management of EAL differed as well, with three schools having a dedicated EAL co-ordinator, one with a post of Inclusion/SEN¹² Manager, one where Deputy Head was also Inclusion Manager and SENCo, and three with unclear or undefined coordination/provision (10, Table 1). Support obtained from local authorities, relying mostly on the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) funding, varied “from the occasional translator being provided on request (...) to the regular provision of teaching or support personnel” (10). Such significant discrepancies between the schools and local authorities led to the widespread “sense of injustice” (11), with some teachers calling themselves ‘lucky’, and the others feeling confused and left on their own. It is important to notice that the EMAG, which main functions were to “narrow achievement gaps” (“Aiming high” 2004) for underachieving ethnic minority pupils and to assist bilingual pupils, was modified in 2011 and “mainstreamed into the dedicated schools grant” (“Ethnic minority achievement grant” 2012), which meant that the decision on how to spend this funding is left to the discretion of school authorities, as it no longer has to be devoted specifically to the needs of ethnic minority and bilingual children (“EAL Funding”).

It is also worth considering the achievement gaps between EAL children and native English speakers. Children in English schools are graded after each of

¹² SEN stands for Special Educational Needs, and SENCo for Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator.

so called key stages, at the age of 7,11,14 and 16¹³. The final (in compulsory education) 4th key stage is when they take the public examination, called the General Certificate of Secondary Education (Kulakowska 2010). There are gaps between native English speakers and EAL children at all the key stages¹⁴, yet they are not substantial and seem to be slightly narrowing with age (which is understandable assuming growing language skills). For example, in 2010 for writing skills assessed at the end of Key Stage 1, the difference between EAL and non-EAL pupils equalled 5,3 points (“Key stage 1” 2010), for reading, writing and mathematics assessed at the Key Stage 2 in 2011 the difference was 5 points (“National curriculum” 2012), while at GCSE in 2010/2011 when English and mathematics were included, the gap was 3 points (“GCSE” 2013). For comparison, differences between White British group and Any Other White Background equalled (at the same GCSE – Key Stage 4) 6,1 points, while gender gap was 9,4, and the difference between children entitled to free school meals and those who are not 26,3 points (“GCSE” 2013).

One of the concerns mentioned by the teachers in “Polish pupils” project was the challenge of conflicting priorities, as they had to cater to the needs of new arrivals while at the same time preparing the rest of the class for exams and providing them with high quality education (Sales et al. 2008:14). The same concern was addressed in the piece of research prepared by Charlotte Geay, Sandra McNally and Shqiponja Telha, entitled “Non-Native Speakers Of English In The Classroom: What Are The Effects On Pupil Performance?” (Geay, McNally, and Telhaj 2012). They analysed the relation between the proportion of non-native English speakers (EAL children) and the educational achievements of native English speakers when they finish the primary school. The authors acknowledged “a [modest] negative raw correlation” (2) between the results obtained by native English speakers and the percentage of EAL children in their year group, which however is reduced with a few controls added. The controls used included some demographics of native speakers, for instance eligibility for free school meals (which is a marker of economic disadvantage), or special educational needs statement, as well as school characteristics, accompanied with “controls for prior attainment” (8). The discussed negative correlation is reduced by half when demographics of native speakers are taken into account,

¹³ For younger children there is a teacher assessment stage, called the Early Years Foundation Stage.

¹⁴ Whenever possible, the newest data published by the Department for Education was used – for the Key Stage 1 from 2010, for the Key Stage 2 from 2011 and for the GCSE from 2010/2011. As no actual data on EAL children seemed available for the Key Stage 3, the information on the gap was taken from the “Ethnicity and Education: The Evidence on Minority Ethnic Pupils 5–16” (2006: 61–63).

and getting “close to zero” (13) when school characteristics are also considered. Geay, McNally and Telhaj interpreted these results to signify that the negative association is the consequence of “the sorting of non-native speakers into schools with poorer characteristics” (13).

In the decentralised and diverse context of English schooling the role of parents seems particularly important. The “Polish Pupils in London Schools: opportunities and challenges” research project described the relations between school and Polish parents, pointing out their ambiguous nature (Sales et al. 2008). On the one hand, teachers praised “the strong work ethic” (16) of Polish parents who are supportive of their children’s education, on the other, they sometimes appeared unaware of mismatched parental expectations, rooted in “different ideas about the relationship between parents and schools”(17). One of the issues was certainly the language, with school staff sometimes needing to put an extra effort in communication, by providing translation or finding an interpreter. Still, due to differences in education systems in England and Poland, there was sometimes “a lack of understanding of school structures”(32) and expectations on behalf of parents, which went beyond inadequate language skills. Even though parents generally appreciated school’s efforts to integrate the newly arrived children, they were unsatisfied with the amount of information given on their child’s progress¹⁵. The authors of the reports talked about “considerable anger”(33), providing quotations from interviews like, “I have no clue what the child does at school... it’s a disaster for me” (33). The parents did not feel confident, knowing that even if their child does not cope with the material at a required level or pace, they will be anyway moved from one class to another, but placed in a lower ability group. They felt that “they were unable to help the children catch up with their work” (34) and seemed to question the whole idea of streaming pupils by ability. Furthermore, Polish parents were used to much higher amounts of homework given to pupils on a daily basis than those which are considered to be suitable for children in primary schools by British officials. These feelings of dissatisfaction with their children’s progress were only reinforced by the sense that children should somehow “make up for [their own] deskilling”(34) forced by economic migration. While parents interviewed by the researchers from the Middlesex University seemed eager to get involved in their children’s educational achievements and task, they appeared less willing to participate in school activities, especially those related to fundraising. They also expected a bigger number of after-school activities to be provided by school for their children.

¹⁵ Similar thoughts were quoted in another paper by A. D’Angelo and L. Ryan, which focused on “issues of social interaction and socialisation (...) within the school environment” (D’Angelo, Ryan 2011:244).

The responsibility of the parents for choosing and securing a school place for their child also appears greater in English context. Using the insight from their research, the team from the Middlesex University have prepared two guidebooks for parents of newly arrived children to England, advising them on an enrolment process, namely “A guide to schooling in England for BME and newly arrived migrant parents” (Sales et al. 2010) and (in English and Polish language versions) “Polskie Dzieci w Brytyjskich Szkołach Podstawowych. Przewodnik dla Rodziców” (Lopez Rodriguez et al. 2010), where they not only described the English education system, but also presented a series of hints on what to consider when choosing a school. They suggested visiting school in person and finding as much information as possible, including checking the amount of support provided to EAL children, the process of streaming and parent-teacher communication, availability of after-school activities and school equipment. They also offered references to school prospectuses, Ofsted reports and school league tables.

In conclusion, it needs to be stated that the situation of Polish children in English schools is influenced by various factors, namely the peculiarities of the devolved and decentralised English education system, British traditional approaches towards ethnic minorities, focused on white vs. non-white distinctions illustrated in school ethnic categories, as well as existing strategies and solutions of EAL management¹⁶. Polish parents are not always aware of the complexities of the system they encounter, especially when focused on economic struggles. However, it should be underlined that parents whose views were reflected in current research seemed to treat the education of their children extremely seriously and were regarded by teachers as very engaged and supportive. Furthermore, current data suggests that the educational differences between Polish children and the White British majority are not substantial (estimated on the basis of the differences between EAL and non-EAL children as well as the differences between White British and Any Other White categories) and might be connected more with the characteristics of a given school than with individual characteristics of immigrant pupils (as it was the case in the research paper discussed earlier on educational achievements of native English speakers).

What seems crucial is that – within a relatively short time period – the Polish children have become a new piece of the English educational ‘jigsaw’, and it is most likely they will stay and will continue to feed back their own experiences and expectations to it.

¹⁶ D’Angelo and Ryan underline also the role that „pre-migration values and expectations”, as well as widely understood migrant experiences of the host society, play in shaping interactions between school staff members and Polish parents (see D’Angelo, Ryan 2011: 254)

APPENDIX.

Table 1.

Polish passports holders, divided by English regions [Own adaptation of the table QS212EW]

| Region | All passport holders | Poland | the percentage of the whole population of England | the percentage of the Polish population |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---|---|
| North East | 2 596 886 | 8 243 | 0,3% | 1,5% |
| North West | 7 052 177 | 49 591 | 0,7% | 9,2% |
| Yorkshire and The Humber | 5 283 733 | 44 835 | 0,8% | 8,3% |
| East Midlands | 4 533 222 | 50 740 | 1,1% | 9,4% |
| West Midlands | 5 601 847 | 49 974 | 0,9% | 9,2% |
| East of England | 5 846 965 | 60 195 | 1,0% | 11,1% |
| London | 8 173 941 | 156 497 | 1,9% | 28,9% |
| South East | 8 634 750 | 78 579 | 0,9% | 14,5% |
| South West | 5 288 935 | 42 824 | 0,8% | 7,9% |
| England | 53 012 456 | 541 478 | 1,0% | 100,0% |

Table 2.

Changes in UK-residents born in Poland between 2001 and 2011, divided by English regions [Own adaptation of the tables QS203EW and Country of Birth (UV08)]

| | Born in Poland | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| | 2001 | 2011 | |
| | x | y | the increase |
| England | 56 679 | 561 098 | 10x |
| North East | 735 | 8 759 | 12x |
| North West | 4864 | 51 999 | 11x |
| Yorkshire and The Humber | 4395 | 47 920 | 11x |
| East Midlands | 4881 | 53 400 | 11x |
| West Midlands | 4565 | 52 499 | 12x |
| East of England | 4142 | 62 100 | 15x |
| London | 22224 | 158 300 | 7x |
| South East | 7099 | 81 022 | 11x |
| South West | 3774 | 45 099 | 12x |

Table 3.

The top languages as presented at NALDIC website [“Languages in schools”]

| 2012 | No. | % |
|----------------|-----------|------|
| English | 5,570,335 | 84.1 |
| Panjabi | 116,350 | 1.7 |
| Urdu | 109,215 | 1.6 |
| Bengali | 87,945 | 1.3 |
| Polish | 53,915 | 0.8 |
| Somali | 42,215 | 0.6 |
| Gujarati | 40,490 | 0.6 |
| Arabic | 39,135 | 0.6 |
| Portuguese | 24,305 | 0.4 |
| Tamil | 24,605 | 0.4 |
| French | 22,415 | 0.3 |
| Turkish | 20,490 | 0.3 |
| Chinese | 17,275 | 0.3 |
| Yoruba | 15,765 | 0.2 |
| Spanish | 14,525 | 0.2 |
| Pashto/Pakhto | 12,035 | 0.2 |
| Lithuanian | 11,275 | 0.2 |
| Albanian/Shqip | 11,425 | 0.2 |

Table 4.

Age structure of Polish passport holders in England
[Own adaptation of the DC2110EWt table]

| Age | Polish passports holders in England | the percentage of the whole Polish population |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Age 0 to 4 | 55 335 | 10,22% |
| Age 5 to 9 | 28 750 | 5,31% |
| Age 10 to 15 | 25 976 | 4,80% |
| Age 16 to 19 | 14 157 | 2,61% |
| Age 20 to 24 | 46 791 | 8,64% |
| Age 25 to 29 | 131 225 | 24,23% |
| Age 30 to 34 | 114 000 | 21,05% |
| Age 35 to 39 | 52 636 | 9,72% |
| Age 40 to 44 | 25 111 | 4,64% |
| Age 45 to 49 | 17 266 | 3,19% |
| Age 50 to 54 | 15 206 | 2,81% |
| Age 55 to 64 | 11 873 | 2,19% |
| Age 65 and over | 3 152 | 0,58% |
| All | 541 478 | 100,00% |

Table 5.

The numbers and the percentages of EAL and non-EAL children in state-funded primary schools
[The Table 10a, Local authority and regional tables: SFR21/2013]

| STATE-FUNDED PRIMARY SCHOOLS (1)(2): | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS BY FIRST LANGUAGE (3) | | | | | | | |
| January 2013 | | | | | | | |
| By local authority area and region in England | | | | | | | |
| Pupils of compulsory school age and above | | | | | | | |
| | EAL children | Percentage of EAL children (4) | Native English speakers | Percentage of native English speakers (4) | Unclassified (5) | Percentage unclassified (4) | Total (3) (6) |
| ENGLAND (6) | 612 160 | 18,1 | 2 765 735 | 81,8 | 5 005 | 0,1 | 3 382 900 |
| NORTH EAST (6) | 9 445 | 6,1 | 145 225 | 93,8 | 125 | 0,1 | 154 795 |
| NORTH WEST (6) | 61 850 | 13,2 | 404 705 | 86,7 | 310 | 0,1 | 466 865 |
| YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER (6) | 55 540 | 15,8 | 294 815 | 84,1 | 235 | 0,1 | 350 585 |
| EAST MIDLANDS (6) | 34 445 | 12,0 | 253 250 | 87,9 | 525 | 0,2 | 288 220 |
| WEST MIDLANDS (6) | 74 445 | 19,9 | 299 320 | 79,9 | 630 | 0,2 | 374 400 |
| EAST OF ENGLAND (6) | 44 870 | 12,2 | 322 120 | 87,6 | 700 | 0,2 | 367 690 |
| LONDON (6) | 250 455 | 47,5 | 275 435 | 52,2 | 1 810 | 0,3 | 527 700 |
| INNER LONDON (6) | 103 930 | 55,9 | 81 360 | 43,7 | 715 | 0,4 | 186 005 |

Table 5.

| STATE-FUNDED PRIMARY SCHOOLS (1)(2): | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS BY FIRST LANGUAGE (3) | | | | | | | |
| January 2013 | | | | | | | |
| By local authority area and region in England | | | | | | | |
| Pupils of compulsory school age and above | | | | | | | |
| | EAL children | Percentage of EAL children (4) | Native English speakers | Percentage of native English speakers (4) | Unclassified (5) | Percentage unclassified (4) | Total (3) (6) |
| OUTER LONDON (6) | 146 525 | 42,9 | 194 080 | 56,8 | 1 095 | 0,3 | 341 700 |
| SOUTH EAST (6) | 62 565 | 11,6 | 477 340 | 88,4 | 365 | 0,1 | 540 275 |
| SOUTH WEST (6) | 18 545 | 5,9 | 293 525 | 94,0 | 300 | 0,1 | 312 370 |

Source: *School Census*

1. Includes middle schools as deemed.
2. Includes primary academies, including free schools.
3. Pupils of compulsory school age and above were classified by first language. Includes pupils who are sole or dual main registrations.
4. The number of pupils by their first language expressed as a percentage of the number of pupils of compulsory school age and above.
5. Information was not sought or refused, also includes pupils where classification of first language is pending.
6. National, regional and overall pupil numbers have been rounded to the nearest 5 therefore totals may not appear to equal the sum of the component parts

Table 6.

The numbers and the percentages of EAL and non-EAL children in state-funded secondary schools
[The Table 10a, Local authority and regional tables: SFR21/2013]

| Table 10b | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| STATE-FUNDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS (1)(2): | | | | | | | | | |
| NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS BY FIRST LANGUAGE (3) | | | | | | | | | |
| January 2013 | | | | | | | | | |
| By local authority area and region in England | | | | | | | | | |
| Pupils of compulsory school age and above | | | | | | | | | |
| | EAL children | Percentage of EAL children (4) | Native English speakers | Percentage of native English speakers (4) | Unclassified (5) | Percentage unclassified (4) | Total (6) | | |
| ENGLAND (6) | 436 150 | 13,6 | 2 759 655 | 86,1 | 8 230 | 0,3 | 3 204 040 | | |
| NORTH EAST (6) | 7 010 | 4,4 | 152 245 | 95,5 | 150 | 0,1 | 159 405 | | |
| NORTH WEST (6) | 38 610 | 9,2 | 380 965 | 90,6 | 870 | 0,2 | 420 445 | | |
| YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER (6) | 36 240 | 11,3 | 283 430 | 88,5 | 505 | 0,2 | 320 170 | | |
| EAST MIDLANDS (6) | 26 430 | 9,3 | 257 620 | 90,5 | 510 | 0,2 | 284 555 | | |
| WEST MIDLANDS (6) | 53 150 | 14,9 | 301 545 | 84,7 | 1 255 | 0,4 | 355 950 | | |
| EAST OF ENGLAND (6) | 33 515 | 8,9 | 343 690 | 90,9 | 1 000 | 0,3 | 378 205 | | |
| LONDON (6) | 181 935 | 38,9 | 282 870 | 60,5 | 2 375 | 0,5 | 467 180 | | |
| INNER LONDON (6) | 72 995 | 49,0 | 75 050 | 50,4 | 880 | 0,6 | 148 930 | | |

Table 6.

| Table 10b | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| STATE-FUNDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS (1)(2): | | | | | | | |
| NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS BY FIRST LANGUAGE (3) | | | | | | | |
| January 2013 | | | | | | | |
| By local authority area and region in England | | | | | | | |
| Pupils of compulsory school age and above | | | | | | | |
| | EAL children | Percentage of EAL children (4) | Native English speakers | Percentage of native English speakers (4) | Unclassified (5) | Percentage unclassified (4) | Total (6) |
| OUTER LONDON (6) | 108 940 | 34,2 | 207 820 | 65,3 | 1 495 | 0,5 | 318 255 |
| SOUTH EAST (6) | 45 705 | 9,1 | 454 510 | 90,6 | 1 305 | 0,3 | 501 520 |
| SOUTH WEST (6) | 13 560 | 4,3 | 302 785 | 95,6 | 265 | 0,1 | 316 610 |

Source: School Census

1. Includes middle schools as deemed.
2. Includes city technology colleges and secondary academies, including free schools, university technical colleges and studio schools.
3. Pupils of compulsory school age and above were classified by first language. Includes pupils who are sole or dual main registrations.
4. The number of pupils by their first language expressed as a percentage of the number of pupils of compulsory school age and above. Information was not sought or refused, also includes pupils where classification of first language is pending.
6. National, regional and overall pupil numbers have been rounded to the nearest 5 therefore totals may not appear to equal the sum of the component parts.

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BEATRIX BUKUS

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STUDENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION ATTENDING HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN PUBLIC EDUCATION: CATEGORISATION AND STATISTICAL DATA COLLECTION

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the interrelation between the categorisation of and the educational statistical data collection on members of the group ‘students in the context of migration’¹. To begin with, this interrelation will be investigated on the basis of an examination of the current (2007–2013) categorisation and statistical data collection practices of Hungarian public education. This will then be contrasted to German practices with regard to the transferability of labels and statistical data categories into the Hungarian context. Finally, on the basis of the results of a case study at a Hungarian public school, which aimed to reveal the diversity within the group of ‘students in the context of migration’, a data collection chart designed for pedagogical purposes will be presented. This chart adds further data collection categories to those already in administrative use. These categories are relevant for day-to-day pedagogical praxis targeted at the group under discussion. The paper argues that a categorisation of ‘students in the context of migration’ that better reflects reality is important, as it renders the inherent diversity of this group more visible. This could help to influence statistical data collection and enable improved pedagogic and policy responses, thus furthering the social integration of the students in question.

¹ The term ‘students in the context of migration’ is used here to cover the entire diversity of the student population with any experience with migration.

CATEGORISATION AND EDUCATIONAL STATISTICAL DATA
COLLECTION ON STUDENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION
ATTENDING PUBLIC EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

A systematic search for labels in academic and grey literature, as well as official governmental documents published in Hungarian language used for denominating ‘students in the context of migration’ and their access to public education, shows that a variety of expressions are currently in use. “*Migrant student*”, “*Foreign citizen pupil*”, “*Child of immigrant parents*”, “*Immigrant child*”, “*non-Hungarian speaking child*”, “*Child whose first language is not Hungarian*”, “*Non-Hungarian citizen child*”, “*Migrant student*”, “*Foreign student with XY citizenship*”, “*Immigrant student not speaking Hungarian*” are some of these labels. This list of expressions shows a failed attempt to capture a diverse group under a singular label. The labelling is sometimes so confused that even within official documents, terms with limited scope are applied, or in the same official document different expressions are used as synonyms without any clear definition or consistency of use:

„A magyar közoktatásban mind nagyobb számban vannak **nem magyar** állampolgárságú **gyermekek, tanulók.**” [„The number of **non-Hungarian citizen children, students** attending Hungarian public education is growing”] (Official Announcement of the Ministry of Education in 2004² on the intercultural pedagogical directive on the joint education of Hungarian and foreign citizen students 2004 p.1.) [translation by me, B.B.]

„A **külföldi állampolgár tanulókhöz** való viszony, a velük való bánásmód a közoktatásban általában és egy intézményen belül is annak a nevelésfilozófiának a tükré, amelyet érvényesítenek. Ebben az értelemben nem beszélhetünk „kizárólag” a **migráns tanulók** neveléséről-oktatásáról, nem foglalkozhatunk ezzel a kérdéssel úgy, hogy közben ne szólnánk azokról a gyermekekről is, akiknek Magyarország a szülőföldjük, ez a hazájuk, akik ennek az országnak a polgárai.” [„The relation to the **foreign citizen students** is reflected in the educational philosophy in general and of the particular school. In this sense we cannot speak exclusively about the **migrant students’** education, but we have

² OM közlemény a külföldi állampolgár gyerekek, tanulók interkulturális pedagógiai rendszer szerinti óvodai nevelése és iskolai nevelés-oktatása irányelvének kiadásáról (2004); Melléklet az Oktatási Minisztérium a külföldi állampolgár gyerekek, tanulók interkulturális pedagógiai rendszer szerinti óvodai nevelése és iskolai nevelés-oktatása irányelvére vonatkozó közleményéhez: A magyar és a külföldi állampolgár gyermek és tanulók közös nevelésekor, illetve nevelése-oktatásakor alkalmazott interkulturális program címmel. Nemzeti Erőforrás Minisztérium, Budapest. <http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/nemzetkozi-kapcsolatok/vonatkozo-magyar/oktatasi-miniszter>) [Accessed 30 December 2013].

to approach this topic also by considering those students whose motherland is Hungary, whose homeland is Hungary and who are citizens of this country.”] (Ministry of Education, Guidelines for the school implementation and application of the intercultural pedagogical program. 2005. p. 11³) [translation by me, B.B.]

We can state therefore that the labels to be found in the academic and grey literature, as well as in official documents, do not necessarily bring us closer to an understanding of the real composition and scope of the group discussed. The core question still remains: who are the ‘students in the context of migration’ who attend Hungarian public education?

A closer look into the publicly available administrative data sources of the Hungarian public education, and statistical reports derived from these, may bring us closer to the answer. The *Hungarian Statistical Yearbook of Education 2012/2013*⁴ compiled on the basis of the annual National Statistical Data Collection Programme (OSAP Országos Statisztikai Adatgyűjtési Program⁵) by the *Hungarian Central Statistical Office* includes in Chapter I. Table 13. on *Foreign Pupils* the following:

Table 1.

Foreign Pupils in Hungarian schools

| School Year | Kindergarten | Primary School | Vocational School | Secondary School |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 2001/2002 | 1 048 | 3 561 | 685 | 4 640 |
| 2002/2003 | 1 554 | 5 002 | 747 | 5 459 |
| 2003/2004 | 1 538 | 4 761 | 911 | 5 365 |
| 2004/2005 | 1 608 | 4 577 | 882 | 5 353 |
| 2005/2006 | 1 683 | 4 515 | 717 | 5 152 |
| 2006/2007 | 1 584 | 4 496 | 741 | 4 921 |
| 2007/2008 | 1 603 | 4 399 | 633 | 4 281 |
| 2008/2009 | 1 629 | 4 224 | 448 | 4 075 |
| 2009/2010 | 1 516 | 4 200 | 462 | 3 667 |
| 2010/2011 | 1 701 | 4 288 | 487 | 3 659 |
| 2011/2012 | 2 366 | 5 954 | 520 | 4 190 |
| 2012/2013 | 2 696 | 6 310 | 450 | 4 381 |

Source: Ministry of Human Resources. 2013. Statistical Yearbook of Education 2012/2013. Budapest. p. 37.

³ Oktatási Minisztérium (2005): Útmutató az interkulturális pedagógiai program iskolai bevezetéséhez és alkalmazásához. Budapest: OM. <http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/nemzetkozi-kapcsolatok/interkulturalis/interkulturalis>. [Accessed 30 December 2013].

⁴ Ministry of Human Resources. 2012. http://www.kormany.hu/download/c/93/21000/Oktat%C3%A1si_%C3%89vk%C3%B6nyv_2012.pdf [Accessed 3 January 2014].

⁵ For further details: http://www.ksh.hu/ost_kiemelt_feladatok [Accessed 30 December 2013].

This statistical chart includes however only one subsection (foreign citizens⁶) of the wider group of ‘students in the context of migration’.

