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THEMATIC ARTICLES: CULTURAL VALUES, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS

Migrant Acculturation: A Multidimensional Review

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Abstract. Literature on acculturation, which refers to the cultural adaptation of migrants to a new environment, is explored in the present article from a multidimensional perspective. This paper delineates the evolution of the concept, and touches upon the most used frameworks, related variables, and suggestions for future research. Humans are extremely adaptable and intelligent cultural entities, whose actions follow complex social behavior patterns. Scientific research based on human adaptation to new environments has evolved from the 'melting pot' metaphor to a social science field. Acculturation is vital for our understanding of not only migration-associated phenomena, but it represents the intertwining of psychology, sociology, anthropology, law, education, in a profoundly intercultural context.

Keywords: *acculturation, migration, conceptual implications, theoretical review, intercultural perspectives*

Introduction

Experiences of migration have evolved over time, have adapted to modern times, and pose new challenges to nations. The findings related to acculturation bear great practical significance and can help steer policies, implement support measures for migrants and local communities, and develop a better environment where cultural aspects are recognized and celebrated. This article outlines the historical importance of acculturation, some of the most significant variables associated with acculturation in research and the most relevant theoretical frameworks. Based on decades of psychology and sociology research, we distil the critiques brought to the concept and make suggestions for practitioners, academics and students. Our aim is to understand how the concept evolved through time and why acculturation is relevant in fields such as intercultural relations, physical and mental health, education, historical studies, law, language acquisition, developmental psychology,

substance use and many more. We focus on presenting the most relevant and frequently used frameworks, each unique in their way of looking at the process of migrant acculturation.

1. Migration and migrants in recent history

Recent wars and conflicts are forcing thousands of people to flee the affected countries and relocate. Historical events, such as the Syrian War, the continued war and subsequent Taliban occupation of Afghanistan, the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar or South Sudan, the natural hazards and conflict in Somalia and the Ukrainian war, have displaced millions of people. In 2011, the International Organization for Migration reported that 3% of the global population consists of migrants, while in 2020, the figure stands at 3.5% (272 million international migrants) (IOM, 2020).

Workforce migration has become one of the most prominent elements of globalization (Vîrgă & Iliescu, 2017), especially among European states. Migrants are recognized as being essential to the economies of both the receiving countries and their places of origin. Remittance i.e., money sent home by migrants, is one of the most important financial inflow a developing country can receive. The International Monetary Fund stated that remittances have overtaken foreign investments to developing countries and are now the biggest unrestricted capital source (IMF, 2019). Migrants can help reduce the receiving countries labor market imbalances, enrich the cultural heritage of a country, fight stereotypes, and bring in invaluable skills, knowledge and expertise (IMF, 2019). On the other hand, liabilities of migration cannot be ignored. The countries of origin suffer from a great drainage of work force, extremely well qualified people from sectors such as IT and health, to the essential less qualified workers on which agriculture and production industries rely on.

When examining migration and employment-related experiences, researchers should take into consideration the effects these bring on the individual's psychological well-being, and how they correlate with the adaptation process to the new work environment. We strongly believe that multicultural societies depend on the good integration of migrants, as this can help ease off the pressure put on sectors such as health, education, government funding and benefit system. A key concept that distils all of these aspects of migration is acculturation. The term was introduced in order to delineate "a process of bidirectional change that takes place when two

ethnocultural groups come into contact with another" (Bourhis et al., 1997). The study of migrant acculturation in the social sciences stems from political and cultural advancements at the end of the 19th century, social context that dictated the concept's evolution to the present day.

2. Acculturation - conceptual development over time

Contributions in "practical sociology" from the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory paved the way for research on race, religion, ethnicity, black sociology and minority communities (Wright, 2012). The Atlanta Sociological Laboratory, under the leadership of W.E.B. Du Bois, was the first American School of Sociology, soon after the discipline was introduced at Yale (1872-1873) and at the University of Kansas, to introduce objective and systematic cultural studies using method triangulation, insider researchers and data analysis (Wright, 2012). Pivotal work in cultural assimilation, migration, race and human behavior, conducted by urban sociologist Robert E. Park, led to the development of the Chicago School of Sociology (Park, 1950; Shils,1996). His theory, called "human ecology", a model of urban race relations about the *race relation cycle*, is comprised of four stages: Contact, Conflict, Accommodation and Assimilation. The historical environment of the time, the deeply negative associations with colonial projects accelerated the involvement of anthropologists and sociologists into the study of acculturation, field that is nowadays mostly dominated by psychological studies.

In psychology, an early mention of *acculturation* was by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, who defined the concept as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (1936, p. 149). At the time, the three main results of the process of acculturation identified were: acceptance, adaptation and reaction (p. 152). In her work involving a Native American sample, Elizabeth Howe Chief is believed to have been the first to use an acculturation scale (Chief, 1940). Graves (1967) introduced the term *psychological acculturation* (henceforth *acculturation*) as the changes that occur for an individual who comes into contact with another cultural environment, both culturally (group), and psychologically (individually). Acculturation is regarded as "a multi-dimensional process, resulting from inter-group contact in which individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture take over characteristic

ways of living from another culture" (Hazuda et al., 1988, p. 690). In other words, it manifests as a process of adaptation to the standards of a new culture, an alteration that happens gradually, with changes that arise from "sustained, first-hand intercultural contact" (Gezentsvey & Ward, 2008, p. 213).

Building on Park's ideas, the American sociologist Milton Gordon (1964) defined acculturation as a linear process, a gradual replacement phenomenon in terms of social norms, language, traditions, which entails those individuals would abandon their native culture and replace it with a new one. This theoretical model is not used anymore, but it created an opportunity for acculturation to be further studied and understood (Szapocznik et al., 1980). By the end of the 1990s, acculturation was seen as "both multidimensional and nonlinear" (Bosher, 1998). The *bidimensional* approach has gradually replaced in reliability the unidimensional model, due to the limitations of the one-dimension model. The 21st century brought little changes to the way the concept is studied. Kang (2006) insisted the bidimensional approach is a "viable", more flexible and stable alternative to unidimensional acculturation, which offers the possibility to "embrace not only individuals with bicultural identities, but also people who are not attached to either culture" (p. 670). The *bidimensional model* suggests that the two identifications (with the host and the native cultures) are independent, and represents a more valid operationalization of acculturation, compared to the unidimensional perspective (Ryder et al., 2000). Although this line of thinking clearly has advantages, such as facility to operationalize the variables in empirical research, flaws have been detected by some authors (Rudmin, 2003), critiques that we will touch upon below.

Before the 21st century, acculturation was rarely studied on ethnically diverse groups, focusing mainly on more homogeneous samples, but recent research focuses on people who live or work in a foreign country, such as immigrants, sojourners or refugees, groups with dissimilar characteristics, who may or may not choose to permanently reside in the host country (Schwarts, 2010).

3. Theoretical models of acculturation

Empirical literature offers a wide variety of theoretical approaches to acculturation, some that have endured the test of time and of empirical testing, and others who have been introduced in the last decades as corrections to previous versions. We will briefly discuss some of the most tested models that had the most

impact on empirical research over the decades, in order to draw conclusions on where contemporary research currently stands.

The Acculturation Framework (Berry, 1997) states that migrants, by getting involved into the social, political, educational life and having new social contacts with natives, will come across various understandings which will model their behavior and outlook of the host country and their perceived experiences. These could potentially determine acculturative stress or trigger a form of psychopathology in time (Malzberg & Lee, 1956). The framework evokes the changes a migrant might experience, from linguistic, economic, religious, social, to employment-related differences (Berry, 2003; Navas et al., 2007). The framework proposes four distinct categories of acculturation: (a) assimilation, (b) integration, (c) separation, and (d) marginalization (Berry, 1990, 2005).

According to Berry*, assimilation* involves renouncing a person's native culture as they adapt to a host culture; *integration* refers to maintaining the person's native culture but with a simultaneous movement towards the host culture; separation /*rejection* resorts to the separation from the new culture, which can be either self-imposed termination or imposed through segregation (by state authorities or other people); and *marginalization* implies the loss of cultural amalgamation with either group, developing a process of alienation and loss of cultural identity. It can be argued that the host culture facilitates choice, but other variables, such as the native culture typology (individualistic or collectivistic society) or language and economic level at migration point, could make the process different from person to person (Berry & Sabatier, 2010).

Following from Berry's framework, the Multi-Dimensional Individual Difference Acculturation (MIDA) model (Safdar et al., 2012) focuses on attitudes towards the host and the native culture. The model is based on three predictor variables: Psychosocial Resources, Connectedness, and Hassles. The individual level factors include Resilience, Self-perceived Cultural Competence, and perception of social support from the larger society, with acculturation strategies included in the design as intermediate variables. The model aims to analyze acculturation in different cultural settings, to predict outcome adaptation variables such as In-Group Contact, Out-Group Contact and Psychophysical Distress (Safdar et al., 2009). MIDA model was designed for adult immigrants or refugees, but Fathi et al. (2018) designed a version that can be applied to adolescent refugees, the Multidimensional Intercultural Training Acculturation model (MITA).

Padilla and Perez's framework (2003) brings together elements of "social cognition, cultural competence, social identity, and social stigma" when studying acculturation. Their model is based on the Social Identity Theory (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Padilla and Perez introduced the term "stigmatization" that refers to cultural competence as "learned ability to function in a culture in a manner that is congruent with the values, beliefs, customs, mannerisms, and language of the majority of the members of the culture" (2003, p. 42). The framework made an impact on the discipline because it raises awareness of the need to integrate empirical studies in a theory of culture and deviate from a sole focus on migrant behaviors.

There are other theoretical models which look at the reciprocal influence of the two populations coming into contact - the host and the migrant populations - and how acculturation unfolds as a result. These are the Interactive Acculturation Model- IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997) and the Relative Acculturation Extended Model- RAEM (Navas et al., 2007). The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) looks at the relational outcomes which result from the interaction of host community and migrant elements, mediated by the state integration policies (Bourhis et al., 1997). The authors have sought to bring together acculturation orientations assumed by both host groups and migrant groups, and a combination of inter-group and inter-personal relational outcomes (Oerlemans & Peeters, 2010). Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) has been designed by Navas et al. (2005) and "differentiates between acculturation strategies and attitudes" that is, between how acculturation happens in reality vs. how it would be ideal to unfold (Navas et al., 2007, p.70).

Another perspective, that of Rudmin's model (2009) of acculturation, states that a focus should be placed on the "motivation of utility" migrants have to acculturate. He explains that certain categories of immigrants ("successful diplomats, business agents, missionaries and spies"- Rudmin, 2009, p. 117) can adapt even if attitudes that surround them in the host culture have a negative or unfavorable valence. The model contains three steps, which are Acculturative motivations, Acculturative learning and Changes in individuals, meaning that motivations lead to acculturative learning which generate changes in social relations, skills, behaviors, beliefs and values, etc. There are two controlled variables, which are discrimination and socio-economic status (SES), but they do not generate acculturation on their own.

Recent meta-analyses and reviews summarize methodologies and theoretical frameworks used in in the past 20 years of research and their subsequent

research findings. For example, Celenk and Van de Vijver (2011) compiled a list of over 50 publicly available measures for acculturation, out of which 61% were directed to a specific ethnic group, especially from the USA. The authors found that the majority of measures - over 54% - included a single scale, and the rest contained two or more sub-scales. Matsudaira's (2006) review of acculturation instruments revealed the existence of over 51 scales, published between 1978 and 2004 (Akcan, 2017). This wide variety of frameworks, of theoretical models that are tested and corrected through empirical research over the course of decades of research, is an indication of both the importance and the need of refining the concept in the sphere of migrant integration and adaptation. The findings we can draw from meta-analyses and systematic reviews indicate that not all methods produce similar results, that measures can be reinterpreted by researchers even when not necessary, and that academics often fail to critique their own work if errors occur.

4. Acculturation studies – a context for empirical research

There is no doubt that the topic of acculturation is distinct, due to its complexity and implications. Research has shown that acculturation is influenced by age, gender, a person's educational background or other variables. Education correlates with acculturation, in the sense that the highest the educational level a person has attained, the smoother the process of adaptation to a new environment and the more reduced the level of stress perceived by the person (Berry, 1997). Expectations also bear a significant importance, as people who migrate with greater expectations in mind could be more easily disappointed than other who do not aim as high, if those opportunities do not materialize as expected (Berry, 1997, pp. 22-23). Navara and James (2002) state that realistic expectations in terms of cross-cultural experiences can facilitate the process of *adjustment* (p. 707). *Behavioral acculturation* is "based on the interaction of an individual's competencies and preferences with opportunities to engage in cultural activities in the surrounding community" (Birman & Trickett, 2001, p. 4). This type of behavioral adaptation can manifest in areas such as involvement in the social life (following daily news), speaking the local language, eating local food, etc. (Kim & Omizo, 2006; Maupomé et al, 2015).

In order to better understand how acculturation is used in empirical research, we have to look at the variables that are studied alongside acculturation.

4.1 Acculturation and associated variables in empirical research

Acculturation was identified both at a *group-level* and at an *individual-level* (Kuo, 2014). The process entails those individuals gradually change their attitudes, behaviors and values at the contact with a host /dominant culture (Berry, 1990), with a wide variety of variables which are involved. A "dynamic, multifaceted and complex" process (Lopez-Class et al., 2011), acculturation is studied on a multitude of groups of different ages (Bowe, 2020; Guerra et al., 2019; Keles et al., 2018; Tartakovsky, 2012), ethnicities (Becker et al., 2010; Obasi & Leong, 2010; Rogler et al., 1991) and locations (Ferguson et al., 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2011; Rojas et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2019).

Acculturation is studied in connection to variables such as enculturation (Yoon et al., 2013), development (Juang & Syed, 2019; Oppedal, 2006), well-being (Samnani et al., 2012; Vîrgă & Iliescu, 2017), resilience (Reyes et al., 2018), need for cognitive closure (Ramelli et al., 2012). There is also a diversity in terms of the field of study in which acculturation is included, such as health (Schmitz, 1992; Suinn, 2010), mental health - depression (Cobb et al., 2017b; Markova et al., 2020), acculturative stress (Falavarjani et al., 2019), education (Portes & MacLeod, 1996), emotional expressions (Tsai & Lu, 2017), language acquisition (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2007), ethnic development /ethnic identity (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011; Phinney & Ong, 2007), ethnic group differences (Areba et al., 2020), coping and intercultural competence (Torres & Rollock, 2004) or naturalization (Maehler et al., 2019; Vink et al., 2013). Resilience, marital quality and adaptation-related stress were examined alongside language acculturation (Hou et al., 2018). Researchers also spoke about identity and how this concept related to acculturation (Adams & van de Vijver, 2017; Dimitrova et al., 2014). Meca et al. (2017) noted that "positive identification with one's ingroup is essential for fostering an individual's psychological well-being" (p. 18).

Another form of the variable is *remote acculturation*, a more modern concept which stems from globalization and where cultural elements of foreign cultures are adopted by individuals who have never interacted directly with them (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015; Ferguson et al., 2015). It is associated with social change (Silbereisen & Chen, 2010), although "social change focuses more on examining group-level changes" (Ferguson et al., 2015, p. 2). It can be argued that access to technology and the advancement of online communication and

information dissemination shifts people's views and life experiences and subjects them to foreign cultural elements.

We can therefor conclude that the mediation, moderation and interaction relations that appear between the aforementioned variables posit both an advantage to researchers, as new interaction effects are found and new causality relations revealed, but can also be a methodological trap. There is no doubt that personality variables, cultural aspects, cognitive and demographic particularities, all play a part in the historical evolution of the term and the perception scholars gain as a result of research and empirical observations.

4.2 Is age of migrants relevant for the process of acculturation?

Age and migrant acculturation form a unique relation that can influence empirical research results. Age as a variable can significantly influence the relation between migrant adaptation and various outcome variables, therefor we will dedicate a short sub-section to it.

Adult migrants are considered first-generation migrants, while second-generation migrants are born in the host country and have not gone through the migration process per se. For the latter, there is a mixture of both the native and the adoption cultural elements, which transpire from the beginning of their lives onwards, and so it becomes hard to define where enculturation ends and acculturation starts (Birman & Simon, 2014). Third generation immigrants, born in the host country (same as their parents who are second generation), but who have at least one grandparent of migrant origin, exhibit even less influences from the first generation's native cultural background and are usually excluded from empirical research on migrant adaptation.

Adult migrants speak their native language, follow traditions, cultural practices and norms specific to their home country and "can appreciate, practice, or identify with two different cultures independently of one another" (Rudmin, 2003 p. 3). On the other hand, for children, acculturation is a nuanced phenomenon (Birman & Simon, 2014; Ruble et al., 2004). Migrant children who are subjected to migration are labelled as 1.5 generation-immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), whose acculturation is studied in connection to variables such as ethnicity, their parents' socio-economic status/ role of class and school context (Portes & MacLeod, 1996). At the time of migration, it is assumed that they enculturation is not complete, and so

the effect on their future development will not be similar to older migrants' experiences. Children between 8-11 years old seem to prefer an integrationist acculturation strategy (Brown et al., 2013), although children younger than 8 years old are not likely to develop "multiple social category memberships" (p. 2). For adolescents, acculturation to other cultures is boosted by the use of technology, media, through globalization (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Their young age makes them more receptive to new ideas and more open to diverse experiences, as they are building their cultural identity (Ferguson et al., 2015).

