

Claudio Bolzman
Laura Bernardi
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Situating Children of Migrants across Borders and Origins

A Methodological Overview



Springer Open

Life Course Research and Social Policies

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Life course research has been developing quickly these last decades for good reasons. Life course approaches focus on essential questions about individuals' trajectories, longitudinal analyses, cross-fertilization across disciplines like life-span psychology, developmental social psychology, sociology of the life course, social demography, socio-economics, social history. Life course is also at the crossroads of several fields of specialization like family and social relationships, migration, education, professional training and employment, and health. This Series invites academic scholars to present theoretical, methodological, and empirical advances in the analysis of the life course, and to elaborate on possible implications for society and social policies applications.

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Blurb Text

This is the best book we have about the methodology to conduct research on the second generation or the children of immigrants and their integration in the countries they reside. Claudio Bolzman, Laura Bernardi and Jean-Marie Le Goff have convened a large number of renowned scholars from different countries to reflect on the life course perspective; the use of quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods; and the transnational approach.

Prof. Rafael Alarcón Acosta, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Situating Children of Migrants Across Borders and Origins

Claudio Bolzman, Laura Bernardi, and Jean-Marie Le Goff

1.1 Introduction

Immigration is a substantive part of twentieth-century European history. Some countries, such as France and Switzerland, became popular destinations for immigrants at the beginning of the last century. Economically based migration of guest workers has become highly relevant in many other Western European countries (Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, etc.) since the end of World War II (Piore 1979). The fall of the Berlin Wall, the extension of the European Community to Eastern European countries in the context of economic globalization on the one hand, and the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East on the other hand, accelerated both economic immigration and the arrivals of refugees at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad underlined the fact that even temporary migration necessarily becomes permanent migration: “There is no immigration, even supposedly for work and work alone (...) that does not transform into family migration (or) migration for settlement” (1991:19, our translation). Migrants’ settlement comes along with marriages and children; these children may immigrate

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with their parents or be born in the host country, and they compose the second generation. Unlike their parents, the children of migrants are socialized in the host country and are exposed to its social institutions starting at early ages; as time goes by, they go to school, enter the labor market, get married, and become parents themselves. Although a growing number of studies have been devoted to the children of migrants, the methodological challenges related to research on these populations still remain implicit, as they are quite unexplored. Therefore, this volume on the children of migrants is intended to clarify the methodological issues that researchers face in producing and to analyzing relevant empirical data on the life courses and living situations of the children of migrants. Although the cases presented in these chapters are drawn mainly from European contexts, the insights gained are relevant in other areas of the world. The quality of scientific data is central for the elaboration of informed social and integration policies at the international, national, regional, and local levels.

Four major sections form the structure of the book. The first section explores comparison and comparability issues. The second section focuses on the life-course perspective and on the use of mixed methods in the study of children of immigrants. The third section is devoted to the use of qualitative methods to grasp the way in which the descendants of migrants navigate through various aspects of their identities (e.g., family relationships with the country of origin, socialization institutions in the host country, peer groups, and symbolic belonging) in the process of building their own identity or their own biography. The fourth and last section looks at the necessity of overcoming the dominant methodological nationalism and of developing transnational approaches in this area.

1.2 Comparison as a Key Methodological Tool and a Challenging Perspective in the Study of the Children of Migrants

Durkheim (1904), in his classical work on “the Rules of the Sociological Method,” observed that comparison is a central methodological tool in the social sciences. His disciples, Fauconnet and Mauss (1969), indicated that, although experimentation is possible in the natural sciences, it is not in the social sciences: The comparison between social facts of the same category across societies is thus the key method to understand their nature. They contend that, through comparison, it is possible to overcome ideographic perspectives and engage in pure description in the social sciences. Comparison allows sociological objects that take into account their structural and functional determinations to be built (Schultheis 1989)—that is, to get closer to an explanatory approach. The crucial importance of historical time and place (and their comparison with other times and places) is therefore at the core of the life course perspective (Blossfeld 2009). Starting from the observation that “the life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by their context” (Elder 1999:3), a

comparative approach allows researchers to distinguish the effects that given socio-cultural opportunities and constraints have on the trajectories of migrants' children from the effects of either individual characteristics and actions or the close social environment. The life course of migrants' children in modern societies is molded by the host country's institutions and structures (e.g., educational systems, patterns of employment, and national welfare-state regimes), and by the families' migration histories, cultures, and values. Comparison means explicitly modeling the way in which different kinds of institutions affect behavior.

Comparison is crucial in identifying both the influence that specific institutional contexts have on the processes under examination and the extent to which life-course mechanisms can be generalized across contexts. It is also important for researchers to step away from their usual sociocultural settings to gain perspective through confrontations with other empirical settings. Comparison is therefore a potentially key methodological tool in studying the trajectories and situations of the children of immigrants. The first requirement for comparing is a clear definition of the object of comparison. In the following, we discuss the multiple definitions of "children of immigrants" to determine which kinds of populations and which geographical settings are relevant to a meaningful comparison.

1.2.1 Children of Immigrants: A Challenging Definition

The first methodological issue is to define who the children of immigrants (i.e., the second generation) are and who should be the focus of the study, which is not a simple affair. The classical definition, elaborated in the United States during the 1940s, applies specifically to foreign immigrants' offspring, these children been born in the country of residence (Hutschingson 1953 quoted by Widgren 1986). Immigrants' children who arrived to the country of residence before compulsory school or during the early years of compulsory school are defined by authors such as Portes and Rumbaut (2006) as a different category—that is, the "one-and-a-half generation." Thus, scholars have introduced a distinction among the children of immigrants according to their relation to the country of residence: those who were born there versus those who arrived as children.

Definitions about which children of immigrants need specific attention from researchers are also very much influenced by the general context of the country of residence. First, laws on nationality lead to different definitions. For instance, in countries where the *jus soli* is the main form of acquisition of nationality, such as the United States or Canada, all immigrants' children born in these countries are considered part of the target population. They have the nationality of their country of birth and are expected to settle permanently in that country. Conversely, in countries where the *jus sanguinis* predominates, only migrants' children with a legal status of foreigners are considered part of the target category, and those who became nationals are "forgotten," at least by official statistics. This was the situation for a long time, until the early 2000s in the case of Switzerland (Bolzman et al. 2003).

The definition of the target population is also influenced by dominant common-sense perceptions on migration in the receiving societies. Thus, in many European and North American countries, scholars focus their studies on children whose foreign immigrant parents are employed as blue-collar workers or unskilled workers in the country of residence or on children belonging to visible minorities. This practice associates the concept of children of immigrants with low social status or with particular ethnic groups. The challenge of defining the focus population is not only methodological but also substantive, especially when there is a risk of reinforcing social categories that contribute to the stigmatization of particular populations (Simmard 1999; Sayad 2006).

With globalization, the increase of geographical mobility, and the non-linearity of migration patterns, complex family situations highlight the limitations of classical definitions of migration. First, in the case of children where one of the parents is a migrant and the other is a non-migrant, can we still talk about “children of immigrants”? Do both parents need to be immigrants? Second, consider a woman who is born in the country of immigration of her parents and who immigrates to her country of origin, only to go back a second time to her country of birth. Can we still consider her a descendent of migrants, despite the many years spent in the country of origin of her parents? In other words, does continuity of residence matter for the definition?

1.2.2 Comparative Designs

Comparative research designs can be very diverse in terms of unit of analysis, the choice of which depends on the research purpose. There are important questions regarding the definition of the population subgroups and their geographical origin to focus on.

The first order of questions to be answered addresses the types of populations to compare. Scholars can be interested in comparing children of immigrants of one or several national origins with children of natives in order, for instance, to measure ethnic inequalities, the effectiveness of anti-discriminatory policies, or the progress of integration using children of natives as a reference population (Bolzman et al. 2003). Researchers may also be attentive to the differences between ways of incorporating the descendants of immigrants compared to the first generation of the same ethnic background in order to measure social mobility or social reproduction across generations (Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2008; Bolzman et al. 2003). Another important comparison concerns the similarities and differences between cohorts of children of immigrants with different ethnic and national backgrounds in order to test the presence of a “segmented assimilation” pattern in a particular society (Portes and Zhou 1993, Chap. 3 in this volume). Contrasting the social trajectories of children of immigrants born in the country of residence (second generation) with children who arrived in the host country at a very young age (1.5 generation) may be a useful source of insight on the importance of socialization institutions in their

trajectories. Scholars can also establish comparisons between children of immigrants of the same national origin by distinguishing those who became nationals of the country of residence from those who are still foreigners. Similarly, comparisons based on citizenship rights can also concern children of immigrants whose parents have grown up abroad despite being nationals of the country of immigration (for instance, ethnic Germans in Germany) in contrast to the children of foreign immigrants. Here, the aim is to measure the relation among juridical factors, social perceptions about the children of immigrants, and the outcomes of the second generation (Bolzman et al. 2003; Frauenfelder 2007). An additional possibility of such strategy is the comparison between children of returned immigrants with respect to those whose parents settled down in the country of residence. Here, the purpose can be to understand the influence of migratory projects and transnational practices of the first generation upon the second generation. Last but not least, the comparison can concern children of immigrants belonging to the same cohort from similar ethnic and social backgrounds who are socialized in the same area. In this case, socio-demographic factors need to be as homogenous as possible, and comparisons within individuals shed light on variations within the group (Santelli 2007).

The second order of methodological questions is related to the definition of the geographic unit of the comparative design. Most studies limit the comparison to the same geographical unit and vary the populations that are compared within this unit. In other cases, the comparison is between several local unities (urban, rural, administrative settings) at the national level. These comparisons are based on the conception that different variables associated to local contexts influence the trajectories and situations of children of immigrants. Such variables include for instance the presence of integration policies, educational policies, attitudes toward ethnic minorities, size of the localities, and heterogeneity of the population in terms of ethnic composition. These kinds of comparative designs are very frequent and often associated to research funded by public institutions and national research funds because they stay within the borders of the same state and they aim at advising national or local policies.

With the Europeanization of many social fields and the multiplication of destination countries, international comparisons also become more relevant. For instance, the situations of children of immigrants of the same ethnic origins in different national contexts are also observed in order to measure the respective influences of the contexts and different variables related to these ethnic groups in the analysis (Crul et al. 2012). More seldom, comparisons are conducted at the transnational level, which is more difficult to implement. Here, the transnational practices of children of immigrants with the same or different ethnic backgrounds are compared across several national contexts.

The study of children of immigrants obliges the researcher to address a number of methodological challenges and to make theory-informed comparisons rather than arbitrary or convenience-based research designs. Some contributions to this volume address these challenges directly. The chapter from Lessard-Phillips, Galandini, de Valk, and Fibbi touches on some of the issues mentioned above by reviewing the variety of choices made in major surveys including second-generation residents in

Europe. They provide a comprehensive overview of the possible types, levels, and benchmarks for comparison; their availability in current European data on children of migrants and their relative advantages and disadvantages. The authors also focus on the impact that bias arising from selectivity, as well as age, period, duration, and cohort effects, can have on the data production and interpretation, and they offer potential methodological tools to analyze such data in a useful manner. They argue that in order to bring the field forward, meaningful second-generation research should include tools that make these comparisons more effective and lead to a deeper understanding of the processes at play for various groups (via more refined or varied methodological tools, as shown in this volume).

The chapter from Guarin and Rousseaux is a case study based on one country (Switzerland) in which comparison takes place among several subgroups (children of immigrants from several origins and children of natives on the one hand, children of immigrants and first generation residents on the other hand) on issues related to access to employment and labor-market status. Switzerland is an interesting case study because people with a migratory background (i.e., first- and second-generation residents) represent about half of the labor force. Using data for the Swiss Labour Force Survey (SLFS), the authors analyze the situations of different groups within the second generation on the labor market and explore the main factors that can influence their position. They suggest the use of data-mining tools in order to detect unexpected relations between variables. Their results show the importance of educational level of the father for predicting the employment situation of descendants. They also observe the existence of an “ethnic penalty” vis-à-vis some second-generation groups after controlling for several important variables (social origin, age, sex, and educational level).

The last chapter in this section from Milewski and Otto takes the opposite perspective and addresses the issue of the presence of a third person in survey interviews that were conducted with children of Turkish immigrant parents and their non-migrant counterparts. Data came from a project titled “The Integration of the European Second Generation” (TIES 2006–2008) from Germany, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium. The results show that when children of migrants are interviewed, it is significantly more common for a third person to be present besides the interviewer and the interviewee than in interviews with children of non-migrant. Furthermore, the characteristics of the third person vary between groups. These differences cannot be explained by differences in opportunity structures (i.e., type of housing, number of rooms, other people living in the household, all things that determine whether a person can be alone with the interviewer). The chapter also tests for the effect, during the interview, of a third presence on expressed attitudes. Results indicate that the presence of a bystander produces answers that vary from those given when the respondent is alone with the interviewer. The risk of item non-response is also higher in the presence of a third person. Thus, more attention should be granted to the micro-social conditions of data collection in research designs.

1.3 Life Course Perspective and Mixed-Methods Approaches in the Study of Children of Migrants

Methodological choices necessarily correspond to researchers' theoretical perspectives and the nature of the phenomenon under study. In the case of the children of migrants, the extent and the ways in which the migration background of parents interplays with their transition to adulthood (e.g., their education, employment, and residential and family transitions) may explain why several chapters in this volume adopt an implicit or explicit sociological life-course perspective. It has been stressed that migration research does not interact much with life course research (Wingens et al. 2011, see also Chaps. 5 and 8 in this volume): on the one hand, the topic of migration does not constitute a strongly established object of research for life course scholars; on the other hand, the life course paradigm (Elder et al. 2003) has not had a deep echo in migration research until recently. One objective of this volume is to show how both fields are in fact intimately related, particularly when research methodology is concerned. In several chapters, longitudinal data, life history calendar, biographies, the usual methodological nuts and bolts of life course research, are critically employed and evaluated to analyze the integration of children of migrants.

1.3.1 *The Life Course Paradigm*

In several papers, Elder proposed and developed a set of five principles constitutive of what he calls “the life course paradigm” (1995: 101). Although scholars disagree whether a strong unified theory of life course exists (Wingens et al. 2011), Elder's principles give a theoretical direction that reflects their diverse preoccupations (Elder 1995; Elder et al. 2003; Elder and Giele 2009). These five principles are (1) *lifelong human development*, which means that cognitive development evolves during the whole life in interaction with other principles of the life course paradigm; (2) *timing*, which underlines that the consequences of a life event or transition change depending on the age at which they are experienced; (3) *linked lives*, which means that life courses of related persons are interdependent and affect each other; (4) *time and place*, which indicates that life courses are shaped by the institutional and historical contexts; and (5) *agency*, which means that individuals develop expectations, have a certain degree of choice, and act intentionally, in relation to the opportunities and constraints structured by the institutional contexts in which they live.

In his research, Elder was especially interested to analyze the effect of the economic depression of the thirties on the adolescent and adult trajectories, first in relation to the age this depression occurred when they were children and second in relation to the impact this crisis had on their parental household (Elder 1999). Even though Elder's research on the children of the Great Depression did not focus on the theme of migration, it could certainly be taken as a canonic model for research focusing on comparisons between children of immigrants and natives, between

different groups of children of migrants, between generations of migrants, etc. In Elder's research, children are distinguished according to their "starting position" (Giele 2009: 251), i.e., whether they were children during the Great Depression or just before (Elder 1999). In the case of children of immigrants, this starting position can be related to their origin, their foreigner status, or their belonging to ethnic minorities; such starting position may be held from birth or acquired at the moment of arrival in the host country (Heath and Brinbaum 2007; Lagana et al. 2013). It can be also related to the social or geographical space and context where they are living during childhood, with its environment and opportunity structure (a suburban neighborhood, for example). Children of immigrants then grow up and become adults in a social context that shapes duties and rights, opportunities and constraints for foreigners or ethnic minorities in a specific way that could differ from those of natives or the ethnic majority and from the experience of their parents. Children of immigrants with the same starting position can develop divergent life course trajectories during their adolescence and their transition to adulthood.

Levy (2013:22) proposes to sketch the life course as a "sequence of status profiles." Here, the term of sequence involves a timing element that holds the significance of the life course as a movement in the social space. Status profile means that a person has different social participations in the economic sphere, in the family, etc., at each moment of his/her life. Each of the social places in which he/she participates is characterized by normative or institutional rules, as well as the position, especially the prestige, associated to the domain of participation and role set ascribed to this position, such as the related rights, duties, and expectations. Translating this perspective on the sequence of status profiles into research on the children of immigrants, social participation gains an additional dimension, since for these children it also means integration into different social spheres. Several questions specific to children of migrants may arise: Are movements and participations through social spaces ruled by implicit or explicit social barriers that selectively delay or hinder integration? Is there any kind of tension for children of migrants in role sets associated to their profile of status or between their status related to their foreign origin and their status related to the fact they are living in the host country?

1.3.2 *Life Course Designs*

Adhering to the principles of the life-course perspective is crucial to understanding social phenomena. It requires the adoption of coherent methodological choices and research designs that cover developments over time (intergenerational time), differences in contexts (across groups of migrants or institutional contexts), and the role of agency in structure (young peoples' aims and strategies). In addition, a special emphasis is given to the subjective perspective through which individuals report their biographical narrative of the events, transitions, and trajectories they experience in their life course. This is an important aspect to take into account because the children of migrants may navigate through life by making reference to a variety of

sets of cultural norms and meaning systems (that may not necessarily be coherent with each other). In order to grasp this diversity and, especially, to be able to infer the ways in which it affects their transition to adulthood, we need explorative methods and in-depth case studies that focus on such subjectivity.

Scott and Alwin (1998) distinguish among three types of life history data collection in life course research (see also Levy et al. 2005). By type, they do not mean the different data collection designs used by researchers but the explicit aims researchers have when collecting data. The first type of data collection is centered on the notion of events. Life course events can be normative or expected, such as a marriage, the birth of a child, the transition to the labor market, or retirement, or non-expected, such as an accident or a divorce. The event-centered type of data collection corresponds to collecting life events, their dates, their sequences, and the durations between them to analyze interactions and eventually spillover effects between the different domains of the life course (Courgeau and Lelièvre 1992). However, Scott and Alwin (1998) mention that this type of data collection, which is focused on events, is not limited to past events but also to people's eventual present situations and even to events that interviewees expect, or not, in their future.

The second type of data collection is related to the accumulation of experiences, which leads to some situations in the past or the present, or also to some expected situations in the future, such as an expected professional career after a specific educational degree. The notion of path dependency is the underlying element that drives the collection of this type of data (Di Prete and Eirich 2006; O'Rand 2009). Indeed, a position in the social space is defined by its structure of opportunities and constraints that leads or does not lead to a further step in the life course that engenders new opportunities or constraints, etc. The successive steps lead to a process of cumulative advantages or disadvantages across the life course. This type of data collection can be mobilized to analyze the path dependency that structures the life course from the starting position and status of being children of immigrants and to show the chain that links this starting position to adolescent and young-adulthood trajectories in the life domains of school, work, and family (Lagana et al. 2013).

The third type of data collection mentioned by Scott and Alwin (1998) is related to people's evaluations or interpretations of events and/or experiences, which can be oriented toward the past, present, and future. How do children of migrants evaluate their own trajectory, maybe in comparison to the life course of their native pairs in the country in which they live or to the life course of their parents, etc.?

Classically, we can distinguish two main designs of life course data collection: the retrospective design, in which the past biography of individuals is collected at one moment in time (Scott and Alwin 1998; Ruspini 2002); and the prospective design, in which people are followed up at regular time intervals to observe how their lives unfold. Much literature has already discussed the respective advantages and disadvantages of each perspective (Scott and Alwin 1998). Here, we limit ourselves to one major difference between the two designs. A retrospective approach is more event oriented (Blossfeld et al. 2007), in the sense that events and their dates of occurrence are the main focus of data collection. A prospective approach is more oriented toward individuals' holistic progression in the social space across time, and

not only is his or her life development recorded but also his or her values, attitudes, and expectations about the future. In this way, without that having to be a strong rule, a retrospective design is more appropriate when the research focuses on event sequences (more “objective”), while a prospective design focuses on the accumulation of experiences (with consideration of the subjective dimensions of the life course as well). This distinction applies only partially to qualitative approaches, since in both retrospective and prospective designs, the aim is to collect information on respondents’ evaluations and interpretations of their own life and experiences.

1.3.3 Data Collection to Analyze the Life Courses of Children of Migrants

The chapters of the second section of the book share a series of premises from which to begin. First, in a life-course perspective, individual trajectories are not only interdependent (the events occurring in one trajectory affect the events occurring in another trajectory) but also intertwined with the trajectories of relevant others (e.g., parents, partners, siblings, or peers, to name a few) who, in the case of children of migrants, may be living in the host country but also in the country of origin. This perspective emphasizes the need to explore the inter- and intra-generational linkages in the transition to adulthood of children of migrants. Second, the life-course perspective also focuses on the need to place trajectories in their historical and geographical context. Communities and institutions provide a structure of opportunities and constraints that frame possibilities for individual action and choice. Lastly, the life-course perspective underlines the subtle relationship between the individual and his or her context but gives importance to individual agency in making choices under the conditions of this context.

The first paper in this section, from Ingrid Tucci, analyzes various contexts (two different countries, France and Germany) and populations (Turkish and Middle Eastern origin in Germany; North African and Sub-Saharan origin in France). Yet, it uses intergroup comparisons to highlight one substantive interest: the extent to which the children of migrants are integrated into each of the two societies, given the different institutional educational systems and the processes determining such integration (or lack thereof). More precisely, this contribution aims to discuss the potential of using panel data in this field and of linking quantitative data with qualitative life-course data to grasp the individual, social, and institutional mechanisms underlying the educational trajectories as well as eventual turning points.

Attias-Donfut and Cook’s chapter is based on a generational approach (the inter-linked lives of life-course sociology) to the study of migrant families, in which migrant families are viewed as “fluid structures of intergenerational adaptation” (in this volume, p. 130). The chapter draws on two separate studies: a survey-based national study that examines economic transfers across generations between migrant parents and children, and a comparative qualitative study across three countries with

focus groups of African migrants and their children that were centred on questions of citizenship and belonging. Even though there were no mixed methods and no longitudinal designs, the combined interpretation of different data sources (both in terms of the kinds of data collected and the sampling design across generations) was key to illustrating the roles that migrant families play in the integration and adaptation of the next generation as well as the ways in which migration affects family support relationships across generations. The comparative nature of the projects also allowed the differences produced by the different kinds of migration processes to be highlighted. In contexts like Britain and South Africa, where African migration has more often been the consequence of forced migration or a temporary move, migrants' return prospects were stronger than in France.

The chapter by Santelli discusses the use of a cohort approach to study the entry into adulthood of youngsters with a North African background who lived in a suburban area of France. In order to appreciate and understand their heterogeneous life trajectories and educational and professional integration, the author chose to focus on one specific cohort of children who grew up in the same quarter, shared the same social context, and lived through the same historical time at similar ages. The research design is longitudinal, retrospective, and mixed method in nature. A register-based sample of young men and women was interviewed by questionnaire, and a subsample received biographical interviews. The quantitative analyses allow a statistical overview of the precarious global labor market situation of these youngsters but also the identification of five different types of trajectories among them, which range from profiles of permanent exclusion to profiles of stable employment. The biographical interviews provide an entry into the ways in which critical passages are lived and experienced by the individuals. An analysis of the complex interplay of family, peers, and institutions, which accompany the individual through the occurrence of crucial events like educational failures or the loss of a job, helps to explain the different outcomes of an apparently homogeneous group of descendants of migrants.

The combination of biographical interviews and sequence analysis in Gomensoro and Burgos's chapter follows a similar design. Yet, in this case, the biographical interviews are partially based on a life event calendar, a specific tool conceived to facilitate the retrospective recollection of important events using parallel and sequential retrieval techniques at the same time (Belli and Callegaro 2009; Morselli et al. 2016). The chapter discusses the added value of the combined use of a life calendar and biographical in-depth interviews to examine the educational transitions of the children of Albanian-speaking migrants in Switzerland. The authors introduce the commonalities and differences of the life course and the biographical research perspectives and discuss the respective methodological tools of data collection associated with each of these two approaches. In Gomensoro and Burgos's research, the longitudinal retrospective data-collection tools are a life event calendar and narrative in-depth interviews, which are complementary, since they have and achieve different objectives. On the one hand, life calendars enhance the reconstruction of "objective" life-course trajectories, in which events and transitions are dated, factual information that shapes the duration of phases of stability and change in the

trajectory, which can be quantitatively analyzed through sequence analysis, for example. On the other hand, narrative or biographical interviews retrieve a selection of subjectively significant moments in the individuals' biographies and focus less on their exact timing and more on the meaning that the individuals give to them in interpreting the unfolding of their life. The combination of objective and subjective information is often crucial to understand the crossing of individual meanings and strategies beyond behavioral choices (Bernardi 2011). Yet, the added value of using these specific two tools, the authors argue, consists of using the life event calendar as a basis for the interview (Engel et al. 2001; Glaser and Van Der Vaart 2009; Morselli et al. 2013). The advantages are that the graphical representation of the interviewee's complete life helps him or her to contextualize the interpretation of a specific event and to relate it to other ones, identify turning points, and develop a biographic narrative that is less dependent on the incipit question of the interviewer's guidelines.

Methodological choices and research designs not only correspond to specific research questions and theoretical perspectives but also to epistemological postures. Vats-Laroussi's chapter, based on the analysis of several studies on intergenerational relationships among migrants and their children, is a plea for an epistemology of meanings that attributes the greatest importance to the individual interpretations and social interactions in explaining social phenomena. A direct consequence of such an epistemological position is the suggestion of a constructivist approach to the research design, which translates into focusing "on the reconstruction of multi-generational trajectories and the social networks of migrants before, during and after the move from one country to another." These would be the channels through which knowledge is produced, intercultural competences are built, and new practices and family memories are created. The employment of multicultural and multi-generational teams as well as the implications of professionals and actors in the data-collection and interpretation phases are a direct consequence of such premises. According to the author, such teams would have the necessary sensitivity to collectively produce a valid interpretation of the evidence.

1.4 The Biography and Identity of Second-Generation Residents as a Negotiation Process

The use of nationality and, sometimes, ethnicity as criteria to analyze the integration of migrant groups, especially in quantitative methods, is not without methodological risks. Indeed, the strongest risk of this kind of approach is of naturalizing a migrant group and attributing a collective characteristic to an individual, such as being Polish, African American, and so on. Such a methodological process corresponds to giving a cultural identity, if not a biological identity, to each person belonging to the group under investigation. It also corresponds to the implicit expectation that each person of an immigrant group will develop a common or average

behavior of integration. Such a methodological posture contradicts elements of the life course paradigm, which we already enumerated, especially the principles of time and place, linked life, and agency (Elder et al. 2003). Moreover, it also contradicts the methodological posture in life course research that analyzing variability in one group is a main aim in comparative research (Blossfeld 2009; Giele 2009). In a similar way, nationality naturalizes the ways in which children of immigrants make sense of their lives and how they position themselves in the host society.

Qualitative investigations, as proposed in the chapters by Mey and by Aparicio and Tornos, show that this process of statistical categorization by a sole nationality is much too simplistic, especially in the case of children of immigrants. Qualitative life stories present the triple interest of giving the comprehensiveness of the social and individual life; investigating the subjectivity of persons, especially how they give sense to events of their life; and investigating the narrative form they use to describe change in their life (Kohli 1981; Giele 2009).

In the chapter by Mey, past life experiences are the subject of interpretations and reinterpretations by children of migrants across their life course that contribute to the subjective interpretation of own life. The author adopts the theoretical perspective of Schütze (2007). In this perspective, collected biographies reflect the subjective experiences and expectations of individuals in interaction with their environment. The chapter is devoted to analyzing the self-processes of sense making and self-positioning during the transition to adulthood of 34 children of immigrants living in the locality of Emmen, situated in the German-speaking canton of Lucerne in Switzerland. The author proposes a biographical qualitative approach to reconstruct the ways in which the respondents' biographies developed in the specific context of the city of Emmen. In particular, the methodology allows the investigation of the resources mobilized in relation to the strategies chosen by the individuals while their life trajectories unfold. The author proposes an analysis of narratives made by each interviewed person. The prospective design, in which people were interviewed twice, allowed the processes of sense making and self-positioning to be understood. In developing an analysis of a young Albanian's biography, Mey shows mechanisms of exclusion and auto-exclusion at each phase of his life course during his adolescence.

The chapter by Aparicio and Tornos shows how the construction of the self, and its eventual evolution across the life course, depends on interactions at several levels, especially social interactions with people who are representative of institutions with which children of migrants are in contact (teachers, apprenticeship referents, etc.). The chapter develops the difficult question of the identity of second-generation individuals under the prism of the relation between the construction of the self and exclusion/inclusion in the society of the country of residence. The authors propose a qualitative approach, arguing that it allows the identity to be investigated as a negotiation process. A pilot survey was then done in the region of Madrid, in which young second-generation residents were interviewed. In this way, the authors show that identity is a complex notion that cannot be resumed in a binary characteristic (to have the national identity of one's parents or not). Three types of negotiations of

identity made by the interviewed people are explored: within the family, with the interviewer, and with the interviewed people themselves.

From these two chapters, one can generalize that the identity or the self that belongs or does not belong to a group depends on the place of residence, which is embedded not only in a country but also, as suggested in the chapter by Santelli, at an infra-scale level (e.g., a province, city, or quarter) or at a macro level (e.g., a region or continent). The identity is not necessarily a national identity but, in some cases, an identity as an immigrant. The results of these two chapters suggest, in coming back to quantitative surveys, the use of some instruments developed in social psychology, including, for example, questions about the identity related to the place of residence, which can be situated at different levels, from the city to the continental region. Social interactions and barriers can also be investigated with instruments like the Bogardus scale of social distance (Bogardus 1947), with which people are asked whether they would agree to work with, be the friend of, or marry someone belonging to another nationality.

1.5 Transnational Approach and the Second Generation: Beyond Methodological Nationalism

1.5.1 *Beyond Methodological Nationalism*

As mentioned above, the term “second generation” implies a number or ranking of generations in a country of residence, computed by starting from settled immigrants. The methods used to analyze the integration of second-generation individuals come under what is called methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Shiller 2003). Methodological nationalism is defined, in the chapter of Levitt, Lucken, and Barnett, as “the tendency to accept the nation-state and its boundaries as a given in social analysis” (in this volume, p. 255). However, most children of migrants live in a transnational field, between the culture of the parents’ country of origin and that of the country of residence, in such a way that both the residence and home countries become fuzzy to define. Second-generation individuals often circulate during their life course between (at least) these two social, geographical, and cultural spaces. For example, during their childhood, they spend holidays in the country of origin, where they have contact with relatives living in that country (cousins, uncles, etc.).

Transnational contacts between relatives even exist even in the case of long-distance migration. The classic *Polish Peasant* shows that even at the time of heavy European migration to the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, migrants exchanged letters with their relatives who remained in the country of origin (Thomas and Znaniecki 1920; Tucci, Chap. 5, this volume). These epistolary exchanges show the continuation of obligations among migrants toward those who did not migrate, which cumulated with new obligations in the country of domicile

(Giele 2009). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, other media, like the Internet, e-mails, video conferencing, cell phones, and more generally information and communications technology (ICT), allow immaterial contact between second-generation individuals and people who remained in the country of origin (Nedelcu 2010). The development of air transportation in recent decades mitigated and shortened the distances, while channels of money circulation became easier to use and increasingly secure. Migrants as well as their children use all of these techniques to continue their obligations with their relatives who remain in the origin country.

1.5.2 *Transnational Designs*

The transnational research regarding the children of immigrants is often a one-case monograph. In this book, the chapters claiming a transnational approach are about the cases of second-generation individuals of Spanish descent growing up in Switzerland or of second-generation people of Indian descent living in the United States. The transnational approach corresponds to another way of investigating the multiple belonging of second-generation individuals and their identity.

Levitt, Lucken, and Barnett's¹ chapter is about the space of imagined traditions in the religion of second-generation Indian Americans living in the United States. Using data from 30 qualitative interviews with Gujarati-origin Hindu and Muslim women undergraduate and graduate students, aged 18–29, who live in the Boston metropolitan area, the authors show that these second-generation individuals have links with their relatives who live in the origin country and even in other places worldwide. These links—for example, with their grandparents—allow these second-generation Indian Americans to have knowledge of and eventually practice their original religion or to identify with it. Despite their distance, people in the origin country can play a significant role during the life course of children of migrants. However, practices are embedded in the context of how religion is institutionalized within the American way of life, which means that Hinduism and Islam are subject to reinterpretation in comparison to what they are in India. Here, the solidity of the theoretical perspective (transnationalism) combined with the use of a classical methodological perspective (semi-structured interviews) allows for in-depth original knowledge to be produced about “lived religion” experiences (Cadge and Ecklund 2007) and for a typology of “religious assemblages” to be elaborated. This chapter also shows that the notion of comparison is not absent from a transnational perspective, as the authors compare religious practices and their meaning between grandparents and their grandchildren.

The aim of the chapter by Richter and Nollert is to discover the links of second-generation people of Spanish descent living in Switzerland with the country of origin. What kind of memories could they have of Spain? In this ethnographic research, various materials were collected, including biographical interviews with

¹ Originally published in the peer reviewed journal, *Mobilities*, in 2011.

second-generation respondents, interviews with some of their relatives in Spain, visits to and photographs of the geographical sites where the second generation used to go in Spain (e.g., a beach or a street) made by the researchers, and new interviews of second-generation respondents and their confrontation with the material collected in Spain. This very sophisticated data-collection methodology allowed the authors to obtain rich and mixed data for analysis.

The last chapter of the book by Mazzucato, Dankyi, and Poeze does not focus on second-generation individuals *per se* but on the case of children who remained in the country of origin while their parents migrated. These parents did not migrate with their children because of the uncertainty of the migration, their undocumented status, or the difficulty of meeting the requirements for family reunification. The chapter focuses on cases in which the children are young, which means an organization and negotiation of the co-parentage in the country of origin. As in the case of the analysis of second-generation individuals, such research on the circulation of migrants requires data from different sites, at least from the place where the migrant parents are living and the place where the children are being educated. In this case, the actors investigated are very similar to those in the case of transnational analysis of the second generation: children, parents, and relatives, especially grandparents, which in this last case play an important role. Other kinds of circulation are also investigated, like the circulation of money from migrants to the people who educate their children. This last contribution opens new perspectives in the study of inter-generational relations in a transnational setting. It provides a useful method for analyzing the often multiply located relevant others for migrant children.

1.6 Future Research

This collective book makes a series of first steps to open up research on children of immigrants to issues that deserve more in-depth exploration. We retain at least four issues here without pretending to work out all of the paths opened by the contributors in this volume. The first central issue is the *identification of the relevant populations* to be studied when the research focus is the children of immigrants. Given the dominant methodological nationalism (see above), most researchers have studied the situations of children of migrants who were born in the country of destination or arrived there in their early childhood (see, e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Crul et al. 2012). Less attention has been granted to children who were left behind. However, even though these children have not migrated themselves, they experience migration through the separation from one or both of their parents. The transnational perspective underlines the need to consider this issue more seriously. The chapter from Mazzucato and colleagues in this volume is a good example of this perspective that deserves more empirical studies—in particular, more systematic comparisons between children who migrated with their parents and children whose families did not experience migration. Similarly, when addressing the complexity of parental backgrounds and migration patterns, we need more exploration of the life

courses of children born from binational couples and of children of migrants who have experienced geographical mobility between two or more societies. Particular attention should be paid to the ways in which these persons build their identities and feelings of belonging in complex and changing environments.

The second issue that needs more attention is the *later life trajectories of children of migrants*. A large part of the contributions in this volume are, in fact, devoted to the integration of the massive growing population of the children of migrants in European countries, which is a new social phenomenon, in comparison to North American countries, in which immigration is ancient and structural. Until now, most studies have focused on the educational paths of the second generation, their transition to adulthood, or their family enlargement. Thus, children of immigrants' access to employment, time of leaving the parental home, and creation of their own family have been systematically examined (Bolzman et al. 2003; Collet and Santelli 2012; Crul et al. 2012). Of course, this stage is crucial in individual lives and justifies significant attention. However, there are only a few studies about the descendants of migrants in later periods of life. Knowledge in this area deserves to be completed with either longitudinal studies or specific surveys. Particular consideration should be granted to gender perspectives to understand how social roles, gaps, and inequalities between men and women are constructed during adulthood among people with different ethnic and social backgrounds. Moreover, research on young adult children of migrants shows how they are disadvantaged during their transition to adulthood, and research has to show if these disadvantages persist during late adulthood and retirement as well as the different processes of accumulation of disadvantages during the overall life course.

The third issue under research is the field of *intergenerational relations*, which has an important place in our volume. A central concept that summarizes the variety of intergenerational relations is "transmission." Our book opens up a broader perspective on transmissions, in terms of the object of transmissions, who is involved, and what direction the process takes. While most studies focus on the unidirectionality of the transmission, which would go either from younger people (who would experience "modernity") to older people or *vice versa* from older people (who would experience "tradition") to younger (see Vatz Laaroussi 2015 for a critical review), the authors in this volume stress the need to consider transmissions as multidirectional as well as multidimensional (at economic, cultural, affective, and social levels) and thus more as forms of multilevel circulation. Transmissions should be seen as intergenerational and intra-generational as well as upward and downward; each generation member can be both a transmitter and receiver of multilevel exchanges. Generations "generate" stories and participate through their exchanges in a constant reinvention of "tradition" but also of "modernity." They revisit and reexamine the past to understand the present and project into the future, but the challenges of the present reality also mend the intergenerational frame. This perspective is extremely stimulating for empirical approaches, since it invites researchers to be more open to the diversity of links that are forged between and within generations in various contexts and situations. Researchers need methodological

creativity, especially using qualitative approaches or mixed methods, to capture the complexity of intergenerational relations.

The fourth issue, which is directly related to intergenerational transmission, is the view of the *family to which the children of migrants belong*. The sociology of the family underlines the necessity of having a more complex view of what a family is and to be aware that family and households, which are often considered overlapping realities, may be very distinct ones. In fact, if the family is very often part of the same household, then family ties extend beyond co-residential ties (Widmer 2010). Family relations exist beyond the household and can include a wide range of relatives who may be perceived as being part of the family. Moreover, the transnational perspective suggests that families can exist across borders, living through parallel and only partially overlapping physical, social, and mental ties. Thus, for example, individuals can be part of a transnational family characterized by the dispersion of its members among several nation states and by the relational interdependence between them despite the distance (Wall and Bolzman 2013). Indeed, migration does not remove the links between family members who have left one country and those who remained in that country (Vatz Laaroussi and Bolzman 2010). In fact, despite the distance and duration of the separation, various forms of relations develop between relatives, including intergenerational relations. Their resources can travel across borders, and their network chains are maintained. Thus, more complex methodological tools are needed to capture the complexity of family relations in contemporary mobile societies, especially the place of children of migrants in these configurations.

The attention granted to methodology is not only important for future research but also highly relevant for social and integration policies in at least four ways. First, the comparative perspectives may highlight the weight of institutional contexts in shaping the educational or professional paths of children of immigrants from the same origin (Crul et al. 2012) and therefore in their chances to have access to equal opportunities. Second, relying on longitudinal designs allows for the identification of critical turning points in the life course of children of immigrants (Gomensoro and Bolzman 2015) and offers tools to imagine how to create opportunities and reduce constraints at these key moments. Third, the analysis of children of immigrants' lives not only as individual pathways but also as the result of "linked lives" embedded in broader social relations, especially in intergenerational relations, sheds light on the necessity for policy makers to take these relations into account as being central for the second generation to build a meaningful place for themselves in the host country of their parents. Last, the transnational perspective underlines the fact that, in a globalized world, integration is not opposed but rather complementary to the maintaining of links with the country of origin. It also opens up the possibility to more innovative policies that can relate individuals and societies across borders.

This book can only be a plea for further research on how we study the ways in which integration and transnational processes are articulated in the lives of the second generation. There is enough empirical evidence about the fact that these processes are not exclusive but complementary (Levitt and Waters 2002), yet there is a

lack of longitudinal studies about the transformation of these relations through time and how different life course stages influence the kinds of ties with the country of origin as well as the forms of participation within the resident society.

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Part I

**Comparison as Key Methodological Tool
and Challenging Perspective in the Study
of the Children of Migrants**

Chapter 2

Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't: The Challenges of Including and Comparing the Children of Immigrants in European Survey Data

Laurence Lessard-Phillips, Silvia Galandini, Helga de Valk, and Rosita Fibbi

2.1 Introduction

The comparative project as well as the level of analysis chosen thus to a great extent structure the conclusions. There is no right or wrong way to construct a comparison, but it is necessary to be aware of the ways in which certain choices at the inception reflect options concerning the similarities or singularities of the immigrant experience. Green (1994: 14)

Since the 1970s, there has been an overall increase in cross-national studies in Europe covering different domains of life. The overarching idea behind this trend is that such studies would allow comparisons across countries and would lead to a better understanding of the importance of the national context in explaining cross-national differences (Breen and Jonsson 2005; Heath and Cheung 2007). In addition, it has been suggested that this would also be a good point of reference for policy-makers to learn about the effectiveness of various policy measures (Thomson and

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Crul 2007; Dronkers and De Heus 2013). International organizations such as the OECD or the ILO have been supporting this cross-national research methodology and the EU has fostered this further in their research programs in the past decade.

The fields of migration and ethnic studies have been no strangers to this trend, with national borders of studies being increasingly crossed (Bovenkerk et al. 1991) and migration no longer being perceived as a simple national issue but as a more global issue, linked, for example, to the development and maintenance of diasporas or attempts to coordinate migration and integration across the EU (Guiraudon 2003; Collett 2013). Migration, which is in itself nothing new in Europe but has changed with regard to the origins of migrants (Lucassen and Lucassen 2013), is one of the key drivers in population change in almost all European societies. The proportion of children of immigrants either born in European societies or migrating at a young age is of growing importance for populations, societies, and economies across Europe. It is therefore getting more relevant, and easier, to have a better understanding of the lives of these ‘new’, diverse members of society from a sociological perspective to understand the opportunities and barriers they face.

As noted above, this quest for more knowledge on diverse populations has heralded the need for more comparative studies with a focus on the children of immigrants in Europe. This has been done either by focusing data collection efforts exclusively on the children of immigrants¹ or including variables in more general surveys permitting to identify various immigrant generations,^{2,3} allowing for quantitative analyses of their life outcomes, be them linked to health, education, or

¹The surveys that we outline in this chapter are recent surveys dealing directly with the children of immigrants. These include the following: Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU); Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe (EDUMIGROM); Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in Comparative European Perspective (EFFNATIS); Generating Interethnic Tolerance and Neighborhood Integration in European Urban Spaces (GEITONIES); Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organizational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level (LOCAL MULTIDEM); Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey (SCIICS); and The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES). A more detailed overview of the available data can be found in Table 2.3.

²The non-specific surveys that we have identified as potentially relevant for the study of children of immigrants are the EU Labour Force Survey – EU-LFS, particularly the 2008 and 2014 ad-hoc modules on the labour market situation of migrants and their immediate descendants (European Commission 2011; EUROSTAT website); the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions — EU-SILC (Kampakoglou et al. 2012; EUROSTAT 2013); European Value Study (EVS 2013); Eurobarometer (Gesis 2014; TNS Opinion and Social 2011)); European Social Survey (ESS 2013); Generations and Gender Programme (GGP 2013); Programme for International Student Assessment – PISA (Adams and Wu 2002; OECD 2005, 2006, 2009, 2012a; Schleicher 2006); Progress in International Reading Literacy Study –PIRLS (PIRLS 2013); and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study – TIMSS (Foy et al. 2011). Given that their target populations are not children of immigrants per se, these surveys will not be examined in this chapter.

³We are aware that there are national datasets that offer opportunities to study the children of immigrants in a comparative perspective, but these sources are not the focus of our chapter. See the edited volume by Heath and Brinbaum (2014) for an example on how national data can be used in a comparative manner.

employment outcomes, to only name a few. One of the main underlying aims of such research, which is gaining in importance and is the recipient of sustained academic and policy-interest, is to examine the outcomes of the children of immigrants usually using a given benchmark for comparison, and understand the source of the potential differences in outcomes using available data.

Undertaking such comparative research is not, however, without its problems. There are important issues that arise from comparatively studying the children of immigrants, some of which echo those recently raised by Bloemraad (2013) in the broader field of migration research. Among the main issues that arise from such comparative endeavors are the level at which we make those comparisons (e.g., local, provincial, national, cross-national, etc.); who we are comparing the children of immigrants to (i.e. the 'benchmark' for measuring integration outcomes); and what kind of selectivity/selection bias and generalization issues arise from analyzing data on the children of immigrants. In our opinion, these issues, which are rooted in both theoretical and practical considerations, have important consequences on the types of analyses that can be performed as well as the conclusions that can be drawn from those comparisons. In this chapter we will examine and discuss these issues drawing from examples of available European data.

This chapter starts by giving an account of the ways in which the children of immigrants have been identified in current sociological survey data. Following that we discuss the levels of analysis used in the existing data, and then the different types of comparisons available to researchers. We finish by a discussion of the various biases involved in analyzing the children of immigrants using quantitative data, from selectivity issues to cohort and age effects.

2.2 Defining the Children of Immigrants in Survey Data: Who Are We Talking About?

Children of immigrants can be immigrant themselves (having migrated with their parents before becoming adults) or have parents who migrated before they were born. Existing literature on the children of immigrants has tended to differentiate between 'types' of individuals with immigrant parentage using an 'immigrant generations' typology, where later generations imply more distance with immigrant parentage. In this typology there is an underlying assumption that varying types of immigrant parentage might imply varying impact of such parentage (Heath et al. 2008; Alba and Holdaway 2013). The typical classifications that are of interest to us and the data sources examined are the following (see McAndrew and Voas 2014; Parameshwaran 2014; Rumbaut 2002, 2004; Rumbaut et al. 2006; and Waters 2014 for more details):

- First generation: individuals who migrated⁴ to the host country as adults (18+);

⁴ Note that we focus on individuals who had migrated to the host/survey country at the time of the survey; this might include individuals with different migration trajectories, for example children of immigrants who have migrated themselves, who would be from the second generation in one

- 1.25 generation: individuals who migrated to the host country as teenagers (13–17);
- 1.5 generation: individuals who migrated to the host country as older children (6–12);
- 1.75 generation: individuals who migrated as young children (0–5);
- Second generation: individuals who were born in the host country but have two migrant parents;
- 2.5 generation: individuals who were born in the host country but have one migrant parent;
- Third generation: individuals born in the host country of host-country born parents, with one or more immigrant grandparents; and
- Fourth generation: individuals with parents and grandparents born in the host country.

These are the types of individuals that can potentially be identified in data allowing the study of children of immigrants, based on the assumption that immigrant parentage plays a long-lasting role in the integration process. The typology above presents quite a broad and granular classification of individuals with an immigrant parentage, which is not often used in quantitative research, often due to lack of large sample size and information allowing the identification of such respondents.

If we turn to official figures reporting the size of the first and second generation in Europe as published by Eurostat in the left pane of Table 2.1, (European Commission 2011) we can see that individuals with a migrant background are a non-negligible share of the population in most of these countries. Prognoses made by Eurostat also show that in the EU-27 the share of the population with an immigrant origin will increase in all age groups in the decades to come (Lanzieri 2011). This applies in particular to the young.

Again this is also clear from the second pane of Table 2.1 where the share of first and second generation 15-year olds are provided based on the PISA data by the (OECD 2012b). Whereas the shares of those of immigrant origin in the total population is sometimes still limited, the importance for those in school age is clearly higher already now. The surveys that we are examining in this chapter deal with this important, and growing, proportion of the population with an immigration background.

With regard to the national origins of these groups, official figures do not provide detailed comparative information by country of origin. At the same time both stock and flow statistics on migrant populations indicate that a substantial share of the total migration population has a European (EU27) origin (see, for example, de Valk et al. 2015; Lanzieri 2011). This is also clear from Table 2.2, based on OECD data (OECD 2012) showing the main regional origins of adults of migrant origin in which the majority come from Europe (but not necessarily from OECD nations), Asia (including Turkey), and Africa (including Morocco).

country but from the first generation in another. Whilst we accept that this might be the case for some individuals from the first generation, we do not focus on such individuals, as they are not assumed to form a great proportion of the target populations included in this chapter. Many surveys, including those examined in this chapter, include questions on multiple migration histories or mobility so grasp such histories.

Table 2.1 Individuals of migrant origins in Europe by age group and current country of residence
(Adult population: European Commission 2011; Student population:OECD 2012b)

| | Proportion of adult population (%) | | | Proportion of student population (%) | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| | (25–54 – 2008) | | | (15 year olds – 2009) | |
| | First generation | Second generation | 2.5 generation | First generation | Second generation |
| Belgium | 14.7 | 4.0 | 4.1 | 6.9 | 7.8 |
| Czech Republic | 3.0 | 0.9 | 3.3 | 0.8 | 1.4 |
| Denmark | 8.6 | na | na | 2.8 | 5.9 |
| Germany | 81.4 | 2.9 | 1.4 | 5.9 | 11.7 |
| Greece | na | na | na | 6.1 | 2.9 |
| Spain | 75.8 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 8.4 | 1.1 |
| France | 5.8 | 1.0 | 7.7 | 3.2 | 10 |
| Italy | 10.6 | 0.1 | 0.9 | 4.2 | 1.3 |
| Hungary | 2.2 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| The Netherlands | 35.6 | 2.7 | 5.8 | 3.2 | 8.9 |
| Austria | 18.4 | 1.9 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 10.5 |
| Poland | 0.3 | 0.8 | 2.1 | na | na |
| Portugal | 10.5 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 2.8 | 2.7 |
| Romania | 0.2 | na | na | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Slovakia | 0.9 | 0.4 | 1.6 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Sweden | 16.2 | 2.9 | 6.7 | 3.7 | 8.0 |
| UK | 15.6 | 3.8 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 5.8 |
| Switzerland | 31.1 | 5.7 | 9.6 | 8.4 | 15.1 |

The 2009 report from the UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, in which the position of children of immigrants in eight affluent countries was compared using official statistics, showed that main origins of immigrant children differ across European countries. In most of the studied countries the second generation clearly outnumbered the first generation among those below 18 years of age (see e.g. de Valk 2010). At the same time, the origins of the children in migrant families clearly reflected the migration histories of each of these countries, including colonial and labor migration in the past century as well as European mobility (Hernandez et al. 2009). A recent exploration of the origins of children of immigrants (second generation) in 10 Western countries (Lessard-Phillips et al. 2014) showed a similar pattern. The main origins of the second generation in Belgium are Turkey, Morocco, and Italy; India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh in England and Wales; Overseas department and territories (Dom/Tom) and French born abroad, Maghreb, and Portugal in France; Turkey, Former Soviet Union and Former Yugoslavia in Germany; Surinam/Antilles, Morocco, and Turkey in the Netherlands; Finland, Turkey and Iran in Sweden; and Italy, Former Yugoslavia, and Spain/Portugal in Switzerland.

As mentioned in the introduction, quite a few recent European surveys either focus on children of immigrants or allow categorizing these individuals by more coherently including relevant information to identify them. The former allow for

Table 2.2 Main region of origin (and proportion) of foreign-born individuals aged 15 and over by country of current residence (2000) (OECD 2012b)

| | First region (%) | Second region (%) | Proportion from OECD (%) |
|------------------------|--|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Belgium | Europe (67.7) | Africa (22.8) | 66.1 |
| Czech Republic | Europe (92.9) | Asia (4.7) | 77.3 |
| Denmark | Europe (55.7) | Asia (30.2) | 50.1 |
| Germany | Europe (68.6) | Unspecified (15.7) | 41.8 |
| Greece | Europe (80.8) | Asia (8.4) | 28.2 |
| Spain | South/Central America/the Caribbean (37.9) | Europe (37.3) | 32.2 |
| France | Africa (49) | Europe (40.8) | 39.7 |
| Italy | Europe (55.4) | Africa (20.2) | 39.1 |
| Hungary | Europe (94.3) | North America (0.9) | 23.6 |
| The Netherlands | Europe (37.3) | Asia (22.8) | 28.9 |
| Austria | Europe (89.1) | Africa (2.4) | 50.0 |
| Poland | Europe (95.3) | Unspecified (2.1) | 20.1 |
| Portugal | Africa (56.7) | Europe (27.3) | 25.8 |
| Romania | Europe (80.6) | Asia (11.3) | 15.8 |
| Slovakia | Europe (97.5) | Asia (1.3) | 85.0 |
| Sweden | Europe (62.1) | Asia (6.0) | 47.8 |
| UK | Europe (34.5) | Asia (32.8) | 38.6 |
| Switzerland | Europe (77.8) | Asia (6.4) | 62.6 |

directly surveying target populations of interest, include a wealth of information specific to the populations under study but do not offer great flexibility with enabling data users to define their own target population. The latter, on the other hand, can be quite flexible for researchers, as the availability of country of birth information at the individual/parental/grandparental level, citizenship,⁵ or ethnicity information allows creating target populations according to their own (theoretical) criteria. At the same time analyses based on such data, especially over time, are hampered by the fact that different data collection waves include different kinds of information, making the consistent identification of immigrants and their descendants difficult. In this chapter, we focus on the surveys having children of immigrants as their main group of interest and how they define their target populations. These surveys can

⁵ One major challenge to surveying the children of immigrants in general survey data comes from using ‘country of birth’ as a selection criterion, as such information is not always readily available in different national contexts. In Switzerland, for example, nationality has been the only selection criterion for many years; it has only recently been possible to identify children of immigrants according to country of birth (Fibbi et al. 2005). In France, on the other hand, issues of identification via ethnic or national origin are still very much problematic (Simon 2003). These selection criteria have important effects on selection, which will be discussed below. Moreover, given the complexity of migration histories, information about country of birth and citizenship may not be enough. Information about the type of migration and naturalization (including the date) might be important to further understand the position that children of immigrants hold in the receiving societies.

offer researchers more comparable wealth of targeted information about the important aspects of the lives of the children of immigrants, which are not necessarily available in non-specific surveys. Whilst a challenging endeavor, designing such surveys is important for gathering specific information on populations of interest and can provide evidence for theory building. The surveys under consideration in this chapter, as well as the broad aspects that we are discussing, can be found in Table 2.3.

The choice of which individuals to include has an important impact on the data collection; the type of questions that can be answered; the refinement of the analyses that we can conduct; and the types of conclusions we can draw about these groups. The definition of the target populations varies widely across the surveys under study. Moreover, many of these surveys focus on the early stage of life, such as childhood or young adulthood. This is primarily because the children of immigrants are still relatively young (European Commission 2011) since larger waves of migration to Europe has been relatively recent (Lucassen and Lucassen 2013). Before going into detail about the potential impact of these choices, we will discuss them in some detail to clarify the issue.

The criteria for inclusion that we find in the European data range from being inclusive (i.e. including individuals with any immigrant background, including those born abroad) to exclusive (i.e. only including individuals born in the survey country with parents born abroad). The CILS4EU data,⁶ which samples school pupils, is a prime example of the inclusive approach, as individuals either born abroad or with at least one immigrant parent were included in the target group (Dollmann et al. 2014). It could also be argued that their criteria for inclusion is slightly more specific, as it includes the 1.5 generation (as well as the second and potentially the third), which are individuals born abroad but who migrated as children and/or young adults and therefore conducted some, if not all, their schooling career in a given host country.⁷ On the one hand, this study steers away from exclusively focusing on the children of immigrants per se, but allows for a broader inclusion of typically excluded groups, which can be used for a more refined level of comparison (see below). The EDUMIGROM project is also an example of a more inclusive survey, as it selected young people of various ethnic origins, the majority of whom were born in the survey country (Szalai et al. 2010). The LOCALMULTIDEM project was similarly rather inclusive in its selection criteria, allowing respondents to be of the first, second, or even third generation (Morales and Giugni 2011). The GEITONIES project included individuals with at least one parent born abroad in their target group without specifying any other criteria for inclusion (Fonseca et al. 2013). At the other end of the range we have the more exclusive TIES survey target group that consists in young adults of Turkish, Moroccan, and ex-Yugoslav origin born in the survey countries, who have at least one foreign-born parent. Analysis of these data looking into the mixed immigrant parentage of the TIES respondents

⁶We would also like to acknowledge the Children of Migrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) that was conducted in Spain (Madrid and Barcelona) in 2010 (Portes et al. 2010).

⁷Definitions of the 1.5 generation vary widely in the literature and do not always follow the categorization outlined earlier in the chapter.

Table 2.3 Main characteristics of surveys

| Survey | CILS4EU | EDUMIGROM |
|---|--|--|
| Year | 2009–2013 | 2008–2009 |
| Definition of target population | Young people aged 14 in 2010 with and without an immigrant background Children with an immigrant background are those who were born abroad or who have at least one parent or two grandparents who were born abroad Not specified. | Visible and non-visible minority and ethnic majority students in the final year of compulsory education (aged 14–17) Not specified. |
| Groups, sample size and sampling strategies | Sample size: Wave 1: 480 schools/18,716 students ; Wave 2 and 3 no data available yet | Sample size: 5,086 students Sampling: Three-stage sampling (ethnically diverse urban communities, schools, grades and classes) Cross-sectional design |
| Level/place of sampling | Sampling: Three-stage (schools, classes, students) disproportional stratified sampling design Longitudinal design | Schools in Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, and United Kingdom – one to three urban sites where ethnic minorities represent a relevant proportion of the local population were selected in each country |
| Benchmark for comparison | Schools in Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom (England) –information on where the schools are located (cities) not available Majority peers, immigrant generations (peers and parents in Wave 1 only) | Majority, immigrant generations (peers) |
| References describing the survey design | Jacob and Kalter (2013), Dollmann et al. (2014), Parameshwaran (2014), and CILS4EU website | Messing (2011), Szalai (2011a, b), and EDUMIGROM website |

| Year | 1998–2000 | 2009–2010 |
|---|--|---|
| Definition of target population | Children of migrants: individuals aged between 16 and 25 who were born in the host country or migrated before the age of 6 Autochthonous: individuals aged 16 to 25 who were born in the host country and whose parents were born in host country Other reference group: individuals aged between 16 and 25 who were born abroad and migrated after the age 7 Groups, sample size and sampling strategies | Immigrant background: individuals aged 25 or older, with at least one parent born abroad who resided in the specific neighborhood for at least 1 year Native background: individuals aged 25 or older, with both parents born in the country of residence and who resided in the specific neighborhood for at least 1 year Maghrebian and Portuguese in France; Turkish and Yugoslav in Germany; Pakistani (Punjabi) and Indian (Gujarati/Muslim) in Great Britain. Total sample size: 2,227 Sampling: Great Britain: random sample (drawn from electoral roll) France: Snowball sample (through schools, associations, cafes, youth centers, firms – no information on ethnic/national origins) Germany: stratified sample (based on population register containing information about national origins) |
| Level/place of sampling | Cross-sectional design | Cross-sectional design Neighborhoods in Bilbao (Spain), Lisbon (Portugal), Thessalonica (Greece), Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Vienna (Austria), Warsaw (Poland) |
| Benchmark for comparison | Majority, Immigrant generations (peers) | Majority, Immigrant generations |
| References describing the survey design | EIFFNATIS (2001), Crul and Vermeulen (2003), and Penn (2006) | Labrianidis et al. (2010), Setien et al. (2010), Fonseca et al. (2013), Görny and Torunczyk-Ruiz (2013), and GEITONIES website |

(continued)

Table 2.3 (continued)

| Survey | LOCALMULTIDEM | SCIICS |
|---|---|---|
| Year | 2004–2008 | 2008 |
| Definition of target population | Barcelona, Budapest, Madrid, Lyon, Milan, Oslo, Stockholm: country of birth – respondents who were either born abroad or at least one parent was born abroad | Individuals who were born in Turkey/Morocco and migrated before 1975 |
| Groups, sample size and sampling strategies | Geneva, Zurich: nationality – nationality at time of sampling, natives who were either born abroad or at least one parent was born abroad London: ethnic group | Individuals whose parents/grandparents were from Turkey/Morocco and migrated before 1975 – those individuals were either born in the host country or migrated before age 18 |
| | Lyon: Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan; Budapest: Chinese, ethnic Hungarian, Arab/Turkish mixed group; Milan: Ecuadorian, Filipino, Egyptian; Madrid, Barcelona: Ecuadorian, Moroccan, other Andean; Zurich: Kosovar, Italian, Turkish; Geneva: Kosovar, Italian; London: Bangladeshi, Caribbean, Indian; Oslo: Ex-Yugoslavia, Turkish; Stockholm: Chilean, Turkish; Net sample size: 10,808 (for all cities, excluding Oslo). | Turkish and Moroccan |
| Level/place of sampling | Sampling: Barcelona, Budapest, Geneva, Madrid, Oslo, Stockholm: nominal individual samples randomly drawn from local population registers | Sample size: 8921 (3373 natives, 3344 Turkish, 2204 Moroccan) |
| Benchmark for comparison | London: enumeration within postal districts ¹ ; Milan: random selection within centers of aggregations (migrants), telephone registers (natives); Lyon: randomly generating telephone numbers and screening through list of questions (country of birth, ancestry) | Sampling: Name-based sampling from digital telephone directories (including mobile phone numbers) and snowball sampling |
| References describing the survey design | Cross-sectional design | Cross-sectional design |
| | Cities: London (UK), Lyon (France), Oslo (Norway), Stockholm (Sweden), Zurich and Geneva (Switzerland), Barcelona and Madrid (Spain) Budapest (Hungary), Milan (Italy) | Nation-wide sample in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden |
| | Majority, Immigrant generations | Majority, Immigrant generations |
| | Morales and Giugni (2011), LOCALMULTIDEM (2009a, b), and LOCALMULTIDEM website | Ersanilli and Koopmans (2013) and Carol et al. (2014) |

| | |
|--|--|
| Year | 2006–2008 |
| Definition of target population | Those aged between 18 and 35 who were born in the survey country and at least one parent was born abroad; Individuals who themselves and both parents were born in the survey country (i.e. comparison group) |
| Groups, sample size and sampling strategies | Turkish and Moroccan: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Brussels, Antwerp; Turkish and Former Yugoslav: Vienna, Linz, Frankfurt, Berlin, Basel, Zurich; Turkish: Stockholm, Paris, Strasbourg; Moroccan: Barcelona, Madrid Sample size (incl. comparison): 9771 Sampling: Groups were sampled within neighborhoods in cities. Fixed numbers of respondents were identified within sampled neighborhoods Sampling frame: Population register with information on birthplace, parents' birthplace in Belgium, Germany, Sweden Municipal registers with onomastic method (screening of names through computer software) in Austria, Germany, Switzerland; Telephone directories in France Sample provided by the Spanish National Statistical Institute, sample of respondent identified in high-concentration districts in Madrid and Barcelona, Moroccan organizations Cross-sectional design |
| Level/place of sampling | Cities: Paris and Strasbourg (France), Berlin and Frankfurt (Germany), Madrid and Barcelona (Spain), Vienna and Linz (Austria), Amsterdam and Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium), Zurich and Basel (Switzerland) and Stockholm (Sweden) |
| Benchmark for comparison | Majority, Immigrant generations |
| References describing the survey design | Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips (2012) and TIES website |

show that most of the second-generation respondents had 2 parents born abroad (Lessard-Phillips and Ross 2012).

In between the data using either the exclusive or inclusive criteria are the other surveys using a mixture of the two approaches. The EFFNATIS project covered individuals who migrated to the survey country before age 6 as a target group, which is approximately the start of compulsory schooling, but also included individuals who migrated later (EFFNATIS 2001). The SCIICS data included in its target group individuals of Turkish and Moroccan descent who either migrated as children (<18) before 1975 or born in the survey country with parents and/or grandparents who migrated before 1975 (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2013). In principle this survey also includes the third generation into their target samples, even if the size of this group is still quite small in most European countries.