On a different level than that of the *Hungarian Central Statistical Office*, administrative data collection is conducted annually in all public educational institutions as well. This data collection is administered by the Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal) and framed in the so called KIR-STAT system (public education information system)⁷. This system has two main sections relevant to the topic of this paper: student registration and annual data collection. Public educational institutions have to register all students attending public education institutions and include the following data under their personal educational administrative number⁸:

Personal data: name, birth name, mother’s name

Birth data: date of birth, *place of birth* (country and city), *first citizenship*, *second citizenship*, *sex*

Place of officially registered address: country, locality, zip code, street, house number

Place of residence: (if it is not the same as the officially registered address)

Information on the student: educational administrative number, obligation of school attendance, end of the obligation of school attendance, social security number, institution responsible for administration, special educational needs, social/learning/behaving disfunctions, phone number, e-mail address

Legal status: various information on features of the student status

Services used by the student: types of services and time of use.

(Oktatási Hivatal. 2012. KIR Személyi Nyílvántartó és Adatmódosító Rendszer. Felhasználói Útmutató.10 ff. <http://www.kir.hu/kir2szny/Content/Sugo.pdf>. [Accessed 30 December 2013])

The dataset includes three categories that aid a better identification of ‘students in the context of migration’. Firstly, going beyond citizenship, the chart includes the category of “*place of birth*”, which helps to identify those students who may

⁶ Including foreign citizens with a Hungarian Card. A citizen of the Republic of Croatia, Republic of Serbia, Romania, Republic of Slovenia, Republic of Slovakia and Ukraine who considers himself as Hungarian ethnic origin and has a certificate of this, has lost his Hungarian citizenship involuntarily and does not have long-term residence permit in Hungary can obtain the Hungarian Card. This entitles the holder to benefit in Hungary, including benefits in the public education service sector as well. Further information: <https://orszeginfo.magyarorszag.hu/informaciok/kulpolitika/hatarontulimagyarsag/magyarigazolvany.html> [Accessed 30 December 2013].

⁷ KIR-STAT online. <http://www.oktatasi.hu/koznevelés/kir> [Accessed 30 December 2013].

⁸ Further on the personal educational administrative number: <http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/kozoktatás/2005/oktatasi-azonosito-szam>. [Accessed 30 December 2013]. Information registered under the personal educational administrative number is publicly not available.

have or have acquired Hungarian citizenship but have a migratory experience. Secondly, the category of “*second citizenship*” reveals those of dual citizenship. Thirdly, the distinction between “*officially registered address*” and “*place of residence*” allows identification of e.g. those students who may reside in Hungary on a temporary basis or who might be regular commuters. All in all, we can state that this data collection allows a better mapping of students in the context of migration attending Hungarian public education. However, we have to note that by not including any category related to language skills (first language(s), language(s) used in the family, language(s) used in other domains), important subgroups of the discussed group – for instance children of mixed marriages, students who may be Hungarian citizens but do not have Hungarian language skills (e.g. Hungarian citizen students speaking Chinese in their families⁹) or students of a particular citizenship (e.g. Turkish) but a different ethnic and linguistic belonging (e.g. Kurdish)– remain invisible in this data collection system as well (see Chlosta, Ostermann 2005:63). With regard to the parents, these statistics include only the mother’s name, which does not offer any further insight into other relevant variables of family members (eg. level of education, occupation) or their experience with migration. Furthermore, no data is collected in this system on the student’s year of arrival to the host country, which hinders attempts to determine the age at which the migration took place. It is obvious that from a pedagogical point of view that this is important data (Söhn 2007:74ff).

As another part of the KIR-STAT data collection system, all public educational institutions have to provide administrative statistical data by the 15th of October every year. The data sheet No. a02t14 collects data on the student population under examination here. We can see a positive development in recent years because the charts include an increased quantity of relevant and important information. Until the school year 2008/2009 the data sheet titled “Number of foreign citizen pupils learning in Hungary” included the following:

⁹ At the beginning of the 1990s a new Chinese immigrant community began to develop, taking advantage of the economic and political situation and the lack of visa obligations between the two countries. (Hárs, 2009:18). In 2007 the Chinese community in Hungary comprised altogether about 9,000 persons. (Hárs, 2009:43).

Table 2.

Data sheet “Number of foreign citizen pupils learning in Hungary” used in 2008

| Non Hungarian citizen students | | School grade 1–13 | Total number |
|--|---|-------------------|--------------|
| Students with Hungarian ethnic background | | | |
| | from Ukraine | | |
| | from Romania (EU country) | | |
| | from Serbia and Montenegro | | |
| | from Slovakia (EU country) | | |
| | from Slovenia (EU country) | | |
| | from Croatia | | |
| | from EU countries (other than Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) | | |
| | from other countries | | |
| Students with non-Hungarian ethnic background | | | |
| | from EU countries | | |
| | from non EU countries | | |

Source: Reconstructed by the author on the basis of the a02t14 chart used in 2008.

In the following two school years, 2009/2010 and 2010/2011, four new categories were inserted to this chart, as well as provision of a new chart NO. a02t09.

Table 3.

Data sheet “Number of foreign citizen pupils learning in Hungary” used in 2009 and 2010

| Total number | Grade levels | Girl | Hungarian ethnic background | asylum seeker, refugee, beneficiary of subsidiary protection | persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence | authorised temporary stay; holders of residence permit, and holders of permanent residence permit |
|--------------|--------------|------|-----------------------------|--|---|---|
| Ukraine | | | | | | |
| Romania | | | | | | |
| Serbia | | | | | | |
| Slovakia | | | | | | |
| Slovenia | | | | | | |
| Croatia | | | | | | |

Source: Reconstructed by the author on the basis of the a02t14 chart used in 2009 and 2010.

Table 4.

Data sheet “Number of students by the country of official residence” used in 2009 and 2010

| No. a02t09 Number of children and students by the country of their official residence | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Total number of students | Non Hungarians citizen students |
| Hungary | | |
| other country | | |

Source: Reconstructed by the author on the basis of the a02t09 chart used in 2009 and 2010.

For the school years 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 the No. a02t14 chart is expanded with one more column on “dual citizen students” and the chart No. a02t09 also incorporates this variable.

Table 5.

Data sheet “Number of students by the country of official residence” used in 2011 and 2012

| No. a02t09 Number of children and students by the country of their official residence | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| | Total number of students | Non Hungarians citizen students and students with double citizenship | Students with double citizenship |
| Hungary | | | |
| other country | | | |

Source: Reconstructed by the author on the basis of the a02t09 chart used in 2011 and 2012.

A closer look into the migration trends of Hungary in recent years explains both the strong focus on administering migrants who have a Hungarian ethnic background and the increasing number of relevant categories related to forms of legal status.

Immigration to Hungary is rather modest. Until recently, the number of immigrants with Hungarian ethnic background arriving from Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine and Serbia comprised a high proportion of all immigrants (Hárs, 2009: 18). This explains why the educational statistical charts also focus on Hungarian ethnic background. The problems with registering ethnicity in statistical data collection are twofold. Firstly, it relies on the self-definition of the student (Tóth 2010:12) and, secondly, it can fuel social stigmatization by suggesting that a relationship exists between ethnicity and other features (Söhn, Veysel 2005:122).

However countries with a long immigration history (e.g. Australia, Canada or the USA) also incorporate ethnic background in their statistics (Fürstenau, Gogolin, Kutlay 2003:26).

In recent years a change in the countries of origin of the immigrants took place. *“The earlier situation that the majority of immigrants came from the surrounding countries, mostly from Romania, has recently been less typical. Whereas in the nineties, two thirds of the immigrants came from four neighbouring countries (46 per cent of them from Romania) and the proportion of these even reached 70 per cent after the turn of the millennium, in 2009–10 their share fell to 44 per cent. The proportion of those arriving from Romania (50 to 57 per cent in the first years of the new millennium) fell below 30 per cent from 2007 onwards. Comparing the distribution of immigrants by the country of origin with the situation ten years earlier [...] the decrease in the share of immigrants from the major neighbouring countries of origin (with the exception of Slovakia) becomes obvious.”* (Gödri, 2012:137)

Despite this it remains important to identify the subgroup of ‘students in the context of migration’ with an ethnic Hungarian background because this makes the specific challenges attached to this group visible, as addressed in the research of Kováts and Medjesi (2005). The authors report on the educational challenges that these students face in Hungarian public education by pointing to problems stemming from legal status, differences between national curricula (e.g. the Romanian and the Hungarian) and the processes of integration into a new social environment more generally (Kováts, Medjesi, 2005:8). Their findings point to the fact that the language of instruction is the key factor in the educational success of the students in the context of migration. However those students who speak Hungarian as a first language also face particular difficulties in accessing Hungarian public education and in this sense their visibility within the group of ‘students in the context of migration’ is important.

The new law on the Admission and Residence of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence (Act I of 2007), coming into force on the 1st of July 2007, made it possible for EEA citizens to apply for registration certificates. This change of legislation is reflected from 2009 on by the additional categories on legal status in the educational statistical chart as well.

The category of dual citizenship enters the educational statistics chart in 2011 because of changes in naturalisation processes in that year. *“The simplified naturalisation process¹⁰ coming into force on the 1st of January 2011 made it possible for people with Hungarian ancestry to gain Hungarian citizenship even*

¹⁰ Further details: <http://allampolgarsag.gov.hu> and <http://www.kettosallampolgarsag.mtaki.hu/> [Accessed 30 December 2013].

without residing in Hungary. This inevitably leads to a growth in the number of new citizens.” (Gödri, 2012:151) Citizenship is no longer granted exclusively to immigrants, but also to foreign persons residing outside of the country who can prove Hungarian ancestry and some language skills. Bearing this in mind, it is important to emphasise once more the usefulness of the distinction between “officially registered address” and “place of residence” in the dataset collected under the personal identification number. This distinction makes it possible to identify those students who might have Hungarian citizenship but have a residency outside of the country.

The number of foreign citizen students attending Hungarian public education was 10 135 persons in 2010, 13 029 persons in 2011 and 13 835 persons in 2012¹¹. Foreign citizenship remains the main category in identifying students in the context of migration, but an improvement of the data collection categories has taken place in recent years with regard to their capacity to capture the diversity of the group under discussion. Legal status is discussed as one of the most important variables, having a tremendous impact on the educational integration of a student in the context of migration (Niedrig 2005:257f, Kováts, Medjesi, 2005:8).

Distinguishing by legal status makes, for instance, the subgroup of asylum seeker and refugee students visible and makes reliable data on this student group available for the first time in Hungary. By comparing the data referred to above with those of the ‘Register of Refugees and Asylum Seekers’ compiled by the Office of Immigration and Nationality, it is possible to identify the numbers of those asylum seeker and refugee¹² students who do not attend public education although they have the right¹³ to do so. According to the official Hungarian educational statistics, the number of students attending public education as asylum seekers, refugees, or as holders of subsidiary protection or tolerated status was 189 in 2010, 216 in 2011 and 341 in 2012¹⁴. It is worth comparing these data with those compiled by the Hungarian Office of Immigration. Unaccompanied minors are registered in a separate statistical data collection. In 2011 the number of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers was 61, 4 of them holding refugee status,

¹¹ Data compiled by Bálint Kovács based on the KIR-STAT data provided by the Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal) in June 2013.

¹² The term is used according to the Hungarian asylum law: one can be named as ‘asylum seeker’ in the time period between applying for asylum and the end-of the in-merit legal procedure. The term ‘refugee’ covers only one status in legal terms. However, in this article I will use it with reference to those who have one of the statuses: ‘recognised refugee’, ‘beneficiary of subsidiary protection’ or ‘person with tolerated status’.

¹³ Act LXI. of 2003 about the changes of the Act LXXXIX of 1993 on Public Education and the Act CX. of 2011 about the national public education

¹⁴ Data compiled by Bálint Kovács based on the KIR-STAT data provided by the Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal) in June 2013.

and 4 more subsidiary protection status. In 2012 the number of unaccompanied minors was 183, 1 of them holding refugee status, 10 subsidiary protection, and 1 tolerated status. According to the Euro-Stat database¹⁵, in 2011 there were 345 asylum applicants under 14 years of age and 115 between 14 and 17 years. In that year, in 60 cases a final decision concerning asylum application was made for members of these two age groups. In 2012, there were 390 asylum applicants under the age of 14 and 245 between 14 and 17 years of age. In this year, in 45 cases a final decision with regard to the asylum application was made for these two age groups. A brief examination of these numbers show that the significant difference between the educational statistics data and those compiled by the Office of Immigration and uploaded to the Euro-Stat database is not only due to the rounded numbers of the Euro-Stat database.

All in all, we can summarize that the public educational statistical data collection is well harmonized with recent migration trends and relevant legislative changes in Hungary and has the potential (e.g. with individual student identification numbers) to develop into a data collection system that can map all members of the student group in the context of migration.

THE CASE OF GERMANY: MIGRATION TRENDS, CATEGORISATION AND STATISTICAL DATA COLLECTION

Our conclusion in the last section was that the Hungarian public educational statistical data collection has been extended with very important categories in recent years. We have to bear in mind however that at the moment, neither the labels used for the group of students under discussion here, nor the educational statistical data brought us closer to the answer to our main question: *Who are the students in the context of migration attending Hungarian public education?* But what labels and categories might enable us to gain a full picture of this student group? Educational statistical data collection as well as migration policy and legislation are organized on a national level, and thus we can find very different labelling and statistical data collection strategies in different countries (see further Wagner et al. 2005). In this paper we look into the German case, among many other reasons because Germany – similarly to Hungary – has defined itself as an ethnic nation up to recently, which has an important effect on our topic of concern.

¹⁵ EURO-STAT. Asylum and new asylum applicants by citizenship, age and sex Annual aggregated data (rounded) [migr_asyappctza] Last update: 16-06-2013. [Accessed 30 December 2013] EURO-STAT. Final decisions on applications by citizenship, age and sex Annual data (rounded) [migr_asydcfina] Last update: 16-06-2013. [Accessed 10 June 2013]

Migration has played an important role in the Federal Republic of Germany in recent decades, much as it has throughout its history¹⁶. The investigation of the impacts of migration on national public education began already quite early; firstly, in the 1960s, as a research field labelled “Ausländerpädagogik”, and later, from the 1990s on, as “interkulturelle Pädagogik” (Gogolin, Krüger-Potratz, 2010:102ff). Although the secondary literature on students in the context of migration has made reference to the heterogeneity of this group for decades, the generic label “Ausländer” and the statistical category of the foreign citizen remained in use. The PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) test (2000, 2003, 2006, 2009) incorporated in its student surveys questions about the country of birth of the student and her parents, the language spoken the most frequently at home and – from 2003 on – about the year of arrival to the host country in case the country of birth is different¹⁷. This drew attention successfully to the need for a more precise system of categorisation and data collection on students in the context of migration. In PISA the term “student with an immigrant background” is used for first and second- generation immigrants and excludes e.g. those who were born abroad but having at least one parent born in the country of assessment (OECD 2010:4).

Another change contributed to a higher awareness of the imprecise nature of the category of foreign citizenship. This was the new citizenship law coming into force on the 1st of January 2000. According to this law, those children born to foreign citizen parents obtain the German citizenship by birth, provided a parent has been lawfully residing in the Federal Republic of Germany for eight years and has an unlimited residence permit or a valid residence permit of at least three years duration prior to the birth of the child. This legal change made a large number of students in the context of migration invisible by ranking them as German citizens.

In Germany, it was important to gain an accurate picture of the numbers and composition of those targeted by integration policy and assistance measures, including education. One attempt was to introduce and define the category label “Person mit Migrationshintergrund” in the Mikrozensus 2005. This concept takes account of current German migratory and demographic characteristics and includes the following categories¹⁸:

¹⁶ For the period between 1949 and 1990 for the German Democratic Republic see: Krüger-Potratz, Marianne, (1991) *Anderssein gab es nicht. Ausländer und Minderheiten in der DDR*. Münster/NewYork: Waxmann.

¹⁷ <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/> [Accessed 30 December 2013].

¹⁸ Official definition of the concept is: „Zu den Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund zählen alle nach 1949 auf das heutige Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Zugewanderten, sowie alle in Deutschland geborenen Ausländer und alle in Deutschland Ausländer, und alle in Deutschland

Table 6.

Statistisches Bundesamt (2012), Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2011

| |
|--|
| Bevölkerung insgesamt |
| 1 Deutsche ohne Migrationshintergrund |
| 2 Personen mit Migrationshintergrund im weiteren Sinn insgesamt |
| 2.1 darunter: Migrationshintergrund nicht durchgehend bestimmbar |
| 2.2 Personen mit Migrationshintergrund im engeren Sinn insgesamt |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.1 Personen mit eigener Migrationserfahrung (Zugewanderte) insgesamt |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.1.1 Ausländer |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.1.2 Deutsche |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.1.2.1 (Spät-)Aussiedler |
| <i>nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.1.2.2 Eingebürgerte |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.2 Personen ohne eigene Migrationserfahrung (nicht Zugewanderte) insgesamt |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.2.1 Ausländer (2. und 3. Generation) |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.2.2 Deutsche |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.2.2.1 Eingebürgerte |
| <i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i> |
| 2.2.2.2.2 Deutsche mit mindestens einem zugewanderten oder als Ausländer in Deutschland geborenen Elternteil |
| 2.2.2.2.2.1 mit beidseitigem Migrationshintergrund |
| 2.2.2.2.2.2 mit einseitigem Migrationshintergrund |

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt: Wiesbaden. p. 7.

To date, this concept is the most commonly used one for labelling students in the context of migration, although it does not allow any conclusions to be inferred as to the linguistic capabilities of the students in question. However, in the field of educational integration it is well documented that language skills play a key role.

In Germany, to gain accurate numbers of students in the context of migration, one can make use of educational statistical data, representative surveys (containing data on educational situation) such as the Microcensus and the Socio-Economic Panel, as well as Student Assessments, such as PISA (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2008:5ff). The public educational statistics are organized at the state (Bundesland) level and operate therefore with different categories. Following the decision of the Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK), since 2000 all states have to include a core set of data (Minimaldatensatz or Kerndatensatz) categories in their public school statistics. The category of foreign citizenship was used until 2007 when – as a reaction to the previously discussed increase of awareness of

als Deutsche Geborene mit zumindest einem zugewanderten oder als Ausländer in Deutschland geborenen Elternteil.” (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012:7).

the insufficiency of the category of foreign citizen – the Kultusministerkonferenz added a new and obligatory category to the core data set: “*non-German family language*” (nichtdeutscher Verkehrsprache) (KMK 2007:8 and 11). States can always add more categories to the minimal set, which may include “*year of arrival in the host country*” (Jahr des Zuzugs), “*need for remedial language class*”, “*country of birth of father*”, “*country of birth of mother*”, “*country of birth of the student*”. These new categories have not been implemented yet in all states (Lohauß, 2010:185). Furthermore, in 2003, the changeover to individual statistical data collection started in the federal public educational statistics (Halbhuber 2005:70ff). However, this has not yet been implemented because this type of data collection would make the building of individual student data profiles possible, which contradicts many states’ statistical judicial regulations¹⁹.

The following data concerning Berlin for the school year 2011/2012 highlights the difference between data collection by the category of “citizenship” and by “*non-German family language*”:

Table 7.

Students in Berlin schools by citizenship and “non-German family language”

| Foreign citizen students: absolute number | Foreign citizen students % of total student population | Students with family language other than German: absolute number | Students with family language other than German % of total student population |
|--|--|--|---|
| Public schools | | | |
| 40 167 | 13,7 | 98 915 | 33,8 |
| Public and private schools together | | | |
| 42 365 | 13,2 | 103 594 | 32,2 |

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of Blickpunkt Schule. Schuljahr 2011/2012. Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Wissenschaft Bildung für Berlin. Table 1.5 and 1.6. http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-bildung/bildungsstatistik/blickpunkt_schule_2011_12.pdf?start&ts=1329729903&file=blickpunkt_schule_2011_12.pdf [Accessed 30 December 2013].

There are different interests that have to be included in the development of accurate school statistics: comparability within the states of the Federal Republic of Germany, compatibility of data with EU and international data collection systems, integration policy and educational policy. The category of “*country*

¹⁹ Relevant news: <http://www.sachsen-anhalt.de/index.php?id=36900> ; <http://www.juramagazin.de/Begr%C3%BCndung-Mit-der-geplanten-Umstellung-der-Schulstatistik-auf-Individualdaten-mit-bundeseinheitlichem-Kerndatensatz-ist-beabsichtigt-allen-Schul-und-m%C3%B6glicherweise-auch-Kindergartenkindern-landesweit-einheitliche> [Accessed 30 December 2013].

of birth of the student and of the parent(s)” would make the mapping of the first and second generation possible. It is however, not sufficient to map all students in the context of migration from a pedagogical point of view. Söhn and Veysel (2005:121ff) give an overview of all the relevant criteria that would enable us to run an exhaustive statistical data collection including all students of concern: “citizenship”, “country of birth of the students”, “country of birth of the parent(s)”, “year of arrival to the host country”, “family language or first language”.

We can conclude the following: important steps have been made in Germany in recent years to establish a public statistical system that can map students in the context of migration. These were the introduction of a statistical system based on individual data collection and the additional categories of the country of birth of the student and her parents as well as the language(s) spoken in the family. Shortcomings are however, that these steps have still not been implemented in all federal states, meaning that it is still impossible to compare relevant data between the federal states. This hinders Germany’s ability to contribute data representative for the whole country on the student population with migration background. Similarly to the Hungarian case, the current German educational statistical data collection cannot react to the very dynamic types of migration e.g. circular migration, and therefore cannot register students with specific needs stemming from their involvement in temporary forms of migration (see Rakhkochkine 2010).

With regard to the relevance of the German experience to the Hungarian public educational statistics we can argue the following. The German concept of “person with a migration background” is a very precisely defined concept that reflects the migratory and demographic trends of Germany. Therefore, the adoption of the label (*migráns háttérű*), without deeper reflection, would not bring the Hungarian policy and statistical practice closer to a more accurate labelling. It is argued that the label ‘migrant’ (*migráns*) with a precise definition, not conflicting with any immigration-related legal term, but include as many subgroups of students in the context of migration as possible, could be a solution. With regard to the category “*non-German/Hungarian family language*” in the public education statistics it is argued that language skills are undoubtedly key categories, but they do not map all members of the student group discussed here.

The terms used in the current Hungarian educational statistics follow the wording of the Immigration Law (Act I and II of 2007), which allows a very precise categorisation. However, as the next section will show, the categories in use there are still not sufficient to map all those students that have to be considered from the point of view of educational integration policy as students in the context of migration.

FINDINGS OF A CASE STUDY AND SUGGESTION FOR A DATA COLLECTION CHART

There is only one case study (Bukus 2011) in Hungary that aims to map the diversity of students in the context of migration attending public education. The study builds on findings collected in the timeframe September –December 2008, in the first six grades of a public primary school in Budapest. The study attempts to answer the question of this paper – “Who are the students in the context of migration who attend Hungarian public education?” – in a *bottom-up approach* by collecting details about the individual students. The student participants of the study are included in the following chart:

Students in the context of migration in this case study fall into the following categories:

- a foreign citizen student, who has Hungarian ethnic belonging and speaks Hungarian as a family language, parents have Hungarian ethnic belonging
- a foreign citizen, child of a mixed marriage, one parent’s first language is Hungarian, family language is Hungarian
- a foreign citizen, child of a mixed marriage, one parent’s first language is Hungarian, family language is the language of the non-Hungarian speaking parent
- a foreign citizen, child of a return migrant family, Hungarian ethnic belonging, no Hungarian language skills, family language is the language of the country of origin
- a foreign citizen, child of a return migrant family, Hungarian-Roma ethnic belonging, bilingual language skills, family languages include the language of the country of origin and Hungarian
- foreign-citizen child, immigrant parents, child bilingual in the language of the parents and in Hungarian
- dual citizen, child of a mixed marriage, one parent’s first language is Hungarian, family language is Hungarian, child is bilingual, transnational migration
- foreign-citizen child, immigrant parents, child monolingual in the parents’ language
- Hungarian citizen child, child of a mixed marriage, one parent’s first language is Hungarian, family language is Hungarian, child is bilingual
- Hungarian citizen, child of a mixed marriage, one parent’s first language is Hungarian, family language is a third language, child is trilingual

Table 8.