Historically, family relationships were studied among different migrant generations in connection to acculturation, and results show less conflict and improved levels of mental health over time (Smokowski et al., 2008). As time passes and adjustment follows its course, the gaps between parents and their children is greater, with adults preserving more elements of their native culture (Ranieri et al., 1994).

4.3 Acculturation contexts

Being a dual-process that triggers cultural and psychological change (Berry, 2005), acculturation can happen at the *individual* or *group level*. Individual level implies changes of behavioral nature (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004) that can take years or even longer, spanning over generations. The group variation is also accompanied by disparities within a smaller group, such as families where the process "proceeds at different rates, and with different goals, sometimes leading to an increase in conflict and stress and to more difficult adaptations" (Berry, 2005, p. 700).

In the 20th century, it was believed that having civil and political rights, a legal status in the host country and a general sense of security will influence the acculturation orientations of migrants (Castles, 1984). People who lack these conditions could be "prevented from participating fully in society. They do not have the opportunity of deciding to what extent they want to interact with the rest of the population, and to what extent they want to preserve their own culture and norms " (Castles, 1984, p. 161). Naturalization was viewed as a pre-requisite and not an option when becoming integrated into the host country of residence and avoiding isolation. Current findings extend beyond this frame of thinking, and support free choice, migrant integration, inclusivity and openness to the values and advantages of diversity.

4.4 Acculturative Stress

Acculturation endures for long periods of time, especially when there are culturally different groups in continuous interaction with each other, generating various levels of adaptation, resistance and stress (Berry, 2005). Social status and social context are integral parts of the formative process of a migrant's identity and in setting the degree of stress caused by the acculturation process (Padilla & Perez, 2003).

Specific acculturation strategies used by a group of migrants can be regarded as *coping strategies* (Schmitz, 1992). Early research on coping reference the cognitive and behavioral efforts of this process used by individuals to manage stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Berry (1997, 2006) detected those individuals use coping methods in order to respond to acculturative stress, and this process shapes their adaptation journey. Nonetheless, scholars support the need for more research that can analyze the relationship between coping and acculturation (Kuo, 2014).

Acculturative stress draws its stressors from the migrant adaptation process, with stressors defined as "the stimuli the immigrant encounters" (Jibeen & Khalid, 2010, p. 234). It was defined as a "reduction in health status (including psychological, somatic and social aspects) of individuals who are undergoing acculturation" and even "feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion" (Berry et al., 1988, pp. 491- 492). Language difficulties and conflict of cultural rules were identified as major sources of stress and education (Poppitt & Frey, 2007). Among the factors that can protect against acculturative stress and mental health problems, authors note culturally integrated friendship choices, such as relationships of adolescents in a sample of multi-ethnic students (Bhui et al., 2005).

Socio-demographic and psychological variables, such as age, gender, economic status or external negative events such as discrimination, influence levels of acculturative stress (Berry, 2008; Kuo & Roysircar, 2004). Studies show that at greater risk are married immigrants who have children, or that Asian ethnics experience more stress than Europeans (Jibeen & Khalid, 2010). Hispanic populations living in the US experience acculturative stress not only based on factors such as "gender, age, family cohesion and social networks", but also due to "the contexts of migration exit, the age at the time of migration and native language proficiency" (Lueck & Wilson, 2011, p. 186). Social networks and relations with family members predict acculturative stress in Latino populations, especially if they are first-generation immigrants (Caplan, 2007; Lueck & Wilson, 2011).

5. Critiques of acculturative studies

Combining cultural elements with a multidimensional, multidisciplinary approach to the 21st century research on acculturation can enable the advancement of knowledge in this field of study. Chirkov (2009) explained that "the complex nature of the acculturation process requires very diverse thinking about the subject, an application of various epistemological and methodological approaches, inter- and multi-disciplinarily, intellectual flexibility, and the willingness to critically analyze achieved results and obtained knowledge" (p. 94). This assertion is a more diplomatic version of Rudmin's critique, who portrayed acculturation theories as using "varied and inconsistent terminology, poor citation of earlier research, conflicting and poorly tested predictions of acculturative stress, and lack of logic" (2003, p. 3). Indeed, acculturation studies often fail to analyze cultural aspects such as norms and beliefs, focusing on behaviors instead.

Out of the four categories in Berry's framework, *marginalization* has been criticized for lacking construct validity (Del Pilar & Udasco, 2004). The authors explain how it fails to elucidate "the effects on people of immigration, culture clash, and other transitional situations, such as status, role, or class changes" (Del Pilar & Udasco, 2004, p. 3), yet Meca et al. (2017) found marginalization as being the first salient approach in their research. This profile will likely be found in a small percentage of migrants who experience unique circumstances in the host country (see Cobb et al., 2017a for more details on the SIT- Social Identity Theory).

Methodological errors still occur to this day in articles, where we find the response bias, attribution errors, poor validity of scales, erroneous construct operationalization, misused terminology and psychometric confusion (Rudmin, 2003). Acculturation, as a key concept in sociology, psychology and other sciences, is at the forefront of academic research and yet cultural psychologists do not build on prior research and try to innovate, leaving room for errors, interpretations and operationalization mistakes.

6. Suggestions for future research and conceptual implications

Although little information is known about the costs of long-term migration, such as financial implications or psychological and well-being consequences (Vîrgă & Iliescu, 2017, p. 2), the topic is worthy of in-depth empirical research. Acculturation

studies are necessary due to the accelerated increase in the number of people migrating to escape war, depression, instability, or diseases in the coming decades (Garcia-Ramirez et al., 2010). The changes that occur during the acculturation process impact every aspect of their lives, from the educational, economic, or social point of view, to health and psychology (Birman & Trickett, 2001). But there are numerous aspects that the current literature should look at in more detail, such as the way in which acculturation manifests in different areas of one's life, across spheres that involve culture, language, social connections and more (Navas et al., 2007).

Meca et al. (2017) suggested implications for creating more inclusive policies and improvements for refugee and migrant counselling practices. Policy development (promoting cultural diversity, fair multicultural societies and migrant integration), especially in societies with higher levels of social inequality, can be a step forward with impact on all aspects of society. Legislators and scholars should encourage awareness of past events where race stood at the core of the issues, promote transparency and enable communication.

Being a dynamic process that reflects constant variations in people and societies means that there is a need for researchers to "examine temporal changes" (Castro et al., 2010, p. 669). It is imperative to identify the variations in different populations or situational contexts, in order to accurately measure acculturation (Lopez-Class et al., 2011). While it is a temporal process that happens over time, it should be mainly studied using longitudinal designs, as the majority of the existing acculturation studies consist of cross-sectional surveys. Long-term empirical investigations are desirable from a methodological point of view (Kuo, 2014), as is the use of control groups, qualitative methodologies and replications within studies (Rudmin, 2003).

As scholars and educators, we encourage the focus on the history of migration, from the views on citizenship in ancient times, to ethnic identity and race in the Middle Ages, to the slave trade and imperialistic views on people, states and legislation.

A final suggestion for future empirical studies is to look at both the native and migrant populations. Changes implied by the process regard not only migrants, but also the native population, as noted by Arends-Toth and van de Vijver (2003): "acculturation processes involve both the migrant and the dominant population, the changes are most consequential for the migrant group members" (p. 250). Studies

must include a greater focus on subcultures, while at the same time avoiding the sole focus on minority research, as acculturation "occurs regardless of minority or majority status" (Rudmin, 2003, p. 30).

Conclusion

The current review provides evidence that the study of migrant acculturation is extremely complex. Our review attempts to fuse historical theoretical perspectives and acculturation frameworks, with current research results and methodologies. Previous findings argue that acculturation can be studied in cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, alongside numerous variables that measure psychological, social, cognitive and developmental traits across diverse groups of individuals. The study of acculturation has major implications in policy development, law, in education, mental health, refugee rights, race, and future research should focus more on longitudinal studies that analyze the relationship between acculturation and other variables of interest. The topic is also extremely sensitive to both historical aspects that shape the narrative around migration, and to the methodological means of capturing raw data and disseminating results. Finally, we encourage openness to in-depth research of the history of migration, a sustained effort to refine methods of data collection, and an open mind to reflect on the status of acculturation research, with the clear aim for the field to progress.

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Social Integration Problems of Vietnamese Migrants and their Descendants into Czech Society: Empirical Study from Brno, the Czech Republic

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Abstract. The paper aims to examine the social integration problem of first and second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia by combining data from a survey and in-depth interview. More specifically, the paper takes advantage of a survey to gather data from 150 first-generation and interviews with 10 second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia. The results of this research indicate that first-generation Vietnamese are encountering both individual and structural barriers to their social integration into the host society including the Czech language, migration policies, and discrimination. Meanwhile, second-generation Vietnamese do not have much problem integrating into the Czech society but reversely they find it difficult to integrate into the Vietnamese society because of their identity problem.

Keywords: *social integration, Vietnamese diaspora, Vietnamese migrants, Vietnamese descendants, the Czech Republic*

1. Introduction

Integration and assimilation are the leading concepts related to the process of living in a new country. The term integration is widely used in European research rather than in the US. In the US, the term assimilation is mostly used (Bolt, Özüekren, and Phillips 2010; Favell 2015). In fact, the integration term is commonly accepted in international literature, political bodies, media, and the public rather than other terms.

Integration is a multi-dimensional concept. It relates to many aspects of migrants' life including economy, society, and psychology. This paper only focuses on the social aspect of integration. This is because the social integration concept helps understand how Vietnamese migrants and their descendants integrate into Czech society. In addition, the dimensions of social integration can be used to identify difficulties encountered by Vietnamese migrants and their offspring living in the Czech Republic. Social integration also could help to see the development of the Vietnamese diaspora community in the host country.

The Vietnamese community has been established in Czechia since the 1950s.

Today, the country has been ranked 12th out of 40 countries in the world where Vietnamese people are residing (Čada, Grygar, and Freidingerová 2016). Also, the Vietnamese community is one of the largest ethnic groups in the Czech Republic after Ukrainians and Slovaks (Sawe 2018). Since 2013, Vietnamese people have been officially recognized as an ethnic minority in the Czech Republic. Vietnamese people in the country are economically independent. They have several markets in the Czech Republic in which there are two big markets in Prague (the capital of the Czech Republic) and Brno (the second largest city of the Czech Republic) which sell various goods and provide services for both Vietnamese and Czech people.

Those who were not born in the Czech Republic are considered the first generation. People in this group are unlikely to integrate because of the language, migration policies, and discrimination. Therefore, the first-generation Vietnamese migrants could be seen as a closed group (Brožová, Jurečková, and Pacovská 2018; Drbohlav and Dzúrová 2007). However, the descendants of the first-generation Vietnamese - the second-generation Vietnamese, are not the same. They are growing up in the Czech Republic and most of them have Czech citizenship and therefore, the integration barriers of the first-generation are not their problem. However, they suffer from another issue, which relates to their identity. They are in the middle of the pressures to integrate into Czech society and pressure to preserve their own Vietnamese culture.

The above information leads me to a strong desire for writing this paper to indicate the social integration of both Vietnamese generations. The paper reveals the reasons why first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia are such a big, flexible, and active group, but not able to integrate deeply into Czech society. What are the barriers encountered by the group? Then, the paper shows the social integration problems of second-generation Vietnamese in the city, which is totally different from the problem of the first generation. The paper combines quantitative and qualitative to solve these questions. The barriers of the first generation are taken and analysed from the survey while the problem of the second generation will be shown from the in-depth interview with several second-generation people.

2. Background of the paper

2.1 Formation of the Vietnamese diaspora community in the Czech Republic

The first Vietnamese people who came to the Czech Republic were individual communists who escaped from France, where the secret police Surete investigated

them for their political activities (Nožina and Kraus 2020). Unfortunately, there is no record of these first Vietnamese people in the official statistics of the Czech Republic.

The first organized group of Vietnamese who migrated to Czechia were orphans. In 1956, more than a hundred boys and girls, who were orphans, were sent to Chrastava (Prokopová 2015). These orphans came to the city with their teachers and stayed in a building that is now a building of an educational institution in Chrastava. After four years, the children finished their elementary school, and either continued studying or returned to Vietnam.

The massive migration influx from Vietnam to the Czech Republic could be seen in the early 1950s when Vietnamese migrated to the country due to the relationship between the two socialist countries. They were young people as well as excellent students, some of them or their relatives fought for their country, then they could travel to the Czech Republic to gain their knowledge and skills through training, apprenticeship, and study (Drbohlav and Dzúrová 2007; Krebs and Pechova 2008; Nožina 2010). In the following years, a group of Vietnamese people moved to Czechia after the fall of the Eastern Bloc in Germany (Freidingerová and Svobodová 2015). After all, Vietnamese migration flows to the Czech Republic reached a peak in the 1980s, and the number of Vietnamese people in the period ranged between 20,000 to 27,000 (Drbohlav 2009). At this time, they had informal activities in the Czech market, and some of them had their own business.

In 1986, Vietnam reformed its economic system by performing the "Đổi Mới" policy. This event has affected the Vietnamese migration flow. Vietnam has opened the market and had diplomatic relations not only with Socialist countries but also with other countries all around the world. As a result, Vietnamese people could go abroad easier than before. Hence many Vietnamese people migrated to Czechia personally. It was mainly an economic migration reason. The vast majority of these people were self-employed or businessmen. Later on, from 2006 to 2008, because of the financial crisis in Asia, another wave of Vietnamese labour migrants came to the Czech Republic to work in several factories across the country.

The largest number of Vietnamese people is living in big cities such as Prague and Brno. Vietnamese are also concentrated in several districts of the western regions of the country (Janská and Bernard 2018), mainly in the regions close to the Czech – German and Czech – Austrian borders and even in villages with less than 2000 inhabitants (Freidingerová and Svobodová 2015). The big cities and border regions are seen as favourable places for Vietnamese people to run their business activities.

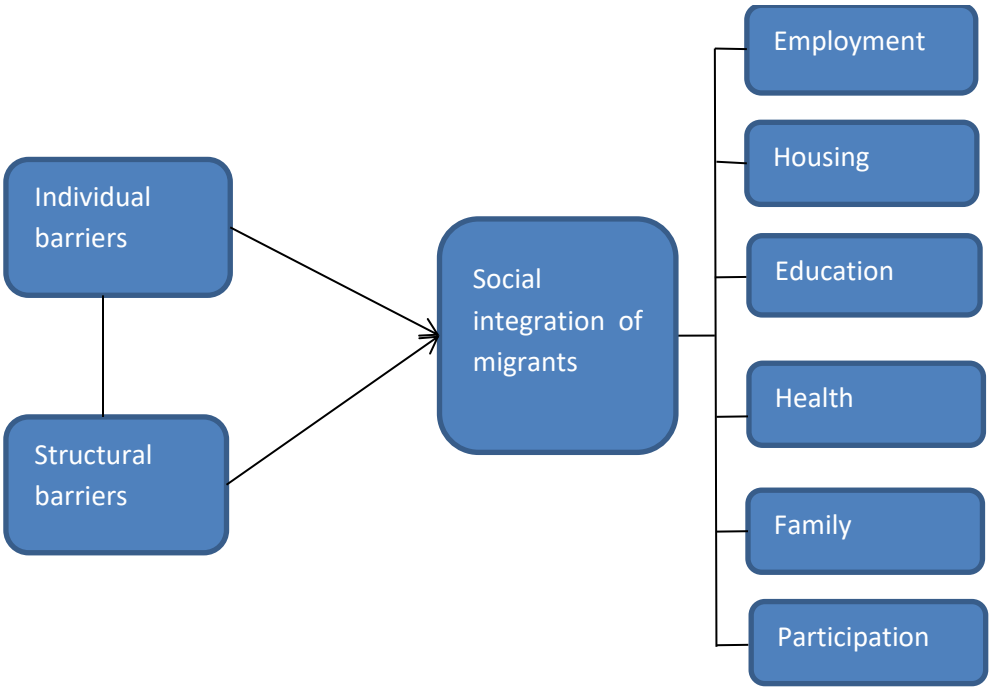
In terms of Brno, it is the second-largest city in Czechia and a border region between Czechia and Austria. In addition, in Brno, the Vietnamese community has its Vietnamese market, which is one of the three biggest Vietnamese markets in Czechia, so it is easy for Vietnamese people to come to the market to run their businesses or seek a job. Therefore, many Vietnamese people have chosen to settle down in Brno. This leads to the fact that the Vietnamese community in Brno is large.

Today, the population of Vietnamese migrants in the Czech Republic is 61097 people (Czech Statistical Office 2019), and in Brno are 3284 people (Czech Statistical Office 2018). They are well-off but a separated and segregated community in comparison with Ukrainians (Brožová, Jurečková, and Pacovská 2018; Drbohlav and Dzúrová 2007). Vietnamese are likely to find their opportunities in small-scale retail that are distributed across the country (Janská and Bernard 2018). The population size of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic is still increasing because of the new migration flow from Vietnam as well as the growing number of new generations.