In some cases, the ethnic/national origin of the children of immigrants was part of the definition of the target population. This is the case for all surveys covered in this chapter aside from CILS4EU, EDUMIGROM, and GEITONIES. In terms of the national origins of the survey respondents (or their parents), we see a wide yet consistent coverage of the main immigrant groups mainly following the most prominent national origins found in official national data outlined earlier in the chapter.

2.3 Levels of Analysis

Another important component of comparative research on the children of immigrants concerns the geographical levels (local, national, etc.) at which comparisons are made and the types of groups that are used in such comparisons. Choosing the level of analysis has major conceptual implications and suits different research questions. This is an issue that has been ever present in recent migration research. In 1991, Bovenkerk et al. concluded that defining the correct level of comparison in European migration research is difficult, as research at the time either ‘mirrored’ European findings to that in one particular country or lacked a meaningful comparison point at all and took a too general approach. Given the short supply of general theories that can be or are applied, Bovenkerk and colleagues argued that comparisons in this sense run the risk in being solely descriptive and not really add to the explanation of phenomena. They concluded that the choice between generalization and specificity requires different levels of abstraction (Bovenkerk et al. 1991).

With an outlook toward more general migration research, Green (1994) outlined three different models of comparison that are often used when thinking about the choice between level and groups: the linear model, the convergent model, and the divergent model. Given that the linear model, which focuses on following immigrants from origin to destination, does not necessarily relate to the experiences of the children of immigrants, it will not be explored in this section.⁸ *Convergent mod-*

⁸ It can nonetheless be the case that following the parents and their migration motives and patterns is important for understanding the outcomes of their children.

els of comparison tend to study various immigrant groups in the same place, either an immigration country or a city.⁹ These models, which stress the specificities of each group included in the comparison, are most often found in national research. Whilst allowing an in-depth focus at the group level in a specific place, convergent models tend to wipe off the changing historical conditions of social and economic participation for each group in the host countries. *Divergent models*, on the other hand, study one immigrant group in various destination places, allowing for a focus on contextual factors shaping the opportunities and barriers for integration. In her methodological essay Green explained that “divergent studies [, which are rare,] locate the explanation of difference at the point of arrival and not at the point of departure” (1994: 15).

The examples cited in this chapter suggest that European data contains a mixture of convergent and divergent models. For the data comparing similar groups across places (such as SCIICS and TIES), the comparative strategy seems to be that of an extensive divergent model of comparison, moving beyond the observation on one specific group across countries and extending it to a certain number of specific groups. For the data comparing different groups across different places (such as CILS4EU and EFFNATIS), we can also talk about an extension of convergent models.

The trend towards divergent models of comparison appears to have become more common in European research in the last decade (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2009; Huschek et al. 2010; Fleischmann and Phalet 2012). Two different sets of factors may account for this trend: theoretical and political. On the one hand, the change toward divergent research designs, especially those focusing on the local level, was triggered by the sharp critique of methodological nationalism, “the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002: 302). The nation-state is obviously an important actor in setting out rules and regulations with regard to the entry and settlement of migrants. It should not be ignored when studying migrants and their descendants (Guiraudon and Lahav 2000; Teitelbaum 2001). However, critiques of this viewpoint questioned the “naturalization” of the geo-political frame of nation-states as encompassing societal phenomena in general. In the specific case of the study of migration, it was argued that the focus on nation-states might be counterproductive for understanding migration and integration experiences (Vertovec and Cohen 1999; Bommes 2005). Focus on migration research at the national level also entailed a critique of an undue leveling out of differences within the ‘immigration society’ by its focus on national-level outcomes rather than more refined, and complex, outcomes at a more local level. Moreover, the development of the segmented assimilation theory of Portes and Zhou (1993), which focused on the importance of contexts of reception in shaping integration outcomes among the second generation, and the rise in popularity of transnationalism approaches (Levitt and Schiller 2004; Levitt

⁹ It is important to note here that in her article, Green discusses convergent models with regard to the city as the chosen place, which aligns quite well with Glick-Schiller and Cagar's (2009) argument that the city should be the main focal point for studies of integration.

and Jaworsky 2007), which emphasize the trans-border feature of migration for migrants and their children, also stimulated such a shift. The approaches' focus contributed to raise contextual features at the local and national levels to powerful *explanans* in the analysis of integration trajectories (OECD 2006; Crul et al. 2012; Crul and Mollenkopf 2012).

On the other hand, an array of various "political" factors also account for the prominence of divergent study designs. Firstly, the post-colonial era and the relative 'liberalization' of migration has prompted the development of new, more dispersed migration patterns beyond that of binding a specific origin country to a specific immigration one (Simon 2008), thus allowing for the study of groups with similar migration backgrounds in multiple locales. Moreover, an effort in trying to harmonize or compare migration policies at the European level using tools such as MIPEX (Huddleston et al. 2011) has allowed a certain degree of analytical oversight over the effectiveness of policies and the main contextual drivers of differences in integration outcomes (OECD 2010). Last, but not least, the increase in large-scale, harmonized cross-national studies such as the PISA studies and the accompanying pressures of comparing the effectiveness of various national institutions, such as school systems, has also facilitated divergent models of comparison (OECD 2006). These are just a few of the factors that promoted a conceptual shift away from migration and integration as a pure national issue toward a systematic analysis of contextual features influencing the integration process of children of immigrants. This, to a certain extent, can also be witnessed in the surveys examined in this chapter.

Above and beyond issues related to the trade-offs between convergent and divergent models is the issue of identifying the place where the comparisons occur.¹⁰ In the non-specific surveys and in some specific surveys (such as SCIICS), the country is used as the geographical level of analysis and the sampling is performed in a way to provide representative samples of the national populations (as much as possible). As useful as these surveys might be with drawing a 'national-level' picture of the outcomes of the children of immigrants and allowing for comparisons between countries, they are also falling into the trap of methodological nationalism, as explained above. In order to avoid such a trap, it is argued that analyses of migrants' outcomes are more suited to a lower geographical level (i.e. cities) as much movement and settlement happens at that level. This helps a more complete understanding of migrants' and their descendants' trajectories especially when taking a comparative perspective (Snyder 2001; Cross and Moore 2002; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009).

¹⁰Another element that is of relevance here is the issue of place with regard to the sending country and see whether the locality of origin (whether rural or urban) of the immigrant parents (or immigrant children) is an important driving factor influencing integration outcomes. Whilst we do not focus on this aspect in this section, we highlight its importance and the fact that some of the surveys, such as TIES, include elements about the parents' place of origin in their questionnaires, which can deal with this issue.

This importance of cities in shaping everyday lives of their residents has been picked up by many recent European studies that have shifted the unit of analysis from the nation-state to the city. Examples of such studies, some of which use the data outlined above, include Bolzman et al.'s study of children of Italian and Spanish immigrants in Geneva and Basel (2003); Fibbi et al.'s analysis of discrimination against the children of immigrants in the Zurich and Geneva areas (2003); Aybek's analysis of vocational training for children of immigrants in Munich and Frankfurt (2010); Schnell et al.'s study of neighborhood integration in six European cities (2012); and the importance of language in integration of ethnic minorities in Brussels (Veny and Jacobs 2014). A good proportion of the data surveyed in this chapter also uses the city, and more specifically its neighborhoods and schools, as the main geographical level of analysis. This allows researchers to examine processes and outcomes for the children of immigrants and to grasp and understand these complex dynamics at a very small scale, such as the ones presented by Santelli in Chap. 7.

Yet how far one needs or wants to disaggregate in order to capture complexity and nuance in survey data is problematic and contingent on many issues, such as representativeness; desire for detail; ease of access; and generalizability. This focus on cities has indeed contributed to deconstruct the notion of 'the destination country' beyond the national frame, situating the experiences of the children of immigrants within the local context in which they conduct their everyday lives. It is, however, the case that these cities are still embedded within countries and specific national-level policies for immigration and integration cannot be totally ignored. This reality, and the way in which the local and institutional or national dimensions interact and can help understand integration outcomes, is something that Crul and Schneider (2010) explore in their *comparative integration context theory*.

It remains the case that, when using city-based data, most of the conclusions can rarely go beyond the city level and be generalizable to the national level, an issue that we will discuss in the last Sect. 2.6 of this chapter. Whilst city-focused surveys allow to explore the dynamics of integration for a large proportion of the children of immigrants as a whole, given the general urban nature of migratory flows (Simon 2008), they do ignore the experiences of individuals and their parents who have settled in non-, or less, urban areas. This is where surveys conducted at the national level can allow researchers to explore the long-term experiences of the groups with non-typical migratory patterns, if such individuals are present in large enough numbers.

2.4 Benchmarking the Comparisons

One of the intrinsic purposes of research on the children of immigrants is comparison and one might argue that, on the whole, every research endeavor in migration research is, at its core, comparative (Green 1994; Bloemraad 2013). Comparisons indeed allow researchers to assess the children of immigrants' positioning and level of integration in their parents' host society, even if not always explicitly stated. Yet, in contrast with what Bloemraad (2013: 41) argues, the comparative benchmark is

not always the non-immigrant population. In fact, we can think of many groups to which researchers can compare the children of immigrants with that steers away from the usual majority/minority comparison dichotomy. In this section we will highlight possible comparisons, including the one mentioned above, in the European data, as well as the implications that such comparisons might have. All these types of comparisons, which can lead to different conclusions, are not necessarily mutually exclusive; they can be combined as well. They are, however, driven by the researchers' theoretical framework and limited by the type of data used for analyses.

2.4.1 *The Majority/Minority Dichotomy*

It is the case that many of the surveys that we have highlighted in this chapter allow for comparing the children of immigrants with the non-immigrant population. Analytically speaking, using the majority/minority dichotomy can be useful. It allows for researchers to measure the 'distance' in outcomes between the groups. This is often understood as being a good proxy for measuring the level of integration of the children of immigrants, by examining whether the differentials with the 'native' population are positive, negative, or even do exist. Whether this is an accurate measure of the level of integration is something that has been debated in academic circles (Alba and Holdaway 2013).

How this non-immigrant population is defined is in itself problematic. In most research using such a benchmark, the term 'native' is used. Such established denomination derives from countries following the *jus-soli* principle, where place of birth grants citizenship rights. It can be argued that using such terminology fosters a language of exclusion, given the fact that the second (and even later) generation can also be considered native given the locality of their birth. In some instances, however, it accurately portrays a situation where even children born in the receiving countries do not hold similar rights as their peers born of non-immigrant parents, such as citizenship, which can have an important impact on their integration outcomes (e.g. Switzerland, see Fibbi and Wanner 2004). Furthermore, some could argue that such a simple dichotomy ignores the important heterogeneity within the 'native' group with regard to social and/or ethnic background, making this group a very unspecific benchmark for comparison. The alternative majority/minority dichotomy is not yet well established in sociological research, but is occurring more frequently in cross-cultural psychology research.

In the data surveyed for this chapter, all included a potential comparison with the 'native' population. For instance, in the CILS4EU data 'natives' are defined as respondents who were born in the survey country and whose parents and grandparents were also born in the survey country (Dollmann et al. 2014: 13). The EFFNATIS study limits the selection criterion for natives to respondents' and parents' country of birth (EFFNATIS 2001: 40). Yet, just as the choice of which target group to portray poses problems, so does the selection of the 'native' comparison group. Questions arise as to which 'native' individuals are appropriate, be it with regard to

their age, socio-economic status, or geographical location. The TIES data, for example, selected ‘native’ peers from the same neighborhoods from which they sampled the children of immigrants (Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips 2012), allowing for a comparison group with similar age ranges and socio-economic circumstances (if not background). The CILS4EU data also sampled native peers within the schools (CILS4EU 2012a, b), which effectively allows for similar comparisons in outcomes.

2.4.2 Intergenerational Comparisons

Another way in which to compare the children of immigrants is via intergenerational comparisons. Given the various meanings of ‘generation’ in sociological research, this implies that the children of immigrants can be compared in different intergenerational ways. First of all, the children of immigrants can be compared across immigrant generations, usually with the first generation, sometimes with ‘higher up’ generations, if such exist or are identifiable in the data. This allows researchers to measure levels of integration with less or more established groups that have some migration history in common. In such instances, however, issues of measurement, cohort, and context require special attention. Secondly, the children of immigrants can be compared inter-generationally in a more demographic sense of the term, in that the outcomes of the children of immigrants can be compared to that of their parents (above and beyond using parental characteristics as controls in a regression model). This makes it possible to assess the extent to which the children of immigrants fare in the parents’ host countries and are able to reproduce or avoid the (dis)advantages experienced by their parents. Special attention to the variations in context and cohorts, as well as similar trends for individuals without an immigrant parentage ought to be taken into account when trying to assess integration outcomes in this manner.

Quite a few of the surveys we have highlighted in Table 2.3 allow for both types of comparisons. Immigrant intergenerational comparisons are possible in the surveys that have a more inclusive target group, in that it is possible to separate the second from other generations. SCIICS, for example, enables comparisons with more established groups in the host societies. As interesting as these comparisons are, the fact that some of the groups’ numbers are small or that not a significant proportion of individuals exist of the ‘appropriate’ generation restricts researchers in performing meaningful analyses or comparing across national or ethnic groups.

In order to compare the children of immigrants with their parents, information about parental characteristics is necessary. One important barrier to conducting such intergenerational comparisons comes from the matter of accurate measurement of parental socio-economic status and more specifically of the pre-migration status and the possible downward mobility in post-migration occupations. These measurement issues make it difficult to truthfully compare outcomes between children and parents. Moreover, there is a heightened risk to practice some undue socio-centric nominalism that takes the educational and occupational hierarchy of the

country of residence as the benchmark for the evaluation of the parents' human, social, and cultural capital in the country of origin. One possible consequence is a flattening of the relative importance of parental influence in such matters.

In the surveys examined, only the CILS4EU and TIES data include information about parents that can realistically allow for this type of intergenerational comparison.¹¹ Given the young age of the CILS4EU respondents, where information was collected directly from the parents (in wave 1 only), direct intergenerational comparison of outcomes are difficult, if not impossible. In the TIES data, on the other hand, the (young) adult respondents were asked to provide parental information themselves, hence allowing for intergenerational comparisons that are marred by issues of misreporting, as is often the case when respondents are asked to provide information about their parents (Lessard-Phillips and Ross 2012). Hence, lack of accurate and timely information and issues of measurement make it quite difficult to analyze the outcomes of both immigrants and their children simultaneously. A partial solution to this might be to follow that of Rothon et al. (2009) and others and use the non-specific surveys to create synthetic parental cohorts in previous survey years as a benchmark for comparison.

2.4.3 Comparisons Between and Within Groups

Comparisons involving different groups of children of immigrants are another way in which to compare outcomes, if only to identify possible distinctive patterns of community 'success' and the types of factors that might help explain the variation in outcomes between and within ethnic or national groups. This can be done either by comparing similar origin groups in different cohorts, at a similar point in time or at different points in time, or by comparing within cohorts, with an emphasis on the comparison between groups of different ethnic or national origins. The latter type of comparisons can be done directly, by not using the 'native' group as a comparison, either for theoretical reasons or because of data constraints. It can also be done indirectly, by making the minority/majority comparison but only focusing on the difference in coefficients with the reference category, in this case the 'native' group, but not between the children of immigrants groups, comparatively examining the relative distances between the majority and the minority groups (see, for example, Lessard-Phillips et al. 2012; Huschek et al. 2011 or Baysu and de Valk 2012). The former type of comparison involves the operationalization of specific cohorts of children of immigrants (either with regard to age or periods, for example) and the comparisons of outcomes across those cohorts. Ideally within group comparisons allow to measure the level of progress certain ethnic or national groups have made with regard to integration against the benchmark of another group's performance, however defined, keeping the comparisons between immigrant generations.

¹¹In the non-specific surveys, some parental information is available (such as in PISA), but these also encounter similar issues as those mentioned above.

Within-group comparisons within a specific cohort allow for an examination of the way in which different ethnic or national groups negotiate in similar societal structures and institutional constraints that might not be relevant for the non-immigrant populations.

In the data that we surveyed, within-group comparisons of the latter type are possible. The TIES survey, for example, allows comparing the outcomes of second-generation individuals from specific origins within the selected cities (and, to some extent, between). This has been done in a comparative as well as a national manner (see Crul and Heering 2008; Crul et al. 2012; Fibbi et al. 2014 and Groenewold et al. 2013). By including more than one national or ethnic group as their target groups, all the surveys outlined in the Table 2.3 have the potential for within group comparisons. The design of second-generation specific surveys, however, does not allow for comparison across cohorts, given the focus on the target group and the limited age ranges. This is where the non-specific surveys allow, sample size permitting, an examination of various groups in different age cohorts, to account for contextual and institutional variations that might have affected their life outcomes, on top of other factors.

This section showed that it is possible to think beyond the majority/minority dichotomy when comparing the children of immigrants against a benchmark to assess their level of integration. Evidently this implies that the types of conclusions that we can reach are dependent on the comparisons drawn. On the one hand, comparison with the ‘non-immigrant mainstream’ allows for examining the distance between the majority and minority groups in terms of specific outcomes. On the other hand, more nuanced comparisons involving inter- and intra-generational patterns allow to see integration processes in a different light, potentially testing group differences among ethnic and national groups in similar contexts and allowing to investigate the differentiated impact that various individual, family, and community factors as well as institutional and structural barriers might have. Most of these comparative choices are, of course, theoretically grounded, but we have also shown that data constraints limit the types of comparisons on offer for quantitative researchers (notwithstanding more technical issues, which we are not discussing here). In our opinion, the outcomes under study (whether or not they are directly related to integration issues) are multifaceted, in a very broad understanding of the term; in order to better understand the position of the children of immigrants in the European countries they grow up in, a flexible and multifaceted approach to analyzing and comparing their outcomes is warranted.

2.5 Choices and Their Implications for Research

The choices that are being made with regard to the definition of the target group, the geographical level of comparison, and the benchmark against which to compare the outcomes of the children of immigrants inevitably lead to biases that can taint our overarching conclusions. Such biases are often mentioned in research, mostly in

passing, but they and the impact that they might have on analyses, are not necessarily always explored in great depth. We attempt to explore some of these in this section.

When defining the children of immigrants as an object of enquiry via survey tools, important theoretical, institutional, and technical (and even dogmatic) considerations come into play. These relate to the way in which the children of immigrants ought to be defined, either as part of a specific theoretical approach or given institutional constraints and whether appropriate sample sizes are possible to conduct appropriate analyses using a particular definition. Theoretical frames are important, if most important, in driving the analytical choices researchers make, but can be hampered by other types of barriers. As previously mentioned, national constraints with regard to the identification of the children of immigrants (especially those based on citizenship as means of identification, such as in Switzerland, or only using ethnic origin as a differentiating factor) does not allow the accurate identification of individuals of migrant origins. In fact, such identification strategy lumps together the children of immigrants with individuals with little or no immigrant parentage, lending intergenerational comparisons near to impossible. Imaginative and promising tools and methods are being used to circumvent these constraints, such as onomastic sampling, which allows researchers to sample individuals according to the probable national origin of their surnames (Humpert and Schneiderheinze 2000; Schnell et al. 2013)¹², or iterative snowball sampling, where an initial random sample of individuals is selected and snowball samples derived from this initial sample (see Laganà et al. 2013; Illenberger and Flötteröd 2012; Kowald et al. 2008). Yet it is the case that barriers do exist and researchers might be unable to study such populations. Some might argue, however, that these barriers represent a more inclusive approach to studying individuals with a shared national origin and that emphasizing differences based on parentage leads to more division than unity.

As we have discussed, the choice of the level of comparison can also lead to bias, especially if the conclusions reached are done at the “incorrect” level of analysis. A focus at the country level is guilty of methodological nationalism, whilst it gives great insights into the general situation and potential influence of national contexts, it ignores important nuances in outcomes and processes that ought to be happening at the sub-national level. On the other hand, sub-national levels of analysis, which offer a more realistic and nuanced picture of the situation that fits more sensibly to the immigrant experience, either ignore the greater institutional context in which they are based or over-generalize the power of the national context based on analyses at the sub-national level. In both instances researchers risk encountering some type of ecological (in the former case) and exception (in the latter case) fallacy issues. Given that the choice of level is one that is intrinsic to surveys of the children of immigrants, such biases are inevitable and influence research questions and conclusions. They are important to acknowledge and should not be ignored, or at least warrant a degree of caution in formulating conclusions.

¹²As Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips (2012) have highlighted, using onomastic samples to identify the second generation is not without its share of issues.

There are also numerous possible biases arising from the type of benchmark used in the comparison, which have important consequences for the types of conclusions one might draw about the level of progress, or ‘success’, of the children of immigrants.¹³ For example, whereas comparing the children of immigrants to the ‘native’ population might lead researchers to conclude that the level of progress is not ‘on par’, a more intergenerational approach that focuses on a comparison with the immigrant parents or first-generation peers might provide a different, if not opposite, picture of the situation. This is heavily dependent on how one defines, perceives, and measures integration, both theoretically and methodologically.

Bias, however, is not solely restricted to these choices; it also arises via the sampling of the population of interest and its levels of selectivity. With regard to the immigrant population, selectivity can take two forms. On the one hand, it might be the case that immigrants are (self-) selected from the higher or lower end of the skills distribution (such as education) and thus exhibit socio-economic characteristics that might heavily influence their and their children’s outcomes. On the other hand, it might also be the case that the sampled individuals in a given survey are not representative of the population they have been sampled to represent (at any level) and tend to be biased toward the higher end of the socio-economic spectrum. This holds for both migrant and non-migrant respondents but is especially problematic for individuals with immigrant parentage, who are considered hard-to-reach populations (Atkinson and Flint 2001; Teitler et al. 2003).

Another important source of bias is time, more specifically related to the issues of age, period, duration, and cohort effects. As we have seen in the previous Sect. 2.4, comparative benchmarks sometimes involve individuals from different ages, cohorts, and generations. These individuals might have had different experiences with regard to their migration histories (especially if they are migrants themselves) and the contexts in which they have evolved that are difficult to reconcile in regression analysis by simply controlling for age. One solution for such issue is to control for both age and period, if the data at hand allows for such comparisons (Huschek et al. 2011). Moreover, an important factor such as time since migration, quite important to understand migrant outcomes, becomes obsolete (or difficult to disentangle) when analyzing the outcomes of the children of immigrants alongside that of first-generation immigrants, as children born in the receiving country are not directly prone to such influence. Solutions to these temporal biases have been put forward in the immigration literature, with more recent efforts borrowing analytical tools from fertility research to measure first-generation immigrant advancement (Pitkin and Myers 2011) but with little to no applicability to the children of immigrants, according to the authors. Trying to find an analytically workable solution is still being debated.

¹³The types of indicators of ‘success’ (e.g. educational, occupational, financial) are also a potential source of bias.

2.6 Conclusions

Our aim in this chapter was to highlight the potential challenges that arise when assessing the life outcomes of the children of immigrants (and beyond) using surveys. These are not only theoretical but also methodological in nature and include issues of definition, choice of level of analysis, types of comparisons, and the various biases linked to these and other sources. These challenges, which are nearly inevitable and ought to be taken seriously as they have important ramifications for the analyses and conclusions one might reach, were exemplified by a review of the recent existing European surveys with children of immigrants as their target populations. Each and every one of these surveys is an important tool to better understand the life chances of immigrant generations but in a slightly different manner, as their design encompass different choices made with regard to the challenges mentioned above.

As much as these endeavors have a positive effect on our understanding of long-term immigrant integration patterns and processes in Europe, it still remains the case that more survey efforts are needed in order to lend more complexity and nuance to this picture. One type of comparison that should be mentioned but has not been considered in this chapter is that of comparing the outcomes of the children of immigrants with cohorts in the origin countries. This helps see whether the outcomes of the children of immigrants can be related in part to their immigration background or simply follows the trends of individuals in their cohorts in their parents' countries of origin. This type of comparison is possible with other available data, either on their own or used in conjunction with existing surveys, such as the Migration between African and Europe (MAFE) study (Beauchemin and Gonzalez-Ferrer 2010) or the Push and Pull Factors in International Migration project (Schoorl et al. 2000), which allow for origin and destination comparisons of individual outcomes (but with the main focus being on the first generation). New initiatives to develop comparisons with second generation young adults in Europe with young adults in different countries of origin are developed for example in the FaMiLife (Families of migrant origin: A life course perspective project, see the FaMiLife website).

We also believe, much in line with transnational approaches, that a renewed focus on the family and social networks is warranted and should be adequately measured in survey data. Given the financial and methodological difficulties in collecting and analyzing such data, researchers might need to resort to more traditional yet refined survey tools to include such important actors. The future of survey research on the children of immigrants, in our view, rests on the maintenance and development of retrospective and longitudinal research. This aspect is present to a certain extent in the CILS4EU data and partially captured in the TIES data in which friendship networks at different moments in youth are questioned. However, further and more detailed data collection is needed on this point for a more long-term overview of the integration process. It also rests on the development of existing and new methodologies allowing for more detailed analyses of existing data, or at least the

focus on analytical tools going beyond regression analysis, such as matching techniques, structural equation modeling, the use of simulation, and a foray into mixed methods.

Yet, short of using very complex methods of analysis, it might also be the case that the limitations of quantitative methodologies do allow to only partially grasp such complexity and nuance. In addition to using more advanced analytical tools and improve data collection and their use, another way forward is to focus more on the processes rather than the outcomes, in order to tackle and understand the mechanisms at play in the lives of children of immigrants across Europe.

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Chapter 3

Risk Factors of Labor-Market Insertion for Children of Immigrants in Switzerland

Andrés Guarin and Emmanuel Rousseaux

3.1 Background and Research Questions

In the decades after World War II, the massive influx of temporary immigrants, which was in response to a lack of workers, resulted in a large number of immigrants to most Western European countries (Coleman 2006; Mens 2006). The children of these immigrants are commonly called the second generation (Crul 2004). Their characteristics include being educated and socialized in the host country. In Europe, early research on employment for children of immigrants started in the 1990s with studies that specifically targeted this population (Bader and Fibbi 2012; Crul 2008). These early works were heavily influenced by theories that were developed in the United States. Early theories, such as Park's and Gordon's theories on linear assimilation and Gans's theory of generations, have given way to Portes and Zhou's critical theory of segmented assimilation (Rea and Tripier 2003). The theory of linear assimilation suggests that the difficulties experienced by first-generation immigrants tend to disappear in successive generations. In this sense, immigration is considered a process of assimilation that progressively allows the structural integration of later generations. By contrast, the theory of segmented assimilation

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(Portes and Zhou 1993) assumes that several factors can have an impact on this process, including the quality of training (academic and professional), the substitution of the old wave of immigration with new waves, and the economic conditions. This perspective then postulates that certain groups of second-generation children remain marginalized even as others are successfully integrated.¹

Today, the children of immigrants represent a large group of inhabitants in the urban areas of Western Europe and the United States: “the large size of the second generation guarantees that these individuals will have a profound impact on the cultural and ethnic differences within their societies” (Crul and Mollenkopf 2012:3). However, research on these populations shows that social and ethnic origins still strongly determine the life course of the second generation, particularly in terms of education and training; these origins also impact these populations’ transition into the labor market (Portes et al. 2005; Lagana 2011). Specifically, Reisel et al. (2012) showed that the most marginalized minorities experience the greatest difficulties in Western European and US cities.

The study of the second generation is especially interesting in the specific case of Switzerland. Indeed, the successive massive migrations starting at the end of World War II led to Switzerland’s population having a multicultural composition, with a large and growing number of residents who are the children of immigrants. To a certain extent, these children of immigrants from various countries make up the current social structure of Switzerland (Wanner 2004).

3.1.1 Second-Generation Residents’ Access to the Labor Market

The transition from childhood to adulthood is characterized by a change in behaviors from those of teenage life to a series of adult roles (Gauthier 2007). Authors have identified at least four dimensions that mark the transition from youth to adulthood: (1) leaving the parental home, (2) forming a family, (3) participating in civic life, and (4) accessing the labor market (Andréo 2001). Getting a job is clearly an essential element of personal autonomy. It generally allows financial independence and contributes to self-esteem and peer recognition (Avenel 2006). Successful access to the professional world is a primary way to accumulate resources. Most researchers agree, however, that the transition to the labor market is sensitive to individual differences (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Dahinden 2005; Gauthier 2007; Settersten 2005). This transition is considered to be a turning point in life. Indeed, it is at this point that social inequalities can combine with latent vulnerabilities, such

¹ Alba et al., quoted by Crul and Mollenkopf (2012), outlined three different approaches that scholars use to analyze the process of acculturation to the host country among immigrants and their children; this includes assimilation, integration, and cohesion. According to the authors, each of these approaches is commonly used to understand the differences between natives and the immigrant population. They also defend the idea that contextual differences must be considered to understand the life courses of immigrant children.

as a lack of resources (especially concerning education), to cause a young person difficulty in finding a job.

Access to employment also has consequences regarding immigrants' integration in society. Active participation in the labor market is essential to ensure social cohesion and empowerment for both immigrants and their children. In most Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, immigrants recorded worse difficulties than non-immigrants on the labor market. They generally suffered from a higher unemployment rate.² Most studies have found that first-time immigrants face both cultural adaptation challenges regarding identity and relationships (Canales 2000; Kevisto 2001; Levitt 2004; Portes 1997, 1999; Vertovec 2003) and economic problems (Alba 1985; Portes 1994) in the host country. Portes (1997) showed that first-time immigrants must mobilize resources that lead them to diversify their work trajectories and family lives more strongly than natives of the host society do. Children of immigrants generally exceed their parents in terms of labor-market status, occupational achievement, and economic status (Farley and Alba 2002). The increasing trend toward higher attainment in education is more important for second-generation residents than for natives (Telhado and Tavares 2000). Still, it is interesting to compare employment status and occupational achievement among second-generation residents and natives. Indeed, native-born people and the immigrants' children who have been educated and socialized in the host country follow fairly similar professional career trajectories. However, a series of studies have shown that the second generation remains in a disadvantaged position in several European countries (Heath et al. 2008). For example, Crul (2008) showed that, in France, second-generation young adults of Turkish and Moroccan descent are more likely to (1) drop out of school, (2) achieve lower educational levels, and (3) have a lower job status than their majority-group peers. Simon (2003) found the same results, showing that second-generation residents from Maghreb are disadvantaged in the French labor market. However, for some immigrant groups, the assimilation process is much better. For example, the families of immigrants from Mexico to the United States experienced considerable improvements through three generations, narrowing the educational and income gaps between themselves and native-born whites (Perlman and Waldinger 1997). In a similar way, in Switzerland, second-generation residents of Italian and Spanish descent generally experience less difficulty in getting a job than either their parents or their native counterparts do (Fibbi et al. 1999; Bolzman et al. 2003).

One of the main explanations for the differences in educational and professional success between children of immigrants and natives is related to the parents' social status. Numerous studies have shown that inequalities are partly rooted in the social origin of the parents, especially their education level and their socio-professional status. Of course, parents with higher education levels will be able to provide help during their children's schooling, but "they also have experience with the more demanding educational pathways, and this strategic knowledge places them [their children] in an advantageous position at important educational transitions" (Kristen et al. 2011:124). Nevertheless, these authors found that, after controlling for social origin, inequalities

² Note that large differences exist among immigrant groups.

persist. Heath et al. (2008) showed that, for certain groups of immigrant children, there is an ethnic penalty regarding the transition to the labor market.

3.1.2 Second-Generation Residents in Switzerland

Switzerland has an important history of immigration. At the end of World War II, many immigrants from Italy and Spain came to Switzerland. Bilateral agreements with these countries governed the entry and residence of these temporary guest workers and facilitated their settlement in Swiss society. Later, workforces from Portugal and from the Balkans joined these immigrant groups (Fibbi et al. 2007). According to the Swiss Federal Statistical Office, in 2012, about one-third of the total population had an immigrant origin.³ Four-fifths of the people with immigrant origins were of the first-generation immigrants, and the remaining one-fifth were of the second generation (Bader and Fibbi 2012).

A study conducted on the children of Spanish and Italian immigrants to Switzerland mentioned that, “in terms of training and professional integration, there is very little difference between young Spanish and Italian immigrants and Swiss-born belonging to working classes or lower middle classes” (Bolzman 2007). The intergenerational relationships among those of Spanish and Italian origin were more intense than those among the Swiss lower-middle classes. Furthermore, the services exchanged between generations were more numerous within immigrant families, which became an advantage during the young people’s transitions to work and family lives (Bolzman 2007).

However, some other immigrant populations that are now highly represented in Switzerland, such as Turks or Albanians, show different trends. Several studies have shown that second-generation residents with these origins are more likely to experience difficulties during their transitions to adulthood than are children of immigrants of other nationalities or native-born residents of the Swiss lower-middle class (Fibbi et al. 2005, 2010a; Wanner 2004). Fibbi et al. (2004), who experimented with the “practice testing” methodology that was standardized by the International Labour Organization, showed that employers, when treating job applications, discriminated strongly against young men with Turkish or Yugoslavian origins; a last name that does not sound European counts as a negative point for employers.

3.1.3 Research Questions

In this chapter, we focus on unemployment among second-generation residents during their transition to the labor market in Switzerland. Based on the definitions presented in the Introduction and Chap. 2 of this volume, we define

³<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/04.html>

second-generation residents as individuals (1) whose parents are immigrants and (2) who were born in Switzerland or moved to Switzerland before 10 years old.⁴ Using the Swiss Labor Force Survey (SLFS) data, we address four research questions. First, we want to assess whether second-generation residents are more successful on the labor market than first-generation immigrants (RQ1). Although this question has already been extensively studied in many countries, we want to provide more insight in the specific case of immigrants to Switzerland; second, we want to assess whether second-generation residents experience more difficulties than Swiss natives do (RQ2). Indeed, research in other countries supports the idea that those in the second generation often are more disadvantaged than are natives in terms of occupational and educational achievement; those in the second generation also have a higher risk of unemployment (Heath and Cheung 2007). Third, we want to assess whether the father's educational level has an impact on his children's ability to find employment (RQ3). Using a decision-tree–based preliminary analysis (Sect. 2.4), we succeeded in refining this hypothesis by highlighting an interaction effect between fathers' and children's education: Although educated young adults find employment because of their own grades, the education of the father could be an important resource for less-educated young adults. Finally, we want to know if there is a specific “ethnic penalty” for particular groups of immigrants' children (RQ4). With this question, we seek to confirm the results obtained in other countries, which demonstrated that second-generation residents of Turkish or Kosovar origin (and those from surrounding countries) experience more difficulties in getting a job than Swiss natives do (Crul 2008; Fibbi et al. 2004; Simon 2003).

3.2 Data and Methods

3.2.1 Data

This study is based on SLFS data. The aim of the SLFS is to provide data to study the evolution of employment and unemployment in Switzerland. It collects information on different aspects of working conditions and on the consequences of the free movement of persons. Due to strict compliance with International Labor Organization standards, the Swiss data are comparable with those of the OECD

⁴This definition is based on the work of Oropesa and Nancy (1997) and on the introduction and Chap. 2 of this volume. We decided to use the term “second generation” and not “1.5 generation.” Indeed, previous investigations that distinguished between children who arrived in Switzerland between 6 and 15 years old and those born in Switzerland showed no significant differences. (Note that this could be explained by the small number of respondents that arrived in Switzerland at these ages.) We chose to take the upper limit of 10 years old for the age of arrival and to combine the interviewees who matched this criteria with immigrants' children who were born in Switzerland. Both types of respondents share the fact that they were socialised in the Swiss obligatory school. We use the term “second generation” to designate this combined population. The term “first generation” designates immigrants who settled in Switzerland after 10 years old.

countries and the European Union. The Swiss Federal Statistical Office has conducted the SLFS since 1991, and it targets permanent residents in Switzerland who are age 15 and older. This database has two characteristics that are of foremost interest in our research. First, since 2003, an additional sample of foreign residents has been added to the standard sample. This feature of SLFS overcomes the problem of small sample size that generally affects surveys of immigrant populations or other minorities. This additional sample was taken from the *Système d'Information Central sur la Migration*.

The SLFS is a rotating panel.⁵ Each year, a different module in the questionnaire is devoted to specific issues. In 2009, the Federal Statistical Office included a module on “further training” and “the entry of young people into the labor market” as a complement to the standard survey. In this study, we are especially interested in the “immigration” module, from which we can identify second-generation residents. This module questions respondents about their social origins (e.g., their parents’ education) and about their geographical origins (and those of their parents). This module was integrated into the core questionnaire in 2001, 2003, 2008, and 2009.

However, it should be noted that second-generation residents are underrepresented in the 2001 survey (which occurred before the sample of foreigners was added in 2003), so we decided not to consider this wave. To maximize the number of cases for analysis, we built our sample by pooling all the waves from 2003 through 2011.⁶

3.2.2 Sample

Because we are interested in transitions to the labor market, our sample includes only those individuals between 15 and 35 years old who have entered the workforce; all students are dropped. We select individuals who participated in the survey at least once between 2003 and 2011. We also consider the participants’ up-to-date employment status during the 2003–2011 observation window. The SLFS provides employment status for each year during this period. Therefore, we set the employment status for each respondent as the most recent available employment from this window.⁷ The second generation is distinguished from the first generation according

⁵From 1991 to 2009, people were interviewed once per year (in the second quarter) over a 5-year period. Since 2010, the SLFS sample is a 4-wave rotating panel, with a 3-month period between the first and second interviews, a 9-month period between the second and third interviews, and a 3-month period between the third and fourth interviews. Thus, participants are interviewed four times over 15 months.

⁶http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/infothek/erhebungen__quellen/blank/blank/enquete_suisse_uebersicht.html.

⁷As a consequence, following the Swiss Federal Statistical Office, we chose not to use nonresponse weights in our analyses, as no official weights are provided for this kind of design.

⁷The code used for extracting the employment status for each individual in each year (and the corresponding values of the covariates) is included in the Rsocialdata package (Rousseaux et al. 2013). This makes our analyses replicable.

to the criteria of birth and age, as we defined above. To determine the country of origin of second-generation residents, we considered the parents' place of birth. To allow clearer interpretations, we dropped individuals whose parents did not have the same country of origin. The distribution of our sample is presented in Table 3.1 for the first generation and in Table 3.2 for the second generation.

The plurality of the immigrants' children in the sample are of Italian or Spanish origin (36.77%); 16.18% are Kosovar (or from the surrounding countries). We also note in our data that, for the first generation, the most represented group is the immigrants from Kosovo and surrounding countries (20.36%).

3.2.3 *Variables*

3.2.3.1 Dependent Variable

The SLFS divides employment status into four categories: employed, apprentice, unemployed, and non-active. By sample construction, this variable represents the most up-to-date employment status during the 2003–2011 observation window. As we are interested in individuals who are unable to find employment, we derived the dependent variable “unemployment” from this variable by recoding as follows: “yes” = unemployed and “no” = employed or apprentice. “Non-active” individuals are dropped from our analyses in this chapter.

3.2.3.2 Independent Variables

We first considered the country of origin. We sorted individuals into 6 groups based on country of origin: (1) Switzerland, (2) Italy or Spain, (3) Portugal, (4) Turkey, (5) Kosovo and surrounding countries,⁸ and (6) other European countries.⁹ Indeed, as these groups have different migration origins, we expect that they will behave differently when they access the labor market. Because we want to assess the impact of individual resources, the educational level of both the respondents and their fathers are of great interest. We also considered investigating the educational level of the mothers, but this covariate contained too many missing values to be considered in our analyses. Both types of educational level are coded in three categories (high, intermediate, and low). As our selected population is between 15 and 35 years old, educational level can evolve with time. To be consistent, for each individual, we used the educational level from the same year as that person's most up-to-date employment status.

⁸We also included individuals from the countries surrounding Kosovo (Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia).

⁹We merged all European countries that did not have a specific migration wave.

Table 3.1 Distribution of variables for first-generation immigrants

| | Swiss origins | | | First-generation immigrants by country of origin | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-------|----------------|--|-----|-------|--------|-------|------|---|------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------|------------------|---|---|------------------------|
| | | | Italy or Spain | Portugal | | | Turkey | | | Kosovo and surrounding countries ^a | | | Other parts of Europe | | | Other continents | | | Total first generation |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | |
| | 11336 | | 771 | 7.19 | 961 | 8.96 | 467 | 4.35 | 2184 | 20.36 | 3157 | 29.42 | 3189 | 29.72 | 10729 | | | | |
| Unemployment | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Employed | 7936 | 70.01 | 636 | 82.49 | 815 | 84.81 | 312 | 66.81 | 1532 | 70.15 | 2545 | 80.61 | 2129 | 66.76 | 15905 | 72.08 | | | |
| Apprentice | 1280 | 11.29 | 9 | 1.17 | 15 | 1.56 | 10 | 2.14 | 66 | 3.02 | 26 | 0.82 | 64 | 2.01 | 1470 | 6.66 | | | |
| Unemployed | 291 | 2.57 | 34 | 4.41 | 44 | 4.58 | 46 | 9.85 | 190 | 8.7 | 107 | 3.39 | 340 | 10.66 | 1052 | 4.77 | | | |
| Non-active | 1829 | 16.13 | 92 | 11.93 | 87 | 9.05 | 99 | 21.2 | 396 | 18.13 | 479 | 15.17 | 656 | 20.57 | 3638 | 16.49 | | | |
| Total | 11336 | | 771 | 961 | 467 | | 2184 | | 3157 | | 3189 | | 3189 | | 10729 | 22065 | | | |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15–20 | 2779 | 24.5 | 20 | 16.4 | 43 | 52.6 | 26 | 43.2 | 168 | 65.2 | 114 | 30.9 | 219 | 45 | 3369 | 15.27 | | | |
| 21–25 | 1848 | 16.3 | 58 | 18.9 | 119 | 27.1 | 64 | 22.6 | 448 | 24 | 298 | 19.4 | 387 | 23.6 | 3222 | 14.6 | | | |
| 26–30 | 2310 | 20.4 | 203 | 22.6 | 260 | 13.8 | 157 | 21.6 | 709 | 7.8 | 951 | 18.5 | 945 | 13.2 | 5535 | 25.08 | | | |
| 31–35 | 4399 | 38.8 | 490 | 42.1 | 539 | 6.6 | 220 | 12.6 | 859 | 2.9 | 1794 | 31.2 | 1638 | 18.2 | 9939 | 45.04 | | | |
| Total | 11336 | | 771 | 961 | 467 | | 2184 | | 3157 | | 3189 | | 3189 | | 10729 | 22065 | | | |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 5369 | 47.36 | 434 | 56.29 | 450 | 46.83 | 216 | 46.25 | 1023 | 46.84 | 1399 | 44.31 | 1375 | 43.12 | 10266 | 46.53 | | | |
| Female | 5967 | 52.64 | 337 | 43.71 | 511 | 53.17 | 251 | 53.75 | 1161 | 53.16 | 1758 | 55.69 | 1814 | 56.88 | 11799 | 53.47 | | | |
| Total | 11336 | | 771 | 961 | 467 | | 2184 | | 3157 | | 3189 | | 3189 | | 10729 | 22065 | | | |

| Educational level | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| | | Low | Middle | High | Total | Low | Middle | High | Total | Low | Middle | High | Total |
| Low | 2511 | 22.16 | 262 | 33.98 | 677 | 70.45 | 234 | 50.11 | 1158 | 53.09 | 221 | 7 | 944 |
| Middle | 6141 | 54.19 | 299 | 38.78 | 242 | 25.18 | 166 | 35.55 | 902 | 41.36 | 1163 | 36.86 | 1109 |
| High | 2680 | 23.65 | 210 | 27.24 | 42 | 4.37 | 67 | 14.35 | 121 | 5.55 | 1771 | 56.13 | 1117 |
| Total | 11332 | | 771 | | 961 | | 467 | | 2181 | | 3155 | | 3170 |
| Educational level of father | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Low | 315 | 6.18 | 135 | 52.53 | 299 | 89.25 | 182 | 79.13 | 646 | 62.84 | 105 | 8.33 | 351 |
| Middle | 3213 | 63.06 | 65 | 25.29 | 28 | 8.36 | 28 | 12.17 | 293 | 28.5 | 514 | 40.79 | 338 |
| High | 1567 | 30.76 | 57 | 22.18 | 8 | 2.39 | 20 | 8.7 | 89 | 8.66 | 641 | 50.87 | 456 |
| Total | 5095 | | 257 | | 335 | | 230 | | 1028 | | 1260 | | 1145 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | 9350 |

^aKosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia

Table 3.2 Distribution of variables for second-generation residents

| | Swiss origins | | Second-generation residents | | | | | | Kosovo and surrounding countries ^a | | Other parts of Europe | | Other continents | | Total second generation | |
|---------------------|---------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-------|----------|------|-------|---|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| | | | Italy or Spain | | | Portugal | | | Turkey | | | | | | | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Unemployment | | | 11336 | 2581 | 36.77 | 487 | 6.94 | 532 | 7.58 | 1136 | 16.18 | 731 | 10.41 | 1553 | 22.12 | 7020 |
| Employed | 7936 | 70.01 | 1924 | 74.54 | 249 | 51.13 | 295 | 55.45 | 504 | 44.37 | 472 | 64.57 | 784 | 50.48 | 12164 | 66.27 |
| Apprentice | 1280 | 11.29 | 217 | 8.41 | 110 | 22.59 | 95 | 17.86 | 321 | 28.26 | 70 | 9.58 | 284 | 18.29 | 2377 | 12.95 |
| Unemployed | 291 | 2.57 | 133 | 5.15 | 40 | 8.21 | 46 | 8.65 | 90 | 7.92 | 31 | 4.24 | 118 | 7.6 | 749 | 4.08 |
| Non-active | 1829 | 16.13 | 307 | 11.89 | 88 | 18.07 | 96 | 18.05 | 221 | 19.45 | 158 | 21.61 | 367 | 23.63 | 3066 | 16.7 |
| Total | 11336 | 2581 | | 487 | | 532 | | 1136 | | 731 | | 1553 | | 18356 | | |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15–20 | 2779 | 24.5 | 422 | 16.4 | 256 | 52.6 | 230 | 43.2 | 741 | 65.2 | 226 | 30.9 | 699 | 45 | 5353 | 29.16 |
| 21–25 | 1848 | 16.3 | 489 | 18.9 | 132 | 27.1 | 120 | 22.6 | 273 | 24 | 142 | 19.4 | 367 | 23.6 | 3371 | 18.36 |
| 26–30 | 2310 | 20.4 | 584 | 22.6 | 67 | 13.8 | 115 | 21.6 | 89 | 7.8 | 135 | 18.5 | 205 | 13.2 | 3505 | 19.09 |
| 31–35 | 4399 | 38.8 | 1086 | 42.1 | 32 | 6.6 | 67 | 12.6 | 33 | 2.9 | 228 | 31.2 | 282 | 18.2 | 6127 | 33.38 |
| Total | 11336 | 2581 | | 487 | | 532 | | 1136 | | 731 | | 1553 | | 18356 | | |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 5369 | 47.36 | 1425 | 55.21 | 248 | 50.92 | 321 | 60.34 | 634 | 55.81 | 350 | 47.88 | 792 | 51 | 9139 | 49.79 |
| Female | 5967 | 52.64 | 1156 | 44.79 | 239 | 49.08 | 211 | 39.66 | 502 | 44.19 | 381 | 52.12 | 761 | 49 | 9217 | 50.21 |
| Total | 11336 | | 2581 | | 487 | | 532 | | 1136 | | 731 | | 1553 | | 18356 | |

| Educational level | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|-------|------|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|------|-------|-----|-------|------|
| Low | 2511 | 22.16 | 541 | 20.96 | 238 | 49.07 | 293 | 55.08 | 763 | 67.17 | 214 | 29.27 | 680 |
| Middle | 6141 | 54.19 | 1599 | 61.95 | 224 | 46.19 | 204 | 38.35 | 347 | 30.55 | 343 | 46.92 | 663 |
| High | 2680 | 23.65 | 441 | 17.09 | 23 | 4.74 | 35 | 6.58 | 26 | 2.29 | 174 | 23.8 | 210 |
| Total | 11332 | | 2581 | | 485 | | 532 | | 1136 | | 731 | | 1553 |
| Educational level of father | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Low | 315 | 6.18 | 671 | 62.13 | 235 | 75.32 | 230 | 67.85 | 417 | 48.94 | 39 | 11.27 | 257 |
| Middle | 3213 | 63.06 | 357 | 33.06 | 70 | 22.44 | 92 | 27.14 | 356 | 41.78 | 126 | 36.42 | 345 |
| High | 1567 | 30.76 | 52 | 4.81 | 7 | 2.24 | 17 | 5.01 | 79 | 9.27 | 181 | 52.31 | 238 |
| Total | 5095 | | 1080 | | 312 | | 339 | | 852 | | 346 | | 840 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

^aKosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia

3.2.3.3 Control Variables

Age plays a significant role in employment, especially when young people access the labor market. By spending more time in the labor market, young people (1) accumulate more chances to get a job and (2) become more experienced. Therefore, it is important to control for age. Due to the trade-off between sharpness and complexity, we grouped individuals into four age categories: 15–20, 21–25, 26–30, and 31–35. As access to the labor market may be linked with male and female roles, we also controlled for sex. Finally, as the construction of our sample led to selecting individuals from different years, we had to control for a residual effect of this sampling. We coded the participation year of the survey using three groups: 2003–2005, 2006–2008, and 2009–2011.

3.2.4 Modeling

We started our investigation with preliminary exploratory data mining (EDM) analysis. As shown by McArdle and Ritschard (2013), EDM techniques help to highlight the combinations of variables that have predictive value. Such techniques help researchers to go beyond their research questions by discovering complex and even unexpected relations between variables. In the present case, we opted to use decision-tree modeling to detect potential interactions between covariates. Ilgen et al. (2009) already used such an approach successfully. A decision tree is a supervised learning method that uses a categorical dependent variable. This method creates a partition in the attribute space that explains the values of the dependent variable (here, the employment status). This partitioning is performed by recursively splitting data according to the different covariate values. The algorithm starts with a partition of only one element, which is called the root of the tree. At this starting point, all observations are grouped together, and nothing discriminates between them. This initial model is similar to independence in regression analysis. The algorithm thus selects the split that maximizes the gain in a user-defined quality measure (chi-squared distance, Gini entropy, etc.). After the split, the partition contains two or more elements, which are called nodes. The process is then recursively repeated on each child node. The tree's growth breaks when a stopping criterion is satisfied. Stopping criteria include minimum number of individuals in a child node, a minimum improvement in the growing criterion, and a limit on the number of levels. This procedure is very efficient for discovering underlying interrelations between covariates. We computed trees according to the Chi-squared Automatic Interaction Detection (CHAID) method (Kass 1980) using R software (R Core Team 2014). The CHAID method uses the Pearson chi-squared test to assess the quality of a split. We controlled the tree's growth with a significance threshold (p value) of 0.05 for both splitting variables and merging groups. We succeeded in highlighting the interaction effect by considering the variables of age, sex, respondent's educational level, and father's educational level. The corresponding tree is presented in Fig. 3.1 and discussed in Sect. 3.3.

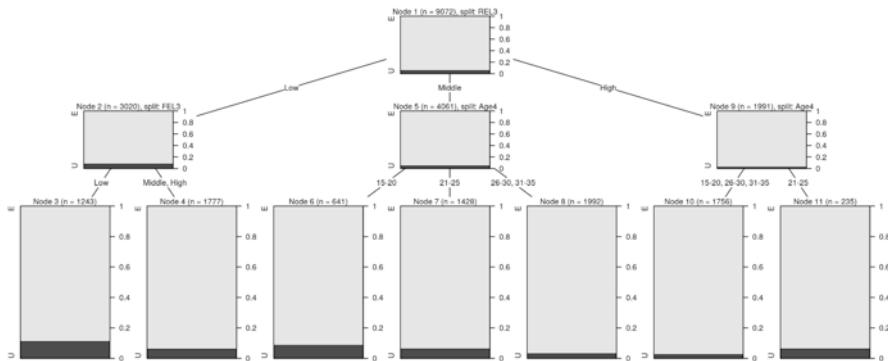


Fig. 3.1 Decision tree for the prediction of unemployment (CHAID method)

We then performed a standard logistic regression model with embedded blocks (Table 3.3). The first model assesses the impact of the country of origin on both the first and second generations; it controls for age, sex, and the year of participation in the survey. Model 2 adds the educational level to the equation. Models 3, 4, and 5 are built according to results observed with the decision tree method, which showed an interaction effect between the levels of education for the respondent and his/her father (see below). Model 3 adds the father's educational level. As this last variable produces no evidence, Model 4 assesses it without controlling for the child's educational level. Indeed, we suspect that the effect of the father's educational level is strongly connected to that of the child's educational level, making the latter variable unable to produce new, significant evidence. However, even without taking into account the child's educational level, the father's educational level has no significant global impact. Model 5 considers the previously highlighted interaction between the child's and the father's educational level.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Comments on Control Variables

Results show that the year of participation in the survey is not significant. This indicates that the construction of our sample (taking the up-to-date employment status and corresponding values of covariates separately for each individual) did not introduce significant bias. Regarding age, youths are more affected by unemployment, as expected. A surprising finding, however, is that there is no significant difference between men and women.¹⁰

¹⁰However, further investigations, not shown here, shows that sex has a strong impact on occupational attainment.

Table 3.3 Binomial logistic regression for the probability of experiencing unemployment *versus* employment

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Origin (reference = Swiss) | | | | | |
| Other Europeans – 1st | 1.31 | 1.41 | + | 1.38 | 1.28 |
| Other Europeans – 2nd | 1.59 | + | 1.58 | + | 1.54 |
| Italian-Spaniard – 1st | 2.45 | ** | 2.39 | ** | 2.3 |
| Italian-Spaniard – 2nd | 1.57 | *** | 1.55 | ** | 1.5 |
| Turk – 1st | 5.67 | *** | 5.09 | *** | 4.83 |
| Turk – 2nd | 2.58 | *** | 2.44 | *** | 2.34 |
| Kosovo and surrounding countries ^a – 1st | 3.23 | *** | 2.89 | *** | 2.79 |
| Kosovo and surrounding countries ^a – 2nd | 2.03 | *** | 1.92 | *** | 1.87 |
| Portuguese – 1st | 1.94 | * | 1.64 | + | 1.56 |
| Portuguese – 2nd | 2.52 | *** | 2.43 | *** | 2.32 |
| Age (reference = 31–35) | | | | | |
| 15–20 | 2.47 | *** | 2.04 | *** | 2.06 |
| 21–25 | 2.19 | *** | 2.09 | *** | 2.09 |
| 26–30 | 1.45 | * | 1.46 | * | 1.46 |
| Woman (reference = Male) | | | | | |
| Year of participation (ref. = [2003, 2005]) | | | | | |
| (2005, 2008) | 0.78 | | 0.79 | | 0.8 |
| (2008, 2011) | 0.83 | | 0.84 | | 0.84 |
| Educational level of the respondent (ref. = Low) | | | | | |
| Middle | | | 0.79 | * | 0.79 |
| High | | | 0.63 | * | 0.63 |
| Educational level of the father (ref. = Low) | | | | | |
| Middle | | | | 0.89 | 0.87 |
| High | | | | 1.01 | 0.95 |

| Interaction between the respondent and father educational level (ref. = Low/Low) | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------|-------|
| | Resp. = Low, Father = Middle or High | Resp. = Middle, Father = ALL | Resp. = High, Father = ALL | (Intercept) ^a | | |
| Model quality assessment | | | | | | |
| Deviance | 3881.56 | 3874.39 | 3873.06 | 38801.14 | 3868.14 | |
| Model Chi2 | 168.44 | *** | 175.62 | *** | 169.86 | *** |
| Model DF | 16 | 18 | 20 | 18 | 19 | |
| Block Chi2 | 168.44 | *** | 7.18 | * | 1.42 | 13.42 |
| Block DF | 16 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | |
| R2 Nagelkerke | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.06 | |
| AIC | 3915.56 | 3912.39 | 3915.06 | 3918.14 | 3908.14 | |
| BIC | 4036.48 | 4047.53 | 4064.43 | 4053.28 | 4050.4 | |
| N | 9072 | 9072 | 9072 | 9072 | 9072 | |

***: p < 0.001; **: p < 0.01; *: p < 0.05; +: p < 0.1

^aKosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia

3.3.2 Comparison of First- and Second-Generation Residents and Swiss Natives

We observe strong disparities according to the country of origin among first-generation immigrants. Results show that immigrants from Turkey and Kosovo are strongly affected: The odds ratio of unemployment *versus* employment for second-generation residents of Turkish or Kosovar origin are (respectively) five and three times higher than that of Swiss natives. For those of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese descent, the impact of origin is moderate (but significant). Such results show evidence of an assimilation process across generations, as immigrants from earlier waves succeeded more in their insertion into the labor market than did immigrants from more recent waves; the latter groups are more marginalized. Other European immigrants do not experience any more difficulties in getting a job than Swiss young adults do. Indeed, people from these other European countries come to Switzerland to enhance their professional situation more often than to escape from their country of origin.

We observe less disparity according to the country of origin for the second generation. The odds ratios for these groups vary between 1.5 and 2.5. For those of Italian, Spanish, and Kosovar origin, comparisons between the first- and second-generation groups show that the latter groups are less likely to be unemployed than the former groups that have the same origin. This result tends to confirm the generation-as-leveler effect. However, we observe the opposite situation in the case of the Portuguese: The odds ratio of unemployment is lower for the first generation than for the second generation. An interpretation of this result is that first-generation Portuguese immigrants have a network that facilitates getting a job. However, these jobs correspond mainly to low-skilled positions (Fibbi et al. 2010b). As children of these immigrants tend to be more educated, they do not benefit from the same efficient network.

3.3.3 Impact of Father's Educational Level on Unemployment

Parental educational level generally plays a role in the successful education of children. Well-educated parents can indeed provide scholarly support and advice to their children. As mentioned before, we limit our study to the father's educational level (Place and Vincent 2009). We start our analyses with a description of the preliminary decision-tree-based analysis, which highlighted interesting results concerning the impact that the father's education level has on employment (Fig. 3.1; see Sect. 2.4 for details about the method).

First, the tree indicates that, among the different covariates we took into account, the one that best explains the lack of access to employment is the child's educational level (node 1, split: REL3). A lower educational level increases the likelihood that the child will be unemployed. The second level of the tree shows that the most relevant descriptor to explain unemployment for those with middle or high educational levels is age (nodes 5 and 9, split: Age4). In addition, for those of middle educational level, we observe an ordinal relation with the age: older respondents are more likely to get a job (nodes 6–8). Such a relation seems to be less visible for people with high educational levels (nodes 10 and 11). This could be related to there not being enough individuals to create a significant 3-class split (4061 individuals in node 5 but only 1991 in node 9). In the case of those in the second generation who have a low level of education, the splitting covariate is the educational level of the father (node 2, split: FEL3), which could indicate that the role of the father is more significant when young adults have a low level of education. On the other hand, the insertion of young adults with medium or high levels of education into the labor market is affected by their educational level.

To assess evidence of this interaction, model 3 of our logistic regression tests the impact of the father's educational level (Table 3.3). We observe no significant result. The variable itself is not significant. The simplest explanation (without knowing the results of the decision tree analysis from Fig. 3.1) would be that, having already controlled for the respondent's educational level, the effect of the father's educational level would not be strong enough to stand out from that of the child. Model 4 introduces the father's educational level without controlling for that of the child, but there is still no significant effect. This result seems to indicate that the impact of the father's educational level is either weak or moderated by another covariate. Model 5 considers the interaction between the father's and the child's educational levels. Using only respondents with a low level of education, this model classifies the father's educational level using a low/high coding. The results show that second-generation residents who have low levels of education but whose fathers have medium or high levels of education are 33% less likely to be unemployed than are those whose fathers also have a low level of education. These three models confirm that the father's educational level plays a significant role in the child's insertion into the labor market for young adults with a low educational level but a much more moderate role for those with a middle or high educational level.

3.4 Conclusion

Young people of foreign origin are increasingly attracting the attention of scholars and policy-makers. This is demonstrated, for instance, by the emergence of international researches such as The Integration of European Second Generation. In this chapter, we discussed the employment situation of young adults who are second-generation residents of Switzerland and their access to the labor market. From a

methodological point of view, the paper advocated for the necessity of preliminary EDM analysis. Such preliminary analysis allows scholars to go beyond their research questions by discovering complex and even unexpected relations in their data. In the case of our study, this data mining showed explorative results underlying a complex relationship between the respondent's and father's levels of education. This exploratory analysis guided us to introduce an interaction effect between these two independent covariates as part of a logistic model. The results confirm this complex theory.

In more detail, our results showed a general enhancement of the labor-market situation for the second generation in comparison to the first generation. We also observed that origin-specific characteristics persist in the case of second-generation residents, although it plays a smaller role than in the case of first-generation immigrants. Furthermore, we found evidence that second-generation residents experience more disadvantages when accessing to the labor market than do Swiss natives. A strong explanatory factor for this result is the level of education. A decision-tree-based exploratory analysis indicated that the father's educational level has a more significant impact on young adults with low educational levels than it does on those with middle or high educational levels. This finding can be explained by the fact that educated people are generally able to find employment on their own but that, for those with a low level of education, the father is a significant resource in helping find employment. We also show that, after controlling for social origin, age, sex, and educational level, some inequality related to ethnic origin remains unexplained. This is particularly the case for second-generation residents of Kosovar origin, who seem to suffer a substantial ethnic penalty. This last result seems to confirm Portes and Zhou's (1993) theory of segmented assimilation.

One limit of our study is its cross-sectional design. The use of a longitudinal statistical model would allow for young people's trajectories to be studied during the transition from school to work, instead of only looking at their employment status at a given time. Furthermore, social-network analysis could provide insight into second-generation residents' accumulation of resources. By looking at the links that the second generation has established in the host country, we can collect precious information about the behaviors, resources, information flow, and power logic that are in play when these people access the professional world.

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Chapter 4

The Presence of a Third Person in Face-to-Face Interviews with Immigrant Descendants: Patterns, Determinants, and Effects

Nadja Milewski and Danny Otto

4.1 Introduction

A central criterion in social science surveys is that face-to-face interviews must be conducted in private in order to ensure the anonymity of the respondents. The presence of third parties during the interview—i.e., of individuals who are neither the interviewer nor the respondent—compromise these ideal conditions. The presence of such individuals changes the interview situation, as the strict anonymity of the respondent can no longer be guaranteed. When a family member or other third party is in the room, the respondent in an interview may modify his/her answers in order to avoid conflicts with the bystander. Hence, scholars have generally assumed that information gathered in interviews in which a third party was present may be biased (Zipp and Toth 2002). So far, however, only a small number of studies have investigated the determinants of the presence of a bystander in face-to-face interviews and its effects on other variables.

Previous studies that have examined the question of the identity of the third party have mainly focused on spouses (e.g., Anderson and Silver 1987; Hartmann 1991; Smith 1997; Pollner and Adams 1997), and, to a lesser extent, on parent-child dyads (Taitz 1962; Aquilino et al. 2000). Most of the topics studied were of a sensitive nature, and ranged from family values and behavior, such as gender roles and the division of household labor (e.g., Mohr 1986; Lander 2000); to income (e.g.,

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Hartmann 1995), religion (Anderson and Silver 1987), political preferences (Silver et al. 1986) and deviant behavior, such as substance use (e.g., Reuband 1987; Aquilino et al. 2000). Methodological studies in the social sciences have shown that a third person was present in between 5 and 82% of face-to-face survey interviews (Casterline and Chidambaram 1984; Reuband 1984; Zipp and Toth 2002). Thus, such cases are far from exceptional. Bystanders are even more likely to be present in interviews with international migrants than in interviews with their non-migrant counterparts (Reuband 1984; Aquilino 1993). This gap has been mainly attributed to the need for support during the interview among respondents with below-average language skills (Allerbeck and Hoag 1981). This is not surprising when first-generation migrants were interviewed. Overall, however, interview settings with international migrants have not received much scholarly attention.