Immigrant children in the Hungarian Public Education. A Case Study

| class student | birth | | citizenship | parents | first language | Hungarian language skills | further info |
|---------------|---------|------|--------------------|--|--------------------|---------------------------|--|
| | place | date | | | | | |
| 1. k R. | Hungary | 2001 | Hungarian | father: Egyptian mother: Hungarian Roma | Hungarian | | pre-school |
| M. | Romania | 2002 | Rumanian | father: Hungarian mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| P. | Hungary | 2001 | Hungarian | father: Hungarian mother: Croatian | Hungarian-Croatian | advanced | family language: Esperanto |
| H. | USA | 2002 | Hungarian | father: Arab mother: Hungarian | English | beginner | mother relearning her Hungarian mother tongue |
| B. | Germany | 2002 | German-Hungarian | father: German mother: Hungarian | Hungarian-German | intermediate | transnational/ commuter |
| 2. k C. | Turkey | 2000 | Turkish | father: Kurdish mother: Kurdish | Kurdish | beginner | 1st class attended twice |
| N. | Canada | 2000 | Canadian-Hungarian | father: Hungarian mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| S. | Canada | 2001 | Canadian | father: Afro-American mother: Hungarian | English | beginner | |
| A. | Hungary | 2001 | Russian | father: Hungarian mother: Russian | Russian | advanced | |
| K. | USA | 1999 | Hungarian | father: Arab mother: Hungarian | English | beginner | mother relearning her Hungarian mother tongue |
| E. | Hungary | 2000 | Armenian | father: Armenian mother: Armenian | Armenian-Hungarian | advanced | |

| class student | birth | | citizenship | parents | first language | Hungarian language skills | further info |
|---------------|---------|------|-------------|--|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| | place | date | | | | | |
| Y. | Hungary | 2000 | Hungarian | father: Chinese mother: Chinese | Chinese | beginner | |
| 3. k M. | Iraq | 1997 | Iraqi | father: Iraqi mother: Iraqi | Arabic | beginner | refugee |
| G. | Romania | 1999 | Romanian | father: Hungarian mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| L. | Romania | 1999 | Hungarian | father: Hungarian mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| K. | Hungary | 1999 | Hungarian | father: Spanish mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| Sz. | Hungary | 1999 | Hungarian | father: Ghanian mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| K. | Hungary | 1999 | Hungarian | father: Nigerian mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| 4. k D. | Ukraine | 1998 | Ukrainian | father: Ukrainian mother: Ukrainian | Ukrainian | advanced | |
| A. | Hungary | 1998 | Russian | father: Russian mother: Russian | Russian | no Hungarian | |
| T. | Vietnam | 1998 | Vietnamese | father: Vietnamese mother: Vietnamese | Vietnamese | advanced | diplomat family |
| 5. k M. | Turkey | 1998 | Turkish | father: Kurdish mother: Kurdish | Kurdish | advanced | |
| SZ. | Canada | 1997 | Hungarian | father: Hungarian mother: Hungarian | English-Hungarian | | |

| class student | birth | | citizenship | parents | first language | Hungarian language skills | further info |
|---------------|---------|------|-------------|--|----------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| | place | date | | | | | |
| 6. k C. | China | 1994 | Chinese | father: Chinese mother: Chinese | Chinese | intermediate | |
| V. | Hungary | 1997 | Polish | father: Polish mother: Polish | Polish | intermediate | |
| T. | Ukraine | 1996 | Ukrainian | father: Hungarian mother: Hungarian | Hungarian | | |
| A. | Ukraine | 1996 | Ukrainian | father: Ukrainian mother: Russian | Russian | advanced | |

Source: Bukus, B. (2011): Migráns tanulók a magyar közoktatásban. Esettanulmány, In: Eruditio-Educatio 2011/4, p. 97f

The main findings of this study – beyond a precise description of the diversity of students in the context of migration – were related to the data collection practices of the school and the teachers. At the time of the data collection, the school had a special internal, informal form to register students in the context of migration under the following categories: “name”, “citizenship”, “legal status”, “duration of legal status”, “other information (e.g. parents)”. The interviews conducted with teachers proved however that the group of ‘students in the context of migration’ is bigger than those who are included in the list. Teachers suggested that the category of “first language”, “language skills in other languages”, “family language”, “language of communication between school and parents”, “place and date of birth”, “level of Hungarian language skills” should be included in their internal data collection on students. The teacher participants argued that these categories are from a pedagogical point of view more relevant, in most cases, than citizenship.

The findings of the case study support the categories that Söhn and Veysel (2005:121ff) suggested by synthesising the decade-long research on the topic in the German context. These were the “citizenship”, “country of birth of the students”, “country of birth of the parent(s)”, “year of arrival to the host country”, “family language or first language”.

Finally, it is worthy of note that the success of statistical data collection depends to large extent on the interest of the data collectors – schools and teachers – to administer the information. In the Hungarian case the extra financial support attached to this group of students is dependent on the category of citizenship. This leads us back to the misleading labelling in those official documents of the Ministry that we analysed at the beginning of this paper. Currently, extra financial support can be requested for foreign citizen students who speak Hungarian as a first language and have Hungarian ethnic belonging, but not for those who are Hungarian citizens but do not have any Hungarian language skills. It is argued here that because of the imprecise categorization, neither the official intercultural guidelines, nor the financial support system attached to it, currently further the educational integration of students in the context of migration. In order to pressure the Ministry to revise its labelling practice on the relevant policy level, reliable numbers are an urgent desideratum. However, the current Hungarian official educational statistics are not capable of providing these reliable numbers. As an alternative, we encourage schools to adopt the following chart for internal usage:

Table 9.

Alternative chart for internal usage in Hungarian schools

| Name of the student | Place and date of birth | Citizenship and legal status with its time-frame | First language(s) | Language of the family | Language between school and parents | Arrival in host country |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|--|---|------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | | | | | | |
| | Place of birth of the parents | | Educational level and occupation of the parents | | Grade placement | Hungarian as a second language skills |
| | Father | Mother | Father | Mother | | |

Source: Bukus, B. (2011): Migráns tanulók a magyar közoktatásban. Esettanulmány. [Immigrant children in the Hungarian Public Education. A Case Study.] In: *Eruditio-Educatio* 2011/4, p. 96.

SUMMARY

This article analysed the importance of accurate labelling in the educational statistical data collection on students in the context of migration. It gave an overview of the Hungarian and German practices and contrasted these to the findings of a case study in a Hungarian public school. The paper argued that the Hungarian practice of labelling and statistical mapping of this group of students is developing towards a comprehensive system, and that some suggestions of the German experience prove to be relevant to the Hungarian context. The article closes with its unanswered question – Who are the students in the context of migration attending Hungarian public education? – in a hope that further studies will address this topic.

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V.

HOST COUNTRY POLICIES TOWARD CHILDREN MIGRANTS

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MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST AFGHAN GIRLS¹ IN IRAN

INTRODUCTION

In the last century, as a result of globalization, some concepts such as “social justice” and “right to non-discrimination” have become the main focus of several human rights studies, all around the world. In a developing country, like Iran, the obvious hierarchy between social classes and different groups of people has led to negative prejudice and discrimination of those in authority over others.

One of the most discriminated social groups in Iran are the Afghan Refugees and Asylum-Seekers (RAS), who have been living there for more than three decades and are still deprived of many basic human rights. However, the Afghans who live in Iran are not all discriminated in the same way. The RAS children, and especially girls, endure this top-down view from three diverse dimensions and get multiply discriminated because of: their Afghan background, their gender, and their age.

¹ The phrase “Afghan girl” which is repetitively used in this study refers to all female children under 18 years old, regardless of their status as a refugee or an asylum-seeker, whose background and current status is somehow connected to Afghanistan and the Afghan culture, and they are currently living in Iran for any reason.

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it aims to focus on the perspective of the Afghan girls about the different forms of discrimination, such as sexism, racism, and adultism and the effects of these processes on their lives; and second, to examine to what extent the Afghan girls are aware of the discriminations against them.

What motivated the author to study the situation of Afghan girls in Iran was noticing that the voice and the viewpoints of the Afghan girls have not been heard in most of the previous research regarding the situation of RASs. In such studies girls are rarely considered as an unattached, discriminated group with special needs. This means that in most studies RAS girls are treated either generally as RAS children or they are treated as women and considered within the context of subordination in gender studies. To give just one example, consider the statistic about the number of RAS girls, which has been published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): “Refugee women and girls accounted for 48 per cent of the refugee population in 2012, a proportion that has remained constant over the past decades” (UNHCR 2012: 3).

In general, there are not so many studies available with the focus on Afghan RAS children. It is not difficult to imagine that when it comes to the girls’ perspective, our knowledge is even more limited. This might be due to their weaker participation in the society in comparison to boys.

BACKGROUND

Afghans’ Migration

Afghanistan is quite a large country, located in the southern Asia. It borders Iran in the west and Pakistan in the south and the east. Until the last century Afghanistan was part of Iran and thus a high degree of cultural proximity exists between both countries. On the one hand, the geographical location, the common language, and more job opportunities in neighbouring countries, were some of the pull factors, which led to the immigration of millions of Afghans to Iran or Pakistan. On the other hand, drought, a weak financial situation, lack of job opportunities, and above all, lack of security as a result of continual wars, one after the other are the most common causes of Afghans’ migration from their home country. As a consequence Afghanistan is the first country in the world in terms of the number of RAS.

Afghans who have immigrated to Iran originate from different sociocultural backgrounds. According to a study by Abbasi-Shavazi et al. the majority of Afghans living in Iran are of Hazara and Tajik ethnicity, and mainly work as labourers, farmers, tailors, and stonemasons (Abbasi-Shavazi et al. 2005: 18–24).

Despite all the pull factors which have encouraged many Afghans to immigrate to Iran and remain there more than three decades, there exist also Afghans, who are dissatisfied with their situation abroad and status as a foreigner, and who have either returned to Afghanistan or emigrated to the other countries. One of the most outstanding reasons of this dissatisfaction reported by the migrants themselves and mentioned in many studies is the discriminatory attitude of Iranians toward Afghan refugees or asylum-seekers.

MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION

In almost all human rights treaties, the right to non-discrimination has been mentioned and emphasized as one of the principal articles. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is one of such treaties and its Article 2(1), states:

“States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child’s or his or her parent’s or legal guardian’s race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status”.

The above-mentioned article and all the other non-discrimination articles in the human rights treaties aim to eliminate any negative discrimination, which usually emerges in different forms such as sexism, racism, classism, adultism, and other “-isms”. Self evidently, these different types of discrimination usually do not occur singularly for an individual human being. A person can simultaneously be subjected to multiple types of discrimination and be ignored by various power holders. An example of multiple discrimination is the situation of Afghan girls in Iran, who are subjected to racism, sexism, and adultism at the same time.

Racism

RASs are one of the most discriminated groups in societies all over the world. Iran, as the second largest host country for Afghan and Iraqi refugees, unfortunately maintains quite a large number of discriminatory regulations and practices against them.

In the last two decades Iran’s government has transformed its policy concerning Afghans’ migration and tended to repatriate immigrants and to close its borders to impending immigration by introducing arduous rules, which are most of the times discriminatory as well. As a result, between 2002 and 2008 UNHCR has assisted Iran in repatriating more than 859,000 registered refugees

to Afghanistan (UNHCR 2008:172). The repatriations did not stop in 2008 and according to the latest statistics 15,000 more Afghans were repatriated in 2012 (UNHCR 2012: 1).

The decision of Iran's government to repatriate Afghans was made when the war and other push factors in Afghanistan remained strong and no worth-mentioning positive change was envisaged. Consequently, many of the repatriated Afghans returned to Iran again. Iran's new approach has been even more visible in the recent years, when the government declared that no more residence cards (Amayesh cards) would be issued for newly arriving asylum-seekers, and the formerly issued cards have to be validated every year at a cost.

The Amayesh card is not a work permit. Therefore, the refugees have to apply separately for a permission to work. Moreover, the family of the cardholder does not have the right to accompany him/her. Even the children of a refugee father who were born and grew up in Iran are not always entitled to a residence permit and hence, most of the times, they get excluded from education in public schools due to the lack of an official document and due to the high extra cost of education for Afghans.

Self evidently, discrimination does not affect everyone in the same way or with equal intensity. The vulnerability of one's status in the society, his/her resilience, the attitude of the dominant group toward minorities, age, gender, and several other factors can influence the intensity of the discrimination that a refugee experiences. In this regard, the RAS girls and women may be discriminated more than the RAS men on the basis of their gender.

Sexism

The situation of Afghan RAS women and girls in Iran is directly influenced by women's rights in Islam, in which a woman is subordinate to man. For instance, according to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, married women, irrespective of their age, are not entitled to have a passport and travel alone without an official permission of their husband. Unmarried girls, again – regardless of their age, cannot get married without the official consent of their father or their legal guardian. It is also remarkable that “the mother cannot, under traditional Islamic law, be recognized as the legal guardian of her own children” (Ali 2000: 63) since the guardian has to be male and after the father, according to Islam, the paternal grandfather or the uncle will be the child's official guardian.

The dependency on men starts from birth, when a child can only inherit the father's nationality and family name and not the mother's. The superiority of men over women, which lasts throughout their life, reduces the women's self-confidence and abilities for decision-making and being independent.

The sad fact is that amending the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran in a way which would ensure more equality in theocratic states such as Iran or Afghanistan is not easily attainable. Since “it is common belief that the shari’ah is divine and hence immutable” (Engineer 2001: 24–25). This immutability prevented Iran from ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW), which introduces many of articles which would contradict Iran’s constitution.

Except for racism and sexism, adultism is also one of the most transferable discrimination types, which plays an important, but mostly invisible, role in the lives of the Afghan girls in Iran.

Adultism

Until recently, adultism, i.e. discrimination particularly against children, has not been considered and studied in anti-discrimination research as much as the other types of discrimination. In one of the few pieces of research which exist, adultism is defined as: “the attitudes and behavior of adults who assume that, because of their age, they are more intelligent, competent, and generally better than children and young people and thus they disregard children’s opinions and views” (Ritz 2008: 1, own translation)².

However, the definition of adultism in Iran is not equivalent with the above statement. Adultist attitudes in societies with patriarchal structures, such as Iran and Afghanistan, are much more intense, deep, and primal. In such contexts adultism does not deal with issues such as considering the children’s point of view as seriously as that of others, but rather with the violations of the rights of children to educate, to play, or even to live.

Like many other discrimination types adultism in Iran starts with the child’s birth when, due to the Islamic laws, the child starts to officially belong to the father or the parental grandfather. Therefore, there is no disapproval for any violence and discrimination against children executed by their fathers and paternal grandfathers and, accordingly, the guardian is usually not condemned for such acts. For instance, according to the Iranian criminal law, there is no penalty for a father or a paternal grandfather of a child if they murder the child, while the penalty for the same crime for the mother is death.

² “Der Begriff verweist auf die Einstellung und das Verhalten Erwachsener, die davon ausgehen, dass sie allein aufgrund ihres Alters intelligenter, kompetenter, schlicht besser sind, als Kinder und Jugendliche und sich daher über ihre Meinungen und Ansichten hinwegsetzen”.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Methods and methodology

According to Article 12 of the CRC children, as one of the most significant groups within the society, have the right to contribute to the decisions that concern them and to freely express their opinions, which are often different from those of adults. However, most of the time they are labeled as incompetent and hence their opinions are unheeded even in the studies which concern them.

This research is designed to focus on the subjective perspective of Afghan girls on multiple discrimination that they experience. It is carried out by means of a qualitative methodology, which is believed to be more applicable in order to achieve the aims of the study.

During the study multiple qualitative methods have been applied. Although the foremost method of the study was a semi-structured interview, focus group discussions and passive-participatory observations, as supplementaries, have been applied as well. This was done in order to substantiate the trustworthiness of the collected information via the interviews (Sapkota and Sharma 1996: 64).

Sample

The study and the interview framework were premeditated for the girls above 11–12 years old for two main reasons. First, girls in this age range are approaching puberty and consequently they are more likely to be discriminated by the family and/or the societies in various manners, such as by being forced to keep their social activities within limits. As a result, in research concerning child abuse and violation, such as the one conducted by Rees et al. in 2010 about the maltreatment of children, usually children in a similar age range are studied. The second reason is that children in this age range are more capable than younger children to directly and eloquently express their experiences and opinions when interviewed.

In total six girls were interviewed: Fariba aged 11, Zahra 12, Shabaneh 13, Rahimeh 14–15, Yasaman 16, and Sara 17–18. Except Zahra, who was born in Iran and had the Amayesh card, the other girls either had a contemporary visa in their Afghan passport or were living without any legal residence permit or even an identity card. The interviewees were all born of Afghan parents and, except Sara, they have never been in Afghanistan since their birth/migration.

The interview guide

The interview guide was formulated in the first period of the study, after assembling general information concerning the situation of Afghans in Iran. It was constructed around the following two research questions:

- 1) How does multiple discrimination in the form of adultism, racism, and sexism, influence the lives of Afghan girls in Iran?
- 2) To what extent are Afghan girls aware of these forms of discrimination and which of these types of discrimination do they find the most troublesome?

Considering the aims of the research, several sub-questions were developed and prepared for the interview. All questions regarding the discriminatory attitudes were asked with great caution in order to avoid generating any alertness of discrimination in the respondents. As the research timeframe was restricted to one month, raising the alertness of discrimination in the interviewees and then leaving them to themselves was morally inappropriate.

Since the proposed method for the study involved conducting semi-structured interviews, the framework of the interview was flexible and the participants had the opportunity to partially guide the process of the interview by asking questions or sharing their stories.

Challenges and Limitations

Alike all the other studies, this study also encountered various limitations and challenges. The first and the most obvious one was the time frame, which was not long enough for a holistic study. Understanding the girls' status in the families and the Afghan society requires having in-depth knowledge on the boys' and men's opinion about gender norms as well, which failed to be addressed due to the time limit.

As it has already explained, finding respondents for the interviews was challenging. Hence, there was a six years difference between the youngest and the oldest participants. This difference made the process of interviewing and data analyzing a bit more complicated. Since the interview questions and the way they were asked had to be adopted to the age of the interviewees in each of the interviews. For instance, the older the interviewee was, the more direct questions could be asked, and vice versa.

Winning the trust of the interviewees was yet another challenge of the study. It presented itself in two different dimensions. First, the interview questions and generally the subject of the study were sensible, deep, and not simply discussable. Second, the vulnerable position of the RASs may not have given them space for the free expression of their opinions. The risk of losing their refugee status or being deported could have prevented RASs to precisely describe the discrimination they have experienced in the host country (Pittaway and Bartolomei 2001: 24).

Last but not least, an adult researcher observing children cannot remain unnoticed by them due to the age difference (Fine and Sandstorm 1988: 13).

This visibility can be more intense when the differences between the researcher and the researched group become more and more significant. Despite the fact that Iran and Afghanistan have a similar cultural background, the differences in age and ethnicity do not allow an adult Iranian researcher to completely realize the viewpoints of Afghan children. Consequently, there may be always a gap between the children's real perspectives and the perspective analyzed by an adult researcher of another ethnicity, which was one of the barriers of this study as well.

RESULTS

The four-month research and data analysis demonstrated how racism, sexism, and adultism have a direct and mostly negative effect on the Afghan girls' development, their future, and their current life status in Iran. Interviewees have shared various challenges and limitations that they have to confront as a result of the above-mentioned types of discrimination in their daily lives.

The study indicated that from the girls' perspective, the most observable and challenging form of discrimination was racism, i.e. the racist attitudes of Iranians toward them. They have impulsively shared their experiences of racism as an exasperating and inseparable phenomenon in all aspects of their lives. However, it seems that the experiences that the children shared did not cover all the forms of discrimination to the same extent, although they might have experienced them on the same level. For instance, despite the firm entrenchment of sexism and adultism in both the Afghan and Iranian societies, interviewees have cited these two forms of discrimination, and especially adultism, only in response to the interview questions and treated them as less discussable and important as racism.

The obvious finding from the interviews was that Afghan girls in Iran are facing multiple discrimination in both the public and the private sphere, which puts them in a more vulnerable position in comparison to the RAS boys.

Obviously, the vulnerable situation that the Afghan girls live in, is not only related to negative insights. Easier adaptability of the girls to difficult situations, their power of resilience, and also learning skills which help them survive the predicaments, might be considered positive aspects of their lives. However, it seems that the positive effects discriminatory practices have on them are not comparable with the negative ones both in terms of their scale and intensity.

Structure of the families

The most common family structure in the Islamic countries, such as Iran and Afghanistan, is based on a married couple and their children, in which the

husband is in charge of financial supplies and the wife is responsible for running the household. However, in the recent years and with the changes in the structure of the families and societies all over the world, Islamic societies have confronted some variations in their structures as well.

The family structure of the participants studied in this research also adhered to the above-mentioned modes of operation. The father and the boys were typically working and were responsible for earning the family income, while the girls and their mother stayed at home, sharing the house chores, and also supplementarily helped the male breadwinners by doing diverse jobs, such as embroidering or tailoring. However, in some of the observed households, girls were responsible for both the housekeeping and the breadwinning.

The interviewees' parents were all either completely illiterate or only with the ability to read and write. Hence, one of the common daily responsibilities of most of the interviewees was to help their younger siblings with their homework. The interviews and observations also showed that despite the high number of out-of-school children in the families and the illiteracy of the parents, most of the Afghan mothers and fathers were highly attentive to the education of their children.

The study also demonstrated that, in general, the marriage age in the Afghan culture is low, especially for the girls, who are in danger of child marriage. Two of the interviewees' mothers got married at the age of 9, and the rest between the ages of 16 and 19, while the marriage age of the interviewees' fathers varied between 19 and 48.

The child marriage of girls in the Afghan society and the considerable age differences between the parents may be two of the most significant reasons behind the intensity of the authority of men over women in Afghan families. The age differences do not let the women participate in decision-making on the same terms as men and most of the time women have no other alternative but being obedient.

The authority of men over women may be later translated to their children, i.e. when they are not asked about their point of view when important decisions are made within the family. The ignorance of the children's opinion and the father's authority at home have been mentioned in most of the interviews. In this regard, Yasaman said: "In our family my father makes nearly all the decisions. We go nowhere without the permission of my father". The full authority of the father in the Afghan families has a direct affect on the situation of the children and specially the girls at home and in the society.

Children's status in the families

Besides financial poverty, it seems that poor education of the Afghan households led to less care about children and their particular needs. The observations

demonstrated that the status of children in the Afghan families is subordinate to the other members. It seems that in some families children instead of having their particular needs, such as playing or formal education, satisfied are more of a labor force. Apparently, they are born in order to take some of the responsibility for the family off their parents by supplementing the household's income.

Half of the studied in this research, besides being in education, were working 8–10 hours a day as shoe makers, bag makers, or glass beads embroiderers. All of them said what their and the other family members' incomes are spent on household needs and that they themselves cannot enjoy the money they earn.

An unexpected outcome of this study was that in most of the observed and interviewed families those children who were illiterate or more likely pulled out of school were boys, since they were supposed to work and be the main breadwinner of the family. In this regard, Zahra stated: "My brother is 17 years old. He studied only through five grades and now he is working. My parents told him that now it's time for you to go to work and do something for your future. Therefore, he left school and started working".

Adultism

The first community and the first time in life when Afghan girls may sense the unequal power relations in the various social strata is usually through interactions with the parents or/and older siblings in their family. They soon notice that most of the time they play the subordinate role in the interactions they have with adults.

There exist numerous adultism attitudes, which have firmly entrenched in the Iranian and Afghan societies. The legality of these attitudes alongside with the significant position of adults in the conventional societies caused a misperception of "adultism" in public beliefs and defining it mostly as "respect". However, this respect is not reciprocal and it only addresses the child's obligation towards adults.

Even in the mass media and children's literature, the superiority of adults over children is obvious. In movies, a well-behaved child usually depicted as an obedient child who does not disagree with the parents' decisions and always respects them. Presenting and emphasizing the "respect for children" seems not to be vital in the media.

When the Afghan girls were asked if they were ever heard: "you have to do what I tell you" or "you should not speak, because you are only a child", they all answered positively and explained the situations they have experienced, which was very much expectable.

The unpredictable part of the study was the response of the Afghan girls to the next interview question, which was: "Have you ever wished to grow up sooner and be an adult?" All of them, except one, had never desired it and their

reasons were very much understandable. They believed once they become an adult, they need to overcome more difficulties. Shabaneh and her younger sister believed that as they grow up, they will need to spend more money on clothes and other life necessities, which they cannot afford. Sara, who was in her last years of childhood, said that although she has not had a proper childhood, she never wished to grow up, because the older she becomes, the more problems she has to handle. The only participant who responded positively to the question and wanted to grow up was Rahimeh. When she was asked to describe the advantages of being an adult and the difference between adulthood and childhood, she stated: "I would like to grow up soon and be an adult, so that I can work more and help my brother in generating household income".