2.2 A framework for analyzing the social integration of migrants

The paper puts forward an analytical framework that is based on the framework of Ager and Strang (2008), Heilbrunn (2010), Wang (2012) as in Figure 1. More specifically, six dimensions including employment, housing, education, and health, family and participation measure the social integration of Vietnamese migrants. Additionally, two groups of barriers that are individual and structural can directly affect social integration. Individual barriers are comprised of age (Böhlmark 2008, Portes and MacLeod 1996, Rumbaut 2004) or the length of stay (Legrand 2019, Martinovic 2009), Czech language (Lu 2019, Kohlenberger 2019, Amiri 2016, Kogan 2011), an education level (Heilbrunn 2010, Kahanec 2011, Legrand 2019), social connections (Leong 2016, Kogan 2011, Heilbrunn 2010) and personal insufficiencies (Martinovic 2009). Structural barriers happen in either the government sphere or the public sphere. Structural barriers can be seen as difficulties in access to social goods, attributes and services created by the state/public areas (Wang, 2012). Since it is hard to evaluate these structural barriers directly in the questionnaire, the author identifies them based on the experiences of migrants when they have contact with government and public spheres. This paper uses this framework to identify the social integration problems for both the first and second generations. For the first-generation, all this information is put into a questionnaire and then the quantitative analysis is used to figure out the barriers. For the second generation, the framework is used as a guideline for the in-depth interview.

Figure 1: The analytical framework of the barriers of social integration of the first Vietnamese generation



3. Methodology

3.1 Quantitative method

The paper takes a sample of 150 first Vietnamese generation in Brno, which is based on the Slovin formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{(1 + N * e^2)}$$

Where: n - Research sample; N – Total sample; e – Error tolerance.

According to the Czech Statistical Office (2018), the total number of Vietnamese people living in the center and countryside of Brno were 2749 and 499 respectively. The total sample **N** is 3284 persons. The error tolerance is 8% (the confidence interval is approximately 90%). Then the desirable sample size of the research sample **n** is 150. Note that these 150 persons are the first generation who:

- Must be Vietnamese people who were born in Vietnam with both parents born in Vietnam as well and migrated to the Czech Republic after the age of six.

- Older than 18 years old.
- Have been living in Brno, the Czech Republic for at least 2 years.

The "convenience sampling" method was used to recruit 150 respondents. Data were collected from March to April 2020 in Brno, the Czech Republic. 129 respondents completed the online survey through Google Form. Moreover, 21 people answered the questionnaire during the fieldwork survey because they could not use computers or smartphones. The questionnaire has nine parts including employment, education, housing, health, family, participation and two parts of general information, which capture four dimensions in Figure 1.

The individual barriers are analysed by six dimensions of social integration in Figure 1. The dimension of employment is measured by difficulties in finding a job. The dimension of housing is measured by difficulties in buying/renting a house/an apartment. The education dimension is analysed by difficulties in taking part in educational programs in the Czech Republic, and the health dimension is measured by difficulties in access to healthcare services in Brno. The dimension of family reunification is measured by the difficulties to have a reunion with family members in the host country. The dimension of participation will be analysed by difficulties in the process of having a residence permit and participation in municipal elections. More specifically, for each dimension, the author divides the sample into two groups: with difficulties and without difficulties. Then, the correlations between individual barriers and each dimension are tested. Individual barriers are comprised of the length of stay Czech language and education level, social connection, and individual insufficiencies. Structural barriers are measured from the experiences of migrants when they have contact with government and public spheres.

The author uses the Chi-square test when analysing the social integration of the first Vietnamese generation in Brno. More specifically, the Chi-square is used to test if two categorical variables correlate or not. The significant level in this thesis was set to 5%.

3.2 Qualitative method

This study also is based on qualitative data which are gathered by applying the single-case embedded study method. There are several reasons why I chose the qualitative research approach to gather information from second-generation Vietnamese. Firstly, there is no official data on the total of second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia. Hence, it was hard to calculate the sample size of second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia. Secondly, the single-case

embedded study allows the conduct of an in-depth inquiry of individuals' experiences, with the possibility of combining other data collection techniques such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

The "snowball" sampling method was applied to select these 10 interviewees. Interviews took place from May to November 2021, in Brno, Czechia.

Second-generation migrants are those who arrived at a very young age or host-country-born individuals at least one of whose parents was an immigrant (Rosenberg and Lewin 2019). Based on the definition, second-generation Vietnamese are those who either migrated before the age of six or were born in Czechia. They have at least one of their parents who is a Vietnamese migrant.

Following the definition, interviewees of this study must meet the requirements of the following criteria:

- They must have Vietnamese parents who migrated to the Czech Republic,
- They were born in the Czech Republic or arrived in the Czech Republic before the age of six,
- They have been living in Brno, the Czech Republic,
- They are older than 18 years old.

4. Results

4.1 Barriers to the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia

There are two types of barriers to the social integration of migrants, namely: individual and structural barriers. To identify these two types of barriers, the sample of this study divides each aspect into two groups: with difficulty and without difficulty.

a. *Individual barriers*

Individual barriers are measured by five indicators including the length of stay, Czech language, educational attainment, social connection, and personal insufficiencies. To understand the impact of these individual barriers on the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese, the paper examines the correlation between the five individual barrier indicators and difficulties in six dimensions of social integration. The results of this research show that among these individual barriers, Czech language proficiency, the length of stay, and social connection are

the three most important barriers to first-generation Vietnamese in the city. Another two barriers education level and personal insufficiencies are not significant in this case.

The most common individual barrier for first-generation Vietnamese is Czech language proficiency. Several aspects of social integration such as employment, education, health, and participation have been adversely affected by a low level of the Czech language. In fact, first-generation Vietnamese who have advanced and fluent levels of Czech language proficiency face fewer difficulties in finding a job, access to the educational system, healthcare system, and having a residence permit than those who have the levels of intermediate, beginner, and do not know Czech.

The second common individual barrier to the social integration of Vietnamese migrants is the length of stay. Social integration increases along with the length of stay. The longer immigrants stay in the host country, the more they integrate into the host society. The length of stay barrier impacts employment, health, and residence permit aspects of social integration. Respondents who have been living in Brno, Czechia for less than 10 years face more obstacles in finding a job, accessing healthcare services, and getting a permanent residence permit, while others who have been living in the city for more than 30 years have fewer difficulties in these issues. Those who have been living in the country for 1 to 10 years may face several difficulties in obtaining residence permit cards. The longer the stay in the country, the easier it is to get a residence permit.

The third common barrier to the social integration of respondents is social connection. The social connection in this study refers to relationships with Vietnamese friends, relatives, close Czech friends, and participation in the Vietnamese community in Brno. Data shows that 52.2% of respondents who do not have Czech friends encounter difficulties in finding a job in the city, whereas the percentage for those who have Czech friends who struggle to find a job is lower, at 32.8%.

Also, the relationships with Vietnamese people, within the Vietnamese community in Brno, affect the chances of getting housing facilities. Only 29.2% of respondents who are members of the Vietnamese community reported that they have difficulties in accessing housing facilities, but the percentage for those who are not members of the community is much higher at 47.1%.

Table 1: Correlation between barriers and social integration of the first generation

	Have difficulties in					
	Employment	Housing	Education	Health	Family reunification	Participation
Length of stay	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Language	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Education level	No	No	No	No	No	No
Social connection	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Personal insufficiencies	No	No	No	No	No	No

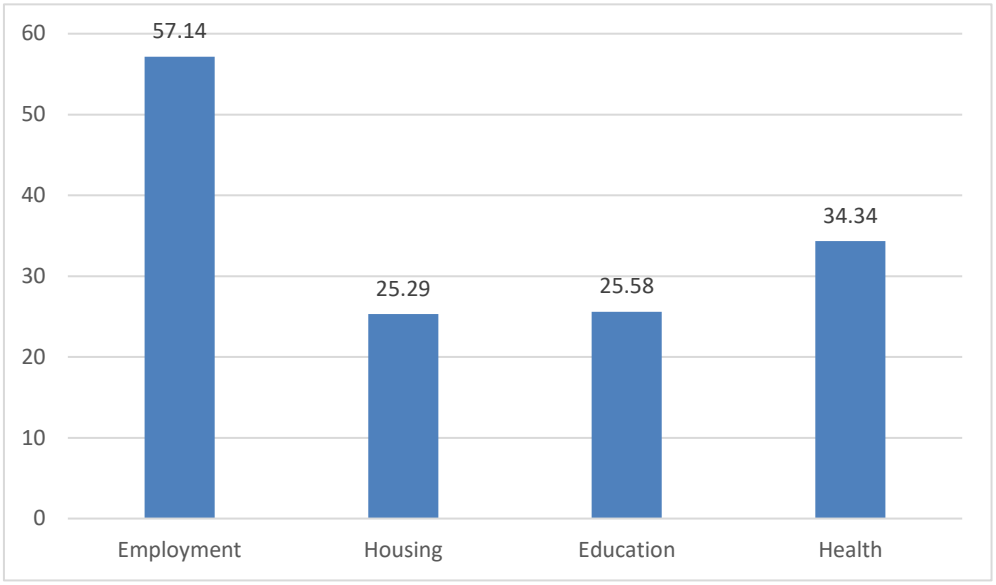
Note: "Yes" means the correlation between the two items is statistically significant by Chi Square test, "No" means the correlation between the two items is not statically significant by the Chi-square test
Source: Author

b. Structural barriers

The findings of this study point out that discrimination is a recurring problem across all dimensions of social integration. It is impacting the process of social integration severely. Firstly, being foreigners bring Vietnamese problems in accessing the job market, housing market, education and finding their general practitioners. Among those who have difficulties in the dimension of employment, housing, education and health, the majority points out that the main reason is that they are a foreigner (Figure 2). More specifically, 57.14% of those who have difficulties in finding a job say that the main reason is that they are foreigners. The numbers are similar for the housing and education dimension with more than 25% and then the number for the health dimension is 34.34%. All these differences are statistically significant at the 5% level. The result implies that discrimination has a negative impact on the social integration of the first Vietnamese generation.

Next, the paper shows that the structural barriers have more impact on the dimension of family reunification and participation. The participation dimension is examined by gaining a residence permit and voting rights. The basic right of migrants is family reunification, and it needs to be ensured by the government. In the European Union, most of its member states, including Czechia, have applied the Family Reunification Directive of the European Union to ensure this right of migrants. However, 79.3% of respondents confirmed that they have confronted several difficulties to reunite with their family members. The reasons for this issue are a complicated procedure, time-consuming, and high service costs for getting a visa at the Czech Embassy in Hanoi.

Figure 2: Percentage of those who think that being a foreigner is a reason for poor social integration



Source: Author

Moreover, most of the respondents in this study encountered barriers to getting a residence permit. Time-consuming and complicated procedures are also significant barriers for first-generation Vietnamese to obtain a residence permit.

In addition, in the Czech Republic, migrants are excluded from the political mainstream. They have many limitations to take part in the political life of Czechia. In this research, only 21 respondents who have Czech citizenship are allowed to participate in political affairs such as voting and being a member of a Czech political party. The rest could not participate in any elections because they do not have the right to vote. Not having proper political rights/laws in the host country is a significant barrier for migrants to participate in political activities. This exacerbates the process of their social integration further.

Indeed, successful social integration in the host country depends upon human and social resources. First-generation Vietnamese in Brno, the Czech Republic have encountered several individual barriers such as the Czech language and their social connection. Actually, the Czech language is a prerequisite condition for Vietnamese migrants to integrate into the host society. Social connections, particularly with Czechs, are really important factors for these people to become a member of society.

Moreover, first-generation Vietnamese are facing several structural barriers. Discrimination is a common barrier for these migrants when they live in the country. Most of them confirmed that they have experienced being discriminated against. It could lead to the tendency of isolation to avoid contact with natives. Other barriers faced by the migrant group are the complicated and unfriendly processes of getting a visa and a residence permit from the Czech government. Also, exclusion from the political mainstream has negative effects on the social integration of Vietnamese migrants who are living in Czechia.

4.2 Social integration of second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

The author uses Figure 1 as a guideline to conduct an interview with some second Vietnamese generation. Generally, the second-generation is totally different from the first-generation when they were born in the Czech Republic. Their social integration problem is then different from the problem of the previous generation. Interestingly, they do not have a problem integrating into the Czech society because they normally have had a Czech nanny to help them. However, they have more problems integrating into the Vietnamese society in the Czech Republic. The in-depth interview shows that the second generation suffers from the individual barrier that comes directly from the conflict between the Vietnamese and Czech cultures. Consequently, they do not have any problems in the dimension of job, housing, education, health or family reunification, but they do have a problem with participation. More specifically, they are at “the margins of two cultures” (Thai 1999). They are often caught between pressure to assimilate into mainstream society and preserve their parents’ culture. It is an identified problem of the second Vietnamese generation which brings them a problem integrating into the Vietnamese society in the Czech Republic.

4.2.1 Czech nanny as a gateway for second-generation Vietnamese to integrate into Czech society

There are several reasons why second-generation Vietnamese are brought up by Czech nannies. Firstly, many first-generation Vietnamese migrants need to pay high fees for brokerage services to move from Vietnam to the Czech Republic. The fees must be paid even before their migration process starts. Some of them must collect money from their family members or borrow money from various financial

institutions (Nožina and Kraus 2020). Therefore, when they arrive in Czechia, they need to work hard to pay for their big debts. For those who do not have any debts, their migration reason is mainly economic, so they have been trying to earn money as much as possible. These facts can explain why most first-generation Vietnamese have been working in Vietnamese shops, restaurants, or Vietnamese markets for 12 to 13 hours every day. The time-consuming of their work causes a lack of their time to take care of their children. The cases of Tom, Dasa and Lan Anh[1] are obvious examples:

> "My mom had a lot of work at her shop, so she sent me to the house of a Czech nanny, so the nanny helped my mom to take care of me." [Tom, male, 18 years old].
>
> "When I was a kid, my mom had a fabric store, and she could not look after me, so she sent me to a Czech nanny's house. I stayed there with my Czech nanny all day until my mom closed her store and came to pick up me." [Lan Anh, 25 years old]

Unlike Tom and Lan Anh, Dasa did not be sent to the house of her Czech nanny every day, but she said that: "On the weekend, I did not go to school, so in case my parents had to go to the supermarket to buy goods for their grocery store, they sent me to my Czech nanny." [Dasa, female, 26 years old].

Secondly, Czech language proficiency is the most common barrier encountered by first-generation Vietnamese. Hence, they could not help their children to acquire a good knowledge of the Czech language, while their descendants need to know the language to go to school. In addition, many first-generation Vietnamese parents believe that hiring Czech nannies is a good way for their children to integrate deeply into Czech society, and then have a better life in their future (Souralová 2014).

> "I moved to the Czech Republic with my parents once I was 5 years old. When I was 6 years old, I went to the first grade, but I did not know the Czech language, so my parents had to hire a Czech nanny to take care of me and teach me the Czech language. The Czech nanny taught me not only the Czech language, but also about Czech cultures such as their public holiday, customs, and history. When I went to secondary school, my parents would like me to go to gymnázium[2], so they hired another Czech nanny to help me study." [Viet, male, 27 years old].

Actually, most of the nannies are elderly women, and they have various

[1] Names of respondents in this paper are fictitious.

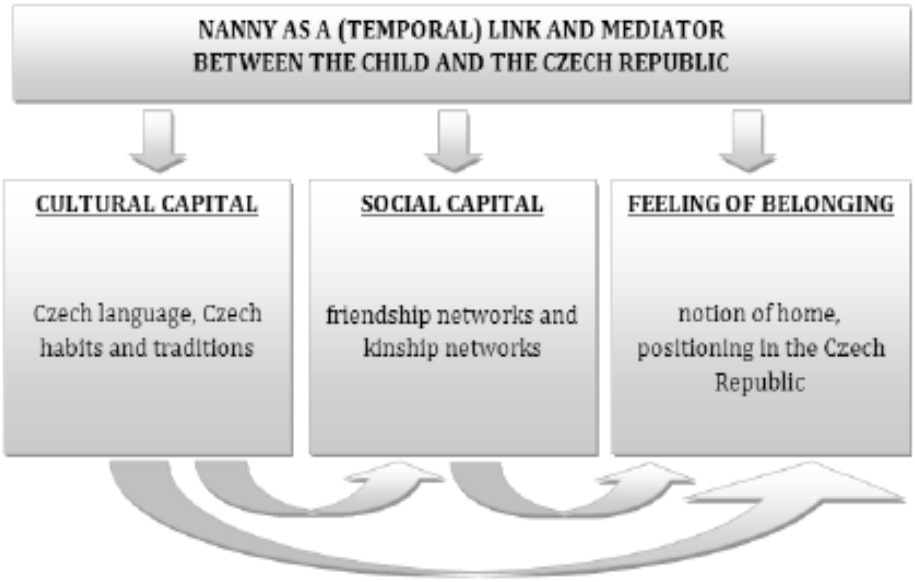
[2] It is a term referred to a high school that prepares students for higher education at a university in Czechia.

activities depending on the age of the children. These activities could range from changing diapers and feeding the child including first with infant food, later with typical Czech meals to teaching Czech words, Czech fairy stories, Czech kid songs, and tutoring school homework (Souralová 2014).

These Czech nannies have become temporal links and mediators between second-generation Vietnamese and Czech society. The caregivers play an integral role in the social integration of second-generation Vietnamese by passing on their cultural, and social capital and raising the feeling of belonging (see figure 3).

> "Sometimes, I slept with my Czech nanny. On the weekend, I went to her house, and she taught me how to garden or sometimes, I hang out with her. At that time, I felt that I am a Czech girl." [Lan Anh, female, 25 years old].

Figure 3: Three doors to Czech society



Source: Souralová (2014, 177)

Cultural capital is passed by Czech nannies including the Czech language, Czech habits, and traditions. Thanks to Czech nannies, these values come spontaneously in the life of most second-generation Vietnamese. This paves the way for the social integration of second-generation Vietnamese into the Czech Republic. Social capital involves several social relationships that facilitate the ties between second-generation Vietnamese and natives. In addition, being brought up by Czech

nannies could give the young Vietnamese the feeling of home when their parents are busy at work and have no time spent with them.