The question of whether third parties are present in interviews with international migrants is becoming increasingly important given the growing shares of immigrants in a number of large European countries. In countries such as Germany, France, Spain, and the United Kingdom, immigrants and their descendants make up around 20% of the populations (Eurostat 2011). Consequently, social scientists of various disciplines are increasingly including immigrant groups in their data collections and research. Our paper focuses on the presence of a third person in face-to-face interviews that were conducted with second-generation residents of Turkish parents living in several western European countries within the project The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES 2007–2008). They were born in Western Europe and had visited school there. The goals of our study are twofold. First, we give a descriptive overview of the patterns of the presence of bystanders in interviews by comparing immigrant descendants and natives. We then analyze the determinants of these patterns by entering the socio-demographic characteristics of the survey participants into a multivariate model. Second, we test whether the presence of a third person affected responses to sensitive interview questions; we chose attitudes towards sexuality and abortion since these attitudes are important during the transition to adulthood (which corresponds to the age range of the survey) and they can be considered as sensitive questions both among migrants and non-migrants.

4.2 Background

4.2.1 Patterns and Determinants of Third-Party Presence

The factors that influence the presence of a bystander in a face-to-face interview can be seen mainly from three perspectives: the opportunity structure, the need for support, and the control motivation (Reuband 1984; Mohr 1986; Aquilino 1993; Hartmann 1994; Smith 1997; Pollner and Adams 1997; Lander 2000; Zipp and Toth 2002). On the issue of social control, the theoretical considerations regarding the presence of third parties and their effects on the answers in interviews mainly centre

on the change in self-presentation style of the respondent. The underlying assumption is that a respondent is likely to behave differently and give different answers if a person known to the respondent is present than s/he would in a private exchange with an interviewer the respondent did not know prior to the interview, and is unlikely to meet again. Self-presentation theory (e.g., Goffman 1959) suggests that individuals try to present themselves in a favorable light, or that they try to remain in the roles to which they are accustomed. The presence of a third party—usually the spouse or the partner, but nearly always a person who is known to the respondent (Hartmann 1994)—may cause the respondent to present him/herself in line with presumed expectations. It is therefore possible that social desirability bias or situational desirability bias leads to distortions in the responses (Esser 1986).

Desirability bias is, however, a subject for discussion in its own right. On the one hand, respondents may in general tend to report what they believe they are expected to report in the interview based on external pressures. On the other hand, spouses seem to assume that couples are expected to report a high level of agreement with each other. They may be more likely to adjust their answers to each other's, or at least to respond in a way that seems coherent with the role known to the partner (Zipp and Toth 2002).

From this point of view, bystanders appear to contaminate the interview, which is supposed to be artificial and therefore controlled. It is assumed that interviewers are less likely to get the “true” answer when someone else is present. “The desire to present a positive image may lessen respondents’ willingness to reveal sensitive information” (Aquilino et al. 2000: 846). As this observation indicates, the effect of the presence of a third party may become particularly important when the respondent is being interviewed face-to-face on sensitive issues, which are already “inclined to elicit response distortions, even in a standard interview setting” (Hartmann 1994: 299).

Whereas these considerations suggest that the presence of a bystander in an interview could lead to inaccurate or dishonest responses, another line of argumentation appears plausible: third persons who are familiar with the respondent may correct their answers (Hartmann 1994), especially to factual questions (e.g., Anderson and Silver 1987; Aquilino 1993; Lander 2000). Hence, the third person may serve as a “lie detector” (Boeije 2004: 5) who causes the respondent to adjust her/his answers to the “truth” that is accepted in the respective relationship. A qualitative study by Boeije (2004) on the effects of the presence of the partner indicated that there are shifts in the self-presentation styles of the interviewees, but they are not systematic. While it seems safe to assume that the presence of a third party changes the interview setting and can affect the responses given, we are unable to deduce the direction of the shift from a theoretical point of view. As previous empirical studies on the third-person effect generated heterogeneous results, it is impossible to say which of the scenarios appears more likely.

Whether a deterioration of the results occurs may also depend on the reasons why a third party is present. Previous studies have shown that the presence of a bystander is not random, and that specific patterns can be identified. The term “opportunity structure” refers to the circumstances which enable a third party to be

present during the interview, while the term “support function” refers to the circumstances which require the third party’s presence (e.g., Reuband 1984, 1992). The factors related to the opportunity structure include the type of housing, the number of rooms, the other persons living in the household, as well as the marital status and the employment status of the respondent (Reuband 1992; Aquilino 1993; Hartmann 1994; Zipp and Toth 2002). Aquilino’s research (1993) on the presence of a spouse during the interview provides an extensive model for predicting whether or not a third party will be present. Using the United States National Survey of Families and Household (1987/1988), he found that being older, being male, being married and sharing a household with the spouse, having an unemployed partner, and having a small home increase the chances that the spouse will be present. He also found that the likelihood that a bystander will be present decreases with increasing educational attainment and income, and when the children in the household are older (i.e., 13+ years) (Aquilino 1993). This compilation of control variables was used in several other studies (e.g., Smith 1997; Pollner and Adams 1997).

Hartmann (1994) reported rather similar results in a study using data from the German General Social Survey (1984–1990), but she also focused on the interview setting itself. She found that the likelihood that a bystander will be present increases with the duration of the interview. Moreover, the chances that a third party will be present increase when the respondent and the interviewer are not the same gender, and especially when a woman is being interviewed by a man. Hartmann was therefore able to strengthen the descriptive findings of Mohr (1986), who suggested that the third-party presence is often gender-specific. According to the jealousy hypothesis, a man may feel intimidated when his wife is going to be questioned by a male interviewer, and may therefore want to attend his wife’s interview. However, Hartmann’s (1994) results indicated that women are more likely than men to be present in the spouse’s interview regardless of the sex of the interviewer. Lander (2000), using various samples of the same survey (1980–1998), added to the jealousy hypothesis by suggesting that the partner may want to control the interview situation if the partner of a respondent anticipates that the respondent will be asked questions pertaining to the couple’s relationship (Lander 2000). It therefore seems impossible to distinguish the causes and effects of a bystander’s presence. For example, how can we know whether a husband who reported being satisfied with his marriage did so because his wife was present in the room, or whether a married man who consents to be interviewed with his wife present is more likely to be satisfied with his marital relationship in general (Hartmann 1994)?

In addition to citing factors associated with social control and the opportunity structure in explaining the presence of a third party in an interview, several authors also mentioned the need for support (e.g., Reuband 1984). In particular, elderly people or those with lower levels of education may need assistance during the interview. The bystander may, for example, help the respondent with comprehension difficulties or memory gaps, or s/he may simply help the respondent feel less nervous and more comfortable in an unknown situation.

4.2.2 Effects of Third-Party Presence

Whereas the results found in the literature are rather consistent on the patterns and determinants of a bystander in face-to-face interviews, the findings on the effects of third parties on the answers of the interviewed persons are mixed and partly contradictory. To allow for a coherent interpretation of the results, nearly all of the studies focused on a certain group of bystanders (i.e., children, spouses/partners, parents) in an interview. The earliest study dealing with the issue of third parties was conducted by Taietz (1962) in the Netherlands. He researched the effect the presence of a child or a grandchild has on the statements of elderly people on norms for extended families, and found a significant shift of answers towards more “traditional” housing arrangements. Control variables, such as sex, age, occupational status, and marital status, were incorporated and supported the finding that the presence of a third person has an effect on the responses (Taietz 1962). Subsequent studies in Germany and the United States primarily focused on the spouse as the third party. The results of Reuband (1987 and 1992) suggested that the presence of the spouse may lead respondents to give more conservative answers to sensitive questions, and to express more conservative family norms and values. Mohr (1986) noted a shift in responses with changes in the gender constellations in the interview setting. He found that men and women responded more positively to items concerning marriage satisfaction and partnership quality when they were questioned by interviewers of the same sex while the partner was present. But both Reuband (1984) and Mohr (1986) acknowledged that these findings may have resulted from uncontrolled selection effects.

Aquilino (1993) reported a significant effect of spousal presence on the responses to marriage-related questions. Although the insertion of an extensive list of control variables reduced the effects of the brut model, significant differences appeared between respondents with or without a third-party presence. He concluded that the presence of a spouse is a potential source for response effects on marriage-related items, and that the observed bias depends on the nature of the question (Aquilino 1993). Later research on the effects of the presence of a spouse during the interview initially produced results quite similar to those of Aquilino (1993), but they did not hold when controlling for covariates (Hartmann 1996; Smith 1997; Pollner and Adams 1997). Hartmann (1996) focused on the connection between a third-party presence and evasive responses. While her results partially supported the hypothesis of higher non-response rates in interview settings of limited privacy, the effect found was almost irrelevant, and became even smaller when covariates were controlled for.

The approach most often used in this kind of methodological study is to compare the answers of respondents who were alone with their interviewer to those of respondents who were interviewed with a third party present, since only one person per household was interviewed for the respective surveys (Anderson and Silver 1987). Zipp and Toth (2002) took a different approach, using data from the British Household Panel Study in which both spouses in each household were interviewed. They compared the information given by the two spouses and found, after controlling for confounders, that the presence of the spouse increased the level of agreement between the spouses (Zipp and Toth 2002).

The effect of a third-party presence is seen not only in couples, but also in parent-child constellations. Aquilino et al. (2000) found a significant impact of parental presence on the responses of their children, and vice versa, to drug abuse questions in the US. To a greater extent than in private interview settings, the respondents in both situations tended to either deny or minimize their use of intoxicating substances. Aquilino et al. (2000) concluded that the identity of the bystander is important, since they did not find a similar shift in answers when other individuals (i.e., siblings or partners) were present.

In addition to examining third-party effects, scholars have also looked at the relationship between the presence of a bystander and responses to sensitive questions. An interaction of these two problems in empirical research seems plausible. The sensitivity of questions may appear to be even more pronounced in a non-private interview setting. Hence, the presence of a bystander may be associated with a stronger bias on answers to sensitive items, including family attitudes and health behavior (Lee 1993; Hartmann 1994; Barnett 1998; Tourangeau and Yan 2007; Sander 2009).

4.2.3 *The Role of Immigrant Status*

International migrants and their descendants have been largely ignored in this field of methodological research, though there are a few exceptions. Anderson and Silver (1987) examined the effect of the spouse as a bystander in interviews with Soviet emigrants to the United States on various topics (e.g., religion, satisfaction with housing or standard of living, gender roles) and in different interview settings (interview in private or with spouse). They did not find a bystander effect (note that this research focused exclusively on migrants). In 51% of the cases, the spouse was present at the interview.

Other studies employed migrant status or ethnicity as one of the variables related to opportunity structures. Aquilino (1993), using race, found that black Americans and Mexican-Americans in the US were more likely to have a third person present at the interview than white Americans. Reuband (1984) found similar results for immigrants in West Germany. In 58–71% of the interviews with migrant workers, which were carried out in the 1970s, the presence of a third person was reported. Differences were found between the immigrant groups in Germany: 54% of young Italians, but 76% of young Turks, were interviewed in the presence of another person. This difference was partially traced back to a support function, as the third person translated in 19% of the interviews with Turks (Allerbeck and Hoag 1981).

There is, however, no study on the presence of a third person in interview settings that has explicitly compared the patterns and the determinants of a third-party presence in interviews among immigrants and their non-migrant counterparts. Our paper addresses the presence of a third person in survey interviews that were

conducted with second-generation residents of Turkish parents living in several western European countries. Turkish immigrants form one of the largest immigrant groups in European destination countries (Eurostat 2011). Previous research has demonstrated that, even in subsequent generations, immigrant groups differ in their socio-demographic characteristics from the non-migrant populations, and that these factors are also part of the opportunity structure that determines the presence of a third party in survey interviews. For example, compared to the native population, Turkish migrants tend to live in households with more inhabitants but less space, have more children, and co-reside with three generations. In addition, relative to the average non-migrant, the average Turkish migrant (and particularly the average Turkish female migrant) has less education, is less likely to participate in the labor force, and has a higher risk of unemployment. Moreover, compared to both non-migrants and migrants of other nationalities, Turkish migrants have on average less proficiency in the language of the host country. These socio-economic disadvantages decrease from the first to the second-generation residents, but they are still visible, showing little variation across the host countries (e.g., Söhn and Özcan 2006; Fincke 2009; Sauer and Halm 2009; Crul et al. 2012).

A number of studies have looked specifically at the family formation behavior of second-generation Turkish migrants (Milewski 2011; de Valk and Milewski 2011; Hamel et al. 2012), relating it to persistent differences in the demographic patterns of Turkey and the western European destination countries. The Turkish migrants and the respective host populations differ in their cultural values and norms, including on issues such as virginity at marriage, abortion, gender roles, and religiosity (e.g., Idema and Phalet 2007; Diehl et al. 2009; Maliepaard et al. 2010; Milewski and Hamel 2010; Huschek et al. 2011; Hamel et al. 2012). These differences are mainly associated with the family system traditions in the respective places of origin. According to Inglehart (1997), “traditional” family values, such as an emphasis on intergenerational ties, a rejection of divorce, and a clear division of labor between men and women, coincide with the importance of religion on a societal level. By contrast, gender equality receives more support, individual wellbeing is viewed as more important than collective attitudes, and divorce is not stigmatized, in societies in which religion is less important. These assumptions are consistent with Reher’s (1998) typology of family systems in Europe, in which he distinguishes between countries with a tradition of stem families (Mediterranean countries place great value on familialism), and western and northern countries with a tradition of nuclear families.

In order to answer our research questions on the patterns, the determinants, and the effects of a third-party presence, we worked with the following hypotheses:

(H1) our first hypothesis is related to the opportunity structure and the support function. We assume that immigrant descendants are more likely to have a third party present at an interview than natives due to the differences in the socio-demographic composition of these groups. Specifically, we assume that there may be more opportunities for a third-party bystander to be present in interviews of members of the second generation due to their bigger family sizes, higher likelihood of non-participation in the workforce, and lower educational attain-

ment (Sauer and Halm 2009). Accordingly, we assume that differences in the frequency of a third-party presence between migrant descendants and natives should diminish or vanish if we control for the socioeconomic composition of the groups (Aquilino 1993; Hartmann 1996; Smith 1997; Pollner and Adams 1997). We did not focus on language skills since all of the Turkish descendants were born in the survey countries and had attended school there, assuming that they achieved at least a minimal level of language proficiency.

(H2) our second hypothesis refers to the effects of a third-party presence. We test whether the presence of a third party affects the answers to sensitive questions (Barnett 1998; Tourangeau and Yan 2007). First, we assume that respondents may give different answers depending on whether a third person is or is not present in the interview setting. Second, we expect that this effect will be larger among members of the second generation because the proportion of bystanders is assumed to be higher than it is among natives.

4.3 Data, Variables, and Method

We analyzed data from the survey The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES 2007–2008). TIES is a European comparative survey that focuses on migrant descendants; the so-called second generation. About 10,000 descendants of immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, and the former Yugoslavia and a native comparison group were interviewed in 15 cities in eight western European countries. Respondents were sampled as second-generation Turks if they were born in the country where the survey was held and at least one of their parents was born in Turkey. The respondents were aged 18–35 years. An urban sample frame was chosen because most immigrants and their descendants throughout Europe live in cities. A standardized questionnaire in the language of the respective country of residence was used (Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips 2012).

We used data from 12 cities with approximately 500 respondents per city, roughly half of whom were second-generation Turks, while the other half belonged to the respective native comparison group. The cities included in our study were Vienna and Linz in Austria, Brussels and Antwerp in Belgium, Paris and Strasbourg in France, Berlin and Frankfurt in Germany, Zurich and Basle in Switzerland, and Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands. Our final sample consisted of 5870 respondents, of whom 51% were Turkish immigrant descendants.

Our analytical strategy is as follows. We first provide a descriptive overview of the variables used in the analyses by migrant status (Table 4.1). Then we give an overview of the type of the third person present in the interviews (Table 4.2). The multivariate analyses are based on logistic regression techniques, and the results are displayed as odds ratios (DeMaris 1995; Larose 2006). The dependent variable of the first part of the analyses (part A) is the presence of the third person (yes, 1/no, 0). Model A1 controls only for immigrants status, sex, and age. Model A2 takes into account variables related to the opportunity structure and the support function

Table 4.1 Descriptive overview of the sample, by migrant status

| Variable | Turkish descendants | | Native comparison group | |
|---|---------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| | N | % | N | % |
| <i>Third-person presence***</i> | | | | |
| Yes | 998 | 33.2 | 593 | 20.7 |
| No | 2011 | 66.8 | 2268 | 79.3 |
| Socio-demographic characteristics | | | | |
| <i>Sex</i> | | | | |
| Woman | 1533 | 50.9 | 1473 | 51.5 |
| Man | 1476 | 49.1 | 1388 | 48.5 |
| <i>Age in years***</i> | | | | |
| 18–25 | 1774 | 59.0 | 1204 | 42.1 |
| 26–35 | 1235 | 41.0 | 1657 | 57.9 |
| <i>Country***</i> | | | | |
| Austria | 455 | 15.1 | 479 | 16.7 |
| Belgium | 602 | 20.0 | 558 | 19.5 |
| France | 500 | 16.6 | 351 | 12.3 |
| Germany | 503 | 16.7 | 503 | 17.6 |
| Switzerland | 450 | 15.0 | 459 | 16.0 |
| The Netherlands | 499 | 16.6 | 511 | 17.9 |
| <i>Marital status ***</i> | | | | |
| Not married | 1856 | 61.7 | 2188 | 76.5 |
| Married | 1119 | 37.2 | 558 | 19.5 |
| Divorced, mv | 34 | 1.1 | 115 | 4.0 |
| <i>Children in household***</i> | | | | |
| None | 1725 | 57.3 | 2079 | 72.7 |
| 1 or 2 | 679 | 22.6 | 389 | 13.6 |
| 3+ | 605 | 20.1 | 393 | 13.7 |
| <i>Education ***</i> | | | | |
| Primary | 145 | 4.8 | 49 | 1.7 |
| Lower secondary | 451 | 15.0 | 172 | 6.0 |
| Apprenticeship | 721 | 24.0 | 498 | 17.4 |
| Upper secondary | 591 | 19.6 | 559 | 19.5 |
| Tertiary | 300 | 10.0 | 827 | 28.9 |
| Enrolment in education | 801 | 26.6 | 756 | 26.4 |
| <i>Religion ***</i> | | | | |
| Christian | 70 | 2.3 | 1547 | 54.1 |
| Muslim | 2406 | 80.0 | 34 | 1.2 |
| Other religion or none | 533 | 17.7 | 1280 | 44.7 |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>3009</i> | <i>51.3</i> | <i>2861</i> | <i>48.7</i> |
| Attitudes^a | | | | |
| <i>Acceptance of pre-marital sex among women***</i> | | | | |
| Always | 604 | 25.1 | 1991 | 86.5 |

(continued)

Table 4.1 (continued)

| | Turkish descendants | | Native comparison group | |
|---|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Variable | N | % | N | % |
| In specific cases/no | 1633 | 67.8 | 232 | 10.1 |
| Non-response | 170 | 7.1 | 80 | 3.5 |
| <i>Acceptance of pre-marital sex among men***</i> | | | | |
| Always | 870 | 36.1 | 2010 | 87.3 |
| In specific cases/no | 1364 | 56.7 | 213 | 9.2 |
| Non-response | 173 | 7.2 | 80 | 3.5 |
| <i>Acceptance of abortion for medical reasons***</i> | | | | |
| Always | 857 | 35.6 | 1505 | 65.3 |
| In specific cases/no | 1373 | 57.0 | 719 | 31.2 |
| Non-response | 177 | 7.4 | 79 | 3.4 |
| <i>Acceptance of abortion for non-medical reasons ***</i> | | | | |
| Always | 322 | 13.4 | 832 | 36.1 |
| In specific cases/no | 1910 | 79.4 | 1392 | 60.4 |
| Non-response | 175 | 7.3 | 79 | 3.4 |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>2407</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>2303</i> | <i>100</i> |

Calculations based on TIES 2007–2008; N = 5870

***p < 0.001 via chi² test for association between variable and immigrant status

mv missing values

^aAustria, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; Belgium was excluded because this information was not included in the survey; N = 4710

Table 4.2 Overview of the presence of a third person

| | Turkish descendants | | Native comparison group | |
|---------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Third person | N | % | N | % |
| Partner | 156 | 20.1 | 178 | 39.2 |
| Father | 48 | 6.2 | 20 | 4.4 |
| Mother | 172 | 22.1 | 64 | 14.1 |
| Father-in-law | 2 | 0.3 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Mother-in-law | 5 | 0.6 | 1 | 0.2 |
| Child | 154 | 19.8 | 72 | 15.9 |
| Sibling | 124 | 15.9 | 15 | 3.3 |
| Other | 117 | 15.0 | 104 | 22.9 |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>778</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>454</i> | <i>100</i> |

Calculations based on TIES 2007–2008. N = 1232 (only those where a third person was present)
Austria, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; Belgium was excluded because this information was not included in the survey

(marital status, children, and education). Model A3 adds variables related to culture (religion, country of residence). Part B of the multivariate analyses estimates the effects of a third-person presence on attitudes towards sensitive topics (Table 4.1). We used several dependent variables and display three steps for each analysis. First, we show the brut effect of the migrant status of women and men. Second, we control for the socio-demographic control variables. Third, the variable of the third person was added to the modelling process.

The socio-demographic composition of the two groups showed significant differences consistent with the literature. We found that second-generation Turks were more likely to be married and had more children on average than the comparison group, despite having a younger age structure. These control variables were related to the opportunity structure and were significantly associated with the presence of a third party. On average, the Turkish descendants had less education and were more likely to report having had a religious upbringing (most in a Muslim faith) than natives (who were mostly Christians). (We did not include co-residence with the parents or employment status since these variables correlated with enrolment in education, marital status, and having children).

In order to test whether the presence of a third person makes a difference in the respondents' answers, we used attitudes towards sensitive topics since we believe that a bias will be greater the more sensitive the topic is. We used four attitudinal variables that are important during early adulthood and that can be regarded as sensitive both among migrants and non-migrants: two questions were related to the acceptability of pre-marital sex (for women and for men) and two were related to the acceptability of abortion (for medical and non-medical reasons). The possible answers for each question were: always acceptable, acceptable in specific cases, and not acceptable (note: these questions were not included in the TIES questionnaire in Belgium). We built four dichotomous variables that distinguish between "always acceptable" and "acceptable in specific cases or not acceptable" (due to very small numbers of natives who did not accept abortion or pre-marital sex at all). Table 4.1 shows that levels of acceptance of both pre-marital sex and abortions were significantly lower among the Turkish descendants than among the comparison group. The percentage of non-responses was about twice as high among the second-generation residents as it was among the natives.

4.4 Descriptive Findings

As the first lines in Table 4.1 indicate, the share of immigrant descendants (33%) who were interviewed in the presence of a third person was significantly ($p < 0.001$) larger than the share of natives (21%) interviewed with a bystander. In the whole sample, a third party appeared more frequently when the interviewees were married, had children living in the household, had a lower level of education, and reported having a religious upbringing. The lowest share of cases in which a bystander was present was reported in Germany (12%), while the highest was in the Netherlands (36%). Regarding the attitudinal variables, we found that respondents interviewed

in the presence of a bystander were significantly less likely to say they accept pre-marital sex and abortion than respondents who were interviewed in private ($p < 0.001$). Moreover, the presence of a bystander was associated with slightly higher percentages of non-response (about 4% vs. 7%, respectively).

Table 4.2 displays information on the type of the third person. The partner and family members made up the majority of third persons in both groups. Whereas the partner was the most frequent bystander type among the native comparison group, the partner was present in only 20% of the cases among the second-generation residents. The bystanders were more likely to have been parents (22% and 14%, respectively) or siblings (16% and 3%, respectively) among the migrants than among the natives. The share of children among the bystanders varied slightly between the groups (20% and 16%, respectively).

4.5 Multivariate Results

Table 4.3 presents the results of the multivariate analyses on the determinants of a third-party presence. Overall, Turkish descendants were almost twice as likely as non-migrants to have had a third person present at the interview. Since we found a difference by sex among the second generation, we worked with an interaction between the group and sex. Model A1 (controlled for age) demonstrated that Turkish-descent women were 1.3 times more likely than Turkish men to have been interviewed in the presence of a bystander. By contrast, no significant difference was found between the women and the men in the comparison group; and their chances of having had a bystander present were significantly lower than those of the Turks. Despite small reductions in the size of the coefficients, this pattern of significant differences remained when the indicators of the opportunity structure and the need for support (marital status, children, education) were added in Model A2, and when indicators of the cultural background (country of residence, religious upbringing during childhood) were added in Model A3.

The effects of the control variables were mostly in line with those found in the previous literature: The likelihood of the presence of a third person was significantly higher when the respondents were married and/or had children. It decreased with increasing education. No significant impact was found for age, which may be related to the young sample population in general, as well as to correlations with marital status and children. The effect of the country of residence was rather surprising: compared to the respondents in Germany, the respondents in all of the other survey countries were more than twice as likely to have been interviewed in a non-private setting.

Table 4.4 displays the final part of our analysis, in which we tested whether the presence of a third party had an effect on attitudes, and whether the differences in attitudes between the Turkish descendant group and the comparison group may have been related to the presence of a bystander. The estimates in the Models B1 were related to the brut effect (controlled for age only) of the groups studied and gender. In line with the literature, we found that both Turkish women and Turkish

Table 4.3 Determinants of the presence of a third person (odds ratio)

| Variable | Model A1 | Model A2 | Model A3 | |
|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|------|
| <i>Immigrant status and sex</i> | | | | |
| Turkish-descent men | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Turkish-descent women | 1.34 | *** | 1.24 | ** |
| Native men | 0.62 | *** | 0.75 | ** |
| Native women | 0.60 | *** | 0.68 | *** |
| <i>Age^a</i> | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 0.96 | | | |
| 26–35 years | 1 | | | |
| <i>Marital status</i> | | | | |
| Not married/divorced/mv | | 1 | 1 | |
| Married | | 1.40 | *** | 1.32 |
| <i>Children in household</i> | | | | |
| None | | 1 | 1 | |
| Yes | | 1.71 | *** | 1.85 |
| <i>Education</i> | | | | |
| Primary | | 1.42 | * | 1.19 |
| Lower secondary | | 1 | | 1 |
| Apprenticeship | | 0.75 | ** | 0.84 |
| Upper secondary | | 0.88 | | 0.76 |
| Tertiary | | 0.72 | ** | 0.61 |
| Enrolment in education | | 0.92 | | 0.77 |
| <i>Religion</i> | | | | |
| Christian | | | 1 | |
| Muslim | | | 0.99 | |
| Jewish, other, none | | | 1.13 | |
| <i>Country</i> | | | | |
| Austria | | | 3.18 | *** |
| Belgium | | | 2.08 | *** |
| France | | | 2.13 | *** |
| Germany | | | 1 | |
| Switzerland | | | 2.27 | *** |
| The Netherlands | | | 3.19 | *** |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.019 | 0.042 | 0.069 | |

Calculations based on TIES 2007–2008. N = 5870

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.051 ***p < 0.001

^aAge not included in models A2 and A3 because of multicollinearity with education, marital status, and children

men were far less likely than their non-migrant counterparts to say they approve of a woman having pre-marital sex. On the question regarding the acceptability of pre-marital sex for men, the difference was somewhat smaller but still significant; in this case as well we found a gender gap in the Turkish group. On the question regarding the acceptability of abortion—for non-medical as well as for medical reasons—the differences between the Turkish and the native respondents were smaller, and there

Table 4.4 Effect of the presence of a third person on attitudes (odds ratio)

| Variable | Model B1 ^a | Model B2 ^b | Model B3 ^c | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------|-------|
| Acceptance of pre-marital sex among women | | | | | |
| <i>Immigrant status and sex</i> | | | | | |
| Turkish-descent men | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Turkish-descent women | 0.96 | 1.08 | 1.10 | | |
| Native men | 18.37 | *** | 5.41 | *** | 5.37 |
| Native women | 27.60 | *** | 8.34 | *** | 8.29 |
| <i>Third-person presence</i> | | | | | |
| Yes | | | | 0.64 | *** |
| No | | | | 1 | |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.326 | 0.378 | 0.382 | | |
| N | 4460 | 4460 | 4460 | | |
| Acceptance of pre-marital sex among men | | | | | |
| <i>Immigrant status and sex</i> | | | | | |
| Turkish-descent men | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Turkish-descent women | 0.74 | *** | 0.80 | * | 0.81 |
| Native men | 10.96 | *** | 3.61 | *** | 3.58 |
| Native women | 14.10 | *** | 4.74 | *** | 4.70 |
| <i>Third-person presence</i> | | | | | |
| Yes | | | | 0.78 | ** |
| No | | | | 1 | |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.245 | 0.290 | 0.292 | | |
| N | 4457 | 4457 | 4457 | | |
| Acceptance of abortion for medical reasons | | | | | |
| <i>Immigrant status and sex</i> | | | | | |
| Turkish-descent men | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Turkish-descent women | 0.98 | | 0.97 | | 0.98 |
| Native men | 3.39 | *** | 2.44 | *** | 2.43 |
| Native women | 3.05 | *** | 2.18 | *** | 2.17 |
| <i>Third-person presence</i> | | | | | |
| Yes | | | | 0.78 | ** |
| No | | | | 1 | |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.065 | 0.118 | 0.120 | | |
| N | 4454 | 4454 | 4454 | | |
| Acceptance of abortion for non-medical reasons | | | | | |
| <i>Immigrant status and sex</i> | | | | | |
| Turkish-descent men | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Turkish-descent women | 0.98 | | 0.99 | | 1.003 |
| Native men | 3.49 | *** | 1.98 | *** | 1.96 |
| Native women | 3.56 | *** | 2.02 | *** | 1.998 |
| <i>Third-person presence</i> | | | | | |
| Yes | | | | 0.79 | * |
| No | | | | 1 | |

(continued)

Table 4.4 (continued)

| Variable | Model B1 ^a | Model B2 ^b | Model B3 ^c |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Pseudo R ² | 0.062 | 0.139 | 0.140 |
| N | 4456 | 4456 | 4456 |

Calculations based on TIES 2007–2008

Austria, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; Belgium was excluded because this information was not included in the survey

N varies between the four analyses due to differences in the numbers of missing values in the outcome variables

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.051 ***p < 0.001

^aModels B1 controlled for age

^bModels B2 controlled for marital status, children, and education

^cModels B3 controlled additionally for religion and country of residence

were no significant gender differences within the respective groups. These differences between the Turks and the natives decreased considerably for each of the four attitudes when we controlled for the socio-demographic variables, mainly due to the insertion of education (Models B2).

Finally, we added the dummy for the third person in the Models B3 (as well as religiosity and country of residence). Controlling for the bystander variable did not do much to explain the differences between the second-generation Turks and members of the comparison group in their attitudes, whereas the presence of the third person had a significant impact as such: respondents were significantly less likely to say they consider pre-marital sex and abortion to be acceptable when a bystander was present in the interview than when they were in anonymous settings. The control variables of age and having children were found to have no effect both among Turkish descendants and natives. Married respondents and religious respondents (either Muslim or Christian) were less likely to say they accept pre-marital sex and abortion than unmarried respondents and non-religious respondents. The degree of acceptance increased with the education of the respondent (Strickler and Danigelis 2002; Jelen and Wilcox 2003). When we looked at the country of residence, we found that the respondents in all other countries were significantly more likely to say they accept abortion than they were in Germany.

4.6 Conclusion

This paper studied the presence of a third person in face-to-face interviews with Turkish descendants and a non-migrant comparison group. We used data from the TIES project, which was carried out in six western European countries. As previous studies on the presence of a third party in interviews had included relatively few immigrants, we began our investigation by describing and comparing the patterns and the determinants of a third-party presence among immigrant descendants and non-migrants. We found that a bystander was present in the interviews of about one-third of the migrant descendants in our sample and about one-fifth of the natives. These shares are in the lower range of those given by Zipp and Toth (2002):

they reported shares ranging from 37 to 57% for studies conducted in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. Nevertheless, our results suggest that immigrants are more likely to be influenced by the presence of a third party in an interview, and that the risk of bias in these cases is higher than it is for non-migrants.

This finding supports our first working hypothesis. We had assumed that migrant descendants would be more subject to non-private interview settings than natives due to differences in their opportunity structures (Reuband 1992; Hartmann 1994). In order to test this hypothesis, we controlled for household characteristics as well as individual variables. Including these variables led to a slight decrease in the differences between the groups in the presence of a third party, but they remained significant. This indicates that differences in the socio-demographic compositions of the groups explain some of the differences in the interview settings. The most important factors were marital status and the number of children. However, these control variables could not fully explain the increased likelihood among immigrants of the presence of a third party.

The following question therefore arises: Why did we find more immigrants interviewed in non-private settings for reasons not related to opportunity? While Allerbeck and Hoag (1981) argued that language proficiency may play a role, we do not think that this applies to our sample, since all of the Turkish descendants were born in the survey countries (this was the sampling criteria) and attended school there. Hartmann (1994) and Lander (2000) brought up the jealousy hypothesis, which may of course apply to individuals regardless of their migration history. The jealousy hypothesis was put forward mainly in order explain the higher percentages of bystanders in interviews with women than with men. We indeed found such a gender effect, but only among Turkish descendants. In the comparison group, the odds of a bystander being present were not significantly different between women and men. We should note, however, that the type of bystander also varied between the groups: whereas the third person in the interviews with the natives was most likely to have been the partner, which would support the jealousy hypothesis; the third person among the Turks was most likely to have been a parent or a sibling. This difference may be related to the young age structure of the second generation in our sample, with some of these respondents still living with their parents. Instead of being viewed as evidence of jealousy, the presence of a third party among the migrant respondents may instead be seen as an indicator of the high level of social cohesion and the relatively strong intergenerational ties within Turkish families.

In addition to opportunity structure, support, and social control, we suggest another explanation for the more frequent presence of third parties in interviews with migrant descendants. The literature shows that, compared to members of other minority groups, members of the Turkish migrant community are more subject to discrimination in various areas, such as education, the labor market, and the practice of religion, in all of the western European countries where they reside (Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Foner and Alba 2008; Safi 2010). This may be related to a high correlation between people of Turkish origin and the Muslim faith, which is a minority religion in Western Europe. Especially immediately after the attacks of 9/11, Muslims faced hostility throughout Europe. In the following years, immigrant

minorities in general and Muslim groups in particular were increasingly targeted by scientific surveys, but also became the subject of popular as well as scientific studies. As the media reported the results of such studies rather selectively, focusing on the negative aspects, immigrants from Turkey (amongst others) were stigmatized. Negative public opinion and prejudices towards immigrants further intensified after incidents such as the murder of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands in 2004, the riots in the suburbs of Paris in 2005, and the cartoon crisis in Denmark in 2005/06 (Kühle 2013). In Germany, several researchers were interested in investigating the “criminal potential” of immigrants (Pfeiffer et al. 2005; Baier et al. 2006), as well as the “otherness” or even the “backwardness” of Muslims (Brettfeld and Wetzels 2007). In light of these developments (at the time when the TIES survey was carried out, i.e., in 2007 and 2008), it may well be the case that Turkish descendants may be skeptical towards social science investigations and data collections, and therefore may prefer not to be interviewed alone.

Interestingly, we found variation by country of residence, with respondents in Germany being the least likely to have had a bystander at the interview. At this point we can only speculate about the reasons for these differences. The size and the duration of stay of the Turkish minority community in Germany, country-specific perceptions of large-scale scientific surveys, or the perceived level of discrimination may partly explain these patterns.

Knowing the patterns and the determinants of a third-party presence is only one part of the picture, however. The second question—and perhaps the more important one—is whether the presence of a bystander biases the results of a study. Theoretical considerations and the results of international studies have suggested that answers given in anonymity differ from those given in the presence of a third person. Moreover, many studies on several aspects of integration of international migrants and their descendants have shown that differences in values and norms persist between Turkish migrants and non-migrants living in the same country. Therefore, we tested our second hypothesis that the presence of a third person has an effect on the answers given to sensitive questions in general (Barnett 1998; Tourangeau and Yan 2007), and that the presence of a bystander may mediate the differences in the answers given by immigrant descendants and natives. In order to test this hypothesis, we used the questions on the acceptability of pre-marital sex and of abortion. On one hand, our results supported the hypothesis of a bystander effect since the answers given in the presence of a third person deviated from those given in private interview settings. On the other hand, the differences between the answers given by the migrant descendants and the non-migrants could not be explained by the presence of a third party. If bystanders bias the answers, then they do so in the same way for both groups. We also found, however, that the presence of a bystander influenced not only the answer categories, but also the frequency of non-responses, which was higher when a third party was present (Hartmann 1996).

In sum, the findings of our study indicate that the presence of a third person in an interview is more likely in migrant minorities even if they grew up in the country of destination and should face less language comprehension problems than the first immigrant generation. The presence of a bystander may have effects on responses

and can bias survey results. The logical implication of these findings is that survey organizers should seek to prevent non-private interview settings by, for example, placing special emphasis on this subject in interviewer training sessions. Addressing this issue is especially important when migrant populations are being targeted in face-to-face interviews.

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Part II

Life Course Perspective and Mixed-Methods Approaches in the Study of Children of Migrants

Chapter 5

Analyzing Second-Generation Trajectories from a Life Course Approach: What Mixed Methods Can Offer

Ingrid Tucci

5.1 Introduction

Many studies on descendants of immigrants in Europe have primarily focused on educational and occupational outcomes. Up to now, there have been few cross-national studies looking at their trajectories in those domains and adopting a life course approach (Wingens et al. 2011: 1). The transition to adulthood is a crucial phase in the life course, marked by numerous major life events compressed into a relatively short span of time. It is also a period in which life courses become much more differentiated and diversified (Konietzka 2010). On the one hand institutions such as the school system and the labor market play a decisive role in the process of life course construction. On the other hand, familial and personal orientations as well as decision-making processes also become salient at this threshold in socio-economic development (Mortimer et al. 2005: 133). Accordingly, understanding the diversity in the trajectories of immigrants' descendants requires the use of an analytical framework that allows researchers to unveil typical pathways as well as the underlying institutional, social, individual and familial mechanisms leading to them. Understanding how typical pathways emerge can obviously contribute to the analysis of the production and reproduction of ethnic and social inequalities. The life course approach provides such an analytical framework because it allows to consider both the impact of social structures and institutional frameworks and that of individuals' decision-making processes on trajectories (de Valk et al. 2011). From a methodological point of view, qualitative and quantitative approaches both can be effective in answering life course research questions (Giele and Elder 1998). Both methodological strands provide specific methods in order to do so. Nevertheless, combining quantitative and qualitative data might be fruitful in analyzing the

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interplay between structure and agency in the construction of trajectories. Furthermore, much research works and many comparative projects on immigrants and their children have been done since the 1990s.¹ One goal behind those cross-national comparisons is to understand how far institutional arrangements (educational system, employment policy, labor market situation, etc.) build a structure in which individuals act according to opportunities and constraints. The latter obviously differ more or less strongly from one country to another.

The first part of this contribution explores the potential application of the life course approach to migration research and addresses the methodological aspects of such an undertaking. The second part discusses selected results from a research project² on the educational trajectories and labor market entry of immigrants' descendants in France and Germany using a mix of quantitative and qualitative data, and also addressing the benefits and limitations of such an undertaking.

5.2 Some Theoretical and Methodological Considerations from the Perspective of Migration Research

The analysis of individual biographies, life trajectories, and transition dynamics has a long tradition in sociology. Interestingly, it started in the field of migration research with Thomas and Znaniecki's (1919) pioneering biographical analysis of the immigration experiences of Polish farmers in Europe and the US. The foundational models of assimilation that were then developed by the Chicago School considered integration as a process comprising a series of steps in which immigrants incorporate themselves into a new society by shedding their own ethnic identity and taking on the identity of the majority. However, these models did not make an explicit link with the biographical perspective developed at the beginning of the century. A long tradition of theoretical work on assimilation (the term generally used in the US context) and integration (the term favored in the European context³) has given rise to numerous studies dealing with the measurement of integration and assessing the relationship between different dimensions of this process. Gordon's work (1964) was central in conceptualizing the multidimensionality of assimilation.⁴ Up to now,

¹ See for example the EFFNATIS project in the mid-1990s and, later, the TIES and ELITES projects or those carried out in the framework of the Norface network.

² The project was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the French National Research Agency (ANR) and carried out between 2009 and 2012 by Olaf Groh-Samberg, Ariane Jossin, Carsten Keller and Ingrid Tucci.

³ The concept of assimilation has also been used in France to define the process by which individuals enter into the French "melting pot", gradually give up their previous cultural identity and take on a French political identity (on the different uses of the French and the American concepts of assimilation, see Beaud and Noiriel 1989). Due to the negative connotations of the assimilation concept, that of integration is more commonly used in European migration research today.

⁴ He distinguishes between seven types or stages of assimilation: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, marital, attitude receptional, behavior receptional and civic assimilation.

migration researchers have focused primarily on testing these theoretical models and on identifying relationships between the dimensions they address. Although life course concepts (trajectories, transitions, events or turning points) fit very well with the idea of conceiving integration as a process, these core concepts have not been explicitly used to theorize the way immigrants and their descendants construct their life in society (see introductory Chapter of this volume). The life course approach might well be fruitful for analyzing processes over time and mechanisms. It might enable research in the field of immigration to go beyond interpretations in terms of “integration vs. non-integration”.

5.2.1 *Bringing the Life Course Perspective into Migration Research*

A large number of studies in migration research have looked at inequality in outcomes, most of them examining a particular outcome such as high school graduation or unemployment (Crul and Schneider 2010, see also Guarin and Rousseau's Chap. 3 in this volume). While analyses of the residual effect of variables related to “ethnic origin” provide a good understanding of so-called ethnic penalties on socio-economic attainment, they are limited in their ability to explain the role of institutional arrangements, structural conditions, and individual orientations and strategies in the life course. *Between- and within-group variations* in the trajectories of immigrants' descendants can be understood as results of the interplay between, for example, the organization of the school system and the points at which selection occurs as well as individual and parental educational aspirations and orientations.

From a theoretical point of view, the segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2006), which has introduced a new way of conceiving the integration process, is the one that can best be linked to the life course approach. The segmented assimilation theory predicts three distinct “paths of incorporation”⁵ for second-generation youth. Each of them has two key dimensions of trajectory construction, a “cultural” one and a “structural” dimension. These three paths of incorporation are crucially defined by the political and social context into which the immigrants (parents) are received (the so-called “mode of incorporation”), by their human capital and by characteristics of the ethnic community. In the first path, the second generation experiences upward assimilation, i.e., integration into the middle class accompanied by cultural assimilation. In the second path, which can be referred to as selective assimilation, an experience of upward mobility is accompanied by continuing strong ties within the ethnic community in the host country but also to individuals or communities living abroad. In the third path of incorporation, the second generation experiences downward assimilation and is assimilated into the “underclass”.

⁵This is the concept used by Portes and his colleagues.

With only three distinct incorporation paths, the segmented assimilation approach is able to account for the “diversity” of trajectories to only a limited degree. Also, each path of incorporation is generally associated with a particular immigrant group.⁶ This means that the theory does not help to explain why individuals within the same group of origin have divergent trajectories (on this point, see also Santelli 2007, as well as her contribution in this volume, and Tucci et al. 2013). Interestingly, in one of his papers, Rumbaut (2005) employs the central concept in the life course approach of turning point (Elder 1974; Hareven and Masaoka 1988; Abbott 1997). Following Elder, Rumbaut defines turning points as “new situations that ‘knife off’ the person’s past from the present and serve as catalysts for long-term behavioral change by restructuring routine activities and life course pathways, enabling identity transformations and setting in motion processes of ‘cumulating advantages and disadvantages’” (Rumbaut 2005: 1043). Describing the downward assimilation of one segment of the second generation, Portes and Rumbaut (2006) point later to possible negative effects of segregated neighborhoods and peers engaged in informal activities. Immigrants’ descendants change in orientations and in their logic of action and shift their life course in other directions: “For second-generation youths, the activities of gangs, sale of drugs, and other elements of ‘street’ culture amount to an alternative path of adaptation, away from school and homework and in direct opposition to their parents’ expectations” (Portes and Rumbaut 2006: 262).

One drawback of segmented assimilation theory is that it does not *explicitly* conceptualize the possible switch of individuals from one pathway to the other. As pointed out by Bidart, analyzing the life courses of young adults “implies (...) a focus on turning points rather than on continuity, the identification of driving forces, the consideration of subjective as well as objective changes” (Bidart 2012: 3). In order to do so, methodological approaches that go beyond the analysis of individual outcomes and the use of specific data are needed. In this chapter we advocate for the aggregation of different types of data.

5.2.2 *Methodological Approaches for the Analysis of Life Trajectories*

The quantitative analysis of life course trajectories implies the use of retrospective data, or, in the ideal case, of panel data that provides information on the same individuals over an extended period of time. If trajectories are conceived as sequences of statuses between different points in time, a first goal could be to reconstruct those sequences in order to describe trajectories. Following Lesnard (2006), one needs methodological approaches that “cast light on social rhythms, on the social structuration of the timing of events” (Lesnard 2006: 21). Sequence analysis is a method

⁶As an example here, Portes and Zhou (1993) see the school success of the children of Punjabi Sikhs in California despite a strong prejudiced experienced by this group as a consequence of the strong influence of the ethnic community in the neighborhood over the second generation.

“transposed” from biology to the social sciences (Abbott and Tsay 2000; Lesnard 2006; Blanchard et al. 2014) in order to grasp the timing of events while looking not only at life course events, as is done with duration models or event history analysis techniques (Blossfeld and Rohwer 2002), but also at the sequencing of different statuses reached during the trajectory. In recent times, the optimal matching method has been used more and more frequently in demography and family sociology while it remains less common in the field of migration and integration research (Widmer and Ritschard 2009). Sequence analysis is useful first to find out what typical trajectories of immigrants’ descendants might be, and secondly, to explain inequalities in trajectories between second generation and young people without a migration background, for example. In a third step, it is possible to identify the social and individual dynamics underlying the respective trajectories.

However, quantitative approaches reach their limits when confronted with the analysis of some of the driving forces in life trajectories, because micro-social processes and subjective orientations of action (the “agency” element of the life course paradigm, see introduction of this volume) cannot readily be captured by statistical data (Kelle 2001). Methodological approaches that consider objective aspects related to the positioning of individuals as well as subjective orientations that underlie their trajectories are necessary (Wingens et al. 2011: 6). In recent times, qualitative studies have proven to be fruitful in analyzing the determinants of upward mobility in second-generation youth in Germany (Hummrich 2002; Raiser 2007; King et al. 2011). In the US, as well as in Germany, parental immigration and specific government integration measures have shown to be influential on children’s life trajectories (Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008; Raiser 2007). Raiser (2007) shows, for example, that norms and values such as solidarity, reciprocity, and trust transmitted from one generation to the next or within the immigrant community can act as social capital—in the sense of Portes (1995)—taking the form of self-confidence, discipline and industriousness.

Research questions aimed at providing a better understanding of the social dynamics underlying typical trajectories of children of immigrants might require methodological designs that combine quantitative and qualitative data. Too little work has so far been done for connecting quantitatively and qualitatively driven migration research. In most of existing researches, the approach used to analyze the integration of immigrants and their children into the host society is to study between-group differences. Studies interested in processes analyze, for example, the social mobility of immigrant groups in a given society over time (Hans 2010) or between the first and subsequent generations (Bolzman et al. 2003). A focus on between-group variations requires the construction of categories referring to the national or ethnic origin of individuals: treating all individuals with a migration background as a homogeneous population would mean ignoring not only the migration history that underlies each migratory phenomenon⁷ but also the heterogeneity of life conditions

⁷This migration history can be linked to historical events, such as, in some regions, colonization and wars. Likewise, in Europe, the social opportunities of children of asylum-seekers differ starkly from those of children of Europeans benefiting from free movement within the Schengen Area.

in the countries of origin. The analysis of processes of economic and social participation and of ethnic identity formation implies the consideration of people's past experiences. By adding a qualitative approach, quantitative findings pointing at the possible effect of the ethnic origin can be deepened in order to assess the role of migration as a familial and/or individual experience in shaping trajectories. As Wimmer (2013) points out, the interpretation of a residual effect for a specific group in multivariate regressions, i.e. controlling for other factors that are likely to also explain the outcome, might be misleading because, in most cases, the disadvantage faced by this specific group is interpreted as the consequence of an assumed cultural difference, or as the consequence of discrimination. Wimmer makes an incisive observation on this point: "Finding significant results for ethnic dummies should represent the beginning—not the end—of the explanatory endeavor" (Wimmer 2013: 38). To assess what is behind a residual "ethnic group" effect, quantitative analyses are not only of limited value. Indeed, in some cases, they can also favor ethno-centrist interpretations and the production of essentializing categories of ethnicity. Combining quantitative and qualitative data might be a more suitable research design, not only to address the processes leading to the disadvantaging of specific groups and to adequately account for the diversity of strategies of economic, social, and cultural participation. Mixed methods research designs can help to understand how ethnic identity is forming, whether it is relevant for individuals' action and in which situation it is performing. Linking a qualitative study to a quantitative one thus might also provide a better understanding of the role of ethnic boundary making and exclusion processes in the formation of the second generation's life trajectories. It makes it possible to analyze the subjective experience of disadvantages and of discrimination and to analyze the effect on the strategies deployed by individuals to cope with or to adapt to these disadvantages.

5.2.3 Cross-National Comparison and the Role of Institutional Arrangements

Following K.U. Mayer, "individual life courses are to be seen as the product of societal and historical multilevel processes" (Mayer 2004: 166). In sociology of migration, the influence of the national and institutional context on the lives of immigrants and their children is being increasingly studied. A tradition of migration research in Europe has adopted a cross-national comparative perspective on the impacts of the institutional framework on outcomes such as educational attainment or labor market participation (Heckmann and Schnapper 2003; Heath et al. 2008) and, more recently, on the trajectories of immigrants' descendants in different European countries (Crul et al. 2012; Groh-Samberg et al. 2012; Tucci et al. 2013)⁸. In contrast to immigrants, descendants of immigrants go through the entire school system in the country to

⁸The project "The children of immigrants longitudinal survey in four European countries (CILS4EU)" provides the first comparative panel survey in Europe for the analysis of trajectories.

which their parents immigrated and experiences selection processes at different stages. Ideally, the school system is meant to offer equal chances of achieving upward social mobility. But many studies drawing upon PISA data have shown that, for example, social class has a strong influence on school achievement in Germany—stronger than, for example, in France (see, e.g., OECD 2006). This means that children of immigrants, who are from lower social classes on average, face greater disadvantage in the German school system. The national context, with its institutional arrangements, influences not only the participation of immigrants' descendants in different life domains but also their sense of belonging (Crul and Schneider 2010). Situating immigrants and children of immigrants in different national contexts leads us inevitably to consider how immigration histories and philosophies of integration (Favell 1998) affect the way immigrants and their children see themselves as members of a community, how they are seen by others and how they develop their own “patterns of belonging”. Being born in the country, immigrants' descendants also grow up incorporating its values and cultural norms, developing multiple identities and diverse patterns of national and transnational belonging.

The next Sect. 5.3 presents selected results from a French-German research project drawing on quantitative analyses of representative data as well as a field study, and addresses benefits as well as limits of this kind of methodological approach.

5.3 A French-German Comparative Research Applying Mixed-Methods

The research project, entitled “Professional Strategies and Status Passages of Young Adults with a Migration Background in France and Germany”, explored the educational and professional trajectories of young adults with a migration background in France and Germany. The methodological approach as well as a selection of results from this project are presented in the following.

5.3.1 Methodological Approach

The project had a quantitative and qualitative part. On the one hand, school and professional trajectories were analyzed using quantitative data from longitudinal or panel studies. Data from the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) for Germany and from the *Panel d'élèves du Second degré 1995* (MEN-DEPP) as well as from the *Enquête Génération 1998* (Céreq) for France were used. These surveys contain information on the country of origin and the nationality of the respondent and of his/her parents. This information was used to identify immigrants' descendants in an appropriate way. The kind of data used made not only possible the identification of typical educational and professional career patterns of second generation but also the

comparison of their trajectories with those of young adults with a native background in each country. This enabled the research team to determine, for example, the degree and timing of disadvantages in the trajectories of immigrants' children (Groh-Samberg et al. 2012). Among others, sequence analyses using the optimal matching method (Lesnard 2006; Blanchard et al. 2014) were conducted, followed by a hierarchical cluster analysis to define a typology of trajectories. Then a multinomial regression analysis was estimated to assess the probability of having a specific trajectory, controlling for the relevant predictors, in particular the socio-economic background of individuals. Typical school trajectories from age 11 to 18 and typical labor market entry trajectories from age of 18 and 25 years were identified among the survey respondents in each country.

Fieldwork was besides carried out in disadvantaged areas of Berlin and Paris in which a sample of 140 young adults with a migration background was qualitatively interviewed. This sample was selected in socially disadvantaged areas in order to consider the specific situation of the youth growing up in those neighborhoods, something that was not possible with the survey data used in the quantitative part of the project. Young men and women with both "successful" or stable as well as unstable life courses were selected in the field. The young men and women in Germany were of Turkish and Middle Eastern origin and in France of North African and sub-Saharan origin and were aged between 18 and 35 at the time of the interview.⁹ The interviews covered the following topics: parental immigration, school and occupational strategies, neighborhood, networks, peer groups, aspirations in terms of family and occupations, particularly good phases and negative phases of the life course.

The chosen mixed methods design had two advantages: first, the quantitative data provided generalizable results on school and labor market entry trajectories of immigrants' descendants compared to descendants of natives, while the qualitative sample added a facet to the picture by considering immigrants' descendants that are under-represented in the quantitative data, that is, those living in strongly segregated neighborhoods. Second, the sampling of individuals with heterogeneous trajectories in those neighborhoods made it easier to integrate the quantitative and qualitative results.

The qualitative material was analyzed to create a typology of life trajectories (for more details on the typology, see Groh-Samberg et al. 2012; and Tucci et al. 2013). This typology was constructed according to the type of educational and professional trajectory as well as the respondent's strategy of action. The strategy or logic of action reflects individuals' orientations in certain phases of the life course and different investments in important domains of life: in education and the acquisition of diplomas (formal strategy) or, on the other end of the continuum, the mobilization of peer groups and the pursuit of activities with a short-term perspective (informal strategy). Within this project, semi-structured interviews gave insight into how the migration project undertaken by the parents affected their children, what role aspirations and motivations played in achieving educational outcomes, and how role models and peers influenced the decision-making processes of immigrants' descendants.

⁹All of them were born in France or Germany or immigrated before the age of 12.

The typical school and labor market entry trajectories were constructed using the quantitative data on the one hand, and the qualitative analyses of interview data on the other hand. The linkage of both data types was done through the typologies of educational and professional trajectories that were established in each data set.¹⁰ This enabled us to link trajectories to structural opportunities and constraints, as well as to individual strategies of action that were analyzed using the qualitative data. As it will be shown in the following section, some trajectories emerging from the qualitative analysis were absent from the quantitatively defined typology. One advantage of mixing data types is the fact that their combination provides a sometimes complementary and fuller picture of social reality. It is not possible to present all the results obtained in this study here, but selected findings can be highlighted to illustrate the assets of the research design applied in this project.

5.3.2 *Selected Results*

First, one central result of the quantitative analyses is that ethnic disadvantage occurs early in the life course in Germany while in France it is more pronounced at the moment of labor market entry. This can be explained by differences in school and training systems in each country: in Germany, selection of a school track occurs at age 11, whereas in France, children all attend the same school (*collège*) until the age of 15. An extreme concentration of children of Turkish origin can be observed in the less prestigious school tracks in Germany. In France, immigrants' descendants of North African origin in particular tend to reach university mainly through the technical school track than through the general track of the *Baccalauréat*. This result could be interpreted as an advantage for second generation in France in comparison to children of immigrants in Germany, as more of the former attend the university than the latter. However, several studies show that students with a technical *Baccalauréat* have a high risk not to complete their university studies (Duru-Bellat and Kieffer 2008). All in all, one can say that the French educational system is more permeable than the German system. Interestingly, in Germany, descendants of Turkish immigrants are oriented more frequently into the dual system of apprenticeship after a relatively low school degree, compared to their native counterparts. By contrast, descendants of North African immigrants are in France oriented toward professional tracks which provide lower-valued qualifications. The field study indicated that this experience has produced a strong feeling of exclusion and high frustration among the youths interviewed in France at the opposite of the youths interviewed in Germany.

¹⁰In the research project titled “Transition to adulthood among the children of immigrants: A mixed-methods study based on the SOEP”, 26 selected longtime respondents of the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) were qualitatively interviewed. The project was founded by the German Research Foundation and carried out by Olaf Groh-Samberg, Ingrid Tucci, Nicolas Legewie and Martin Kroh.

Second, a trajectory of early school leavers could be identified only in the French survey data, which means that the German educational system—despite its high impermeability—tends to keep the children longer within the school system than the French educational system. This provides an indication of the institutional structuration of the early life course. The analysis of the qualitative material reveals, in fact, that the German educational system is more able than the French one to offer a second chance to young people who have faced difficulties in their school career (Tucci et al. 2011). Some aspects of the school and training system can thus help to stabilize trajectories and keep the youth “on the right track,” which underscores the important role of institutions in the lives of individuals with precarious trajectories. Another important aspect is in Germany the availability of welfare benefits to young people, whereas France is more restrictive in this regard (Tucci et al. 2013). This may explain why the young adults interviewed in the qualitative study exhibit much more precarious trajectories than those who were interviewed in Germany.

Third, in both countries, young people of Turkish and North African origin were more likely than native youths of similar socio-economic backgrounds to pursue an academic track and attend university rather than joining the high labor market segment after vocational training. This is particularly true for women of Turkish origin, who tend to be found in the academic track more frequently than German women of the same social class. This investment in a relatively long university education could be interpreted as a way to avoid discrimination when trying to enter high positions on the respective country’s labor market. Moreover, in the German case women have less access to enter the dual training system and continue their education at the University rather than leaving prematurely the school (Granato and Schittenhelm 2004). The qualitative interviews show that for the young people in this study, embracing their parents’ migration project as well as having role models representing the host country are important factors for a more “successful” trajectory. These “significant others” (Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008), who might be teachers, neighbors, or other adults, act as catalysts for some descendants of immigrants, offering new perspectives, motivation, and self-confidence in crucial phases of the life course.

Finally, the combination of the quantitative and qualitative results provides insights in the construction of life trajectories and strategies of action used by individuals. “Precarious” trajectories revealed in the French and German survey data frequently seem to appear around biographical turning points with radical changes in orientations that are seen in the qualitative sample (Keller et al. 2012). A first turning point might occur during the adolescence, when young people tend to focus on their peers and informal activities. Social relationships are especially important in this phase, during which young people often distance themselves to some degree from institutions such as the school system. A second turning point could be found in the trajectories of some interviewees, who showed a shift in orientation towards more formal activities, such as going back to finish secondary school or vocational qualifications after having previously dropped out. Combining the quantitative and the qualitative material allowed us to look at the dynamics underlying typical trajectories and to identify sensitive phases in the early life course that might lead, for example, to “downward pathways” as well as the institutional and social mecha-

nisms enabling young people to “get back on the right track.” One driving force behind such changes is the possibility to get a second chance after dropping out of school. In this sense, the German school system provides more opportunities than the French system.

5.3.3 Benefits and Limitations

The mixed methods design has made it possible to consider diverse trajectories and “pathways of incorporation” among the descendants of specific immigrant groups. Quantitative as well as qualitative results show that early life trajectories are relatively diverse *within “ethnic” groups*. It is important to consider this within-group variation to understand institutional and social processes as well as the individual strategies of action underlying these trajectories. The typology produced from the qualitative material allowed identification of trajectories that cannot be revealed with the quantitative results. Hence, the mixed methods design leads to results that are complementary and it gives a broader picture of the situation. One example can be seen in the life trajectories of some young adults who found a place in the ethnic economy through opportunities provided within the (in some cases extended) family context. Even if the trajectory in the ethnic economy did not appear as a typical trajectory in the survey data, it is no less important in the lives of young people with a migration background. For some of these individuals, the ethnic economy constitutes an alternative to the entry on labor market, where the risk of being discriminated against can be high. At the same time, the existence of this kind of alternative, which is considered a real and viable one by some young adults, might also explain a limited investment in school and training. Furthermore, the combination of the two types of data has made it possible to formulate new hypotheses, for example, concerning the between-country differences in trajectories and the experience of discrimination throughout the life course. Interestingly, despite an earlier and much more substantial disadvantage experienced at school by the descendants of immigrants in Germany compared to those in France, complaints about discrimination in school among the young adults interviewed in Germany were less vehement than those expressed in France.

These kinds of methodological approach have also some drawbacks. In the research described above, the young adults belonging to the qualitative sample grew up in strongly disadvantaged neighborhoods while the quantitative data are representative for young people of specific ethnic origins in each country. This makes it difficult to link the results directly, even if the combined analysis helps to prevent homogenization of trajectories and reveals mechanisms in the qualitative data that cannot be identified in the quantitative data (e.g., the meaning of the family migration history and parental migration project for the child’s educational and occupational aspirations and trajectory). Another drawback lies in the difficulty of linking the quantitative to the qualitative data because the respondents to the qualitative interviews were not sampled from the survey data. The qualitative interviewing of

respondents already selected in large representative panel surveys could offer a real opportunity (Groh-Samberg and Tucci 2010). Such a survey design was conducted in a research project that started at the end of 2014: a sample of 26 respondents to the SOEP survey, whose parents are immigrants, were interviewed qualitatively in order to obtain a narrative on the respondent's life course and to integrate more directly the quantitative and qualitative data (Legewie and Tucci 2008). The panel design of the SOEP, which provides information on life trajectories and personal data collected over a long period of time, can itself be considered as a kind of narrative and thus be interpreted as a "quantitative auto/biography" (Elliott 2008). Such a research design combining quantitative panel data from a large representative survey and qualitative data collected on the *same individuals* will make it possible to interrelate the second generation trajectories identified through the statistical analysis of the survey data and strategies of action in a more direct way. It will also contribute to advance the reflection on methodological, ethical and epistemological issues related to the realization of such a mixed methods research design.

5.4 Conclusion

The life course perspective necessary implies to take the time dimension into account in analyses and to look at objective aspects such as the succession of social statuses as well as subjective aspects such as orientations, logics of action, decision-making processes and biographical meanings of the trajectories (Wingens et al. 2011). In the case of analyses focusing on young people with a migration background, feelings of otherness, ascriptions by others and self-ascriptions can all be relevant to the construction process of life trajectories. The feeling of being discriminated in the school system, for example, can lead to major behavioral changes, bringing about a turning point in these young people's lives. From an analytical point of view, linking school to work trajectories and processes of union and family formation in the research on immigrants' descendants come to the fore that these two life domains are strongly interconnected. Aspirations for family formation or changes in family structure can explain the emergence of new necessities in terms of educational investments or professional engagement. The results of the French-German project described in the preceding Sect. 5.3 indicate that only some of the young men with difficult school trajectories accompanied by delinquent activities were able to get back on track. Frequently, such a transition to a more positive trajectory was motivated by the desire to start a family, which also requires a certain degree of professional and social stability. To understand such changes in orientation, one needs to understand what meaning is ascribed to education at a specific point in the life course and what motivates individuals to change their commitments and their strategy of action.