Although all the interviewees have experienced features of adultism in their life, it seems that they did not consider it as a form of discrimination like racism. In this regard, John Bell argues: "Other "isms" like racism and sexism are well established and accepted as realities. [...] The concept of adultism, the systematic mistreatment and disrespect of young people, is relatively new and has not been widely accepted as a reality" (1995: 2). Hence, adultism in the girls' perspectives was rather defined as a social norm and not a form of discrimination. This implies that children get used to being under the authority of their parents and their adultist attitudes. This is because most of the children in the society are in the same situation .

Girls in Afghan Societies

The study demonstrated that Afghan girls in Iran are usually discriminated both in their origin and immigration countries. As formerly discussed, girls and women in Islam are treated as the inferior sex and with a subordinate position in relation to males. This status has been clarified in one of the suras in the Qur'an, which states: "Men have authority over women because God has made the one superior to the other, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient. [...]" (Qur'an 4:34).

However, the roots of gender discrimination in Iran and Afghanistan are not limited to Islam. Many other factors such as cultural barriers have an effect on it. The interviews with the girls also demonstrated how significant is the role of the relatives and acquaintances in maintaining the gender-discriminatory customs. As explained before, in most of the observed Afghan families, girls have more opportunities to attend school than boys. However, due to the prejudgments of their acquaintances, this opportunity will be reduced by the time the girls get older and reach marriage age. All the participants in the focus group discussion agreed on the constraints and judgmental attitudes of the families toward older girls. Rahimeh precisely described the situation as follows:

“Our relatives and acquaintances are really bad. They gossip all the time about the others. They say, she is not a good girl; otherwise she wouldn’t go that far from home alone (the distance between school and home). Because of that, my father doesn’t like when we go to school. Now I’m 14 years old, but when I reach 17 like my sister, I won’t go to school anymore. My father doesn’t let her go. So she stays at home and does the chores”.

The intensity of gender discrimination of the older girls in Afghan families is obvious because of their puberty age and because they are seen as the “*izzat*” (honor) of the family. Meaning that, whatever they do, whatever they choose, and the way they decide to live is directly related to the families’ reputations. They can preserve the parents’ good names by being a good girl, which actually means an obedient girl, or disvalue them. As Rahimeh discussed, disvaluing the Afghan family’s honor may happen even with the girls go to school alone.

The interviews demonstrated that most of the Afghan girls are supposed to get married early, because of different factors such as the poor economic situation of the family, the Afghan conventionalism, illiteracy of parents, and/or, according to Sara, the religious beliefs of the parents, in which the later the daughters get married the greater the sin of their parents.

The above-mentioned restrictions and discrimination on the basis of gender in the Afghan society were obviously not the only reasons which caused the interviewees’ aversion to being a girl. Sara, who was particularly aware of sexism in her environment described her feelings in this way: “Being a boy was always one of my dreams. If I was a boy I would have more freedom, I could emigrate to another country and follow my dreams. Then my parents would not decide for every little thing in my life instead of me”. Except the lack of independence, which has been mentioned by Sara, her statement also demonstrates greater intensity of adultism against the Afghan girls when compared to the boys. As formerly described, the vulnerable position of girls in Afghan families and their role as “*izzat*” of the family provides a ground of adultist practices and enables pressure exerted by the parents, relatives, and even the older brothers.

However, it was not only Sara who was not satisfied with her gender; all the other girls except Rahimeh gave a positive response to the question “Have you ever wished to be a boy?”. When they were asked for a more precise description of the situation that they have experienced and which made them wish to be the other gender, Fariba stated: “Once I was playing football. My uncle got mad at me and told me you are a girl and you have to be careful what you do. He told a girl shouldn’t play football. But I like playing football”. Zahra, as well as Sara, referred to the gendered and stereotypical attitudes against girls present in public attitudes, and said: “I, sometimes, wish I was a boy. My mother made me do the

housework and tells me you should do this and that. She never tells such things to my brothers”.

On the one hand, it seems that the reinforcement of sexism by adultism has increased the probability of gender discrimination against the Afghan girls mostly in the private sphere and by their families and acquaintances, since all the sexist attitudes described by the girls referred to domestic discrimination. On the other hand, the discrimination they experienced on the grounds of their ethnicity and their RAS status usually occurred in the public spheres and in the Iranian society, which will be precisely described in the next section.

Living as an Afghan in Iran

The experiences of the Afghan RAS girls indicated their precarious living situation in Iran. As stated before, none of the interviewees, except Zahra, had Amayesh card, and hence there were living either illegally or on a temporary visa. For this reason, they were deprived of many of their human rights. Even those Afghan children, who were born in Iran and have lived there their whole life are not entitled to an Iranian identity card. The rule also applies to the children who are born from an Iranian mother and an Afghan father, since, as mentioned before, in the Iranian constitution children always receive the father's nationality.

Living as an Afghan child in Iran, with all the discriminatory regulation, usually leads to psychological pressure and hopelessness in children. According to Manfred Liebel, “the indeterminate residence status of child refugees puts them in an insecure and stressful life situation” (2007: 169, own translation³). In this regard, some of the interviewees expressed their anxiousness about their current and future life with sentences like “I’m not sure if I can attend school and study next year as well”, or “I would like to study and be a doctor in the future, but I don’t think that it’ll be possible”.

The right to a free and formal education is self-evidently one of the most important rights, which has been emphasized in the CRC, but which Afghan RAS girls in Iran are deprived of. In the recent years Iran's government has amended its regulations by introducing even more discriminatory measures such as increases school fees for the children, so that the Afghans would be forced to repatriate. Zahra, who has studied five years in public schools and she was now attending SPRC, explained the situation: “when I was studying in a public school, they (school principals) asked us to pay lots of money, only because we were Afghan. The other children didn't have to. I didn't like it there”. However, the rule does not apply to asylum-seekers who are not allowed to register in public schools due

³ “Entscheidend für die belastende Lebenssituation der Kinderflüchtlinge ist, dass ihr Aufenthaltsstatus fast immer ungesichert ist”.

to the lack of residence permits and, in most cases, also any identity documents, even if they pay the fee.

As described before, the legalized racism against the Afghan children has become more intense in the last two decades. It is also remarkable that the discrimination has intensified despite the fact that in 1994 Iran ratified the CRC which stresses the importance of protecting the rights of RAS children in Article 22.

Besides the legalized discrimination, the girls have frequently mentioned the violation of their right to dignity by the racist, discriminatory conduct of behavior of Iranians in public spheres. In the focus group discussion Mahnaz described a situation, in which she was treated discourteously by a baker who refused to sell her bread and strewed flour on her clothes. She asked the baker for the reason, and he responded “you are an Afghan and we do not sell breads to Afghans”.

Racist behavior, especially against the Afghans, in the society and among various social strata in Iran is so obvious that the word “Afghan” is frequently used by the Iranians as a swear word. When the interviewees were asked about a situation in which they were treated rudely due to their Afghan background, they all referred to a situation in which they were called Afghan (as a swear word), whenever someone recognized their background.

The interviews illustrated that Afghans are rather cautious in their contacts with neighbors due to their vulnerable status in Iran and in order to prevent impending problems. Despite all the cautiousness, some of the interviewees mentioned the disrespectful behaviors of their neighbors against them. Herein, Fariba explained the discrimination experienced by her brothers: “whenever my brothers go to play football in the alley the older boys from our neighborhood tell them they shouldn’t come here to play. Go to hell, you the Afghan. Don’t play here”.

Despite the wide discrimination, none of the interviewees was able to define the term “discrimination”, when they were asked to do so. The only girl who could define and describe it precisely was Sara, since she was older and more educated than the other interviewees. When she was asked if she had ever experienced any discriminatory situation she answered:

“Yes, I’ve always experienced discrimination in my family, because I’m a girl and because I’m an Afghan immigrant in Iran. I’ve got humiliated thousands of times due to my nationality since I was a child. Whenever I went out and they (the Iranians) recognized that I’m an Afghan, they humiliated me and addressed me “the Afghan”, as a swear word. At that time, I didn’t know what the difference is between being an Iranian and an Afghan; but I’ve always wished to be an Iranian”.

The described discrimination against Afghans in Iran relates to all the immigrants regardless of their age, gender, and residence status. Nevertheless, the scale of rights' violation of the Afghan children is the same as that of adults. This is because children usually do not have any access to legal authorities. There is an Iranian proverb that says, "the right is not something to be given, but it must be taken". However it seems that the rights of children and especially the RAS girls in Iran do not follow the same rule, since if the authorities do not recognize their rights, they have almost no opportunity to formally obtain them.

CONCLUSION

The study was designed to focus on the perspective of the Afghan girls in Iran about the multiple discrimination they face on the grounds of their gender, background, and age in their daily lives, and also to examine to what extent they are aware of the discriminatory practices in their environment. The main focus of the study was on the three forms of discrimination most often experienced by Afghan girls in Iran: racism, sexism, and adultism. In order to reach the objective of the study a qualitative research methodology was applied and six Afghan girls between the ages of 11 and 17 were interviewed individually to gain knowledge on their point of view regarding the above-mentioned forms of discrimination.

The results demonstrated that Afghan girls are intensely experiencing all of the mentioned forms of discrimination, although their outlooks on the different forms were not on the same level. From their perspective racism is the most exasperating and obvious form of discrimination they face, while adultism seems to be the most invisible form, both in the public opinion and in the girls' point of view.

The study also shed light on the reinforcement of adultism by sexism in the girls' lives; since, in the perspective of their parents and adult members of most of the Afghan and Iranian families, a girls' behavior is directly linked to the honor of their kin. As a result, the Afghan girls are more in danger of adultism in comparison to the boys. According to the majority of the interviewees the pressures and restrictions on them get even more intense once they grow older and reach the marriage age.

The confluence of sexism, racism, and adultism in one point in the Afghan girls' lives in Iran represents the existence of deeply entrenched hierarchy in the society. The first step in fighting against discrimination in Iran should be reforming the existing regulations in accordance with basic human rights. The legalization of sexism and adultism in both Iran and Afghanistan seems to make them invisible in the public view. People get used to legalized forms of

discrimination and define them as social norms. Consequently, children who are born in hierarchical societies with normalized forms of discrimination will most likely continue to act accordingly. However, reforming sexist and adultist regulations may not happen in the current situation of both countries, when most of those in power are men or women who defend the men's present rights (some of which are inappropriate) and ignore the rights of women.

The second step should be educating everybody on human rights, regardless of the social class they belong to. Since it is still common to see that even educated groups are widely presenting racist attitudes toward the Afghans in Iran and defending the existing hierarchy. Self-evidently, mass media play an important role in this regard.

Last but not least, all the groups which are discriminated against in a society should be identified and heard. Studies concerning the Afghan girls and other discriminated groups need to be developed further in order to enable recognizing the violations of their rights and their requirements and to give them a chance to develop through positive discrimination as it is in the case of other societies. By doing this all the discriminated-against and excluded groups of hierarchical societies may get the opportunity to rise, be included in social activities, enjoy their human rights, and reduce existing inequalities.

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FROM NORMATIVE ACCEPTANCE TO PREJUDICES AND VIOLENCE: INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT IN SLOVENIA

INTRODUCTION

In Europe, school violence has been recognised as an important problem over the last few years, especially the minor and subtler forms of violence (verbal harassment, rudeness) that are increasing (Kane 2008). Despite a general recognition of the importance of school violence, there is presently no common EU legal or policy framework regarding violence in schools. Among European countries there exist significant differences in legislation and governmental intervention related to school violence, as well as differences in expertise and experience in this field. While in most countries there has been some attention put to the violence in the school environment, the issue of interethnic violence in schools often remains an under-researched and inadequately discussed phenomenon, despite the fact that Europe is facing an increase of migration flows and growth of ethnic diversity along with apparently growing xenophobic and racist attitudes towards ethnic minorities and migrant communities reflected also in schools. Nevertheless, in recent years there has been some interest in the issue of violence in ethnically diverse school (Verkuyten and Thijs 2002, Strohmeier et al. 2008, Vervoort 2010, Stefanek et al. 2012, Tolsma et al. 2013).

The general negative attitudes towards migrants and ethnic minorities in Slovenia, observed also through public opinion surveys (Toš et al. 2009, Eurostat 2010, Kirbiš 2012) will thus presumably be reflected also in the attitudes and opinions of Slovenian pupils. Namely, attitudes of young people towards others,

their normative beliefs on equality of people of different cultural background or ethnic affiliation etc. and level of their acceptance of multiculturalism are influenced by the wider social context. It is not only family that influences attitude of school children towards people of other ethnic background. It is general socioeconomic circumstances of the society, such as economic crisis, growing unemployment, instability of jobs that boost process of “othering”. These stated arguments – socioeconomic crisis along with the argument of jet un-researched phenomenon support the need to illuminate the issue of peer interethnic relations and peer interethnic violence in the school environment in Slovenia.

Slovenia declared its independence in 1991. In the period when joint with other states in the multicultural and multi-religious Yugoslavia, the issue of ethnicity and ethnic affiliation was ‘under-communicated’ (Eriksen 1993). The prevailing political ideology of the former common state reduced the importance of ethnic affiliations. Principles of ‘brotherhood and unity’ were promoted within the frame of the socialist ideal of the former state in order to ensure interethnic equality, tolerance and coexistence as well as to strengthen the position of class above the attributed ethnic determinants (Sedmak et al. 2013: 220). Nowadays Slovenia is still uncritically perceived as relatively monocultural regardless of the presence of native Italian and Hungarian minorities as well as a high number of (mainly economic) immigrants from the territory of the once common state of Yugoslavia (Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Macedonian, etc.). Additionally, since 2000 the number and diversity of immigrants by country of citizenship has been increasing until 2008 economic crisis when a decline in immigration has been observed (Povhe 2010). Consequently, the issue of interethnic violence in schools does not gain a lot of attention.

Though in Slovenia there have been conducted some researches on peer violence in school environment (for example Dekleva 1996, Pušnik 1996, 2004, Krek et al. 2007, Mugnaioni Lešnik et al. 2008, Pavlović et al. 2008), none focused specifically on the issue of interethnic peer violence in school. The paper will thus discuss findings of the first research exploring and understanding children and young people’s experiences of interethnic conflict and violence in Slovenian primary and secondary schools¹. Interethnic violence in school was examined multi-dimensionally – from the points of view of children, school staff and experts. Also, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used to gain an in-depth, layered perspective on the issue. The paper will

¹ Research was a part of the project Children’s Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children’s Rights in the School Environment (2011–2012), funded by the European Commission Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme and implemented in Slovenia, Austria, Italy, Cyprus and United Kingdom.

focus on two issues, namely a) the attitudes of children towards ethnic diversity, rights and equality of people with different ethnic or cultural background and b) the prevalence of different types of interethnic violence among primary and secondary school pupils. By interethnic violence we mean either physical, verbal or relational violence on the basis of someone's ethnic background.

Since recent research in the field revealed the importance of intersectionality in peer violence (Hrženjak and Humer 2010, Busche et al. 2012, Peguero 2012), the issue will be researched through these lens. The concept of intersectionality, first introduced by Crenshaw (1989 in Peguero 2012), considers interlocking of several social categories that influence social position of an individual in the society and his/her predisposition to social inequalities. In order to understand the dynamics of school violence it is thus important to analyse phenomenon in the context of interplay of a) social categories such as ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic class and b) individual factors such as age, physical appearance, school success and other relevant factors that influence victimization among peers. We will therefore take into account all the above mentioned factors when discussing the case study of interethnic violence in the school environment in Slovenia.

THE SLOVENIAN CONTEXT

First, we will briefly present the contextual background in which the research took place. As mentioned above, Slovenia became independent in 1991, after the dissolution of once common communist state of Yugoslavia that besides Slovenia comprised also Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro.

According to the 2002 Census² Slovenia is not ethnically very diverse country. Out of 1,964,036 inhabitants registered in the 2002 Census, 83.06% of population was of Slovenian ethnic origin. Those of non-Slovenian ethnic background can be roughly divided into two groups: *historical national minorities* (autochthonous as defined by the Slovenian constitution) – including the Italian, the Hungarian and the Roma community, that also enjoy special rights, but less than the other two groups, and the so called “*new*” *national communities*, the members of which belong to the nations of the former common state of Yugoslavia (Croatians, Bosniacs, Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Albanians) who migrated as economic migrants either in times of economic prosperity and growth (in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s) and in the newest immigration flow after 2000 or came as

² In the last census, 2012, the data on ethnic origin/nationality was not gathered.

refugees in the period of Yugoslav Wars, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, mostly from Bosnia. Even though immigrants from former Yugoslavia present much bigger communities than historical national minorities (in accordance with the 2002 population census there were 38,964 Serbs, 21,542 Bosniacs, 10,467 Muslims, 3,642 Croatians, in comparison to 2,258 Italians and 6,243 Hungarians living in Slovenia), they do not have official minority status and, consequently, they do not have any special or additional political, economic or cultural rights.

Immigrant children regardless of their status (either foreign citizens, refugees, asylum seekers residing in Slovenia etc.) are entitled to compulsory basic school education under the same conditions as Slovenian citizens. Italian and Hungarian ethnic minority have also the right to be educated in their mother tongues and to develop their own education policies. The data on the size of migrant population in schooling is fragmented and scarce. Various institutions, such as Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport, National Education Institute, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia gather the data, but they give only a partial picture. Data of Ministry of Interior show at the end of 2008 among residents there were 3.84% foreigners (4.4% in 2012, SORS). In the age group 6–14, which roughly corresponds to compulsory years of schooling, foreigners represented 1.66% and data is similar in age group 15–18 (1.64%). But data of percentage of children of other ethnic groups grow much higher, when we take into account the fact, migrant status is carried over for generations:

Basically, children never get rid of the migrant status. Even if your parents belong to the 1st generation and you're born as a Slovenian citizen, you're still treated as a migrant /.../ some are still stigmatized even after 4 generations. (Expert, Peace Institute)

When answering the question of the perceptions of number of students of other ethnicity, culture, religion in the school, young boy, half Slovenian and half Croat, explained the importance on definitions of "others":

If you take into account also the ones from ethnically mixed marriages, than we represent more than a half. /.../ Yes there's more than a half of others." (Jože, 10)

METHODOLOGY

The research methodology followed a two-stage sequential mode, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. The research started with a quantitative study, surveying children in the school environment, followed by a qualitative

study, organized in the form of focus groups with two groups of 5 to 6 pupils per school and interviews with the school staff – with teachers, headmasters, school counsellors etc. An additional insight into the field of interethnic relations, peer violence and similar was apprehended through interviews with experts from governmental and non-governmental organizations dealing with these issues. The essential aim of the qualitative part of the research was to provide an insight into the reasons and causes behind the answers acquired in the quantitative study.

In the first, quantitative phase of research pupils aged 10–11 and students aged 16–17 were surveyed through the questionnaire consisting of 44 questions, covering demographic data, normative statements on equality and multi-ethnic background, experiences of violence, perceptions on violence, etc. In Slovenia, 767 pupils completed the questionnaire in 8 primary schools and 9 secondary schools. The schools were selected in four ethnically mixed regions, namely: Coastal region, Ljubljana region, Jesenice region and Prekmurje region. The overall gender breakdown was the following: 50.2% of male pupils and 49.8% of female pupils. In primary schools, the age ranged between 9 and 12, with 77.2% of pupils being 10 years old and 19.2% 11 years old. In secondary schools, the majority of pupils were aged 17 (71.2%), followed by 18 (15.2%) and 16 (12.2%). Overall, 65.7% of pupils included in the survey were of Slovenian ethnic background and 34.3% were of other ethnicities, of those most were of Croatian, Serbian, Bosniac, Hungarian and Macedonian background, including a large share of those who declared themselves of being of mixed ethnic background.

The second, qualitative phase of research consisted of three parts: focus groups with children, interviews with school staff and interviews with experts in the field³. Focus groups were carried out in four above mentioned regions in 5 primary and 6 secondary schools⁴. In each participating school, 2 focus groups were conducted, except in one secondary school where it was only possible to conduct one focus group. Altogether, 21 focus groups were conducted with 112 participants (52 male and 60 female participants). Predominantly, participants were selected by teachers, who were asked to select children from classes that already participated in the survey according to the following criteria: gender balance, ethnic heterogeneity and loquacity. In each of the schools participating in the qualitative research were conducted 2 in-depth interviews with school staff – in one school one interview was held simultaneously by two interviewees.

³ UP SRC research team conducted qualitative research in all included regions, while for the purpose of the project qualitative research in schools was limited to one region only.

⁴ When we use quotes of pupils, age of the pupil is written next to the chosen nick name, while in the case of school staff there is information on occupation as well as type of the school (PS for primary school and SS for secondary school).

In total, 21 such interviews were held (11 with school counsellors, 5 with headmasters, 5 with teachers and 1 with headmaster assistant).

Six interview sessions were conducted with experts in the field – representatives from the National Institute of Public Health (simultaneous interview with two experts), researchers at the Peace Institute (simultaneous interview with two researchers), a representative of the School Students' Organisation of Slovenia, an expert from the Institute for Ethnic Studies, a representative of the human rights ombudsman's office and a representative of Unicef.

Through mixed method approach we gained a layered perspective on the issue and enabled us to apprehend differences between perceptions of different groups involved in the research. As for example, while in some schools (interethnic) violence was not considered an important issue by school staff, the narratives of children revealed a different picture and brought into focus also more covert and subtle forms of peer violence that were often not recognised as violence.

We would like to draw attention also to the limitations of the research methodology. The sample selected for the quantitative research is not representative of the pupil population in Slovenia – it was rather a purposive sample that met certain theoretical prerequisites specified by the project and agreed upon by all research partners. Therefore, the results reflect the situation in four ethnically mixed regions in Slovenia that might differ from the situation in ethnically less diverse regions. Also, the schools that have agreed to be involved in the research might be the ones that are already more aware of interethnic issues or do not have many interethnic conflicts. Additionally, with regard to the qualitative research, as mentioned, participants of the focus groups were selected by teachers which may have affected the results in the way that participants who were expected to be more positively oriented towards interethnic coexistence or similar. Still, the results we present below give us the comprehensive first insight into the complex issue of interethnic violence, its various forms and reasons for its occurrence.

RESULTS

In the following chapter we will focus on the attitude of pupils towards people of non-Slovenian ethnic background, rights and equality of people with different ethnic or cultural background etc. The level of interethnic coexistence in schools will be examined through the analysis of the agreement with positive and negative normative statements as well as through existing prejudices and stereotypes among pupils against other ethnic groups. In the core subchapter the emphasis will be given to experiences of different types of interethnic violence. While general data confirm that interethnic peer violence is not a burning issue

in Slovenian schools (see also Žakelj and Kralj 2012), there are considerable differences in the prevalence of experiences of different types of interethnic violence, difference in the prevalence according ethnic background, differences in experiences according to age, and also differences that base on gender. Our aim is to highlight stated differences that were confirmed through both, quantitative and qualitative research as well as to put attention to some additional factors indicated in qualitative research. The analysis of interethnic peer violence in the school environment will therefore follow the abovementioned intersectional approach.