As the children grow up, their needs change. They go to school and make friends with both Czech and Vietnamese. At this point, they have deeply integrated into Czech society. They also often have good friendships with Czech peers and know Czech culture. They feel the most comfortable when they speak the Czech language, even though Vietnamese is their mother tongue. Therefore, it is common when two second-generation Vietnamese to talk to each other in the Czech language instead of the Vietnamese language.

Nonetheless, having two country contexts in the life of second-generation Vietnamese causes their identity problems. Many of them identify themselves as "banana" children. It means that their identity is hybrid (Homoláč and Sherman 2020), and this has led them to be in a "crisis of values" (Seeberg and Goździak 2016).

4.2.2 Social integration and the identity of second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

According to Homoláč and Sherman (2020), there are three identity versions of second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic banana children, young "uninfected" Vietnamese, and the younger generation of banana children. In this paper, I do not focus on all three versions, only on banana children. Because most "banana" children are in the period of adulthood. Therefore, their experiences of growing up in the context of migrancy could help to indicate their identity issues during the process of social integration into the host country.

When I first met a second-generation Vietnamese couple in a coffee shop in Brno, they chuckled and asked me: "Do you know what we call ourselves is? We are banana children." [Lam and Tho, male and female, 34 and 32 years old]

Indeed, the term "banana children" is commonly used to refer to second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. The term points to the person being "yellow" outside, but "white" inside as same as a banana. This means that the appearance of the young Vietnamese is Asian, while their thinking is Czech.

Actually, adolescence is not easy for most people, but in the context of migration, the "banana" children have to encounter different challenges in their life than their peers from the host society. Most of the young generation have at least one time to ask themselves: Am I Vietnamese or Czech? (Svobodová and Janská 2016). This is because they have been heavily impacted by Czech culture and have

strong ties with Czech socio-cultural values. At the same time, they have ties with the socio-culture values of their parents.

The generation is motivated by their parents to acquire the ethnic heritage of Vietnam. Families, parents, and the Vietnamese community play an important role in delivering Vietnamese culture, values, and heritage language to their descendants. This then influences how second-generation Vietnamese perceive their ethnic identities. However, the Vietnamese traditional values are not attractive for the second-generation Vietnamese, which - in some cases – caused the generational and perhaps identity conflict with their parents. As a result, in any case, these people are forced to negotiate their more western values and way of living with their parents.

> "It is difficult for me to say whether Czech identity or Vietnamese identity is the main identity of mine. Because at home, I am influenced by Vietnamese culture, but I am living in Czechia, so I am also influenced by Czech culture. When I was a child, I did not understand much about culture and identity. When I grew up, I liked Western culture more than Vietnamese culture, because you know, like many Vietnamese parents, my parents were very strict with me. Now, I prefer Western culture to Vietnamese culture, but my identity is a mix." [Viet, male, 27 years old].

To deal with the crisis of identity, some of the young Vietnamese in the Czech Republic have a strategy that at home they will be Vietnamese children such as using Vietnamese names, speaking Vietnamese, and following Vietnamese traditions. When they go to school or hang out with their friends, they will use Czech identity including using Czech names and speaking the Czech language.

Some second-generation Vietnamese have chosen to deny one of their identities (Chau 2019). In this case of denying Vietnamese identity, first-generation Vietnamese migrants could say that these people are *"mất gốc"* (rootless).

> "I feel that I am more Czech than Vietnamese, and most belong to Czech. If anyone asks me what my identity is, I can tell them that I am Czech. I have both Vietnamese and Czech citizenship, but I do not know now where my Vietnamese passport is. I knew some Vietnamese customs and traditions, for example Tet holiday, but I do not care much about it." [Mirek, male, 26 years old].

Nevertheless, during their life, the period of struggling with which identity they belong to is just one stage. Their feelings about themselves change over time (Svobodová and Janská 2016). Their adjustments are based on their personal choices and process of development, which are interconnected with multilayer social issues (Nguyen Phuong Mai 2020). To sum up, banana children are those who have the hybrid character of their identity. They can use two languages and behave following the social norms of both societies in their daily life. They are integrated very well into

Czech society via Czech nannies' doors and the educational system (Drbohlav et al. 2009). They are seen as the link between the Vietnamese community and Czech society.

5. Conclusions

This paper has focused on the social integration of Vietnamese people including first-generation and second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. Based on the study in Brno, Czechia, the paper has shown the barriers to the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese. Later on, the paper has paid attention to the second-generation Vietnamese and indicates that they integrate into the Czech society thanks to their Czech nanny. However, because of their identity problem, they suffer from integrating into the Vietnamese society in the Czech Republic.

Vietnamese people living in the Czech Republic have had successful business activities in Czechia. These activities reflect the economic integration of Vietnamese migrants and their contribution to the Czech economy. However, most of them only focus on their businesses and do not interact with other groups except for economic reasons. Consequently, the Vietnamese diaspora community in the Czech Republic, especially first-generation Vietnamese, is a separate entity in the host country. They have limited contact with the society-in-large. As a result, they seem to be excluded from Czech society and have weak social integration. Their weak social integration stems from several barriers namely individual barriers and structural barriers.

The most common individual barrier to the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia is Czech language proficiency. The barrier impacts most dimensions of social integration such as employment, housing, education, health, and participation. Also, the study reveals that educational attainment is not an individual barrier for participants to seek a job in Brno, Czechia. This is because most of the people in the sample are either self-employed or have jobs in Vietnamese stores/companies which do not require academic degrees. They are likely to find opportunities in retail shops/stores, and they have their ethnic-specific geographies of the labor market in the Czech Republic. Even, in their home country, their work corresponded to their education, but here in the Czech Republic, it does not.

Furthermore, the data of this study found that the current policies of family reunification, residence permits, and election regulations have negative effects on the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia.

Also, discrimination is a severe barrier to the social integration of Vietnamese migrants. It harms the chances of accessing education, healthcare services, and housing facilities. Half of the respondents in this study confirmed that they were scorned in public areas because of their Asian race.

In contrast, second-generation Vietnamese have had successful integration into the host society since early childhood. They have proficiency in the Czech language, have been educated in Czech schools, acquired Czech culture, and have more opportunities to interact with Czechs. They also have high achievement in the Czech education system and then have the best positions at universities in early adulthood. In the early stage of their life, Czech nannies could be seen as the main door for them to integrate into Czech society. These nannies prepare cultural capital and social capital for second-generation Vietnamese to deeply integrate into the host society.

Nonetheless, second-generation Vietnamese who are well-known as banana children have been facing a crisis of value because of their hybrid identities. This is because most of them are not migrants but are living in the migrant space. They have an identity shaped by both Vietnamese and Czech culture. This led to the fact that they are the important bridge between the Vietnamese community and Czech society. Along with first-generation Vietnamese, their development has been contributing to the development of the Vietnamese diaspora not only in the Czech Republic but also in the world.

Generally speaking, individual barriers can be removed by migrants themselves. Living in a foreign country requires migrants to learn the host country's language. Moreover, they should boost their social connections to become a member of Czech society, particularly with natives. Also, Vietnamese migrants and their descendants cannot integrate well without the support of the host government and the openness of the host society. The Czech government should take some serious actions toward the social integration of migrants. The Czech government should pay much more attention to the policies of family reunification and residence permit to support migrants living in the country. In fact, good social integration laws/policies would have positive effects on both the migrant communities and the host communities. Such policies might not just make the current migrant generation's life better but secure a good life for the future generations too. The government of Vietnam should pay attention to the migration policies to support the Vietnamese diaspora community in the Czech Republic. The governments of two

countries, Vietnam and the Czech Republic need to enhance friendship and cooperation to support Vietnamese citizens living in the Czech Republic.

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"Oh, You Speak Italian Very Well": Narratives of African Muslim Women with a Migrant Background in Italy

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Abstract. Migrants are, in the collective imagination of the Western citizen, made up of desperate women and men fleeing from catastrophic events, attempting to invade the borders of an opulent Europe while crossing the Mediterranean Sea clandestinely. Coupling with that there is the notion that the majority of immigrants to Europe are practicing the Islamic faith, whose principles are perceived as incompatible with the Western values. As result young individuals with an immigrant background, commonly defined as 'second-generation immigrants' are often subject to prejudices and to a negative attitude from nationals. Through the narratives of young Muslim women with an African and migrant background, the paper aims at offering a snapshot on how this category, is perceived in Italy. The paper initially provides some theoretical background on the way social representation of cultural diversity is determined; the empirical analysis offers the women's perspective on how cultural diversity is represented. The goal is to provide a better understanding of the image of the Muslim women linked to their social, economic and cultural roots, and how the mutual exchange of cultural capital can consolidate the opportunities for cooperation to achieve an inclusive and intercultural society.

Keywords: *discrimination, Italy, Muslim, migrant background, women*

1. Introduction

The joint OECD/EU study on immigrants' integration (OECD, 2018) indicates that approximately 58 million foreign-born residents, representing 11.5% of its population, live in the European Union (EU). Germany and France, hosting respectively 22% and 14% foreign-born citizens, are the main immigrant host countries, followed by Italy and Spain, each accommodating 10% foreign-born citizens. The latest European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey provides relevant information on effective and perceived hate-motivated persecution. The survey indicates that a considerable proportion of respondents experienced high levels of discrimination because of their ethnic or immigrant background, and /or because of skin colour and religion. In particular it shows that "*four out of 10*

respondents (38 %) felt discriminated against in the five years before the survey … and one in four (24 %) experienced this in the 12 months preceding the survey", (EU-MIDIS II, 2017, p. 13). These findings suggest that discrimination in the EU continues to affect large numbers of immigrants and their children as well. Considering the relevance that second generation immigrants have in Italy, it is important to look more in details on the way effective and perceived discrimination impacts on them and on their path to achieve inclusion in the country.

The increase in the number of adolescents with a migrant background has spawned, in recent years, a wide debate in Europe and in Italy in particular, (EU, 2020; Caneva, 2014) on such category and on the policies to favour their inclusion. The outcomes of this 'second-generation immigrants', is considered a good proxy of the level of inclusion in any given country, but effective and perceived discrimination, can hamper such process and impede social cohesion. Several studies (Ziersch, Due, Walsh, 2020; Farahat, 2021) have suggested that discrimination, particularly in the case of immigrants' children born or arrived in a host country at a young age, negatively affects the assimilation/inclusion process, lessening the sense of belonging in the host country.

The assimilation's process originally described with reference to the North American migration flows, implies that the migrants and/or their children by adopting the language, values and norms of the host society, can become similar to the native. In the absence of prejudice and discrimination such process has been presented as a natural outcome for the migrants. The term is however ambiguous since, to succeed, assimilation implies that the migrants abandon their cultural identity (Houtkamp 2015). Furthermore, the assimilation's process becomes problematic when referred to both migrants and their offspring who can be considered as transnational migrants, virtually mobile (Urry 2020) maintaining social relations with relatives and friends in the country of origin, (Bash et al., 2008). Concurrently, particularly in the case of the migrants' offspring, born or arrived at an early age in the host country and schooled there, the idea of national boundaries loses its relevance. For this reason, it is more appropriately the term inclusion, described as a reciprocal, two-way, process where the migrants are not asked to adapt to the host society, but they are helped and encouraged to participate in their new community, (Macleod, 2021). At the foundation of the inclusion concept, there is the assumption that both parties want to create a common collective identity based on shared values and the sense of belonging to a collective community

(Medda-Windischer, 2013). However, especially in Italy, the acquisition of citizenship has produced an ample debate among those who see citizenship as a factor that favors the processes of inclusion and those who consider it a sort of reward, to be deserved, (Attanasio, 2021). The final proof of the integration itself, according to a logic which can be a cause of exclusion in the provision of rights and services, particularly in the case of children with a migrant background.

In this context, the debate on the identity and the sense of belonging of the individuals with a migrant background is equally broad and lively and involves scholars of different social fields. Terms such as suspended identities, multiple belongings, hybridization of identity (Lannutti, 2014; Valtolina and Marrazzi, 2006) have been used, to this regard reopening the discussion at national and international level on the issue of citizenship, (Bauman 2011).

Before going further into the analysis, we deem appropriate to spend a few words on the definition of second-generation immigrants. For statistical purposes, the Conference of European Statisticians (UNECE 2010, p. 84) refers to them as "*the group of persons born in the country whose parents were born abroad*"; to this group, the children of foreign parents born abroad, but arrived in the country within the pre-adolescent period, are added. We are of the opinion that this definition neither fully represents who the native born with immigrant parents are, nor properly reflects the experience of these citizens in the host country. On the contrary, it risks to perpetuate the imagine of them as immigrants. The native-born offspring of immigrants, as well as those who arrived at a very young age and/or when they were still of mandatory schooling age, have in fact been raised and educated in an environment which is the same of their peers in the host country. Although some elements of their foreign origin remain part of their individuality, these cannot and should not affect their identification as the native-born population. For this reason, we are going to follow the OECD (2018) classification which uses for this group the definition of people/children with a migrant background.

The study focuses on the subcategory of African Muslim women since by wearing the veil, they are more easily identified as dissimilar and hence are more easily subject to multi-facial forms of discrimination (ethnical, skin, gender, and religious). while epitomising the idea of an oppressive Islamic culture described as incompatible with the Italian Christian roots, (Salih, 2010). On the other hand, as several studies indicate, young Muslim women are starting to challenge those negative representation of themselves and Islam, showing a much stronger agency

than men (Evolvi, 2017; Manisera, 2021).

The paper is organised as follows: after the introduction, section 2 provides some background on the debate on migration in Italy, looking specifically at the presence of Muslims in the country and at the level of discrimination towards immigrants. Section 3, describes the methodology used to carry out the empirical study, while section 4 presents the finding and section 5 discusses and analyses the narratives of Muslim women interviewed. Although citizenship is not the main focus of our empirical exercise, this issue has also emerged as one of the most significant factors which can facilitate or impede inclusion. The conclusions complete the paper.

2. Migrants' perceptions and Muslim presence in Italy

Migrants have often been perceived according to a Eurocentric vision based on stereotypes and / or a flawed representation of them (Hinojo, 2016). The African continent after sixty years of political independence is still viewed negatively (Bates, 2012; Soto 2020), shaken up by climatic and health emergencies, conflicts or wars, with scarce resources and absolute poverty, (Cohen, 2014; Poncian, 2015). African migrants are generally described as a peril to security and often epitomised as a threat to European culture and values, (Rasinger, 2010).

The persistence of such perceptions has generally been blamed on mediatised incidents which, "…*focusing on the threats that immigrants and refugees pose to members of host societ*ies.", (Esses et al. 2013, p. 520), describe migration as a problem. As results migrants have often been portrayed in the public discussion and by politicians, as a menace to security and, in the long-term, a direct threat to European national identity and culture, (Huysmans, 2006; Horsti, 2008; Caruso, Venditto, 2020). Women and youth migrants are on the other hand generally labelled as either victims of abuses or as taking advantage of EU's welfare system, (Anderson, 2012; Hennebry et al., 2017). Such representations influence the current public debate on migration and can explain the high level of discrimination experienced in Europe, and in Italy in particular, by immigrants and native-born children of immigrants.

More specifically the EU-MIDIS II (2017) survey, likewise a similar survey carried out in 2008, indicates that respondents with North African (NOAFR) and Sub-Saharan African (SSAFR) background, the subjects of our empirical analysis, continue to experience the highest levels of discrimination. In Italy the data shows an average

rate of discrimination for the two groups, even higher than the EU's average, as indicated in tables 1a and 1b.

Table 1a. **Overall discrimination* in the 12 months before the survey**

	12 Months Before				
Italy -Average	28%	*Women*	*Men*	EU28 -Average	24%
SSAFR	23%	29%	19%		10%
NOAFR	34%	*37%*	*31%*		31%

Source: EU-MIDIS II (2019) *based on ethnic or immigrant background (incl. skin colour, ethnic origin, religion and or religious belief)

Table 1b. **Overall discrimination* in the 5 years before the survey**

	5 Years Before				
Italy -Average	48%	Women	Men	EU28 -Average	38%
SSAFR	48%	42%	54%		39%
NOAFR	51%	46%	54%		45%

Source: EU-MIDIS II (2019) *based on ethnic or immigrant background (incl. skin colour, ethnic origin, religion and or religious belief)

The survey builds on previous studies on prejudice towards foreigners in Italy (Rampelli, Spagnolo, D'Alessandro 2011), denoting that discrimination is a structural, rather than a transient phenomenon. Table 2 shows that ethnic origin, skin colour and religion are the most relevant ways in which discrimination manifests itself.

Table 2. **Prevalence of discrimination based on ethnic origin, skin colour and religion in the 5 years before the survey in 4 areas of life***

Ethnic Origin					
Italy -Average	37%	*Women*	*Men*	EU28 -Average	25%
SSAFR	34%	28%	37%		19%
NOAFR	40%	37%	41%		36%
Skin Colour					
Italy -Average	22%	*Women*	*Men*	EU28 -Average	12%
SSAFR	37%	*26%*	*43%*		27%
NOAFR	20%	*17%*	*21%*		9%
Religion					
Italy -Average	19%			EU28 -Average	12%
SSAFR	10%				5%
NOAFR	29%				20%

Source: EU-MIDIS II (2019) * 1: Looking for work, 2: At work, 3: Housing, 4: In contact with school authorities as a parent or guardian.