Analyzing the trajectories of young adults requires data that enable us to study the driving forces behind individual action. These data have to be qualitative and quantitative, collected in real time and over an extended period. In particular, crucial

crossroads in the transition to adulthood need to be accounted for in such surveys because of the monumental decisions that have to be made in this phase (Elder 1985; Bidart 2012). Combining qualitative and quantitative data makes it possible to generate complementary sets of data that will lead to new explanations of statistical results and more accurate theoretical explanations (Mason 2016; Bohnsack 2008). The use of the life course approach framework combined with mixed methods appears fruitful in revealing the variety of life trajectories that unfold among descendants of immigrants and in identifying the mechanisms shaping their trajectories as well as the crucial moments that might become turning points in their lives. Applied in cross-national comparisons, mixing methods can also help to unveil the links between the macro and micro levels, going further in sociological explanation.

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Chapter 6

Intergenerational Relationships in Migrant Families. Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Claudine Attias-Donfut and Joanne Cook

6.1 Introduction

Migration has become a family based project, whether it involves the migration of the whole family, the formation of family post-migration or the financial support of family in the country of origin. The growing tendency of migrants to settle permanently rather than to practice circular migrations raises new challenges, not only for migration policy but also for integration patterns and for family policy and practices. We are convinced that a generational approach is one of the most inspiring ways to explore such questions.

Migration experiences are indeed very different from one generation to another and they often exacerbate generational differences. Therefore it is necessary to develop studies to identify changes from one generation to the other within migrant families and to examine the impact of migration on the relationships between generations. This chapter is focused on theoretical and methodological issues through the presentation of studies investigating these generational changes, and combining several methods, using quantitative, qualitative and comparative data. We will first summarize some of the main results relating to the topic, on the basis of the literature and on studies that we have carried out at a national and cross-national level.

The family is increasingly understood as pivotal to migration, forming the central consideration in the majority of decisions to relocate and proving fundamental to shaping transitions to settlement (Knack and Settles Nauck and Settles 2001).

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Despite this recognition research on migrant families has been slow to emerge. The past decade has witnessed a growth in interest on migrant families in both research and policy arenas. While generational transitions can prove problematic post-migration, as parents and children adapt to the new country at differing rates, research and policy has been overly concentrated on the divides this creates and has, consequently, problematized migrants families as traditional and resistant to integration (Waite and Cook 2011; Foner and Dreby 2011; Kofman 2004). The findings discussed in this chapter are rooted in more nuanced and complex understanding of migrant families. It frames migrant families as fluid structures of intergenerational adaptation, renegotiation and change, and capable of supporting the transition of both parent and child generations as well as at times sites of conflict and contestation (Foner 1997, 2009; Creese et al. 1999; Creese 2011; Kofman 2004).

Let's first begin by a short presentation of two of these studies. The first one was conducted in France on a large sample of ageing migrants coming from all continents (PRI Survey). The second one is a comparative research conducted in Britain, France and South Africa which explores the migration experiences of African families across two generations.

6.2 Description of Immigrants and Retirement Survey

The Immigrants and Retirement Survey (*Enquête sur le Passage à la Retraite des Immigrés – PRI*) on immigrants' experience of ageing and retirement in France was conducted between November 2002 and February 2003 on the immigrant population aged 45–70 residing in France, as defined by place of birth (outside France) and nationality of birth (non-French), which includes people who have acquired French citizenship by naturalization but excludes French citizens by birth who were born in other countries.¹ The Immigrants and Retirement Survey differs from most other surveys of immigration, which focus on the issue of integration, because the main purpose was to study immigrants' transition from work to retirement and record their life, migration, occupational and family histories. The survey contains information about the respondents' socio-demographic and economic characteristics, their family circles and social networks, as well as economic assistance and transfers they receive and provide. It also deals with plans for retirement, including intentions about future country of residence. Lastly, it studies the respondents' living conditions at retirement, opinions of retirement, changing inter-generational relationships and attitudes to the host country and home country. The survey includes data on religion and religiosity, which is rare in studies conducted in France

¹ Algerians born during the period of French colonization who opted for Algerian citizenship after independence were included in the sample, whereas French citizens born in Algeria, “pieds-noirs”, were not surveyed.

and is therefore worthy of note. The survey covered the 12 regions of mainland France, where 90% of the total target population lives.²

The choice of the 45–70 age group targets the life stages of maturity and retirement. It makes it possible to study cohorts from waves of migration with specific profiles and origins at a precise period in recent migration history, namely the 1960s, which saw the largest inflow of migrants in the history of France. To ensure that the sample contained an optimum number of migrants from the most significant flows, the age structure of people from the different groups of countries was taken into account. The lower age limit of 45 enabled nationals from sub-Saharan and North Africa to be included. The upper age limit was set at 70 to balance the sample, avoiding over-representation of Italians and Spaniards and under-representation of Africans and Asians.

The sample is large enough to allow specific studies of immigrants from three southern European countries (Italy, Portugal and Spain) and three North African countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia). Some overall conclusions can be drawn for immigrants from Turkey. Other countries are grouped into broadly homogeneous geographical regions.

Albeit the data are cross-sectional, they offer several interesting features when focusing on the motives for private transfers to children. First, there are questions about the provision of transfers made during the last 5 years and parents indicate whether they have helped each of their children. Second, parents provide the main characteristics of the children. The information on the child generation given by parents presents specific advantages: First all of the siblings of the same family are described, which allow the comparison between them. For example, the gender differences are more obvious. This method also gives access to a phenomenon which is difficult to observe: how many children were left behind, what are their characteristics and their situation in the country of origin. We can also get information about children who left the host country to migrate to another country or to return to the country of origin. Although the level of income of the children remains unknown, the survey includes a measure of the children's financial position (through a qualitative evaluation by parents, see Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2008).

6.3 Qualitative and Comparative Study

The second comparative study on migration and intergenerational relations among African migrants was conducted in France, Britain and South Africa, during 2008–2010. The objectives of the study were to compare experiences of African migrants living in different socio-political contexts, to illuminate the ways that regional and

²The sample was obtained by random sampling performed by Insee on the basis of the population census of 1999, 12,000 “address files” were selected. The data were collected by INSEE surveyors through face-to-face interviews lasting approximately 90 min, using a questionnaire on a laptop computer (CAPI). The final sample consists of 6211 people living in ordinary households.

national contexts shape migration experiences. This research compares how different post-colonial/post-Apartheid histories and policies of migration shape the experiences and lives of older African migrants and their children. One of the main questions is focused on **citizenship and belonging**: How do generational dynamics intersect with the construction (and change) of different realms of belonging.

6.3.1 Research Methods of the Comparative Study

The qualitative research methods included focus groups with African migrants (organized according to gender, age and community), and biographical interviews with two family members across parent and child generations. The interviews were also followed up by a short face to face demographic questionnaire. The research was carried out by three research teams who worked collectively to develop comparative research tools, fieldwork and analysis. All three studies adopted the same methodological tools (interview guides) and also carried out key informant interviews with policy makers at the national and local levels, as well as interviews with migrant community representatives.

Each study was funded independently; the French Study was funded by the CNAV, the British by the British Academy and the South African by the North-West University.

The populations examined in these studies are drawn from African nationalities which have a historical relationship with the three countries of study. Very little comparative research exists that examines African migration and intergenerational relationships across European and African contexts (See Creese 2011; Foner and Dreby 2011). Thus the primary focus of this study was to examine the migration experiences of a much under-researched Diaspora, that of African families who have settled in three distinct countries with different post-colonial histories and structures. There are important insights to be gleamed from a focus on the African Diaspora's experiences of integration into the different cultural spaces with their own colonial histories of inclusion and exclusion. This is not to underplay the importance of ethnic differences within the Diaspora but this was not the primary aim of the comparative elements of the projects. For the British and French studies the populations are drawn from former colonies or protectorate African countries. The South African study focuses upon countries that have traditionally been a source of migrant labor and supportive in the anti-Apartheid struggle, namely Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Designing qualitative comparative methodologies across three countries is inevitably a complex process, which necessitates compromises and flexibility in design to accommodate national contexts and socio-cultural differences. While sample sizes differed across the three studies due to variations in funding (Table 6.1), each study applied the same research methods, interview tools and sample criteria. That is each project sought to recruit families where at least two generations were willing to take part in individual biographical interviews, where the family had been settled

Table 6.1 Participants' number by country

| Country | No. of focus groups | No. of families | Total bi-generational interviews |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| France | 4 | 24 | 56 |
| Britain | 8 | 20 | 40 |
| South Africa | 4 | 10 | 20 |

in the new country for at least 2 years, and where the second generation were aged 15 and over. The recruitment methods varied across the three studies, in the UK ethnic community associations and migrant support organizations were used to recruit participants. In France and South Africa recruitment was organized through a combination of community organizations and individual snow balling. Some of the participants in focus groups also took part in the bi-generational family interviews but the focus groups were also used to gather additional experiences from other families who did not take part in the biographical phases.

Overall the three studies included over 200 participants in the bi-generational interviews and focus groups.

The socio-economic settings of these three studies were all large scale cities experiencing varying degrees of economic prosperity and restructuring. Two of the cities were capitals; Pretoria and Paris, and the two regional economic centers of Leeds and Johannesburg and two sizable regional cities of Sheffield and Grenoble. Altogether the research spanned six cities which have been long established destinations for African migration.

The results have been published in Attias-Donfut et al. (Eds.) (2012b). The impact of migration across generations is a core theme running throughout this book and the chapters examine the impact of migration on the transmission of family practices, culture and tradition across generations, alongside the evolution of familial intergenerational relationships post-migration.

The comparative analysis is located around three core themes, citizenship, belonging and intergenerational relations. By drawing upon these three analytical foundations it is possible to examine familial, state and societal structures as both enabling and disabling systems which shape the citizenship and lived experiences of African migrants and their post-migration sense of belonging.

6.4 Theoretical and Empirical Issues on Migrant Intergenerational Relationships

Two main opposing propositions have been set up to describe family changes following migration. On the one hand family cohesion is assumed to be higher in immigrant families as compared to non-migrant families in the receiving countries. On the other hand, the second proposition suggests greater family disintegration and alienation or conflict due to the contradiction between traditional family values and individualization as proposed by modernization theory.

In fact, neither of these propositions has been really validated so far. According to several studies, there is no evidence of significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in the level of solidarity or conflict (see, for example, Bolzman et al. 2006 for Switzerland and Baykara-Krumme 2008 for Germany, among others).

As a family project, migration involves all family generations linked by a complex set of gifts, debts and reciprocity. Help given to parents, including financial transfers, as well as other forms of help, is part of a gift contract. In addition, conflicts and solidarity are not incompatible with each other, and the notion of ambivalent relationships, developed by Lüscher and Lettke (2008), is applicable both to migrant and non-migrant families. Thus, rather than a fracturing of intergenerational relations post-migration research has revealed complex processes of renegotiation that take place in migrant families that involve restructuring, contestation, compromise and in some circumstances conflict (Foner 1997; Creese et al. 1999; Kofman 2004). These approaches reveal the fluid nature of migrant families and the complex renegotiations that take place across both generations to ensure the successful settlement of the family in a new land.

Inevitably migration brings specific changes in the functioning of families following migration. These include: (a) The contraction around nuclear family relations; (b) the central positions taken by the children; (c) the changes in gender relations; and (d) the transfer behaviors of migrants; (e) the intergenerational social mobility.

(a) The contraction around nuclear family relations is common to many migrants from different countries. It is reinforced by the political and legal difficulties that family members encounter when joining their families in the new country. Sometimes conflicts between parents and children are related to the consequences of having been absent from their everyday life for a long period. This is an example of what Colen (1995) named ‘stratified reproduction’ to describe social inequality in child rearing. In addition, bringing up children without the support of the extended family is a challenge for many migrants, mainly for African migrants who are used to sharing the responsibility of the children with the extended family and neighbors (Journet and Julliard 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005).

The loss of extended family networks in everyday practices was a recurring theme in the comparative study. For example, parents in all three countries spoke of the challenge of bringing up children without the support of the extended family, and the incongruence between practices in their country of origin where bringing up children was a ‘shared project’ in which all adults played a role. This placed a heavy burden on parents and particularly upon the women in these families who were no longer able to share the child care across generations. However the research also found that despite the distancing of extended family relations the central importance of the family group remained, and was upheld through the transmission of the bonds between the generations which continued to operate transnationally.

- (b) The family project is being reconstructed mainly around the central positions taken by children, who have the moral obligation to socially succeed in the host country, as a return gift, to repay for parents' and grandparents' "sacrifices", and to contribute to taking care of family members (Attias-Donfut and Waite 2012). This explains the strong motivations transmitted by migrants to their children to succeed at school. Further children often play an important role as helpers at a younger age than in non-migrant families. Since they have a better knowledge of the language and of the social codes than their parents, they are able to serve as mediators between them and the social environment. This can result in a kind of inversion of the respective positions of parents and children in family responsibilities. In the comparative study high educational values and a drive for the child generation's success were prominent in all the African families across the three countries. Education was seen as the key route to social mobility for the family as a whole. The upward mobility of the child generation through educational success were strong values held by the parent generation, emphasized through transmission and symbolized by the investment of resources to ensure their children could reap the benefits of migration. However there are some cases of painful failures. For example, in the French sample some parents left quite good employment positions in Africa, in order to set up a better business in France, but they did not succeed. They could not go back home, because they would have lost face, and they are obliged to stay and live in a downwardly mobile position in France (Attias-Donfut et al. 2012a).
- (c) Changes in gender relations – these are closely linked to changes in intergenerational relations, both resulting in a decrease in traditional familial patriarchal norms. Women experience a process of "liberation" in the host country, since they benefit from the relaxation of gender divisions. In addition, more and more women are playing an increasingly important role in financially supporting their families post-migration. Female migration can be seen in some cases as a process of migrant women empowerment (Foner 1997). The move to a new society has exacerbated gender changes for many of these families (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Hansen 2008), especially since women are playing an increasingly important role in financially supporting their families post-migration (Kofman and Meetoo 2008). Migration may be experienced as a liberating process when it serves as a way to escape from a controlling, hostile and violent social environment. Marital conflicts existing prior to migration may be one of the reasons for the decision to migrate (Araujo 2009). More generally we observe that at the time of retirement, women are less willing than men to return to the country of origin, they are reluctant to play a traditional role again back in their home country.

Shifts in gender hierarchies were identified across the British, French and South African samples in the comparative study. This is reflected in the high incidence of single parent families in the French and British studies, and of female migrants moving with one or more child leaving their husbands behind to look after younger children as is evident in the South African study. The transformation of gender relations within African migrant families is further

shaped by the integration of the child generations into French, British and South African society, where the opportunities available to women are different to those on offer to their mother's generation in their country of origin. Sometimes these transformations in gender relations were resisted and in a minority of cases they led to family break-off. But what the intergenerational perspective of this study reveals is that for both generations migration afforded family members with a degree of agency over what they chose to transmit to the next generation and for many families this involved opening educational opportunities and greater freedoms to their daughters. A process that seemed to increase as the generations passed (Attias-Donfut et al. 2012a).

In intergenerational relations, religious references are important, especially among Muslim families which represent an important and growing part of immigrants in Europe (much more than in the U.S.). Parents come from patriarchal families where the notion of respect is omnipresent and dialogue is absent, especially on topics linked to sexual life. Children have to perpetuate cultural and religious traditions; women must marry a Muslim partner and not have sexual relations outside marriage. In France, the majority of marriages of second-generation Muslim migrants are endogamous, some being arranged by parents, others being negotiated between parents and children, and around 2% are forced marriages (which are illegal of course). Mixed marriages, which represent a minority, sometimes lead to a generational break-off. However, while parental control over children works during the premarital period, it does not work anymore in the conjugal life of children. The latter become more individualized and they progressively adopt the values of their peer group in general society. They adopt norms of education less oriented toward the transmission of the tradition and more toward child development, and as time passes, migrant children are moving away from religious observance (Collet and Santelli 2012).

- (d) Financial transfers among migrants' families. With the circulation of human beings, there is an increasing circulation of financial capital. Remittances nowadays represent a considerable amount of money. The economic stakes involved in these international flows are huge, both at the macro and micro-level of the functioning of the families involved. Money sent by migrants may, to a great extent, improve the standard of living of the family left behind. This also has an impact on the receiving countries, as migrants reduce their standard of living and consume less in the host country because they devote a part of their revenue to their families in the countries of origin. At the macroeconomic level, remittances affect the economic growth of origin countries as well as the brain drain from those countries (Beine et al. 2008). Despite the importance of this phenomenon, the transfer behaviors of migrants living in Europe have not been sufficiently studied. We lack data on this topic as on many other questions related to migration.

We hypothesize that migrants' attitudes and decisions regarding financial transfers are different from those of the general population, based on four reasons (Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2008). First, family structures vary according to the country of origin. Fertility rates are still high in some developing countries, resulting in large extended families, including many siblings. The family soli-

darity network size is essential for the functioning of transfers, large families providing multiple opportunities and obligations to help and get support. Second, migrants often belong to a ‘transnational family’, part of it being located in the country of origin, part of it being in the country of residence. This concerns particularly the first generation of immigrants. Consequently, they are submitted to two distinct pressures: from the family in the country of residence and from the family left behind. Some migrants have children both in the host country and in the country of origin. In other cases, parents and siblings are still in the home country, while spouse and children live in their new place of residence. In such a configuration, we can expect the existence of a double channel of transfers, one directly linked to migration through the return of money to the country of origin and another one circulating between family members living in the new country.

Thirdly, the level of responsibilities towards either parents or children is deeply shaped by the social benefits available to family members in the country where they live. Consequently, they are expected to vary a lot according to migratory waves and the origins of the migrants. The level of social welfare in the country of origin directly impacts the financial transfer behavior of migrants. Therefore, we do not expect to find among them the same transfer decisions as in the general population of the host country. Lastly, these differences in transfer behaviors are not only due to economic and political, but also to cultural factors (Antonucci and Jackson 2003).

According to the PRI data, we find that migrants are mainly givers. They give much more and more frequently than they receive. The proportion of respondents claiming that they have made cash gifts or loans during the last 5 years amounts to 38.6%, but only 6.2% of them report having received some money. This difference may be due to the fact that migrants have higher wages in the host country with respect to the other family members. They may also have received, at an earlier date, money from the family, before the migration, and now have to honor their debt. The structure of their solidarity network is less exclusively focused on the intergenerational line, compared to what we already know about the general population in France (see Attias-Donfut and Arber 2000). There are also significant exchanges with siblings (8.5%) and to a lesser extent with non family members (4.8%).³

When considering the direction of money given, we find that parents are more frequently receivers than children. The frequency of gifts to children is 14.4%, while it is 17.7% for gifts to parents. In comparison to family transfers among natives in France, the importance of ascending transfers is the main characteristic of migrants’ behavior (Attias-Donfut 1995; Kohli 1999). As shown in Fig. 6.1, those who give to elderly parents are mainly coming from developing countries where retirement systems are scarce or absent. While about 2–3% of the respondents send money to their parents in Italy or Spain, this proportion amounts to 30.5% for migrants born in Morocco and to 29% for migrants born in Tunisia. The main givers to parents are mostly coming from

³We note that non-family members are more frequently involved in money lending than in money giving.

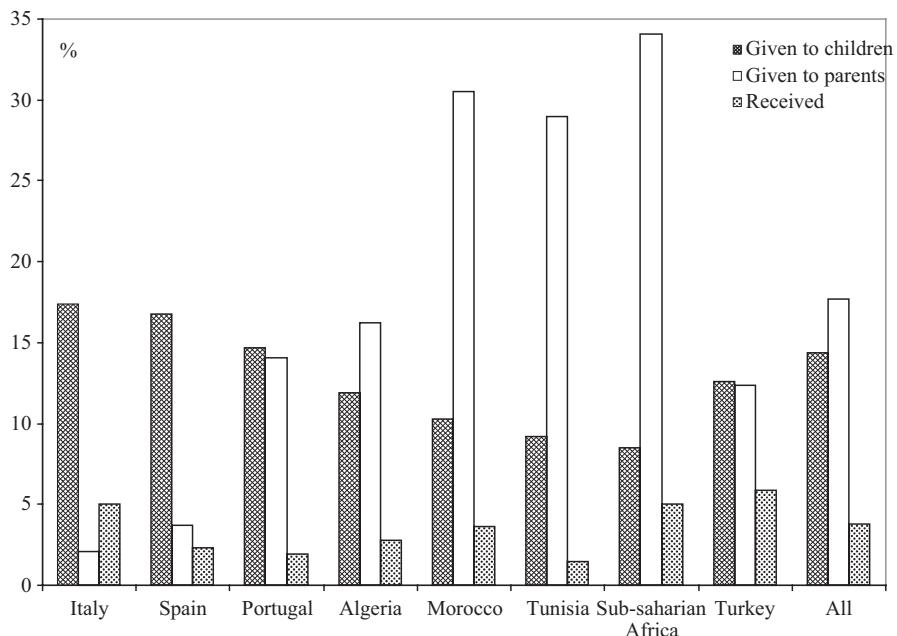


Fig. 6.1 The pattern of family financial transfers, by country of origin (PRI survey 2003)

Maghreb, Sub-Saharan Africa and to a lesser extent from Portugal. Money given by migrants to parents plays the role of old age insurance.

Conversely, migrants coming from Northern Europe have the same pattern of transfers as the general French population, i.e. essentially large cash gifts made to children and very few ascending financial transfers. These European countries are all welfare societies, though their welfare systems have different levels of generosity. This result confirms the role played by pension systems in shaping modern family transfers. The implementation of old age pensions has changed the circulation of private economic support, henceforth directed toward children and no longer toward parents. The development of the welfare state has thus resulted in an inversion of the direction of transfers. The downward direction of transfers is now generalized in Europe, regardless of the level of generosity of the welfare state.

While the settlement of migrants tends to become permanent, especially among migrants who have had long stays in the host country, capital partly flows from the host country to Country of Origin, thus establishing an invisible and strong bridge between two distinct worlds, that of emigration and immigration. This financial help compensates for the lack of care in the form of time transfers, due to geographical distance.

But do ageing migrants in host countries receive more family care than the non-migrant elderly? Contrary to a popular belief, this is not the case. Elderly migrants, like non-migrants, need complementary care from public services and they are not reluctant to get professional help when they need it. Where elderly

migrants have less recourse to professional services this may be due to their lack of information, lack of support structures to enable access or because they do not dare to assert their rights. More information and more professional training are needed to facilitate the delivery of public support to older migrants.

Indeed the comparative study confirmed the welfare mix that older migrants had opted for post-migration with many of them retaining their preference to be cared for in extended family networks but at the same time reflecting upon what they could realistically expect from their children. Consequently, the African parent generations were accepting of the need to either agree to a mixture of state and family care in later life or they had made plans to return home in later life to be cared for and play a senior role in their extended family and community networks in their country of origin (Attias-Donfut et al. 2012a).

- (e) Intergenerational social mobility. The main route for success is education. And it works: Whatever the country of origin, the great majority of the children are doing better than their parents, despite less favorable conditions compared with the native population. Among the second generation, school performance is quite high, mainly among girls, who succeed better than boys on average in all migrant groups (Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2009). This result is usually underestimated by researchers when they compare the second generation to their peers in the native population regardless of the social position of the family. The tendency is rather to emphasize the position of migrants as ‘dominated’ people, in the line of Bourdieu’s ‘domination theory’ (Sayad 1999). According to our results the great majority of migrants consider themselves as having climbed the social scale relative to their parents, and they think that their children are again doing better than themselves. The minority which considers itself in social descent is overrepresented among African migrants. African migrants in France as well as in the UK and in the U.S. include a high proportion of people with a high level of education. An important brain drain characterizes African migration waves. The United Nations (2004) reports that on average, migrants from Africa have had schooling that is three times as long as the average national population at the migrants’ destination. Especially in Europe, there is an underutilization of their skills and qualifications resulting in a loss of human capital.

6.5 Identity Transmission and Reconstruction from One Generation to the Other

Finally, what is crucially at stake among generations of immigrants is not so much the functioning of solidarity nor the affective bonds, which are usually maintained and sometimes reinforced, but rather the questions related to the transmission of values, norms, family and collective memory, involving personal and social identity and the sense of belonging.

Migrant families frequently retain ties to their country of origin while simultaneously settling in their country of migration. Migrants, being ‘here and there’, belong at least to two places. This dual attachment has produced an abundant literature on the notions of identity, belonging, and citizenship. Belonging is commonly described with regard to a ‘sense of belonging’, an exploration of ‘feelings of being in place’. The emotional aspects of belonging are at the core of this definition. ‘*Belonging should be seen as an emotionally constructed category*’ (British Home Office report 2008). It is different from ethnic identity, which in turn is not static and fixed but is constantly re-constructed in relation to the social and political environment and in relation to citizenship. Citizenship too is evolving in relation to migration and to the meaning given to national identity. The idea of ‘postnational citizenship’ (Soysal 1994), was followed by a recognition of ‘transnational citizenship’. Plurilocal attachments are compatible with simultaneous national belonging. However, since 9/11, we are witnessing a resurgence of citizenship, in nation-states: Citizenship is becoming conditional on fulfilling multiple rules and conditions and increasingly linked to ‘belonging’. The states are concerned about national identity and social cohesion linked to questions of security in migration policies. There are different realms of belonging: *sense, everyday practices, and formal structures* (e.g. citizenship).

Civic stratification, a concept which we owe to Lockwood (1996), and which was developed more deeply by Morris (2002) seems to be useful to understand some generational dynamics in immigrant families. It is a form of inequality which crosscuts ethnic, geographical or socio-economic inequality. This concept refers to the system of rights granted to the immigrants, which forms a hierarchy just like the social hierarchy and in interaction with it. Such a system exists everywhere but its shape and the strength of its constraints vary according to the national migratory policies.

The position of migrants in civic stratification can be different from one generation to the other. For example a child born in the host country may have a higher position and/or more civic rights than his/her parents who were born outside the country. Citizenship and belonging are evolving from one generation to the next. Many parents express strong attachment to their country of origin, but they rarely can transmit this attachment to their children who belong more to the new country, which is generally their birth country. When children visit their parents’ country of origin, some are not close to it and may feel like foreigners. Very few would like to live there, as shown in all studies. The majority has complex attachment to both places. There is a generational discontinuity between first and second generation in most domains: socio-economic milieu, belonging, citizenship, language, way of life, women’s roles, values... The generational chain has been interrupted; there is no more reproduction from one generation to the next, but rather an unchaining process which favors the membership in the new society.

In our comparative study on African migrant families, we found in the second generation a deep desire to integrate in all of the three different migration regimes, more assimilationists in France, more multicultural in Britain, and despite the lack of rights and discrimination met in post-apartheid South Africa. The pulling power of the current social environment seems more decisive than family legacy. But the problem is acceptance by the host country. As Anthias (2006) says, “To belong is to

be accepted as part of a community". Some of the second generation find obstacles to integration because of persistent messages of exclusion, difficulties getting a job, living in poor urban sections. Or they are attracted by other identifications, ethnicities, religion or political values, which may be a reaction to the feeling of exclusion. Religious belonging creates a space for the construction of an identity that transcends state borders. As analyzed by Glick Schiller and Çaglar (2008), belonging to transnational networks brings a feeling of empowerment by the strength of network ties as well as the belief system. This is facilitated by the internet which is, mainly for the younger generation, a new public sphere for the expression of citizenship, be it local, national or global.

While the first generation seems more respectful of social order and established institutions, the second generation is more demanding. Immigrant children, at least some of them, are struggling for the right to be different without compromising the right to belong. These demands concern mainly the field of religion. Being more integrated into the society, they are also more willing to protest, to be politically involved, and to exert an influence to bring changes so that their host countries become effectively plural.

In France, according to our results, feelings of discrimination are increasing from the first to the second generation. One of the reasons may be that migrant children have more interaction with others and the native population, another reason are their greater demands and their frustration for not being recognized as full members of the society. The same results are found in the survey done in Clichy-Montfermeil, the suburb where the 2005 riots took place and which has been completely renovated since these events (Kepel 2011).

6.6 Transmigration and Ageing

A key theme running throughout the migration literature is the emergence of transmigration and processes of 'circulation' or 'comings and goings' between the new country and the country of origin. Several studies point out an increase in the 'circulation of children' between migrant parents and grandparents in the country of origin (CoO). Alongside this process there has been a growth in older generations engaging in transmigration as a way of living across two locations rather than engaging in permanent return (Attias-Donfut 2006; Bolzman et al. 2004). Transnationalist practices are expressed in several ways, among them, remittances (see above), visits to CoO, the desire to return, or the imaginary return to ancestors through repatriation to the bodies to be buried in the CoO.

The nostalgic dream of return to an idealized homeland remains a strong narrative in the lives of first generation residents; its presence shapes family life influencing experiences of settlement and belonging as well as structuring transmission and relations across generations (Wessendorf 2007; Maynard et al. 2008; Levitt 2009; King et al. 2011). The dream of returning to life as it once was in the country of origin sustains migrant families through the difficult times of settling and adapt-

ing to a new country (Ganga 2006). While the desire to return is often overstated in the literature, with many immigrants settling permanently in the country of migration, the exploration of and the desire to return remain on the agenda in many families (Waite and Cook 2011; Attias-Donfut et al. 2012a). Turning this dream into a reality comes to the fore for first generation migrants as they approach retirement. Many of them have to make a decision: to settle permanently in host country, to return to the CoO, or to engage in transmigration (to come and go between the two countries).

The comparative study found that the project of return was stronger amongst the parent than the child generation but that some children also shared the desire to live in their parent homeland in the future. In addition the desire to return was more frequently present in the narrative of the families residing in South Africa and Britain than it was in the French sample. This related to the migration routes (with a larger proportion in the British sample that had been forced to migrate due to civil war). Similarly the families living in South Africa were more likely to see their migration as temporary and the reunification with their families in the homeland as the end result (Attias-Donfut et al. 2012a). Despite these differences the project of return evolved within the African families out of a balancing of the needs of the whole family (child education, elder care etc.) As a consequence, some first generation migrants let go of their dream of return in order to retain close proximity to their children and grandchildren. For a small minority in our sample, transmigration was viewed as a realistic compromise. Living across the two countries was portrayed as a way of holding onto the dream of return particularly within the French and British studies.

The PRI survey results show that only a small percentage of migrants choose to return to their CoO: 7% on average, ranging from 2% among the Algerians to 17% among the Sub-Saharan Africans (Fig. 6.2).

The significant variables characterizing the minority who choose to return are the following:

- Gender: more men than women
- Family bonds: Having children in home country and no child in France
- Family bonds: Having siblings in home country and no siblings in France
- Health: those in rather good health
- Ownership: those having no ownership in France
- Age of migration: having migrated late in life
- Citizenship: no French citizen
- Country of origin: coming more often from Portugal or Sub-Saharan Africa

One of the most fundamental factors shaping the decision to engage in return migration is the location of children, with parents overwhelmingly opting to live near to where their children reside. In this sense decisions about return are shaped by the needs of all of the family members. Key influences include the location of family members, economic resources (housing), health condition and cultural identification. The decision to remain, return or engage in transmigration for first generation migrants depends on the specific manner in which they combine personal

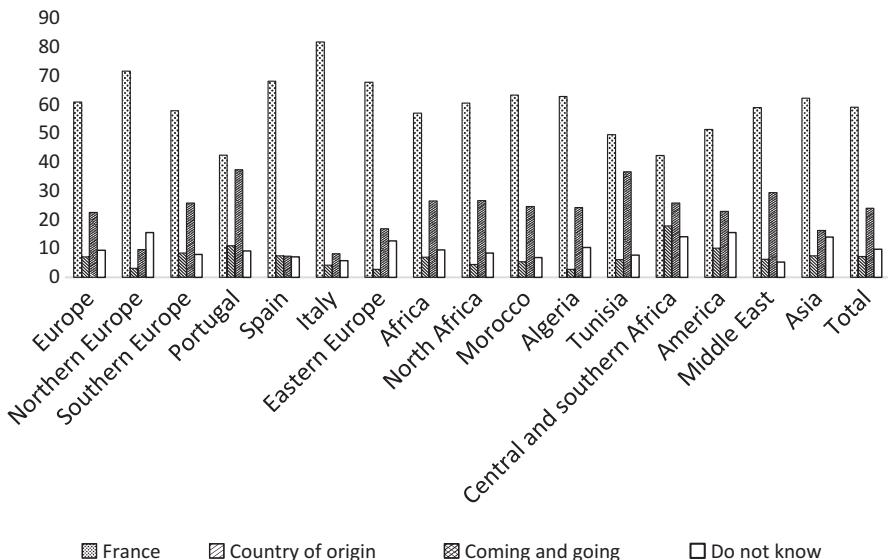


Fig. 6.2 Life choice for retirement by country (in %) (PRI survey 2003)

resources and cultural identity (Bolzman et al. 2004). For those who opt for transmigration both countries have acquired personal meaning so they ‘come and go’ between the two. However, it is important to recognize that the option to engage in transmigration is not open for everyone since it requires significant economic resources. Thus for those with financial difficulties the tendency to settle permanently is much higher, especially if they do not own property in the country of origin. For the majority who decide to remain this involves letting go of the dream of return for at least the foreseeable future. Moreover, the socialization of the child and, to some extent, also parent generations into the culture and society of their host country can lead migrants to feel like foreigners upon return. Consequently the desire to return may become less appealing once it is translated into reality.

There is also an imaginary return *post mortem*. The choice to end one’s life in the host country can be associated with the decision to be buried in the home country. The PRI study reveals a strong preference for burial in the home country among persons from Africa and from Muslim countries. 68.2% of migrants from Turkey, 58.5% of those coming from North Africa and 44.5% of those coming from Sub-Saharan Africa want to be buried in their country of origin, while this desire is only expressed by less than 12% of those coming from Asia or European countries. The Portuguese represent an exception, with 34.4% wanting to be buried in Portugal.

There are again several variables which influence this choice. Women prefer to be buried in France more often than men, mainly in order to have their grave visited by children. Family geography has a strong influence: when their parents are buried in France, or when they live there, the migrants always prefer to be buried in France.

Table 6.2 Burial location preferences of migrants according to their country of origin (in %) (PRI Survey 2003)

| | France | Country of origin |
|-----------------------|--------|-------------------|
| Europe C&N | 56.7 | 10.7 |
| Portugal | 31.5 | 34.4 |
| Spain | 66.3 | 12.1 |
| Italy | 76.8 | 8.1 |
| Maghreb | 23.0 | 58.5 |
| Africa | 27.2 | 44.5 |
| Sub-Saharan | | |
| Turkey | 20.0 | 68.2 |
| Asia | 62.4 | 12.1 |

This appears to be an important factor in the assertion of the feeling of belonging to France. It shows the symbolic power of death rituals among the migrant population (Table 6.2).

The choice of burial place is thus founded upon a sense of belonging to a territory, a group or a family network, but it also raises a ‘generational dilemma’:

Migration is liable to introduce spatial discontinuity between the place where people are buried (in the home country) and the place where they live, thereby breaking the territorial link in the chain of generations. The only two options are to break with the dead or to break with the living. Burial in the country of adoption consecrates the break with the past and with the dead, forcing those who make this choice to abandon any hope of joining the chain of generations, though it preserves their chances of being remembered by the living and hence their survival by proxy. Conversely, being laid to rest with one’s ancestors as a mark of loyalty to family history may cut individuals off from the living generations, those of the future, and compromise their chances of survival by proxy, since their graves are likely to be abandoned by the living. So migrants whose offspring have settled in France may thus face a dilemma (Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2005: 702).

6.7 Conclusions

Migration sheds a specific light on the life course and the relationship between generations, and the process of ageing. It poses at the same time new policy challenges that are still unrecognized in many countries. As has been shown in this chapter, the core of the migration experience is the reshaping of life courses and intergenerational relationships and the restructuring of family life in a new socio-cultural setting. The chapter has highlighted several gaps in existing research which if addressed could offer significant insights for research and policy. Key areas include the need for more research examining financial transfer/remittance behaviors of migrants living in Europe. Money transfers have great consequences not only on the bonds between the two countries, but also on living standards and social mobility of successive generations. Growing older in the country of migration involves a complex welfare mix which is shaped by what migrant parents can realistically expect from their children alongside unequal degrees of access to welfare and professional

services. While many migrants assert their preference to be cared for in extended family networks more information and more professional training are needed to facilitate the delivery of public support to older migrants. Historically, research and policy has been preoccupied with conflict in intergenerational relations, while not denying the challenges migration poses for intergenerational relations, this chapter has highlighted the need for policy and research to develop a greater focus on the renegotiation and adaptation of intergenerational relationships and expectations across generations and genders. Familial expectations are being renegotiated not just by the resistance and renegotiation of child generations but also by the new gender freedoms of mothers (and some fathers) who are key to extending these transformations across the generations. Finally this chapter has highlighted some of the core challenges facing Immigrant children around their claiming of citizenship and belonging in the new country. It has pointed to how some of the child generation are struggling for the right to be different without compromising the right to belong. These claims are particularly pertinent in the emerging tensions around migration surfacing across Europe. Importantly this chapter has argued how research around the citizenship and belonging of migrants can inform policy and help negotiate a more inclusive citizenship settlement for migrant generations.

Despite their importance for the understanding of the evolution of modern states, such topics are still under-researched and remain either misunderstood in social policy or entirely excluded. Intercultural and intergenerational research is needed, including two or three family generations across countries and across continents. The studies presented in this chapter bring methodological advances in this respect, showing the importance of combining several methodological approaches in order to understand the passing of generations across countries. This research would throw greater light on the impact of migration on the bonds and support that passes between family generations as well as generating greater understanding of the role families play in the settlement of the next generations.

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Chapter 7

Using a Cohort Survey to Track the Entry into Adult Life of Young People from Immigrant Backgrounds

Emmanuelle Santelli

7.1 Introduction

Comparative studies in Europe show how much the transition into adulthood meets specific societal norms and arrangements. Van de Velde (2008), in her book on the comparative sociology of youth in Europe, highlights four models. From southern to northern Europe, different types of coming-of-age experiences increasingly justify the logic of individual emancipation. On this scale, France can be situated between southern and northern Europe: the young have a ‘(...) form of experience of youth which is linked to social integration, (...) caught between the desire for personal development and the constraints of a social structure which strongly links potential employment to their initial training’ (Van de Velde 2008: 16).

Current social conditions, coupled with a greater diversification of practices, have led to a rethinking of the ‘family model of settlement’ (Battagliola et al. 1997). The thesis on the extension of youth (Cavalli and Galland 1994) has highlighted the complexity of the transitory states which precede the crossing of thresholds (symbolized by starting work, becoming a couple, leaving the parental home) and the indecision which henceforth characterizes this life stage. The great uncertainties which weigh heavily on the world of work (unemployment, precarious contracts, deskilling) and the increase in the number of years of education all help to explain in part this social transformation (Dubet 2001; Nicole-Drancourt and Roulleau-Berger 2002[1995]). Van de Velde’s (2008) analysis stresses, moreover, the link to be established between the provisional and reversible nature of the frontiers of youth and the entry into adulthood, which is, first and foremost, ‘a fundamentally progressive process of individualization’. It expresses the evolutions in contemporary individuality: ‘The extension of youth’ refers essentially to a deep and qualitative transformation of

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pathways to adulthood. If places are no longer definitively allocated, and if social links are set up more selectively, becoming an adult is no longer considered only as a status to be gained but also as a way of life to be lived on a meaningful pathway' (Van de Velde 2008: 7). She concludes that the representation (of adulthood) has changed, transformed 'from a material independence to be acquired into an autonomy to be constructed' (Van de Velde 2008: 9).

Nevertheless, Van de Velde also specifies that this tendency weakens in differentiated ways depending on social and gendered cleavages. Aware of the difficulties encountered by young immigrants, and the resultant social inequalities in terms of the level of studies achieved, the unemployment rate, and the types of work contract, we would expect this life stage to proceed in a particular manner for this population (Hamel et al. 2011). It is therefore with the aim of understanding these differentiated ways of coming of age that a survey was carried out with a cohort of young French adults of North African origin.

In this contribution I discuss the methodology of cohort analysis used for this survey in which was employed a two-pronged approach – quantitative and qualitative. The interest in using a mixed-method approach in any study of the transition to adulthood of young people of immigrant background will then be developed in order to highlight the virtues of such a cohort approach. These latter will be illustrated through a short presentation of the principal findings resulting from this survey tool.

7.2 A Cohort Survey to Determine the Future of Young People of Immigrant Background

Apart from already existing differences with the majority group (i.e. French citizens not of immigrant background), my earlier work had led me to observe the disparities amongst a group of youngsters of immigrant origin. More generally, this research was motivated by the desire to take a different perspective on the issue of 'suburban youths' and, in order to achieve this, to employ a methodology which would allow me, on the one hand, to cover the diversity of their life courses and, on the other, to understand socialization processes and their impact on the formation of these French North-African-origin youngsters' trajectories. Constituting a cohort¹ of French youngsters of North African background who shared the same environment at a given period in time seemed to be the most appropriate way of breaking with the presupposed relative homogeneity of this group of young people – it enabled me to consider as a whole all those young people who grew up in the same neighborhood.² It was thus not a question of carrying out a survey amongst 'neighborhood youths' who happened to be there, outside the blocks of flats, but to find all those youngsters who grew up in

¹The word cohort is a demographic term defining those individuals who have experienced a similar event in the same time period; here, the 'event' consists in their common upbringing in the same neighborhood, a process which they all shared.

²For a more detailed account of the survey's development, the neighborhood selected and the findings, see Santelli (2002, 2007a).

the same neighborhood, at the same time, in order to understand their life courses, and the ways in which they were different but also similar... In this way the different profiles of the young people in the cohort can be analyzed, with the aim of getting a more detailed understanding of the impact of growing up in the suburbs. This approach, necessarily retrospective, also had a longitudinal aspect. The idea was to understand this transition phase to adulthood – looking in particular at their entry into the labor market – and how this experience of growing up in the suburbs played a role.

This survey, which was carried out in 2003 from a case-study perspective, involved all those young men and women who had grown up in the same working-class suburban neighborhood,³ regardless of whether or not they had already left the area by the time of the survey. All the youngsters, aged 20–29 at the time of the survey, had parents who were both originally from one of the three North African countries; they themselves are French citizens (94% had French nationality at the time of the survey). The list of those young people born between 1974 and 1983, whose home address was within the area of the selected neighborhood and whose parents had North African-sounding names and surnames (in order to exclude mixed couples), was drawn up from the registers of all primary schools in the neighborhood. The main limitation of this methodology was the difficulty in finding participants for the sample, as several of them could have moved. If the sampling frame was relatively easy to obtain – once administrative permission had been granted and checks carried out on the origins of the patronyms – the follow-up and contact with potential participants turned out to be very complex. In fact, I was working with a list of around 500 names whom I had to find a way of contacting (through an address, a mobile phone number or an intermediary). Not knowing who I was going to find still living in the neighborhood and who had already left, it took many attempts to find them in order to invite them to participate in the survey. Fulfillment of the survey implied my almost-total immersion in the neighborhood, as it was the only way I could gain the trust of those youngsters with the greatest number of problems, and who were the most critical about a survey the interest of which they could not comprehend. The other youngsters were all more or less happy to participate – seeing in the survey a way to justify their existence – as they feel that the press gives a distorted vision of youth in these neighborhoods.

In total, of the 473 youngsters who were suitable, 393 were ‘available’ to participate in this study.⁴ Of these, 200 were met with and surveyed through a questionnaire which included questions centered on the main themes of their biographical trajectories (family environment, relationship with the neighborhood, educational trajectory, occupational integration, autonomy etc.). The aim of the retrospective questionnaire was to collect data on the life course of the respondents – details of

³Situated in the old industrial periphery, the area was a working-class neighborhood in the south-east of Lyon, made up of social housing in tower- and low-rise blocks. In the last 10 years or so, the neighborhood has benefited from the town’s social housing policy.

⁴The others had either been impossible to trace (for 55, in spite of my efforts, I was unable to find any information whatsoever) or were living in a situation where an interview was not possible (this was the case for 22 of them who were either in hospital or living abroad etc.) and three were deceased.

their everyday lives and life events – and to gain their perspective on the succession of their different life stages, as well as to measure the social position reached in the different domains of life. For example, in the domain of education, respondents were asked about how they lived their schooling, whether or not they had benefited from help during this schooling, and the highest qualification they had obtained. Factual questions allowed me to identify their social status while other, more open, questions asked them to express, briefly, how they felt about the life events they had experienced. These latter aspects were investigated in more depth in the qualitative interviews, some of which were, however, carried out before the distribution of the quantitative questionnaire in order to finalize this aspect of the survey. The other interviews (the vast majority) took place after the quantitative survey in order to investigate some responses in more depth and better understand the processes which came to light on the questionnaire (notably the transition phase between the end of a participant's schooling and his or her entry into the world of work). Whereas the questionnaire provided factual data – age on leaving school, time taken to find regular work etc. – the interview facilitated a description of this stage – how it was experienced, which people had intervened and in what way etc.). Some of the interviews were conducted with young adults who had responded earlier to the questionnaire.

In the end, almost one person in two in the cohort was questioned. The selection was carried out in two ways, either through their keenness to participate or from the need to diversify the families chosen. Effectively, these 393 youngsters usually had siblings – i.e. they had at least one brother or sister, and often more, who were also part of the sample.

Around thirty biographical interviews were also undertaken in order to cover every dimension of the different life stages (familial, relational, educational, professional, residential and conjugal). The sampling of these two procedures (questionnaire and interview) took the gender balance into account, together with the place of residence and social situation of the youngsters on the list of 393 individuals.

7.3 A Mixed Qualitative and Quantitative Approach

My methodological approach is characterized by the combined use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. This approach is relevant to our understanding of a social process such as this transition in the life course – the transition to adulthood – for a twofold reason. Firstly, it enables a reconstitution of any decisive events, the context in which the transition takes place, the people with whom these young adults are in contact, and the action they take. The approach considers both the diachronic and the synchronic dimensions of events, focusing particularly on socialization processes, and on the way in which the passage of time determines the actions of individuals.⁵ Secondly, through combining the two methods it was possible to (1)

⁵In the sense used by Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1988: 23), ‘The idea, although evident, that a life course can be much more easily determined by the transmission of a *resource* than by the imposition of a *constraint* gives to the concept of determination a whole new meaning’.

build a statistical framework, identify patterns and reveal explanatory factors (the explanatory approach) and (2) examine the most salient points in greater detail, enter the social world of the interviewees and see all the dimensions of the reasons behind their actions (the interpretive approach). It is heuristically useful to allow the two methods to interact, rather than to address them successively. I propose to briefly illustrate this point with some of my survey findings which should confirm the interest of such a cohort study.

7.3.1 *A Sociology of Social Pathways*

Realizing a sociology of social pathways implies consideration of the longitudinal dimension and the different areas of life. The underlying hypothesis is that all action, every social position (in this case young people from the suburbs on the threshold of adulthood), is understood in relation to the way in which they have traveled their life course, through the social dynamics associated with it. Thus we cannot understand this passage to adulthood without grasping the modalities of which it is constituted: their earlier school career, and the qualification achieved on leaving school (the level of the diploma, the subject, the lived experiences during the pathway with their peers, and their relationship with the educational institute...), the entry into the professional workforce (means of obtaining their first job, the first experiences in the multi-dimensional world of work), relations with their peer group, with members of their family and with those close to them and any associated practices etc.

All this implies the need to carry out the survey (through interviews and/or questionnaires) from the perspective of gathering information on the current *and* past situations, retrospectively reconstituting each participant's life course. I borrow from Zimmermann (2011: 87–88) her definition of a *parcours* (life course) which 'puts the accent on a plurality of possible roles and identities, on eventual transitions between different life domains (domestic, professional and institutional in particular) and the secant positions between them. (...) If a *parcours* is not limited to a succession of events but integrates their interstices and the production of continuity, then its analysis owes much to a hermeneutics and a phenomenology of experience which articulates different times – professional, familial, social, and institutional – during the time span of the biographical narrative. In such a perspective, the notion of *parcours* summarizes the two qualities, historical and relational, of the sociological individual, in order that this latter is not reduced to its subjectivity but that he or she is considered as a person becoming, intrinsically both relational and historical'.

The survey on the coming-of-age of these young French people of North African descent gathered together narratives which set the scene as much for life within the family as for relations with the youngsters' peer group and interactions with the surrounding social world, along their educational, and professional trajectories and then in the work situation. The diversity of these trajectories was thus revealed in all its breadth: the cohort showed itself to be a heterogeneous group, totally removed from standard representations of 'suburban youth'.

This approach implies – at the very least – biographical interviews which would allow me to ‘probe’ more deeply into what I consider to be the most important points. The retrospective approach has the advantage of revealing the most crucial moments in the interviewee’s life history, while connecting them to collective processes (such as the political/economic context). This type of survey enables us to understand how individuals, who initially have several points in common (due to their migratory history and their belonging to a working-class milieu and to their North-African Muslim culture), can stand out so much on their transition to adulthood. Each person’s environment is very different and is built around their respective experiences.

7.3.2 From One Survey Technique to the Other and Back Again

Interview and questionnaire surveys have their own advantages when seeking to understand the experiences and the situation of these young people. In order to take full advantage of the analysis of their life courses, I deemed it relevant to cross-tabulate the data from the questionnaires with those from the interviews. But this intertwining of methods corresponds less to a successive recourse to the two techniques than does the methodical management of the to-ing and fro-ing from one technique to the other, of the same surveys where possible. It is this circular movement which provides the greatest meaning, as it enables the interviewer, during the meeting, to go back over the responses given in the questionnaire, either to gather more details and complete them or, on the contrary, to substitute other factual information or means of interpretation for those obtained from the questionnaire.

It is therefore less the utilization of the two investigative methods which I highlight here but, more specifically, the comparative aspect which it is possible to establish between the ‘responses’ obtained by each of the two methods, i.e. the way in which each participant recounts his or her life course, the way they act and think and how they represent social reality, their own reality, which can differ, go counter to or be completed depending on the approach used. This way of proceeding enables the extraction of a uniform representation of these youngsters. The result is a very detailed appreciation of the phenomena under study: the life courses of these youngsters and their family reflect a multiplicity of facets which become more noticeable when coming at them from different angles.

Continuing with the example of the transition from school to work, the interview offers the possibility to put on record a narrative which describes the different stages and how they were lived, especially during difficult times such as the loss of or being turned down for a job, or a feeling of being discriminated against etc., but also the overlapping situations which make it possible to obtain a regular job for example. The questionnaire, on the other hand, is ideal for drawing up a statistical framework of the situation of these young adults and revealing the distinctions which appear depending on the level of qualification, the gender and the place of residence etc.

The way in which each of these young people subjectively lives this transition phase is only comprehensible through the medium of the interview, as this is the best ‘tool’ with which to get to grips with a process – i.e., any phenomenon which, as Mendez (2010) explains, takes place over time, unfurls progressively and changes as it advances. ‘A process modifies the elements and the living conditions of the object at each moment of his or her course, but also transforms its own dynamics at each reached stage’ Mendez (2010: 5). The interview intrinsically provides all the necessary material with which to understand the processes at work at this stage of the young adults’ life course.

As for the completion of the questionnaire by 200 youngsters (one in every two young people of North African descent belonging to this cohort were surveyed, in order to ensure representativeness), it allowed us to get to know their situation in its entirety. In this ZUS (*Zone Urbaine Sensible*, a term which translates as ‘sensitive urban area’),⁶ we began to understand the distribution of these young people depending on their work situation, their level of study etc. Implementation of the survey methods favors the respective analysis of events, which enriches the ways in which they can be interpreted: the statistical findings shed light on, reinforce or, on the contrary, relativize the elements gathered during the interviews. This approach mixes together the temporal dimension with the multiplicity of social spaces (residential, professional, relational and conjugal situations etc.), revealing the diversity of the young people’s social life courses. Additionally, the diachronic dimension, through its focus on intergenerational processes, helps to complete and enrich the biographic study. Here we see a type of connection which links the subjective experience with the social characteristics of these young adults. Thus their life courses are understood through the different elements of which they are composed and the tension between, on the one hand, their situations and social characteristics in a given economic context and, on the other, the way in which the projects, representations and choices adapt to these objective data.

One way of reconciling these different dimensions during fieldwork has been to progress the analysis by merging a quantitative approach – capable of discerning statistical regularities and, thus, social factors – with a qualitative approach, in order to understand the singularity and the significance of the individual and family trajectories.⁷ If, today, the debate appears to have lapsed between the partisans of one

⁶A ZUS or sensitive urban area is an urban territory defined by the French authorities as a prime target for town policy. According to their definition under the law of November 1996, the ZUS are ‘characterized [in particular] by the presence of housing estates or run-down neighborhoods and by a marked imbalance between housing and employment’. There are more than 700 ZUS spread throughout the whole of France, inhabited by more than 5 million people and also known as ‘problem’ or ‘sensitive’ neighborhoods (Avenel 2004). The rate of unemployment in a sensitive urban area is almost two and a half times higher than elsewhere: 22.7% compared to 9.4% in 2011. Since 2008, the gap between the rate of unemployment in these sensitive urban areas and that in the conurbations where they are sited has widened.

⁷In this contribution, I concentrate essentially on the qualitative data, as the typology I present here was based on the in-depth interviews. For a description of the statistical findings, see Santelli (2007a, b).

or other of these approaches, credit is due to the number of studies which have demonstrated the relevance of linking qualitative and quantitative approaches.⁸ On the other hand, there are fewer studies which, for the same individuals, have combined the two methods. Yet it would be in the interests of our sociological discipline to develop this approach, as expressed by Marpsat (1999: 17): ‘Implementation of this approach seems particularly fruitful in the case of surveys in little or not well known domains, but the interest of the association of different methods is genuine for most statistical surveys and the ritual opposition between quantitative and qualitative must be overcome in order to make progress in our knowledge of the phenomena under study’.

7.4 A Typology of Pathways to Professional Integration Amongst the Cohort

The pathway to the professional integration of these youngsters, during their transition to adulthood, is characterized by their position as ‘employees of insecurity’, combining their dissatisfaction with the work and the instability of the employment (Paugam 2000). Several studies have also shown that the insecurity of these suburban youths (living in spaces qualified as ZUS or sensitive urban areas) was particularly strong. The figures given by the cohort (200 questionnaires out of 473 youngsters who make up the parent population) confirm this finding. The in-depth biographical interview helps us to understand how they feel, what they have experienced and how their pathway was constructed, at the intersection of, at the same time, the multiplicity of decisions taken (on the direction to take, for example), the social logics (in terms of the hierarchy within their networks) and the structural contexts (such as the opening up of education to the masses and urban ghettoization).

In terms of the survey, five types of pathway to socio-professional integration can be highlighted. This typology has been drawn up following analysis of the qualitative material collected during the biographical interviews,⁹ with the aim of describing the means by which professional integration occurs from the perspective of the global trajectory. Based on each participant’s employment situation at the time of interview, I tried to identify which could be the explanatory elements of the position obtained, which appeared to be mainly the fact of whether or not the young person lived in the neighborhood at the time of the survey, and his or her level of education and gender. Whichever type they may be, these characteristics combine in different ways and thus appear as so many factors contributing to the orientation of these socio-professional trajectories. While the first three types are made up by a great majority of both men and young adults with no qualifications or a very low level of education, the other two types, on the contrary, are made up mainly of women and young qualified – mostly

⁸For example, the works of Battagliola et al. (1993), Weber (1995) and Bidart and Cacciuttolo (2012).

⁹When subsequently applied to the questionnaires, the statistical analysis confirmed the existence of five main types of socio-professional integration.

graduate – adults. These types are strongly gendered but the levels of education contribute in different ways to explanations of how professional integration occurs (notably between the last two types). Whether or not they live in the neighborhood also helps to explain the phenomenon while, at the same time, characterizing their family situation: moving out of the neighborhood implies that these young adults have access to a certain number of resources. The characteristics of the family environment also appear tangentially in the description of the school career path.¹⁰

The five types – the *Excluded*, the *Emancipating proletarians*, the *Invisible proletarians*, the *Insecure intellectuals* and the *Securely employed*¹¹ – describe the individual motivations; they enable us to immerse ourselves in their respective worlds in order to understand the link between the young adults' individual and social characteristics and their type of professional integration. We should bear in mind that the quantitative findings described below are from the statistical analysis of 200 questionnaires and that each type represents roughly a fifth, except for the *Emancipating proletarians* (less than a fifth) and the *Securely employed* (slight more than 20%).

At the time of the survey the youngsters could have been in any one of three situations: they could still have been at school (the case for almost a quarter of them), have had a job (nearly half) or been unemployed (just over a quarter). The analysis here is on those who had left school, and for whom their situation was still marked by insecurity: almost two-thirds were in a situation of relative insecurity (20% for whom the situation was highly unstable).

7.4.1 The *Excluded*: Between Hardship and Rejection of and by the World of Work

In this type, made up almost exclusively of men, all lived in the neighborhood and were aged between 20 and 25 years old. Two-thirds of them had no qualifications at all – in fact, men were largely over-represented amongst this survey's unqualified population.¹² Only one in five had a job at the time of the survey, as an unskilled

¹⁰ Pathways are now evident in which families are resources to be drawn on. However, the family situation for these young adults is irrelevant because only a little over a quarter of them had a partner at the time of the survey and it was mostly the young women who were part of a couple.

¹¹ For a more detailed description see Santelli (2007a). I should say that the terminology of the types has been modified slightly following publication of my later article (Santelli 2012). Finally, note that the typology corresponds to the analysis of the situation at a given moment in time. In no case does it indicate a permanent state: the pathway of these youngsters may at any moment correspond to a different typology due to age, or to the improvement in their living conditions, which may be linked to personal strategies or resources but also to structural conditions (drop in the unemployment rate, policies favoring the young...). The analysis is based on the three-quarters of youngsters who had left the educational system at the time of the survey.

¹² The level is 25%, which rises to 34% when we look only at those individuals who had left school at the time of the survey. If this figure matches that obtained in other sensitive urban areas (see the

laborer, and only on a temporary contract (short fixed-term). No young person in this group had had a job which lasted for more than 3 months since leaving school: socialization in and through the world of work cannot take place under these conditions. Failure to achieve at school is often just the first in a line of exclusions, the result of which is the development of a feeling of permanently living life on the fringes of society.

They symbolize ‘neighborhood youth’ – those very visible on the streets who spend the majority of their time outside, with their pals. Confronted with the need to be resourceful, the neighborhood becomes their point of reference, the gang their base: their pals in the neighborhood are an invaluable support, but they are also very aware how fragile this link is, as their friends are as impoverished as they themselves are and may up and leave at any moment. Meanwhile, they have some good times together, trying for a moment to forget the hopelessness of their situation (Dubet 1987) and trying to keep their problems to a minimum. Their pathways reveal how they combine their different experiences of symbolic (and sometimes physical) violence, social and personal problems, all of which are intensified by the obviously unstable economy, and creating a vicious circle from which it is, at the time, impossible for them to escape.

For these young adults, the absence of any career and personal perspective (no stable job, when will they ever be able to move away from home?) leaves them feeling that they have been abandoned by society, as a result of which they withdraw a little further still into themselves and their neighborhood. Through a lack of any other reference points, they feel more at home with the norms of the neighborhood, which they themselves have helped to establish,¹³ and find themselves deprived of other practices. Without resources, constrained by a residential framework which reinforces their stigmatization, they are but one outcast of a salaried society.

7.4.2 The *Invisible Proletarians*: Between Professional Stability and Neighborhood Life

This type, again mostly masculine, also comprises the young living in the neighborhood. They live there because their parents do, or because they have left their parental home but preferred to remain in the vicinity. However, they are different to the other young men due to their ‘invisibility’ in the neighborhood: they have no relationships therein, their friends, their reference points, their leisure activities all being situated outside the neighborhood. They live a sort of double life in which they keep the two social worlds (within and outside the neighborhood) strictly separate.

ZUS Observatory, a research center monitoring the situation in sensitive urban areas), it is, nevertheless, much higher than the national average.

¹³They do, however, maintain a certain moral order which limits the presence of young women in the outside areas (see Santelli 2010).

If, again, the majority has no qualifications, they stand out due to their professional stability: they all have fixed-term contracts, mostly as laborers though, for some of them, as (highly) skilled workers. Their professional integration was relatively quick on leaving school; however they have since undeniably acquired professional experience and qualifications which act as protection on the labor market. In landing a fixed-term contract, they have also gained stability in the labor market and feel accepted.

These young adults have also benefited from a familiar and more structured environment within their family circle and through relations with social workers, teachers and counselors within the socio-educational system. These interactions are the milestones along their path to adulthood and they have made full use of them. In spite of two disqualifying characteristics – having few, or no, qualifications and being ‘young suburban youth’ – their successful professional integration makes them a special case. In fact their pathway remains relatively marginal in the sensitive urban areas as the majority of young men of North African descent are unemployed or subject to a repeatedly unstable situation (moving between odd jobs, temporary and fixed-term contacts and unemployment).

7.4.3 The *Emancipating Proletarians*: Drawing on Coping Mechanisms

This type, also male, differs from the preceding type due to the fact that all the youngsters live outside the neighborhood. They are also all older: one in two is aged between 26 and 29. Another significant difference is that just over half have already managed to gain a qualification (generally the *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle* – literally the Certificate of Professional Competence, or the *Brevet d'Enseignement Professionnel* – Professional Training Certificate).¹⁴ Similarly, half of them were in employment at the time of the survey, mostly as temporary workers.

Although their schooling and entry into the world of work were very similar to those of the *Excluded*, their trajectories were more often crowned with success. They have, notably, been more regularly employed, in spite of very difficult working conditions. Faced with these difficulties, they are today trying to improve their professional position by taking on a work-related project (training in order to obtain a more skilled and valued job, or setting up their own business). With access to a more concentrated network of social relations, they dispose of (notably family) resources which enable them to undertake this professional about-turn. However, they still remain vulnerable on the job market.

Having left the neighborhood following their family’s move, they still maintain links with it and continue to go there regularly, as nothing has replaced the relations they have in the neighborhood, and what these connections do for them. In the

¹⁴This level of study is equivalent to secondary-education vocational training.

absence of other options, the rhythm of life in the neighborhood and their circle of friends there continue to be important, and to influence their daily lives. If the youngsters can justify no longer living there, they do not denigrate life there in any way. Coming across them in the neighborhood, nothing really distinguishes them from youngsters in our first type (the *Excluded*), a category to which they themselves probably belonged before, thanks to various occurrences, managing to extract themselves from the hardship they had known there. Today their professional position is still unstable, but allows them to hope for an improvement in their lives, the achievement of their personal projects and professional recognition.

7.4.4 The Precarious Intellectuals: The Desire for Upward Mobility

This category, of whom the majority are female, lives in the neighborhood. They stand out from the other three groups due to the level of study they have reached. All the young adults in this type have gained a qualification, two-thirds of them having taken their *baccalauréat* (usually following a professional or technological stream). Equally, three-quarters of them were employed, usually as office workers, although almost half only had temporary contracts. Although these youngsters believed that their schooling would ensure their upward mobility, they today find themselves in an insecure situation and underqualified in the labor market, which leaves them feeling very frustrated. They match the profile of Beaud's (2002) '80% in their *baccalauréat* ... and then what?' youngsters, which corresponds to the massification of upper-secondary-school and higher education which took place in 1985. Their deception is the greater because, having been influenced by their parents' dreams of upward mobility, they truly believed that they could achieve this through educational success. However, once they find themselves taking degree courses at university (in Law and Economic and Social Administration in particular), after having followed a technological or professional curriculum at school, they fail. Some 'stick at it' but only gain a lower qualification, leaving them still in subordinate professional positions.

This loss of social position is felt all the more strongly because they have to go on living in the neighborhood: insecure, they have to continue living with their parents. They entirely reject the neighborhood, with its norms and practices, and its inhabitants who contribute to its degradation. The only way to avoid being subject to these 'harmful effects' is, on the one hand, to spend as little time as possible there and, on the other, to make oneself as invisible as possible when obliged to be there. As with the second type (the *Invisible Proletarians*), they live a double life: all their activities and their friends are outside the neighborhood. Being 'in' and being 'outside' the neighborhood represents two split social worlds – where one is tolerated, the other represents their aspirations. An end to their professional insecurity would enable them to succeed in accessing this new way of life, far from the neighborhood. They possess all the resources needed for this – qualified, experienced, they

develop a hyper-conformity to the dominant norms, but find their path blocked by an economic context which is hardly conducive to upward mobility and themselves subjected to urban ghettoization.