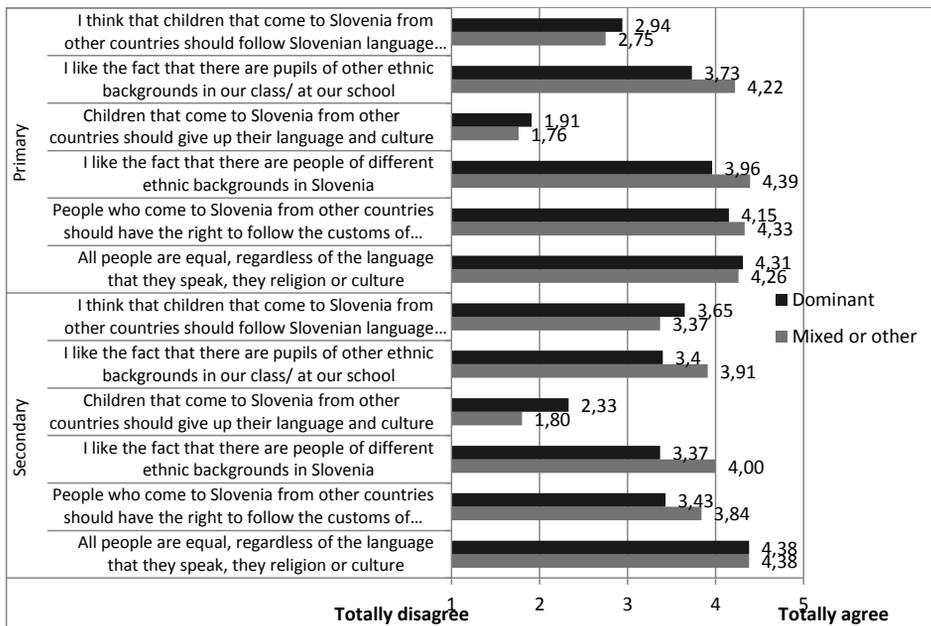
Attitudes towards “Others”

One of the aspects of young people’s attitude towards people of other ethnic groups or nationalities – i.e. “others”, may be observed through the level of agreement with normative statements that pupils evaluated on the scale from 1 – totally disagree to 5 – totally agree. There is high general support of normative statements regarding equality of people of different ethnic background and their rights, which is quite typical for normative beliefs that are prescriptive and reflect the views on how things should be as well as a feeling of “oughtness” (Thijs and Verkuytem 2013: 177). Still, some important differences can be observed among different age and ethnic groups of the respondents. Unsurprisingly, pupils that declared themselves as of mixed or non-Slovenian ethnic background support statements on right of immigrants to follow customs of their country more strongly. They also like the fact that there are people of different ethnic backgrounds in Slovenia and in their class/school in higher degree. On the other hand they disagree strongly that children, who come to Slovenia from other country, should give up their language and culture and that immigrant children should follow Slovenian language and culture. What is interesting is the level of agreement with the idea of equality of all people, regardless language they speak, their religion or culture. In this case support is a bit higher in group of Slovenian pupils (in case of primary school) or is exactly the same for both groups (case of secondary school). According to age, we may claim that younger pupils support normative statements on equality and rights more strongly. On average it seems younger generations are more tolerant and accept ideas on multiculturalism in higher degrees also in comparison to adults. For instance, public opinion data reveal quite negative attitude of full age population of Slovenia towards immigrants. More than half of respondents of Slovene Public Opinion Survey 2008 supported the statement “Because of the immigrants number of committed crimes grow” (54.9%) and “Immigrants burden social system of the state” (52.4%). (Toš et al. 2009: 382). In addition Eurobarometer 71 research on the Future of Europe revealed above average intolerance towards people of other ethnic groups of the Slovenians. Less than a half of Slovenians (44%) think that the presence of people from other ethnic

groups enriches the cultural life of their country (EU average 54%), 58% feel presence of people from other ethnic groups leads to insecurity (in comparison to 45% of average and 52% of Slovenians consider that the presence of other ethnic groups increases unemployment (EU average 49%) (Eurostat 2010).

Figure 1.

Agreement with normative statements by ethnic background and age



Stereotypes and prejudices

While attitudes on normative level may be evaluated as positive, focused conversations with pupils revealed numerous stereotypes and prejudices about people of different ethnic background as well as intolerance towards expressing their customs and traditions. Usually pupils support right to use own language in the private sphere but expression of their culture on public places is often disapproved:

I do not think it is right, like when »čefurji⁵« come here, older also, who live here already 30, 40 years, and they still talk with other Slovenian in their mother tongue. They just do not want to adjust. (Jožef, 18)

⁵ Pejorative term for migrants from other countries of former Yugoslavia.

But this is weird isn't it? Because when we go to their country, women have to clothe and wear head-scarfs. Here, they can just walk around in head-scarfs, can't they? (Francel, 17)

Their culture really (bothers me). Women with headscarfs walking in Slovenia. I do not know. If they live here, they should put it of. I do not know, I am Catholic and I would have to have it on down there (in prevalently Muslim states). (Marta, 18)

General public opinion towards different social categories of »others« was in *Slovenian public opinion survey 2008* measured with the question »Which of the listed groups you would not want to have as a neighbour?«. Among categories of ethnic/religious groups⁶, highest percentage of respondents (38.0%) would not want to have Roma people for a neighbours, followed by Muslims (28.4%) people of other race (28.2%), immigrants/foreign workers 27.8% and Jewish people 27.4% (Toš et al. 2009: 365). Among all ethnic groups Roma have the position of less accepted ethnic group that is target of multiple prejudices, persistent intolerance and continues to be the least respected ethnic group in Slovenia. Invidious position of Roma was identified also by several researches that confirmed media discourse on Roma is biased by negative characterisations (Erjavec et al. 2000, Kirbiš et al. 2012). Opinion of older pupils were compliant to mentioned public opinion and revealed numerous prejudices related to Roma that were expressed in their persuasions like "Roma are unclean, they are unwilling to work, they live in disorderly, untidy conditions, surrounded with trash, they take advantages of state's social support scheme, they disobey legislation, poses weapons and threaten other with guns" etc:

Well, they're Gypsies, right? They don't work and yet they're full of money. We help them and they only stroll around stealing stuff and they don't work. /.../ If they would be more cultivated, if they would work, have a job...then it would be ok. But, no, they steal, they have guns, they behave as they're somehow superior, right? (Marta, 18)

On the other side, a young Roma girl, who at the beginning of the conversation declared being of Croat ethnic affiliation, explained her experiences:

⁶ Besides ethnic/religious categories (Roma, Jewish people, Muslims, immigrants/foreign workers) question also checked willingness to be a neighbour with people being legally sentenced, left-wing extremists, right-wing extremists, drunks, people with big families, emotionally unstable people, people with Aids, drug addicts and homosexuals.

Sometimes Kristjan says to me, we Roma should go to Roma school. /.../ Jan said to me, we Roma are dirty. (Tamara, 10)

Hierarchy of “otherness”

In the categories of “others” there is an evident differentiation between nations from South-Eastern parts of Europe (like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Macedonia, Serbia etc.) and Western or Northern parts of Europe. Stereotypic beliefs are rooted already in the opinions of younger participants of the research. In their view Western and Northern nations “are more civilised” and differentiation between nations is a consequence of “not being equal.” Macedonian girl explained the reason of differentiation:

Because countries like France and England are more developed as Macedonia or Bosnia. (Martina, 10).

Secondary school students agree difference in attitude towards migrant groups exist. While tolerance is higher in case of western nationalities, Balkan nations are less accepted among Slovenians:

There are no problems with people from Western cultures. We have, how to say, the same values... (Steve, 17)

Once a woman said to me: “Ow, Bosnians, you know, they’re bandits...” and we know each other for a long time, so I said to her: “Don’t you remember, I told you two years ago that I’m Bosnian as well” and she said “Ow, but you’re not like them!” (Huso, 18)

Pupils agreed Balkan nations are less accepted, which can be also recognised in media discourse (Kuzmanić 1999, Leskošek 2005). Again responsibility for negative attitude is ascribed to “them”:

I do not think so (media influence attitude towards nationalities). To the certain extent it is their responsibility. Because they are a bit more aggressive, but that’s just the way they are. (Brian, 17)

This kind of differentiation can also be observed in the Slovenian public opinion where immigrants from ex-Yugoslav countries, Asia, Africa, etc. are less “desired” compared to immigrants from Western Europe, USA or Australia (Zavratnik et al. 2008).

Historic reasons

Reasons for prejudices towards “others” often lie in the history. Historic reasons for intolerance among nations are recognised especially in case of disputes among ex-Yugoslav nations:

Yes, in history there were some disputes, and this still drags on, instead of giving the opportunity to the individual to show in a different light. (Andika, 17)

Young Bosnian-Croat girl, attending primary school known as having highest percentage of migrant pupils in Slovenia, explained:

You have asked why does this happen. Sometimes because some pupils subconsciously talk about old grudges...When it was the war. But I do not know about it. I do not know.../.../ She (her school mate) said to me you trudged us with the tank, you killed us... (Kiara, 11)

Another girl included in focus groups from other region, stressed the burden of the past events influencing interethnic relations transmitted from parents to the children:

When you mentioned old grudges...I resent my father. When I was little, we lived on xy street and he has such old grudges, because his parents also had them. And I resent my parents very much, that they had such bad relationship with others. For example, when we used to live in xy street, when I was in the first grade, my father went into a fight with an axe with a neighbour, who is Serb. I resent that, because he has this old grudges. /.../ I do not know why this old grudges are borne, if we now are a new generation. I don't know why... (Uma, 11)

Interethnic violence in the school environment: relevance of gender, age, socioeconomic status and other factors

The role of ethnicity in peer violence

One of the key starting questions of the research focused on the importance of ethnic background for peer victimization in the school environment. Previous research highlight race and ethnicity as important influence increasing the vulnerabilities of youth to be victims of bullying at school (Peguero 2012). Our research findings show that peer violence follows different channels. Ethnicity is one of the circumstances that influence development of violent acts:

It's hard to say that there's more of such violence than among children in general. If the comparison would be made, it'd be hard to say that children from ethnic minorities are more often victims of violence – we didn't find that, violence occurs in many different dimensions. Ethnicity isn't the only one, it isn't crucial ... /.../ Yeah, it's about the circumstances, the combination of factors ... (Expert, Peace Institute)

Ethnicity itself is usually not the reason for the outburst of peer violence but it becomes an important characteristic of identification which comes out in the conflict:

You know what it is like, if dispute occurs, usually this is because of other reason. But when dispute evolves, nationality comes out. /.../ It (nationality) is not a cause for a dispute. When two have nothing else to say to each other, than nationality comes out. (Nives, 17)

Age differences and interethnic violence

General data on experiences of different types of interethnic violence⁷ among pupils reinforce findings of several research papers that recognise verbal and psychological violence as most widespread in the school environment (Popp 2003, Gittins 2006), while physical violence is less spread.

Figure 2 shows that prevalence of experiences of all types of interethnic violence (physical, verbal and relational) depends on the *age* of the respondents. Interethnic violence is less prevalent among secondary school students, which confirm also other researches that generally found higher scores of victimisation in younger students (Scheithauer et al. 2006, Stefanek et al. 2012). According to previous research with increasing age, forms of bullying become more subtle and complex, thus being more overt/physical in younger children and becoming more indirect, verbal and social-manipulative with age (Björkqvist et al. in Scheithauer et al. 2006), however in our research focusing specifically on interethnic violence we found that all forms of violence are decreasing with age.

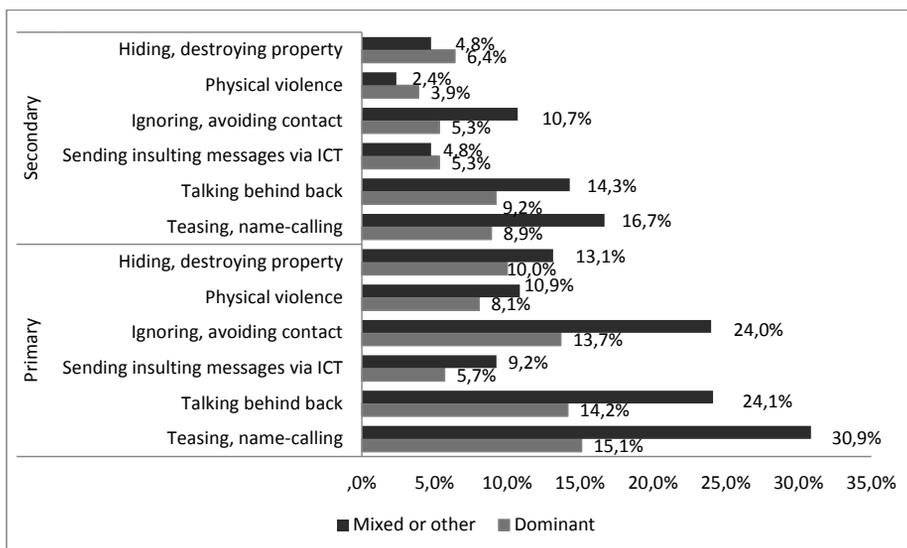
Differences are also evident in experiences of younger and older pupils of mixed/other ethnicity in comparison to experiences of Slovenian pupils. While 30.9% of pupils of mixed/other origin reported being called names or insulted in the primary school sample, only half as many (15.1%) Slovenian pupils reported similar problems. Almost one quarter of the primary school pupils of mixed/other ethnic background (24.1%) reported also that other pupils said untruthful

⁷ The focus of our research was specifically violence based on ethnicity. Children and youth were questioned about their experiences of different forms of violence because of their ethnic background (culture, religion, language).

things about them behind their backs. The same is true for 14.2% Slovenian pupils. Additionally, 24.0% of pupils of mixed/other ethnic background said they were ignored or avoided because of their ethnic background. Slovenian students reported 13.7% of such cases. The differences regarding ethnic affiliation and experiences of interethnic violence are similar in secondary schools. In comparison to Slovenian pupils far more pupils of mixed/other ethnic background experienced the following: being called names or insulted (16.7% mixed/other ethnic background vs. 8.9% Slovenian), having untruthful things said behind their backs (14.3% mixed/other ethnic background vs. 9.2% Slovenian), being ignored and avoided (10.7% mixed/other ethnic background vs. 5% Slovenian).

Figure 2.

Experiences of interethnic violence by ethnic background and age



Ten to eleven years old pupils stressed pupils from higher grades are more often violent towards them.

That there are some three, like bigger, and they start teasing some smaller ones and kicking them. (Jože, 10)

In some primary schools physical fights (though usually not exclusively related with ethnic background) happen in schools almost on a daily basis, while cases of physical fights in secondary school are rare.

Lower age groups – much more physical violence: kicking, pulling, crowding.
 Higher age groups – far more psychological type. (Expert, Unicef)

Age differences do not only matter if we focus on prevalence of interethnic violence but also in reactions to it. When experiencing interethnic violence, primary school pupils of mixed or non-Slovenian ethnic background mainly ask for help (27.5% in comparison to 30.1% of Slovenian pupils) or do the same as bully (17.5% and 17.8% of Slovenian pupils). On the other hand secondary school pupils of mixed or non-Slovenian ethnic background mainly fight back (47.4% in comparison to 28.5% Slovenian pupils) or put up with it (31.6% and 11.4% of Slovenian pupils). Another telling data is secondary school pupils almost never ask for help if they experience interethnic violence (0.0% of pupils of mixed or non-Slovenian ethnic background in comparison to 2.9% of Slovenian pupils). In case primary school pupils notice interethnic violence they mainly tell a teacher or another school staff what is happening (43.2% of pupils of mixed or other than Slovenian ethnic background and 49.4% of Slovenian pupils), while secondary school pupils do nothing but they think they should help (29.5% of pupils of mixed or other than Slovenian ethnic background and 32.0% of Slovenian pupils). Some of them explained, they do not want to involve in fight of dispute not to put themselves into a danger:

Truth to be hold I would not dare (to intervene). /.../ Otherwise you can suffer.
 (Katja, 17)

Gender and interethnic violence

Gender is one of crucial social categories that influence experiences of peer violence, perceptions of it and reactions to it. As many researches show, gender differences are confirmed among experiences of different types of peer violence. Gender differences are evident, especially when statistics are restricted to physical forms of violence, as boys experience much higher levels of physical violence than girls (Smith 2003, Ministry of education and sports RS 2004, Scheuthauer et al. 2006). Physical violence, such as hitting, pushing, kicking, and the destruction of property, is more often reported by boys, while verbal and relational, such as gossiping, manipulation, and social isolation of the victim, is more often reported by girls (Peguero 2012: 405). Our findings confirm physical violence is problem ascribed to boys and their masculinity expressions and verbal violence is perceived as pervasive type of violence among girls:

Girls are not directly violent it's true as claimed in theory. Among girls there are many symptoms of Spanish series, this is a disaster, catastrophe, it's a lot of this. But not direct physical violence. And it is true, it is less sanctioned, more

allowed, while we would jump immediately in case of the physical violence, we would take measures write away, here everything is...and also the rule book does not say, if you will talk behind classmates' back you will get a reprimand. (School counsellor, SS)

That's how it is with boys, they fight, and girls, girls are just insulting. (Doris, 10)

Violence among girls is evidently rising:

Recently, we are witnessing a trend of increased violence among girls, mostly psychological violence in the form of rumour spreading or social isolation of some girls. I believe the social networks and the Facebook can be very problematic in this sense. (School counsellor, SS).

Though untypical, several secondary school counsellors stressed physical violence among girls is increasing. Physical violence among girls is supposed to derive from conflicts regarding emotional relations, such as for example taking over someone's boyfriend:

Yes there were also cases when girls had a fight because of a boy. It is more about thing like that. (School counsellor, SS)

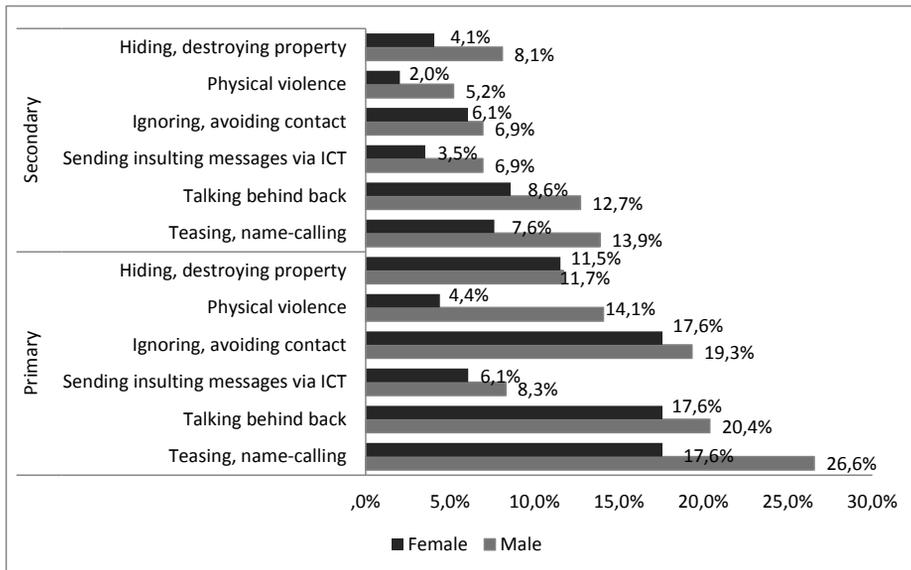
It's interesting, that recently we had some fights among girls. A fight breaks out between two girls; mostly it happens because of a boyfriend. /.../ I just wanted to add that girls are skilful not only verbally, but sometimes even in using their hands. (Headmaster, SS)

Girls of both age groups experience all analysed types of interethnic violence (teasing and name-calling, talking behind backs, sending insulting messages via internet or mobile phones, ignoring, avoiding contacts, hiding or destroying property and physical violence because of someone's ethnicity, culture etc.) less often. Most evident differences are found in experiencing physical interethnic violence.

Another gender difference can be observed in violence towards others on the basis of nationality or ethnic background. Girls bully someone because of his/her nationality or ethnic background less often. Only 2.2% of primary school girls and 1.0% of secondary school girls reported bullying someone because of his/her nationality/ethnic background (compared to 10.8% primary school boys and 11.8% secondary school boys, included in the research). The results do not differ from other research on school violence, finding that significantly more boys reported bullying others, regardless of bullying form. (Scheithauer et al. 2006: 271)

Figure 3.

Experiences of interethnic violence by gender and age



Violence among girls should be understood as gender specific violence (one of the experts mentioned a case of competing in breath holding until some girls fainted). Gender(ed) differences in observed types of peer violence confirm peer violence is gendered (Sauer and Ajanović 2013).

Socio-economic status and interethnic violence

Socioeconomic status of the family of immigrant influences the inclusion in peer groups and is decisive for students' interethnic friendships (Van Houte and Stevens 2009: 217). Potential of exclusion from peer group on the basis of lower socioeconomic status was recognised by experts and school staff mentioning that youngsters from socioeconomically disadvantaged families are more likely to be bullied than others, which is in line with the findings of other studies in this area (e.g. Due et al. 2009). Poverty is holding one of the strongest potentials for social exclusion from the peer group:

Social stratification among students is very visible – those, who are rich and those, who are poor. Then, the violence and teasing may occur because of clothing, behaviour... (School counsellor, PS)

On other schools I have noticed pupils of lower socioeconomic status sometimes experienced certain kind of differentiation. (School counsellor, PS)

Immigrant kids – this 2nd generation is still deprived. Their parents on average do not achieve equal socio-economic status, children have less incentives at home... unfortunately. It is interesting it is so long since they have assimilated, but they still possess lower paid jobs and consequently they can also enable less to their children. It is true class of economists if more ethnically diverse. (School counsellor, SS)

Socio-economic status and ethnicity overlap a lot. In Slovenia, especially in Ljubljana, some try really hard to cover the location they live and so on. (School counsellor, SS)

Lower socioeconomic position or poverty does not only stimulate potential for victimization but is also recognised as a factor that may encourage aggressive behaviour in order to gain status within schools and on the street (National Science Foundation 2013). Younger girls explained diversity of reasons for insults, among which factor indicating socioeconomic position seem very relevant:

We argue a lot, also for some stupid stuff, like a schoolmate has a special nickname because her big eyes, some schoolmates are insulted they are fat, others they are ugly. And we have a Roma girl and she is insulted as being a Gipsy, and that they do not have money and thing like that. /.../ (Mia, 12)

And about what you are wearing, how much your stuff cost, who you socialise with, eee, and so... What are your parents like, where do they work. (Ina, 11)

And how much money you have got, which car do your parents drive, what is your house like and whether you sell copper... (Kiara, 11)

Immigrant background along with lower socioeconomic status seems to be one of important combinations that lead to high potential for not being accepted among peers and consequently the potential for victimization. Parental occupation, material mediums of status, recognised by youth (like clothes, family car etc.) up to the living area⁸ are transmitters of information of how well

⁸ In the capital city of Ljubljana there are areas where population is predominantly of other ethnic background (Fužine, Rakova Jelša, etc.). Living in one of these areas is indicating a status of low socioeconomic position (cheaper apartments, high fluctuation) and when economic status improves, people move out. Muslim girl from Kosovo explained her fears when moving to the area:

Am, I have moved from village to Fužine. And at the beginning I was really afraid if there will be any problems or anything because of nationalities. Because there are lots of Serbs and we do not understand well with Serbs, though I only had positive experiences with them. (Mojca, 17)

individual is integrated into the socially desired status, or contrary how far he/she is from its attainment. Intersection of stated two factors though important, is quite hard to be confirmed with direct measures⁹.

Other relevant factors

Besides already mentioned factors such as ethnicity, gender, age, socioeconomic status participants of the research stressed wide range of factors that encourage potential victimization of young people. Especially physical appearance, school achievement, personality trait and sexual orientation influence peer relations. Being short, overweight, know more than average of pupils or having some troubles learning, being introverted and having no skills to stand up for yourselves along with having homosexual tendencies are all aggravating circumstances:

Or for example if your school achievements are not so good or if you are above average – than others argue with you. (Laura, 10)

And they tell those who are small we will never grow up. (Messi, 10)

They also messed with me sometimes, but they don't anymore. Cuz I'm Austrian, and a bit more chubby, and stuff. (Beni, 11)

In principle I think victims do not have any special characteristics except not being empowered to know how to say no, and because he/she complies to everybody others take him/her for a fool,.. Or exploit him/her on different ways. (Teacher, PS)

These homophobic insults come out. They are an everyday practice. (Expert, Peace Institute)

Now, if we can still find discrimination, it may be towards homosexually oriented, but they are not recognised by classmates. I know for some boys and girls but they are not recognised by anybody, but if they would be, it might result in discrimination /.../ (Headmaster, SS)

⁹ Estimations of socioeconomic status are a) always a subject of personal evaluation which are proved to be moved towards middle values (like middle economic class); b) hard to be measured, while respondents (when adults) usually do not want to give information on family monthly income or (when we focus on youth) mainly do not have information on family income. Consequently we can usually, as in our case, only check some indirect dependence of two variables (like experiences of interethnic violence according to the parent's educational level).

To conclude, victimization potential grows on the basis of accumulation of circumstances that install the individual into the position not accepted among the peer group. Being immigrant or having migrant background by itself may not determine disposition for victimization. What is crucial is the interplay of social categories (ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status and sexual orientation) and the individual factors (family background, addiction problems, school success level, personality traits etc.) which all influence the possibility of victimization.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this article was to present the question of violence based on ethnicity in the school environment through analysing children's views towards different ethnic groups and the occurrence of interethnic violence amongst children and youth. Results show that while multiculturalism has been acknowledged as an important value by children and youngsters, at the same time they express prejudices, stereotypes and intolerance towards "others" (migrants, minorities), as well as evident differentiation between "us" and "them". To some extent this is the reflection of the wider society where intolerance, hostility and prejudices towards migrants and minorities are present as well as perpetuated through media and political discourse (Erjavec et al. 2000, Zavratnik et al. 2008, Toš et al. 2009, Kirbiš et al. 2012). According to our research, cases of interethnic violence among primary and secondary school pupils exist, although sometimes more covert and not always identified as violence. Through the research of interethnic violence in schools, various factors such as ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic class, age and some other individual factors were taken into account. Findings reveal the complex nature and the interaction of abovementioned elements in (interethnic) violence. Due to growing ethnic diversity in schools and the complexity of peer violence, educators should take the interplay of various factors into consideration when addressing (interethnic) violence in school. Intersectional perspective as a critical extension of merely gender mainstreaming, intercultural/diversity management or the concept of inclusion, assumes the understanding of underlying structures that constructs dynamics of violence and discrimination, such as differentiation between "us" and "them", stereotypes and hierarchy of otherness (Buche et al. 2012: 9). Being aware of and, more importantly, actively unveiling inequalities through critical intersectional approach would help understanding and eventually diminishing interethnic violence in school.