2.1. Muslim community in Italy

The absence of an ad hoc database makes it difficult to provide an exact value for faithful of any religion in Italy. In the Italian popular imaginary, Muslims have become a synonym for foreigners and immigrants in general, (della Porta, Bosi, 2010). ISMU Foundation provides the most recent estimates on the number of subjects who refer to the moral and social values of Islam. As of 1 January 2020, Muslims in Italy represent about 1 million and 574 thousand people (29.2% of the total foreign residents), excluding those who have acquired Italian citizenship and those not registered; minors of any age, including infants, are included, in the estimates, (ISMU 2020). Taking into account the naturalization of many Muslims, and hence including both Italian citizens and those resident with foreign citizenship, in 2020 there were 2.7 million Muslims, in Italy equal to 4.9% of the total population in the country, (Openpolis, 2021). They originate from many different countries, but predominantly from the African continent, (Spena, 2010). More specifically, it is estimated that almost 3 out of 10 (28.9%) Muslims are Europeans, almost all coming from the Balkan and central-eastern area (Albanians, Moldavians and Kosovars). Over half of foreign Muslims residing in Italy (52.7%), are Africans, mainly from the Maghreb and the Mashrek (37.8%), led by Moroccan citizens, followed by Egyptians and Tunisians. Senegalese and Nigerians represent the majority of Muslims from the Western Africa (13.6%). Just under one fifth (18.5%) of foreign Muslims residing in Italy are Asian, mainly from the Indian sub-continent (Bangladeshis and Pakistanis). Although a minority, Muslims are a well-structured presence in the country, particularly in the northern regions and in the capital Rome, where more than 100,000 Muslims reside, the same number of Muslims living in Milan, (Ciocca, 2019). The vast majority of Muslim immigrants belong to the age cohort 16-40 and almost one third are women.

3. Methodology

The paper uses Charmaz's (2014), constructivist version of grounded theory which the authors believe to be appropriate to address the dichotomy between the perception and the reality of discrimination of Muslim women in Italy. Emphasis has been put on the respondents' narrative and the process resulting from the interaction with the actors via the medium of interviews. The participants' narratives are, in fact, not just 'stories', but are filled with social life information which can be

brought to light through the interpretative role of the researcher, (Erol Isik, 2015). The adoption of a constructivist approach to grounded theory is ontologically related to the authors' conviction that the reality of the phenomenon observed, cannot be understood without reference to the values and reasons that the actors attach to their actions and to that of those surrounding them. Using a constructivist grounded theory approach has allowed to go beyond the preconceived representation of Muslim women in Italy, which has been rather explained from the actors' experiences. The respondents were asked to illustrate their insight on five areas:

1- The role women had in the respondents/parents' country of origin and in Italy;

2- The representation of women Muslim/immigrants and Islam in Italy;

3- How being a Muslim impacted on the respondents' life;

4- The respondent identification with the migrant's category;

5- The way forward to change the existing narrative on women Muslim and Islam.

The women's narratives pertaining the 5 areas have been analytically broken down and coded, using catch verbs and words that have captured, in a wider form, the participants' tacit meanings recorded in the data. From the initial codes more selective focused codes have been identified. In line with the ontological and epistemological principles of constructivism, the constant analytical comparison with the existing data has helped to synthesize conceptual categories identified by the interaction of the researchers with the data and their interpretation. Theoretical coding has allowed the conceptualisation of the possible relationships existing between the different categories identified through focused coding, helping to explain the phenomenon analysed as indicated in table 4 below.

Data saturation (no more new information emerging from the sample) has been used to determine the size sample; in this case it was reached with 10 respondents. 5 participants were identified based on their engagement and role they had in both public institutions and civil society organisations; the remaining 5 were randomly identified from an initial contact of the authors. COVID-19 mobility and safety restrictions, made it difficult to have 'traditional' face-to-face interviews, hence interviews were conducted using alternative social media tools, such as Google-meet, Skype and WhatsApp. The data were collected from May to September 2021, apart from some hiccups, due to unstable connection, the interviews were conducted in a smooth way and lasted between 1 to 3 hours. The

semi structured questionnaire had two components: the first component with closed questions provided a general description of the respondents, the second component, with open-ended questions, allowed the participants to reflect on the questions posed and to describe their experiences and views. All interviews were recorded.

Prior to data collection, the researchers provided a self-introduction to the participants and explained the study's objectives and methodology. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, extra permission was requested in order to make use of the voice recordings; none of the participants refused to consent. The participants were told that confidentiality and anonymity would have been maintained during the study and informed that they had the freedom to withdraw from the study at any time without consequences. Although the sample size may appear small and fell short of the suggested guideline for actual sample sizes in qualitative analysis, (Creswell, 1998).

Tables 3a and 3b provide information on the respondents' general characteristics; they were mostly young women born in Italy with one or both parents born in a foreign country, and young foreign-born women, schooled in Italy, arrived in the country with their immigrant parents before the age of 10. The median age of the respondents was 29 years, the majority of them hold a tertiary degree. The spatial representation of the sample covered the North, the Centre and the South of the country. 60% of the respondents had a Moroccan family background followed by respondents with an Egyptian, Senegalese and Palestine background. This is in line with the fact that over half (52.7%) of the Muslim living in Italy are Africans, with Moroccans in the lead, followed at a distance by Egyptians and Senegalese, (Openpolis, 2021). All, but one respondent, were of African origin, the one who was not, was married with an African citizen and had direct knowledge of the condition of women in the African continent

The majority of the respondent, 60%, had already acquired Italian citizenship, while 20% of them were waiting for the outcome of the citizenship's request; only 1 respondent did not apply for it.

All participants interviewed self-identified as Muslim, however, there were variation and differentiation in terms of level and degree of religious practice.

Table 3a. Respondents Descriptive Characteristic

	Age	Parents' country of origin	Education	Region of residence	Marital Status	Professional tittle/role
1	30-40	Morocco	MA	Veneto North West	Married children	Lawyer
2	20-30	Morocco	Dipl. in design	Piemonte North West	Married children	Fashion Designer
3	18-20	Senegal	Student	Lombardia North West	Single no children	Student, Influencer
4	20-30	Egypt	Uni Student	Lombardia North West	Single no children	Student, Influencer
5	20-30	Morocco	MA	Emilia Romagna Central North	Single no children	Pupillage Lawyer
6	20-30	Morocco	Degree	Piemonte North West	Single no children	MA Student
7	40-50	Palestine Italy	Dipl.	Lombardia North West	Married children	CEO NGO
8	30-40	Egypt	Degree	Emilia Romagna Central North	Single children	Social Assistant
9	30-40	Morocco	Degree	Sicily South	Single no children	Lawyer
10	30-40	Morocco	MA	Lazio Centre	Single no children	Social Assistant

Source: Own elaboration

Table 3b. Respondents Descriptive Characteristics

	Migration History	Schooling	Religion	Nationality	Italian citizenship
1	Arrived age 7	From Primary to Tertiary	Not practicing	Moroccan	Not requested
2	Arrived age 3	From Primary to Tertiary	Practicing	Moroccan	denied, reapplied
3	Arrived age 4	From Primary to Tertiary, but 3 years in Senegal	Practicing	Senegalese	denied
4	Arrived age 3 months	From Primary to Tertiary	Practicing	Egyptian	requested, pending
5	Born in Italy	From Primary to Tertiary	Practicing	Moroccan	by naturalisation
6	Arrived age 1 and half years	From Primary to Tertiary	Practicing	Moroccan	acquired before 18 years old
7	Born in Italy	From Primary to Secondary	Practicing	Italian	

8	Arrived age 4	From Primary to Tertiary	Practicing Egyptian	acquired when 18 years old
9	Arrived age 10 months	From Primary to Tertiary	Practicing Moroccan	acquired when 18 years old
10	Born in Italy	From Primary to Tertiary	Practicing Moroccan	acquired when 18 years old

Source: Own elaboration

The questionnaire was designed in such a way to protect the dignity and welfare of the participants, so that participants did not feel humiliated, embarrassed, scared, anxious, stressed, saddened, or discouraged. The data was transcribed by the researchers within 24 hours of the interviews and the codes were independently extracted and classified leading to the identification of themes and categories. The researchers systematically discussed the findings to verify the appropriateness of the conceptual meanings and terminology to use. By using self-reflection, we were able to identify, articulate, examine and critique our believes which could have influenced the research and reduce the bias and partisanship, (Rowe, 2014; Holmes, 2020).

4. Findings

This section presents the outcomes of the interviews leading to agency representation of the African Muslim women with a migrant background. The reflexive analysis of the respondents' narratives led to the identification of focused codes which produced 5 general categories as shown in table 4 below.

Namely: 1- Family values and patriarchism; 2- Fear of the other, fear of the Muslim and discrimination; 3- Religion as a form of identity; 4- Assimilation with a dual identity; 5- Being a bridge between different cultures. Those categories provided an explanatory framework to describe the social process of the interaction between the personal views of the respondents and the influence that the external structures had on the construction of such views, (Giddens, 1984, 1991).

The subsections below offer a description of the respondents' answers leading to the identification of the 5 categories/conceptual themes.

Table 4. **Focused codes and categories**

Main issues investigated	Focused Codes	Categories-Conceptual Themes
Differences in the role women have in the (respondent/parents) country of origin and in Italy	Respect Commodification of women Women as objects Formal vs Effective equality Same opportunities Family values	1- Family values and Patriarchism
Representation of women Muslim/immigrants and Islam in Italy	Invisibility Oppressed/Submissive Closure Enemy Terrorist Stereotype	2 - Fear of the other, fear of the Muslim and Discrimination
The respondents feeling on Islamophobia	Lack of respect Prejudice Ignorance/lack of knowledge	
How external perceptions have affected the respondents	Challenge Belittled Learned to be strong To be ashamed Justify Burden	
How being a Muslim has impacted on the respondents' life	Burden Challenge Made me stronger To be responsible Self-confident Be proud	3- Religion as a form of identity
The respondents' relationship with the veil/hijab	Beauty Natural thing to do Spiritual guide To feel complete Burden Islamophobia Seen as a foreigner	
The respondent identification with the migrant's category	Society looks at me as an immigrant Veil and skin's colour elements of diversity Immigrant wrong definition Being delegitimised Citizenship as a tool for inclusion Mix culture	4 - Assimilation with a dual identity
The way forward to change the existing narrative	Inclusion Dialogue Engage with media / Inform Irony	5 - Being a bridge between different cultures

Source: Own elaboration

4.1. Family values and patriarchism

Describing the role women retain in their parents' country of origin and in Italy, the conceptual theme family values and patriarchism emerges.

Respondent 2 states that: "*In Morocco women are seen as mothers, sisters, daughters, and they are respected for that, you will never see a woman in TV or other media half naked or in an inopportune position, while this is common on Italian media, where women are seen as objects to achieve other objectives…*". Respondent 4 corroborates such narrative indicating that currently in Egypt women still play a traditional role both in the house and in the family. Similarly, respondent 3, indicates that in Senegal women play a critical role in "*raising the children and caring for the husband*". Interestingly both respondents do not immediately associate this position to the existence of patriarchal elements in the society, which however they acknowledge to exist. The existence of a family support mechanism, is also described as a useful tool to ensure women emancipation since it allows the women to go back to work after giving birth. In this description one can recognise the similar mechanism used in Italy in the past reappeared in the recent years due to the worsening of economic conditions and the absence of a comprehensive public welfare system for the families, (Da Roit, Sabatinelli, 2005).

Reflecting on the role played by the women in the family contest, the respondents stress their economic dependence which it is not accepted by respondent 3 who indicates, that she sees "[herself] *as an independent woman, capable of doing everything by* [herself]". Such view is further developed by respondent 9: "*If we compare the oriental/North African culture with the Italian culture, we can say that the women's role in Italy is more advanced than in Morocco. Women are often considered inferior to the men, and there is not the same gender equality that one would expect these days*".

When asked to reflexively assess the role of patriarchy in the African context all respondents acknowledge its presence; respondent 5 goes to the root-cause of the phenomena, explaining that it is the men who relegate women to "*traditional roles*" of taking care of the family, "*There is a patriarchal concept of the women's role, particularly in the rural area where access to education for the women is still limited*". What emerges from the respondents' narratives is the acknowledgment of dissimilarities in the women's role in the country of origin of their parents and Italy, however, patriarchism is identified as the underlining explanatory factor, which exist

in both environments, although it manifests itself in a more subtlety way in Italy, (Passarella, 2020).

4.2 Fear of the other, fear of the Muslim and discrimination

The explanatory categories, fear of the other/Muslim and discrimination, emerge from the respondents' reflective elaboration of the way Muslim/immigrant women and Islam are represented in Italy. Those categories are also directly correlated to the respondents' perception of Islamophobia, a phenomenon deeply rooted in the Italian society, (Alietti and Padovan, 2013, Lipori, 2020). As explained by respondent 4 "*Women immigrants are described as locked in the house by their husbands/partners, incapable of speaking Italian, and if employed they are engaged in humble activities, because no one expects immigrant working as professionals or having positions of high responsibility*". Respondent 5 echoes such sentiments specifying that Muslim women are. "*… seen as oppressed and this generate a sentiment of pity by non-Muslim who feel the need to free them from this oppression*", while respondent 2 adds to such narrative that Muslim women are invisible and, "*one seldom sees women represented in their day-to-day life*".

What also emerges from the comparative analysis of the respondents' reflection on the theme, is that this negative representation, mirrors the way Muslim males are described *"men are represented as violent, oppressive and authoritarian, the women are seen as subject to their violence, submissive, incapable of having their voice heard*", (respondent 9)." Traditional media have a big responsibility in promoting such an imagine, amplifying negative events involving Muslim (Conte 2009). As narrated by respondent 6, "*It is sufficient that one Jamil* [common Muslim man name] *is responsible of an act of gender violence, that all Muslims are responsible of violence against women, even if the same acts are committed by all men, regardless from their nationalities or religious believe*".

This type of narrative is reiterated by all the other women interviewed. In their observations they note that it seems to be a particular interest to represent an unhealthy image of Muslim people. "*Muslim women are often represented in the media by wearing the burqa, while this is a vest used only in few countries, Afghanistan, Somalia, Saudi Arabia*" (respondent 1). "*I am often interviewed on TV, but the journalists interview me only when there is a negative story concerning Muslim women. I was never asked to present the good things that with our organisation we do. They even told me that crime stories are what bring the audience*

up", (respondent 7). The respondents associate this negative perception also with Islamophobia, wearing the veil/hijab worsens the discriminations suffered by the women interviewed. More than anything else, it is the hijab which allows to be recognized as a Muslim believer and be categorised as different. "*The first day of school* [secondary, G9,] *wearing the hijab everyone* [friends and professors that knew her since G8] *looked at me differently, and were keeping asking me if the nijab has been forced on me. No one could believe or accept it was my decision*" (respondent 4).

Respondent 2 introduces the element of racialization and intersectional discrimination in this storyline, "*There is a sort of hierarchy when dealing with discrimination. White immigrants not wearing veils are treated better than the other, followed by black immigrants not wearing the veil, white immigrants with the veil and lastly black female immigrant wearing a veil. In general, black immigrants are more discriminated"*. This description is echoed both by respondent 3, who stresses the fact that the negative representation of Muslim women is accentuated in the case of black people: "*Being woman, Muslim and black is not easy in Italy*", and respondent 4 who presents the additional component of black women's fetishization, "*My black friends tell me that from the age of 9/10 years they have been object of fetishization from white adults*".

Asked to reflectively assess the effects of such representation as agents and as members of the broad Muslim category, the respondents indicated that they felt a sense of moral responsibility towards themselves and the Muslim community at large. As put by respondent 2: "*I cannot act freely, I cannot make a slight mistake, because the mistakes I make are going to classify the whole Muslim community*". At the same time, they were aware that the burden to normalise the imagine Muslims have in the society is mostly left to them. Accepting this unfamiliar setting and creating original solutions to the difficulties associated with it (Arruda, 2015), is in the respondents' view, the way to overcome such difficulties. "*Having Muslim women influencers born in Italy, wearing the veil on Tik Tok or Instagram is an important sign. In the right direction.*" notes respondent 4, echoed by respondent 5, "*Only 5-6 years ago it was unimaginable to see an Italian Muslim woman, or a black Italian being an influencer on social media, now there are many of them, they give a more real and correct representation of who we are*".

4.3. Religion as a form of identity

Social identity theory (Greenfield and Marks, 2007) suggests that religious identification accounts for higher levels of psychological well-being, while affiliation to a group helps to define the personal social identity, (Burke, 2008). Those concepts clearly emerge from the respondents' narratives. Being a religious person is something normal, to be proud of, as indicated by respondent 2: "*Being Muslim it is something natural to me, I am happy of the pattern I have chosen to follow, I am proud of what I am because I know what Islam offers to women, and I know what women suffer on a daily life in a male dominated society*". At the *same* time the veil is seen by the majority of the respondents as an expression of freedom contrary to the dominant view it is a form of coercion, (Lazreg, 2009; Scamardella, 2012). In other cases, wearing the veil is seen as an expression of the women's own spirituality and religiosity: "*Wearing the veil/hijab*, *guides me, reminds me of the spiritual values in which I believe*", (respondent 4). "*The hijab is a sign of the relation between myself and Allah, no one has to come in it*", (respondent 7); "*Wearing the veil makes me feeling complete, to be myself*; *without it, I feel naked*" (respondent 2). "*I started praying at a young age and this is what gives me strength, it is a moment dedicated to myself, and it makes me self-confident*" (respondent 6). Discovering and reconstructing their religious self-identity has not been an easy process for all the respondents due to the societal structures which they had to deal with, "*Six years ago, probably* [I] *would have said that I was not a Muslim. Now I can tell that I am completing a process of understanding of who I am in terms of being a woman and a Muslim. Before I felt that my parent's culture was not part of me and because of my experiences, I refused it. When I was little, I wanted to be accepted by the external world so I did not want to be associated with being a Muslim*", (respondent 10).