7.4.5 The Securely Employed: A Successful Integration into Employment

This type, again mostly female, stands out from the previous ones because these young adults all live outside the neighborhood, and most are well qualified. They are nearly all employed – nine out of ten times on fixed-term contracts or as civil servants. Their professional situation is thus stable and also evidences a relative upward mobility – one third have posts in intermediate professions. Whereas their first job on leaving school was equally unqualified, in little time they have managed to considerably improve their terms of employment. The rewards for gaining these qualifications for this type is high, contrary to the way in which things turned out for those in the previous group – they sat the general *baccalauréat* and then pursued professional or technological studies. They also benefited from family resources and could count on the help of their parents, who had always clearly expressed their aspirations for upward mobility. Leaving the neighborhood and finding a home on their own falls within this perspective.

The break away from the neighborhood is definitive and any links maintained with it and its inhabitants are episodic at best, with little seeming to keep them attached to the place (when the parents have also moved away). Their whole life now takes place away from the neighborhood. However, unlike the previous type, these youngsters believe that life in the neighborhood provided a solid foundation on which to build the rest of their lives. Well accepted in their daily and working lives, they are well placed to make such a judgment, as they appreciate what this singular experience has brought to their lives. If everything distinguishes them from the image of ‘suburban youth’ they still, nevertheless, recognize how difficult it has been to access to their current position, unlike other young people of their own age in a similar situation who had not lived in a suburban neighborhood. Thus, in spite of undeniable advantages (family support, and large and far-reaching social networks favoring integration into social worlds outside the neighborhood) their pathways are also specifically influenced by their upbringing in the suburbs.

7.5 Conclusion

My findings on these five types of professional integration reflect well-known analyses of the young (Pottier 1992). However, the diversity in these trajectories is less known in the case of suburban youth. The methodology employed and the

constitution of a cohort have allowed me to demonstrate this. The interest lies, on the one hand, in better understanding the singular difficulties which these young people face and, on the other, in demonstrating the complexity of social dynamics and their long-term effects (for example concerning the two stages of their schooling and their working life – the way in which the transition from one to the other takes place, and the difficulties they encountered on the labor market are probably as much the result of inequalities during the first phase and the discrimination to which they are subjected in the second). The combination of interview and questionnaire surveys enabled me to shed light on these processes. Implementation of them allowed me both to quantify the phenomena and the jobs held, and to deepen my personal knowledge of the lives of these young people, their uncomfortable identities and their hopes and dreams – in other words, how they would wish to live in our society and be completely accepted as citizens there.

From this perspective, study of the transitions to adulthood of young people of immigrant descent is vital; it will allow us to understand their social mobility – *in fine* the place they hold in their respective societies. What is more, it is necessary if we wish to understand what it is which specifically sets them apart from other young people. The issue of inequalities is crucial here as, apart from the differences which they can explain, inequalities play a much broadly a role on conditions of individualization. The cohort study allowed me to highlight such inequalities by showing the many differences between these suburban youngsters.

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Chapter 8

Combining In-Depth Biographical Interviews with the LIVES History Calendar in Studying the Life Course of Children of Immigrants

Andrés Gomensoro and Raúl Burgos Paredes

8.1 Introduction

The use of the life course perspective to study migration is of increasing interest in the field. A majority of the research on first- and second-generation residents is based on quantitative methodological designs that mainly focus on different aspects of their insertion into the host society. This type of research takes objective indicators as inspiration such as educational attainment, position in the labor market, social networks, citizenship and, level of proficiency in the host country's language. On the other hand, some studies use qualitative approaches to study the lives of descendants of immigrants. The aim of those studies is to understand people's subjective evaluations of life events and trajectories. We think that both approaches study two sides of the same coin.

The biographical approach and the life course perspective share many features. Both study the lives of individuals, groups or cohorts using retrospective or longitudinal methodological designs. Researchers using those two approaches study lives in context (social, historical, structural contexts, etc.). They also consider individuals'

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lives to be composed of different interrelated dimensions, linked to other individuals' lives, and that individuals are not entirely socially determined (the idea of agency).¹ Nevertheless, each approach and its respective methodology allows us to study two different but complementary dimensions of life. Life course studies generally use quantitative methodological tools (mainly standardized questionnaires and life event calendars) to obtain objective life events and objective trajectories of groups or cohorts based on a regular and chronological time scale in months or years. For their part, studies based on the biographical approach focus more on the subjective selection of important life events and the subjective interpretation of life events and trajectories, mainly by using qualitative interviews. This reconstruction of the life story during the interview is not based on a regular and chronological time scale but on a subjective time scale graduated by those events that the interviewee considered significant (Demazière 2003).

In order to grasp both objective and subjective events and the trajectories of individuals' lives, and simultaneously chronological and subjective time scales, we propose the use of the LIVES history calendar (Morselli et al. 2013; Morselli et al. 2016)—which is a life history calendar—and an in-depth biographical interview. The first tool comes from the life course perspective, and the second comes from the biographical tradition. At the same time, our goal is to account for the methodological benefits of both tools, such as a more systematic process and increased validity of the “objective” life course data gathered by using life event calendars (Belli and Callegaro 2009) as well as in-depth exploration of subjective life stories obtained by using in-depth biographical interviews. To apply this idea, we tested and used the combination of semi-structured biographical interviews and the LIVES history calendar in studying the transition to adulthood of the children of Albanian-speaking immigrants in Switzerland.

Scholars have only recently started turning to a combination of a life event history calendar and biographical narratives to capture relevant aspects of migrant life courses. Nico (2015) introduces the life history calendar in the study of transition from youth to adulthood in Portugal, although the paper does not describe the operationalization of the tool in great detail. From a social psychology perspective, Barbeiro and Spini (2015) use the LIVES history calendar and in-depth interviews to investigate the representations of justice and injustice perceived by Portuguese migrants in Switzerland. We add to this emerging literature by providing a detailed description of how our mixed-mode research design developed and was tested and implemented.

In the following Sect. 8.2, we introduce the biographical approach and life course perspective as well as develop common points between them. Next, we present the tools: the in-depth biographical interview and the LIVES history calendar. Finally, we describe the mixed-mode design developed within the research project “From youth to adulthood: descendants of immigrants insertion in the Swiss society” funded between 2010 and 2014 by the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research LIVES: Overcoming Vulnerability: Life Course Perspective (NCCR LIVES).

¹ See the introduction chapter of this volume.

8.2 Historical Development and Common Points of the Biographical Approach and the Life Course Perspective

Researchers within the biographical approach focus their attention on “the interrelation between individual and society, and how broader perceptions and modes of thought are represented and monitored within the specific situation and outlook of individuals and groups” (Roberts 2002: 34). They essentially analyze subjective biographical data about the individual’s entire existence, such as life stories or written biographies, whether about a short period of life or some specific dimensions of life. “A life story gives us a vantage point from which to see how one person experiences and understands life, his or her own especially, over time. It enables us to see and identify threads and links that connect one part of a person’s life to another, that connect childhood to adulthood” (Atkinson 2002: 126).

For its part, the life course perspective takes as a conceptual basis some principles that guide empirical research. The most used principles are historical time and place, timing, linked lives, and agency. These principles, in turn, are translated into concepts to investigate trajectories, phases, events and transitions in the life course (Levy et al. 2005), in which transitions correspond to “changes in a state that are more or less abrupt” (Elder 1985:32), such as from being single to married.

Qualitative biographical methods and the life course perspective share some common points, such as the interrelation between individuals’ lives and social systems, for which they take into account historicity (Ferrorriati in Bertaux 1981). However, there are also some divergences regarding the methodological approach and the focus of the study, such as the study of objective events and trajectories versus subjective events and trajectories as well as quantitative versus qualitative research designs.

The methodological tools we use to study the lives of children of immigrants are situated at the crossroads of those two main approaches in the social sciences. This will allow us to collect information on objective events and trajectories as well as to their subjective evaluation by respondents. In the following part, we will briefly introduce the main steps in the development of the biographical and the life course approaches to outline the links and complementary elements between them as well as the respective methodological tools we use.

Stories of fictitious or real people have long been part of human lives through oral and written history. According to Pineau and Le Grand (2013), the first written life histories in the Western world appeared in the fourth century B.C. in Greek culture. The thinkers of that time developed the Socratic maieutic and used “bios” (life histories) to better “know thyself.” Later, a well-known example of a biography is the New Testament, written around the first and second century, which tells the life history of Jesus. Since antiquity, the use of biographies became more and more significant, such as the *Confessions* of Augustin (400 A.D.), the development of novels (Middle Ages) and Rousseau’s *Confessions* (eighteenth century) (Pineau and Le Grand 2013: 22–37).²

² See Fabre et al. (2010) for a more precise description of the apparition of written biographies in human history and ethnology.

More recently, in the nineteenth century, social scientists such as ethnographers and anthropologists demonstrated a true interest in exploring biographical corpora and, more specifically, in studying the biographies of individuals or groups. According to Goodson (2001) and Muccielli (2009: 78), the first social science researchers to use biographical data were W. H. Rivers, an anthropologist interested in the genealogy of Tuba Indians and Melanesians at the end of the nineteenth century; S. Barrett, who published Geronimo's *Story of His Life*; and F. Boas, a famous German-American anthropologist who collected life stories of Pueblo Indians in the 1920s. Moreover, anthropologists in general have long been interested in stories of common people as a way to understand their way of life, common practices and culture.

In the following years, researchers from the Chicago School were the first sociologists to take biographies into account as valid and interesting data giving blueprints to understand societal facts. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, published between 1918 and 1920 by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki (1974), is known as the first major study in migration research and also as the first step in the development of the biographical approach. In this inquiry, Thomas and Znaniecki studied the effects of the migration process (seen as a radical societal change) on the reorganization of Polish immigrants' and their families' lives. They compared and contextualized the effects of the migration process with the effects of the societal change in the Polish peasant society, "from the old forms of organization that had been in force, with only insignificant changes, for many centuries, to a modern form of life" (Thomas and Znaniecki 1974: 74). *The Polish Peasant* is the first significant sociological study to use an extensive amount of biographical material. Indeed, they recollected, published and commented on hundreds of letters to and from immigrants to the United States of America. They also used material from their case study—the autobiography of the Polish immigrant Wladek Wiszniewski (Thomas and Znaniecki 1974, Part IV). As a complement, while in Poland, Znaniecki studied the archives of a Polish newspaper and carried out many interviews with people desiring to emigrate. For his part, Thomas explored records from different parishes and social institutions in Chicago (Madge 1963). The authors considered subjective qualitative data to be an indispensable part of the methodological design. From their perspective, the "social values" and "attitudes" of the individuals as well as "objective elements" have to be taken into account in producing social theory. Thus, Thomas and Znaniecki, and the Chicago School in general, used biographical material and, more specifically, life stories as a way to understand social change.

Thereafter, many colleagues of Thomas and Znaniecki used biographies and case studies to understand urban life in Chicago (Becker 1970).³ This period of prolific use of biographical and qualitative data in the Chicago School was followed by a radical reversing of the trend. With the decline in influence of the Chicago School,

³E.g., Park's studies on immigration (*The Immigrant Press and Its Control* 1922; *Race and Culture* 1950); Frazier (*The Negro Family in Chicago* 1932) and Hugues as well as the studies on delinquency of Shaw (*The Jack Roller* 1930; *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career* 1931; Shaw et al., *Brothers in Crime* 1938); Conwell and Sutherland (*The Professional Thief* 1937); Thrasher (*The Gang* 1928); Wirth (*The Ghetto* 1928); and Anderson (*The Hobo* 1923).

quantitative and survey methods became hegemonic from the 1930s to the 1970s during what is called the positivistic revolution. However, many scientists developed qualitative methodological tools, analytical frameworks and paradigms during this period of positivism, determinism and social constructivism.⁴

The biographical approach re-emerged in sociology during the 1970s and 1980s, principally in Europe and North and South America, as a result of the renewed interest in the classical studies of the Chicago School, the influence of ethnology and anthropology⁵ and the rediscovery of the subjectivity of actors (Beaud 1996: 226). During the same period, the life course perspective emerged with the now classical work of Elder (1974).⁶ Using quantitative and longitudinal databases on students in the United States, he demonstrated the effect of historical events and socioeconomic and social contexts on individuals' lives and trajectories. Seven years later, in 1981, *Biography and Society*, a collective book edited by Bertaux (1981), regroups many articles based on biographical data from international researchers such as Kohli, Ferroratti, Elder and many others. This book became a classic text that demonstrates the international scope of biographical research in sociology but, at the same time, the "variety of uses" that have been made of it (Bertaux and Kohli 1984).

The biographical approach and the life course perspective are varied in terms of the theoretically studied objects, studied groups (or social milieu), number of participants (in the biographical approach, this ranges from a sample of one, the study of one individual's life, to a sample of over one hundred individuals) and disciplines (sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, etc.). Bertaux (1980) and Heinritz and Rammstedt (1991) had already noted the multitude of theoretical objects (deviance, lived experiences, values, social roles, identities, lifestyles, life trajectories, etc.) and studied populations (workers, farmers, employees, teachers, immigrants, families, young adults, elder people, delinquents, drug addicts, etc.) at the beginning of the resurgence of the biographical approach. Since that time, the diversity of theoretical objects and studied populations within the biographical approach and the life course perspective has increased in many disciplines. Additionally, their analytical focus has increasingly become interdisciplinary.

Studies based on the biographical approach also use different kinds of data and tools. Denzin (1970) and Bertaux (1980) distinguished between two different types of biographical data. On the one hand, there are *life history* data, of which the biography (or life story) is only one part of the biographical corpus, and which may also be composed of statistical data, interviews with other persons, observations, etc. On

⁴We can mention the development of the qualitative interview in its various forms, supported by the democratization of recording (Platt 2012), including, among others, the work of Merton and Kendall (1946) as well as the emergence of subjective paradigms that are radically distant from the deductive approach, such as symbolic interactionism (Strauss 1959; Blumer 1969), the grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss (1967), phenomenology (Schütz 1967; Berger and Luckmann 1967) and hermeneutics (Ricoeur 1983).

⁵We can mention, for example *The Children of Sanchez* by Oscar Lewis (1961).

⁶In a personal conversation in Geneva in April 2013, Glen Elder mentioned the fact that his work was influenced by the way that William Thomas took the interaction between individual lives and the social structure into account.

the other hand there is the *life story*, for which the principal biographical data corpora are the biographies themselves (how individuals tell or write their own lived stories or a part of them). Depending on the research questions and methodological designs, oral life stories are obtained using different types of more or less semi-standardized or open interviews such as biographical interviews (Demazière and Dubar 1997), life story interviews (Bertaux 1997; Atkinson 1998, 2012) and narrative interviews (Schütze 1983; Rosenthal 2004). Life course studies generally develop retrospective or longitudinal designs to obtain databases on objective events and trajectories. The most used tool to gather life course data is the (longitudinal or retrospective) standardized questionnaire, even though the use of the calendar to gather retrospective data has increased since the late 1980s (Morselli et al. 2016).

Biographical studies have been quickly criticized, by quantitative researchers as well as by sociologists who were used to qualitative approaches (for example Bourdieu 1986; Passeron 1990). The debate was also intense between researchers within the biographical approach. This made the biographical approach evolve into two principal analytical tendencies.⁷ We can bring forward the opposition between “realism” or the “contextual approach” and “constructivism” or the “interpretative approach” (Roberts 2002; Nilsen and Brannen 2010). The first one, the “contextual approach,” emerged in France (Daniel Bertaux) and Germany (Fritz Schütze) after the rediscovery of the “realism” of the Chicago School approach and under the influence of symbolic interactionism and also phenomenology. Researchers who use this analytical focus study the *lived life* (which is composed of the biographical events of one’s life) and the *told story*—the self-interpretation of the life (Wengraf 2000) in context, in relation to time and space. The second approach, the “interpretative approach,” emerged under the influence of hermeneutics and narrativism. In this approach, researchers such as Norman Denzin and Ulrich Overmann consider life stories as fictions created by interviewees from real and sometimes imagined events. The analytical focus is more on the construction of the story.

Thus, we can see that despite some differences (such as qualitative and subjective *vs.* quantitative and objective), the two approaches have many common points. Both approaches appeared during the same decade under the influence of the classical work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1974). Both approaches focus on the interrelation between (social, structural, historical) contexts and lives. Finally, both take into account the time dimension of life in a diachronic perspective. Now that we have introduced the historical development and common points of these perspectives, we will present, in the following section, the methodological tools we applied in our empirical study.

⁷To see an extensive description of the different types of analytical focuses by country and author, refer to Bertaux and Kohli (1984); Heinritz and Rammstedt (1991); Apitzsch and Inowlocki (2000); and Nilsen and Brannen (2010).

8.3 The In-Depth Biographical Interview

Many types of interviews focus their attention on the life stories and life trajectories of individuals. The names of the types of interviews vary by author and theoretical tradition (for example, the life story interview, the biographical interview, the retrospective interview, the narrative interview, the in-depth interview, etc.). These different types of interviews differ in terms of data (based on chronological time and objective data, on subjective time and subjective data or both) and interview method (more or fewer open-ended questions, use of a more or less flexible interview guide or not at all, etc.). In addition, different types of interviews are used to study a large variety of topics and life periods (the whole life or some specific topics and periods of life). In the following lines, we present the kind of interview we decided to combine with the use of the LIVES history calendar.

We rely on Demazière's definition of the biographical interview. According to him, "every biographical interview expects, as a minimum, that interviewees tell something about their lives, or about some dimensions of their biography (professional, familial, affective life, etc.), and doing it in the framework of an open, in-depth, comprehensive exchange, contrary to the succession of closed questions which is typical of questionnaires." He also added that to be considered biographical, an interview has to generate stories or "an argued narrative of his life course" (Demazière 2003: 76). Thus, the biographical interview allows us to obtain life stories or, in other words, an adopted position of the interviewee on his or her own life course, as "every life story is an interpretation of the past" (Battagliola et al. 2005: 239) from an interaction process between the interviewee and the interviewer. The told story of the interviewee will necessarily be influenced by the circumstances of the interview (time, place, mood of the participants, questions by the interviewer, answers of the interviewee, relationship of trust developed between the interviewee and the interviewer, etc.). Although we must be aware of this, our aim is also to obtain and compare the told story, or the "subjective reconstruction" with the "objective" events and periods filled in the calendar, to study both sides of the story and improve the validity and quantity of the biographical data. It is also important for us to not only focus on individual life stories as a selection made by interviewees of important events and periods in their life, but also to adopt a larger scope to capture the effects of the social interactions that influenced the production of their life story (Demazière 2011).

Contrary to the completely open interview methods often used in the biographical approach, we carry out in-depth semi-structured interviews using a flexible interview guideline that include different topics (see empirical applications below). It was important for us to develop interview guidelines that include the precepts of the life course perspective (such as the idea that lives are linked or the effect of historical time on individual lives) to develop a solid methodological design in which both tools are complementary. Using semi-structured interviews allows us to avoid forgetting the discussion of some important topics and, at the same time, gives us a flexible framework that allows us to explore important and unexpected life events or

topics deeply. Thus, the use of the interview guidelines is different in every interview, especially according to each interviewee. Some interviewees willingly provide their life stories and discuss by themselves the important topics we are interested in. In this case, the guidelines are used more as a checklist and as a basis for topics to be more precisely discussed. Some other interviewees are less willing to speak and produce their life story. In this other case, we carried out more of a semi-structured interview. Yet, our goal was to encourage the interviewees to produce life stories as often as possible. To do so, it is paramount to place interviewees in a narrative dynamic at the first contact, from the presentation of their participation in the survey (“We want you to tell us your life story, your educational path, etc.”) to the implicit contract between the interviewee and the research team, the introduction of the interview and finally during the interview by asking open-ended questions (Demazière and Dubar 1997: 88).

8.4 The LIVES History Calendar

Life calendars are useful tools for collecting objective/retrospective data on life events and their timing. There are different designs in the literature concerning life calendars, but three main features are always present (Glasner and Van der Vaart 2009: 335): there is always a graphic representation of time; there are several topics or life dimensions delimited by researchers called life domains; and the interviewee is encouraged to report events in each of these life domains (see Fig. 8.1). This representation as a calendar seems to increase the quality of the retrospective data because of the tool’s specific, structured format, which invites the interviewee to place specific time events with precision. Some studies have verified (Freedman et al. 1988; Mayer 2006; Reimer and Matthes 2007) that life calendars simplify the task of remembering important life events. Memory is stimulated because of the graphic representation of a person’s life along with its respective order/sequence. The interviewee uses some key events to remember other events from the same life dimension using sequential retrieval strategies or from other dimensions of life using parallel retrieval strategies (Belli and Callegaro 2009). The calendar is also convenient for the interviewer because it can be of great help for relaunching questions in domains where information might be missing or is unclear.

Another advantage of life calendars is their flexibility and the applications that can be done with them. For example, life calendars can be used to question people of different ages or cultural backgrounds (Axinn et al. 1999). In addition, the interviewer also has an important task when filling out a calendar because, instead of focusing on specific questions (like in more traditional questionnaires), he or she has to adapt to the situation and the way the interviewee responds. It is for this particular reason that interviewers ideally have to be trained before using a life events calendar in an interview. The disadvantages of a life calendar can include the time it takes to complete, the total interview time if there are other questionnaires to conduct, the complex coding of responses and the training of the interviewers (Glasner and Van der Vaart 2009: 343–344).

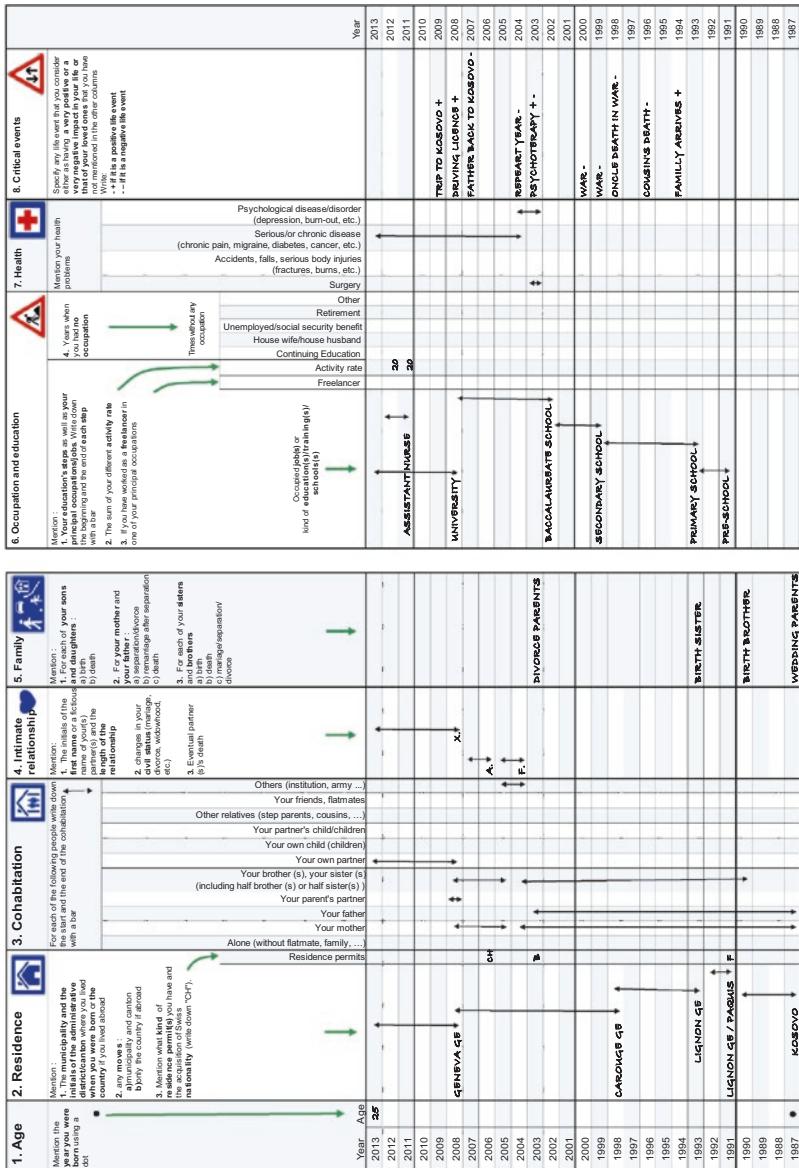


Fig. 8.1 LIVES history calendar

A relevant example of the application of life calendars to study migrant populations is that of Engel et al. (2001). In this study, one of the objectives was to collect detailed occupational histories of migrant farm workers to determine their cumulative lifetime pesticide exposure (Engel et al. 2001: 503). As the job history of these workers is too complex to truly capture all of their different employers and work locations for a given year via a traditional questionnaire, the authors of this study tried to use a life calendar in the second round of data collection with some special icons to represent several life domains and the participants' employment history. Comparing the quality and quantity of the data gathered using these two tools, the authors unquestionably concluded that the life calendar provided more adequate and richer data precision of work histories among a population with limited literacy and large variation in terms of employment.

The LIVES history calendar (see Fig. 8.1) was designed by a research team within NCCR LIVES to investigate objective events together with subjective perceptions of them. It was mainly inspired by previous work done at the *Institut National des Etudes Démographiques* in Paris (Morselli et al. 2013) and was designed to be self-administered. The calendar is a graphical representation of time under several life dimensions such as place of residence (see column 2); type of residence permit and nationality (see column 2); cohabitation (see column 3); intimate relationships and changes in civil status (see column 4); family events such as births, deaths, marriages and divorces (see column 5); educational and professional path (see column 6); and health-related issues (see column 7) as well as one last column labeled critical events (see column 8), where the respondent is free to write whatever positive or negative event he or she has lived that had a deep impact on her/his life. The calendar's timetable starts from birth (see column 1), unlike other applications, which are mainly focused on specific periods.

In the following sections, we will introduce how we applied the aforementioned methodological tools.

8.5 Empirical Application: The Study of the Transition from Youth to Adulthood Among the Children of Albanian-Speaking Immigrants in Switzerland

The combined use of the LIVES history calendar and in-depth biographical interview was implemented in the context of a large research project entitled “From youth to adulthood: second-generation residents’ incorporation into Swiss society,” which was part of NCCR LIVES. The transition to adulthood was examined from three main and complementary dimensions: the educational and professional dimension, the family dimension and the citizenship dimension. Our main goals were to describe and understand the transition to adulthood among children of a more recent and vulnerable immigrant “ethnic” group—the children of Albanian-speaking immigrants—and to compare this transition with those of children of Swiss parents

with similar social backgrounds as well as of children of immigrants with other ethnic or national backgrounds. The data collection strategy is based on a mixed-method design involving, firstly, an innovative quantitative survey in Switzerland based on the administration of a household questionnaire, a network questionnaire and the LIVES history calendar; and secondly, a qualitative survey based on in-depth biographical interviews and LIVES history calendars conducted with about 70 children of Albanian-speaking immigrants as well as 40 interviews (without calendars) with some of their parents performed in the Geneva, Lausanne and Zurich cantons. The interviews and calendars with the young participants were conducted in the local language (French in Geneva and Vaud, and German in Zurich), while the parents had the choice to conduct the interview in Albanian or in the local language. We foresaw the possibility that the parents would prefer to be interviewed in Albanian; thus, we recruited Albanian-speaking interviewers. A majority of the parents indeed preferred to do the interview in Albanian. We can consider the target population in the research project's survey as being hard to reach, mainly because we relied on sociological characteristics of the definition of "second generation" to define the population (in our case, individuals who spent the majority of their compulsory education in Switzerland and with Albanian-speaking parents from the former Yugoslavia) and not on commonly used statistical characteristics (such as nationality or place of birth). Thus, we could not use official statistical registers to find potential participants. We can also consider the population as being hard to recruit, firstly because we were looking for young and "busy" participants who are often not interested in surveys. Secondly, many of those young people have experienced socially devaluated situations and vulnerable situations (for example, dropping out of school, unemployment, problems with police and justice, etc.). It is not easy to speak about those events and situations, especially with an interviewer with high education and with whom the interviewee is not familiar. Thirdly, some of them and their parents have experienced stigmatization and/or insecure legal status (undocumented, asylum seekers, provisional admission, etc.), which can place them into a state of mistrust in everything that is related to the state or an official organization (such as NCCR LIVES). Finally, according to the desired sampling (half in vocational education or lower and half in tertiary education), we expect that at least one-quarter of the participants had manual vocational education. In general, they lack the writing and reading skills needed to fill the calendar by themselves. Thus, the characteristics of the studied population made us confront major methodological challenges in the field. In the following part of this chapter, after describing the interview guidelines, we will discuss more precisely how we combined in-depth biographical interviews with LIVES history calendars for the qualitative study of the transition to adulthood among 45 children of Albanian-speaking immigrants from 18 to 27 years old living in Geneva and Lausanne.

8.5.1 *The Interview Guidelines*

Our aim was to combine the use of the foreshowed LIVES history calendar and in-depth biographical interviews to obtain the frequency, length, sequencing and situation in time of the principal life events as well as to obtain a life story or the subjective evaluation of those life events. We used the interview guidelines as technical support for the interviewer during the interview, as a list of pertinent questions that were tested and approved before the interview and as a reminder. We definitively did not see the guidelines as a questionnaire or a list of questions to necessarily ask the interviewee in the same order. To summarize, the use of these guidelines allowed us to discuss the important topics and explore unexpected elements at the same time. The interview guide developed for this survey is composed of three principal parts related to the main life domain dimensions of the transition from youth to adulthood: the educational and professional dimension, the family dimension (household, relationships, parenthood, marriage, intergenerational relationships, etc.) and the citizenship dimension (legal status and nationality, belonging, changes at the age of majority, social and political participation, etc.). To this, we added questions on discrimination, transnationalism and health. The first part of the interview guide—but not necessarily the beginning of the interview, as we will see later—allowed us to directly enter the principal topic of the research (the transition from youth to adulthood) using open-ended questions. This first part was composed of some questions about the participants' subjective perception of the transition to adulthood, such as, “Today, do you consider yourself as a youth, as an adult or both at the same time?” followed by some relaunch questions and questions on the subjective definition of youth and adulthood (for example, “According to you, what is a youth/adult?”). By doing this, we were willing to place the interviewee in a narrative position and introduce the main topic of the interview at the same time. For each dimension or topic of the interview guidelines, we developed one introductory question whose purpose was to initiate the interviewee story on the topic (for example, for the education dimension: “Can you describe/narrate to me your education from the beginning to the end/to today?”). Every dimension was composed of many sub-sections and questions that could be asked if more precision was needed or to induce the interviewees to place themselves in a narrative position (for example: “Can you tell me what made you choose to continue to post-compulsory education?” or “What post-compulsory education did you consider at that time?”). Thus, our interview strategy was to start from general dimensions to sub-dimensions and finally to particular and precise questions. For instance, we asked some questions about the educational trajectory in general to obtain a general picture and then asked questions about each stage of the educational trajectory in a chronological order. At the end of the interview, as frequently done in qualitative interviews, we left the “door open” to the interviewee by asking the question, “Would you like to add something about anything we spoke about already or about something important we have not mentioned yet?.” The answer to this final question often helped us to discover something not expected or emphasized an important opinion or element in the interviewee's life.

8.5.2 Testing the Combination of the LIVES History Calendar and the In-Depth Biographical Interview

Our starting point was to combine the LIVES history calendar and in-depth biographical interviews (based on the interview guide described before) to study children of Albanian-speaking immigrants. The characteristics of the studied population described before had a huge impact on how we combined these two methodological tools. We tested three different combinations of those tools to try to obtain the best benefits of the combination for studying our particular population.

Our first intention was to auto-administrate the LIVES history calendar (by sending the calendar and a document that explains to the participant how to fill it in at home, and then waiting about one week for him or her to fill it out and send it back by mail) and then interviewing the participant face to face. We identified many advantages. For example, the interviewees had time to fill in the calendar. They could search for the precise information in documents and ask their parents and family members for help. The interviewees could also identify what we were interested in (the different dimensions of the calendar), thus making the reconstruction of the life story more structured and less confusing during the interview. In addition, the interviewer could prepare the interview (some specific questions) according to the data on the calendar. Both the interviewer and interviewee could use the calendar during the interview as a reference document to situate questions in time and dimensions, to more easily reconstruct the interviewee's life story in a chronological order. The interviewer could also compare the data on the calendar with the story and ask for specifics if something was different. We also identified some disadvantages that made us change our procedure. In fact, one disadvantage of the calendar is that it asks for many personal life, details which people may not be ready to reveal to someone they have never met. We can see here the importance of building a relationship of trust between the researcher and the participant. In addition, the entire participation (from the first call to the end of the interview) took time, usually from one week to one month. The auto-administration of the calendar took about 40 min and required somewhat higher involvement and skills (reading and writing) from the participants. We noted that the auto-administration of the calendar was not adapted to some participants with low educational attainment. Many of the participants arrived with an empty calendar at the interview, and some of them no longer wanted to participate. We also tested conducting interview first and then auto-administrating the calendar afterwards, but this procedure was not interesting, principally because it was difficult to get back the calendar and we lost the opportunity to use the calendar during the interview.

After that first test, we considered the possibility of meeting the participants twice: one time to fill in the calendar and one time for the interview (or the inverse). This configuration is interesting principally for two reasons. Firstly, the administration of the calendar will take less time (between 10 and 40 min) when it is done jointly, with the support of the interviewer, rather than self-administrated. Secondly, the procedure is more adapted to the less-educated participants because they do not

need to read the instructions and the interviewer can fill in the calendar if desired (only a few participants with manual educational training asked the interviewer to fill in the calendar). Thirdly, it is also interesting because the two different tools, which use two different approaches (open-ended questions during the interview and precise questions for the calendar) to gather two different types of data, are concretely separated in terms of time and meetings. Unfortunately, this procedure is not adapted to this specific young population, which is often reluctant to participate in surveys that require a high time investment. In addition, for many participants, it is difficult to set up an appointment and to concretely meet on the day of the appointment. Nevertheless, this procedure can be adapted to other populations.

In view of the disadvantages of the two procedures introduced before, we developed a specific procedure to complete both the calendar and then the in-depth biographical interview, in only one face-to-face meeting. During the test phase, we noticed that this procedure was adequate for studying the children of Albanian-speaking immigrants, specifically the lower-educated and less motivated ones. In fact, the interviewer could fill in the calendar if the participant required. The fulfillment of the calendar took less time (between 10 and 40 min) compared with the auto-administration mode (30–50 min), the total time of participation to the survey was shorter (between 90 and 120 min) and everything was done in one meeting to avoid the risk of a missed appointment. Thus, the attrition between meetings was avoided, and the interviewer and the interviewee could both use the calendar during the interview. Yet, at first glance, we can identify a major issue. How can we begin with a closed-question dynamic and then switch to an open-ended question dynamic without restraining the development of the life story? In the following lines, we detail the procedure and the different strategies used during its implementation in the field to resolve or at least to minimize the effects of this issue.

The procedure of face-to-face participation in one meeting was composed of four principal parts. The first part, from the meeting with the respondent to the beginning of the interview, was composed of small talks (to talk about something that was not important, such as the weather, the traffic, the holidays, a common friend, etc.) to smoothly enter into the interview; thereafter, we provided more information on the study and on the research institute, the conditions of participation, the introduction to the recording and the participant's consent. The second part of the participation was the fulfillment of the LIVES history calendar. The third part was the in-depth biographical interview. Finally, the last part was the conclusion to the participation where we asked the participant if he/she wanted to add anything more and if we could eventually contact them in the future and then thanked them for their participation.

Throughout the face-to-face participation and even before the meeting, we developed three principal strategies that allowed us to fulfill in the calendar without having a negative impact on the development of the life story, or at least to minimize a negative impact. The first strategy consisted of placing the participants in a narrative mode by inviting them to tell their story; speak as much as they wanted; explain precisely how they lived a specific event, period or path; ask for details; and support the narration with relaunch questions. This strategy was applied throughout the par-

ticipation in the survey. At the first contact by email or telephone, when we introduced the survey, we explained that we were interested in the participants' life story, that we wanted the participants to tell their story and that every single story is unique and interesting for us. When we met the participants again, we reminded them that we wanted them to share their experience with us. At the beginning and during the filling out the calendar, we encouraged the participants to speak about what they were writing (for example, "Please don't hesitate to tell me things about the events you mention on the calendar") and asked questions during the fulfillment to invite the interviewees to speak (for example, the interviewer would look at the calendar and say: "So, I see that you travelled for one year between high school and university." The interviewee may reply: "Yes, I wanted to have a break because ..."). Finally, the main purpose of the in-depth biographical interview was to produce the life story, so we encouraged the participants to tell their story by asking open-ended questions (for example, "Can you tell me your memories of your educational path, from the first day until the end/today?) and using relaunch questions to obtain more precise information on a specific event or period (for example, "You told me you chose to do a tinsmith apprenticeship. What made you go down this road?"). The use of this strategy was effective in about 6 cases out of 10. Thus, while recording, we obtained first some comments and narrative development during the filling out of the calendar and then a life story constructed by the interviewee and stimulated by the questions relaunched by the interviewer.

In some cases (3 of 10 participants), the interviewees did not speak much during the fulfillment of the calendar, despite the discursive incentives of the first strategy. They answered with short sentences and did not go into details. In this case, we set up a second strategy, which was to clearly distinguish the two parts of the participation: the calendar and the in-depth biographical interview. When we finished the calendar, we provided a break and explained that we were beginning a new part of the study. We helped the participants to clearly see the difference between the two dynamics (writing and commenting during the fulfillment of the calendar and talking freely during the in-depth interview) by stating, "You completed the calendar. You can leave it on the table so you can look at it if you need to and eventually complete or correct it. Now, we will begin another part of the survey, I would like you to tell me your story, your path, your life experience. To begin, I have one question ..." This strategy helped the participants to speak freely but it was not guaranteed. In fact, some of the participants did not speak easily, as they were shy or did not like to share their experience.

In another cases, participants began to tell their life story during the filling out of the calendar. Generally, the participants began speaking about one dimension of their life related to the column they were filling out. In this case, our third strategy was to maintain and encourage the narration. We did not stop the story; on the contrary, we supported it with follow-up questions and then continued onto other topics. In short, we reversed the procedure and took full advantage of the voluntary development of the life story to go back later to the fulfillment of the calendar. Such cases were rare but advantageous for the interviewer, who only needed to orient the narrative toward the topics of interest.

With the help of these three strategies, we minimized the effects of the type of information requested by the fulfillment of the LIVES history calendar to develop the life story. On the contrary, we maximized our chances to obtain the life story as well as a completed calendar within the short duration of the participation. The implementation of the “calendar then interview in one meeting” procedure was satisfying for the study of our specific population, provided that we paid attention to the willingness of participants to develop a narrative. Thus, in this case, adapting the method to each participant’s characteristics (if he or she spoke easily or not at all) using the three strategies introduced before was fundamental to obtaining satisfying data quality and quantity.

8.6 Contributions and Further Applications

In the following, we introduce some advantages and limitations of our method that emerged during the implementation of this procedure. At the end of the section, we discuss possible future applications of the method.

Several scholars have argued that the use of a history calendar, as compared to a standard biographical questionnaire, improves the validity and quantity of the data collected (Barbeiro and Spini 2015; Belli 2007; Belli and Callegaro 2009; Glasner and Van der Vaart 2009; Martyn and Martin 2003). The calendar is a flexible tool that allows the development of sequential (in the same column or domain of life) and parallel (by comparing the data in different dimensions of life) retrieval strategies (Belli and Callegaro 2009: 35). In addition to the advantages related to the use of a history calendar, there are specific advantages in combining it with narrative biographical interviews.

First, during the interview, both the interviewer and the interviewee can compare the data on the calendar to improve the quality of the data. If the interviewee remarks on a difference, he or she can correct what he or she said or correct the date of an event or period on the calendar. If the interviewer observes some differences, then he or she can point it out and ask for more precise information. Sometimes, during the in-depth biographical interview, the interviewee remembered and added some life events on the calendar (particularly for the last column about subjective life events).

Second, the graphical representation of the respondent’s life trajectory proves to be very useful at the moment of the narrative interview. The interviewer can ask questions about a specific dimension and life period and concretely point to it on the calendar with a finger. The interviewee can situate the question on his or her own life course and easily understand the question. Alternatively, it is the interviewee who tells his or her own story, also while answering to a question, while pointing at the relevant event or year on the calendar with a finger..

Third, the calendar may make possible the narration of a difficult life event (parental death, illness or negative critical events) that would otherwise be left aside in the narrative interview. In fact, it is sometimes easier for the interviewee to write

a traumatic event on a calendar than to mention it during an open interview (Marty and Martin 2003). It is also easier for the interviewer to ask a question about a difficult life event when it is already mentioned on the calendar by asking, “Can you tell me more about this event?” In addition, having a specific column for “type of residence permit and nationality” allowed us to discuss the consequences of legal status and nationality on the transition to adulthood and identity in a subtle way.

Interviewer: Now, we are going to talk a little bit on permits. So, you had an “F” permit until 2003, then the “B” permit and then you obtained Swiss nationality at 18 years old (interviewer points to each permit in column 2 of the calendar, see Fig. 8.1).⁸

Serena: Yes.

Interviewer: According to your experience, did you feel differences in your everyday life with those permit changes?

Serena: From “F” to “B,” yes, enormous differences. Because with the “F,” we’ve always been afraid of being expelled to Kosovo. During my entire childhood, it was very difficult. I remember when we received a letter in 1999 (she points to 1999 on the last column of the calendar) to inform us that we have to leave Switzerland, during the war (in Kosovo). The letter said that we had to pack our stuff and that someone would come to drive us to the airport. That was really traumatic for us. So, when we had the “B” permit, it was a relief. (...) Then, my naturalization was specifically to travel. I didn’t feel that I belonged more to Switzerland. It was not related to my identity.

Interviewer: So, you don’t feel Swiss even though you have Swiss nationality?

Serena: No, not at all (...).

Fourth, the interview can use the calendar to identify turning points or critical periods in the participant’s life course and directly ask a question about how the participant managed this turning point.

Interviewer: I can see that, in 2003 and 2004, you faced a lot of changes. Your parents divorced, your mother sent you to a home for young girls, you repeated the first grade of high school, you began to have abdominal chronic pain. How did you manage all that?

Serena: It was very difficult because I was good at school before my parents divorced, so it was a big change. Everything was changing. My mother began working, so my brother, my sister and I were often alone. And, I was in charge of them, so I didn’t have a lot of time to invest in my homework.

Interviewer: So, you also had a lot of new responsibilities?

Serena: Yes, the problem was not only at school, but also in the family (...) (after that, she added depression in 2003 and 2004 to column 7 and psychotherapy in 2003 to column 8; see Fig. 8.1).

Fifth, the combined use of open-ended and structured approaches to the collection of life trajectories allows the interviewee to rely on the calendar to develop her/his biographical narrative. In fact, in a classical semi-structured interview, the narrative is a co-construction made by the interaction between the interviewee and interviewer. The interviewer’s questions influence and orient the narrative toward the topics of interest. In our new configuration, the interviewee produces the nar-

⁸The “F” permit is for “persons who have been ordered to return from Switzerland to their native countries but in whose cases the enforcement of this order has proved inadmissible (violation of international law), unreasonable (concrete endangerment of the foreign national) or impossible (for technical reasons of enforcement).” The “B” permit is for “foreign nationals who reside in Switzerland for a longer period of time for a certain purpose, with or without gainful employment” (www.bfm.admin.ch).

tive under the influence of the interviewer and the calendar. The calendar influences the interviewer's questions but above all structures the interviewee's narrative. For example, if we asked the interviewee to describe his or her educational pathway from the beginning to the end, in many cases she/he would rely on the calendar, look at it and develop his or her narrative according to the different periods mentioned on it. Thus, the calendar helps to structure the narrative in a chronological order without forgetting a period. As a result, the calendar is not a limitation but most often a motivation and a source of support that helps the development and structuring of the life story. In our field research we noticed that when the interviewee started his or her narrative before the end of the fulfillment of the calendar, his/her story was less structured than in the opposite case. Obviously, the presence of the calendar is not an asset for open-ended interviews.

Last, the LIVES history calendar and the in-depth biographical interview produced different types of data that allowed us to approach and embrace the transition from youth to adulthood in two complementary ways. With the calendar, we obtained precise events and periods of different dimensions of life in a chronological order (for example, see Fig. 8.1 column 5: divorce of parents in 2003 or column 6: baccalaureate school from 2002 to 2006). The interview allowed us to know the interviewees' subjective interpretation of those life events and periods and, at the same time, to understand how they and their social and institutional contexts influenced or defined the events and periods written on the calendar. For instance, we noticed a huge difference in many cases, and sometimes a contradiction, between the interviewees' nationality and their subjective sense of belonging and national identification. Our methodological procedure allowed us to disentangle elements in the lives of people that would not be evident if used separately.

As with most methods, the combination of the LIVES history calendar with in-depth biographical interviews also does not lack limitations. Firstly, during the interviews, the calendar sometimes became a rigid frame to some interviewees. They tended to only talk about the topics covered by the calendar. In this case, the calendar influenced the development of the life story too much. To prevent this effect, the interviewer has to mention other topics developed upon the interview guidelines and use multiple relaunch questions to orient the narrative toward other topics. Regarding the validity of the data, we identified that a fulfillment error on the calendar could be introduced into the narrative, on very rare occasions. The last limit we identified is a challenge. In fact, when combining the two tools, we obtained two types of data. The calendar provides "objective" data that can be analyzed statistically with quantitative methods, and the interviews provide "subjective" data that can be used to perform a narrative analysis. These two types of data increase the complexity of the analysis, which requires an integrated analysis method that links both types of data (see also Barbeiro and Spini 2015 for a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the mixed-methods data collection using the history calendar and narrative biographical interviews).

The LIVES history calendar was developed to study every kind of population (natives, immigrants or their children) in any situation (in Switzerland or abroad) and stage of life (young adults, adults, elderly). Our interview guidelines were spe-

cifically developed to interview young second-generation residents by including specific topics such as transnationalism, legal status, nationalities, naturalization, citizenship, belonging and discrimination. Thus, this method allowed us to study the transition to adulthood in a complementary way (objective and subjective) and by considering the complexity of different situations among the children of immigrants (born in Switzerland or born abroad and arriving during early childhood, Swiss or foreign, different types of residence permits, etc.). The tools we presented may be combined for other populations and with different research aims in the life course and biographical perspective; however, it is important to test the implementation procedures and adapt them based on experience in the field. Evidently, the interview guidelines need to be adapted to the research aims.

The implementation of a mixed-mode design tracing life trajectories and biographical narratives represents an improvement in how we approach the life courses of children of immigrants, since it simultaneously accounts for “objective” events and transitions together with personal goals motivating actions, or as Nico (2015: 1) writes, “the meanings and narratives of individuals on the matters of their own trajectories.”

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Chapter 9

Participatory Qualitative Methodology: A Promising Pathway for the Study of Intergenerational Relations Within Migrant Families

Michèle Vatz Laaroussi

9.1 Introduction: Towards a Complex Methodological Approach

Research on the intergenerational and transnational dynamics of migration is of specific importance. Due to the complexity of the links between relations, social relations and socio-cultural perspectives, this type of research tends almost always towards multi- or even interdisciplinarity. Thus these issues cannot always be examined only from a demographic, psychological, sociological, anthropological or political-science perspective, but need articulating between these disciplinary standpoints; usually researchers work together to build a conceptual framework and a theoretical perspective which take into account these various dimensions in order to better understand the temporal, spatial and social complexity of these dynamics. This conceptual interdisciplinarity also frames the complex methodology at play in studying these phenomena and processes. Here we have the two keywords. To capture the *phenomena*, draw up an image of them, compare their effects and identify their factors and correlations, the *quantitative approach* will be privileged. On the other hand, to understand the *processes* at play, the changes and transformations, or the circulation of exchanges between the generations, it is the *qualitative method* which must be brought into play. Furthermore, to understand intergenerational dynamics in migration we should also be aware of the different forms which they take according to the generation of actors and to the society and culture in which they live. The participation of these actors is, therefore, indispensable not only for the collection of data but also in order to interpret them and give them meaning. This issue of the interpretation and analysis of the data will henceforth be central

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and can only be carried out through a complex qualitative approach which includes a shared intercultural, intergenerational, interlinguistic and, of course, interdisciplinary perspective.

At least four principles of the life course perspective are underlined in this Chapter (Elder et al. 2003, Chap. 1 in this volume): timing, which means that transition change, and especially migratory experiences depends on the age at which they are experienced; linked lives, which means that life courses of related persons are interdependent and affect each other across generations and across borders; time and place, which indicates that life courses are shaped by the institutional and historical contexts; agency, which means that individuals and families develop expectations, have a certain degree of choice, and act intentionally, in relation to the opportunities and constraints structured by the institutional contexts they live in. Participatory qualitative methodology allow them to be aware of their potential agency.

Through several surveys carried out with immigrant and refugee families in Quebec, with transnational networks of migrants in different countries, with several generations of women, as well as at the very heart of the school world, this article reflects on the participatory qualitative methodological approach as a way of making sense of these relations and intergenerational links within a migratory context. We will thus develop a hypothesis according to which a participatory qualitative methodology enables a new understanding of intergenerational and transnational processes in immigration. After outlining the main trends in qualitative research, we will present six case-studies carried out with families and generations of immigrants in Quebec, as well as a short analysis of the literature which forms the basis for our conceptual frame. From this we will draw out our methodological approach, with its epistemological foundations and its operationalization, as much for the collection as for the analysis of the data closely tied to intergenerational relations in immigration. We will conclude our article by discussing the advantages of associating a participatory qualitative methodological approach with data modeling, in order to better understand, analyze and summarize the intergenerational dynamics of migratory flows.

9.2 The Major Trends in Qualitative Research

According to Laperrière and Zuniga (2007), the methodological discourse of traditional science often isolates the social sciences from the socio-political contexts in which they develop. Inversely, qualitative research enables this ‘silence’ to be broken, and to occupy the grey zone by revisiting the data and research questions in social and political contexts, which will allow a better understanding of them in time and space. A transdisciplinary paradigm then enters the equation which enables us to explain social relations, as well as the ‘deep structures of the actors’ involved. According to the various researchers who have developed and modeled this qualitative research (Paillé and Mucchielli 2003; Van Der Maren 2006), this methodology impacts as much on the social as on the scientific level, thus allowing a link to be established between the research and its results, social change and the people

involved. Elsewhere, other authors stress the interest of qualitative research for particular areas such as the educational sciences, where it is invaluable in drawing out and analyzing professional practices (Deschenaux et al. 2011) and, finally, in understanding the meaning given to the experiences of populations who are victims of oppression or, like poor families, are neglected (René et al. 2009). This qualitative approach can thus be used both as a methodological process and as a Foucauldian (1966) episteme, i.e. as a body of knowledge in the context of a particular period, society and social group. Thus does the qualitative perspective go beyond the simple methodological process and form an ‘ideological sediment’ on which is built a different vision of the world.

Paillé (2012) provides an overview of four groupings of epistemological positions in human and social-science research. The first is the most conventional and relies more on quantitative approaches. ‘The epistemologies of control’ refer, according to Paillé, to the search for measurements, for so-called reliable, constant and replicable data, inscribed in a logic of proof. In ‘epistemologies of action’ it is the definition and the purpose of the knowledge which change, and these changes, where knowledge and intervention are linked, are the overriding focus of the research. Here we are thinking of action and training research which often relies on case-studies and on evaluations of project implementation, through a quantitative approach but with measurement of the effects and a modeling which will enable generalizations to be made. ‘Critical epistemologies’ deconstruct knowledge by differentiating between dominant knowledge and that which is undervalued and even suppressed. The neutrality of the research and the researcher are called into question and a critical knowledge is developed concerning the conditions in which it was carried out, and the functioning of the social and political system in which the research is inscribed. Finally, ‘epistemologies of meaning’ rely on a phenomenological reading of the world, on the importance of the interpretation of reality – both by the actors involved and by the researchers – and on an interactionist vision of social relations. The qualitative approach is thus preferred when deconstructing meaning and understanding interactions. Many intercultural studies and research with immigrants take this stance. Effectively what are interesting are the interactions between individuals and groups of different origins and even of several generations, whose migratory pathways have been travelled as much by people on their own as by families and cultural groups (Vatz Laaroussi 2001, 2009). Work has also been carried out on the transnational networks of intergenerational and intercultural connections and on international relations (Vatz Laaroussi and Bolzman 2010).

Consequently we can see that, when carrying out research on intergenerational connections within groups of immigrants, this latter position will be preferred; however, we will also find quantitative methodologies for monitoring cohorts – as in work on the transmission of values – as well as action research and more structural, even critical, studies the object of which is to improve both the intervention practices and the living conditions of migrants. An interactionist perspective will be especially useful in addressing the intergenerational process involved in the life-course of the young people and of their family members. The next Sect. 9.3 reviews several studies – carried out using this qualitative participatory approach –

which touch on intergenerational issues within migration. On the basis of these studies, and following our initial description of them, a critical analysis of the methodological approach will be offered. We will then focus on the theoretical frame and the epistemological perspective, both of which run through these studies, then enabling the construction of the methodological approach.

9.3 Research on Intergenerational and Family Dynamics in the Context of Migration: A Conceptual Frame to Outline the Methodological Pathway

In our various projects we considered intergenerational exchange as a central dimension of transmission processes, decision-making, support and mutual assistance. As did Delcroix (2001) in France, with his North African families, Bolzman (2008) studied parent-child solidarity practices with groups of Spanish and Italian immigrants in Switzerland. In each case these practices are important and easily distinguishable from those which are common within French and Swiss families. Our studies (Vatz Laaroussi 2009) as well as those by Rose and Iankova (2005), Simard et al. (2004) and Ray (2001) highlight vital practices of mutual assistance and support between immigrant generations. Thus, in families from completely different origins, the mother will either travel to be with her daughter when the latter is pregnant and giving birth or, if she lives nearby, will look after her young grandchildren while their parents are at work. Some researchers (Thomson 2006) thus speak of added value for the host society, which should encourage more family reunification.

Elsewhere in the immigrant network, the younger generations provide support for their elderly parents and grandparents, whether in terms of health care, living conditions, income and the learning of the host-country language or of daily tasks. Elderly immigrants are amongst the poorest and most vulnerable in Western societies. This state of affairs has been noted in Europe (Attias-Donfut et al. 2002; Bolzman et al. 2001, 2004; Samaoli 2007; Samaoli et al. 2000) and also in Canada (Tigar McLaren 2006), where elderly immigrants are often dependent on their children for survival. Difficulty in accessing care, language problems and cultural and religious differences sometimes reinforce this dependence and oblige the younger generations to take care of their elders. Lavoie et al. (2007) talk of three analytical strands of solidarity within migrant families: the first, more culturalist, advocates that these practices of mutual assistance are a traditional cultural characteristic of migrant families; the second, structuralist, emphasizes that it is the difficulty in accessing the various social services which makes this solidarity necessary. They also allude to a third strand, which is what we are interested in here: how migration trajectories both strengthen this solidarity and transform it into family integration strategies (Vatz Laaroussi 2001). However, changes linked to migrants' way of life in the host society often force this issue, transforming somewhat mechanical soli-

darity into original, carefully selected mutual assistance practices. It is these processes in the intergenerational relations which develop through immigration that we would like to examine.

As far as refugees are concerned, the exploration of networks and intergenerational relations focused essentially around two themes: family reunification, on the one hand, and legal mentoring practices on the other. Many actors concur on the importance of family reunification for successful refugee integration into their new society (Thomson 2006; Withol de Wenden 2004). For those refugees who fled their country out of fear for their own safety or that of their children or other family members, bringing their kin to this safer environment is a recurrent concern which will occupy the majority of their time and energy in the new society (and often taking several years). When in the host society, it is the presence of their kin which is often crucial in providing some refugees with the psychological support needed to start their new life, sort out their professional and economic situation, and learn new skills etc. As well as the help with daily tasks which the family provides, just knowing that they are now ‘all together’ gives these refugees a measure of self-confidence and a belief in their future in the new society (Rachédi and Vatz Laaroussi 2004). However, it is also once reunification has taken place that problems linked to loss, past conflicts and long periods of separation can surface. Several authors (Côté et al. 2001; Tigar McLaren 2006) have pointed out how difficult it can be to be reunited after a long period of separation. New intergenerational relationships need to be developed which take into account the different traumas, discoveries and knowledge which each individual has experienced or gained. For example, where refugees must guarantee sponsorship in order to bring relatives in to Canada is concerned, the material and psychological dependence of the newcomers is easy to see. Feelings of being in debt to the sponsor, of the loss of autonomy and of rejection can thus surface in sponsored relatives, and we can also observe an increase in the material and psychological pressure imposed on the welcoming generation. Bolzman et al. (2008) point out how this is particularly difficult when the person joining his or her family is quite elderly. Our approach to intergenerational relations aims to shed light on and strengthen our understanding of this difficult situation while avoiding any tendency to categorize people into ‘demons and do-gooders’.

Finally, we must highlight the importance of the gender aspect in intergenerational relations during migration. We have rarely used data on this issue across all genders, although several of our studies concentrated on women. The literature, in fact, stresses the importance of women in transnational networks (Conseil du Statut de la Femme 2005; Rose and Iankova 2005), in intergenerational relations (Mohamed 2000; United Nations 2002) and in the transmission of both knowledge and family memories which are transformed by migration (Montgomery 2008; Rachédi and Vatz Laaroussi 2004; Vatz Laaroussi 2007). If research is still needed on transmissions between men and on the intergenerational relations between the two genders, our work and our methodological perspective should highlight the gender dimension in any understanding of intergenerational relations during immigration. The migrant status and the pre-migration period, gender and intergenerational support relationships have all to be taken into account in order to under-

stand intergenerational relationships within migration. Our research enabled us to precisely set out the concepts involved.

We propose the inductive and cumulative construction of a conceptual frame based on the literature and the results of six of our earlier studies. Since the 1990s, we have been carrying out research in Quebec on family integration strategies, in particular for migrant families settling in the region (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 1999). We first looked at family strategies and the local initiatives which helped or hindered the migrants' integration. Our interest in intergenerational relations grew out of these family issues. The concepts of the family migration pathway and of their integration strategies became the basis for our analysis, which focused mainly on the dynamic, temporal and spatial perspectives, enabling us to go beyond the static, inflexible visions of cultures of origin and parent-child relations. These concepts have been used in our different studies in order to renew our approach and to problematize social and family relations and integration processes. At the theoretical level, this move is expressed through the concept of family strategies for citizenship (Vatz Laaroussi 2001, 2004) in order to better understand the connections between the strategies of the different members of the family and the aim of facilitating the family's integration as a whole. From then on, we focused on history and the memory when speaking of change!

Later, in a study of the immigrant family–school nexus (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2008) we reflected on the articulations between institutional and family strategies to ensure the educational success of young migrants. Two new concepts surfaced: that of resilience as a process enabling educational achievement and dependent on symbolic and significant adults, and that of the diversity of models of collaboration, including new actors such as ethnic and religious communities and community groups.

Intergenerational relations were thus studied not only within families but also between the different generations who were in contact in host-society institutions like schools or groups linked to the society of origin, such as ethnic or religious community organizations. Vatz Laaroussi (2009) then undertook a study on strategies for secondary mobility in immigrant and refugee families settled initially in the Quebec region. Forms of decision-making concerning mobility were analyzed together with the factors which influenced the choice of destination of the different family members. Thus we were able to map out the family mobility pathways, with the generations all moving either together or consecutively. This research then led us to promote the concept of the network as a vehicle for these mobilities, as a material and symbolic support during migration and as a reference point within family decisions. These intergenerational relations were analyzed as both a component and a result of these network dynamics. A study (CRSH 2009–2012) on the transmissions and exchanges between three generations of refugee women in Quebec (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2013a) was directly conceived in the wake of knowledge acquired on family mobility pathways. We therefore set both intergenerational, familial and network relations at the center of our analysis and approached them from the perspective of the transmission and exchange of knowledge and practice. We dis-

covered previously unknown intergenerational alliances, renewed modalities for mutual assistance and joint constructions of knowledge, history and memory.

A research project (FQRSC-MELS 2010–2013) was carried out at the same time on the introduction of family history in school reception classes as a way of motivating young immigrants and refugees, newly arrived in Quebec, to write in French (Vatz Laaroussi et al. 2013b). This idea and its analysis were used to illustrate the diversity of intergenerational relations in the writing of each pupil's book on his or her own family migration history, and enabled us to model the intergenerational co-constructions through the different types of writing linking together the young people, the significant adult members of their family, the teaching staff, the other pupils of the same generation but from different countries and cultures and the adult participants from community groups. We then analyzed these relations through the concept of dialogue – between languages, within families, between the families and the school, and between the school and the community.

It was also with the aim of broadening and understanding the multiplicity of these intergenerational relations that we took part in a multi-sited project (with simultaneous fieldwork in different places) on the transnational networks of Peruvian migrants to three countries: Spain, Canada (more specifically Quebec) and Chile.¹ We were interested in the movements of change in the representation of rights and citizenship on the transnational immigrant networks of those leaving Peru and settling in different societies elsewhere. This movement was not only international but also intergenerational, and permeated the networks in many directions: young immigrants to their elderly parents who remained in Peru, immigrant parents to their children living in the country of origin or, again, young educated Peruvians towards their older, less-educated migrant relatives... We understood here that these processes of transmission and change were deeply interwoven within transnational networks, national and international politics and intergenerational relations.

9.4 Epistemological Foundations for a Methodological Approach

In line with these progressive theoretical frameworks and our conceptualization of intergenerational relations and migration, our theoretical and epistemological perspective is interactionist and sets the actors, their strategies and the contexts in which they are deployed at the heart of our concerns. We use a constructivist approach (Berger and Luckmann 1967) which, in its research question as much as its methodology and the type of results expected, seeks to analyze the emergence of new scenarios, and to understand the processes through which they develop and the meaning they have for the actors. This approach is catalyzed by the concepts which

¹ Maria Luisa Setien, Izabel Berganza, Elaine Acosta and Hortensia Munoz 2010–2013, financed by the University of Deusto in Bilbao.

we consider to be key in the problematization of our first observations, in the organization of our fieldwork and in our analysis of the output of this methodology. From our point of view, it is through the immigrant networks which came into play during the migration pathway, incorporating the ‘before’, the ‘during’ and the ‘after’ of a person’s movement from one country to another, that these intergenerational exchanges, which catalyze the production of knowledge, intercultural competence, new practices and family memories, are deployed. These practices and knowledge are given voice through strategies which target and enable integration into the new society as well as the social promotion of the different members of the family and even of the network. These intergenerational exchanges are at the heart of often unequal social relations between cultural groups, societies and generations. Thus we cannot tackle a family’s history at an individual level without mentioning the ‘monumental history’, that of national events and famous people; we would not be able to appreciate the intergenerational relations within migrant networks without understanding the social relations and international politics which direct them. We can only analyze the relations between individuals and groups of different generations if we understand the societal structures which frame them and give them direction. Thus our perspective is ecological, too, and situated in the sense that these relations take place within contexts and situations which are well worth exploring. Therefore, undertaking research on the relationships and intergenerational connections in migration leads us to work with families, their networks and their environment, all from an intercultural perspective. It also means – if we wish to avoid a culturalist, fixed approach – working with migrants’ histories and memories and with their knowledge and empowerment, identifying their processes of resilience and analyzing and even strengthening their potential, their solidarities and their mutual assistance rather than their problems. It is through these social relations between social classes, countries, genders and cultures, therefore, that we will develop our analysis.