Unfortunately, there is still an important shortage of funding as well as common guidelines or directives and long-term strategies for educators on how to combat (interethnic) violence in school – a lot still depends on personal initiative

of educators. To conclude, while limited in scope the presented study gives a comprehensive first insight into the topic of interethnic violence in Slovenia through various perspectives and draws attention to interaction of different factors in peer violence that should be taken into account also in the future research as well as integrated in efforts of school violence prevention.

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CULTRAIN – CULTURAL ORIENTATION TRAININGS AN INTEGRATION MEASURE IN AUSTRIA TACKLING ADAPTION PROBLEMS OF YOUNG REFUGEES

INTRODUCTION

How do I start a new life as young person in a completely new surrounding without parents or guardians by my side? How can I orient myself in a new country with different habits and sometimes unknown manners, and even more importantly, how can I connect with the people living here?

These are some likely questions of an Unaccompanied Minor Refugee who recently arrived in Austria. These and other concerns are dealt with in the project “CulTrain – Cultural Orientation Trainings for (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees” implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Austria¹.

The aim of this article is to outline the CulTrain project and to offer insights into its development and implementation, and also its contents and methodologies. The project description is embedded in a short analysis of the broader framework concerning the general situation of Unaccompanied Minor Refugees in Austria. Furthermore, the authors discuss why the CulTrain project might be classified as

¹ The project is co-financed by the national European Refugee Fund (ERF) and the Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior (MoI).

a valuable integration measure tackling the difficulties of this vulnerable group. Thus, other countries might be encouraged to implement similar projects or, if appropriate, make use of certain tools applied by CulTrain in different contexts.

The first section of this article gives an overview of relevant topics related to (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees in Austria, with a particular focus on the reasons for the project as well as IOM Vienna's competences in this regard. The article then provides insight into the project's implementation, including topics and methodology of the Cultural Orientation Trainings as well as challenges and lessons learned. The article then concludes by pointing out measures to extend some project components in a national and international context.

UNACCOMPANIED MINOR REFUGEES IN AUSTRIA – AN OVERVIEW

Definition of key terms

There are many different terms describing Unaccompanied Minor Refugees, such as Unaccompanied Minors, Unaccompanied Children, Separated Children, Undocumented Children and so forth. In line with the diversity of terms, the definitions of the term "Unaccompanied Minor Refugee" vary as well.

Separated children are children, as defined in article 1 of the CRC [Convention on the Rights of the Child]², who have been separated from both parents, or from their previous legal or customary primary caregiver, but not necessarily from other relatives. These may, therefore, include children accompanied by other adult family members." (Committee on the Rights of the Child 2005: para. 7)

[A] child as defined in article 1 of the Convention [means] every human being below the age of 18 years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier. (Committee on the Rights of the Child 2005: para. 8)

For the purpose of this article, the definition of the Austrian Settlement and Residence Act applies, where an "Unaccompanied Minor Refugee" is defined as "a foreign minor who is non-accompanied by an adult person responsible for the legal representation of the former" (Art.2 para 1 (17) Austrian Settlement and Residence Act). The Austrian Civil Code (Art.21) defines every person under the age of 18 as being a minor. Moreover, a distinction is made between under-age minors (*unmündige Minderjährige*) who are 7-14 years of age and minors of age

² The CRC further defines minimum standards regarding the treatment of children in their respective territories and is the most widely ratified human rights treaty (Crépeau 2013: 2).

(*mündige Minderjährige*) who are 14-18 years old. Further, the authors refer to the terms (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees, also using the abbreviation (former) UAMs, since the target group of the project also includes persons older than 18. Nevertheless, it must be noted that UAMs are not a homogenous group – there are big differences in national or ethnic background, individual experiences, gender, religion and so forth. Therefore, we strongly recommend not to think in rigid categories, since those categories are generally fluid and context-bound.

In general, it is necessary to use accurate terminology in order to explain concepts and to counteract discrimination tendencies often resulting from criminalizing discourses, which is especially noteworthy when talking about vulnerable children. This fact is also highlighted by PICUM (Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants): “[T]here is an on-going need to contest broad generalizations and crude stereotyping that contributes to the dehumanization of migrants and threatens their fundamental human rights” (PICUM 2013: 15). The usage of correct terminology also prevents external labeling which would deny the right of dignity and self-respect of this specific group (cp. Council of Europe and European Commission 2003:13). Hence, this is stressed by Crépeau within an IOM publication: “no child is illegal, and all children have rights, regardless of their migratory status” (2013: 3).

Statistics

In 2012, 1,781 Unaccompanied Minor Refugees lodged an asylum application in Austria, which for the first time corresponded to more than 10 per cent of all asylum applications.

Since 2006, the number of UAMs seeking asylum in Austria has been steadily rising (with the exception of 2010), growing from 488 persons in 2006 to 1,781 persons in 2012. The majority of Unaccompanied Minor Refugees who applied for asylum were male, between 14 and 18 years of age, and the main country of origin was Afghanistan. Nevertheless, the number of UAMs under 14 years of age lodging asylum applications is steadily increasing – from 34 applications in 2010 to 84 applications in 2012. The number of Unaccompanied Minor Refugees from Afghanistan has risen significantly since 2007 (with a small decrease in 2010). In 2012, the most important countries of origin of Unaccompanied Minor Refugees seeking asylum in Austria were Afghanistan (1,035), Pakistan (160), Algeria (75), Somalia (45) and Morocco (45) (MoI 2013).

Living conditions of (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees in Austria

This chapter provides a short overview of daily life issues of (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees in Austria. It covers key fields, such as legal

procedures, accommodation and daily life matters, as well as related challenges. This article does not offer a comprehensive overview but only provides small details which are important to understand the project implementation of CulTrain³.

Unaccompanied Minor Refugees are a particularly vulnerable group: most of them have undergone traumatic experiences before and/or during their journey (Crépeau 2013, Petzl/Temesvári 2009: 6, PICUM 2013: 5, UNHCR 2010: 18-20)⁴. Their situation is predominantly characterized by an insecure environment (concerning their legal status, reception, accommodation, perspectives and so forth) and they often receive only limited individual and emotional care (UNHCR 2010: 22). They have to face these circumstances without parents or other family members and often have poor or no relationships with their legal guardians⁵. Thus, the Council of Europe speaks of a “triple” vulnerability of Undocumented Children “as migrants, as persons in an irregular situation and as children⁶.”

Their vulnerability is also recognized in some aspects within the asylum procedure and the respective living situation in Austria. Once they have arrived in Austria and following the clarification of the admission procedure, it is decided during the asylum procedure whether the applicants are granted asylum status in Austria in accordance with the Geneva Convention of Refugees or subsidiary protection status or none of both. Regarding the granting of international protection, a case-by-case assessment is carried out. During the decision making process of the asylum procedure, there are no specific regulations taken into consideration the minority of the applicant (Blecha 2012: 18, Petzl/Temesvári 2009: 26). In many cases, an age assessment is conducted in order to determine the age of the applicants if they report to be minors, which is usually a very unpleasant experience for UAMs, sometimes creating a feeling of mistrust

³ For a more comprehensive analysis please look at Blecha 2012, Petzl/Temesvári 2009 or Fronek 2010.

⁴ An overview of possible threats faced by unaccompanied children was compiled by “Payoke”, a Belgian NGO assisting victims of human trafficking and is documented by the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (FRONTEX) in the document “Unaccompanied Minors in the Migration Process” on pages 21-22: www.frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk_Analysis/Unaccompanied_Minors_in_Migration_Process.pdf. Further, the Separated Children in Europe Program (SCEP) mentions shortcomings and challenges for Separated Children: www.separated-children-europe-programme.org/about_us/separated_children.html

⁵ In Austria, a guardian is appointed by the courts within the asylum procedure (after the clarification of the admission procedure) (Art. 213 Civil Code). Nevertheless, in most cases UAMs and their guardians do not have a vivid communication (Blecha 2012, Fronek 2010).

⁶ <http://assembly.coe.int/Mainf.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta11/EREC1985.htm>

(Fronek 2010: 64-85)⁷. Overall, the asylum procedure is often experienced by UAMs as being very harsh, due to various reasons: many feel insecure due to a lack of information on the asylum procedure in general, but also on their responsibilities, rights and duties. UAMs also often experience shortcomings i.e. concerning the quality of translation during the interviews and uncertainty regarding the length of the asylum procedure. These factors often result in frustration and stress (Blecha 2012: 18-22, Petzl/Temesvári 2009, Fronek 2010, Netzwerk Kinderrechte).

Further, after admittance to the actual asylum procedure the Unaccompanied Minor Refugees are transferred from the reception centers to accommodation facilities, which are located in all federal provinces in Austria. These are organized by Austrian NGOs like Caritas, Diakonie, SOS Childrens Village, Verein Menschen.Leben or private service providers, which is especially the case in Styria⁸. The care facilities differ in terms of childcare quality, composition of inhabitants, privacy and individual space, as well as infrastructure (Blecha 2010: 31-36, Fronek 2010: 118-130). The regional Youth Welfare Authority is in charge of the legal representation of minors in the asylum procedure and workers also often provide legal guardianship (Petzl/Temesvári 2009: 26). Nevertheless, many UAMs tend to bond with social workers of the care facilities rather than with their legal guardian, with whom they usually do not have much contact (Blecha 2012: 24, Fronek 2010: 131-141).

In addition to the asylum procedure and accommodation facilities, Unaccompanied Minor Refugees have to deal with many other topics like education, employment, health, culture and religion, search for family members and family reunification, leisure time, interaction with and integration into their host society, as well as simply growing up. Most of these broad areas are characterized by a restricted access to services as long as UAMs are still in the asylum procedure process and have not yet been granted subsidiary protection status or asylum. Another issue which is broadly and critically discussed by Austrian experts⁹ is the point at which UAMs turn 18, as their majority causes major changes. Former UAMs are required to move out of their child-specific accommodation facilities, usually to accommodation facilities for adults or private accommodation (depending on their legal status) where less money and care is provided (Fronek 2010: 179-187).

⁷ For more information on age assessment see: Position Paper on Age Assessment in the Context of Separated Children in Europe (SCEP 2012).

⁸ This is because Styria is the federal province with the biggest share of UAMs and thus capacities of public accommodation centres are mostly exhausted.

⁹ Cp. Fronek (2010), Netzwerk Kinderrechte (www.kinderhabenrechte.at/index.php?id=25)

All these challenges underline the vulnerability of (former) UAMs in addition to the traumas that many (former) UAMs experience before, during and after their journey and which always have to be taken into account.

Life circumstances and resulting challenges were taken into account in the development of CulTrain and are considered in the project's implementation. The next part of this article provides a detailed description of the CulTrain project.

THE PROJECT CULTRAIN

Introduction – Facts and Figures

CulTrain started as a pilot project in 2012 and was prolonged for another year in 2013. The project team constitutes of two full-time staff members (one project coordinator and one project assistant). Target group of the trainings consists of (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees, who have to be between 15 and 22 years of age, hold refugee or subsidiary protection status in Austria, and speak German at level A1 or higher.

Since the beginning of the project in 2012, 17 trainings with 128 participants have been conducted altogether. The main country of origin of the beneficiaries is Afghanistan, covering 85 per cent of the participants, followed by Somalia, Eritrea, Syria, Armenia and Guinea-Bissau. Furthermore, only 4 per cent of the participants were female. This can be traced back to the fact that a large majority of (former) UAMs are male. The vast majority of the trainings was provided to beneficiaries with subsidiary protection status.

Before analyzing the concrete content and methodologies of the CulTrain project, the following section provides an insight in the project's history and IOM's competencies for implementing the project.

Background

For several years, the IOM has paid increased attention to providing assistance to (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees, especially in strengthening and supporting coherent approaches in various areas like data collection, programmatic information, awareness raising or capacity building (IOM 2011: 11-15). The importance of integration measures for UAMs is also highlighted in the EU Action Plan on Unaccompanied Minor Refugees (2010-2014), where it is stated that "given their [Unaccompanied Minor Refugees] particularly vulnerable situation, measures to support their integration into the host society are essential" (European Commission 2010: 14). In accordance with these initiatives, IOM Vienna has placed an emphasis on the situation of Unaccompanied Minor Refugees by carrying out several studies on this subject.

Among other things, the studies demonstrate that many asylum seekers and young refugees lack sufficient knowledge of Austrian culture and society. In particular, it was found that “all [sic] of the adolescents and young adults [...] unanimously expressed a strong wish for getting to know Austrians, for making Austrian friends and for feeling like being part of the Austrian society” (Blecha 2012: 49). Thus, there is significant demand for support and information about Austria’s cultural and social life in order to facilitate successful integration into Austrian society.

Since the 1950s, IOM has also gained substantial expertise in Migrant Trainings¹⁰. Programs and workshops on cultural orientation are offered by IOM in different contexts and countries. Most of the time, those courses are implemented as a pre-departure measure, i.e. in the framework of resettlement programs¹¹.

CulTrain was developed as a post-arrival measure based on the experiences and contents of Cultural Orientation Trainings in the frame of resettlement, meaning that the training programs are offered only after the target group’s arrival in Austria.

Project goal

The project goal is to provide the target group with comprehensive information about Austria in the framework of Cultural Orientation Trainings. To reach this goal, UAMs are supported through knowledge accumulation in order to reduce fears of contact and also to reduce or prevent cultural misunderstandings. Thus, tendencies of exclusion are supported counteracted while participation and independency are encouraged. This again seeks to facilitate contact between the beneficiaries and the host society and consequently eases sustainable integration.

On the one hand, the CulTrain project tries to take into account the vulnerable situation of the target group and on the other hand, the participants are seen as “agents” in line with the CRC:

The framework of the Convention on the Rights of the Child requires us to recognize and celebrate the agency of children, who, as is the case for any moral being, are never and should never be treated only as victims of circumstances, but

¹⁰ IOM (2012): Migrant Trainings Overview: 2010–2011: www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/activities/facilitating/IOM_Migrant_Training_Programmes_Overview_2010_2011.pdf

¹¹ Resettlement programs are inter alia implemented by IOM Australia, IOM Norway and IOM United Kingdom. Those combine Cultural Orientation Trainings with language courses as pre-arrival integration measure to facilitate the integration of refugees upon arrival in the country of destination.

always also as agents of their own future. We must understand and celebrate the agency of migrant children, many of whom have independent migration projects of their own. (Crépeau 2013: 2)

As underlined in this quotation, the empowerment of (former) UAMs is another important goal of the project, which is constantly being worked on. The following section is about how this goal should be achieved and analyzes the concrete project implementation.

Structure and methodology

The curriculum and the contents of the trainings were developed specifically for UAMs and young refugees in Austria based on the IOM's experiences with such trainings. The trainings are divided into three modules, all with a pool of possible content:

Module 1: Austria and its people

The first module focuses on geography, history, national and regional holidays, different dialects and Austrian food or sports.

Module 2: Living together

In this module, social interactions, behaviours and forms of conduct as well as the topic of family and different forms of living together plus gender roles and gender equality are discussed.

Module 3: Politics and daily life

Module 3 approaches topics such as democracy (in politics and society); employment and education, contracts or housing.

In the *concluding session*, the UAMs play a game with questions on the topics of the trainings in order to repeat and thus deepen the knowledge gained; all participants win a small prize (i.e. sweets). The trainings are then evaluated¹² by the participants and the outcomes are constantly incorporated into the curriculum of the trainings. Finally, participants receive a certificate and a voucher (worth 20 Euro) as a sign of appreciation for their interest and participation in the training.

During the course of the training, each participant is provided with an accompanying booklet containing all training materials and one leaflet with addresses and information on various service providers in the fields of politics, health and social issues, education, work, housing and free time. These booklets

¹² Evaluations are conducted in two ways: first, the beneficiaries are asked to verbally communicate aspects of the training they liked and those they did not like. In a second step, the participants are asked to fill in a simple questionnaire by ticking the appropriate box. Of course, the participants receive support when needed by the project staff.

are incorporated into the training procedure to make the participants familiar with their usage.

The contents were conceptualized to show a diverse picture of Austria, rather than drawing a homogenous picture of the country and its people. This is achieved by presenting not only regional differences concerning landscapes, holidays, history or dialects but also different behaviours and cultural patterns shaped by gender, social class, race, religion, age and so forth. The project team considers the additional value of CulTrain not only in teaching school knowledge but also in creating a protected area allowing the young people to ask questions for which there is not always enough time during daily business. Moreover, the participants' backgrounds and their experiences are also incorporated in order to establish an environment of mutual appreciation and respect. Appreciation at eye level is very important throughout the whole training as it creates a warm and welcoming atmosphere where topics can be discussed openly.

The project staff is facilitating such an environment by using welcome signs in different languages (and a friendly room decoration in general), small-scale catering during the training, having lunch together as well as expressing strong interest in the background and language of the training participants. Appreciation at eye-level also concerns the possibility of evaluation of each training, giving the beneficiaries the opportunity to validate (and also change or enhance) contents and methodology. Therefore, the trainings aim to find the "right balance between the young people's interests, their skills and their limits" (Council of Europe and European Commission 2003: 19).

In order for the trainings to be effective, they are interactive and action-oriented, with a low-threshold for enabling experience-based learning.¹³ For this purpose, the literature on intercultural pedagogy was reviewed. The selected methods enable the participants to make formal learning experiences in a non-formal environment, which makes them "feel attracted to active workshops and events that give them a kick and can be seen as an extension of their normal pastimes" (Council of Europe and European Commission 2003: 23, 24). In practice, this means that the trainers use different games (role games, memory and puzzle) and work with pictures rather than written language ("look and feel") throughout the trainings. After each thematic block, a game is played during which the contents are repeated and reflected interactively.

¹³ To give some examples of relevant toolkits and methods: Series of t-kits: Council of Europe and European Commission (2000, 2003); Jugert (2006); Österreichische Bundesjugendvertretung (2007); Österreichischer Integrationsfonds (2004); Osuji (2010); Wohlesser (2007).

The staff works with rather small groups of only five to twelve participants, taking into consideration the participants' sometimes low German speaking abilities as well as their age and vulnerability.

The training participants may appear to be a homogenous group (85 per cent are male Afghans), but they differ in terms of education status, German speaking ability, former experiences and so on. In order to match the training content to the needs of the target group, caregivers of the respective accommodation centres are consulted in advance. At the beginning of the training, the participants are asked which topics they find especially interesting. Many back-up topics, prepared in advance, enable the trainers to spontaneously respond to the needs of each group.

Concerning the organizational aspects, most of the trainings are conducted on weekends, as the participants are often involved in other educational activities during the week. In general, trainings are offered in a highly flexible frame both in terms of time and venue in order to enable as many beneficiaries as possible to participate. Another important fact is that participation is free of charge both for care facilities as well as for the training participants. Each training programme lasts eight to twelve hours in total. Furthermore, the trainings are offered in all federal provinces of Austria.

As an additional component, *Intercultural Events* have been organized together with Austrian youth organizations since the beginning of the project year 2013, following the feedback of participants in 2012, who expressed a desire for increased contact with Austrian society. These events aim to improve exchange between (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees and Austrian young people, and to reduce fears of contact on both sides. The overall long-term goal is to positively shape the interaction process with the host community and to facilitate integration. In order to provide individually designed events, the project team developed a broad pool of applicable methods to be chosen from, such as creating posters on certain topics together, quizzes with drawings, pantomime, creating sculptures and so forth.¹⁴

The feedback of the training participants has been consistently positive, as shown by the following quotations taken from the evaluation sheet¹⁵:

- "I'd like to thank you for implementing such a project. Such projects bring foreigners like us together with Austrian people."
- "Thank you for providing us with all the information about Austria."
- "I'd wish you could visit us again."

¹⁴ To give some examples of relevant toolkits and methods: Council of Europe and European Commission (2000); Kuss (2010); Steindl M., Helm B., Steininger G., Fiala A., Venus B. (2008).

¹⁵ The quotations were made in German and have been translated by the authors.

Challenges and lessons learned

Several challenges have been encountered during the project's implementation. The project staff has responded to them in several ways. Challenges and lessons learned are elaborated in the following section.

First, reaching the target group was difficult. Reaching excluded young people is generally considered to be difficult by many actors (Council of Europe and European Commission, 2003). Effort is taken to enhance contact with care facilities and relevant stakeholders as they build bridges to potential beneficiaries; however, it is also difficult to establish contact with care-takers and the target group. Consequently, building mutual trust in order to motivate the beneficiaries to participate in the trainings is also difficult. It should be considered that the above mentioned networking activities are very time-consuming.

A Facebook page of the project was created in order to communicate more easily with potential beneficiaries and to promote the project within the community. Moreover, the staff fosters contacts with diaspora associations, as they function as multipliers. Former participants are now also functioning as multipliers promoting the project within their communities. Finally, an invitation letter to registered participants is sent out in order to formalize the process. All in all, the combination of these measures have resulted in excellent contact with stakeholders and beneficiaries' deep trust towards CulTrain.

The second major challenge is that the eligible target group of the project is limited due to external criteria of the funding authorities, as only persons with a recognized refugee status are potential beneficiaries. In general, once a person holds recognized refugee status, he/she is eligible for a broad variety of employment or education measures; much more than during the asylum procedure. These measures are usually offered from Monday to Friday. Therefore, the project staff facilitates access to training as much as possible by offering trainings on weekends, which has been highly successful.

Third, every training group includes people from different (national) backgrounds, with different former experiences, German speaking abilities and so forth. This results in the need to react very spontaneously to each respective training group, especially when it comes to methods or course content, which was difficult to do in the beginning. With growing experience of the trainers, this challenge was met increasingly well. Consequently, each training is individually tailored according to the needs of the particular group, in order to ease access for potential beneficiaries. This implies content, methodology and organizational aspects such as time frame and venue. Therefore, the training methods were conceptualised in an especially low-threshold and interactive way and focused on experience and action-oriented learning. Tailoring the trainings according to the beneficiaries' needs is also very important, considering their heterogeneous

backgrounds in terms of individual experiences, social class and level of education in their respective countries of origin.

However, it is also vital in terms of encouraging and facilitating the integration process of the participants from the very beginning (cp. Council of Europe and European Commission 2003: 19). This can be achieved by asking the participants about their expectations at the beginning of each training session and by inviting (former) UAMs to expert group meetings, during which stakeholders are continuously consulted in order to gain expertise from a practical point of view. It is highly important “to recognise [...] the tremendous knowledge and insight that young people facing exclusion on a daily and long-term basis can bring to youth work [...]. Their contribution will enrich any youth initiative or project.” (Council of Europe and European Commission 2003: 11). Of course, this also applies to the development and implementation of Intercultural Events where young refugees and members of Austrian youth organizations are invited to get to know each other.

CONCLUSION

This article seeks to provide an overview of the general situation and of the challenges UAMs face in Austria, as well as to present the CulTrain project – Cultural Awareness Trainings for (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees – as an integration measure that tackles adaptation problems of young refugees. Since those adaptation problems are, among other things, caused by a lack of knowledge about the current country of residence, providing the beneficiaries with knowledge about Austria and its people reduces fears of contact and potential cultural misunderstandings and hence supports them in their integration process. This aim is also fostered via Intercultural Events, during which young refugees and members of Austrian youth organizations get to know each other.

Using learner-centered teaching methods combined with a mutually appreciative approach and individually tailored training content, CulTrain proves to be highly valuable and successful. This post-arrival integration measure strives to serve as a sign of welcome and thus provides the beneficiaries with a protected space where questions can be raised and responded to without being condescending. In the future, the project staff is determined to make CulTrain accessible to a broader target group, such as young refugees in general, since a lack of knowledge and resulting integration obstacles are not a phenomenon limited to (former) UAMs. Furthermore, as integration challenges due to knowledge deficits are reported to exist in a great number of countries, adapting a valuable integration instrument like CulTrain, which has already been successfully tested

in practice, to various national contexts could facilitate the integration process of many more refugees and migrants.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|--|
| CO | Cultural Orientation |
| CRC | Convention on the Rights of the Child |
| EC | European Commission |
| EC | European Commission |
| EMN | European Migration Network |
| ERF | European Refugee Fund |
| FRONTEX | European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union |
| IOM | International Organisation for Migration |
| MoI | Ministry of the Interior |
| NGO | Non governmental organization |
| PICUM | Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants |
| SCEP | Separated Children in Europe Program |
| UAM(s) | Unaccompanied Minor Refugee(s) |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |

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DISCRIMINATORY MIGRATION POLICY? AN ACCESS TO EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN POLAND¹

In recent years, much has been written about Polish migration policy (e.g., Kicinger 2009; Górny et al. 2011; Kicinger and Koryś 2011, Okólski 2012) as well as the education of migrant children in Poland (e.g., Cegiełka et al. 2011; Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013; Kunicka 2013; MSW 2013; RPO 2013). While the former approach has been developed in academia and framed in public policy analysis, the latter has been developed by NGOs, the Ministry of the Interior and Ombudsman Office, and from research results from refugee centers and detention centers. The two fields rarely meet – therefore, this article addresses this gap by analyzing the policy of educational access for migrant children in refugee centers and detention centers in Poland. This article embeds the analysis of educational access for migrant children in a broader context of migration policy. Including the broader context allows understanding mechanisms underlying existing policy. As we argue, this policy actually results in direct and indirect discrimination of migrant children.