4.4. Assimilation with a dual Identity

The respondents did not recognise themselves with the definition of immigrant and unanimously associate themselves with the country of residence. Being identified as an immigrant upset the respondents because the decision to migrate had been taken by their parents, and irrespectively if they arrived in the country at a very young age or were born in the country, they all felt Italians.

"*I do not define myself an immigrant, it is a definition that makes me feel out of place; I have lived all my life in Italy and I feel 100% Italian",* (respondent 2). *"I do*

not define myself an immigrant, I could say that I was born here [arrived at the age of 4] *and I arrived in Italy by plane not on a boat"* (respondent 3). "*I do not define myself as an immigrant; my parents are immigrants because they decided to leave Egypt and come to Italy. I arrived when I was 3 months, I regard myself as I was born here, like my sisters, I did not decide to leave Egypt"* (respondent 4).

The respondents, on the other hand indicate that it is the society, "the others" that, call them immigrants, "*No, it is the others that look at me as an immigrant*" (respondent 1); "*The others look at me as an immigrant, this because I wear a veil* (respondent 3*).* Assumptions related to their exterior look or the foreign name make native Italians consider them as immigrants, "*I am considered an immigrant because people cannot believe that an Italian woman can be black or wear the veil*" (respondent 4); "*I am an Italian of second generation, but I look differently, I don't have an Italian surname"* (respondent 6).

In line with the segmented assimilation theory (Portes, Min, 1993), what emerges from the interviews is that external factors, do affect the assimilation/inclusion process, (Boundless, 2016). Prejudices, discriminations and the underlying government policies can enhance or lessen the sense of belonging. Respondent 9, with Italian nationality, specifies that she empathizes with the immigrants because she still experiences the feeling of being an immigrant:

> "…having arrived in Italy at 10 months and schooled here, I was not different from the others. I have the same cultural background, the same Italian feeling as the others, but for the State there were no differences between myself and the refugees or the latest migrants arrived by boats. I felt as an illegitimate daughter, spending 30 years of my life to renew the residence permit every year, I have been deprived of many rights, … for so long I have not been considered as an Italian citizen, I have not been able to vote.".

4.5. Being a bridge between different cultures

Reflecting on the way forward to change the existing account of Muslim women in Italy, the respondents felt compelled to use their knowledge and experiences to challenge and modify the existing stereotypes on both Muslim women and overall, the individuals with a migrant background. They regarded themselves as a bridge between the cultures, a conduit between the different and interconnected milieu in which they live, "*I feel I have a mission to explain who I am, to build a sort of bridge between two cultures*" (respondent 1).

Although not all the respondents believed that Muslims in general, and

Muslim women in particular, have the obligation to explain and justify who they are, all agreed that to reduce the misunderstanding between the two communities, it is important to represent Muslim women as they are, in their daily life. Respondent 9 indicates that "*Normalize the imagine will be beneficial since it will indicate that Muslims are like the other citizens and do not represent a threat"* while respondent 6 stresses that "*It is important to engage the non-Muslim community to show them that Muslim are not different from the others; that is the only way to change the negative imagine presented by the media*". Respondent 4, a social media influencer, reveals that "*I appear doing normal things, going to school, discussing with my mother, speaking about boyfriends"*.

Concomitantly there is the awareness that, while it is necessary to give a better and more realistic representation of both the Islam and the Muslim women, it is also important to act on an individual level to open up the Muslim communities.

Ultimately it appears that discriminations motivated most of the respondents to get involved in social activities, respondent 4 expressly indicates that: "*I do encourage Muslim women to explain and engage in communication with non-Muslims, this helps to build bridges*". Knowing themselves, being self-confident and, more notably, not having a victim's attitude, helps in communicating with the others and, as denoted by respondent 2, allows to share experiences, "*Often, we* feel *that we are different from the other (Italian) women, that is our reading of the context, but we are not different … when I am going out and sit with my friends of different cultures and ethnicity (Italian, Somali, Egyptian, etc.) we are all the same, we discuss of the same problems, we have the same dreams*".

5. Discussion

The paper examines the narrative of a group of young Muslim women with a migratory background, using the respondents' point of observation to assess the multifaced components of discrimination, in this moving away from considering this sub category of citizens/residents more as objects than subjects of analysis, (Conte, 2009). Five explanatory categories have emerged as interpretative elements of this phenomenon, which provide additional data to understand the inclusion's process of individuals with a migratory background.

The explanatory category, *family values and patriarchism* indicates that the different roles and, in part the diverse representations of women in Italy and in the

countries of origin of the respondents or that of their parents, is a false dichotomy. The contrast between an enlightened and emancipated Italy and a backward and traditional Muslim world is deceptive, patriarchy is a common element in both societies. The objectification of the woman's body more evident in the Italian and in many Western societies lowers the women's social value (Stankiewicz and Rosselli, 2008; Carrotte, Prichard and Lim, 2017), and is expression of patriarchy, in the same way as the traditional roles African Muslim women are consciously or unconsciously forced to take. As result of the above considerations the respondents agree that the formal equality enjoined by women in Italy often does not translate into an effective equality. As described by respondent 8, "*Irrespective of nationality, religious believe, social status, the common denominator in both countries is the same. Women's will is subordinate to society's expectation, moulded by men who presume women should behave in a specific way*". The different roles and, in part the diverse representation of women in the two contexts, are ultimately associated to the extension of women's rights which are more ample in Italy and less in the country of origin of the respondents or that of their parents. What emerges from the respondents' narrative, is also an image of strong Muslim women, which breaks the stereotypes of them as oppressed and backward, (Korteweg, Yurdakul, 2009). As put by respondent 10 "*I can demonstrate to the outside world that a Muslim woman with migrant background can be equal to the men and be successful*". All women, albeit with a different degree of openness, make an act of accuse of the patriarchy, not considered inherent in the Islamic doctrine. Respondent 7 indicates that "*Putting women in a subservient position is not a predicament of Islam but of a patriarchal interpretation of the Quran by the men*"; also "Although *it is not well-known Islam does not indicate a submissive role for the women"* respondent 3.

Contrary to Vanzan (2012) findings, this act of accuse of patriarchy does stimulate a deeper self-analysis from the respondents who exercise their agency powers. In many ways, this unusual image of Islam and the women positive attitude, echoes similar finding from van Es, (2017) who describes Dutch Muslim women as ambassadors of a more enlighten and progressive Islam, women who are engaged in the society and are capable of being agents of change.

With reference to the explanatory category *fear of the other, fear of Muslim and discrimination*, it emerges the feeling that the fear towards the Muslim women, and the Islam in general, is originated by the fact that this category is either essentially invisible, has never been properly/correctly represented in the media

(Nurradine, 2017; Dennisons and Drazanová, 2018). In this way the Muslim women lose their identity to assume a stereotyped identity which is superimposed on them (Chaudary, 2020), an image often used to inflame a 'war of cultures' (Khalidi, 2017) rather than to promote a more inclusive society. Our findings corroborate the idea that stereotyped representation has a stronger effect on immigration attitudes and it influences the way migrants, or those associated with migrants are perceived. Nevertheless, new media instruments such as Instagram or Tik Tok are, little by little, changing the representation of both the migrants in general and the Muslim women in particular, (Evolvi, 2017). These media are, however, mostly used by the younger generations, since the adults (40 years and above) still prefer to use the traditional media, (TV and newspaper).

The explanatory category *religion as a form of identity* and *assimilation with a dual identify*, are somehow intertwined. It appears that the identification with the parents' religion helps the women with a migrant background interviewed to construct their personal identity, which however, does not prevent the construction of a national Italian identity. This new identity containing both ethnic/religious and national elements, as noted by Spiegler (2019), is often present among Muslim minority adolescents in Western Europe. It expedites the inclusion process, particularly when rights such as the acquisition of the citizenship are obtained at an early age, (Fleischmann and Phalet, 2018).

The concept of personal and collective responsibility, already emerged in the theme fear of the other, fear of the Muslim and discrimination, re-appears when discussing the religious identity of the respondents. The veil which makes them identifiable as both foreigners and Muslims, shapes and motivates the respondents in being active to try to change the vision of Muslim women and Islam in the country of residence. In other words, they are aware of being a *bridge among two cultures*. By being active in both the Italian and Muslim communities, they can contribute to improve the understanding of each other, a way to foster national identification and inclusion in their country of residence.

6. Conclusions

Although the sample interviewed cannot be considered as representative of all African Muslim women with a migrant background, the paper's conclusions going beyond the cross section of population being researched, allows to make

generalizations about the processes and relationships that have emerged from the context analysed through the interviewees' narratives (Beaud, Weber, 2010). The findings provide as well information on how to deal with prejudices and stereotype in the Italian society and contribute to the current debate on inclusion. It validated that Muslim culture, is mostly associated to a negative perception connected either to serious violence/terrorism actions or to a fundamentalist religious interpretation of the gender position in the Islam, creating a dichotomous vision of conflict between cultures and a barrier to the inclusion process (Foner, Alba, 2015). More interestingly the study's results show feeble evidence of cultural conflict in the respondents' narratives. Emerge the existence of a successful negotiation, although in same cases after a long personal acculturation process, among the culture of the parents and the one acquired successively, in line with similar studies carried out on Dutch and Polish Muslim women (van Eis, 2017; Stojkow, Zuchowska-Skiba, 2018), which leads to the construction of dual or bicultural identity.The paper's findings confirm that the 'second generations' of immigrants, unlike their parents, belong to fluid cultures, open and multiethnic, that go beyond the idea of a culture of origin considered as a rigid homogeneous container, (Rosina 2021). In accord with Fleischmann and Phalet (2018, p. 45) remark that "*there is no inherent conflict between European national identities and Muslims*' *religious identity*" the empirical observations indicate that the respondents' identity ultimately combines elements of Western/Italian and Muslim culture hence has a hybrid nature, which permits them to change and adapt depending on the situation they deal with.

On the other hand, experiences with discrimination and prejudice lead to considerably lower the respondents' feelings of belonging, as found for other European countries immigrants (OECD/EU 2018). Citizenship however, appears as an enabler of inclusion. In this, the findings add value to the current debate on the identity and sense of belonging of the second generations' migrants (Valtolina, Marrazzi, 2006; Istat, 2020). It is clear from the respondents' narrative that the difficulties encountered in obtaining the Italian citizenship are reasons of concern because, even if citizenship would not make them less identifiable as 'immigrant', it would provide them with rights and enhance their confidence to deal with the different forms of harassment and discrimination.

This young people with a migratory background interviewed, born or raised in Italy must be considered as mediators between different cultures. The sense of responsibility, which has emerged as a *file rouge* during the interviews, indicates the

respondents' consciousness to act as a bridge between the ways of being and doing associated with the parents' context of origin and the place where they live, to achieve an inclusive and intercultural society.

It is important to stress that some of the respondents, although subject to discrimination, associated it with an act based on the ignorance of the perpetuators rather than with racism. One interpretation could be that in this way they did not feel as victims, since it is relatively easier do deal with ignorance than racism. Concurrently one could also argue that by not naming the discriminatory actions as racist, the respondents tried to blend-in, to be accepted by the majority of the Italian population. Those are aspects worthwhile engaging in further research, while enlarging the sample to other categories of female with a migrant background.

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Social and Cultural Values of Catalans – between Identity and Reality

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Abstract. The Culture of Region is one of the most powerful beliefs of Catalans, especially for those living in Spain. During the time, these beliefs transformed them in a community with very strong desire of independence. The aim of this article is to reveal which are the social and cultural beliefs that made them feel so different from the rest of the Spanish territory and which is the reality of Catalans. What does influence so much the culture of Catalans? What is their identity?

Keywords: *the culture of region, social values, cultural values, identity, minority, Catalan*

The identity saw by the eyes of culture has always been a challenging issue in the field of social sciences and has always been of great interest for the scholars. For this, national boundaries are traditionally the ones that set the scope. At the level of European Union, Spain represents a particular case for the fact that here we can speak about a great decentralization at the administrative level which supposes also a great split in the cultural values or even identity. The national culture level together with subculture or individual levels get more particular as we get closer to the individual. The aim of our paper is to put in the light the social and cultural beliefs of a specific part of Spain, Catalonia, and of its inhabitants, the Catalans, and to contrast that with the national culture. We will reveal that going through the process of decentralization of Spain, passing by the linguistic diversity and stopping to the day-by-day reality.

1. Regionalism in Spain. Catalonia

The end of the Franco's regime in Spain brought the so much wanted democracy and the recognition of cultural, linguistic and national differences for the people. The National Constitution from 1978, issued after Franco's death, still

effective today in the country, holds sacred the mention of linguistic, cultural and some degree of national pluralism.1

It is commonly known that the Spanish Constitution guarantees the right to form communities with a specific right of autonomy. Decentralization and devolution were and still are the order words in Spain and this is the process that made possible the creation of the 17 autonomous communities. Cultural and linguistic homogenization among the 17 autonomous communities has never been 100% successful in Spain and the process is still decreasing. These communities have a lot of powers in Spain, and, furthermore, legislative, financial and administrative power, even if they have different powers from a community to the other. There are voices that say that the country could evolve into a federal structure, even if Spain is a centralized system.2 But, even if Spain resemble to a federal state, it is not and maybe will never evolve to such a structure.

For the Spanish autonomous communities, the problem is that the Constitution doesn't mention exactly the limits of this autonomy. Even the way of expressing is quite vague: "after five years and following reform of their statutes, these autonomous communities will be able progressively to extend their powers within the framework of article 149" (Spanish Constitution, article 148.2). There are no others references explaining which these powers are.3 Practically, the official document that gives autonomy to the autonomous communities is the Statute of Autonomy.

There are mainly three autonomous communities in Spain that took a great advantage from the 1978 Constitution: Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia. And this is because of the fact that these three regions maintain even nowadays a regional language and the nationalist feeling is very strong. Our paper will focus on Catalonia only, because lately this Spanish region is more vocal and maybe more demanding than the others two or than the others autonomous communities of

[1] Enric Martínez-Herrera and Thomas Jeffrey Miley, "The Constitution and the politics of National Identity in Spain" in *Nations and Nationalism 16 (1), Journal of the Association for the study of Ethnicity and Nationalism.* 2010, 6–30. Accessed January 5, 2021. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00432.x

[2] Mariana Buda, "Catalan, Basque and Galician, Regional Languages at the Borders of Spain. The Culture of Region" in *The Image of the Other in the European Intercultural Dialogue*, Ed. Dana PANTEA, Ioan HORGA, Mircea BRIE, 2017, accessed January 5, 2021, http://eiab.de/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/The-Image-of-the-Other-in-the-European-Intercultural-Dialogue.pdf

[3] Michael T. Newton and Peter J. Donaghy, *Institutions of Modern Spain. A political and economic guide*, Cambridge University Press 1997, p.136

Spain.

The Catalan Statute of Autonomy provides basic institutional regulation for Catalonia, under the National Constitution from 1978, sure. The Statute defines the rights and the obligations of Catalans, of the political institutions from Catalonia, their competences and their relations with the rest of the country, but also the financing of the Government of Catalonia. The latest Statute of Autonomy dates from 2006 and it was approved by the Catalan citizens by a referendum where 74% of the people said "yes".4

The most important specifications of the Statute are the fact that Catalonia is defined as a nation in the preamble of the text, the historical rights are mentioned as a basis for the self-governing, the role of Catalan language is consolidated in the region by its introduction as a main language in administration and by the obligation that everyone has to study it, the introduction of more rights and obligations for the Catalan citizens, beside the rights and the obligations that exist in the National Constitution, the consolidation of the competencies of the High Court of Justice of Catalonia, the creation of a High Prosecutor of Catalonia and the Council of Justice of Catalonia and also new competencies for the Generalitat and better definition of them. There is also mentioned an establishment of the bilateral relations between the Spanish Government and Catalonia, a better definition of foreign actions of Catalonia and the possibility of creation of delegations abroad for the Generalitat, and, another important aspect, in the Statute is mentioned the extension of powers in matter of financing.5 This document didn't see the light of the day without controversies. Even if in the Preamble of the Statute Catalonia is called "nation" and this was approved by the majority of the political parties, in the opinion of the Spanish Government this denomination is rather declaratory than legal, because the National Constitution mentions the "unity of the Spanish people". In this particularly aspect, the difference between identity and reality is the fact that the Government of Catalonia consider that the Statute of Catalonia is over the National Constitution. Also the majority of the population takes it like that.

In conclusion, the regionalization in Catalonia is a good idea for maintaining the diversity, the regional languages, the administration, but it should be established

[4] Laura Chaqués-Bonafont, Mariona Tomàs. "Public Policies in Catalonia. From self-rule to shared rule?" in *Pôle-Sud*, 2014/1, no. 40, p. 54, accessed January 5, 2021, https://www.cairn.info/revue-pole-sud-2014-1-page-43.htm

[5] Parlament de Catalunya, "Estatuto de autonomía de Cataluña. Texto consolidado", Preamble, p. 19, accessed January 5, 2021, https://www.parlament.cat/document/cataleg/48146.pdf

a more clear line between national regulations and regional power. This would bring out the Catalan identity and would make clearer the role of the state.