Four concepts are thus the basis for our methodological approach: participation, understanding, narrative and history (see Fig. 9.1). The participation of all the actors involved in the research (the researchers themselves, their research assistants, students, migrants and others who make up the research sample, and stakeholders), of whatever age, culture, social status or gender, enables the reconstruction and analysis, in the field and throughout the whole project, of these social relations and provides an understanding of how they are translated in dialogues between young people and adults, between researchers and professionals, or between tutors and pupils.

We can also observe how they develop within a multi-ethnic, multigenerational research team. A comprehensive approach is key when embarking on fieldwork and when trying to seize, in participatory analysis, the different meanings given to situations by the various generations and groups (community, family, network). The narrative approach is preferred here as it enables the expression of meaning and symbols, as in the description of events or the scene-setting of their history and chronology as subjectified by individuals or membership groups. This approach also offers a way of looking at unequal contexts and relations through the subjective

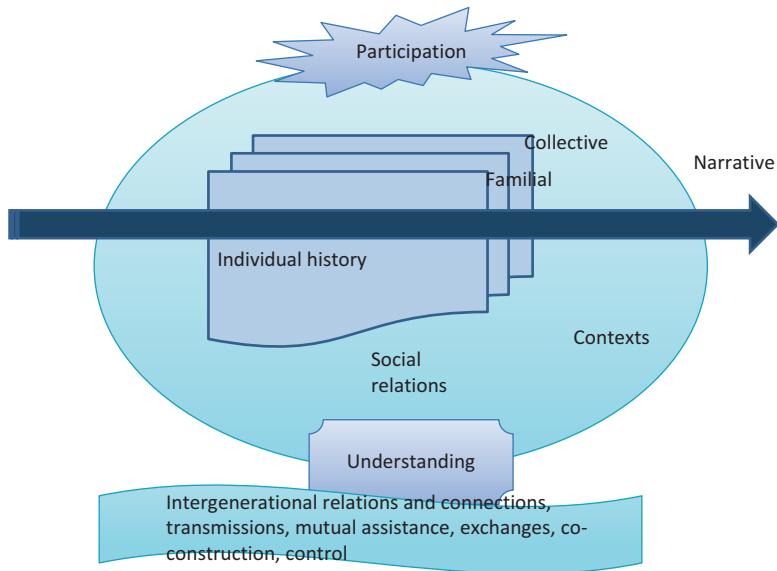


Fig. 9.1 Epistemological diagram for a comprehensive approach to intercultural relations and connections

experiences of the interviewees, who reconstruct their history in order to narrate it. Finally, history, whether individual or collective, subjective or objective, chronological or symbolic, is at the heart of this approach, which can only comprehend these intergenerational relations and practices through lived, described, reconstructed and narrated times and spaces.

9.5 Critical Profile of the Data Collection Tools and Analytical Approach

This epistemological perspective is the basis for our preferred methodological approach. Through a critical analysis, we will first present our work package, then the tools for the collection and analysis of our data.

9.5.1 *The Fieldwork*

Our methodological devise is designed to provide the optimal conditions under which to gather the histories, the exchanges, the co-constructions, the continuities and the ruptures between the migrant generations. Several sources are necessary for this to happen and it is important to take an approach which is both comprehensive and

reflective. In our research we work on the one hand with stakeholders from the social, health and educational fields and, on the other, with the different migrant generations. Our aim is not to cross or to validate these sources but to reciprocally enrich our understanding and analysis of them. For example, the most often we encounter these stakeholders through focus groups (discussion groups) at the start and again at the end of our project. At the start we try to understand the representation of the stakeholders concerning migrant family and intergenerational relations and we draw up with them a picture of their interventions and actions. At the end of the research, we give these groups of stakeholders access to the immigrant voices we have encountered; we provide them with new material to facilitate their understanding of the intergenerational situations they come across and encourage them to take a reflective perspective which will hopefully adapt and transform their practices. In this sense, these focus groups are part of the research process and of social change. And the process as a whole must also be part of an ethical reflection approach which debates the transfer and exchange between researchers, stakeholders and participants in the project.

Between conducting focus groups with professionals, we carry out our fieldwork with the families, the generations and the intergenerational networks of immigrants. As usual, we construct typical participant samples which will enable us to understand the specificities and singularities of the different migration pathways and networks. For example, we work with several ethnic groups, and a variety of statuses (refugees, independent immigrants) and groups who arrived at different periods and in diverse family configurations (couples, families with children, single-parent families, single people and widow(er)s). We identify our participants through snowballing and the use of networks of organizations, key interviewees, researchers and the immigrants themselves. In this way, by ensuring that we have a representative sample, we can guarantee the validity of our results. Two sample groups are set up: one for focus groups and one for case-studies. Initially we intend to hold discussion groups with immigrants of varying generations in order to open up the channels of communication between them, with migrants from the same generation but from different cultural backgrounds (for example grandmothers with different ethnic origins), or with different generations from a single ethnic group (i.e. three generations of Serbian women together).

We then implement our case-studies through semi-structured individual interviews with representatives of each generation, either for their family links (i.e. the grandmother, the mother and the daughter in our research with refugee women), for their primary networks (two members of the network in Quebec, one in Peru in our study of Peruvian transnational networks) or even according to our research topic (for example, a child, the child's parent(s) and his or her teacher in our research on the scholarly achievements of our young immigrants and refugees). Finally, still with the aim of enriching, but not triangulating, our datasets, we carry out collective interviews with the family, the members of their network and with intergenerational threesomes or trios.

We realize that these multimethod projects are complex and, to undertake them successfully, we need a solid team of researchers in the field. We will come back to the composition of our research team as an essential element of our methodological approach later in this chapter.

9.5.2 Tools for the Collection and Synthesis of Data

Whether conducting focus groups or individual or collective interviews, we always use a thematic interview chart, with themes and sub-themes, illustrations and potential questions (Fig. 9.2). This chart must be sufficiently flexible to enable its use in different ways according to both the participants and the interviewers, but sufficiently structured to be usable by several interviewers in different languages and generations.

For example, the way in which an interviewer approaches the issues of death or of education should take into account the generation and the experiences of the interviewee; the same examples cannot be used in the same way with refugee grandmothers as with refugee grandchildren, even when they are from the same country of origin. Furthermore, talking to grandmothers about the transmission of values does not have the same resonance as when discussing it with their daughters or grandchildren. Hence the interview schedules are adaptable and intended to obtain discourses, histories and representations which are known to be subjective and which will collectivize the narratives of the members of the different generations.

We therefore use various practical tools during the interviews in order to obtain cross-cutting data. In particular, to understand the history of our interviewees, whether individuals, families or groups, we ask them to narrate their journeys and to illustrate them by drawing a line which represents their migration pathway, marking any notable events and commenting on them. Of course it is the commentary which gives us the most comprehensive data; nevertheless, the drawings of the migrants' route maps which our interviewers systematically retrieve and complete at the end of the interviews allow us to summarize our approach to these very diverse life trajectories. For the intergenerational trios of female refugees, the interviewers traced a streamed migration pathway which shows the dates of the women's travel, of their reunification with kin, and of notable events for the three women in each case (Fig. 9.3).

There are now many tools for data collection which enable us to identify the networks of our interviewees and which are used in both qualitative and quantitative research. Thus Bernardi (2011) sees a mixed method as the most appropriate for studying transnational family networks and, more specifically, proposes to use network maps with the children of the families. In the same way, during the interviews, we ask our participants to draw a map of their networks and to comment on it (Fig. 9.4).

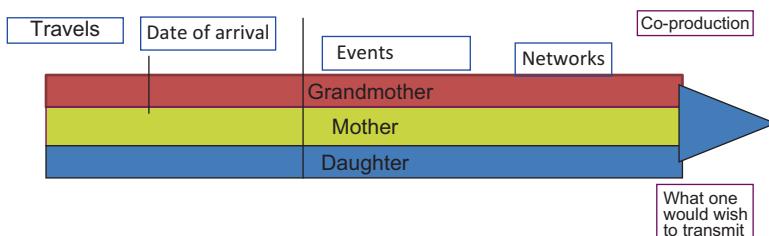


Fig. 9.2 Intergenerational pathway: an analytical tool

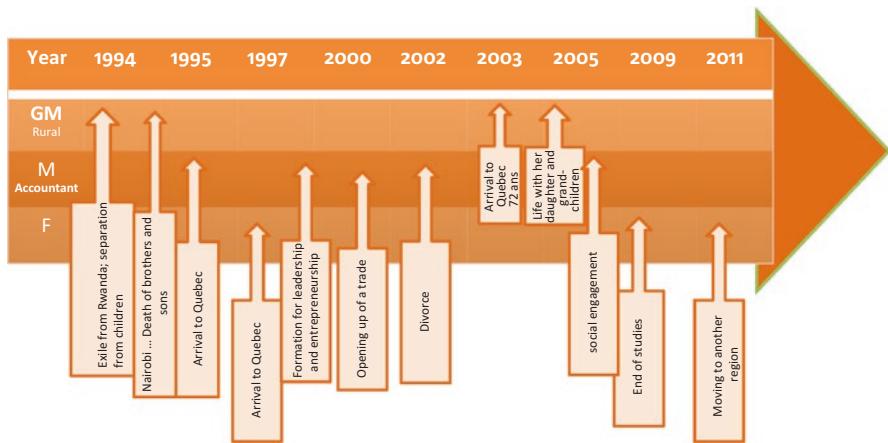


Fig. 9.3 Example of an intergenerational trajectory in the research trios: Migration pathway of a family from Rwanda

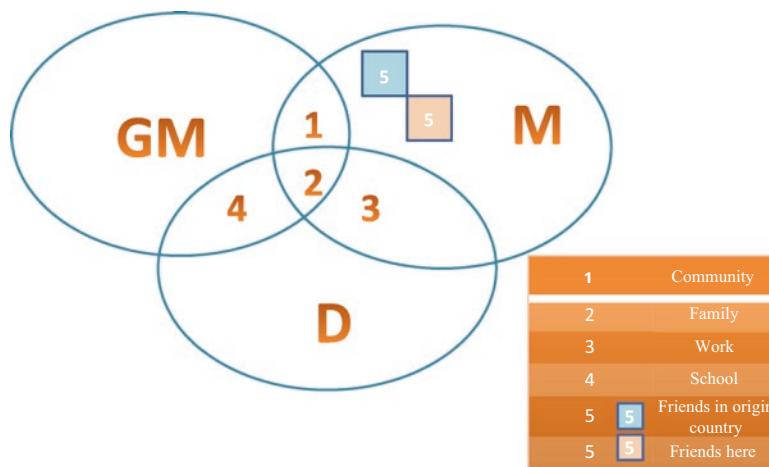


Fig. 9.4 Intergenerational network map of the intergenerational trios: example of a Columbian trio

In particular, we are trying to understand, with them, those to whom they feel the closest, who give them support, who represent potential resources either on a daily basis or on a special occasion. The interviews also identify the spaces where members place their networks, whether of family members, of friends or of representatives of the service sector. Through their sketches, they illustrate their relational distance from or proximity to these people. We also ask them to specify their generation. In our research on the transnational networks of Peruvians, it was on this map of networks that the first interviewee identified the second person to be interviewed in the host country and the person to meet in Peru. This tool gives great

freedom to the interviewees; in particular we willingly abandon the notions of strong and weak links and reconstruct the maps in the way that our interviewees indicated. This also enables the participants to visualize their connections and essential points of reference for what can, for some, represent a reassuring discovery, and even a way to take control of their lives again.

Often, drawing their transnational networks enables the migrants to assess their mobility. In our research on the educational achievements of the young, several mentioned people in their networks who were far away, back in the country of origin or in a transit country, but who were very important to them. This approach was also a way of giving them back a place in their own story. Once the interviews had been carried out with the different members of the case-study, the interviewers drew up a chart showing the overlapping networks of each case.

In our action research with youngsters in reception classes, the drawing up of the family tree and the network maps was one of the themes covered. These maps and charts have never yet been analyzed objectively or interpreted through a psychological or psychoanalytic framework. The aim was to enable the children to visualize the place of these people in their lives, on their migration journeys and in their individual and family histories (Fig. 9.5). They could include whatever they wished, and were not obliged to tell the ‘truth’. Several of them used these drawings to take stock of the changes they were experiencing and what they put in writing about them was along the same lines. Some parents were surprised, and even very moved, to find in these networks the grandparents, or uncles and aunts that the children

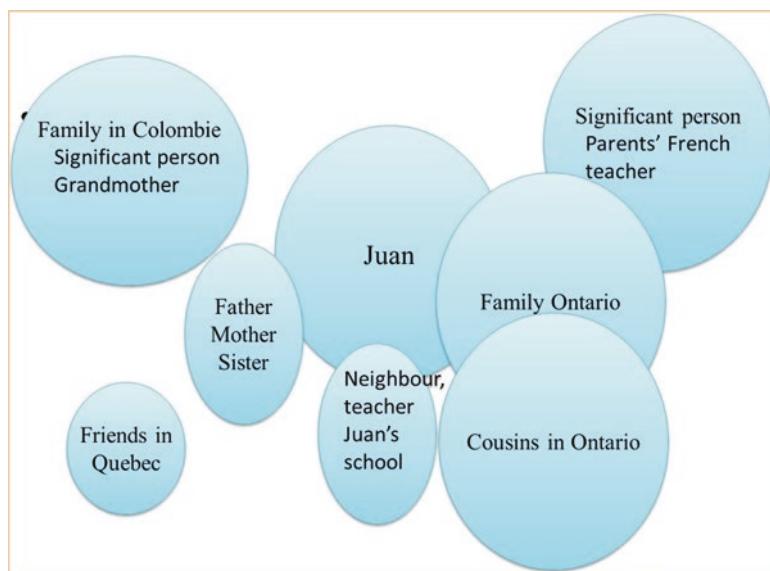


Fig. 9.5 The networks of a young participant in our research at his school on immigrant family collaboration (Juan's network)

hardly or never knew, but who were symbolically important to them. The family tree also, in several cases, facilitated discussions of the family's history.

In our action research on family history in the reception class, and also, more exceptionally, in other studies, some young people and their parents kept multi-authored diaries together on the themes surrounding their journey, their arrival, and the memories of, losses through and benefits of migration. We can thus find, directly and in writing, the intergenerational connections which we wish to analyze. The parents who wrote in their children's books explained: 'For me, it was a question of writing down things I saw so that I don't forget them and can read about them again', 'It's a way of expressing our feelings', whereas the children said: 'Writing this book about my family history allowed me to get a load off my mind', or again 'It helps me to keep the memories of my father alive, which is why I love this project!'.

Others, and especially refugee or immigrant mothers, chose to write about parts of their journey, to keep a written record of their travels, a narrative which is sometimes romanticized, sometimes very realistic (see, on this subject, Charlotte's narrative in Vatz Laaroussi 2009: 206–212). Here was precious material which we could then use as a direct outcome of the interviews, and which gave the migrants' perspective on their history. Extracts from some of these narratives are thus be used in our publications, giving our participants a voice. The logbooks of our researchers and of the chaperones when we carried out our action research in schools also provided us with written material which are directly form part of our analysis, and even of our published outputs. Multi-authored texts can thus be shared between an interviewed father, a child through his book, the chaperone through her logbook and the researcher who weaves all the elements together into a published output.

Thus, after using these data collection tools, we can turn to the analytical tools which enable us to amalgamate the different types of data from several sources, first by case-study, then, transversally, by generation, by country of origin and by topic.

Some tools are used to summarize the collected data together with those of other actors in the same case-study, and to cross-reference them in order to obtain an intergenerational understanding. Thus in our research with our trios, we have developed schemes, for each case we encountered, which cross-cut the productions and transmissions between the three generations (Fig. 9.6).

As with our research on family and school collaboration, we have drawn up resilience maps for each young person we met during our interviews with their parents, teachers and other youngsters. These maps show the 'guardians of resilience' – the ways in which young people find support in their entourage; whether symbolic or real, some support systems are gained from intergenerational relations, either as a model or as a form of support, encouragement or help (Fig. 9.7).

9.5.3 Data Analysis: Dialoguing with the Actors

The process of data analysis cross-tabulates the data from all sources of which some have already been amalgamated and standardized through summarizing tools. It also seeks to interpret the data, respecting the position and narrative of each actor, while

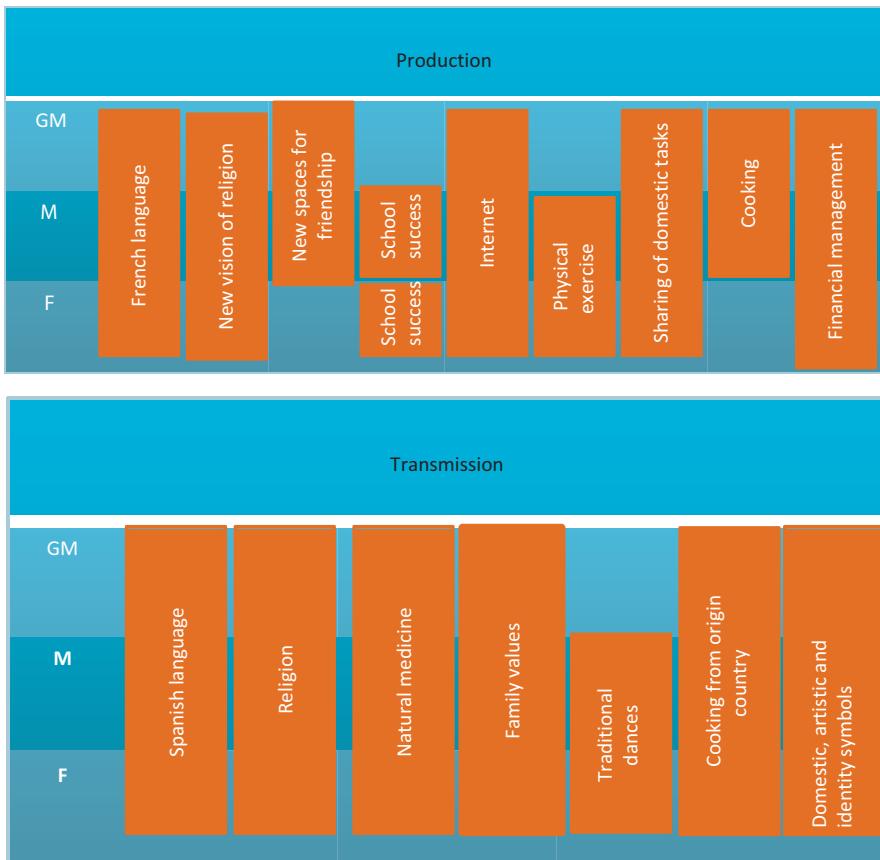


Fig. 9.6 Examples of charts summarizing intergenerational transmissions and productions in our research trios

creating a new narrative out of their interview dialogue with the research team. In fact the entire process depends on having a multilingual, multicultural and multigenerational research team. We have already stressed (Vatz Laaroussi 2008; Vatz Laaroussi et al. 1995) the value of having a linguistically, ethnically, status-wise and generationally mixed research team who, at one and the same time, develop networks and recruit participants for the research, carry out the interviews and, finally, demonstrate their understanding through drawing up these summary charts. But even more than the closeness of the field researchers to the people, the families and the groups which they encounter, it is the type of interpretative dialogue employed between the different actors which seems to be pertinent and particularly rich here.

In fact we can identify five types of dialogue as a result of this research process which allow us to construct our methodological approach and our interpretative analysis of the data. The first level of dialogue is between the researchers – who have an official academic status and who are responsible for the funding allocated

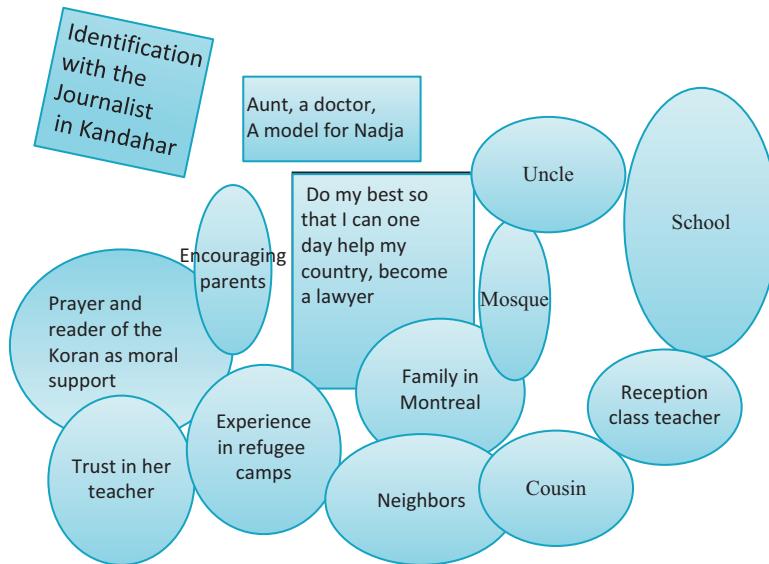


Fig. 9.7 Nadia's achievement (14 years old, Afghanistan, arrived in 1998). Networks and resilience

to the project – and the research assistants and students whom they employ to take part in the research. Here the question of origins, languages and generations is filtered by professional and social status and the first stage of the participatory methodological process consists to set up a dialogue between these actors. This takes into account the various differences, and even distances and inequalities, between them by catalyzing them into a collaborative perspective the aim of which is not to study equality or assimilation but rather the expression, the empowerment, the exchanges of knowledge and the co-construction of their expertise. In this way we can talk of an emancipatory dialogue for the whole team based on one essential condition: recognition of the experiences and knowledge of each and every member.

The second level of dialogue is between the members of the field team and the participants encountered during the fieldwork, whether interviewed individually, collectively or in focus groups. Here again the process of the mutual recognition of knowledge and a form of collaborative complicity will facilitate the narrative, enabling the greatest freedom of expression possible for the interviewees, the exchange, and research into the meaning of experience through reformulation and listening, and the interest accorded to these interactions. Another outcome of the process is the feedback which is given to participants in the wake of our analysis.

The third type of dialogue occurs during the analysis, when the participants are no longer present in person but are represented verbatim by their interview accounts, by the charts and summary charts and by the field researchers they encountered. The dialogue is now between three people, the one symbolically present, the other two – whether the project leaders or the field researchers – beginning a comprehensive

process of analysis which gives back meaning and life to the actors. In this dialogue the issue of generations is always present, either in our understanding, in the meaning to be reconstructed, or again in the discussion process amongst the members of the research team.

The fourth level of dialogue is in the restitution, to both practitioners and professionals, of this comprehensive intergenerational analysis, of these new meanings and dynamics. Once again, the dialogue develops properly between these practitioners and the research team, with the aim of introducing the principal actors through a form of symbolic or concrete recognition. For example, several fora are organized at the end of the project in order to share the results with all the actors and participants. During the forum we organized at the end of the action research in schools on family history, the families, teachers, researchers, students and community stakeholders all shared their experiences and were given access to the written output of the pupils and the family, as well as to videos filmed at different moments of the exercise.

Finally, a fifth dialogue is generated – this time between the generations – through the different exchanges and can be found within the groups taking part in the research and the members of the research team themselves. What is more, this approach often enables new intergenerational exchanges to be set up within families and networks, as was the case for our research with our trios or with the action research in the reception classes.

Illustration through interview extracts: the use of intergenerational dialogue.

I talked about it with my mother, my grandfather and my aunt. They helped me over the phone. They spoke to me in Spanish and I took notes. After, when I got to school, I added my own memories to what they had told me (Secondary-school pupil, Montreal, action research).

Interview extracts from mother–daughter dialogue, trio research:

These are the values which I would like to transmit to my children – not forgetting femininity. It's important. A woman should be looked at and appreciated for the way she is. This is why she should carry herself well. That's what I learned from my mother. My daughters know it. When I get my little one dressed she knows what goes with what. I cannot mix any old colors, everything must be coordinated (mother).

Mummy also taught me to carry myself properly. A woman should be elegant. Where we come from, people don't wear jeans everywhere. We coordinate the colors. That's what my mother always taught me; it's important to be elegant and beautiful (daughter).

These five levels of dialogue can also be found in the output from the project – whether articles, volumes, conferences, guides or videos. The texts will be multi-authored and the verbatim accounts intergenerational. In all cases we will try to summarize them in order to enter into new exchanges with the wider public.

9.6 Interpretation Through Participation and Meaning

The cumulative, intercultural, intergenerational and dialogic analysis of these discourses, representations and narratives is undertaken through interpretation by the team as a whole. It draws on what Soulet (2012) calls the realistic imagination, a constrained, collective, interpretative activity. The constraints are those of thoroughness, authenticity, relevance and recognition of subjectivities. This analytical activity is implemented both through a conceptually designed interpretative framework and within a grey area, even a margin of discretion, occupied by the different members of the team. Searching for meaning leads to an intergenerational and intercultural reinterpretation of histories, practices and representations. The research team, fueled by the participants they encountered, reveals new configurations of meaning which provide a different take on the intergenerational relations, transmissions, circulations, exchanges, co-constructions and social relations in which they belong. These hypotheses of meaning can thus be applied to texts which give voice to the actors and to the collective imagination of the research team. Each person's sociological intuition, colored by his or her language and culture of origin, generation, experience and knowledge, and gender, is called upon in a cumulative emic perspective (Paillé 2012); new accounts are redrawn, written and narrated. The examples below illustrate several possible links which give meaning to multi-stranded discourse and dialogue.

Grandmother–mother dialogue from the same trio through individual interviews. This dialogue demonstrates the intergenerational circularity of the apprenticeships.

From my daughter I learned that each one of us can be patient when we want to be. From my granddaughter I learned that the way we behave depends on the environment in which we grew up (YU4SGM).

As I have already said, my mother taught me to be patient, and to respect others. My daughter taught me to be brave and to accept those things that I cannot change (YU4SM).

Daughter–mother dialogue (two different cases, same country of origin) in a three-way interpretative written text. This dialogue allows us to analyze the intergenerational cultural convergences.

What interests me is dancing. I would love to teach my children to dance. Here no one dances, it's very sad. It's important to let the body express itself through rhythm and sound... (R1QF).

Singing and dancing helped us to keep our spirits up and be brave. We knew we would be OK because the Rwandan is brave, it's an inherited trait. There are several types of dance, each having a different meaning. For example dances where we clap our hands and stamp our feet to the rhythm of a tune we all know. For us, this dance symbolizes enthusiasm and freedom. If it is a man and a woman who dance together, that means friendship. Dancing for us is an act of exchange and communication. Each step we take involves changing places with the partner opposite. This signifies a climate of understanding and movement the one towards the other. This all goes to show to our children that it is important to be sociable (R2QM).

Three-way interview extract (trios). This dialogue highlights intergenerational transmissions.

We have also brought with us books on the democratic leadership in Colombia. How women are taught to acquire or develop this leadership. I think my daughter can benefit from reading these books. She will be able to understand how we worked with women in Colombia. It's something she can showcase (C3ST-M).

Intergenerational link between individual interview extracts, different cases (trios). These dialogues are based on a comparison of countries of origin and highlight the intergenerational circulation of changes linked to migration.

It's easier to grow old here. We can benefit from being here. We can relax, go for a walk, and take part in many activities. It is much better for the elderly here than back home (YU3SGM).

My role has changed. I live better here and I don't have many obligations and responsibilities (YU2SGM).

I feel like 'a castle neither on earth nor in heaven' in terms of obligations towards my children, my grandchildren, my mother. I am well organized, but I would like to have a bit more time free for us all. Once again, I think that it is much easier here; it would be much harder in our country (YU3SM).

We can in this way reconstruct a complete intergenerational network narrative, as presented in several of our books (Vatz Laaroussi 2001, 2009).

9.7 Intergenerational Research in a Migration Situation: Increasing Participatory Projects

Participation and the reconstruction of meaning represent the two foundations of the qualitative methodologies which contribute here to our understanding of intergenerational relations in migration. We can thus speak of collaborative and/or participative research. This can be presented in several forms which result in different models: joint research, networking, action research, training research or critical advocacy research. It is always characterized by a knowledge production process carried out in collaboration with the actors in the field. These studies all aim to 'harness the knowledge of citizen-actors, identify potential participants and, for the elderly, strengthen their self-belief in their own ability to initiate and control the action' (Anadon 2007: 4).

These different types of collaborative research address the generations in migration in different ways, thus enabling a comprehensive, in-depth portrait to be drawn up which is relevant to the topic of the research, acknowledges the different meanings given to their experiences by the actors concerned, and is liberating. In this sense, the tools developed allow for the summarizing of these collaborative approaches. Our tools, together with our interpretative approach, enable a modeling of the processes at play in these intergenerational relations as well as the construction of typologies. Participation, meaning, narration and history represent the foundations of our methodological perspective, the combination of which enables us to approach intergenerational interactions within migration through the life-courses of all the people involved.

Thus it is through integrating these participatory qualitative methodological approaches and developing modeling approaches that the researchers can associate them with quantitative approaches, the purpose of which is to draw up an evolving portrait of intergenerational relations, for example on the cohorts of migrant pupils or on transnational networks. The work of Marie McAndrew and her team (GRIES, research project on educational and school intervention, FQRAC 2010–2014) – who carried out a meta-analysis of research, at once quantitative, qualitative and participatory, involving the academic achievements of immigrant pupils in Quebec, both first and second generation – provides an excellent illustration of the successful linking of qualitative and quantitative approaches, of research and practice, of the expanding of new intellectual knowledge and the different ways to transfer this to an ever-widening public, and of academic work and political decision-making.

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Part III

**The Biography and the Identity of
Immigrant Descendants as a Negotiation
Process**

Chapter 10

Studying Second-Generation Transitions into Adulthood in Switzerland: A Biographical Approach

Eva Mey

10.1 Introduction

This contribution is based on a biographical study carried out in a little town of Switzerland between 2005 and 2010 (Mey and Rorato 2006, 2010; Mey 2010, 2015).¹ The study focus on how young men and women from families of migrant background—the so-called second generation—experience and manage the transition from school to professional life and adulthood. The respondents participated in biographical narrative interviews at two points of observation: the first at the end of the compulsory education (i.e., ninth grade), the second three years later.

To capture the specific position (of inequality) of children and adolescents whose parents came to Switzerland as migrant workers from countries of Southern and South-Eastern Europe, our work account for class- and origin-specific inequality dynamics and their interplay.² Following Elias, the relations between migrant workers and the native population can be described as an *established-outsider-configuration* (Elias and Scotson 1990) in which the “newcomers” find themselves in the social position of outsiders and the natives in the role of the “established” who attempt to maintain their power and privileges. The educational system as a load-bearing social institution is itself part of this constellation and remains unable, despite promises to the contrary, to guarantee equal opportunities for all and eradicate the reproduction

¹The study was financed by the Swiss National Fund and the Swiss Federal Institute of Migration. Between writing this text and its publication, Swiss National Fund has approved the continuation of the research. A third series of interviews with the young adults is planned for 2016.

²Theoretically, we draw on Bourdieu (1983) and Elias and Scotson (1990) to conceptualize the intersectionality of class- and figuration-based mechanisms of inequality (see Juhasz and Mey 2003, 2006).

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of social inequalities (Solga 2005; Bourdieu and Passeron 1971). This social constellation is empirically reflected in the migrant workers' weaker position within the educational system and labour market (for Switzerland see Mey et al. 2005; Swiss Education Report 2010; Bergman et al. 2011), and there is persistent origin-driven inequality (Meyer 2009) that is particularly pronounced in Germany and Switzerland compared to the rest of Europe (Hadjar and Berger 2010; Pfeffer 2008). In addition, the Swiss migrants' situation is defined politically and legally by a naturalization regime that, in European standards, is unsurpassed in terms of its strict regulations. It underlines an exclusive concept of Swiss citizenship, which is based on the ideas of origin and identity, and (thus) defines immigrants as basically "others" also in case of second and even third-generation residents.

Our study was carried out in the Swiss municipality of Emmen in the canton of Lucerne. Most of the people in Emmen live in Emmenbrücke, a town with a population of just over 30,000 with a prosperous industrial past and a comparatively high proportion of foreign nationals (about one-third of the population).³ The study is hereafter referred to as the "EMMEN study".⁴

This article aims to use the EMMEN study to identify the approach, interests, and specific contributions of biographical research in the analysis of the second-generation transition into adulthood. The article is structured as follows. In Sect. 10.2, we give a description of the specific interests and implications of a methodological approach in which biographies—or, more precisely, autobiographical narratives—are both the center and the starting point of the analysis. Section 10.3 focuses on the specific methods applied in the EMMEN study: the sampling, the biographical narrative interviews, and the method of analysis. Particular attention is paid to the fact that the EMMEN study was designed as a biographical longitudinal study. Section 10.4 presents a specific case study to demonstrate the focus of biographical analysis, and its specific findings. The paper concludes with Sect. 10.5 in which some final considerations on the adequacy of the adopted approach are proposed.

10.2 The Biographical Research Perspective: Interests and Implications

Our primary interest in biographical research is rooted in a perspective that conceives biographies as "products" of the intersectionality between social conditions and individual action and interpretation. Autobiographical narratives—the "material" of biographical research—reflect the subjective experiences of the individuals,

³ An active community and club life has evolved among some of the immigrant groups that have been living there for some time. In public discourse, Emmen has been given the somewhat derogatory label of a "foreigners' community".

⁴ The capitalized EMMEN refers to the town in which the study was carried out as well as to the German subtitle of the study: "Erwachsenwerden Mit Migrationshintergrund: Eine Narrative Studie" (in English: Growing up with a migrant background: A narrative study").

interpretations of these experiences, and the strategies that they develop in their interaction with their environment. Working with autobiographical narratives thus involves another aspect that is crucial for our work. By letting respondents tell their own stories, thereby respecting their personal perspectives and perception of relevance, the biographical approach helps at least to mitigate the problem of “speaking about others”—from which, however, social research can never really escape (e.g., Mecheril 1999).

10.2.1 *Biography and Inequality During Adolescence*

Biographical research offers a sound foundation and excellent conceptual tools for exploring the depths of the intersectionality between social conditions and individual action and interpretation. Worthy of particular mention is Schütze’s approach and theoretical toolkit of biographical analysis (1981, 1983, and 2007).⁵ Schütze’s analytical method allows the identification of *biographical process structures* within a biography, which can be distinguished according to whether they are driven by intentional action or by external impulses; “by individual biography incumbents, on the one hand, and the forceful structural restrictions for their activities of production through obligations, constraints and mechanisms of institutional and organizational processes, on the other hand” (Schütze 2007).⁶ As mentioned before, the social conditions in which these biographies unfold can be described and theoretically conceptualized as relations of social inequality in the context of an established-outsider-configuration.

By using Schütze’s theoretical biographical approach, it is possible to see individuals neither just as passive victims fully determined by social conditions nor as entirely “free” actors. Such a perspective is particularly important if the research should do justice to the specific quality of adolescence. In her work on adolescence, King (2004) conceptualizes the transition into adulthood as a space of opportunities in which something potentially new unfolds. It is in this space that young people develop—and start to realize—their own biographical models while assessing their previous life experiences, the situation of their families, and social and family norms. Due to the conditions of social inequality and denied recognition, these opportunity spaces are restricted and pre-structured in a specific way. In other words, it is during the transition into adulthood that the relation of inequality and biography becomes particularly a matter of special importance. Previous pathways and social positions are overcome or reproduced during the transition.

⁵ Schütze is an exponent of “Arbeitsgruppe Bielefelder Soziologen”, a group particularly relevant for the advancement of qualitative social research by introducing the Anglo-American debate and important thesis from the respective fields of ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism and sociology of knowledge to the German-speaking world (Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014).

⁶ Applying this logic, Schütze identifies four different *biographical process structures*: biographical action schemes, trajectories of suffering, institutional expectation patterns, and metamorphoses by creative process (1981, 1983, and 2007). According to Schütze, these fundamental process structures can be found in all biographies, but in changing constellations.

Biographical research targets two outcomes: First, it focuses on analyzing the mechanisms of reproduction as much as on identifying potential for social innovation in adolescent' biography; second, it aims to investigate how these youths perceive the conditions of social inequality, what experiences they have had with it, what strategies they develop to deal with it, what their objectives are in life, and how and in which social contexts these interpretations, strategies, and objectives evolve. By raising such questions, the biographical approach is perfectly suited to track the impact of social inequality and the constraints and restrictions it imposes on the transition into adulthood for second-generation residents down to the level of individual experiences, strategies and sense-making.

10.2.2 Making Autobiographical Narratives an Object of Investigation

According to Schütze (1976, 1983), narrative interviews should allow the respondents to tell their stories in their own terms and as freely as possible. This—and only this—produces narratives that allow reconstructing the factual concatenation of life course events and the involvement of the respondent in these concatenations.⁷

Schütze claims that the perceptions and interpretations presented in an autobiographical narrative are always formed by “layers” of previous biographical experience that are “accumulated” over a lifetime. This might be the way by which a young man or young woman of immigrant background tackles a life transition (e.g., from school to work) as well as hopes and fears he or she associates with the process and strategies he or she may employ in dealing with potential obstacles. All of these aspects are shaped not only by previous experiences but also by how the past events were experienced and interpreted at the time. Thus, narratives of a person's life can and must be read and interpreted as a manifestation of all the individual's previous and current efforts of sense-making when he or she seeks to come to terms with the social conditions that constitute the circumstances of his or her life.

By making use of autobiographical narratives, we are therefore able to offer a reconstruction of how concrete experiences have accumulated within a given social context, which in turn allows an understanding of the development of a given biography and of sense-making. Among other things, this particularly sustains efforts to analyze the processes of social (self-)exclusion. Furthermore, by reconstructing the process of sense-making, autobiographical narratives make a person's implicit knowledge accessible. Such implicit knowledge might include the narrator's self-positioning, comparable to Goffman's *sense of one's place* (Goffman 1952).

⁷This is a central statement of Schütze's narratological approach. His approach involves the thesis of a homology between experienced and narrated history. This thesis has often been criticized and is not shared by all exponents of biographical analysis (for a relevant debates see e.g. Bohnsack 2003 and Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014).

Drawing on Schütze, Rosenthal (1995, 2008) pays special attention to the dialectic relationship between experience, memory, and narrative. Her methodological conclusion is that “narrated” and “experienced” life history should be analyzed separately, not only in order to consider their dialectic relationship but also to make use of it as a means of analysis. This also makes it possible systematically to include the complex interaction with autobiographical storytelling in the analysis.

Biographical analysis is always based on *individual cases*. It is not the objective of biographical research to provide information on the quantitative distribution of a specific phenomenon in social reality. Rather, biographical research refers to the logic of reconstructive social research. Underlying the logic of this approach is the assumption that it is possible in principle to identify the general in the particular (Rosenthal 2008:75). The careful biographical reconstruction of each individual case makes it possible to uncover the interplay of relevant factors in all its complexity as well as the nature of the process in each case. The objective is not to use statistical significance to prove the relationship between individual phenomena but to explain these in the context of a single biography. Comparative analysis and the contrasting of single cases (Schütze 1983, based on Glaser and Strauss 1967, Kelle and Kluge 1999) provide a means to spot the variations in the field under study and to describe the various types of biographies in the sense that they represent possible answers to the social problem in question.

10.3 Design and Methodological Approach in the EMMEN Study

In the following section, we outline our research design and identify the steps taken to solve the specific challenges involved when collecting and analyzing data. We will address two aspects in more detail: collecting rich data on social networks within a biographical interview and using a longitudinal biographical study design.⁸

10.3.1 Sample and Survey Design

The study population consisted of youths aged between 15 and 17 (who ideally had been attending their final year of compulsory education at the time) who were resident in Emmen in the canton of Lucerne, were Swiss or of foreign nationality, and had received their entire schooling in Switzerland.⁹

⁸ While there are a few studies that apply a qualitative longitudinal design and focus on social networking (e.g., Bidart and Lavenu 2006), we are not aware of any studies that explicitly carry out biographical *case reconstructions* on the basis of two biographical narratives conducted at different points in time.

⁹ The latter criterion was modified in the course of the study. Initially we included students who had been enrolled in Swiss schools for at least 5 years. However, our biographical analyses revealed

To account for the heterogeneity of the field of investigation, the sample was determined by a qualitative sampling scheme in which the national origin,¹⁰ the level of education attained,¹¹ the sex,¹² as well as the social networking patterns were varied. With regard to social networking, we made sure to include youths involved in formal organizations (some in more than one) as well as youths who only maintain informal networks. In the case of formal organization, we distinguished between those related to the ethnic roots of their members (e.g., Albanian mosque, Serbian dance club, Portuguese school) and those with no such relation (particularly sports clubs). National background was varied so that immigrant groups represented different types of network formation and progression, often depending on the immigration history of the group or the duration of their presence in Switzerland.¹³

The survey design included a first interview, typically made during the final year of compulsory education, and a second interview 3 years later. At the time of the second interview, the young adults were either enrolled in some form of upper secondary education,¹⁴ had entered gainful employment or were participating in an interim program.

The EMMEN study's sample comprised a total of 34 people of foreign descent who were interviewed twice.¹⁵

such strong differences in the makeup of the cases involving children who had immigrated during their school years that we decided to no longer consider them to avoid too much heterogeneity (which also suggests that exploring these differences in depth would deserve a study in its own right).

¹⁰ Italy 8, (future) Kosovo 10, Croatia 2, Portugal 8, Serbia 6.

¹¹ Higher level 5, middle level 12, low level 17 (first point of observation).

¹² Female 15, male 19.

¹³ A deliberate effort was made to approach the youths through a variety of different channels to minimize potential sample bias. They were approached in public places, via social workers and teachers in schools, through the leadership of sports clubs, at religious institutions (e.g., mosques), or facilities for youths (e.g., youth centers).

¹⁴ This upper secondary education was often a program for vocational education and training (VET), sometimes a more academic education, like high school.

¹⁵ This does not include 8 Swiss youths because their interviews were not systematically included in the analysis. Sample attrition in the time between the first and second interviews (11 persons) was either due to an inability to contact them (7) or refusal to participate (4). The analyses from the first interviews did not allow us to draw any conclusions on a typical profile for the lost cases. For instance, they covered each level of education.

10.3.2 Capturing and Interpreting Social Relationships in Biographical Research

Our study places a particular emphasis on the youths' social relationships, especially, the patterns, changes, and significance of these relationships in the transition from school to adulthood. We were interested in all forms of social networks, including family and kinship as well as peers, both in formal and informal settings (clubs, cliques, best friends, etc.). We claim that they form a social context that not only provides a potential source of social capital (Bourdieu 1983; Portes 1998) but also represents a place where experiences are shared and processed, i.e., that meaning is constructed in processes of social interaction.¹⁶ Both aspects are particularly relevant in the transition to adulthood. In migration research, there has been a long-standing controversy over the role of ethnic communities for immigrants, i.e., whether (ethnic) community involvement is more likely to open up or restrict opportunities.¹⁷ Against this background, we sought to identify the various social arrangements in which the youths participated as precisely and exhaustively as possible.

Methodologically, the issue was whether and how this could be achieved within a research design based on autobiographical narratives. The challenge was how to obtain comprehensive information on the respondents' social networks without altering the nature of the biographical interview by too much structured inquiry, thereby contradicting the principle of openness in unstructured interviews. We decided to follow the basic steps of biographical narrative interviewing according to Schütze (1976) (i.e., an unrestrained initial narrative offered by the respondent followed by internal questions, then external questions¹⁸) and addressed social relationships by way of external questions. In so doing, we check carefully that all questions were open questions suited to generating narratives and, whenever possible, to pick up on what had already been said in the interview.¹⁹ The objective was to find out, for all significant others or groups mentioned, how respondents got to know them or how they came to the group and how the relationship developed and/or ended. In the second round of interviews about 3 years later, we asked the respondents how their contact with all individuals or groups had developed. This procedure frequently pro-

¹⁶ On the significance of peers in the social context of adolescence and migration, see Bohnsack (2003) and Nohl (2001).

¹⁷ See Elwert (1982), Esser (1986), and Portes and Zhou (1993) as some of the most important exponents in the (German- and English-speaking) debate.

¹⁸ Internal questions refer to the narrative, which means they remain within the thematic framework presented by the narrator, whereas external questions reflect the specific thematic interests of the researcher which have not been dealt so far.

¹⁹ Typical questions were, "You spoke of a friend with whom you regularly hung out in high school. Could you tell us how you first met him (or her)?" Or: "At the beginning, you briefly mentioned your brother. Would you mind telling us more about him?" "You mentioned that you had participated in a Catholic youth group some time ago. Could you tell us how it happened that you left the group?"

duced very dense narratives and detailed insights into the youths' networks of social relationships and the changes they had undergone. An important and fruitful consequence of the procedure was that it enabled us to capture the significance of the relationships to the biography as a whole, the development of relations, and the ambivalence involved in some of the youths' social ties (see Sect. 10.4).

10.3.3 Biographical Research in a Longitudinal Design: Case Reconstructions Spanning Two Points of Observation

To assess the interviews we applied the method of case reconstruction according to Schütze (1981, 1983, 2007) and Rosenthal (1995, 2008), which we combined in a further step with a case-contrasting method (Schütze 1983, based on Glaser and Strauss 1967, Kelle and Kluge 1999).

A distinctive feature of our study is that we conducted two biographical narrative interviews with a delay of 3 years between them. The interview plan was set up so that the first interview was conducted at the point the subject was completing compulsory education and the second after the beginning of post-compulsory education, thus spanning a specific and critical period in the transition from adolescence into adulthood. As our analyses would later show, this stage of life is not only marked by entering upper secondary education (mostly vocational education and training [VET] in our case) but also by substantial changes in one's social environment upon leaving lower secondary education. The two-time interview design was particularly well suited to analyzing processes and changes that occurred between the first and second interviews. The fact that the interviewees had already told their life history in the first interview, left ample space to talk about the period between the two surveys in the second interview. The quality of the narratives benefited from the respondents being familiar with the interview situation (the second interview was also conducted in the narrative form, preferably by the same person who did the first interview). Moreover, the second interview made it possible to follow up on the topics and storylines of the first interview that had not yet been elaborated.

However, the value of the second interview was not limited to providing extensive data on the period of interest. Besides giving a detailed account of experiences made in the past or in the meantime, it provided a basis for a comparative perspective, allowing contrasting "snapshots" on how the individual saw his or her life, took stock of what had happened so far, and what the person hoped and expected for the future. In some cases, the dominant process structure changed between the first and the second interview, leading to a changed overall interpretation²⁰ of all previous experiences.

In practice, the analysis spanning two points in time proved to be quite challenging. We first reconstructed each case based on the first interview. We then turned to

²⁰ *Gesamtdeutung*, as Schütze puts it in German.

the second interview to reconstruct the subject's life history as it was experienced and narrated (which mostly referred to the period following the first interview). In the next step we compared the first and second interviews in order to identify and interpret relevant changes in biographical process structures and patterns of interpretation and self-presentation.²¹ On this basis, it was possible to integrate the observations made at both points in time into a coherent interpretation.

In a further step, we tried to identify statements that extended beyond the individual cases. The process of analysis mirrored this in that it progressed in various phases, alternating between focusing on a case and an issue. In the first phase, we strictly pursued case analysis according to the procedure described above: all cases were subjected to an initial rough analysis. Selected cases were analyzed in detail. Based on the findings of the first case-centered phase of analysis, we changed the emphasis to cross-case analysis in the next phase. At this point, we focused on comparing the cases to further elaborate and gain a deeper understanding of the issues that were found to be essential to each case. In the process, the relevant issues were always considered in the overall context of the biography, i.e., they were never compared without an understanding of their specific meaning in the case in question (see Sect. 10.4.3).

10.4 Analyzing Autobiographical Narratives: An Example

It is beyond the scope of this article to present a complete case reconstruction. The following section is based on excerpts from one specific case—namely, Blerim—to show the topics biographical analysis focuses on and the kind of statements biographical research it can make.

²¹In line with Rosenthal, we reconstructed the changes at the level of “experienced” as well as “narrated” life history. Of course, this involved considering the particular situation of a second interview in our biographical analysis and the possible consequences this might have on how things are presented or narrated. For instance, some respondents carefully referred as precisely as possible to what had been said during the first interview, which gave to the narrative a different structure from the case in which a respondent who hardly remembered the first interview. But a biographical narrative must always also be treated as the product of a specific interview situation. In this respect, there is essentially no difference between our analysis of the first and second interviews. In our view, Rosenthal's methodology with its separate analyses of “narrated” and “experienced” life history offers an excellent framework for dealing with the methodological consequences not only in the case of a one-time interview but also in the case of a longitudinal biographical study.

10.4.1 *Blerim's Biography*

Blerim²² is the oldest son of a family of five. He has been living in Emmenbrücke since his childhood. The family has to move regularly as it is difficult to find an apartment that is both big enough to accommodate the entire family and that the family can afford on a small budget. Blerim's father came to Switzerland many years ago to look for work. The mother and the children followed later. The family has many close relatives living in the same area and in other parts of Switzerland with whom they have close contact. Blerim's father is a qualified imam but in Switzerland he works in construction. Blerim's mother is a qualified baker and works in the food sector. At the time of the first interview, Blerim had just finished compulsory education. The second interview took place when he was in the middle of post-compulsory vocational education (VET).

Giving the story of his parents' (that is, his father's) immigration at an early stage during the first interview, Blerim says: "Because of work. He came to earn money. And then, like every foreigner, he brought his family over. Because they took ... they found ... they got a place here."

These words contain more than basic information on his family's migration; Blerim's search for the right word (took, found, got a place) additionally reflects his difficulty in interpreting and defining his family's status in the host country. Blerim's interpretation oscillates between various poles, active and passive, between taking and being offered a place (by the locals), between taking and not taking his family's life in Switzerland for granted. The two poles represent two possible ways that the son of a migrant working family in Switzerland might make sense on the immigrant experience.²³ At this point, we can already suspect this interpretation to indicate an area of tension that surfaces repeatedly in the course of the first interview with Blerim and plays a key role in his biography. Blerim switches back and forth between both lines of interpretation and the associated biographical attitudes and projects.

10.4.1.1 Processes of Exclusion and Self-Exclusion

Blerim's narrations during the first interview indicate that the processes of exclusion and self-exclusion kick in at an early age. He remembers an occurrence from his early school days: In first grade he and two other children used to go to special German lessons and therefore had to leave the classroom regularly. Blerim tells how the three of them, on leaving the classroom, would form a line and howl loudly because they saw themselves as a little "gang." The teacher managed to stop these

²²The name is a pseudonym; additionally some personal information has been anonymized.

²³The variant he ultimately opts for in this interview situation is certainly not coincidental but is rather an interpretation that he believes to better correspond to the definition of the interviewer (as a member of "the establishment").

early attempts at self-exclusion with which the children sought to cope with their separation from the class; he says she suggested that the whole class form a gang: “We were then the gang of [room] 1A,” he recalls. Two things are clear from this narrated episode: first, how symbolic equality can be experienced in belonging to a group in elementary school as a school for all; and second, that this episode and its temporary happy ending were so important to Blerim and his biographical construction that he remembers and talks about them. Both aspects are of interest in biographical research and are reconstructed by it. This act of reconstruction takes into account the experience as such (and its impact on consequences for the biography) as well as the ways it is recalled.

During his early childhood years, Blerim liked going to school and describes himself as a bright pupil. But outside of school the processes of exclusion and self-exclusion continued their course. Blerim tells how he tried to affiliate in various clubs, among them the Boy Scouts, but he soon left. The others “didn’t like” him, as he puts it.

10.4.1.2 Critical Years – Diminishing Opportunities and Loss of Agency

When Blerim was about 12 years old, a number of things happened that were beyond his control and had a profound effect on him. His father became sick, a planned return to Kosovo was cancelled, and the family had to move again. In his new neighbourhood and school, Blerim came to know new and “wrong friends,” as he puts it in the first interview. He joined a gang of foreign youths that scrapped with a right-wing extremist gang (thus differentiations along national and ethnic lines became dominant), took up smoking, started neglecting schoolwork, and no longer earned the same high grades as he once did. He began trying out informal, confrontational strategies (Keller et al. 2012). In this new environment, he experienced a sense of belonging, whereas he increasingly lost the resources to actively shape his own life.

His next set of experiences can be outlined as follows: Blerim’s father managed to get his son to distance himself from his friends by looking for him whenever they were out together and bringing him back home time and again. Blerim expresses his gratitude (“he was always interested in me”); yet at the same time, this experience affirmed his lack of autonomy. However, at school it soon became clear that this short confrontational period would have a lasting effect on Blerim’s biography. His efforts to make up the backlog of schoolwork and to put his educational career back on track (as might have been possible coming from a more privileged family with recourse to extra classes or a private school) failed. Blerim left school as a young man with an Albanian name and a *Realschul*-level graduation certificate (*Realschule* is the bottom tier of upper secondary education in the Swiss educational system). He did not gain access to VET. The end of compulsory schooling thus left its mark on Blerim’s life. He was no longer a part of any institutional network. Furthermore, he lost touch with his former classmates, something which he greatly regrets at the time of his first interview. Most of the time he stays at home. He is alone and does not work. “I would like to build a good future. But we will have to see what hap-

pens,” is Blerim’s closing statement in the first interview. He is close to losing his belief in his own capacity for action.

10.4.1.3 Resources from Within the Community

In this critical period of his life, it was ultimately his family and community network that provided Blerim with support. He started making Albanian rap with two cousins and a friend of theirs. With a commitment that expressed their sincere desire to manage and shape their own lives, the young men set up a small music studio. Blerim started writing lyrics for himself and others. It was here that he was once again able to experience a sense of self-efficacy. After a few months, Blerim’s mother—using what little social capital she had—found her son a job as an unskilled laborer in the company where she worked. Blerim’s joy and the relief he felt over having a job (“like everyone else”) is reflected in a long narrative on his first day at work. He was committed to his work and was appreciated for it, but he knew that he could not build a secure future without any professional training. Strengthened by his experiences with self-efficacy and recognition for his music activities and at work, he kept searching for access to the VET system. He was supported by his line manager, who gave him good references. Finally—after having worked more than a year and a half in the first labour market—Blerim found a way into the VET as a floor layer. In his second interview, he talks a lot about his work activities, expressing his occupational identification with his new workplace. Blerim is already thinking about enrolling in continuing education.

10.4.1.4 Increasing Autonomy

“I mean, I can lay a floor,” says Blerim in the second interview. Although this sentence refers to his vocation as a floor layer, it can also apply to Blerim’s life in general in light of the increasing opportunity space and autonomy he has found and experienced. In addition to his vocation, Blerim has become increasingly successful with his music. He is well known in the broader Kosovo-Albanian youth culture beyond the canton of Lucerne. And when an Albanian television station recently aired a short report on his music studio via satellite “to the whole world” (Blerim), this attention even took on a transnational dimension. We should mention here that Blerim has successfully used his exposure to youth culture to emancipate himself from his parents, to whom he remains close. His parents seriously dislike their son’s music (and the corresponding milieu). Blerim, with his self-confidence bolstered by his success, but also in sympathy with his father, says: “It is not easy when an imam becomes a rapper” (referring to his background as the son of an imam).

By the time of the second interview, Blerim has managed to establish a foundation for leading a secure and autonomous adult life. He likes living in Emmen, and he defines and presents himself as a floor layer planning to continue education and as a young musician. However—and all the more important against the background

and presentation just outlined—an important subject for him continues to be denied social recognition. In his narrative, he refers to the difficulties of obtaining Swiss citizenship and to xenophobic public and media discourse, including the debate on what had been coined “foreign speed maniacs”. This debate was raging at that time and focused particularly on young (Kosovo-) Albanians who were stigmatized as irresponsible drivers, and Blerim reveals how much this negative discourse has hurt him emotionally. At the time of the second interview, Blerim had not yet decided if he would ever apply for Swiss citizenship. In this respect, he still feels uncertain about his status and place in Swiss society.

10.4.2 Summary

Blerim’s biography illustrates the fragility of adolescence in an established-outsider-configuration (Elias and Scotson 1990, see Sect. 10.1). His narrative reveals the processes of exclusion and self-exclusion that led him to test confrontational strategies for a brief period at an early stage in his life, while the dynamics and mechanisms involved therein had driven him on the verge of precarity upon completing secondary school. After leaving the path of confrontation, however, the limited opportunities and resources available in his social situation prevented him from simply returning to the path of conformity that he once pursued. It is primarily through family-internal and ethnic resources that it became possible for him to stabilize his situation (e.g., with his father’s and mother’s support, or spaces in which to experience self-efficacy). We can see how and based on which experiences Blerim regained confidence in his own agency and how he managed to finally gain access to vocational training, thus introducing the prospect of having a career at the time of the second interview. He has established a solid foundation for occupational stability in the future. His commitment to and success within Kosovo-Albanian youth culture has facilitated his emancipation from his parents while he has availed himself of its transnational spaces, which can indeed be seen as an “innovative” defining feature of his adolescence (see King, Sect. 10.2.1). Despite these successful steps toward adulthood, his desire for recognition as a fully valued member of Swiss society nevertheless remains unfulfilled, which can be seen as a biographical disposition that harbors persistent potential for emotional pain throughout his life and a situation that keeps him away from legal equality by attaining Swiss citizenship.

10.4.3 Cross-Case Analysis Beyond Blerim

We want to show here, briefly, how we compared cases to identify statements extending beyond the individual case (see Sect. 10.3.3). We again base this on the example of Blerim. Our comparisons refer to the *specific biographical process structures* (see Sect. 10.2.1) observed for Blerim (e.g., early period of active

confrontational strategies followed by an increasing loss of agency, increasing autonomy later on). Blerim's case was compared to other cases with a similar biographical structure to further investigate the corresponding biographical constellations (orientation pattern, family and peer situation) in which such a crisis develops. Furthermore, we compared cases where the crisis could be "reversed," as with Blerim, and cases where this was no longer possible. In so doing, we identified the specific personal strategies and resources that could be used to achieve the turn-around or which were unavailable.

On this basis it was also possible to carry out *topic-focused case comparisons*. For example, we used the specific role of the community as the point of departure for Blerim. In comparing his with other cases, it was possible to investigate whether—and in which constellations—the community plays a supplementary role with regard to the occupational sphere (opportunities to experience self-efficacy and recognition in the occupational sphere as well as in the community), or a compensatory role (community as the only space to find at least some resources and opportunities to develop and realize own ideas and projects). The case comparisons also allowed identifying gender-specific features. For example, in contrast to Blerim, the search for recognition and self-efficacy within the community for a young woman of Kosovar background did not lead to commitment to and success as a musician but rather to plans for starting her own family at an early age. This approach was supported by the fact that our study sample was comparatively large for a biographical (reconstructive) research project and it included variation along important dimensions, such as gender, level of education, and patterns of social relationships. This enabled us to develop systematic and fruitful case comparisons in order to answer the research questions that cropped up repeatedly (e.g., the role of the community).

10.5 Conclusion

Making statistically corroborated statements about the reality of the lives of second-generation residents is not the objective of biographical research; such statements necessarily escape the focus and scrutiny of biographical research. However, biographical research can use individual cases to reconstruct and show the specific logic in which biographies develop in a specific social context. The careful reconstruction of individual biographies, as well as theoretically driven contrasting of cases, makes it possible to identify not only the specific resources but also the critical moments and vulnerability dispositions in people's lives.

It was not the aim of this methodological discussion to present a comprehensive account of the findings in our EMMEN study (See Mey and Rorato 2006, 2010; Mey 2010, 2015). The example of Blerim discussed here is meant to provide insight into our work with biographies—or more precisely, with autobiographical narratives. Both shape a biography and should be included in the analysis: the experiences of an individual in his or her specific social context and the manner in which he or she interprets, remembers, and talks about these experiences.

The advantage of having access to biographical narratives at two points in time became clear as it allows for a comparative analysis of the changes or continuity in the biographical structure and the dominant patterns of interpretation. Our specific focus on the young people's social networks in the biographical interviews turned out to be another advantage, as it provided us with a rich source of diverse information about the genesis and the relevance of social networks in the transition into adulthood. And the relatively large sample for our case-reconstructive project has proved to be an excellent base for further differentiation of our findings and to identify statements extending beyond the individual case.

On a final note I would like to point out that working with biographical material always encourages us to question the ideas and standards used by the public—and often also by researchers—to assess biographies and in particular the transition into adulthood. What seems to the outside world to be an easy transition into the workplace because it happens quickly and “quietly” does not always prove to be the transition that is subjectively experienced as the one that is most satisfactory to a given individual and that meets his or her requirements for an independent life. And the opposite is also true. Those biographies and transitions that seem to be very difficult and plagued by personal crisis can provide a great deal of subjective satisfaction and hold potential for social innovation.

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Chapter 11

National Identity and the Integration of the Children of Immigrants

Rosa Aparicio and Andrés Tornos

11.1 Debate on the Subject

In research on the integration of the children of immigrants in Europe and the United States, the question often arises as to whether this group, as a result of their socialization in their parents' environment and the hardships spawned by immigration, bears the imprint of a painful foreignness or a sense of not belonging to the country in which they live. At the negative end of the spectrum, it has been suggested that such experiences can lead the members of this group to perceive themselves as distinct from the children of natives, diminishing their sense of commitment to the future of the host society and, to some degree, making them indifferent and even hostile towards it.

There is abundant evidence supporting this view.¹ In Spain, for instance, in secondary schools – the best-known social context to date – it is clear that adolescent pupils draw distinctions between them and discriminate against one another based on the national origin of their parents. In other countries this has even led to serious incidents, such as those surrounding the murder of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands or events in the United Kingdom following the terrorist attacks on London buses. Indeed, it could be postulated that the nationality of origin of an immigrant family *can lead* the next generation to display a lack of commitment and even aggression towards the society in which they live. However, this begs several pressing questions. How widespread is this feeling of animosity from the children of immigrants?

¹ See, for instance, on reactive identities: Waters (1994); Rumbaut (1994).

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How can we prevent similar outcomes? How can we act in time to stop this problem from spreading?

Since the 1990s, when the evolving identifications of the children of immigrants became associated with structural and cultural factors in research on integration, many studies in the European Union have focused on the issue.²

Identity development, since then, has been examined with varying degrees of accuracy, often ascribing to it the characteristics that Isajiw (1997) put forward with striking clarity in his influential work on the social incorporation of immigrants. The identities of an individual – in this case the national identity absorbed from their parents by the children of immigrants – would imply their inclusion in a specific group from which others are excluded. In turn, this implies that aspects of self-conception are involved and that a sense of group responsibility and solidarity is created. Conversely, it also suggests an absence of or conflicting emotional ties with the rest of society and a lack of responsibility and solidarity towards host country concerns.

Nonetheless, criticism of this approach is well documented. From an ideological point of view, due to the advance of multiculturalism, it has been argued that, rather than signifying poor integration, the maintenance of the cultural identity of different countries of origin represents an enrichment of host societies and, moreover, a legitimate right of immigrant populations.

From a theoretical-methodological standpoint, critics have also highlighted that the identities that appear in existing field studies are seldom exclusive. For example in Spain, a second-generation Moroccan might identify with the Moroccan group in some circumstances and with the native Spanish peer group in others. That is to say, the identities pinpointed in research on immigrants in general, as Kuo and Margalit (2010) from the Fundación March have stated explicitly, may vary depending on the contexts in which they arise or manifest themselves. In their working paper *We Are Chameleons* (Ho and Bauder 2010) Canadian scholars describe this metaphorically by asserting that we are all chameleons in terms of identity, which renders irrelevant the question of whether or not the second generation maintains the identity of their parents. This would be especially true for scholars such as Vertovec, supporting the theoretical trends whereby the successful social integration of immigrants or their children in today's world involves no commitments associated with identity because, in our "superdiverse" societies, interaction occurs with little or no involvement of personal identity but simply in compliance with sporadic conventionalisms that are mechanically and superficially reproduced (Vertovec 2006).