This article addresses three questions: 1) what assumptions underlay the policy of access to education for migrant children in refugee centers and detention centers; 2) what actions define the policy; and 3) what are the results of the policy? In order to identify assumptions underlying the existing policy, we

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analyze Migration Policy (the national migration strategy) and the official and unofficial statements by representatives engaged in the policy; i.e., representatives of government administrations, NGOs that assist refugees, and the migrants themselves. With the aim of defining policy actions, we analyze legal regulations regarding access to education for migrant children and the results of monitoring conducted by NGOs and the Polish Ministry of Interior and Ombudsman Office. We also include the results of research conducted in a project “Equal Treatment as a Standard of Good Governance,” a project intended to help the Polish government create an anti-discrimination strategy. The same data will be used to analyze the policy outcomes.

Polish migration policy which addresses the education of migrant children² requires analysis for several reasons. Developed societies recognize children’s rights as core values. This fact is reflected in legal regulations (e.g., the 1989 Convention of the Rights of the Child). In the same time, the rights are violated in the situation of detention. Children in refugee and detention centers are at a risk of various psychosocial and developmental problems. The problems have their source in previous (often multiple) forced migration experiences, but they are intensified with traumatizing conditions of life in the centers. Although migration policy can hardly impact pre immigration situations, it defines the conditions in refugee and detention centers and therefore influences the situation of children migrants. Especially prison-like environment in detention centers fails to ensure basic needs of children, such as health care, psychological care and education. Psychological distress takes various forms including ‘separation anxiety, disruptive conduct, nocturnal enuresis, sleep disturbances, nightmare and night terrors, sleepwalking, and impaired cognitive development. At the most severe end of the spectrum, children display profound symptoms of psychological distress, including mutism, stereotypic behaviors, and refusal to eat and drink’ (Burnett et al. 2010: 10). Also during detention the physical, psychosocial, and cognitive developmental needs of children are compromised. Due to the monitoring reports (Cegiełka et al. 2011; Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013; RPO 2013) children detained in Polish guarded centers lack adequate health and psychological care, and in

² In this article, when discussing situation of children, we refer to persons under 18 years old. The legal definitions of child generally refer to minors, who are below the age of eighteen years. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by Poland in 1991 is the most commonly used definition and states that a child “means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier” (Art. 1, Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989). This definition is also applicable In Polish law. Additional definitions of a child can be also found in specific Polish regulations such as Act on Ombudsman for Children, Civil Code, Family and Guardianship Code, Penal Code, Labour Code and Act on Education System.

addition they are not provided educational and recreational facilities. Most often staff working with children in detention facilities does not have appropriate training to identify and address physical and mental health needs of detained children, nor they have cultural awareness training. As research shows (HREOC 2004) these factors have a long-lasting negative impact on children's development and social relations years after realizing from the centers. The policy of access to education for migrant children requires special attention, as it can serve as a mitigation tool of this detrimental experience. Furthermore, educational system is a tool to reproduce social order and it defines chances for upward or downward mobility (Portes and Zou 1993). The policy addressing access to education for migrant children requires analysis in Poland, since the country is at its turning point defining its migration policy; therefore, evidence-based studies are needed to deliver information about current policy results as well as stimulate public discourse in the field.

The analysis of access to education for children migrants in Poland is challenging for standard policy analysis, including such approaches as program theory, logic model, causal model, results chain, or intervention. None of the techniques can be introduced, since they require detailed analysis of input from a policy (e.g., resources), previously-undertaken activities, outputs, and outcomes. In Polish context, neither policy goals are defined precisely, nor are the actions intended to lead to such goals. What is more, the policy described in a number of documents is reactive has evolved during recent years (as well as recent months), influenced by the unifying EU migration policy and actions undertaken by NGOs, as well as refugee protests recently taking place in Europe. Finally, the policy is implemented differently in different refugee centers and detention centers.

METHODOLOGY

The empirical base for this article is provided by desk research. The research aimed at identifying three elements of policy of access to education for migrant children, i.e. its assumptions, actions introduced to implement the assumptions and finally, its results. The results include both intended and unintended consequences of introduced actions. The analyzed data comprise strategic documents (e.g. Migration Policy) and migration-related legislation on international and national level. It also includes research results from other projects, such as four reports regarding monitoring at guarded centers for foreigners: two reports by Polish NGO representatives (Cegiełka et al. 2011; Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013), another by the Ministry of Interior (2013), and a third by the Polish Ombudsman Office

(RPO 2013). The desk research also includes research results from the project *Equal Treatment as a Standard of Good Governance* project. The project prepared for the Chancellor of the Prime Minister of Poland, was conducted at the Jagiellonian University between 2011 and 2013. The project aimed at developing recommendations for the National Program of Equal Treatment; i.e., a national anti-discrimination strategy.³ The recommendations were based on desk research, IDI and FGI with representatives of discriminated groups (including immigrants), independent experts, and representatives from NGOs and government authorities. Furthermore, the project included a national survey that measured attitudes towards minorities.

ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING MIGRATION POLICY AND ACCESS TO EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR CHILDREN MIGRANTS

With the collapse of communism and the resulting political and economic transformation of the 1990's, Central and Eastern European countries experienced a major shift from forced ethnic homogenization and limited international migration to an increase in emigration and (most recently) a rise in immigration. This process is framed theoretically in the so-called European "migration cycle" (Górny et al. 2007; Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2008; Okólski 2012); i.e., transformation from net emigration to net immigration. Although Poland still has a high rate of native emigration while at the preliminary stage of this cycle, this will change in the future (Okólski 2012). After the collapse of communism, a restrictive exit policy was replaced with control over labor immigration, introducing legislation that protected forced migrants and developing special policy for a privileged group of Polish repatriates. The new policy regarding labor migration was developed in response to the increased migration flow from Eastern Europe and particularly Ukraine. The trigger for changes related to forced migrants was the adoption of international and European regulations during the period of pre-accession to the EU and, later, after the accession. Despite implementing some regulations, the Polish government was redefining its attitude towards migration while participating in ongoing discussions under the common European migration policy. In the beginning, the process of developing Polish migration policy was opposite to that of Western Europe and the United States. In the West, migration policy was developed as an answer to social, cultural, and

³ The authors of the report conducted research, analyzed data, and developed research reports as well as final recommendations in the project "Equal Treatment as a Standard of Good Governance."

economic changes induced by the increase in immigration. In Poland, this policy was mostly imposed by the EU. Nevertheless, the most-recent policy changes have been introduced due to transformations that have taken place in Polish society. First, due to its EU membership, the country became more attractive to labor migrants. Second, refugees were more often forced to stay and settle in Poland (due to the Dublin II regulation). Third, recent protests in refugee centers and detention centers, as well as the increased media discourse regarding the topic, forced the government to take actions.

We can distinguish four main assumptions underlying the existing migration policy, based on different sources of information such as: analysis of strategic documents and the recently-adapted Migration Policy; migration-related legislation; documents specifically focused on education; and finally, formal and informal statements of people engaged in the policy-making process (Duszczyk and Lesińska 2010). The assumptions are as follows: (1) an increase in immigration is perceived as a social problem and not as potential for developing Polish society. Since limited integration assistance is offered only to refugees, a lack of integrative policy can be seen as a planned lack of policy for other migrants. (2) As a response to these problems, a primary duty of the Polish state is to protect its borders and labor market from illegal migration. (3) Restrictive border protection does not include other EU members and Polish repatriates. Poland supports a free flow of people within the Union. The Polish state recognizes a group of privileged migrants; i.e., ethnic Poles or repatriates. Only for this group a settlement migration is encouraged. (4) Polish naturalization policy is one of the most restrictive in the EU.

Identifying the assumptions which underlay specific education policy towards migrant children is more difficult than migration policy in general. Education is recognized by the legislator as vital in the process of migrant integration in Polish society. The policy underscores two main goals: (1) adapting institutions and educational programs to different levels of migrant knowledge and Polish language proficiency; and (2) better adaptation of institutions towards the increased cultural diversity of foreigners and their specific needs. Also, legislators consider the special role of schools as centers of civic education for both migrants and the receiving society. A school is seen as one of the first Polish institutions in which children migrants have regular contact with Polish society. Therefore, teachers should be well prepared for working with culturally-diverse children; i.e., having relevant knowledge about discrimination, migration processes, and the role of cultural differences as a part of school functioning. The document states that various actions should be taken in order to improve the cross-cultural qualifications of teachers. However it does not specify who should be responsible for executing them nor how they should be financed.

Although the educational policy recognizes the value of cultural diversity and aims to provide a high-quality education to children migrants, the ultimate goal is to educate them to the dominant culture. This does not address cultural diversity brought by migrants to the receiving state as potential for developing Polish society.

ACTIONS DEFINING POLICY OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

Actions introduced by the Polish government to provide access to education for children migrants are formed by international-level (specifically UN-based) and national-level regulations. Some regulations on a national level are different in case of children migrants in refugee centers and detention centers.

International regulations

The international regulations (1) guarantee access to education system for all children (no matter their origin or legal status), (2) define it as compulsory at least on elementary level and (3) stress that children shall not be punished for their parents actions. Although international legislation and international agendas such as UNHCR are advocates for education as a basic human right, the 1951 Refugee Convention and other international declarations (e.g., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child) are rather ambiguous in defining specific tools to introduce the right to education. Art. 22 of The Refugee Convention ratified by Poland in 1954 mandates that the contracting states *'accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education.'* Art. 26 of the 1948 Universal Declaration Of Human Rights states that *'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least at the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.'*

The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child forbids punishing and discriminating children for their parents' deeds and obliges States Parties to take all possible actions in order to protect the child from unequal treatment. Similar regulations can also be found in Art. 14 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union from 2000 or in Art. 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights from 1966.

National Regulations

The national regulations reflect and specify the international law making education up to 18 years old compulsory, regardless nationality of children and

their legal status. Based on the regulations, specific tools are implemented to provide access to education for migrant children, such as additional teacher's assistance or cultural assistants.

On the national level, the right to education is regulated by the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of Poland, which states that *'Everyone shall have the right to education. Education up to 18 years of age shall be compulsory. The Republic of Poland shall ensure the protection of the rights of the child. Everyone shall have the right to demand from the organs of public authority that they defend children against violence, cruelty, exploitation, and actions which undermine their moral sense.'*

The 1991 Act of Education System recognizes the presence of migrant children in the educational system and states that people who are not Polish citizens should benefit from an education in public schools and kindergartens with the same conditions as Polish citizens. In 2010, the Polish Ministry of National Education took legislative action to provide migrant children the right to have additional lessons of Polish language and complimentary lessons equalizing the level of school knowledge. It also provided the possibility of employing so-called "cultural assistants."

The right to education and educational obligation concerns all minors who are under the jurisdiction of Polish administration regardless of their nationality or legal grounds for staying in Poland (RPO 2013: 6). The actions to provide access to education for children migrants differentiate in the case of children residing in centers for foreigners and being held in detention centers.

Centers for refugees

Asylum seekers are offered residence in the centers for foreigners as an element of social assistance. This assistance is provided by the Office for Foreigners. According to Polish legislation, children placed in these centers should be offered the possibility and obligation to attend schools on the same legal grounds as their Polish peers (Art. 3 par. 13: 1991 Act on Education System). Admission to the first grade of elementary school is identical to the rights of Polish children. Admission to the school system for children at higher educational levels first requires child's parents or legal guardians to provide documents attesting to the level of education completed in the child's country of origin. These documents include a certificate or other document confirming attendance in school as well as indicating the class or completed stage of education. However, as asylum seekers, they often cannot provide such documentation. Therefore, it is also possible to admit a child on the basis of a statement from his/her parent(s) or legal guardian(s) concerning the number of years of school education for the child (RPO 2013: 12). In some cases, a qualification interview with the child is organized in the language in which

they are familiar (Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 1 April 2010 on the admission of non-Polish citizens to public kindergartens, schools, institutions training teachers, institutions and organizations of additional Polish language classes, extra-curricular and compensatory and learning of the language and culture of the country of origin [Journal of Laws 2010 No.57, item. 361]). Children living in centers for refugees have also the right to supplementary Polish language education. In addition to classes, they should receive all educational materials and financial support (whenever possible) to cover the costs of extra-curricular activities (Art. 71 section 1 of Act of 13 June 2003 on granting protection to foreigners on Polish territory [Journal of Laws 2012, No.680]).

Detention centers

Access to education for children migrants in detention centers is less defined in the legal system and as a result, more restricted. Legal provisions of detention in Polish law are included in Art. 101 of the Act of 13 June 2003 on granting protection to foreigners within the territory of the Republic of Poland which says that: *'the Border Guard or Police can detain foreigners for a period of time not longer than 48 hours. If required by the circumstances, they should also make a request to the court for placing an alien into the guarded center or for the arrest for the purpose of expulsion'*. Art. 41 of the same act allows for a foreigner to be placed in the guarded center or detained in a facility for the purpose of expulsion. An arrest for the purpose of expulsion shall be applied if circumstances determined by the Border Guard indicate such a necessity for reasons of state security or defense as well as public security and policy.

According to the Polish legislation, minors staying in detention centers have a right to educational and recreational activities. The provided programs should be adjusted to the detained children's age and length of stay in Poland (*ibidem*). However, according to experts, there are no detailed provisions regulating how they should be organized or financed (RPO 2013: 55).

According to European legislation, detention (and specifically the detention of children) shall be used exceptionally when other tools cannot be implemented (Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013: 36). This legislation is expressed in the European Court of Human Rights Chamber judgment in the case of *Muskhadzhiyeva et al v. Belgium*, which states that detention of Chechen children was unlawful and the conditions of detention were unacceptable. Detention in this case was a violation of Art. 3 (prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment) and 5 § 1 (right to liberty and security) of the European Convention on Human Rights.

DISCRIMINATORY POLICY OUTCOMES

Discrimination is a concept developed in the social sciences to describe inter-group relations. Discriminatory behavior “creates, maintains or reinforces advantage for some groups and their members over other groups and their members.” (Dovidio et al. 2010: 10). Discrimination researchers refer to stereotypes and prejudices as sources of discrimination (ibidem). The legal definition of discrimination enumerates the premises on which people can be discriminated against (e.g. ethnicity, age, gender) as well as the circumstances in which the process can take place (e.g. labor market, education, etc.). Both premises and circumstances present in legislation have their social, historical, and economic grounds and appear in different configurations in different regulations. Legal definitions of discrimination include three main sources of discrimination: discriminatory behavior (verbal or nonverbal), discriminatory practice (when discriminatory behavior, forbidden by law, is executed), and systemic discrimination (i.e., when an existing law discriminates against a particular group of people [Klaus and Wencel 2008: 3]). The most common typology of discrimination includes direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination takes place when a person is treated unfairly or differently only because he/she belongs to a particular group of people. In the case of access to education for children migrants, neglecting the right to education is discriminatory. In the following chapter, we will provide evidence to support the thesis that children migrants in detention centers are directly discriminated against. Indirect discrimination reflects a situation when a person is treated (by other people or the legal system) the same way as everyone else is while, at the same time, more people from one group are disadvantaged than those in other groups. Indirect discrimination regarding access to education for children migrants reflects a lack of recognition of the special needs that children migrants have. When these needs are not recognized and addressed properly, children have unequal access to education as a result. Children migrants in Polish refugee centers are obligated to attend school just as Polish children are; more so, they are offered different forms of assistance. Nevertheless, this assistance is not sufficient (as we will prove in the following chapter). Therefore, resulting in the fact that they cannot attend schools on the same basis as Polish children.

This form of indirect discrimination does not require stereotypes or prejudice of specific authorities who implement migration policy of access to education. The lack of recognizing and addressing problems of discriminated people will lead to discriminatory results. Such a situation is often framed as institutional discrimination (Dovidio et al. 2010: 10–11).

Within a legal system, it is acceptable in some cases for a country to treat foreigners differently than their own citizens in some dimensions of social life

(Klaus and Wencel 2008: 3). In such cases, the legal definition of discrimination does not apply. Nevertheless, if rights which legally shall be provided to everyone regardless of legal status or origin are violated based on the origin or legal status of a person, then such a case is discrimination. As previously mentioned, a number of national and international regulations provide access to education for all children, no matter their origin or legal status. Specific regulations for children in refugee and detention centers authorize this right. Nevertheless, the right is often violated either directly or indirectly. Therefore, children migrants experience discrimination in the education system in Poland.

Centers for refugees

In September 2013, there were 658 children (6–18 years old) in centers for foreigners who were subjected to compulsory education. This represents a significant increase over the number of children during the 2001/2002 school year – this number was 43⁴. These children mainly attended schools located near centers for foreigners. The Office for Foreigners provided Polish language lessons and basic school accessories for children attending public schools at the elementary and secondary levels. In these centers, there were Polish language teachers who assisted children in learning the Polish language as well as other school subjects. Each teacher was supposed to be responsible for facilitating mutual learning of cultural diversity. In five of the 13 monitored centers for foreigners, there were cultural assistants employed to facilitate contact between students and their families with schools. These assistants usually came from the same cultural background as the asylum-seeking children. Therefore, they had a significant influence on the children's education.

Monitoring the access to education among children living in centers for refugees indicates that the right in general is being upheld (RPO 2013: 22). A vast majority of children asylum seekers are attending public schools. In the monitored centers, various educational activities for children were provided. It was possible that the children could attend additional Polish language lessons in the centers. However, there were significant differences between the amount of the additional lesson time – varying between 2 and 15 hours per week. In the majority of centers, kindergartens were also organized (RPO 2013: 23). Although the main results of the conducted monitoring did not identify direct discrimination against migrant children living in centers for foreigners, there are signs of indirect discrimination.

First, students were obligated to participate in external examinations (tests finishing primary school and gymnasium) even if they were admitted to

⁴ <http://www.udsc.gov.pl/Uchodzcy,w,polskiej,szkole,,2226.html>

school immediately before the test. Contrary to Polish students, they were not able to prepare for the tests. What is more, a situation of an examination soon after visiting Polish school for the first time generated additional stress. The schools requested that the migrant students be exempted from this requirement, but such requests were refused by the Examining Commissions (RPO 2013: 30). The consequences of participating in the external examinations are most severe in the context of “gymnasium test” as the obtained results are the basis for admission to the high schools. Very low scores in the exams hinder child’s possibility to choose a school suitable for him or her.

Second, the majority of teachers who provided Polish language lessons to the migrant children were never trained to teach Polish as a foreign language and they never had multicultural training (*ibidem*: 32). Some teachers themselves recognize this as a problem, but even if they search for additional training, there are little chances to find one. Sometimes different NGOs offer such trainings, but it is not sufficient to the scale of needs and there are no systemic solutions to this situation (Pawluś and Łukasiewicz 2012).

Third, although cultural assistants are perceived as a highly-beneficial factor for migrant children education by students, their parents, and some schools headmasters, there were only a few employed in schools providing education to refugee children (6 out of the 16 schools monitored where children from centers for refugees attended). The assistant was usually employed through an NGO’s project; thus, was only temporary. This means that the special needs connected with the students’ cultural diversity were not properly addressed (RPO 2013: 33).

Forth, migrant children are often blamed by teachers for causing conflicts at schools. In the authors’ opinion, this stems from a lack of cultural competence among teachers to recognize and address the problems of children migrants properly. Forced migration is a traumatic experience. In many cases, the students suffer from different adaptation difficulties (including culture shock and PTSD) and behave in such a way that can be perceived as aggressive (*ibidem*: 37). Some of them also have multiple migration experiences behind, including different education systems in different countries. It also increases the level of stress they experience (Pawluś and Łukasiewicz 2012). The lack of teacher training in regards to working with culturally-diverse children was often mentioned in interviews conducted with experts and NGO representatives in a project “Equal Treatment...”. One of the interviewees experienced many situations when teachers were not able to deal with refugee children, and their improper attitudes and behavior towards these students were not often corrected by their superiors (*ibidem*: 115).

Fifth, addressing efficient interventions for children migrants requires knowledge about the particular situations of these children in the educational

system. Some experts point to a lack of systemic data collection about the children (*ibidem*). Extemporaneous monitoring (introduced in reaction to some medially publicized cases) does not solve the problem.

Detention Centers

In Polish law, there are two types of detention centers: deportation centers and guarded centers. In practice, both institutions are similar (Cegiełka et al. 2011: 33). In November 2012, there were 34 children (including three under-aged children without caretakers) detained in four Polish guarded centers: Kętrzyn (20, including three without a caretaker), Przemyśl (7), Lesznowola (4), and Biała Podlaska (3) (Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013: 8). The results of monitoring studies, conducted independently by various NGOs over the last 3 years, show that the right to education in guarded centers is not properly executed and while Polish children have much better access to education, such treatment can be defined as a direct discrimination of migrant children (Cegiełka et al. 2011; Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013; RPO 2013; MSW 2013) and children are discriminated in regards to access to the education system. As the Polish Ombudsman points out, “Art. 117 par. 3a of Act on Foreigners, which states that children detained in guarded center can participate in educational and recreational activities adjusted to their age and length of stay in Poland, by any means does not guarantee realization of the right to education” (RPO 2013: 56).

Detention of children itself is a violation of the Convention of the Rights of the Child, which states that ‘the child has the right to play, to recreation and cultural activities’. In the circumstances of guarded center, this is nearly impossible. Surprisingly, Poland proposed to the United Nations Human Rights Commission that they enact the Convention on the Rights of the Child and presented the draft of the document (Kunicka 2013: 250).

The inability to satisfy the rights of detained children to have access to education is a violation of the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of Poland, which provides a universal right to education to all children up to 18 years and forbids discrimination in all areas of life. Since children held in detention centers are a vulnerable group subjected to serious traumas and experiencing PTSD, forcing them to stay in prison-like circumstances is state violence against them. Centers meet neither students’ developmental nor educational needs and, therefore, have a detrimental effect on their overall well-being.

Monitoring conducted in 2010 revealed that foreigners (as well as Board Guards) admit that the Polish state does not comply with its obligation (Cegiełka et al. 2011: 31). Children and youth staying in five of the six monitored detention centers did not have access to education. According to monitoring studies conducted two years later (Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013; RPO 2013), the situation

was still disturbing. Although there were some educational activities provided in the majority of centers, most often they were inadequate for the needs of the children. Since migrants' children were not offered assistance of qualified teachers and the children did not speak any other language than their native tongue, they typically had only the opportunity to participate in art classes (RPO 2013: 45). In Przemyśl, there were educational classes and Polish language courses (ca. 2 hours a day) conducted by Board Guard officers (Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013: 28). The officers did not have any training in pedagogy, not to mention work with traumatized children with multicultural background. In Lesznowola, general development activities took place five times a week for 90 minutes (also for all children at the same time) and were run by teachers from a local school. However, the teachers did not have any specialist background for work with foreigners, nor could they differentiate the program according to age, gender, or development of Polish language skills (Klaus and Rusiłowicz 2013: 28). Such circumstances make it difficult to provide a quality education to the detained children. The only center that provided classes in school was the facility in Kętrzyn. However, these activities took place only twice a week and included mainly Polish language learning (*ibidem*: 29).

Analysis based on the monitoring results points out one main direct reason for the present state of restricted access to education for children migrants. The organization of detained-children schooling misses specific, legal provisions regulating school obligations and a source of educational financing. The current state of affairs stems mainly from agreements between some guarded centers and schools, but their cooperation is not regulated whatsoever by any legal provisions (RPO 2013: 45). As a result of lack of specific regulations, trained pedagogical staff as well as educational materials in detention centers were missing at the time of conducting monitoring.