2. Collective, Social and Cultural Identity in Catalonia

The term culture, often misleading, is used to depict something as being refined or with superior, selected and valuable attributes, in other words, cultivated artifacts of a society. The concept of culture implies not only the shared modus operandi (valuing something highly) but also the shared values that underpin the modus operandi (a core value) and that there is a characteristic way of perceiving its social environment common to a culture. The concept of shared values resulting in shared behavior and artifacts can also be observed to other collectives outside one's own group or society. Briefly, the definition of the term itself, suggests the presence of a larger culture created by the various cultures that make up a society's whole culture.[6] Or, culture according to Dahl is "an abstract entity which involves a number of usually man-made, collective and shared artifacts, behavioral patterns, values or other concepts which taken together form the culture as a whole".[7]

Is important to note that culture is not inherent or genetically transmitted, because is situated between human behavior and individual personality, thus culture-resultant behavior is subjective and modifies according to individual personality. The fact that culture is not directly linked to the individuals creates a problem in establishing how many individuals who share a culture make up a culture. For example, the notion of European culture suggests that people share common similarities despite different political, religious and language barriers. This is the reason why we can speak about cultural identity.

Collective and social identity are very closed terms, but still different. The collective (group) identity concept was first introduced by Freud, who says that the individual is always part of a group. His theory was later developed by other scholars

[6] Stephan Dahl, "Intercultural Research: The Current State of Knowledge", Middlesex University Business School London, 2005, Accessed January 10, 2021, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=658202
[7] Ibid., 1

like Jung, Fromm or Tajfel.[8] The concept of social identity was defined in relation with the term "social categorization". That means that the society can be seen by its individuals in function of their social attributes as gender, class, nationality, religion, profession, hobby and interests. These divisions predetermine the relationships between individuals. [9] Some scholars place the collective and social identity on equality; others put the two concepts in the same group.

In other words, the identity is not something innate. All forms of identity are built throughout the life of the individual and it is always composed of a series of components. The concept of social or cultural identity determines people in a social, cultural and historical environment. And this is the situation in Catalonia. The identity became a powerful argument both for confrontation with groups from different social contexts and for association with different social, cultural and political grouping.

In Catalonia, the power that autonomous community has, influences people to fell different from the others of the Spanish territory. Having a language on its own, a flag that is different from that national one and also a better economy (due to the geographical position on the Spanish territory) increases the regional spirit. In Catalonia we can talk about an attempt to build a national identity using internal and external tools.

3. The tools of Catalan's identification

The social-constructivist theory says that the knowledge of the world that we develop is influenced by the society and the majority of the things that we perceive to be a reality depend on our own assumptions. The perspective of socio-constructivism is that a lot of the things around us that we take naturally are actually socially built and, therefore, can change if the society changes. The theory of social constructivism states that any sense is created in social terms. In other terms, the social constructions may not be real, so the social constructions are an invention of

[8] Diana Petkova, "Cultural Identity in a pluralistic world" in *Cultural Identity in an intercultural context*, Ed. Diana Petkova and Jaakko Lehtonen, 2005, p. 12, Accessed January 10, 2021, https://www.academia.edu/896244/Cultural_Identity_in_an_Intercultural_Context
[9] Ibid., 13

a given society and therefore do not reflect the objective reality.[10]

In the field of International Relations, since the 90s, the culture and the identity receive a lot of attention and therefore academic works have been written on the influence of culture in the construction of identities. Alexander Wendt, a leading author in the field of Theories of International Relations, argues that identity can modify the aims, interests, attitudes of states, and thus is a defining feature of the policies followed by governments.[11] The relationship between language, identity and political power has also been studied in the light of the changes brought about by globalization and the media revolution. At the present time the rapid changes in societies but also the speed with which everything changes, condition the definition of our individual and social identity, as seen above.

Following these theories, the identity is a social construct that creates a person or a group's perspective in the society. The identity is constructed by language, cultural heritage, flags, the way of life and other factors. This identity is educated and cultivated through history and become the second nature of each individual.[12] In the case of Spain, Catalonia, the identity generates a conflict between the national government and Catalonia's government. It is because the identity creates a shared perception among the people. Furthermore, any material or symbolic threat made to this shared identity play an important role in initiating or sustaining a destructive pattern of intergroup conflict among different identities.[13] Hubert I, Dermawan W. and Akim note in their research about the Catalan identity that even if the identity is not the initiating factor behind a conflict, its implication is inevitable and universal and will host much more issues. In this case, the identity can be explained on a larger scale, as a resource conflict between two parties who feel that they have a right over disputed resources because of their identity factors. It is the case in one of Catalan disputed sectors of interest from Spain, its economy. [14]

The conflict that exists in Catalonia, Spain, between the center and the

[10] Sergiu Mişcoiu, "*Câteva răspunsuri la întrebarea "De ce a avut succes socio-constructivismul ca teorie a relațiilor internaționale.* In Direcții principiale în studiul Relațiilor Internaționale în România. Coord. Ruxandra Ivan. Ed. Institutul European, 2007

[11] Alexander Wendt, "Social theory of international politics", Cambridge University Press, 1999

[12] Ignatius Hubert, Windy Dermawan, and Akim, "Catalan identity and paradiplomacy strategy in Catalonia's independence movement". In *Jurnal Politik Internasional Vol. 22 No. 2. 2020, Page 317-337*, DOI: 10.7454/global.v22i2.485, accessed January 22, 2022

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

periphery, is not only an internal one; it's already a culture and a way of life, a way of identifying. It also may be seen as a struggle between the center, which is the Spanish government and the periphery, which is the Catalan government. Miley and Garvía (2019), in their article about the conflict in Catalonia, explain that the Spanish government cannot fully enforce their majority rule over Catalonia without appearing to be tyrannizing their minority identity.[15] So, in this situation, identity is used as a reason that the minority will use it in order to protect the survival of their identity.

In Catalonia may be observed how identity is something that has been long collectively own by the Catalans as a historical pride and mutual connection that unite them. This identity survived to many attempts of eradication from the Spanish government.[16] Furthermore, this identity of Catalans helps them to bend together beyond location, education, occupation, and generation.

There are many attempts of drawing the Catalan identity and identification in the literature of political and social sciences. We would like to mention maybe one of the most important studies related to the Catalan identification, and this is the study conducted by Juan Linz and his collaborators a long time ago, during the transition to democracy's period in Spain.[17] They use the indicator of subjective national identification that allows people to identify themselves on a scale, ranging from "Spanish," to "more Spanish than Catalan," to "equally Spanish and Catalan," to "more Catalan than Spanish," to "Catalan." This indicator has been used in many surveys[18] in Spain in recent decades and it allows facilitating the ability to analyze the evolution of social bases of support for different national projects in Spain. A systematic overview of the evolution of this indicator would be an interesting instrument to measure the conceptions of Catalans regarding their identity. According to recent surveys[19], the Catalan population is currently divided among

[15] Thomas Jeffrey Miley, Roberto Garvía, "Conflict in Catalonia: A Sociological Approximation", *Genealogy* 2019, *3*, 56. https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy3040056, accessed January 22, 2022
[16] Ignatius Hubert et all, p. 325
[17] Juan, Linz, Marta, Gómez-Reino, Didier Vila, and Francisco Orizo, 1981. "Informe sociológico sobre el cambio político en España, 1975–1981". Fundación FOESSA. IV Informe FOESSA. Madrid: Euramérica, vol. 1, p. 35
[18] Thomas Jeffrey Miley, p. 9
[19] Josep Maria, Oller, Albert Satorra, and Adolf Tobeña. 2019b. "Unveiling Pathways for the Fissure among
Secessionists and Unionists in Catalonia: Identity, Family Language, and Media Influence". Palgrave Communications, p. 45

some 20% who identify as exclusively Catalan, another 22.5% who identify as “more Catalan,” another 37.9% who identify as equally Catalan and Spanish, 6.9% who identify as “more Spanish,” and 7.6% who identify as exclusively Spanish.

Although there has been a proliferation of interpretations of the dynamics of Catalans identification, going from identity as a social construct to identity through language, flag and history or culture, from conflict between periphery and center or by the way someone perceive themselves, the question of Catalan identification is and will still remain of actuality in our field of study. There will be published other theories and studies regarding the subject and the Catalans will still be object of research for the scholars.

4. Politics and polity in today’s Catalonia

The question of values is important to be discussed as well in the context of Politics and polity in a region. The Politics and the polity of a region or a country stress usually the general conception and the mentality of the people. That’s the reason why, in this part, we will stress some important aspects related to the above mentioned subjects.

Catalonia is an autonomous community of Spain, with the status of historic region in the Spanish Constitution from 1978 (Spanish Constitution, article 143.1). It is important to mention that in September 2005, the Catalan Parliament approved the definition of Catalonia as a "nation" in the preamble of the new Statute of Autonomy. So, the *Generalitat de Catalunya* is the institution in which Catalonia's self-government is politically organized. It is made up of the Parliament, the President of the Generalitat and the Executive Council or Government of Catalonia. The Statute of Autonomy gives the *Generalitat* of Catalonia the powers to carry out the functions of self-government. These can be exclusive, concurrent and shared with the Spanish state or with the directors. The Generalitat has jurisdiction in various matters of culture, education, health, justice, environment, communications, transport, commerce, public safety and local government. Catalonia has its own police force, the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, although the Spanish government has agents in the region for matters related to border control, terrorism and immigration. Most of the justice system is administered by the Spanish judiciary. The legal system is uniform throughout Spain, except for the so-called 'civil law', which is administered

separately within Catalonia.[20] This being the framework, is somehow understandable why the Catalans identify themselves as different from Spanish and how this social and cultural value was created.

The relationship between Madrid and Catalonia started to deteriorate in 2010 when the Statute was overturned by Spain's Supreme Court for being deemed as unsuited to Spain's constitution.[21] Enric Martínez-Herrera and his collaborator consider in fact that the fundamental ambiguity lies in the inclusion of the term 'recognize'[22] in the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia. They say that "the term seems to signal a source of 'rights' and/or 'authority' that both precedes the constitutive moment and cannot in any obvious way be claimed to 'emanate' from an 'indivisible Spanish people' as such. Rather, it appears that this 'authority' emanates from the nationalities and regions themselves, who are thereby already constituted as collective subjects before the constitutive moment, rather than as mere parts of an 'indivisible Spanish people'"[23]. In this context, on 1 October 2017, the Catalan Government supporting independence allowed an independence referendum to be held for the citizens of Catalonia. As a result, this referendum revealed that 90% of voters claimed to be independent from Spain. That was the moment when the Catalan Government declared itself independent from Spain. It was on 27 of October 2017. This faced a harsh crackdown from the Spanish government.

From that moment the conflict but also the discussions to solve it has reached a deadlock. Ignatius Hubert and his collaborators mention that "the Spanish government on one side argued against Catalan independence on the basis of sovereignty, while Catalonia argued for independence on the basis of its unique cultural heritage and identity which they believe are endangered by Spanish imposed rules. This deadlock leads to Catalonia finding different route to achieve their goals. One of them is through paradiplomacy […] Historical precedence of Catalan paradiplomacy encompasses means such as institutionalizing their foreign engagement through regional bodies, sending delegations abroad to European intergovernmental organizations, and building

[20] Parlament de Catalunya, "Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia – Consolidated text", 2010. https://www.parlament.cat/document/cataleg/150259.pdf , accessed January 25, 2022
[21] Ignatius Hubert et all, p. 318
[22] Enric Martínez-Herrera et all, p. 8
[23] Ibidem

transnational networks in order to promote their interest abroad".[24]

In this conflict between Spain and Catalonia, we actually find two different parties, with two different interests, goals, powers, statuses and means. "When we consider the historical relations between the two parties as the background of this conflict, we can see that this conflict is one breaking point of a long-running series of tensions among them. This breaking point of conflict is increasingly fragile when we add the dimension of identity and international involvement through paradiplomacy into the conflict equation."[25] , conclude Ingnatius Hubert and his collaborators in their study about the Catalans identity that reflects very well also our opinion about the values of Catalans.

In the end, we can summarize that the cultural and social values of a region are very hard to be defined exactly because of the globalized world that we are living in and where the boundaries between groups become more and more blurry. In general, we can speak about political, territorial and economic integration due to cross-border collaborations and other type of projects and agreements, and it will be only a matter of time until social cohesion turns into reality. This type of integration doesn't imply the loss of multi-culturalism or multilingualism; it just emphasizes the need for intercultural communication skills.[26] In our specific case of Catalonia, the cultural and social values are defined by a strong identity, reinforced during the time and the history and based on an organic wish of independence despite all benefits, rules, reality.

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[24] Ignatius Hubert et all, p. 319
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RESEARCH ARTICLES

Exploring the Effect of Childhood Circumstances and Turning Point Events on Behavioral Outcomes in Early Adulthood: Predictors of Arrest in a Sample of Latino Immigrants in the United States

Viviana ANDREESCU

Abstract. Using as a data source the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), this paper examines the effects of childhood/adolescence circumstances and adulthood life transitions, such as marriage, parenthood, and employment, on contact with the criminal justice system (i.e., arrest) in early adulthood across a sample of first- and second-generation Latino immigrants in the United States. Results show that while good academic performance in teenage years decreases the risk of arrest later in life for both young men and women, problematic behavior in adolescence (i.e., getting into fights) increases significantly the risk of arrest in early adulthood solely for women. Conversely, one's immigrant status is a significant predictor of arrest only for males. First-generation male immigrants report being arrested significantly less than US-born, second-generation Latino male immigrants. While motherhood and job stability significantly reduce the probability of arrest for women, marriage appears to have a crime-protective effect for males. Yet both men and women included in this analysis have an increased risk of arrest when one or more family members experienced arrest as well.

Keywords: *Latino immigrants, immigrants and crime, arrest, gender differences in arrest, life-course theory*

Introduction

According to the *2020 Current Population Survey* (CPS), immigrants and their US-born children (85.7 million people) represent about 26% of the US population and recent projections anticipate that by 2065, first- and second-generation immigrants will account for 36% of the US population (Batalova et al., 2021). While in 1910, over 80% of the immigrants in the United States came from Europe,

nowadays, 80% of the immigrants come from Asia or Latin America (Nunn et al., 2018). In 2019, more than four out of ten foreign-born people (44% or 19.8 million persons) residing in the United States reported having Hispanic or Latino origins. These immigrants represent 33% of the 60.5 million people who in 2019 self-identified as Hispanic or Latino (Batalova et al., 2021). Although the debate over who is Hispanic[1] and who is not continues in the United States, data provided by the US Census, which counts as Hispanic persons of any race who select Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish as their ethnicity, show that over the last five decades this population subgroup increased by 547%, from 9.6 million in 1970 to 62.1 million in 2020, representing 19% of the country's population. (Lopez et al., 2021).

As it happened in any immigrant-receiving country, the impact of immigration on society has been scrutinized frequently in the United States as well. One of the issues frequently addressed by the media, politicians, policy makers, and researchers refers to the impact of immigration on crime. And, as Martinez (2015) noted, in the United States, generations of immigrants of Latino/Hispanic origin, appear to be at the center of this debate.

In general, research conducted in the United States on the immigration – crime nexus sought to determine if compared to their native counterparts, immigrants commit crimes more often (Ewing et al., 2015; Lopez & Miller 2011; Miller, 2012; Rumbaut et al. 2006; Sorenson & Lew, 2000), if there are significant differences in criminal offending and/or incarceration when the foreign-born are compared to second-generation immigrants or to natives who do not have an immediate immigrant background (Bersani, 2014; Bui & Thingniramol, 2005; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Nielsen & Ramirez, 2011; Rumbaut & Portes, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005). Researchers also wanted to see if illegal immigrants get more involved in criminal activities than legal immigrants or natives do (Light et al., 2020), if undocumented immigration contributes to higher violent crime rates (Green, 2016; Light & Miller, 2018), or if immigration in general is significantly associated with higher crime rates.

Although exceptions exist (e. g., Cuevas et al., 2021; Sorenson & Lew, 2000), most of the micro-level empirical studies indicate that first-generation immigrants

[1] Often used interchangeably, the pan-ethnic terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" refer to ethnicity, culture, and identity. The term Latino is generally used to describe a person who is from or has ancestry in a Latin American country (i.e., a country in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean), while the term Hispanic is used when referring to people from Spain or from Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America (see Lopez et al., 2021).

have lower criminal offending rates and are less likely to be incarcerated than second-generation immigrants and natives without immediate immigrant ancestry. Regarding macro-level research, Light and Miller (2018) found a negative association between undocumented immigration and violent crime at the state level. The relationship, however, was not significant. And the authors of a recent narrative review and meta-analysis based on 51 quantitative studies published between 1994 and 2014, which explored the effect of immigration on crime in the United States also noted that most of these studies did not identify significant relationships between immigration and crime rates. Yet, when further meta-analyses were conducted, results showed a significant, but very weak negative relationship between immigration and crime (Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). While based on these findings and the critical data limitations identified by Ousey and Kubrin (2018) it is difficult to state with certainty that immigration clearly contributes to significant decreases in crime rates, one can confidently conclude that immigration, including undocumented immigration, does not increase crime in the United States (see Light & Miller, 2018; Nunn et al., 2018).