In the light of the above, the question of identity would appear either to be not very relevant to the social incorporation of the children of immigrants or to need tackling with more refined theoretical and methodological tools than those commonly used up to now. This would mainly consist in ascertaining whether or not those belonging to the second generation state that they consider themselves to be nationals of their parents' country of origin. In such a context we would, however, argue for the need to continue addressing questions on identity formation in studies

²An example of this is the document elaborated by UNECE/Eurostat: Seminar on Migration Statistics Geneva 2005: Information Needs on Stocks of Migrants for Research on Integration. Paper submitted by Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.

on the integration of second-generation residents. The fact that the media keep this subject alive by referring, often in an alarmist manner, to the cultural roots that distinguish the children of immigrants from those of native parents presents us with a powerful reason for continued analysis in this field. This would also be true empirically because, as Portes has shown, identity formation is related to deviations in several other indicators regarding how the children of immigrants act.³

However, the data to which Portes has referred for holding that opinion are “soft” because they are based on answers, gathered in fieldwork, to the questions “*Do you consider yourself Spanish?*” and, if not, “*From where?*” – answers whose real sense cannot be distinguished, as the meaning of the questions can be interpreted in different ways by the respondents. It is also very important, for practical reasons, to know what the respondents really mean when they answer questions on identity, especially if our purpose is to prevent deviations in the integration paths of the children of immigrants who maintain an attachment with the country of their parents which fosters their alienation from normal intercourse in the social relationships of the receiving country.

If this is indeed the case, we must explore how to more fully understand the theoretical challenge posed by children of immigrants who retain the national identity of their parents, while adopting an empirical approach. We shall first consider Côté’s (1996) approach to identity questions before reviewing a summary of the findings from a qualitative study conducted in Madrid in 2011 on the integration of second-generation residents, in which this attempt to gain greater precision in the enquiry into the behavioral and integration effects of asserting a national identity is put into practice.⁴ We have also chosen to review this issue through a qualitative study, because the process of collecting information involved in qualitative methodology itself not only locates the references to national identity that respondents attribute to themselves in their different contexts but goes beyond this, opening up a range of avenues to explore as regards the ways in which national identities emerge, twist or reshape in different ways, depending on the informants.

11.2 New Understanding and Treatment of the Issue of National Identity: Identity as a Value Linked to a Context

Arguably the first difficulty we encounter, when considering how the second generation’s retention of the national identity of their parents is individualized, is the lack of reliability of the data provided by respondents in standard surveys. This risk

³ See, for instance, Portes et al. 2011, 2016, Chapter 6.

⁴ This survey was funded by the Directorate of Immigration of the Madrid Regional Government and was presented for discussion at the 6th Conference on International Migrations in Spain held in Bilbao from 11 to 13 April 2012. The presentation was published in a book with the proceedings of the conference (Aparicio 2014).

is particularly high if respondents are asked directly, as is standard practice, whether or not they feel Spanish or identify with the nationality of their parents. In such circumstances, the answer given to this question depends too heavily on the real/imaginary context in which respondents find themselves and it is not possible to ascertain whether the meaning of such responses is the same in the different responses given to the question. Kuo and Margalit's (2010) aforementioned analysis in this area highlights this pitfall clearly.

A more useful approach would be to focus on identity negotiations rather than on identity directly. Identity negotiations involve two characteristics that are not present in direct questions in a survey or interview: first, the background or scenario of the context in which the respondent has come to feel or believe that he or she belongs to a specific nation and, second, the connotations of the weight attributed to this sense of belonging. Both of these characteristics, taken together, make it possible to take into account and neutralize the contextual variation of respondents' identity behaviors and references. We shall return to this point later in the chapter.

There is further insight to be gained from the methodological possibilities offered to us for exploring the national identity of the children of immigrants. As explained above, examining identity in the contexts in which it is negotiated sheds lights on the value ascribed to it. To consider identity in terms of negotiation is just one step from seeing identity as a value which is negotiated, either downwards – whence the subjects marked by this identity are then rejected – or upwards, in those contexts in which it is privileged by the social majority. This notion of identity as a value has been developed in methodological terms by Côté (1996), who describes it as *identity capital* in the sense ascribed to this concept by Bourdieu (1977): that is, as a non-monetary resource that we exhibit, defend or hide in order to optimize how we present ourselves when we relate to others (displaying, for instance, professional certificates or exhibiting supposed links to prestigious institutions or families, or as other less tangible resources such as the ability to read situations in which we can place ourselves in the most advantageous manner).

Côté (1996) is thus persuaded – and convincingly shows – that the possession by individuals of more or less valuable signs of his or her identity and of some ability to deal with references to it, has become particularly important in today's society. Such is the question in dealing with the signs and behavior of foreign identities, if these identities are important for the subjects.

In the same article on the rising importance of identity individualization, Côté reflects on this point, which he summarizes in a double-entry table, headed by the three perspectives from which the identity question can be tackled – namely, social structures, the interaction regime for these structures and the types of identity predominating in them. We can also observe that, in late modernity, 'tradition-directed identities' are less important, as are 'inner-directed identities', while 'other-directed identities' become pre-eminent, thus enhancing the role played by the other people we relate to in our daily lives. Côté's (1996) ideas are presented as follows.

As shown in Table 11.1, Côté focuses on the three most commonly mentioned stages in terms of social structure: pre-modern societies, the so-called early modern and the current stage – that is, late or post-modernity. Next, he shows how these

Table 11.1 The link between society, culture and identity

| Social structure | Pre-modernity | 'Early modernity' | 'Late modernity' |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Interaction regime | Post-figurative | Co-figurative | Pre-figurative |
| Types of personal identity | Tradition-directed | Inner-directed | Other-directed |

Source: Côté (1996: 418)

different structures are related to three different interaction regimes: post-figurative, co-figurative and pre-figurative.⁵ In *pre-modernity* the interaction regime is ‘post-figurative’ – in other words, based on the experiences of previous generations *in early modernity* it is ‘co-figurative’ – or based on the interpretation of the present while, *in our late modernity*, it is ‘pre-figurative’ – or based on projections of the future. In parallel, the creation of identities in the *pre-modern period* is ‘tradition-directed – or based on the images of the previous generations; *in early modernity* it reflects personal and internal criteria and, *in today’s late modernity*, the other people we relate to become the most important factor.

Côté, not content with pointing out these aspects – which give more precision to our inquiries on identity – takes this further by descending to more concrete ones. He observes that, in pre-modern societies, the most decisive factors for interaction are the more-or-less-stable experiences of the past with which individuals address their allotted tasks; in early-modern societies, the key factor is the reflection based on knowledge that governs an individual’s decision-making and, in today’s societies, the negotiation of identity is decisive. So much so that identity integration can be defined as the integration of those who are able to negotiate their personal identities without conflict with the members of the mainstream in the society in which they live.

Regarding the second generation, this undoubtedly leads to special attention being paid to the type of identity challenge this might present in our society. It also strengthens the argument for examining the identity negotiations engaged in by the second generation as they become part of society, as such identities will be predominantly ‘other-directed’ – that is, based on what the subjects see in others – rather than based on self-consciousness (‘inner-directed’) or on their progenitors’ background (‘tradition-directed’).

Departing from these three types of identity, three types of access to identity maturation are open to the children of immigrants as they grow towards adulthood: the first driven by their parents (‘tradition-directed’), the second driven by their own perceptions (‘inner-directed’) and the third driven by their peers (‘other-directed’). However, we should bear in mind that the formation and negotiation of these three types of identity – beyond referring us to their development dynamics (looking at the family’s past, at the present of the self and at the surrounding’s future) – refer us to a more basic structuring scenario: that formed by the social system of identities which prevails culturally and socially in each country. It is in respect of this system that the

⁵The renowned anthropologist Margaret Mead used these same terms with similar meaning in her 1970 book *Culture and Commitment. A Study of the Generation Gap*.

personal identities of those who, in one way or another, will have to place themselves, will develop. The greater or lesser ease of integration into it or negotiation of their identity status will depend on the better or worse fit of each personal identity with the socio-cultural system of identities which has currency in each country.

Needless to say, the use of a qualitative methodology will be the best guide in the search for information on each of the above aspects. Otherwise, if we limit the collected information, as was previously pointed out, by asking respondents questions with prescribed answers, we would not be able to appreciate what their state of mind is or how they negotiate the way they wish to be and then to signify this to the members of the society in which they live. Both these are possibilities which are open to us through the non-directive character -or, rather, directed by the informants- of qualitative in-depth interviews.

The aforementioned qualitative study on the adult integration of the children of immigrants in Madrid will now be examined, with the aim of exemplifying in practice the theoretical points of view presented. Identity development driven by the children of immigrants' peers features very frequently in this study, to such a degree that we can be sure that it is through their peers, rather than their parents, that the children of immigrants absorb, with greater or lesser intensity, the national ties that shape them in early adulthood.

11.3 Methodology

One of the main characteristics of the study, which should be mentioned from the outset, is that it had the specific aim of analyzing *adult* identity integration in Madrid for members of the second generation, *not* adolescent or temporary identities.

The geographical scope of the study was restricted to Madrid solely due to budgetary constraints. Given the high number and variety of origins of the members of the second generation in Madrid, the expectations were that we would be able to find sufficient evidence on the basic characteristics of identity integration in this location.

In contrast, a more detailed explanation is required regarding the decision to focus solely on the adult identity integration of the second generation in the study, excluding any identity formed before our subjects reach adulthood. This decision is based on the fact that the identities of prime interest here are not those of children or adolescents, who are not yet fully fledged citizens of society and whose identities are still forming and developing, but those of adults – that is, persons with a certain degree of autonomy. This group could constitute a *new generation* in the social and political sense that Ortega y Gasset (2003) chose to give to the term ‘generation’, as opposed to the biological sense. In other words, we wanted to refer to a population segment that could represent a novelty in the way *our social structure functions*, rather than a purely intellectual challenge for scholars involved in explaining and seeking a solution to the issue of identity.

The focus of this study, therefore, is a group of children of immigrants who have already embarked on the path to independence, thereby constituting a sociological

generation incipiently independent of family resources. Specifically, we focus on those children of immigrants who have completed compulsory education and are in the process of making their way in the labour market or undertaking university studies. Indeed, the study opted to restrict the group further by focusing on the offspring of Moroccans, Peruvians, Dominicans and Ecuadorians, a decision taken based on the fact that these nationalities represent the four largest groups of second-generation residents of this age,⁶ which means that there is a higher probability of them having developed, with their peers, shared ideas about the incorporation of their identities in the adult world in Spain. Finally, mindful that self-identification represents a way of finding one's place within a social system (Isajiw 1997), what we aimed to do in the interviews was to explore the social systems or groups to which those children of immigrants who are in the process of entering adult society aspire to belong. We examined whether they reaffirm their affiliation to groups associated with the country of origin of their parents or whether, leaving behind the shadow of a potential '*ethnic identity*', they identify themselves according to their career plans, the assimilation of Spanish culture, their educational or sporting achievements or other similar factors.

In sum, we have conducted a study that resembles, *to some extent*, others published on the ethничal identity of immigrant offspring, but which also differs from this previous work in several key aspects. The similarities lie in the fact that we attempt to discover which national identity the group wishes to adopt and what level of importance they ascribe to this identity in the way they organize their life. However, in contrast, it differs in the following ways:

- we do not work on the assumption that the children of immigrants, by identifying themselves as a national of their parents' country of origin, are going to reproduce the problems the latter have encountered in their daily lives;
- our focus is not simply confined to national identities;
- we do not view identities as (fixed and stable) affiliations from individuals to fixed labels in our social system; and,
- finally, we focus on identity negotiation processes by examining the identity development of subjects in the sample in order to gauge the situational conditioning factors involved in identification.⁷

⁶In Spain it is impossible to obtain figures on the second generation as they are registered as Spaniards if they are in possession of Spanish nationality. There are figures for the population aged 15–24 (our age target) whether born in Spain or in their country of origin, who have retained their nationality or their parents' nationality of origin. However, these figures include first-generation immigrants and also grossly underestimate the number of children of immigrants, in particular those of Latin American origin, who acquire Spanish nationality sooner. In 2012, according to the Official Register, Moroccans represented 14.1% of the population aged 15–24, Ecuadorians 7.8%, Dominicans 2.4% and Peruvians 2.1%.

⁷We sought to highlight this point as the contextual dependence of the manifestation of identity is one of the biggest stumbling blocks regarding the use of immigrants' self-definitions of identity when measuring integration.

Given these purposes, the use of a qualitative methodology was deemed to be appropriate, first because there was insufficient prior knowledge of the subject to be able to create a questionnaire using closed questions, based on reliable indicators and fully quantifiable responses. Second, and more importantly, it allows the gathering of information on identity negotiation in context. Consequently, as part of the information-gathering process, the young men and women who were interviewed were asked to narrate freely how they felt things had gone to date for them and what they intended to do in the future. The expectation was that, in spoken narratives, the subjects would define or identify themselves in one way or another through self-description – as was generally the case – and relate whether or not they had changed their points of view and, if so, why.

The criteria applied in the selection of the sample were as follows.

- It should include around 50 subjects in total.
- The sample should comprise young men and women – the children of immigrants – *aged between 16 and 25*, who were looking towards their future at the time the study was conducted. The reason for this precision in their age is obvious: the children of immigrants *under the age of 16* are still too immersed in their family sphere to develop their own identity by virtue of being outside this circle. As far as the group of subjects *over the age of 25* was concerned, it was deemed to be too small to have developed common identity self-definitions.⁸

Next, following the criteria applied in qualitative studies, the selection of respondents was diversified according to the socio-descriptive variables that might affect experiences of social incorporation and the way these experiences are interpreted. Specifically, balancing the composition of the group by gender and also by parental origin, as well as according to whether respondents were either full second-generation members or belonged to the 1.5 generation – children born outside Spain but who moved there before they were 7 years old.

Finally, the point of access from which respondents were entering adult life needed to be taken closely into account (either from the context of their ongoing studies – whether secondary or higher education – or from labour market contexts). With all these considerations in mind, recruitment was carried out using the snowball method, diversifying as much as possible the sources of initial contacts.

Before synthesizing the findings of the study, all that remains to add is that the composition of the selected sample, according to the criteria listed above, was as follows:

- 47 valid interviews were selected for analysis;
- 26 men and 21 women participated;

⁸It would have been interesting to include in the sample a comparative group of young people of native parentage. However this was not possible owing to budgetary constraints. Thus, obviously, we cannot conclude that all the observed identity processes only apply to the second generation of immigrant origin. On the other hand, being parents was not included specifically as a criterion for selecting individuals in the sample, although the possibility was not excluded. The fact that none of the individuals in the sample were parents was because none with this characteristic appeared in the recruitment process, probably because, in this age group, very few are in this situation.

- 14 belonged to the second generation and 33 to the 1.5 generation;
- 15 had Ecuadorian, 10 had Dominican, 13 had Moroccan and 9 had Peruvian parents; and
- 21 were in work, three were unemployed, eight were at university and 16 were still in education (lower-secondary and vocational training).

Having set out the methodological approach adopted in the study, discussion of the findings now follows.

11.4 Key Findings of the Study

Like other qualitative studies on how the children of immigrants view identity, this one does not depart from previous hypotheses that enable us to order the findings on identity positioning according to the characteristics of greater or lesser suitability for integration. Instead, it reveals the multiple ways in which young people view themselves and their own situations.

In the light of this, the ordering and interpretation criteria for the information gathered should be guided by the methodological hypotheses set out above, stemming from a general theory of social identities – and in particular:

- the hypotheses referred to on the contextual dependence of the identities formed in the social environment of late modernity;
- the hypotheses mentioned on the most suitable manifestation of identities in cases where respondents attempt to negotiate identities when describing their trajectories; and
- hypotheses relating to the specific aspects pertaining to the identity development of children of immigrants at the stage when they can think about becoming independent of the family nucleus.

11.4.1 *The Prevalence of National Self-Identity During the School Stage*

As far as the contextualization of identities is concerned, we take into account that the latter constitute a way for individuals to position themselves in a social system that matters to them. Unsurprisingly, in general, the first social system with which the children of immigrants position themselves in terms of identity development, while they are of secondary-school age, is that of the country of origin of their parents. Hence nearly all those interviewed, when narrating the experiences that occurred at secondary-school age, mention the fact that both their peers and their teachers ascribed this national identity to them, as they themselves did. The reason why this occurs with peers is that it seems to be common in Madrid for young

people to get together in separate groups based on nationality during break time at and after school. For teachers this is the case because students stand out for them by national group, according to many of the youths in our sample.

However, it is important to note that this identification by teachers according to the students' nationality is not always well received by the children of immigrants. In this regard, the comments made by a young Moroccan woman – currently studying anthropology at Universidad Complutense de Madrid – on the discriminatory dimension perceived in teachers' attitudes serve as a reference point:

What does it mean to be discriminated against? It means making you feel that you are different all the time, because the way teachers explain things or address you means that you feel different in one way or another all the time or that you don't feel like the rest of the class. For example, I remember a teacher started talking about the fact that Ramadan had started and he looked at me and said: 'Aren't you going to pray?' Why did he say this to me? Why did he say this to me in the middle of a lesson? Or when they are going to talk about the veil or whatever? They always ask you and that makes you feel different from the rest in one way or another. Why do they have to ask me and not the white classmate sitting next to me? Why do they ask me? And this makes you feel different from other students and they see you as different too.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that, although the children of immigrants at secondary school usually identify with their parents' nationality, they do not like others to identify them in the same way. This is undoubtedly the contextual anchor of ethnic identity: among those who share the same nationality it is seen as a positive value of the identity capital they possess but where those who do not share this nationality are concerned, it begins to be seen as a potentially negative factor in personal development.

Self-identification relating to other institutions or social entities – such as the Scouts, groups formed in the CEPIs⁹ after-school clubs, football or basketball teams etc. – is less common at secondary-school age but is sometimes mentioned. Where it does appear, it is because these young people value it as an important part of their social capital.

11.4.2 School Outcomes and Relationship with Peers: Key Issues in the Transition from Adolescent to Adult Identities

The situation changes entirely when the conversation of the interviewees moves from memories of adolescence to the future plans and goals they have set themselves as adults. In this instance, they seldom name anything related to their family's nationality and the position they adopt regarding it. Instead, they refer to institutions associated with entering the labor market, to their internal family space and to the world of

⁹The CEPIs or Centers of Participation and Integration of the Autonomous Community of Madrid are, according to their own definition, meeting places for the 'new people of Madrid' and those who have always been part of it – places where they have access to different activities.

consumption, leisure and entertainment. These have now become much more important in terms of interaction than the national origin of their parents. Seen, too, from the perspective of identity capital, it emerges very clearly that, in early adulthood, what matters the most to them are the aspects of this capital related to school qualifications and the recognition and esteem they receive from relationships with their peers. In the former this is because the time has come when receiving recognition as good students – or at least not as bad ones – is very important for the self-identification they tend to present in their narrations. In the latter it is because it would seem that the identity style involved is the aforementioned typically ‘other-directed’.

Specifically, reference to nationalities in the stage following secondary school appears in two different ways: first, from a Moroccan and, second, from several Ecuadorians and Dominicans – although it is worth mentioning that, in a qualitative study of this nature, this does not indicate that these are specific forms of Moroccan and Latin discourse; simply that they are present therein.

The type of discourse shown by the Moroccan respondent, currently a history student at Universidad Complutense de Madrid, is revealed in the following comment:

Coming from North Africa is also a barrier... I don't think relationships are the same for Latin Americans and Arabs ... maybe it is a matter of culture ... but, little by little, people understand that you are Spanish, that you were born here and have the culture from here.

The structure of this discourse shows that this young person has a strong sense of self; he tries to judge objectively the disadvantages that certain national identities could entail but does not adopt a conflictive attitude or present himself as a victim. Indeed, quite the opposite is true; he expects to be valued for his qualities and success. The identity problem this points to does not entail integration difficulties for wanting to hold on to his origins, but centers on the demands which the Moroccan student places on himself to prove his worth as a Spanish citizen, despite any discrimination he might suffer from natives.

The second type of discourse is totally different. It is manifested in youth in early adulthood who say that they like to mix with others of their own national origin outside work. *Outside work* is very important here. In other words, they think about their national identity and identify with it when relaxing or going out socially. However, in less exclusive areas, such as the workplace or standard circulation in public spaces, self-awareness of their foreignness is not a driving force. This is illustrated by the case of an Ecuadorian who had started working at a young age with his father in the family's butchery business and says he only mixes socially with Ecuadorians. However, at the same time, this youth is trying to attain his secondary-school certificate (*ESO*) and is aiming to enlist in the Spanish armed forces. As his goal shows, he is far from being against a Spanish identity. In general, we can observe that the nationalistic self-projection of the second generation in leisure contexts but not in other aspects of their lives occurs particularly among youths who set themselves nationally neutral goals in the labor market concerning their future as adults, while enjoying an easy circle of friends of similar national origin. This certainly presents a way of holding on to a sense of national identity that does not hinder progress in terms of social integration.

11.4.3 Self-Image and Negotiation of Identity

From another point of view, we expected that the identity issue of the young people in the sample would reveal itself specifically in those parts of their narratives in which they allude to attempts to defend or justify their ways of being to third parties – i.e., instances in which they have had to *negotiate their self-image or identity* with these third parties. A review of the narratives proved this to be the case, as several episodes of this nature appeared, although these were neither numerous nor particularly instructive with regard to the *adult* identity integration of the narrators. As might be expected, they referred to situations in the past or very general situations, mostly associated with the ‘other-directed’ style of identity to which we have been referring.

Three types of allusion to identity negotiations can be observed: identity negotiations in the family sphere and by interviewees in their relationship with interviewers and introspective identity negotiations by the interviewees themselves.

As far as identity negotiations in the family sphere are concerned, the salient point is how the children of immigrants, both male and female, become who they are and gain youthful independence in tension with family customs that inhibit them generationally; a tension that often makes them critical of their parents and national traditions – especially for the women. As they look to the lifestyles of their peers in order to define themselves, they engage with the ‘other-directed’ dynamic of identity, which they gradually make their own. There are also cases in which their specific identity development and negotiation causes them pain, especially concerning their educational failures which may be partly due to their neglecting their parents’ efforts and aspirations.

Cases where interviewees appear to wish to be recognized in a favorable light by the interviewers are interesting, providing the latter with explanations that could highlight their own ways of thinking and being. The answer given when presented with a picture of a young street cleaner at work is paradigmatic in this respect. When asked in the interview ‘*What does the image say to you?*’ they comment ‘*It shows someone who works as a cleaner; if I had to do the same I would, because it is a decent job, but I would aspire to a better job*’. In other words, interviewees display socio-economic aspirations of a certain level; they aspire to professional achievements that receive greater recognition than that of cleaners but, on the other hand, they also want to present themselves as people who do not discriminate negatively against others, simply based on the tasks which they carry out. These self-identification perspectives are obviously related to work and social strata horizons rather than to nationalities but, nonetheless, involve looking in the mirror of ideas current in their environment, that is, of ‘other-directed’ criteria.

The same happens with the third type of identity negotiation present in the interviews: namely interviewees’ introspective reflections on how they had decided, in dialogue with themselves, which direction to take and how to behave as they wanted.¹⁰

¹⁰The topic is present in the academic literature. In Chavana (2009) we can read, as translated from Spanish: “In general, the act of negotiating and the many and varied terms used to describe this is carried out practically between two or more people. However, it is essential to highlight that the negotiation of cultural identity starts with the person who experiences significant changes during identity formation. This initial cultural activity refers to an internal form of negotiation. We can

In the interviews examined, two aspects emerge: first, the identity options weighed up in such introspective negotiations are guided by the same social references as the identity negotiations carried out with others: that is, in simple terms, by attitudes to work, consumer and leisure activities. Secondly, the references shown in the study only related to national belonging when the interviewees explained how and why they had chosen friends of the same national origin to go out with and spend their free time with – a point to which we referred earlier.

11.4.4 Children of Immigrants' Ethnic Identity and Leaving the Family Home

Finally, some brief comments on the third area of interest here – the attitudes manifested by the children of immigrants towards leaving the family home. Two questions arise regarding their identity development in this respect. First, are the children of immigrants concerned with the issue of maintaining the cultural identity of their progenitors? Second, when they look to the future, are they worried that their status as children of immigrants will put obstacles on their chosen career path?

The narratives relating to the first question indicate that the answer is negative, as there was no allusion whatsoever to doubts or intentions over maintaining traditional patterns – or to being agents of multiculturalism. Among the young Moroccan women, the opposite trend was observed – in other words, the intention is to not follow the same path generally taken by women from Morocco, as they do not share the desire to get married, have children early on and dedicate their lives to the domestic sphere.

The response to the question relating to discrimination over their foreign parentage when looking to the future was also negative. There was only one exception, to which we referred earlier – the Moroccan youth who states that the children of Moroccan parents are not treated in the same way as Latin Americans; however, he adds:

Maybe it's a matter of culture ... but, over time, people do understand that you're Spanish, that you were born here and have the culture from here...

As regards any concerns that discrimination could arise due to the nationality of their parents in their adult future, we need to differentiate, for the purposes of greater accuracy, between those respondents studying at university, those already in work or unemployed, and those who, for various reasons, are still completing their secondary education. The first two groups, university students and those in work, indicated that, in specific contexts in their adult life including relationships with teachers, fellow workers or bosses, far from being worried about discrimination, they had been accepted in such a way that they did not feel they would be discriminated against due to their national parentage in the future. Most interviewees drop this into

distinguish between two general types of negotiation: internal and external. As mentioned, the first entails the agreements one reaches with oneself... it is carried out when the negotiator has taken stock of the resources, talents, skills, abilities and experiences (socio-cultural competences) to enter into an agreement either with oneself or with others."

the conversation quite casually, although there are cases in which it is exaggerated, as if to say that the opposite was expected. A Peruvian speaking about the reception he was given when he started work at a mechanic's workshop goes so far as to say:

It was great ... I'm the new kid and they treat me really well. The moment I started there the first person I met was really ... (I don't know how to say this) ... really proper, very cold ... you know? But I don't know, as soon as I started working with him and stuff ... he opened up and the ice was broken and he was really nice; now he's my best friend, my workmate, my friend ... when I'm with him I feel really good and when I'm with other friends too ... they treat me really well at the company where I am, I get on really well with everyone there.

11.5 Summary and Conclusions

In sum, during their secondary education, second-generation youth usually start joining groups with peers whose parents have the same nationality of origin – and this indicates the identity that they attribute to themselves – albeit fairly abstractly. However, when they reach the age of leaving home, the social systems through which they identify themselves are the workplace and the education levels. At this stage the aspects touching their parents' nationality take second place, with school attainments, technical skills, social ability and the consistency of their self-taking first place. What is more, the most successful relations with their peer groups of one or more national origins develop in this direction too, as well as their occasional meetings with institutions other than school.

The change in identity references that can be traced here – when the children of immigrants feel compelled to define themselves in line with the spaces of their adult life – is hardly ever reflected in their narratives as being consciously executed and oriented by introspective or non-introspective identity negotiations, the latter involving deep reflections carried out in conversation with persons close to them. During secondary schooling, events from family life and their status as students, marked by the national origin of their parents, are the prime factors influencing identity formation. However, after compulsory schooling, the emphasis falls on the labor market, economic prospects and personal skills. Moreover, the alternative routes which Côté (1996, 2005) outlines, emerge clearly. Some of the youth will proceed seemingly automatically in their trajectory towards adult identity, which will then be an '*identity by default*' – i.e., a conventional identity – while others will create for themselves their own way of being, an elective identity that adjusts to their own qualities and the opportunities that present themselves. It is worth noting that the '*identity by default*' is not nationalist in our second generation but is sometimes an elective identity although, in such instances, owing to the depth of reflection on this point, this choice seems to work with acceptable levels of social integration, as in the case of our Moroccan student.

Finally, in the sample surveyed there were no instances in which the young adults, both male and female and in the process of becoming independent, are concerned about whether they should maintain or will be able to maintain their parents' national identity – which predominated during their secondary schooling. There is also no fear that the foreignness of their parents would create problems of discrimi-

nation for them, arguably because the attitude they have towards the future when they enter the labor market or university focuses on the relations expected in these fields rather than on anonymous relations in the street or housing market, which is where there are more documented cases of discrimination. In sum, this review of how young adults identify and see themselves after leaving school shows that the majority do not fit badly – in identity terms – into adult environments in Spain. However, it is clear that, thus far, this has not depended solely on them nor will it remain that way if Spanish society were to reject this group in the future.

To conclude, we should now reconsider what the option of privileging negotiations of identity has contributed to the study in its search for an empirical substantiation to its conclusions on the effects of national self-identities for the integration of children of immigrants.

This question was addressed earlier, when we highlighted that the contextual dependence of children of immigrants' answers on their identity is what raises the most doubts about the value of what they say when asked how they identify themselves. In fact, however, these doubts disappear when the questions focus on negotiations of identity, because these latter provide us with the contexts in which identity is experienced, thus allowing us to gauge the weight which these experiences have in the different behavioral sequences. Together with the inspiration provided by Côté (1996, 2005), we can qualify these insights by adapting them to the different types of social context and situation of personal development in which the negotiations of identity take place.

This focus has, in this way, also allowed us to see how the weight of national self-identities evolves over time – which is particularly interesting in connection with the transition from adolescence to adulthood of the second generation, a time which is particularly susceptible to changes.

In truth, it was possible to consider all this because the study was qualitative. However, it is also true that, because of this, no quantitative figures can be given and it is not possible to argue for any degree of representativeness. The reformulation in terms of quantified relations has not even begun. Nevertheless, the questions related to national self-identification and to identity as social capital appear to have sufficient weight for us to continue seeking new avenues of enquiry such as the one referred to in the study.

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Part IV

**Transnational Approach and Children of
Migrants: Beyond Methodological
Nationalism**

Chapter 12

Beyond Home and Return: Negotiating Religious Identity Across Time and Space Through the Prism of the American Experience

Peggy Levitt, Kristen Lucken, and Melissa Barnett

12.1 Introduction

Migration scholars now recognize that many people maintain, and have always maintained, ties to the countries they come from while they become part of the countries where they move. Immigrant incorporation and enduring transnational practices are not antithetical but simultaneous processes that mutually inform each other (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Newcomers and their children often use religious and cultural institutions to make a place for themselves in a new land and maintain homeland ties at the same time (Carnes and Yang 2004; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002; Freston 2004; Guest 2003; Levitt 2007; Menjívar 2002). Many predict, however, that transnational attachments will not last beyond the first generation (Alba and Nee 2003; Kasinitz et al. 2008). Transnational parents do not necessarily produce transnational children. Members of the second generation are not likely to participate in their ancestral homes with the same intensity and frequency as their parents, nor will homeland values and practices influence them as strongly.

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While we agree that the second generation will not be as active in their ancestral homes as their parents, we argue against dismissing outright the potential impact of growing up in a transnational social field. When children are raised in households, communities and organizations where people, goods, ideas and practices from their parents' countries of origin circulate on a regular basis, they are not only socialized into the rules and institutions of the countries where they live but also into those of the countries their families come from. They acquire social contacts and skills and gain access to social networks that are useful in both settings. They master several cultural repertoires that they can selectively deploy, if and when they want to, in response to the opportunities and challenges that confront them. In fact, a surprising number of children of immigrants 'return' in some way to their ancestral homes.

In this article, we argue for the need to take the parameters of the social fields that the second generation inhabits as an open question – to go beyond simply 'home' and 'return'. To do so, over the last 4 years, we have been studying religious identity construction among Indian American Hindu and Muslim undergraduate and graduate students.

Our study asks three questions. To what extent do these young people create religious identities using ideas, values, and role models from around the world? What are the sites and layers of the social fields they access to do so? Finally, how do the rooted aspects of religious experience influence the circulation of religious elements? In other words, which cultural elements travel easily and which are constrained by the cultural structures in place in the US, where our respondents live? Our goal is to study connections and fluidity across time and space but to also pay close attention to how boundaries and rootedness constrain circulation.

We find that our respondents create religious selves by combining their imaginings of their parents' religious upbringing with their own real and imagined experiences of religious life in the US, India, and other salient places around the world. They transcend false dichotomies like 'home' and 'host' and movement and rootedness. They do so in four broad patterns that we call *American-centric*, *Indian-centric*, *global-secular* and *global-religious*. Each is constructed in various combinations using elements from the different sites (i.e. Gujarat State, Boston, London) and layers (local, regional, national, global) of the transnational social fields that our respondents inhabit. What is inside 'Americanness', 'Islam', or 'Hinduism' is fluid and porous, changing as it moves across time and space.

But while our respondents may adopt an Indian, American, or global stance, they do so from their positions in the US. They construct religious assemblages using religious elements in motion from their firm base in America. Thus, the circulation of religious ideas, practices and objects filters through uniquely American cultural structures and traverses uniquely American organizational channels. These frames and channels allow some values and practices to travel easily while blocking others, creating an American-inflected version of a transnationally constituted global religious experience.

The findings we present are based on interviews with Gujarati-origin Muslim and Hindu undergraduate and graduate students, aged 18–29, living in the Boston metropolitan area. Boston is home to nearly ten colleges and universities, most of

which have South Asian, Hindu, and Muslim student organizations. Postgraduates can join their own cultural and professional organizations. While we recruited many of our respondents through these organizations, we also attempted to find respondents who did not belong to formal groups by posting to general campus email lists and through snowball sampling. To find additional respondents and to observe our respondents' cultural and religious lives in action, we attended holiday celebrations, cultural performances, student conferences, and student organization meetings. So far, we completed 57 interviews with 27 Muslims and 30 Hindus. This paper is based on our analysis of 30 interviews with Gujarati-origin Hindu and Muslim women.

12.2 Theoretical Debates

Methodological nationalism is the tendency to accept the nation-state and its boundaries as a given in social analysis (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). Because much of social science theory takes for granted that the nation-state is the natural, logical container within which social life takes place, researchers often take rootedness and incorporation in the nation as the norm, and social identities and practices enacted across state boundaries as the exception. But while nation-states are still extremely important, social life does not obey national boundaries.

While 'methodological nationalism' was originally coined to critique migration studies, similar weaknesses plague studies of religion. Rather than assuming that religious life stays primarily within contained spaces (be they religious traditions, congregations or nations), we begin with the idea of religious circulation and connection. We see religion not as a packageable, stable set of beliefs and practices rooted in a particular bounded time and space but as a contingent clustering of objects, bodies and beliefs that come together within a changing space laced with power and interests and shaped and reshaped by constant movement and contact. Religion is not a cohesive, rooted whole but a loosely constructed assemblage, created from actors, objects and ideas travelling at different rates and rhythms across the different scales and scopes of the social fields within which it takes shape.

Many aspects of religious life may move. Religious bodies, spirits, deities and souls carry religion; modes of religious organization and social movements travel. Ideas, practices and symbols also circulate. These goods often have multiple carriers: objects and ideas piggyback onto or permeate seemingly non-religious objects and ideas. This is the stuff from which assemblages are made: the contingent encounter between religious actors, practices and objects that come together in loose or tightly-coupled ways (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Marcus and Saka 2006). Assemblages continuously add and shed new elements as they circulate through the social fields' various layers and scales.

The cultural elements from which these assemblages are created are a constrained resource with which actors can construct identities from a limited range of possible materials (Alexander and Smith 2010). From this perspective, culture is

context: a set of discourses and assumptions embedded in institutions or repertoires of meaning that are marshalled to deal with specific dilemmas and purposes. The religious actor appropriates objects and practices from across borders, but these do not necessarily move freely. God may need no passport, but religious beliefs and believers regularly encounter obstacles and roadblocks along their way. The laws, norms and cultures of the geographies they traverse influence their path. We, therefore, look empirically at the actual boundaries and layers of the social fields in which our respondents are embedded (not just at the home and host country), at the elements they use within these fields to construct religious identities, and at how culture shapes and constrains the resulting assemblage.

The geographies that religious actors and objects traverse are not virgin territories. Places become spaces because of their history, politics and culture. They are deeply textured and layered with meaning. They may encompass well-worn networks with long, consistent histories, or uncertain social fields plagued by civil unrest, climatic disaster, or social change. One such geography is the British post-colonial space, where religious followers of South Asian descent carry contemporary Hinduism and Islam to and between Europe, North America, the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. Believers enact their religious lives against a common meta-cultural frame that is still influenced by British colonial assumptions about law, governance and social cohesion. Thus, a common ethos and set of social dynamics characterizes life in Mumbai, London, Johannesburg and Trinidad. These conceptual threads weave into very different local backdrops where they are vernacularized in different ways. Circulating religious elements and actors end up in terrains that are similar but different, familiar yet strange. This cultural scaffolding enables their journey but also restrains and controls it.

Different ideological and governance structures operate at all scales of transnational social fields. The broadest, most overarching of these structures is what Boli and Thomas (1999) call *world culture*, which includes models for the organization and regulation of religious life, as well as ideologies about religious freedom, pluralism, gender and religion. World culture encompasses notions of rights based on personhood rather than national citizenship. What we call *global religious* and *global secular* identities, which we describe below, are global not only because the young women in our study identify with global religious or global secular communities whose members live around the world, but also because these women draw upon and are restricted by global cultural elements when they create religious identities.

National context and history also strongly influence the geography of the social field and affect what can and cannot travel easily within it (Bramadat and Koenig 2009). Countries have unique philosophies of integration and narratives about what they are and who can belong. They also deploy different regimes of ethnic and religious diversity management. The US, for example, believes it is a country of immigrants, founded on principles of religious pluralism, while in India the religious default category is Hinduism. The US expects its newcomers to be people of faith and assumes their faith will fit within a Judaeo-Christian religious framework. In contrast, many people in India conflate Hinduism with Indianess. What we call *American-centric* and *Indian-centric* religious styles are framed nationally not only

by where our respondents locate themselves in space, but also by how they draw upon and are limited by elements from the national, as well as local and regional, levels of their social fields.

This ‘physical’ geography exists alongside, and sometimes supercedes, imagined and remembered sacred landscapes with topological properties of their own. Some believers think of themselves as living in a religious geography, such as the Kingdom of God or the Muslim *ummah*. They see themselves as religious global citizens abiding by religious and political sets of rights and responsibilities (Levitt 2007). Still others feel part of a historical landscape, a religious chain of memory connecting them to the past, present, and future (Hervieu-Léger 2000). When Cuban-Americans bring their newborns to be baptized into the Cuban nation at the national patron saint shrine they built in Miami, they root themselves in an imagined landscape that links the past, present and future. They induct these infants into a Cuba that existed in Havana in the past, that exists in the present in Miami, and that they hope to reclaim in Cuba in the future (Tweed 2006).

Within both real and imagined geographies, religious assemblages take shape and are transformed as they move. Yet their labels remain static and gloss over the tension and heterogeneity within them (Euben 2006). People use religious categories and geographies because they help them make sense of the world around them. To understand better the real and imagined geographies where our respondents locate themselves, we asked them to spell out what these categorical black boxes contain, where their materials come from, and how they change over time and across space.

12.3 Transnational Moral Geographies?

We found that the young women in our sample did, in fact, construct religious identities using materials from different sites in the social fields where they imagine themselves. They combined elements from places in North America, India, England, Africa and other salient locations where their co-ethnics or co-religionists live. We call this the *geographical axis of religious identification*. Our second axis – *the social axis of religious identification* – brings into focus how women draw upon elements from the various levels of the social fields in which they are embedded. These social fields are both horizontally broad and vertically deep. While they may include locations in India, the US or Africa, they are also comprised of a combination of local, regional, national and global social or political repertoires. When we refer to the ‘local’, we include interactions with family and peers at home or at school, participation in social and cultural organizations, or membership in nearby religious institutions. The ‘regional’ refers to the effect of growing up in parts of the US where there are few Indian families compared to living in New Jersey or New York, where there are large Indian-American communities. By the ‘national’, we mean the national policies, history and cultures in which our subjects are embedded, including the ways in which countries manage religious and ethnic diversity, as

well as their expectations about incorporating newcomers. The ‘global’ refers to circulating ‘global values packages’ concerning youth, gender, rights and religious organization (Levitt and Merry 2009).

We understand that conceptual categories are static by nature while human beings are not. The categories we outline allow us to loosely order the wide range of experiences our respondents described. No individual fits squarely or entirely within any category. Nor do we mean to suggest that the layers that make up trans-national social fields are discrete or impermeable.

12.3.1 American-Centric

This group of second-generation, Gujarati-origin, Indian American women locate themselves largely in the context of the US: American institutions, culture, diversity management regimes and history exert the strongest influence over how they identify religiously. While they may have visited their ancestral homes or other places where co-ethnics reside, these locations do not exercise the same magnetic pull as the Indian ethnic community in the US. Christianity is also a strong force and a key marker against which they measure themselves. Some among this group we call *American-centric* classify themselves as religious, while others identify thoroughly with the American secular world.

Ekata, our first example, is a 22-year-old Hindu who grew up in Oklahoma during the 1990s surrounded by few other Indian American families. She did not learn to speak Gujarati or perform Indian dances like so many other Indian American friends, but she did learn about Hindu mythology by watching religious videos and reading the comic books that an aunt sent. She also learned about Hinduism and what it meant to be pious by watching her mother do *pujas* (religious rituals and prayers) with family members and friends, listening to her lessons and stories about faith, and observing the priest who came to their home to say blessings on important occasions. Ekata explained, ‘[My] parents raised me to believe Hinduism is a way of life and not [just] a religion. I feel the most stuff I learned was from watching my parents or listening to them say prayers and learning what it meant’.

Her Christian friends and neighbours also strongly shaped her faith. Attending an Episcopal school as a teenager exposed Ekata to Christian theology and values but also pushed her to clarify what Hinduism meant to her.

This prep school was an Episcopalian school. I would go to chapel every day, for years and years. I think that was kind of a good part, figuring out stuff for myself. In some ways, one would think that would be confusing. But kind of having to be surrounded and learning about Christianity is a big thing. The Episcopalian environment helped me realise what I liked about that or what I didn’t like about Christianity and then what I liked about Hinduism. Things I was so unclear on, or unsure of.

Her grandparents living in India were also distant but ever-present role models.

Like any grandkid I wanted to make them proud. For me, it was that I wanted to show them that I was a well-rounded person even though I grew up in America. As far as my grandparents – they were the validation I wanted ... Kind of that identity like you look to your elders sort of thing. You kind of just want to show, 'Okay, I grew up somewhere else, but ...you just wanted them to [be] proud [of you].'

When her grandfather passed away, Ekata struggled. 'That was an important turning point. That was around when I was struggling with my Indian identity... It was just a huge wake-up call'. When she went back to India for her grandfather's funeral, she watched her grandmother perform religious rituals and rites that she could not do or understand. She felt that she needed to become more practicing and better informed.

But although she has since studied and incorporated more elements from India into her identity and practice, it does not mean, she explains, that she has become more India-focused. She realizes that her relationship to India hinges strongly on her grandparents' presence there. 'Sometimes it felt like [India] only existed while I was there. It felt suspended every time I left because I was not physically there'. Although she feels more connected now and has greater access and understanding, she worries that her bonds are tenuous.

We see Ekata as American-centric, although her account also reveals that she is clearly influenced by people and ideas from other sites and layers of the social field she inhabits. While she has begun to incorporate more Hindu elements into her life, she uses them to construct a religious practice that fits with her lifestyle in the US. The social axes of her religious identity are primarily local, be they friends and family members in Oklahoma, in Vadodara in India, or her classmates in Boston. Regional factors also shape her experience. She grew up in the Midwest surrounded by few other Indian Americans in a place with very little religious diversity. Christianity pervades her world as the normative default category and she often measures herself against her real and imagined experience of it. She also selectively draws on global Indian culture, having been exposed to it through the children's books and videos that circulate widely. Ultimately, however, at least for now, the religious assemblage she creates is primarily about Indian-Americaness.

12.3.2 Indian-Centric

A small group of women oriented themselves solely toward their ancestral homeland even though they grew up comfortably in an American setting. Longing to be 'authentic' Indians, these young women emulate the behaviour and values modelled by elders and peers they encountered during homeland trips or their imagination of religious life in India. In many cases, their families sent home remittances, supported charitable organizations, or participated in associations connected to India. We label this group *Indian-centric*.

Avanti grew up in an upper-middle-class suburb of Boston. As with Ekata, there were very few other Indian American students attending her high school. While

there was a Hindu temple nearby, her family only went on special occasions to ask for blessings from the priest. Avanti remembers going to the temple before she took her college entrance exams or when her sister first went off to graduate school. Although they were not very religious, Avanti says, her family socialized almost exclusively with other Indian families.

Every three years or so, Avanti's family would go visit her father's parents, who still lived in Gujarat. In this remote, rural village, she watched her grandmother care for the gods and goddesses in her *mandir* (small altar) each morning and listened to her stories about them although, she says, the stories faded as soon as she boarded the plane home. Still, she kept in touch with her Indian cousins, first by phone and then by Skype and e-mail. Over the years, she watched her father raise money to rebuild the elementary school he attended as a young boy. Though she travelled only infrequently to India, she still thought about her experiences there when she imagined the woman she hoped to become.

When she was a sophomore in high school, Avanti's father finally succumbed to his friend's urging to attend meetings of the Swadhyaya community, a religious social movement, with many Gujarati followers. Her father was smitten, and ultimately Avanti was too. The family began attending meetings each week. Eventually, Avanti attended summer camp, joined a Swadhyaya group at a nearby campus, and went back to India to study during her summer vacations. As she grew older, she became increasingly focused on India. It shaped her study plans and her thinking about her future professional life.

From her base in the US, Avanti is India-centric. She uses ideas, practices and material objects from India to construct a religious identity she wants to act upon in India. She belongs to a global religious organization, with members around the world, but rather than feeling part of a community of Indians around the world, she orients herself specifically toward India. It is her inspiration, the source that guides her practice, and the place where she wants to put her beliefs into action.

Her faith is also influenced by regional factors. The Swadhyaya movement takes shape within and, some would argue, is part and parcel of Gujarat state's neo-Hindu turn. Its critics claim it promotes a conservative version of Hindu practice that equates Indianness with Hinduism. The Swadhyaya community has outposts among Indian Americans throughout the US, but migrants in New York and New England founded its first chapters, which have strong organisational ties to India.

12.3.3 Global-Secular

We call a third group in our sample *global-secular*. These are young women who grew up in families with relatives living across the globe. Technologies like e-mail and Skype allow them to form close bonds to friends and relatives they rarely see. They also have the financial capability to create an Indian environment literally or virtually filled with friends and family at any time wherever they live. Most

members of this group do not identify as religious, although they do access cultural elements that often have religious associations.

Lakshmi, a 22-year-old Indian American whose relatives migrated from India to East Africa during British colonial rule, exemplifies this global-secular trajectory. Lakshmi's maternal grandparents relocated to Uganda while her paternal grandparents settled in Tanzania. When dictator Idi Amin expelled the South Asian population from Uganda in 1972, her extended family resettled as refugees in England, Canada and the US. As a result, Lakshmi came into regular contact with secular Indians scattered across the globe. Growing up, she says, it was not uncommon to stay completely within this ethnic milieu or to venture out tentatively, always knowing one would return.

Lakshmi reports she is in constant contact with friends and family, phoning, texting or Skyping them regularly. This is a group, she says, that lives, works and studies abroad and is as comfortable in London as they are in Bombay because they have the money and the cultural capital to recreate Indianness anywhere. Although she has only been to India once, she proclaims proudly, 'I identify as an Indian. Even though I might not be super-religious, it's still part of my identity. I think going to college had a huge impact on that... I ended up joining the South Asian society and took a lot of classes and learned more about my culture'.

Now, as a medical resident, Lakshmi wants to put into practice the values her parents taught her by working in global public health. She hopes one day to return to Uganda or India in order to spearhead a long-term public health project. When asked what compels her to give back to others, she explains, 'I do feel a responsibility to do some form of service work. But I wouldn't say I feel it's my responsibility as a Hindu or as the daughter of my parents... I just feel it comes from being a good human being'. She has internalized the values she learned at home and aspires to serve by being a 'good person' rather than a 'good Hindu'. She is also motivated by elements of a widely-circulating neo-liberal global values package that emphasizes development, modernity and progress.

Lakshmi locates herself squarely within a secular, Indian global space, although she lands there in part through her direct and indirect connections to global religious actors. She traverses religious and non-religious channels to arrive at a secular destination. From where she sits, religion and culture often overlap. While some of her cousins associate more strongly with religion, she identifies more closely with Indian culture. Yet both end up feeling connected to other Indians around the world.

Not just the Hindu young women in our sample identified as global secularists. Zahira, like Lakshmi, was also raised in a large Indian family scattered across the globe. She, too, maintains especially close ties to her cousins and wants to feel part of the secular global community. But as an Indian Muslim women, she feels pushed toward religion because the Indian cultural groups she encounters do not make space for those who identify with Islam.

Growing up, Zahira was often mistaken as white because she is light-skinned and does not appear 'typically Indian'. To meet other Indian Americans when she first went to college, she attended meetings of the South Asian Student Club but came away disappointed. She found that because she was Muslim, the members dismissed

her as not ‘authentically Indian’. In response, she gravitated toward Muslim student groups on campus where she found a more comfortable home.

Like so many of her peers, Zahira says, she also conflated ethnicity and religion: she saw this as a normal aspect of Indian life. Both Hindus and Muslims like to watch Bollywood movies and attend Indian festivals. The girls often do Indian dance. So it was not until college that she realized there was tension between culture and religion.

I've always identified myself as an Indian. But when I went to college, I actually tried to join the India club, and was thinking, 'these are people who understand where I come from. They watch Bollywood movies and read everything I do'. I even tried to make myself more Indian than a lot of friends in school, or even my cousins. But the fact is, I don't look like a typical Indian even though I identify myself as an Indian. So, on the first day of [college], I signed up for the Indian club. When I went to the line, there was a woman collecting the forms and chatting with people. And she turned to me and she said, 'I'm so glad you could make it', as if to say, 'Thank you for exploring another culture'. It actually pushed me away.

Shocked and disappointed, Zahira sought out students whose religious lives more closely aligned with her own. She explains:

Within the first weeks of classes, I tried to join the India club and the Muslim club. I thought, if I don't feel accepted at the India club, I could turn to the Muslim club. That's actually the group I got more involved with. I felt in many ways the reaction of the India club really pushed me into the Muslim group ...

Like Lakshmi, Zahira identifies first and foremost with a global, primarily secular, Indian elite group. She is fluent in the markers of global Indianness, such as Bollywood, Indian fashion, and the diasporic music and literary scene. Her sense of belonging lies not in her attachment to a particular place in India, England or the US, but in her ability to construct Indianness in any context and against any national backdrop. But, unlike Lakshmi, Zahira feels pushed toward greater religiosity. She wants to be part of a global secular Indian community, but she finds she is only partially admitted because of its Hindu dominance. The Muslim members of this group must create their own version of global secularity.

12.3.4 Global-Religious

Lakshmi and Zahira identify with a global community that defines itself nationally or culturally. Members of our last group, the *global-religious*, think of themselves as belonging to a global religious community. Unlike Avanti, who also belonged to a transnational religious group but identified primarily with India, these young women embrace membership in a religious community that spans the globe. They feel connected to other members because they have access to the same institutions, literature, lectures, media, and religious teachers and leaders. Some in this group even go so far as to call themselves ‘religious global citizens’. Their religious identities go hand-in-hand with a unique set of rights and responsibilities that co-exist with, complement, and in some cases supersede the rights and responsibilities of

political citizenship. Some religious global citizens are *exclusive*, only feeling responsible for members of their own faith, while *inclusive* religious global citizens hear their faith as a call to care for all humankind (Levitt 2007).

On the surface, Ashna seems a lot like Lakshmi and Zahira. She, too, is part of the global diasporic elite and grew up outside New York City among a close circle of well-educated, affluent Indian families who maintained strong connections to relatives in North America, England, Australasia and Africa. While many members of her family were quite secular, Ashna and her parents were active members of the Swaminarayan Hindu community, another religious movement popular in Gujarat, where religion is the primary social glue.

That religion figures prominently in Ashna's life is not surprising. Both her parents were raised as devout Hindus. As a young girl, Ashna and her siblings attended temple regularly. Her grandparents also visited for long periods and modelled proper religious practice during their stays. As a teenager, Ashna took classes at the nearby Indian cultural association and attended religious summer camp, where she says she got a religious as well as cultural education. At camp, 'they pray and do yoga. They have a class about mythology and folklore. And every student picks an activity that they want to become better at, which usually relates to Indian culture. You could learn to play the sitar or other Indian instruments. You could learn a dance or Bollywood music'.

Although Ashna still considers herself a practising Swaminarayan, she now sees her membership as a stepping-stone into a worldwide faith community. She thinks she became 'so multicultural' because at school she was exposed to many people of many different faiths, especially Judaism. Her moral code emphasizes achievement and harmony: 'I think the biggest thing I've realized is to set goals for a given day and make sure those goals are accomplished. So I feel good about myself and once I feel good about myself, I realize I make others around me happy'. The social and geographic bases of her identity are primarily global. Not only does she identify with a worldwide community of faith rather than one of its national incarnations, she also draws upon universal 'self-help' principles such as harmony, rights and multiculturalism.

Yasmin's experience mirrors aspects of Ashna's. She is part of the Ismaili community, a Shi'a sect with practitioners in 25 countries. The 20 million Ismaili Muslims worldwide have created a dense network of institutions, including seven *Jama'at Khanas* in Houston alone, where Yasmin grew up.

While she strongly identifies as an American, Yasmin is also deeply enmeshed in global Ismaili associations, noting, 'Ismailis have very strong social networks and a system of social supports. There are whole structures set up for religious education, national and international, as well as regional'. Children are taught to volunteer and do service. They attend summer camps, and are strongly encouraged to feel responsible to the Ismaili community everywhere. During his 2008 visit to Texas for his Golden Jubilee year celebration, the Aga Khan, the Ismailis' cosmopolitan religious leader, encouraged his followers to be models of religious tolerance and pluralism.

Yasmin also clearly identifies with a global religious community. In fact, she feels a special sense of kinship to Hinduism. 'I feel a sort of spiritual linkage

between my faith and Hinduism. I like to not only think of the cultural ties but the intermingling of the theological aspects as well. [The two religions] have the same melodies, and the literary figures are the same. Ram and Krishna make an appearance in Ismaili texts'. These shared cultural elements make her feel connected to other Indians on campus. 'Sometimes I feel closer to the Hindu group on campus – I enjoy going to their *pujas* – just because their practices feel more like what I'm used to'. That Ismaili religious practice has its deepest roots in South Asia makes it no surprise that Yasmin feels at home with a Hindu cultural repertoire.

We see Yasmin as a paradigmatic inclusive religious global citizen. She identifies strongly as a member of a worldwide religious community not merely in India or the US, but in all the places where Ismailis live. Moreover, she constructs her religious identity in reference to a wide range of sources, including other practising Muslims around the world and the Hindus in India and the US. The sites and layers from which she fashions her faith traverse the world and extend from the local to the global. She interprets her faith as an invitation to be part of and responsible to the worldwide community.

12.4 Religious Identities in an American Cultural Context

Our cases illustrate the different ways the second generation creates religious identities using models, ideas and objects from diverse sites and layers of social experience that extend way beyond their actual or ancestral homes. But while our respondents' orientations and allegiances move and change as they mature and as they travel physically and virtually around the world, they do so from their rooted position in the US. American cultural frames and organizational arrangements strongly shape how our respondents construct and interpret religious assemblages. They enable and constrain movement by allowing some cultural elements to travel easily while blocking or channeling others. Our respondents' religious identities are rooted in motion, with access to diverse circulating elements that must then fit within particular cultural structures.

How does the American experience uniquely shape religious identities compared to that of England or South Africa? What expectations about religious life, pluralism, or diversity serve to channel the pace and direction of religion on the move? Who are the rule-makers in this national context and who are the rule-takers?

What unites various approaches to US pluralism, argues Bender (2011), is an enduring love affair with the existence, stability and benefits of American religious diversity. New groups arrive who are assumed to be equally capable of adopting Protestant congregational forms (Warner 1993), of competing willingly and readily in the religious market place (Finke and Stark 1992), and of embracing essentialized religious or ethnic identities that enable them to find a place at the country's multicultural table. These narratives are so strong and the institutional arrangements that undergird them so deep that we are often blinded as to who they include and who they leave out.

What our study reveals is not only that these different facets of quintessential American religious pluralism are shaped by forces outside the US, but also how much this layered American religious landscape channels and constrains religion in motion. Even when respondents appropriate elements from far away, they must fit them within the prevailing American cultural structures.

For one thing, our respondents grew up during America's multi-racial, interfaith moment. They are not only allowed to be 'religious', 'racial', or 'ethnic', they are encouraged and in some cases expected to be. To find their place within American multiculturalism, minorities are pressured to embrace abiding, unchanging cultural and racial essences (Johnson 2007; Kurien 2007). University life is a microcosm of the broader society. Just as resources and recognition are doled out to social groups that fit particular ethnic and religious labels and are assumed to be internally cohesive, so our respondents become fluent in the language and performance of diversity when they go to college. Even if they never thought about belonging to Swadhyaya or about being a practising Muslim in terms of race or ethnicity, when they go to university they must confront this racial-ethnic-religious triad.

Our respondents talked about this experience as transformative in both positive and negative ways. On the one hand, joining the South Asian or Muslim Student Association put them in contact with students with whom they had a lot in common. Away from their parents' supervision, students began to re-evaluate their faith. They talked of learning to specify and formalize their religious beliefs and practices, transforming what were once informal, loosely-clustered assemblages of changing practices not linked to a particular cultural or racial milieu into clearer, more theologically based sets of beliefs. Private, infrequent religious expressions became regular, orchestrated group-based study and prayers. Some of our respondents celebrated these changes. They saw them as a logical part of taking responsibility for their own religious lives outside the context of their families. They felt proud that they had learned about the official trappings of their faith.

Other respondents felt trapped by the expectations of their co-ethnic and non-co-ethnic peers that they would automatically know and care about their ancestral home and faith. They often felt put in the position of being the 'spokesperson' for Hinduism or Islam. If they did not know enough, they felt pushed to learn more. If they did not want to participate in an 'identity-based' group, the way into the broader community was not always clear. Hinduism is not a codified set of practices and beliefs written in stone, one young woman told us. She, like others, resisted the urge to 'put her religion in a box', so it was easier to participate in interfaith activities with other 'boxable' religions. Another respondent talked about the struggles within her Muslim Student organization because young women from the Middle East or Arab-origin families had such different ways of doing things than Muslims from South or Southeast Asia. Arriving at a practice they could all agree upon, or figuring out what position they would take on world events, was not easy. Deciding how to showcase themselves to the broader campus community was harder still. In short, this group felt forced to participate in an organizational setting that privileged ethnicity and religion and used student organizations to categorize and manage

difference. From their perspective, the university should not be allocating resources on the expectation that all students want to participate in some identity group.

These respondents' comments also reflect the overwhelmingly Christian, if not Protestant, bias of the US religious context. Campus relations not only pivot on the assumption of singular, essential racial and ethnic differences, they are also made to fit within Christian-looking packages. Every student religious group is structured in a comparable way and given a comparable set of resources, thus allowing participants to engage in a similar set of internal and interfaith activities. There are generally spiritual advisors, study sessions, prayers and public holiday celebrations during which each group performs and explains itself to the broader community. These activities serve to package ethnic religion for practitioners and observers alike.

Most of our respondents felt that these were good things put in place by wellmeaning people. They reflected on the days when only Christian or perhaps Jewish groups were recognized on college campuses. They felt that interfaith activities are by and large positive experiences. Yet some also remarked that there are other ways to do religion. Does the price of admission, of being able to be recognized and participate in a multicultural, interfaith campus, also mean that religious identities always have to look the same? 'For my cousins in India', reflected Sabrina, a 21-year-old Hindu, 'this would be a foreign world. They could never conceive of being Hindu outside the context of their family, of being an individual without the group. They live with their families when they go to college, and there aren't the same kind of student organizations. So the way my religious identity has evolved is very different from theirs'. Respondents also described what we think of as blockages or obstacles. The things they did not talk about indicated impediments or things that had difficulty travelling. For example, very few respondents mentioned caste. Either their parents did not discuss it, or they had difficulty grasping its social implications given their American upbringing. Their comments reflected a sense that there was an 'elephant in the room' that nobody wanted to discuss. Even online dating sites such as [Indiandating.com](#) avoid the subject of caste in personal profiles. 'I think it's for people who came straight from India', explained Shyama, aged 27. 'I really don't care too much'. Instead, she and her peers had been socialized to mark difference in the US way, by noting race or ethnicity, or by noting, as their parents did, the family names, occupations and places of residence that reveal class status. Social difference still matters, but it is measured using a different metric.

We also heard little about tensions between Hindus and Muslims, which was particularly striking considering their bitterness in Gujarat. Again, this might reflect respondents' somewhat incomplete and compartmentalized exposure to India and their upper-middle-class upbringing, which enables them to see themselves as above these kinds of conflict. They have also been reared on a diet of religious tolerance and ecumenicism that often side-steps head-on involvement with difference. Despite the university's focus on interfaith relations and multiculturalism, our respondents spoke loud and often about the pressure to be politically correct and to leave certain things unsaid. Over time, they became excruciatingly aware of the delicate dance they were expected to do, describing its outlines in elegant detail. 'We're supposed

to come and participate as equal, open partners', one woman said, 'but there are so many old resentments and hurts, it's just a really difficult thing to do'.

Growing up in a post-September 11th world loomed large in our respondents' lives, particularly for Muslims. It prompted many to re-examine what it meant to be a practising member of Islam. 'I think 9/11 really brought my identity into question', 25-year-old Samaa told us. 'People in the media were wondering, "What is Islam?" and making aspersions towards the faith. I started digging in and trying to understand Islam itself'. In response, several of the women with whom we spoke began to study Arabic or to read the Qur'an with renewed interest. Another young woman struggled with whether or not to wear a hijab and ultimately decided against it 'because [the hijab] sets people off'. Instead, she dons Western clothing like her peers and only reveals to people that she is Muslim after getting to know them. 'I can show people what it's like to be Muslim, they see that there are all kinds of [Muslims] in the world and that we're not all the same... I just hope I can serve as an example'.

Hindu respondents brought up September 11th much less frequently. When they did, it was often about its impact on the Indian American community. According to one young woman, before September 11th, common Indian roots transcended religious differences, but the terrorist attacks marked a turning point.

I think I was in seventh grade when 9/11 occurred. When I was in sixth grade, I met my Muslim [Indian] friends. It was cool like, 'Oh, you're brown. You're Indian'. 'Oh, you're Muslim? My family is Hindu'. And then we'd move on with life. I was just Indian. That's what mattered more. But, suddenly after 9/11 – not that I had to defend myself – but suddenly it was Muslims versus Hindus versus any other religion. It was Muslims versus everyone else. Everyone else had to label themselves, I feel. That's when I realised that I was calling myself a Hindu a lot more to people.

12.5 Conclusion

While previous scholarship suggests that transnational ties wane amongst the second generation, our study illustrates that some young people remain connected to people and places around the world, albeit with varying degrees of frequency and strength. They draw upon cultural elements available at the sites and levels of the transnational social fields they inhabit, accessing them through travel, technology and popular media and by participating in a variety of ethnic and religious organizations. Place is not static, nor is movement necessary for connecting to and making use of distant cultural and religious landscapes and communities.

Yet our respondents clearly constructed their identities from their firm base in the US. Religious objects, ideas and practices circulate through American-inflected cultural frames and organizational forms. They came to ground in social settings permeated by US assumptions about religious pluralism and ethnic and racial diversity. Thus, 'religion on the move' has its limits. These culturally-embedded pathways strongly influence the pace and ease of travel, as well as how religious ideas and practices land and take root.

Capturing religion in motion is a difficult business, but analyses that fail to do so are necessarily incomplete. We do not mean to suggest that everything circulates or regularly crosses borders. Indeed, one of our key findings is how cultural structures channel and constrain movement. What we are saying is that starting from an assumption of stasis and boundedness is likely to miss important aspects of the migration experience. Being open to the possibility of motion as opposed to rootedness and isolation, seems to better reflect our respondents' experiences.