CONCLUSIONS

The Polish policy of access to education system for migrant children in refugee centers and detention centers, as proven in this article, results in indirect and direct discrimination of migrant children. Although lack of multicultural and antidiscrimination training among teachers and officials working with migrants and their children result in little sensitivity and understanding of migrants' situation, the discriminatory policy does not derive simply from prejudice or negative attitudes of Polish society towards foreigners. Understanding the situation requires embedding educational access for migrant children in a broader context of migration policy. Polish migration policy, and an access to education

system for children migrants is in its early stage and misses coherent vision. The assumptions underlying the policy and introduced actions are framed on a very general level. Specific regulations on how the actions are supposed to be implemented are often missing (e.g. education in detention centers). Polish migration policy is developed ad hoc and post factum, it is reactive, and not proactive (Duszczuk and Lesińska 2010). However, according to some policy makers, lack of coherent vision and specific actions to implement the vision are intentional and aim at refraining immigration to Poland (Pawluś and Łukasiewicz 2012). Polish migration policy in some cases is also defined as arbitrary, because a significant power for decision making is left to individual officials. At the same time, such situation is appreciated by migrants, because it gives a chance for successful decisions if met positive response from officials. On the other hand, it makes the legal decisions less transparent and understandable.

So far, specific problems of children migrants were poorly recognized and addressed by Polish authorities, even though they were reported by researchers and representatives of NGOs assisting refugees. The situation changed slightly after 2013 protests and hunger strikes in detention centers which focused media attention and started public discussion on migration policy but still constitute a challenge for the Polish government. A proper response to the challenge requires defining a coherent vision of migration policy followed by specific evidence based actions and its systematic evaluation.

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SUMMARIES

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EDUCATION FOR A TRANSCULTURAL LIFE-WORLD OR FOR A HEGEMONIC NATION? SCHOOLING IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, IN FRANCE, AND IN CANADA, 1830s–2000s

To understand transcultural education in societies with children from many cultural backgrounds, this essay looks at socialization in colonial-hierarchical settings and uses the analysis of cultural impositions to discuss consequences and needs in present-day immigration societies. The analysis begins with an historical approach to intercultural education. In a first section, focusing on British as well as French and Dutch colonies it analyses memories as reflected in life-writings of colonized resident children in schools run by in-migrant – “third-culture” – imperial administrators and teachers – a remote-control education. Present-day constructs of mono-cultural national values may be equally remote to the life-worlds of many-cultured societies. The second part traces the migration of imperially-educated students and working adults to the (former) colonizer core with India-to-England (late 19th to early 20th century) and Suriname-to-The Netherlands (1960s–2000s) as examples. In a third section, as an exemplary case for today’s multicultural cities, I discuss French-speaking university students from North and West Africa in Paris, i.e. migrant students facing a national/nation-centred/nationalist educational system. In a concluding part, I will interpret present-day Canada’s educational practices in terms of transcultural socialization. How did children and adolescents connect the “facts” learned in educational institutions to their everyday lives -- if they did so at all?

Keywords: transcultural, imperial education, multiculturalism, education, immigrant children

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CHILDREN OF SÁNCHEZ 50 YEARS LATER: AGENCY OF TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN

After decades of overlooking children’s perspective, migratory and transnational studies start including children and focus on their subjectivity. The goal of this article is to expound the agency of transnational children and verify what circumscribes it. The authoress is

interested in a particular situation of second-generation children who were born in the U.S. and come to Mexico, i.e. their parent's place of origin. She also analyses cases of so-called 1.75 generation, i.e. children who (e)migrated to the U.S. in early childhood. Intergenerational decision-making over whether to depart from the U.S. and go to Mexico is a social situation in which children's agency becomes apparent. The authoress argues that their mobility should often be called placements instead of migrations, due to the fact that adults decide about it. Although the authoress emphasizes the role of age and gender, she argues that migratory status is the most important determinant of transnational children's agency. Hitherto nation-states have presented minors as "undeportable" and social researchers have mainly elaborated on the influence of their parents' deportability. Precisely, the inclusion of the migratory status makes this work an important contribution to transnational studies.

Keywords: agency, deportability, gender, (il)legality, intergenerational decision-making, transnationalism, U.S.-Mexico migrations

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HEMCOMING OR ADVENTURE? MOTIVATIONS OF POLISH RETURN MIGRANTS WHO GREW UP ABROAD AND THEIR DETERMINANTS.

The aim of the article is to analyse various motives and circumstances of return migration present in the narratives of Polish migrants, who grew up abroad and as young adults returned to their country of origin. It shows how the migration experiences in childhood and adolescence may affect subsequent attitudes and plans.

I distinguish four types of return migration based on the main motives that guided the interviewees in their decisions: 1) return as a family strategy, 2) sentimental and patriotic return, 3) romantic return, 4) escapist return.

Within each type I explain the processes that led to the decision and the expectations which accompanied it. I point out how these depend on: the stage of life in which the migration occurred, its length and nature and the parents' attitude towards the Polish culture.

The article is based on 17 in-depth interviews with Polish return migrants. The interviewees spent all or a significant part of their childhood in different countries of the western cultural sphere. Among them were two individuals who had spent some time in Arabic countries, although they attended international schools. The length of their emigration varied from 6 to 20 years, and the age upon return to Poland was 16 to 27.

Keywords: return migration, motivations, children migrants, homecoming

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SECOND-GENERATION KOREANS IN WEST GERMANY: GENERATION OF HEIRS OR FASHIONER OF A FAITH OF THEIR OWN?

This paper systematically examines how second-generation Koreans as children of economic migrants, as Protestants, and as racial minorities shape their practice of religion in West-Germany on an institutional level and on membership level. It's based on a survey of second generation Korean German adults in Korean congregations in the pluralistic religious landscape and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. As second generation Koreans entered young adulthood, they began to vocalize displeasure over their parents and immigrant churches. Intergenerational tensions over themes like individualism, cultural differences in worship-styles and church leadership, and questioning of the church (and family) hierarchies began to surface. The intergenerational tensions and interactions go along with institutional change of the Korean churches. But in contrast to previous studies my survey shows that second generation Korean Germans haven't failed to transmit their cultural and religious tradition. A typology of four strategies (Member Level: Self-determination/mobility, Displacement; Institutional Level: Separation/differentiation, Cooperation) shows, how second generation Koreans find their way of preserving the cultural heritage of the first generation and develop a faith of their own in new social spaces.

Keywords: migrant churches, Korean Christians, second generation, intergenerational transmission, new social spaces.

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BEING CHAMELEON: THE INFLUENCE OF MULTIPLE MIGRATION IN CHILDHOOD ON IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

This paper focuses on the identity strategies of people who experienced multiple migrations in their childhood. They are sometimes, especially in the USA, referred to as Third Culture Kids (TCK). The author claims that serial migration is connected with some challenges as well as with unique opportunities. The former encompass sense of temporariness, feeling uprooted, difficulties with building deep and stable relationships and constructing cohesive identity. Obviously not every TCK experiences this challenges, and some TCKs cope very well with them, but these are problems mentioned most often by participants of this research. On the other hand however such lifestyle enables young migrants to gain cultural and linguistic competences. In this paper identity dilemmas and strategies in three dimensions are highlighted: agency and control over one's life, cohesion and continuity and social relations. The paper is based on 53 biographical interviews with adult TCKs of different nationalities.

Keywords: migration, mobility, Third Culture Kids, identity, biography.

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ADOLESCENT AND PRE-ADOLESCENT MIGRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR IDENTITY

This exploratory study investigated whether the timing of childhood migrations influenced the likelihood of identity struggles with a group of seven individuals, aged 22–30. It examined the migration experiences and identities of four participants who migrated prior to adolescence, and three who relocated during adolescence. The research was underwritten by a social constructionist epistemology. The methodology integrated aspects of narrative psychology, symbolic interactionism and thematic analysis to facilitate the exploration of both individual differences and social factors. The analysis was guided by the application of established social psychological theories on group membership and identity. The study demonstrated that age at migration influenced the likelihood of identity struggles within the sample and that secure membership of at least one cultural group was needed to avoid identity struggles. Participants who migrated or changed school during adolescence had more difficulties with language acquisition and establishing friendships; as social groups were less permeable and teasing more prominent. Their acculturation was slower and they were not readily accepted as native members of their new culture by native peers. Some were perceived as foreigners by native members of both their new and parental cultures, which made a sense of belonging and identity difficult to establish.

Keywords: Identity, migration, age, child migrants, TCKs, CCKs.

KORNELIA ZAKRZEWSKA-WIRKUS

WHO AM I, WHERE DO I BELONG, WHAT IS MY FAITH? PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL PROBLEMS OF THIRD CULTURE KIDS

The following paper concerns the topic of cross-cultural transition of Third Culture Kids and its determinants: personality, attachment style and religiosity. Third Culture Kids are understood in accordance with David Pollock and Van Reken as those who at least part of their childhood spent abroad.

The results of the conducted research suggest that personality, measured by the Rorschach Inkblot Test, strongly determines emotional, cognitive and behavioral aspects of the process. Factors such as: anxiety and lack of emotional stability seem to be of great importance.

Moreover, during cross-cultural transition the attachment style, developed in relations with parents or other attachment figures, strongly determines the building of relationships abroad. High distress, part and parcel of the process, brings out dysfunctional character of attachment style.

Other typical traces mentioned in monograph devoted to Third Culture Kids by Pollock and Van Reken, as: problems with decision making and identity, lacking sense of belonging, unresolved grief, were also evidenced in my research.

Religion and spirituality might be used as a coping strategy during cross-cultural transition. However, it seems very often not to be perceived as such or neglected by interviewees in the research.

Keywords: Third Culture Kids, cross-cultural transition, personality, attachment style, religiosity, spirituality

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WAS JOHN CALVIN A TCK? APPLYING MODERN SOCIO-SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON HIGHLY MOBILE POPULATIONS TO HISTORICAL STUDIES

Surprisingly little is known about the developmental years of the Protestant Reformer John Calvin, yet scholars agree that experiences in Calvin's youth were critical to shaping his theology. It is possible that insights from TCK studies can aid Calvin scholars? Calvin does fit the profile of a TCK. He spent his teenage years living away from his family home in a distinct cultural enclave. Furthermore, he not only thought of himself as one foreign or apart, he exhibited a number of TCK characteristics. Assuming Calvin was a TCK, it is possible to analyze his personality, his theology, and his scriptural interpretation through the lens of modern socio-scientific research on highly mobile populations. Such analysis illumines the insights of Calvin scholars who have already identified Calvin's experience of cultural and geographic mobility as the root of his patterns of social behavior, theological concepts such as an emphasis on the sovereignty of God, and his empathy with scriptural narratives involving pilgrimage. More importantly, the usefulness of TCK research in studying John Calvin suggests that modern socio-scientific studies of highly mobile populations may be equally valuable to historians working on other groups or individual or in other fields.

Keywords: John Calvin, TCK, Cultural Mobility, Geographic Mobility, Refugee, Immigrant

PAULA PUSTULKA
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CHILD-CENTRED NARRATIVES OF POLISH MIGRANT MOTHERS: CROSS-GENERATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS ABROAD

Child-centred narratives of Polish migrant mothers: cross-generational identity constructions abroad

Delineating narrative accounts of Polish migrant mothers, the article discusses lives of contemporary family migrants to Germany and the UK. Focusing on children, it looks at current and future ethnic identity orientations of the children of Polish parents raised abroad, as they are envisioned by their mothers. The discussions are embedded in a broader context of empirically-driven mothering strategies, with the distinctions between four models presented

to showcase what possible reasoning and/or outcomes certain parenting practices may entail. Dynamics of foreign/local and familiar/distant elements of parenting are addressed, highlighting a continuum of orientations towards home, destination country or both locales. In addition, the paper argues that children's centrality is evident in maternal accounts, calling for a family-focused orientation in future research into Polish post-2004 migrants.

Keywords: Polish family migration, women and children migrants, motherhood.

ADÉLA SOURALOVÁ
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THE CZECH NANNY AS A “DOOR TO THE MAJORITY” FOR CHILDREN OF VIETNAMESE IMMIGRANTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Vietnamese immigrants are the third largest group of immigrants in the Czech Republic. At the same time, in comparison with other immigrant groups and even the majority population there is higher share of children under 15 years of age. As they are mostly economic migrants and usually working as entrepreneurs, stall-keepers and owners of shops and restaurants, the pace of their work life in a new country is intense. Private family life is minimized and Vietnamese parents have to hire Czech nannies to look after their children. Spending more time with their Czech nannies than with parents, these children are slowly integrating into Czech society – through Czech fairy tales that their paid Czech nannies read them, the Czech songs they sing them, or the Czech food they cook for them. Drawing upon qualitative research conducted with Vietnamese mothers, Czech nannies, and children of Vietnamese immigrants, the paper looks into how children (born both in Vietnam and in the Czech Republic) of Vietnamese parents who grow up Czech with their Czech nannies perceive the role of the Czech nanny in their lives and what meanings they put to the delegated caregiving. It focuses on how children describe the role of their nannies as a “door to the majority” teaching them the “authenticity” of the Czech culture, mediating them their social networks, and enabling them to understand and partly experience what it means to be the part of the majority society.

Keywords: caregiving, immigrant children, nanny, belonging

LUENA MARINHO
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PARENT–CHILD SEPARATION IN ANGOLAN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

Globalization increased the number of transnational families all over the world. The way of life created by transnationalism leads to changes in family relationships, creates a specific dynamics, implies care at distance and produces various forms of parenting. Starting from the analysis of transnational families between Angola and Portugal, the aim of this paper is to understand the effects of migration on parent-child relationship trying to perceive how

parenting at a distance is conceived by the actors: migrant parents in Portugal and children in Angola.

Drawing on interviews made with migrant parents and children, the paper explores the functioning of the parental relationship at distance.

Keywords: parent- child separation, transnational families, migration.

JOANNA KULPIŃSKA

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THE CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND AND THEIR PLACE IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE. THE CASE STUDY OF BABICA VILLAGE

Babica is a village located in the Province of Podkarpacie. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the emigration from this village to the United States took a considerable size. In the Interwar Period, research on this phenomenon was conducted in Babica by a Polish sociologist Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz. She presented the conclusions of her studies in the book: *The Village of Malopolska and the American Emigration..*

First migration streams flowing from Babica were dominated by men. The role of women was mainly limited to the companion feature, designed to deal with the house in the destination country. Present emigration from this village is characterized by the growing rate of feminization. Nowadays, the predominance of women can be easily observed among contemporary emigrants from Babica to the United States. These are mainly long-term migrations. Mainly due to the nature of work in the U.S., migrants leave their children in Poland.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the impact of migration on children left behind, taking into account mainly: 1) the length of their parents' stay abroad, 2) the emigration of one or both parents, 3) the status of caregivers of children, and an attempt to determine their position in the social structure.

Keywords: Children left behind, emigration, Polish village, migrant parents

EWA NOWICKA

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ADAPTATION AND CULTURAL CONTACT IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN WARSAW HIGH SCHOOLS

Problems of children adaptation, acculturation and integration have been ignored or treated marginally in large literature devoted to migration process. This article discusses problems that children of immigrants in Poland are facing particularly in Polish school. The qualitative research (based on interviews) is focused on immigrant children attending Polish schools mainly in Warsaw and investigates both the perspectives of children themselves

and of school as an institution. Different situations of emigration produce different types of challenges for the host country's school methods and goals. The research presented here is mainly about the first two categories of people mentioned below: 1) children of diplomats and long term contract employees, whose stay in Poland is strictly determined, AND (2) children of economic migrants who choose between long term stay in Poland or further migration, or even when returning home. Their stay in Poland is an element of the individual life strategy of the family. The third group – (3) children of political refugees and persons who attempt to receive the legal status of political refugee. the conclusions of the article also may be of interest for researchers dealing with children of refugees. Poland became a relatively attractive country of immigration because of (1) its relative easy access, (2) relatively high standard of living, (3) its safety and (4) its high level of education.

Keywords: immigrant children, cultural contact, adaptation, education

IZABELA CZERNIEJEWSKA

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PUBLIC OR INTERNATIONAL? MIGRATING STUDENTS IN TWO TYPES OF SCHOOLS OF POZNAŃ.

This article concerns distinct contexts of schooling for migrant children who are enrolled in private and public educational institutions in Poznań, Poland. In my study, I recognized that although the schools have different methodologies and languages of instruction, teachers expect the same obvious and predictable patterns of migration – either the children will stay in a country permanently or the children will immigrate somewhere else. This factor – educator expectations – can have more consequences on migrant children's experiences than the differences between type of school – public or private. The exploratory fieldwork was conducted twice, once in 2010 and once 2013, in the same schools with the same group of students and teachers. In the article, I tried to address some obvious and unobvious practices of schools concerning migrant children, such as the myth of the language barrier as a main obstacle to learning, the lack of basic knowledge about countries of origin, the ignorance of multiculturalism as well as the phenomenon of individual treatment in both types of schools. In the recommendations, I give suggestions on how to perceive a migrant child as a strong and influential personality and how schools could conform to liquid migrations.

Keywords: migrant children, education, public and private schools, Poland.

MONIKA RERAK-ZAMPOU
University of Patras

SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF POLISH ADOLESCENTS FROM GREEK AND POLISH HIGH SCHOOLS IN ATHENS

The article focuses on the social integration of Polish adolescents residing in Athens and attempts to detect factors which influence this process. Data was gathered from two qualitative research projects – case studies – on social and school integration of young Polish citizens attending Polish and Greek high schools in Athens (2010), and on a Polish migrant family and its educational and migration strategies (2012). A qualitative perspective, utilizing semi-structured, in-depth interviews, was chosen in both studies.

The paper begins with a short description of the migratory experiences of Greece and Poland, including a brief history of Polish immigration in Greece. It continues with a discussion about social integration and refers to the specific case of integration of migrant adolescents. Then it proceeds to the results of the two studies mentioned above, which indicate that the degree of social integration of Polish adolescents is variable and depends on the school that the young people attend, the extra-curricular activities they participate in, their Greek language competency, their social networks within the Greek population, and their parents' socio-economic status. Important differences in the social integration between the groups of pupils from Greek and Polish high schools were observed.

Keywords: social integration, immigrants, adolescents, Polish and Greek migration

MALGORZATA KULAKOWSKA
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POLISH CHILDREN IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS. INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

The paper discusses the current situation of Polish children in English schools, with the presentation of data available nationally as well as the results of a chosen local research project carried in London schools. The basic information on recent Polish migration is given, along with the description of the main tenets of the English education system. The factors which impact the educational well-being of Polish pupils are analysed, with the special emphasis put on the EAL management strategies and solutions. As there is no national data on educational achievements of Polish children, the results of EAL children as well as pupils from the Other White category are briefly presented and compared to the results of the White British and native English speakers' groups. Finally, the role and the expectations of Polish parents are discussed.

Keywords: Polish pupils, English education system, English schools, EAL children, Polish migration

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STUDENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION ATTENDING HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN PUBLIC EDUCATION: CATEGORISATION AND STATISTICAL DATA COLLECTION

This paper focuses on the interrelation between the categorisation of and the educational statistical data collection on members of the group 'students in the context of migration'. To begin with, this interrelation will be investigated on the basis of an examination of the current (2007–2013) categorisation and statistical data collection practices of Hungarian public education. This will then be contrasted to German practices with regard to the transferability of labels and statistical data categories into the Hungarian context. Finally, on the basis of the results of a case study at a Hungarian public school, which aimed to reveal the diversity within the group of 'students in the context of migration', a data collection chart designed for pedagogical purposes will be presented. This chart adds further data collection categories to those already in administrative use. These categories are relevant for day-to-day pedagogical praxis targeted at the group under discussion. The paper argues that a categorisation of 'students in the context of migration' that better reflects reality is important, as it renders the inherent diversity of this group more visible. This could help to influence statistical data collection and enable improved pedagogic and policy responses, thus furthering the social integration of the students in question.

Keywords: students in the context of migration, Hungarian public education, categorization, statistical data collection, comparison with Germany

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MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST AFGHAN GIRLS IN IRAN

In the last 3 decades, many Afghan children immigrated to Iran with their parents, relatives, or even born there. The vulnerable position of afghan children in Iran caused them to be deprived of their basic rights such as right to Identity, right to education, and several others. These discriminations will be multiple if there is a gender gap in the society they live in. In this regard, afghan girls are one of the most discriminated communities in Iran. They get discriminated on the ground of their status as a migrant, as a child, and also as a girl.

This study aims to find out how such multiple discriminations including racism, sexism, and adultism have an influence on afghan girls' lives in Iran from their own perspective and also to observe how far these girls are aware of the discriminations in their surroundings. For this aim, various qualitative methods have been applied.

The result demonstrated that the interviewees were almost aware of the discriminatory attitudes against them but it seems that racism is the most visible discrimination form from their perspective.

Keywords: adultism, Afghan girls, children's rights, discrimination, migrant children, racism, sexism.

TJAŠA ŽAKELJ
ZORANA MEDARIĆ
University of Primorska

FROM NORMATIVE ACCEPTANCE TO PREJUDICES AND VIOLENCE: INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT IN SLOVENIA

The article addresses the issue of interethnic violence among primary and secondary school pupils in Slovenia that was explored by the combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. The complex issue of interethnic violence is analysed through two key questions. First, authors draw attention to the question of attitude of pupils towards other ethnic groups. This issue is analysed through lens of support of normative statements, through expressed stereotypes and prejudices about people of other ethnic groups and through analysis of hierarchic position of non-Slovenian ethnic groups. The second research question highlights the prevalence of different types of interethnic violence among primary and secondary school pupils. Intersectional approach was used in order to show the interplay of several factors influencing peer violence. Though findings show that interethnic violence is not recognised as a burning issue, research data reveal considerable differences in the prevalence of interethnic violence according to ethnicity, age, gender and socioeconomic position. Pupils of mixed or non-Slovenian ethnic background, younger pupils, boys and pupils that come from families with lower socioeconomic status experience interethnic violence more often. Among types of interethnic violence psychological violence such as teasing/name calling/insulting and talking behind backs prevail, while physical violence is rare.

Keywords: interethnic peer violence, school environment, Slovenia

KATHARINA BENEDETTA
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International Organization for Migration

CULTRAIN – CULTURAL ORIENTATION TRAININGS AN INTEGRATION MEASURE IN AUSTRIA TACKLING ADAPTION PROBLEMS OF YOUNG REFUGEES

The aim of this article is to illustrate the project CulTrain – Cultural Orientation Trainings for (former) Unaccompanied Minor Refugees (UAMs) and to offer insights in its development and implementation as well as its contents and methodologies. The contextual frame is laid in a discussion of the term Unaccompanied Minor Refugee, followed by a description of the general situation of (former) UAMs and their integration challenges in Austria.

Unaccompanied Minor Refugees constitute an ever growing part among asylum applicants in Austria and are also a highly vulnerable group, thus deserve special attention and care. IOM conducted several studies in the field of (former) UAMs and detected a knowledge gap in terms of unfamiliar living habits of the country of destination, in this case Austria. These gaps result in integration obstacles. Inspired by those findings and due to broad organizational competences in providing knowledge during Cultural Orientation

Trainings in the frame of resettlement programs, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) developed the project CulTrain – Cultural Orientation Trainings in Austria tackling the difficulties of young refugees in the integration process.

Finally, the article discusses challenges and lessons learned, such as how to approach the target group, identifies appropriate methods of providing knowledge or various ways of creating a place of security and mutual trust and concludes with a cautious outlook for the project CulTrain.

Keywords: Unaccompanied Minor Refugees, asylum seekers, integration, Cultural Orientation Training

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DISCRIMINATORY MIGRATION POLICY? AN ACCESS TO EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN POLAND

The article aims at analyzing Polish migration policy and in particular, an access to education system for children migrants in refugee centers and detention centers. In recent years, much has been written about Polish migration policy (e.g., Kicinger 2009; Górny, Grabowska-Lusińska, Lesińska, Okólski 2011; Kicinger Koryś 2011, Okólski 2012) as well as the education of migrant children in Poland. While the former approach has been developed in academia and framed in public policy analysis, the latter has been developed by NGOs, the Ministry of the Interior and Ombudsman Office, and from results of monitoring of refugee centers and detention centers. The two fields rarely meet – therefore, this article addresses this gap by embedding the analysis of educational access for migrant children in a broader context of migration policy, and argues that the existing policy actually results in direct and indirect discrimination of migrant children. Access to education is either strictly limited (in case of detention centers) or hindered (children in refugee centers). Lack of systematic approach to education for children migrants reflects in lack of training for teachers to teach Polish as a foreign language, lack of multicultural training, even if there are some specific tools such as multicultural assistants, they are rarely used because the need is not recognized by local administration. We recognize positive impact of different social actors to introduce changes in the system. The actors are nongovernmental organization assisting migrants and researchers and academics analyzing Polish migration policy. Nevertheless, we argue that the problems faced by migrant children within Polish education system can only be solved by introducing systematic approach to Polish migration policy.

Keywords: Migration policy, Refugees, discrimination, children, education