Women are often the keepers of the cultural flame. They are charged with the primary responsibility for carrying on cultural traditions and passing them on to children. Indeed, many of our respondents' narratives revealed the central roles that their mothers and grandmothers played in shaping their religious identities. While some research finds an opening up of religious opportunities when religious community members migrate, other studies see immigrant religious communities as sites where hierarchy and patriarchy are reinforced. Women are disciplined and controlled even more when immigrant communities become more conservative. Our future work will look more closely at the experiences of the young men in our sample and examine how their differing roles and status within religious communities shape the nature of their religious assemblage construction. We will also look more closely at the role of class in shaping transnational religious identity construction.

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Chapter 13

Following People, Visiting Places, and Reconstructing Networks. Researching the Spanish Second Generation in Switzerland

Marina Richter and Michael Nollert

13.1 Introduction

The literature on the second generation suggests that most research focuses on processes and phenomena linked and constrained to the country where the second generation is presently living. Indeed, researchers have hardly looked at the second generation from a transnational perspective (Levitt and Waters 2002). However, the few transnational studies showed clearly that the question of roots and routes needs to be posed in a slightly different way than when analyzing the first generation (Levitt 2009). The second generation did not initiate a transnational network and a cross-border community. Rather, they are born into an environment where social networks extend across national borders and where family life is organized according to a yearly cycle of visits and holidays with the family “back home” (Louie 2006; Wessendorf 2010; King et al. 2011). The connection to their parents’ country of origin is strong enough for some people of the second generation even to migrate and reside there. In order to distinguish this sort of migration from the remigration of the first generation, researchers have used the term “roots” migration to underline that it represents a migration back to (imagined) roots (Wessendorf 2007). Many studies focus on the intriguing question of belonging, as the second generation is born in a country and has the option to claim and build a sense of belonging towards the country of birth as well as towards the country of origin of their parents (Somerville 2008; Åkesson 2011). The sense of belonging can even extend not only to the country where the parents were born, but, in cases where the parents themselves were children of migrants, to the country of origin of the ancestors

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(Gowricharn 2009).¹ Belonging is a concept that can relate to many things: the abstract notion of a nation, or a concrete group of people such as a family or the population of a village, it further, also points towards various levels: the national, the regional and even the local. Our usage of the concept remains vague because it was our intention to let the respondents define the quality (abstract or concrete) and the level of their sense of belonging. In this sense the concept will become clearer in the various types of transnational networks and belonging discussed later.

Therefore, transnational lives and belonging represent a complex social formation in terms of social structure as well as in terms of spatial organization: for instance, families live apart from each other and organize their relationships such as care work over long distances (Bowlby 2012). The relationships that structure transnational lives and belonging are complex in themselves as they permanently change. Such changes reflect the restructure of social networks all along the life-courses. Indeed, the life-course perspective suggests to investigate not only single moments in people's lives, but to take into account how lives change and how social relations develop in time along these changes (Elder et al. 2003). In short: Our research does not focus on networks as a structural context of social action, but on the so-called convoys, those permanently changing networks which are relevant sources of support for the individuals, independently of geographical proximity (Kahn and Antonucci 1980a, b).

Networks and personal biographies are thereby not linked in a straightforward way. They are connected, but we cannot predict a type of network that will result from a certain type of biography or vice-versa. Rather, the networks develop along and together with a person's life-course. The typology we develop later (see Table 13.1) shows that there are linkages such as important biographical events that can have an effect on the transnational networks of the second generation. Vice-versa, the loss of networks is also linked intimately to the way a person's life-course develops.

Our approach was based on an analytical division into several elements in order to apprehend the social and spatial dimensions of these transnational lives. By focusing on people, places, and the networks connecting them, we follow current discussions in the field of transnational migration studies (Richter 2014).

First, people are at the core of transnationalism from below (Guarnizo and Smith 1998). They build transnational relations, maintain them over time, and are there-

Table 13.1 Types of second-generation transnationalism

| | | Time | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| | | Continuity | Disruption | Reconnection |
| Transnational networks | <i>Existing</i> | Type 1 | Type 4 | Type 3 |
| | <i>Missing</i> | | Type 2 | |
| | | | Type 5 | |

¹The text, and in particular the description of the four phases of data gathering, is based on an earlier account of the empirical design of the research (Richter 2012) published in *Forum Qualitative Research*.

fore at the origin of transnational social practice. Second, these people do not float in a global space, but need to touch ground from time to time (Ley 2004). An analysis of transnationalism as an everyday phenomenon needs, therefore, to take into account the localities where the social practice that constitutes these relations and communications across borders, takes place. Locality therefore represents, on the one hand, the social context in which migrants and other transnational actors are rooted, and it stands, on the other hand, for the nodes of the networks (Gielis 2009). Some authors have called such places *translocal* because they are meaningful owing to their connection across national borders (Brickell and Datta 2011; Smith 2011). Third, these localities need to be connected somehow to become translocal. Such connections have been addressed conceptually through the study of networks (Featherstone 2007; Featherstone et al. 2007). Fourth, the spatial formation that is constituted through the networks of people and places and the practices that maintain them have been termed transnational social spaces (Pries 2008; Faist 2009).

Transnational studies confront researchers with a social phenomenon that is complex, because it is, on the one hand, spatially disrupted, and on the other hand, highly connected in social terms. Researchers have developed various approaches to deal with this complexity. One of the earliest and most cited is the notion of multi-sited research that was discussed prominently by Marcus (1995). The idea of following people, things, metaphors, stories, biographies, or conflicts has been used in various studies in the field of transnational migration (Amelina 2010; Sinatti 2011). Nevertheless, some scholars criticize that these research strategies are seldom truly multi-, but rather, double-sited and that it seems impossible to conduct an equally intensive ethnography in multiple sites (Hage 2005). The problem of conducting parallel ethnographies has, for instance, been addressed by Mazzucato (2010: 206) with her “simultaneous matched samples.” While being resource-intensive, the advantage of conducting research simultaneously at two sites by two connected groups of researchers provides accounts of simultaneity that cannot be apprehended otherwise. Other researchers, such as Tarrius, have stressed the aspect of movement and created a moving ethnography (Tarrius 2000; Tarrius 2002). This leads also to mobile methods: “[A] mobile ethnography involves travelling with people and things, participating in their continual shift through time, place and relations with others” (Watts and Urry 2008: 867). The “moving territories” Tarrius (2001) evokes, point towards the tensions that lie at the heart of research on transnationalism: the ambivalence between fixing people and places (territories) and their constant movement. All these approaches have in common, that they obtain rich data by a variety of methods.

The research strategy we are presenting here is also a mixed-methods approach that bridges the spatial disruption and grasps the notions of movement and fixity that are always competing in these studies. A comparison with items measuring the characteristics of social networks in quantitative household panel data exemplifies the reasoning behind our approach. Of course, social capital as a resource and social network data have also gained importance in recent years in quantitative research. For instance, the Swiss household panel, includes a variety of items to grasp the extent of a household’s network and can be used for analysis of social support (see for instance Bachmann 2014). However, the data are unsuitable for our question for

several reasons: First, the standardized and predefined approach does not allow to adapt the focus of data collection to our question of networks important for the relationship to Spain instead of networks of support in general. Second, household panels are national data records, they are not apt to address questions of transnational relationships, where the place of residence and mobility patterns of the members of a network are of importance. Thirdly, household panel data do not allow to deepen the understanding of these networks by following their members individually to other countries. Finally, focusing on few networks also enables to hear the stories about their members and understand how the networks developed.

The method was developed in the context of a larger project² on transnational social spaces. The project “Bridging Places Across Borders: Constitution, Maintenance and Meaning of Transnational Social Spaces” examines how people who constitute and maintain such spaces—including migrants of the first and second generation, as well as non-migrants—perceive these spaces and how this emic perception furthers the theoretical discussion around concepts of transnationalism. The subproject on the Spanish second generation living in Switzerland, which provides the illustrative material for the next Sect. 13.2, also addresses the question of the perception of transnational social spaces and asks about specifics related to the second generation, such as the inheritance of the networks from their parents. The notion of inheritance points towards the importance of time and a perspective that takes into account the life course of the second generation. Such a perspective looks at the biographical aspect as interlinked with other lives (as in the network approach) and as situated and contextualized. Selected results further give an impression of how such a research strategy can be useful.

13.2 The Research Strategy

The research design³ includes various methods and combines them at different sites, resulting in a process of data collection that comprised four phases. The four phases were inspired by the idea of reconstructing the networks of people and places, investigating changes over time, and collecting different kinds of data to approach the question of perception of transnational social spaces. The phases started in Switzerland, were continued in Spain, and ended again in Switzerland. The first phase focused on the personal history of transnational relations. The narrative interviews with 19 second-generation Spaniards suggested a first impression of

²The project “Bridging Places Across Borders: Maintenance and Meaning of Transnational Social Spaces” was jointly elaborated and conducted by a team of researchers of the Universities of Fribourg (Michael Nollert and Marina Richter) and of Neuchâtel (Janine Dahinden, Yvonne Riaño and Marc Tadorian), in Switzerland. It was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (grant # 100015_124983) and additionally supported by the University of Fribourg.

³The research design and the data collection were developed by Marina Richter. Michael Nollert as the co-author was involved in data analysis and interpretation of the results (see also Richter and Nollert 2014).

second-generation transnationalism and allowed the selection of specific cases for further research. We opted for such a narrowing of the sample because it was an easy task to find people of the second generation, but it was difficult to select people according to their transnational lives beforehand, as this is a rather abstract notion and difficult to explain. Furthermore, the transnational lives, and in particular the transnational spaces and how they are perceived, lie at the heart of the research and could therefore not be explained to the interviewees beforehand. The sampling strived at maximum variety with regard to age, gender, and qualification and stopped when a theoretical saturation was achieved (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Between the first and the second phase of interviews, we selected five cases according to a typology we will explain further. These cases represent the types of second-generation transnationalism we had encountered in the data. The second phase gathered more systematic data about the networks connecting people and sites. The interviews provided, further, the possibility of obtaining the permission to visit family and friends in Spain. The second phase consisted of two visual types of data: ego-centric network maps and geographical maps. The ego-centric network maps (Kahn and Antonucci 1980a, b) were filled out by the respondents themselves and helped to systematize the people of importance for the interviewee's relation to Spain (see, Bernardi 2011, for another example of mixed-methods—semi-structured interviews, network chart, and network grid—in ego-centric network research). The geographical references of the people drawn on the network map (place of residence or places for family reunions, important holidays etc.) were then drawn on the geographical map (for an account of maps in social research, see Röhl and Herbrück 2008). The marked places on the map helped the interviewees to remember other relationships to Spain.

The third phase provided material about people and places that had been central in the interviewees' accounts. Therefore, the phase took place in Spain. Here as well, various methods were used: First, people indicated by the interviewees were contacted and interviewed about how they experienced the relationship over distance and which were for them important places that linked them to the person interviewed in Switzerland. Second, the various places mentioned were then visited and photographed as documentation for the researcher and, further, as material to evoke in a later phase the spatial points of reference of the interviewees' networks. Third, the field trip to Spain replicated to a certain extent the trips the second generation undertakes when they visit family and friends in Spain. Therefore, field notes completed the data collection containing observations about people and places, but also about the fact of leaving a country, moving to another, changing language and habits, etc.

In the fourth and last phase in Switzerland, the interviewees were contacted again for a final interview. By then, the interviewees had already been contacted two times for interviews, and we had had the opportunity to talk to their family and friends. It was about time to "give them something back". This last meeting ensured, therefore, reciprocity. Sometimes it meant bringing something material, such as special food they had asked for; sometimes it meant bringing something symbolic such as photographs of a bar where they had spent many nights during a bohemian

phase of their lives. Showing the data (field notes and photographs) and giving an account of the interviews conducted in Spain also ensured reciprocity, while, at the same time, it also recalled people and places. On this basis they were encouraged to draw a picture of the formation that bridges the place where they are living and the various places they feel connected to.

In the next section, a more detailed account of the four phases illustrated with material gathered shows how the step-wise approach provided data on the various elements of a transnational space and touched, in the last phase, the spatial question directly.

13.2.1 Phase 1: Collecting Transnational Biographies

The first phase asked a broad sample of people of the Spanish second generation in Switzerland about their transnational experiences, in order to select cases for further data collection. We obtained the contacts through associations, the consulate, political parties, personal networks, and a subsequent snowball system. The theoretically saturated sample (Glaser and Strauss 1967) encompassed a maximum variety of cases to cover different transnational experiences.

The interviews with 19 individuals of the second generation collected a variety of transnational biographies. These biographical accounts (Fischer-Rosenthal and Rosenthal 1997; Völter et al. 2005) emphasized the aspect of time in the development of transnational networks and practices. The interviewees were asked to give an account of their relationship with Spain since their childhood. The terms “relationship” and “Spain” were not defined further, in order to leave them open to the interpretation of the interviewees. The interviews were taped and later transcribed verbatim. The beginning of an interview gives an example of the kind of the gathered accounts⁴:

Interviewer: “To start with, think back to your childhood and think of an event or a memory that has to do with Spain or your family.”

Farruco: “My first thought, that just crosses my mind, well, that’s the trip to Spain every year in the car, because I have three older brothers, so we were the four of us in the car [with my parents], in the car, on four wheels, 20, no it was even longer, it was maybe 36 hours. We just went from Basel across everything to Galicia. And that is my memory as a second generation. We did this, yes definitely, once or twice a year.”

Most of the accounts of their early childhood started with memories about their trips to Spain and the holidays they spent with their family there, playing with their cousins and experiencing a world different from their daily environment in Switzerland. The excerpt shows how the interviewee sets the direction of his story:

⁴The interviews were conducted in the various dialects spoken in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Annotations on maps later on are in German. In the course of the data collection and as the relationship between interviewer and interviewees became closer, some interviews were also conducted in Spanish. The excerpts provided here are, therefore, all translated from either Swiss-German dialect or Spanish.

The family (four boys) jammed in a car driving all the way from Switzerland to Galicia (approx. 2000 km), at first together with their parents, and later alone. This is the starting point for a story about a continuous relationship with Spain and, therefore, also continuous travelling to Spain and back. The family (parents and brothers) will remain crucial to the various transnational relationships this person maintains presently. The excerpt also shows how memories are a social construct and are framed by social meaning (Halbwachs 1925). The often adventurous childhood-stories of travelling to Spain in summer represent a constant in the narratives of the second generation.

On the basis of these accounts we constructed a typology of second-generation transnationalism. This typology resulted from a comparison of the interviews focusing on the way the second generation maintains linkages to Spain. Through analyzing the modes of inheritance of transnational networks, the ways of appropriation of these networks, and further, the variety of forms of maintaining them, the differences could be grouped into types along the temporal characteristics of the interviews (Richter and Nollert 2014; Richter 2014). This resulted in the following five types:

Type 1—continuity. Through yearly visits to Spain—in the beginning with their parents, later alone—relationships to people and places in Spain develop into a stable and vivid network until the second generation calls this network of relationships their own. Often the interviewees could not give a direct account of this process, as it happened smoothly without being noticed.

Type 2—detachment/disruption. Often in parallel to the detachment from the parents that happens in the teenaged years, the second-generation youth of this type experiences also a detachment from the “parents’ family”. Sometimes this detachment is a smooth process; sometimes it is coupled with an event in the family, for instance, the death of somebody the youth loved or felt obliged towards. This leads to a rather immediate disruption with the family, as the obligation to go to Spain and meet the family has lost its rationale.

Type 3—reconnection. This type starts with a detachment, and then later experiences a reconnection with the family in Spain. This can be evoked by an event such as a birthday or a wedding celebration that brings the family together and gives the second generation the opportunity to meet family members and establish new relationships. Another possibility for such a reconnection is when an interviewee decides to reside for some time, for instance for the purpose of studies, in Spain and has plenty of time to reconnect to the family under different circumstances than the ones provided by the yearly holidays.

Type 4—a Spain of one’s own. Most of the second generation Spaniards living in Switzerland are children of guest workers. When they surpass their parents’ educational level and obtain university diplomas—in particular when the diplomas are linked to literature or arts—some discover a world previously unknown to them. On the basis of their interest for (high) culture such as literature and fine arts, they build a new relationship with Spain that is not based on the social networks of their parents, but on a notion of belonging transmitted through their parents.

Type 5—being Spanish in Switzerland. For this type, being Spanish is not based on relationships maintained with people in Spain. The daily life is, rather, spent in a context of Spanish family, friends, and associations in Switzerland, which provide a sense of being Spanish without the direct link to the country and people living there.

The following phases concentrated on representatives of the types with transnational networks (1, 3, and 4). Two contrasting cases were selected for the “continuity” (1) and for the “reconnection” (3) type. For the type representing “a Spain of one’s own” (4) only one person was selected, as it represents a weak type of transnationalism at the margin of the research question. For some cases, the phases represent also phases in their life course. For instance, a person who experienced a reconnection of her/his relationship went before through a phase of disruption, and somebody whose relationship with family and friends in Spain is characterized by continuity might at some point experience a disruption.

13.2.2 Phase 2: Identifying Important People and Places

For the second phase the five interviewees selected from the first phase were contacted again to systematize the account they had related. Two instruments were used: ego-centric network maps and geographic maps. Both were accompanied by a semi-structured interview to explain the visual data the interviewees were producing. The interview was taped and later transcribed.

The ego-centric network maps show the individual in the middle as the center of the network. The three concentric circles are used to annotate people who are closest, less close and rather weakly connected to the individual in the center. As a further help, the circles are divided into three sectors or social spheres: family (Familie), friends and leisure (Freunde/Freizeit), and work (Beruf). The interviewees were asked to fill in the people (family, friends and colleagues from work) who are important for their relationship with Spain, regardless of whether these people live in Spain or elsewhere (see, Fig. 13.1).

This network map suggests that most of the respondents had, above all, family relationships connecting them to Spain. The relationships start with their close family, such as parents and siblings, and stretch then further to aunts and cousins and other members of the extended family. But there are also relationships in the areas of work environment and among friends or leisure activities that link them to Spain. Whereas friends and working environment are more often located in Switzerland, the family is usually more concentrated in Spain. In this example, most of the extended family is concentrated in Spain, including the parents and one of the brothers, whereas the two other brothers each live on another continent. This family spans over three continents and four countries.

Whereas the network maps sort the members of the networks, the geographic maps arrange the places. The interviewees marked on the geographical map the

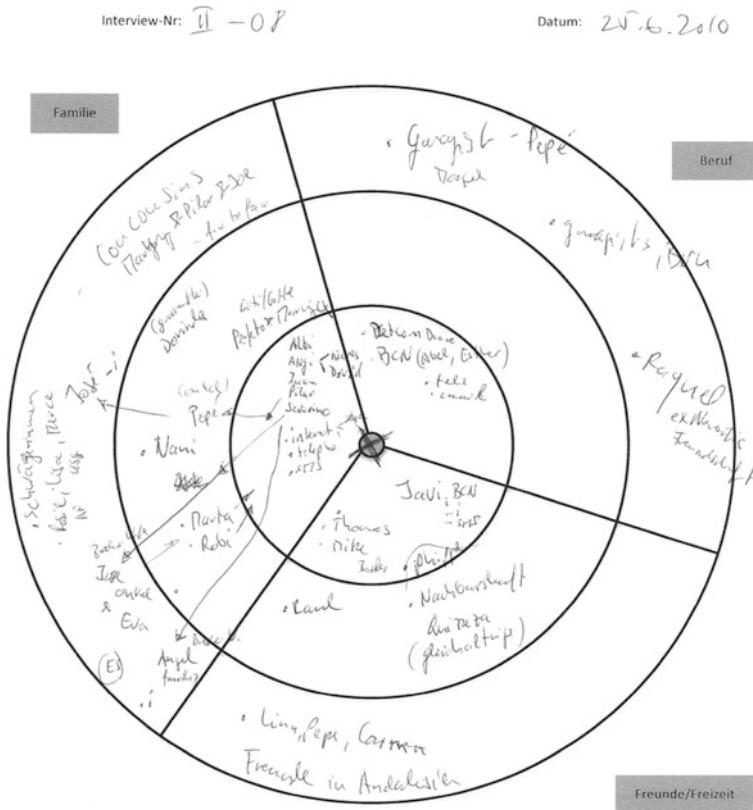


Fig. 13.1 One example of an ego-centric network map

places where the people mentioned in the network map were living. Then, looking at the map helped them to remember other important sites that they had forgotten to talk about (Fig. 13.2). The black crosses on the geographical map represent the places marked according to the people drawn in the network map. As the respondents started talking about the places marked with crosses, they also recalled other sites and regions they had visited during holidays or where they had spent some time living or studying (grey circles). The map helped the interviewees to talk about the places linked to the people in the network map. It also helped them to remember places that were not directly linked to people appearing on the network map but that had an importance of their own. The geographical map (Fig. 13.2) pointed out that asking only about the people in the networks meant that we would have missed important places that connect the second generation through stories and personal experiences to Spain.



Fig. 13.2 One example of geographical map

13.2.3 Phase 3: Meeting People and Visiting Places in Spain

The third phase took place in Spain. The five cases selected for further data collection had contacts in various regions of Spain, but the important people were concentrated in the urban area of Barcelona and rural areas of Galicia (in the northwest of the country). Data collection included mainly two parts, meeting people and visiting places. Visiting the mentioned places resulted in photographs and field notes. The photographs played an important role later in the fourth phase when meeting the interviewees for a last time, and they were also something that we could bring back for them from the field trip. The photographs represented places that had already emerged in the accounts of the second generation (Fig. 13.3), or they could also represent places pointed out by the family members and friends in Spain (Fig. 13.4).

The first photograph shows a narrow street in the old part of the city center of Barcelona, where one of the respondents lived when she was attending a course at the University of Barcelona. The second picture shows a beach on the coast of Galicia. This beach had not been mentioned by the interviewee himself, but had been pointed out later by his cousin after the interview we conducted with her. The family holds gatherings there when everybody meets during the long summer holidays in the village. The two photographs show the variety of places that were named as important points of reference for the relationship the respondents had with Spain and with their family and friends there: urban and rural sites highly frequented or

Fig. 13.3 Carrer Sant Pere
Mitja (Barcelona)



deserted as both examples. They represent a place that links to personal memory or a “museum of memory” (Richter 2011: 225): places that represent emotional moments in a person’s life and as places they make these memories a living experience, one can walk them and remember.

The sites shown in the pictures and the people met were sometimes directly linked, such as in the second case. Sometimes, the pictures and the interviews enhanced each other, when places represented elements of a shared memory. These places have become meaningful for a social group, such as the family in this context, and can therefore become part of a collective or shared memory (Halbwachs 1925). In the example of the street in the old part of Barcelona, it became a topic of the interview we conducted with the aunts of the respondent who had been living in this street. The aunts were asked what places made them think of their niece or what places are connected in their memory with their niece. The following excerpt shows how they debated the places that are important and in the end recalled the same place the niece back in Switzerland had been talking about: the Carrer Sant Pere Mitja.



Fig. 13.4 Beach on the coast of Galicia

Interviewer: "We have been talking about sites in Switzerland where you visited. Are there any sites in Barcelona that have to do with Teresa [their niece in Switzerland]?"

Aunt 1: "Well, what I thought was funny, when she came the second time with her partner, they went to live in the old part of the city, where I had given my first classes. And, well, I like the old part very much. Now, when I pass by there, that makes me think of her. But that is rather recent."

Aunt 2: "You used to take her to the zoo."

Aunt 1: "Well, but that was when she was very young. But when she spent a whole year here, then we used to go to the Palau de la Musica [concert hall]. But yes, it is mainly this little, tiny flat they had in the old part of the city that makes me remember her when I pass by there."

13.2.4 Phase 4: Drawing Transnational Social Spaces

Back in Switzerland, the fourth phase consisted of a last interview with the five respondents. As this was already the third interview, the setting was much less formal, and it started with us telling them about the experiences in Spain, whom we had talked to and where we had been. Thereby, we could inverse the relationship of the interviewer who asks questions and the respondent who answers by telling our experience. The five people selected for the in-depth analysis of their networks co-operated until the end. When selecting the cases we had also taken into account their willingness to cooperate further and we were always clear about the empirical steps

Fig. 13.5 Drawing spaces:
the time warp



we had planned. Taking the role of the narrator also provided the opportunity to show the material and let them comment on the photographs and the stories we had collected to complete the picture further. Recalling places, people, and memories provided a basis for asking about their perceptions of transnational spaces.

The photographs helped the interviewees to remember stories and memories they had not told us before. For instance, the beach of Galicia (shown in Fig. 13.4) reminded the interviewee of the fact that he used to go there with his uncle and his cousin to search for crabs. Later, the aunt would cook them for dinner. As this story shows, the pictures and the accounts of the field trip in Spain helped to recall this imagined space that in migration research is called the transnational social space. Asking the interviewees how they perceived this space spared using the word or explaining the notion. Therefore, we drew a first sketch of Switzerland and Spain while talking about people here and there, about places visited, and about connections heard about. The drawing showed in a very simple way what we usually imagine when we talk about transnational social spaces: countries and places within, all connected through social networks. By drawing, we invited them to take a pen and draw their impression of how these connections and social formations could be conceptualized.

The drawing (Fig. 13.5) shows the formation created by the transnational networks that link a family on various continents. In contrast to the geographical mapping we had sketched, the person who made this drawing completely changed the order of things. He placed the family in the core circle. Through their linkages, their practices such as calling, communicating through Skype, sending emails, visiting each other, or sending goods across the whole world to each other, they constituted an entity that holds together what is otherwise spatially disrupted. Because of modern communication and transportation technologies—they are symbolized by the time warp signs that connect instantly continents and countries as in a science fiction film—the distances become irrelevant. Through Skype, they have contacted

each other in their respective homes before they went there physically. All family members also have enough economic capital to afford flights and visits in person. Further, they pool among the family members various skills and contacts that enable them to organize sophisticated projects, such as finding a tabletop football in Spain and sending it to Australia as a present from one of the family members in Switzerland to a friend in Australia (Richter 2010).

13.3 Major Results

In the course of the subproject on the second generation four major findings emerged. First, we were able to derive a typology of second-generation transnationalism that takes into account how the second generation develops transnational relationships over time. These types are based on how the second generation keeps, maintains, breaks and reconnects the transnational social capital they inherited from their parents. This notion of inheritance constitutes an important difference compared to first-generation transnationalism. In contrast to the first-generation residents who maintain ties transnationally that they had created before in the context of daily face-to-face contact in Spain, the second-generation inherits not only the ties—which applies to every child inheriting the familial ties from his or her parents—but has to appropriate and maintain them over distance without the initial close rapport (Richter 2014). The distance between Spain and Switzerland does not impede or hinder the appropriation and maintenance of the transnational ties, but it highlights that the inheritance of social networks creates a potentiality of social capital that requires an investment to be activated. Furthermore, an interest in the family in Spain mostly turns into an interest in places and in other relationships such as friends and, more rarely, work relationships.

Secondly, we reworked the typology on second-generation transnationalism and differentiated between transnational networks and transcultural belonging. This allowed us to differentiate what Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) had termed transnationalism as ways of being and ways of belonging. The analysis of the interplays between networks and forms of belonging across borders suggested that transnational networks and transcultural belonging do not simply go hand in hand (Richter and Nollert 2014). The typology presented earlier was therefore adapted and differentiated to comprise the following types: (1) continuity of transnational networks and transcultural belonging—networks, as well as feelings of belonging, were continuously maintained since childhood; (2) reconnection of transnational networks and revitalization of transcultural belonging—this type revitalized the transcultural feeling of belonging after also reconnecting the transnational networks; (3) belonging without transnational ties—for this type (in the earlier typology represented by the “Spain of one’s own”) the feeling of belonging is not linked to transnational networks, in particular not to the networks inherited from the parents. Whereas

transcultural belonging is rooted in the familial origin, eventual networks are constituted later and outside the family; (4) belonging beyond transnational ties—the type called in the earlier typology “being Spanish in Switzerland”—represents an interesting case of expressing a feeling of belonging to the Spanish community specifically in Switzerland but not to Spain or to family and friends in Spain; and (5) rupture of networks and detachment from belonging—the last type, then, breaks with the networks as well as with the feelings of belonging. These interviewees clearly stated that they defined themselves as Swiss and not as belonging to both countries at once.

The typology shows that with respect to transnationalism, the ways of being and of belonging are linked, but not in a simple way. For the second generation it is again the inheritance of their parents’ networks and the way they are able to appropriate and later maintain the social ties that are crucial for their ways of belonging transculturally. The connection between both forms of transnationalism cannot be expressed in a direct correlation; there are cases where the transnational links are missing, but a transcultural belonging (based not on family links, but related, for instance, to culture in the sense of arts) is still expressed. Other cases connect both or are missing both. We could not find any case of existing transnational links without transcultural belonging. We think this is because of the case we examined: the second generation bases its networks and feelings of belonging, at least at the beginning, on the sense of origin inherited from their parents. Other transnational actors that build their social capital on a shared interest and not on a belief of descent and national/local belonging, such as business people or lifestyle groups, might maintain networks without a sense of belonging.

Third, we relied on the accounts, but also, in particular, on the drawings done by the interviewees to apprehend their notion of the spatial and social formation that spans their places of living and working and their family’ and friends’ places in Spain. A first point to note is that the spatial accounts evoked very concrete places in Spain, such as the street where the grandparents live, or the little stream where they used to play with other kids from the village when they were younger. Although we started the interviews by asking them about their relationship with Spain, it became clear that the places they always talked about were connected to stories in their biography. This might in itself not be a surprise, but it is an important point to consider when planning the data collection and when designing the instruments. Talking about Spain usually evoked a very abstract account whereas the concrete places were tied to emotional moments and memories along their biographies.

Finally, the research also underlines the importance of researching a social phenomenon that is based on movement by “moving methods” (Tarrius 2001; Watts and Urry 2008). Even though the research question did not focus on movement, travelling between Switzerland and Spain plays an important part in maintaining the transnational ties. Therefore, movement lies in an implicit way at the very heart of the study, though it remains restricted to a few times per year and to roughly the same trajectories every time. The notion of the moving researcher seemed particu-

larly important in our study. The travelling of the researcher that was part of phase 3 not only represented a method of gathering data, but also served as a common experience between the interviewees and the researcher. This common experience was the basis for the last phase to evoke notions of places, people, and the movement from one place to another as a way of connecting the nodes of these transnational networks.

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Chapter 14

Mapping Transnational Networks of Care from a Multi-actor and Multi-sited Perspective

Valentina Mazzucato, Ernestina Dankyi, and Miranda Poeze

14.1 Introduction

Caring for children is a task conducted by multiple actors. These can be parents, guardians, relatives, and siblings. In migrant families, in particular, such actors may not be located in the same household, nor the same country. Migrant families that have established themselves with different generations in a host country, may be spread throughout a city or country but still rely on forms of elderly or child care based on extended family systems characteristic of the countries where they come from (Schans 2009). In other configurations, migrant family members, nuclear or extended, may be located in different countries reflecting current migration systems where migrants from the Global South often leave their children or elderly parents in the home country in the care of others. Such families are composed of members in different nation states but they still function as a family unit where provision of care for children and elderly is organized transnationally. In both cases, it is useful to question how the different actors involved in these child care arrangements perceive care and who does the caring in order to understand how such arrangements function. This chapter focuses on a methodology used with transnational families, but the methodology can also be used more generally with migrant families consisting of various generations living in the same country.

Transnational family configurations have remained largely outside of the purview of sociological and demographic family studies. A recent body of literature termed transnational family studies has drawn attention to this important phenomenon showing how such families function and the stresses that living transnationally

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may entail for the actors involved (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002). Particular relationships such as those between migrant mothers and their 'left-behind' children have been favored in such studies. They point to the difficulties for parents and children who are separated by migration to maintain healthy and happy relationships. While caregivers' roles in the home country have been mentioned as being particularly important in mediating the relationship between migrant parent and child (Dreby 2010; Parreñas 2005) they have not received specific attention, and migrant fathers are relatively a minor focus (Poeze and Mazzucato 2012).

A multiplicity of actors involved in care work for migrants' children is also a phenomenon amongst migrant families that live together in one country. Migrant families may make use of extended family members who are in the same country, they may bring over a relative expressly to help them with day-to-day care, and finally others can be involved in the care of children such as teachers, social workers, or sports coaches. Finally, even when migrant families live together, their children are often more mobile than non-migrant families, spending extended periods of time in the home country without one or both of their biological parents. During these periods, caregivers in the home country provide the day-to-day care and children and youths can develop affective relations with them as well.

Yet while such networks of care are considered to be important for the functioning of a family (Dankyi 2011; Mazzucato and Schans 2011; Moran-Taylor 2008), seldom do studies focus on the composition of these care networks. They either focus on particular relationships or they assume such networks to exist, without studying their particularities, characteristics and how they function.

Often societies in the Global South, where many migrants to industrialized countries come from, are assumed to function on principals of the extended family, where norms such as child fostering and social parenthood are presumed to make it easy or normal to leave a child in the care of another person in order to be able to migrate (Olwig 2012; Poeze and Mazzucato 2013). Yet how easy is it to find someone to care for one's child? And how does the resulting transnational child raising arrangement (TCRA) function? Who are the people involved and how do they perform care giving tasks? These were some of the research questions that the TCRA project¹ set out to answer by conducting a care network analysis using a multi-sited and multi-actor research design.

In this chapter we describe the methodology used in order to map transnational networks of care and discuss the main insights that such a methodology helped to gain. Further analysis for what may explain the phenomena observed is beyond the scope of this chapter, such as the structural conditions faced by migrant parents overseas (documented status, access to income generating activities), or the pressures felt by caregivers and ambivalence by children stemming from the coexistence of nuclear and extended family norms. Here instead we focus on showing how a

¹The Transnational Child Raising Arrangements (TCRA) project was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO/WOTRO grant W01.65.316) and is coordinated by Maastricht University (V. Mazzucato) in collaboration with the University of Ghana (T. Manuh). M. Poeze and E. Dankyi worked on the project as PhD students. (www.tcra.nl).

network-mapping tool allowed us to see that caregivers have much more restricted networks than is commonly expected, both in public discourse in Ghana, and in literature on African extended family systems. Furthermore, we noted discrepancies between networks as reported by migrant parents, caregivers and children, giving us insights into different notions of care and who is considered a carer. Furthermore, these discrepancies indicated sources of possible tension within TCRA. We also discuss the importance of applying the care network mapping tool in conjunction with other qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews and show how each serves to augment the information that can be gotten from the other method.

In this study a caregiver is defined as the person or persons who is/are responsible for the day-to-day care of a migrants' child while a carer as anyone providing any type of emotional, social and material care to the child, irrespective of their geographic location. In this study we deal with children and youths between the ages of 11 and 21 and for simplicity we use the terms children and youths interchangeably.

14.2 Background and Methods

Ghana is a good case in which to study migrant families. There are roughly 1.5 million Ghanaians living abroad (Twum-Baah 2005). The main Western destinations for Ghanaian migrants are the US and Canada, UK, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. The majority of migrants to the West have historically been Akan, because they benefited from the cocoa boom of the 1970s; however, recent data show that other ethnicities from central and southern Ghana are also migrating to the West (Nimako 2000; Twum-Baa et al. 1995). This study focuses on Akan and to a lesser extent Ga-Adangbe migrants, reflecting the majority of ethnic groups in the Netherlands, and their families back home. The Akan are a matrilineal ethnic group while the Ga-Adangbe are patrilineal.

It is common for children in Ghana to be raised by someone other than their biological parent, a practice called child fostering, or by only one of their biological parents (Goody 1982; Mensa-Bonsu and Dowuona-Hammond 1996; Nukunya 2003). Ghana's Demographic and Health Survey indicates that nationally there are 15.6% of children under the age of 15 who are fostered, not including orphans (GSS, GHS, & ICF Macro 2009). Additionally, 24.2% are living with only one of their parents, while the other parent has migrated nationally or internationally. These figures do not indicate exactly what percentage of children lives in a transnational family formation because child fostering does not only occur in the context of international migration and living with one parent is also a consequence of national migration. A recent survey of Ghanaian junior and senior secondary school children in urban and semi-urban centers in southern Ghana, where most international migrants come from, indicated that 15.5% of children had one or both parents who migrated internationally (Mazzucato and Cebotari 2012). Together these figures can be taken to indicate that transnational family life for Ghanaian children is not an exception.

This study focuses particularly on families with at least one migrant parent in the Netherlands. In 2014, there were approximately 22,500 officially registered, first and second-generation Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands, the second largest group from sub-Saharan Africa (CBS 2015); unofficial estimates attest to a large undocumented population (Mazzucato 2008). In general, migrants from Ghana are both highly skilled and unskilled; the Netherlands tends to attract a majority of unskilled migrants, since the highly skilled prefer Anglophone countries such as the U.S., Canada and the U.K. (Carrington and Detragiache 1998).

The TCRA project uses a mixed method and multi-sited research design, incorporating large scale surveys in Ghana and the Netherlands, interviews with 19 caregivers in Ghana and 41 migrant parents in the Netherlands in-depth, and ethnographic work conducted on 15 'matched' TCRAs, in which migrant parents in the Netherlands were studied at the same time as their children's caregivers in Ghana. This paper draws on data collected from the matched sample. The selection for the matched sample started in the Netherlands by selecting migrants who participated in the survey, met particular criteria (we searched for diversity in sex, length of stay in the Netherlands, occupational and documented status), and had given consent for follow-up research. Second, we went through different gateways (churches, key informants in the Ghanaian community in Amsterdam, chance encounters, and previous contacts with migrants of one of the researchers). If both parents migrated to the Netherlands, one spouse was randomly selected. The ethnographic work included various methods including observation, in-depth interviews focusing on particular moments in a person's life, care history and migration history, informal visits, phone calls, and care network mapping. In this chapter we focus on the care network mapping tool.

Care networks were elicited using a name-generator questionnaire conducted among 15 migrant parents, 15 of their children in Ghana and 15 of the children's primary day-to-day caregivers. Only children between the ages of 11 and 21 were selected and if a migrant had more children in Ghana in that age group, one child was selected based on sex and age to make sure we had a variety of respondents. The same tool was used to collect information from all three types of actors. In this way, multi-actor and multi-sited data were collected.

A name-generator questionnaire is a tool used in quantitative social network analysis (Burt 1984; Campbell and Lee 1991). In this study, an exchange approach to networks was used in which questions were asked with respect to the exchange of emotional, social and material supportive content between the children and alters (McAllister and Fischer 1978). Material care was asked about through questions such as who provides for school fees; food and cooking; pays for medical bills, etc. Emotional care was asked through questions such as who helps the child when he/she is feeling down; and socially with questions such as who educates the child on how to behave; gives advice to the child; who does the child spend free time with. Positive relations (such as friendships) as well as negative relations (such as people one argues with) and strong and weak ties (Granovetter 1973) relating to kinship,

consanguineous and non-kinship relationships were asked. Respondents were asked to mention as many names as they could think of for each question and along with the names, also the location of the person, the relationship with the child (kin/non-kin and for each, specifying what kind of relationship, such as ‘business partner’ or ‘mother’s sister’) and the frequency and means of contact. The tool was tested for cultural relevance of questions and saturation.²

The tool was used to elicit the information about care alters, or carers, but also as a means to collect additional information about how care for the child is practiced, such as who makes decisions with regards to particular aspects of the child’s life (e.g. education, health, discipline), who advises on the child’s upbringing, who one argues most regarding care for the child or who the child argues with most. Furthermore, follow-up in-depth interviews were conducted with each of the respondents and the network tool was used as a reference, either to check information, or to ask further about the role of specific people in the child’s care network. In-depth interviews were important in order to contextualize the information obtained from the network tool and to complete any information that may not have been elicited through the network tool. Likewise, the results of the network tool was useful to have during the interviews to jog people’s memories about particular carers and to go more in detail about particulars of these carers. The findings that follow are based on the combination of the two methods: the network tool and the in-depth interviews, focusing specifically on illustrating what a multi-actor and multi-sited data collection methodology helped us to find.

This tool was used as part of a simultaneous matched-sample (SMS) methodology that has been developed in order to study phenomena occurring in multiple sites simultaneously (Mazzucato 2009). This involved working in a team of researchers located in the different sites at the same time so as to be able to capture transactions and exchanges that affect people’s relationships in a transnational setting. Given the often high frequency such as communication via phone calls and the sometimes small nature of such transactions such as small amounts of money sent, an SMS methodology allows capturing these every-day exchanges which methodologies based on recall cannot obtain. Researchers collected information and then shared it with each other in order to inform the questioning that they were conducting with various methodological tools. In this particular case of the network mapping tool, it meant that researchers collected and exchanged the network maps of each of their respondents so that they could observe similarities and differences between such networks. This helped deepen the interview sessions that followed by asking more detailed questions about specific network members so as to understand certain differences in maps. This was done with discretion and attention to not divulge information from one respondent to another respondent in order to protect privacy.

²Saturation refers to eliciting as complete a network with as few questions as possible.

14.3 Findings

Before presenting the findings, we give some general characteristics of the mapping exercise that was conducted with the members of each of the 15 TCRA s. This is not a representative sample and therefore not made for generalization. Rather it is presented here in order to contextualize the three detailed cases that we present below (Table 14.1).

14.3.1 *Perceptions of Care Within a Transnational Child Raising Arrangement*

Mapping networks of care with the different actors involved in a TCRA allowed seeing whether differences exist in the perceptions of each actor as to who provides what kind of care to the migrant's child. Following up with in-depth interviews with each actor enabled understanding what these discrepancies consisted of and as such allowed us to see what aspects of care were considered important for each actor. In general, we found that caregivers in Ghana perceived to have smaller care networks than migrant parents and their children perceived these networks to be. Caregivers tended to focus on people who provided practical help and material care. Practical help related to people who could relieve them of some of their tasks. For example, people who they could count on to do some of the day-to-day caring or people they could leave the child with if they needed to go somewhere. Material care related to people who helped them to pay for the expenses of the child's upbringing such as food, clothing, school fees, and health bills.

In some cases, there were some stark contrasts with the care networks as reported by migrant parents, especially migrant fathers, who tended to give more names than the caregivers. At first, we thought that this might indicate that fathers were not very attuned to the practical realities of care. Yet upon further questioning we found that for these fathers, the additional names tended to be friends or people in the extended family whom they asked to check on the child, just to see how they are doing, in order to get information about their child also from another source, and not just the caregiver. Some of these additional people also gave advice to the child, such as which school to go to, how to behave in school, to focus on school work. And indeed, some were asked to give help to the child with regards to school work, especially when caregivers were illiterate or semi-literate women such as grandmothers or aunts who may not be able to help children with their school work. These forms of care were all ways in which fathers maintained some control over the child's upbringing, practicing their fathering from afar. While both migrant mothers and fathers are concerned with their children's education and both send remittances to pay for school fees, our interviews revealed that fathers also considered disciplining and advising as their primary care tasks especially when children are older (Poeze

Table 14.1 Care network characteristics of 15 TCRA cases (TCRA fieldwork 2010–2012 in Ghana and the Netherlands)

| Case | Migrant F = father; M = mother | Number of carers reported by Migrant parent | Number of carers reported by Child | Care- giver M = matrilineal, P = patrilineal | Lineage of the migrant parent(s) ^a | Lineage of the caregiver | Age of child ^b | Siblings living with child ^c | Siblings total ^d | Education status migrant parent ^e | Legal status of migrant parent | Length of separation ^f |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|--|---|--|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | D = documented, U = undocumented | | Years |
| 1 | F | 7 | 7 | P | P | M | 14 | 3 | 3 | Low | U | 12 |
| 2 | F | 6 | 4 | M | M | M | 16 | 3 | 3 | Low | U | 4 |
| 3 | F | 3 | 5 | M | M | M | 19 | 1 | 4 | Low | D | 21 |
| 4 | F | 13 | 6 | P | M | M | 17 | 3 | 6 | Low | U | 15 |
| 5 | F | 7 | 2 | M | M | M | 14 | 5 | 6 | Low | U | 5 |
| 6 | F | 5 | 3 | M | M | M | 14 | 1 | 1 | Low | D | 12 |
| 7 | F | 9 | 4 | M | M | M | 19 | 2 | 3 | High | D | 3 |
| 8 | F&M | 4 | 3 | M&M | M | M | 19 | 3 | 3 | High&Low | U&U | 8 |
| 9 | F&M | 4 | 8 | 10 | M&M | M | 19 | 2 | 3 | High&Low | D&D | 15 |
| 10 | F&M | 5 | 3 | 6 | M&M | M | 14 | 2 | 4 | Low&low | D&D | 12 |
| 11 | M | 7 | 8 | 4 | M | M | 16 | 1 | 2 | Low | Temporary | 8 |
| 12 | F&M | 4 | 6 | 4 | M&M | M | 16 | 1 | 3 | Low&Low | U&D | 14 |
| 13 | M | 3 | 2 | 5 | P | P | 18 | 1 | 2 | Low | D | 17 |
| 14 | M | 4 | 4 | 7 | M | P | 17 | 5 | 5 | Low | D | 2 |
| 15 | M | 2 | 6 | 5 | M | M | 12 | 1 | 3 | Low | D | 8 |

^aLineage of both mother and father is indicated when both are migrants^bAt the time of survey^cSiblings with the same migrant parent(s) living together with the caregiver^dSiblings with the same migrant parent(s) in total, irrespective of where they are living^eLow includes primary and some secondary school, high includes completion of secondary and some or completed tertiary^fBetween child and migrant parent(s)

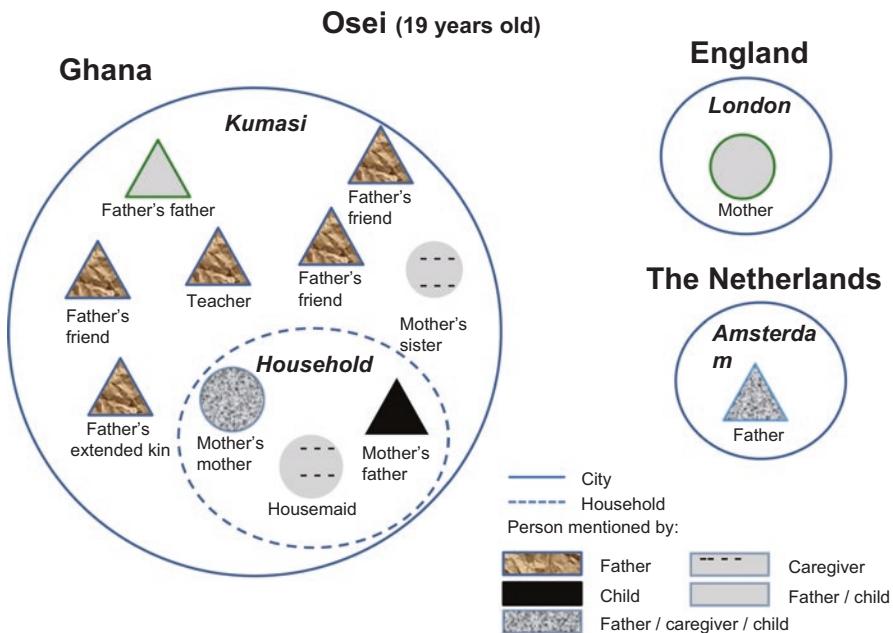


Fig. 14.1 Solomon's care network as reported by multiple actors (TCRA fieldwork 2010–2012 in Ghana and the Netherlands)

and Mazzucato 2012). This reflects also practices in Ghana where disciplining of older children is seen as a task for a father or male figure in the extended family (Twum-Danso 2009).

Figure 14.1 shows the care network as given by Kofi (migrant father), Agyeiwaa (caregiver and migrant's mother-in-law) and Osei (migrant's son) who was 19 years old at the time of fieldwork. Each person in the network has a color according to by whom they were mentioned. Four people were mentioned by the caregiver. The father mentioned nine people. In particular, the five people mentioned *only* by the father are friends, father's extended kin and a teacher.

We therefore investigated further this discrepancy between Kofi's perception and Agyeiwaa's perception of the care network.

Kofi is well educated and earns a living in the Netherlands. Although physically separated from his two children, he considers himself and his wife in London as providing the emotional, social and material care that his children in Ghana need. He accomplishes this from a distance as well as through frequent trips to Ghana. Both he and his wife send regular remittances from which school fees, school supplies and health expenses are paid. The children send their report cards by mail. Kofi decides which schools his children are to attend and makes sure that Osei attends extra-curricular classes. He calls his children twice a day and with his mother-in-law once a week. Kofi mentions a large network of friends and family who assist him in caring for the children, none of whom are mentioned by Agyeiwaa, the caregiver. Kofi's father provides some material care and advises the children. A friend of Kofi's who is a teacher visits the children on Sundays and makes sure that their studies are going well. Whenever Osei tells his father that he has a problem with a particular subject

in school, Kofi calls his teacher friend to ask him to speak with Osei and help him solve his problem. It is this friend who attends the parent-teacher meetings at Osei's school. Kofi also mentions three friends and an uncle who sometimes talk with Osei and give him advice on whatever issue necessary.

Agyeiwaa, on the other hand, mentioned the housemaid with whom she would leave Osei when he was younger when she needed to go to her shop where she sold wax cloth at the market. She also mentioned her daughter who helped her care for Osei. She recounts that Osei used to be ill quite often as a young child and she would always be the one to care for him, not allowing anyone else close to him, as she felt that he caught infections easily.

This example shows how Agyeiwaa considers care as the daily tasks that need to be done to care for Osei and in this respect only mentions people who help her with such tasks while Kofi's main concern is his son's education: that he performs well in school and behaves appropriately. He aims to have an active role in the parenting of his child, even from afar, and therefore has many people, friends and extended family to help him in this, both in terms of tasks they perform (helping with homework, advising) as well as in their checking on Osei in order to get information on Osei from various sources.

14.3.2 Understanding How Transnational Child Care Functions

Discrepancies between how different actors reported on a child's care network not only give insight into people's perceptions of care but also on how transnational child raising arrangements function. While discrepancies in care networks are not enough to understand the functioning of TCRA, they can provide some key insights to gain a better understanding on their functioning. We illustrate this with the case of Joyce (migrant mother), Cecilia (migrant's maternal aunt) and Ama (migrant's daughter) who was 17 years old at the time of fieldwork. For each network we grouped alters according to the type of care they were mentioned as providing: emotional, social and material care.

In Table 14.2 we see that there are hardly any discrepancies between the care network as reported by the migrant mother and the caregiver. Yet when separating alters by the kind of care they provide there was a surprising omission in the alters mentioned by Joyce as providing material care: the caregiver's name is missing whereas it is present in the caregiver's network.

When investigating this through in-depth interviews on both sides we found the following:

Joyce left her 5 children with Cecilia, her mother's sister, when she left to go to the Netherlands. Cecilia reluctantly accepted the children and only on the condition that Joyce would bring them to the Netherlands within 6 months of her departure. Now, three years later, Cecilia is at the limits of her material and non-material resources: she cannot work because she needs to care for Joyce's children. Joyce who is documented in the Netherlands but does not have a steady job sends remittances irregularly and too little, according to Cecilia, to cover the costs of living for the children. Cecilia needs to contribute her own

Table 14.2 Ama's care network as reported by multiple actors, by type of care (TCRA fieldwork 2010–2012 in Ghana and the Netherlands)

| | Joyce, migrant (mother) | Cecilia, caregiver (migrant's maternal aunt) | Ama, child (migrant's daughter) |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|--|---|
| Emotional care | Joyce | Joyce | Joyce |
| | Cecilia | Cecilia | Cecilia |
| Social care | Joyce | Joyce | Joyce |
| | Cecilia | Cecilia | Cecilia |
| | Great grandmother | Great grandmother | Great grandmother |
| | Mother's friend | — | — |
| | | Maternal grandmother's brother | Maternal grandmother's brother |
| | | | Maternal grandmother's sister's daughter 1 |
| | | | Maternal grandmother's sister's daughter 2 |
| Material care | Joyce | Joyce | Joyce |
| | Maternal grandmother | — | — |
| | | Cecilia | Cecilia |
| | | | Friend |

resources to make ends meet, which she does with great difficulty given her already meager resources and limited ability to earn an income. Cecilia does not inform Joyce about the expenses because she does not keep track of them as they concern small every-day expenditures and at the same time, she is under the same social pressure as many caregivers: that of not seeming to only be doing it for the money.

Cecilia is caught in a bind: she needs to care for five children without having the resources to do so and she does not receive enough remittances from the migrant to help her in this task. Joyce is frustrated with Cecilia's constant reminders take her children to the Netherlands, feeling that Cecilia does not understand the hardship she is going through in the Netherlands. This lack of comprehension between the two women is augmented by the fact that Cecilia does not inform the migrant of the material resources that she puts into the care of the children whereby Joyce does not seem to fully realize the difficulties she is under and the fact that her remittances are not enough. This small, yet very significant difference in the two women's care networks helped to identify a discrepancy in how they perceive who is providing the material care for Ama and her four siblings and allowed us to investigate this more deeply, getting at some of the aspects explaining why this TCRA seems to be fraught with incomprehension and tensions on both sides.

14.3.3 Giving Children and Youth a Voice

Much research on children relies on accounts of adults regarding their health, educational performance and emotional well-being, such as teachers, caregivers and parents (Mazzucato 2013; Suarez-Orozco et al. 2002). Yet children are active agents, shaping and interpreting their own experiences. They too have ideas about their care and who provides them with such care. By conducting the network mapping tool from a multi-actor perspective, we found aspects of children's perceptions of care that had not been revealed by questioning adults. Children tended to mention other children, in the same household or from school, from whom they drew especially emotional care, i.e. whom they spent time with and who was important to them.

A clear example is Abigail's care network (Fig. 14.2). Even though the children she mentions are living in the same household as she and are well known to her caregiver and migrant parents, she is the only one who mentions them. Abigail mentions her cousins from whom she draws emotional support, i.e. spends her free time with. For example, she says about her step-cousin who is 2 years her elder, "Oliver is my most favorite but he is the one I fight with most". She has developed a close relationship with her youngest cousin who also lives with her. When Abigail's parents came for a visit from the Netherlands and Abigail went to live with them, she brought her young cousin with her.

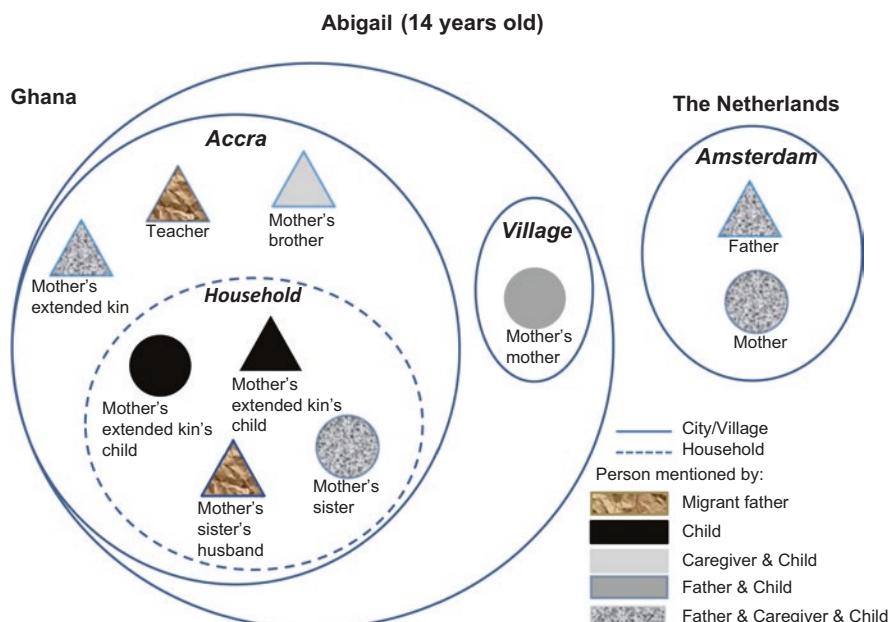


Fig. 14.2 Abigail's care network from a multi-actor perspective (TCRA fieldwork 2010–2012 in Ghana and the Netherlands)

14.4 Some Gaps in Care Network Mapping

There are some gaps in the mapping tool, not particular to care networks, but more generally to network mapping that we encountered during our study, making it all the more important to complement network mapping with in-depth interviews. This pertained to the presence of important incidental care, which turned out to be fundamental in certain TCRA for ensuring the livelihoods of children and their caregivers. We term incidental care, that care which comes from an unexpected person, such as an acquaintance or even someone whom the child nor the caregiver know directly. Furthermore, in incidental care, the care provided is neither continuous nor recurring but usually a once-off help, often in the form of material care that is received at a moment in time when such care makes a real difference in assuring the livelihoods of the child and caregiver. Such care is important to take into account and to understand how it works, why the incidental carer feels compelled to provide care at that moment, in order to understand how care networks function. Systematic network data collection tools such as the one used, tend to favor stable, frequent or continuous care relationships thus easily overlooking incidental carers.

Naki's network is presented here to show the importance of incidental care. This information was revealed during in-depth interviewing. In particular, this TCRA experienced three important moments of care provided by incidental helpers. Here we present one of the instances:

"I remember a particular day when my boys and I had to eat gari for supper (author: *starchy food made from cassava. It is usually eaten together with protein foods*). I had no money on me and all I had was gari and palm oil. I soaked the gari until it was very soft and then I mixed it with the palm oil and we ate together. I was even thankful for that meal because I didn't know where our next meal for the next day will come from. Then something miraculous happened the next day. I received a visitor in the morning, he happened to be the driver of the then National Chairman of my church. The driver said that the chairman had sent for us – I and the children. You can imagine the shock on my face. I had no idea why he sent for us but I knew we might be fed there at the least. When we got to the house, he and his wife welcomed us warmly and there was a buffet table set for us. There was so much food that I could not eat. I was both happy and sad at the same time. After eating he asked the kids to go out and play and he told me that they had met my husband in Holland a week earlier and he told them about us. He even brought pictures that they took with him for us (that's the latest pictures we have of him). He also told me how kind my husband had been to him when he came to Ghana after the war in Liberia. He said my husband was the first person to meet him at the gate of the headquarters. He gave him a big hug and told him how happy they are that he is safe in Ghana. He also said that he believed that God spared his life for a purpose and that God will make him a big person in the future. His words were so kind and they became friends from there. The Chairman added that if he had known about my husband's intention to travel he would never have encouraged him to go. They promised him to look out for us when they got back and that was why they invited us over. We had a nice time and later in the day, the driver was asked to drop us off at home. We were sent back with a car full of foodstuff and money. He did that for us from time to time until his tenure as chairman was over and he relocated. That source was cut from then". (Naki, Accra, January 2012)

Interestingly, neither the caregiver nor the migrant husband in the Netherlands mentioned the Chairman in their network mapping, yet according to the caregiver this help came at a time when she did not have anything but starch to feed the chil-

dren. We know from our multi-sited fieldwork that the husband is undocumented in the Netherlands and faces various hardships. During the first 3 years of his migration to the Netherlands, this often led him not to remit any money for long periods of time which was when Naki received this incidental and essential help.

Although we cannot say anything about the prevalence of incidental helpers, two of the fifteen TCRA were characterized by having received essential help from incidental helpers. The case of the incidental helpers draws attention to the fact that it is inadequate to use the network mapping tool alone to map out care networks of migrants' children. Rather such a tool needs to be used together with other instruments such as in-depth interviews. The network mapping tool, however, proved to be a very useful exercise since it paved the way for lengthier and more meaningful discussions around the names and circumstances that were generated by the tool and later also for asking about names that came up during in-depth interviews as to why these names were not mentioned in the tool.

14.5 Conclusion

Networks are considered important in migration studies, yet often they are assumed to exist and little work specifically focuses on mapping out networks: what relationships they are made of, what kinds of support are received and how networks evolve over time. One of the aims of the TCRA project is to specifically study networks and their role in the provision of care in a transnational context, rather than assume their existence. To this aim, we developed a care network mapping tool which was applied to each of the main respondents in transnational child raising arrangements: Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands, and migrants' children and their caregivers in Ghana. By mapping networks in a multi-sited and multi-actor framework some important insights were gained into perceptions of care and how networks function. Furthermore, coupling the network mapping tool to in-depth interviews allowed more detailed questioning during the interviews that provided important additional information on how care is provided and how TCRA function. Here we presented four particular insights that can be gained from the combination of care network mapping and in-depth interviews.

A first insight concerns the fact that care is conducted by multiple actors. This is all the more so in a transnational setting where parents migrate to ensure a better future for their children and leave their children in the care of others, back home, to do the day-to-day care work. We therefore translated this to our methodology by conducting care network mapping with the different actors who provide care. This resulted in insights into the different perceptions that multiple carers have about what care is and who provides what care. In our sample, migrant fathers tended to report larger care networks because they included people whom they asked to check up on their children or who provided help with schooling and advice to their children. Such help was either not recognized or not deemed important enough by caregivers who did not report such help but rather focused on those people who could help them with the day-to-day tasks of providing care. This reflects the often time-

constrained schedules of caregivers who, due to the care they need to provide, find it difficult to continue with other income-generating activities that they may have been engaged in before taking on the care of a migrant's child. They therefore attach high importance to people who can relieve them of some of their care tasks. This resulted in the insight that caregiver networks seem to be more constrained than is often implied in literature on child fostering and extended family systems in migrants' home countries. Although not mentioned explicitly, literature on migration from societies where extended family systems prevail, conjure the image of a society where it is relatively easy to leave one's child with a relative in order to be able to migrate. Our findings rather, reflect literature on changing family life and child care in West African societies, which emphasizes the growing importance of the nuclear family ideal and the declining support of the extended family system for child care, especially in urban centers (Ardayfio-Schandorf and Amissah 1996; Oppong 1974; Van Dijk 2002). Such findings have implications for social policies addressing the interconnection between family, care and migration at both ends of the transnational migration space.

A second insight relates to the discrepancies between different actors' network maps within the same TCRA, which helped to better understand how particular TCRAAs function. Differences in the perceptions of carers' specific role in care networks highlighted points of miscommunication and tensions within a TCRA. By investigating such discrepancies further through in-depth interviews it was possible to understand some of the sources of miscommunication and tensions.

A third aspect of conducting a care network mapping tool through a multi-actor perspective, is that it allowed us to give voice to children and youth's perceptions. The network mapping tool was easily understood by young respondents between the ages of 11 and 21. In fact it also provided a means through which to start interviewing young actors who at times can be difficult to interview due to shyness or, as is the case in Ghana, in cultures where children are not expected to express opinions in conversation with adults. Conducting network mapping with children and young adults revealed their perceptions of care as including other youths who they looked up to, who gave them advice and who they could spend leisure time with. Never were these youths reported in the networks of adults. While peers are generally found to be important for children's well-being, these relationships have not been subject to specific investigation in a transnational context where children are living far from their parents, making the emotional and social support they receive from their peers especially important for their well-being. These findings are potentially of relevance for the literature on transnational care and intergenerational relationships and influences, pointing out at the importance of peer influences.

Finally, the care network mapping tool was useful when used in conjunction with in-depth interviews as it helped obtain more specific information, for example, about different carers in a network and also by being able to focus on discrepancies between respondents' networks maps within the same TCRA. At the same time care network mapping, alone, was not enough to capture an important form of help: incidental care. This type of care was particularly fundamental in ensuring the livelihoods of children and caregivers in certain TCRAAs. It is also an important type of

care that results in societies where social support is given through generalized reciprocity (Sahlins 1972) where support given by one person can result in other people receiving help in some future moment, in reciprocation for this initial support action. Such help is often overlooked by systematic network data collection as this form of data collection favors continuous and frequent relationships whereas incidental care, by its very nature, is ad hoc and infrequent. As such it is important to conduct care network mapping in conjunction with another qualitative data collection tool such as in-depth interviews.

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