Nonetheless, like in any population subgroup that does not have immediate immigrant ancestry, among immigrants and US-born children of immigrants there are individuals who break the law, get arrested, and get convicted of a crime. Yet only a small number of studies examined the factors more likely to predict the immigrants' involvement in delinquency and crime, beside one's immigrant generational status. And research that explored delinquent behavior and/or violent offending among Latinos generally used samples of adolescents (e.g., Cuevas et al., 2021; Lopez & Miller, 2011; Miller, 2012).

Trager and Kubrin (2014) contended that "research about gender and gendered behavior is likely to yield new insights into the complex relationship between immigration and crime" (p. 528). However, even though more than half of the immigrants (53% in 1980; 51% in 1990 and 2010; 52% in 2019) in the United States are females (Batalova et al., 2021), "sex and gender are, at best, peripheral to the study of crime and immigration" (Trager & Kubrin, 2014, p. 528). And the number of studies that attempted to identify the factors that increase significantly the female immigrants' offending rates or predict their contact with the criminal justice system is low (Andreescu, 2019). Moreover, even if data show that compared to white women, Latinas are 1.2 times more likely to be incarcerated, the literature on Hispanic/Latino women involved in the criminal justice system is equally scant (Ibañez, et al., 2019, p. 340).

By examining the correlates of arrest in two subsamples of Latino young adults differentiated by gender, the current study intends to address this oversight in the literature. Additionally, by identifying the life-course predictors of arrest in two subgroups differentiated by gender, the current study will contribute to the limited literature that sought to determine if the life-course theoretical tenets are gender specific or not. To summarize, the current study has two main objectives: 1. To determine if childhood and adolescence circumstances, including one's immigrant background, have similar long-term effects on behavioral outcomes in early adulthood when male and female Latino immigrants are compared. 2. To decide if turning points events in early adulthood, such as marriage, parenthood, and employment impact differentially Latino men's and women's risk of arrest.

Theoretical background and review of the literature

The current study will use as a theoretical framework the life-course perspective. Specifically, the analysis is informed by Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control. Sampson and Laub (1993) proposed an explanation of criminal behavior and made a conscious attempt to revitalize Hirschi's (1969) social control theory, also known as social bond theory. While Hirschi (1969) explored the effects of social bonds to family, school, and "conventional others" on children's and adolescents' delinquent behavior, Sampson and Laub (1993) indicated that social bond theory can be used to understand the continuity and change in offending across the life course, from childhood, to adolescence, and into adulthood (Lilly et al., 2019, p. 442). This dynamic developmental theory assumes that even if problematic behavior in childhood and adolescence could have long-term negative consequences on behavioral outcomes, changes in life circumstances in early adulthood may generate turning points, which could deviate one's life trajectory.

Like Hirschi (1969), Sampson and Laub (1990, 1993) also contend that delinquent behavior is inhibited during childhood and adolescence by strong bonds to parents and the school. Yet the authors argue that while in childhood and adolescence informal social control is exercised mainly by the family and the school, one's ties to these socializing institutions would diminish in late adolescence and early adulthood, when other social institutions (e.g., marriage, parenthood, work) may become more important agents of informal social control. In summary, Sampson and Laub (1993) incorporated in their "sociogenic" model both stability and

change over the life course and contended that "social interaction with both juvenile and adult institutions of informal social control has important effects on crime and deviance" (p. 7). In the authors' view, "childhood pathways to crime and conformity over the life course are significantly influenced by adult social bonds" (Sampson & Laub, 1993, p. 243).

Childhood circumstances and their impact on behavioral outcomes in adulthood

The first proposition of Sampson and Laub's (1993) theory states that the "structural context mediated by informal family and school social control explains delinquency in childhood and adolescence" (p. 7). According to the authors, in the first stages of life, the most salient social control process can be found in the family. Through monitoring, parents can be direct sources of social control, while through attachment, they can indirectly control their children's behavior. Yet, as previously noted, Sampson and Laub (1994) acknowledged that family dynamics are influenced by structural factors, such as poverty, residential mobility, employment, family size, and immigration status. The authors also recognized that the parents' capacity to exert social control can be affected by the child's personality traits (e.g., difficult temperaments, early conduct disorders) (Lilly et al., 2019, p. 442).

Sampson and Laub's (1993) findings based on a panel study of 500 delinquent boys and 500 non-delinquent boys (see Glueck & Glueck, 1950, 1968), as well as the results of Hoeve et al.'s (2012) meta-analysis of 74 published and unpublished studies, show that low attachment to parents is a significant predictor of juvenile delinquency. Yet, when Sampson and Laub (1993) assessed the long-term effects of various family constructs (e.g., parental monitoring, parenting style, parental attachment in adolescence) no significant effects on the rate of arrest in adulthood were found. Similarly, Giordano and her colleagues (2002) concluded that parental supervision and attachment to the family of origin did not have significant effects on adult crime in a group of serious adolescent offenders. Other studies, however, found that poor parental supervision in adolescence was a significant predictor of criminal convictions in adulthood (Farrington et al., 2009; Theobald et al., 2013). Moreover, research that explored the long-term impact of the family structure found that those who did not grow up with both parents had an elevated risk of violent offending in adulthood (Mok et al., 2018; Theobald et al. 2013). Additionally, several studies based on longitudinal data from the Cambridge Study found that 60% of the boys who were separated from a parent by age 10 were

convicted of a crime by age 50 (see Theobald et al., 2013, for a review). The results of a longitudinal study that identified the predictors of arrest in a sample of immigrants of Cuban descent found that men who grew up in intact families (i.e., both biological parents were present) were less likely to report being arrested in early adulthood. The structure of the family of origin, however, did not impact significantly the females' risk of arrest in adulthood (Andreescu, 2019).

In addition to family, control theorists (Hirschi, 1969; Sampson & Laub, 1993) argued that attachment to school in adolescence would act as a delinquency deterrent. And Sampson and Laub (1993), as well as other researchers found support for this assertion (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1992; Hart & Mueller, 2013; Kalu et al., 2020; Stewart, 2003). Although Sampson and Laub (1993) did not explore the effect of the adolescents' bonds to school on behavioral outcomes in adulthood, other researchers did. Yet longitudinal studies that examined the long-term effect of school attachment produced inconsistent results. While some researchers found that low school attachment was a significant predictor of criminal behavior in adulthood (Farrington et al., 2009), other researchers concluded that academic achievement and/or school attachment in adolescence did not impact significantly one's involvement in crime later in life (Giordano et al., 2002; Theobald et al., 2013).

A second thesis of Sampson and Laub's (1993) theoretical model states that "there is continuity in antisocial behavior from childhood through adulthood in a variety of life domains" (p. 7). When this hypothesis was tested, the authors found that 76% of those officially declared juvenile delinquents were arrested by age 25. Moreover, when controlling for several factors, such as parental monitoring, parental attachment, parental rejection, and the child's personality traits and childhood behavior (i.e., early onset of problematic behavior and conduct problems in childhood and adolescence), the authors found that unofficial delinquency was a significant predictor of arrest in adulthood, at three different stages of the respondent's life (i.e., ages 17 – 25; ages 25-32; ages 32-45) (Sampson & Laub, 1993, pp. 128 -134). Other longitudinal studies documented a positive and significant relationship between juvenile delinquency and deviance and/or criminal involvement in adulthood as well (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Giordano et al., 2002; Miller et al., 2010; Odgers et al., 2008). And a panel study based on a sample of first- and second-generation Cuban immigrants in the United States also found that problematic behavior in adolescence (getting into fights) was significantly and positively related to arrests in early adulthood. However, the effect was significant only before controlling for adulthood transitions such as job stability, marriage, and parenthood (Andreescu, 2019).

Life-course transitions and adult social bonds

The third proposition of Sampson and Laub's (1993) theory states that "informal social bonds in adulthood to family and employment explain changes in criminality over the life span despite early childhood propensities" (p.7). This proposition reflects the principle of linked lives (Elder, 1994), which is central to the life course perspective. Yet empirical tests of the hypotheses derived from Sampson and Laub's theoretical model produced mixed results. Although some researchers did not find that one's marital status impacts significantly variations in criminal behavior in adulthood (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005), a multitude of studies documented the crime-protective effect of marriage. For instance, a systematic review of 58 longitudinal studies published between 1990 and 2014 shows that more than half (55%) of the reviewed studies concluded that marriage has a significant crime deterrent effect, especially for males (Skardhamar et al., 2015). Andreescu (2019) also found that while being married did not affect significantly the women's risk of arrest in early adulthood, marriage decreased significantly the arrest risk of the male immigrants of Cuban descent included in the study.

In addition to marriage, parenthood is another important transition in one's life. Based on the examination of the life history narratives of the delinquent males included in their study, Laub and Sampson (2003) observed that criminal involvement decreased noticeably for men after they became fathers. Yet, while some empirical studies documented a negative relationship between parenthood and criminal behavior (Kerr et al., 2011; Kreager et al., 2010; Savolainen, 2009), other researchers could not conclude that parenthood had a prosocial effect or played an important role in desistance from crime (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Giordano et al., 2002; Varriale, 2008)). Moreover, Thompson and Petrovic (2009) found that motherhood had a significant crime deterrent effect for women, but fatherhood was associated with a significant increase in illicit substance use for men.

While during adulthood people establish new ties to intimate partners that could affect their behavior, individuals continue to be linked to their family of origin and may become part of an extended family when they marry and/or have children. Several studies showed that a criminogenic family environment is a significant predictor of official and unofficial delinquency in adolescence as well as a significant predictor of deviant and/or criminal behavior in adulthood (Andersen, 2017; Andreescu, 2019; Besemer & Farrington, 2012; Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2010; Case

& Katz, 1991; Farrington, 1998, 2011; Farrington et al., 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Moreover, in early adulthood as well as later, most individuals have jobs and stable and legal employment is expected to generate additional ties to the conventional society. Although the relationship between work and crime is complex and findings are often inconsistent (see Andreescu, 2019 for a review), several studies based on male samples identified a significant negative relationship between job stability and criminal/delinquent behavior in adulthood (Sampson & Laub, 1993; Verbruggen et al., 2012). Similarly, using a longitudinal dataset from Sweden, Estrada and Nilsson (2012) found that when compared to nonoffenders, male and female persistent offenders were significantly more likely to have no labor market attachment and to be welfare benefit recipients.

In summary, in accordance with the theoretical predictions several hypotheses are formulated. It is anticipated that problematic behavior in adolescence (i.e., getting into fights) will increase the risk of arrest in adulthood, while attachment to school (i.e., good school performance) in adolescence will decrease the risk of arrest later in life. It is hypothesized that marriage, parenthood, and job stability will lower the risk of arrest in early adulthood. Conversely, a criminogenic family environment (i.e., having family members arrested) is expected to increase one's risk of arrest.

Method

Data source and sample

The present study uses as a data source a panel study (*Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), San Diego, California, Ft. Lauderdale and Miami, Florida, 1991-2006*) that surveyed for more than one decade a sample of first- and second-generation immigrants. The study participants were residents of California or Florida when they were first surveyed (Portes & Rumbaut, 2018). The dataset has been made available by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan.

While the original sample includes immigrants or children of immigrants belonging to 77 nationalities, the current analysis is based on a subsample of respondents (N = 1,087) who declared their nationality as Mexican (39%),

Nicaraguan (21%), Columbian (14%), or other South American (26%).[2] When first interviewed in 1992, more than half of these respondents (59.5%) were residents of Florida and approximately 40.5% of the respondents resided in San Diego, California. In 1992, the interviewees ranged in age from 13 to 17. Most of the study participants (53%) were born in a foreign country and most of them immigrated to the United States when they were very young. For instance, 43% of the foreign-born respondents were seven years old or younger when they relocated to the United States and only 7.3% of them were older than 12 when they immigrated. Included in the analysis are only respondents who participated to all three waves of the study. For the most part, the study replicates prior research (Andreescu, 2019) based on a sample of first- and second-generation Cuban immigrants in the United States.

Measures

Arrest status. The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure coded 1 if the respondent reported being arrested during the five-year period that preceded the interview conducted during the third wave of the study. Respondents who did not report any arrest have been coded zero.

The following measures will be used as predictors of arrest:

Problem behavior in adolescence. The measure is based on one question ("How many times during the current academic year did you get into a physical fight at school?"), which has been asked at the second wave of the study. The original answers have been recoded and those who answered, "once or twice" or "more than twice" have been coded 1, while those who answered "never" have been coded zero. The publicly available data set did not include other questions that could have been used to assess one's level of juvenile delinquency. Although the limitation of the measure as a proxy of juvenile delinquency should be acknowledged, it should be also noted that physical aggression is recognized in the literature as an indicator of problematic behavior in adolescence (Jessor, 1982, p. 295). Additionally, Djerboua, Chen, and Davison (2016) noted that physical fighting is one of the earliest markers of adolescents' multiple risk behaviors such as substance misuse and truancy. Moreover, one's involvement in physical fights on school property is also used as a proxy of unofficial delinquency in the Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS),

[2] The countries of origin for respondents labeled in the original dataset "other South American" are Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela.

administered by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

Academic performance. Academic achievement is frequently used in the literature as an indicator of social bonds to school and several studies found that performance in school is significantly and negatively related to delinquent and deviant behavior in adolescence (Hoffman et al., 2013; see Maguin & Loeber, 1996 for a review). The variable is a continuous measure calculated as a mean of the transcript grade point average (GPA) scores included in the data set at wave 1 and wave 2. The two GPA scores were highly correlated (r = .809).

Family structure. Respondents who reported living with both biological parents when first interviewed were coded 1. Those in other family arrangements (e.g., living with one biological parent and a stepparent, living only with a single parent, living with relatives, etc.) were coded zero. The data file did not include variables that would measure perceptions of parental rearing practices or one's attachment to the family of origin.

Immigrant status. This dichotomous variable is coded 1 if the respondent was born in a foreign country and zero if the respondent was born in the United States. As previously noted, included in the analysis are first- and second-generation immigrants from countries in Central and South America. Most respondents included in the analysis (73.8%) reported their nationality as being Mexican (39%), Nicaraguan (20.9%), and Columbian (13.9%).

Job stability. This variable has been created based on the respondents' answers to a question asking them how many full-time jobs they had since finishing high school. The original variable, which takes values from zero to 15, has been dichotomized. The dummy variable was coded 1 if at the third wave of the study the respondent declared that he/she had less than four full-time jobs since high school. Respondents who changed jobs four times or more have been coded zero. Respondents who changed jobs four times or more were more than one standard deviation above the mean. It should be also noted that most respondents (81.4% of the males and 64.1% of the females) who were never fully employed were still in school at the second follow-up interview.

Marital status. The original categorical variable has been recoded and respondents who were married or engaged to be married were coded 1. Respondents who were never married, were living with a partner, or were divorced, or separated have been coded zero. *Parental status* is also a dichotomous variable, coded 1 if at the third wave of the study the respondent reported having children. Those who did not have children were coded zero. *Family member arrested*.

Respondents who declared that during the five-year period preceding the third wave of the study a family member has been arrested were coded 1, while those whose family members have not been arrested during the period under observation have been coded zero.

Analytical procedures

As previously noted, the main objective of this analysis is to identify the factors more likely to predict the study participants' contact with the criminal justice system via arrest and to determine if the predictors of arrest are gender invariant. To accomplish this objective, univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses have been conducted. Given the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable, binomial logistic regression has been used in multivariate analyses.

4. Results

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the two subsamples differentiated by gender. It can be noticed that the arrest rate corresponding to male respondents was more than three times higher than the females' arrest rate. Additional bivariate analyses (Chi-square test of independence) confirmed that being arrested is not independent of gender (χ^2= 64.513; p< .001). Compared to Latinas, Latino men were significantly more likely to report being arrested in early adulthood. Although the association between gender and arrest is significant, it is moderate in intensity (Cramer's V = .244; p< .001).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Variable		Males (N = 481)			Females (N = 606)		
	Range	(%)	Mean	SD	(%)	Mean	SD
Arrest	0 - 1	25.57			7.76		
Problem behavior	0 - 1	34.10			17.82		
Academic performance (GPA)	0 - 5		2.21	.87		2.55	.77
Intact family of origin	0 - 1	66.74			65.68		
Immigrant status (1st gen.)	0 - 1	52.60			52.15		
Job stability	0 - 1	90.02			94.22		
Marital status (married/engaged)	0 - 1	23.70			47.24		
Parental status	0 - 1	22.04			31.19		
Family member arrested	0 - 1	29.09			27.20		

The percentage of males who reported getting into fights in adolescence was almost twice higher than the percentage of females who reported aggressive behavior at the second wave of the study (34.10% vs. 17.82%). Additional analyses show that during adolescents, males were significantly more likely to get into fights than females did (χ^2= 37.853, p< .001; Cramer's V = .187; p< .001). In both subsamples, most respondents (approximately 66%) were living with both biological parents when they were first interviewed and more than half (about 52%) were born in a foreign country.

On average, the female respondents had a higher average GPA while in school than their male counterparts (2.55 vs. 2.21) and independent samples t-tests show that the inter-group difference in academic performance is significant (t = 6.690; p< .001). In both subsamples, approximately nine out of ten respondents did not have more than three full-time jobs in the post-high school period. Additional analyses show that on average, men (Mean = 2.35; SD = 1.76) changed full-time jobs significantly more often than women (Mean = 1.95; SD = 1.52) did (t = 3.949; p< .001). While almost half of the female respondents (47.27%) were married or engaged to be married at the second follow-up interview, only one in four male respondents (23.70%) were married or engaged at the time. The percentage of women who had children (31.19%) was also higher than the percentage of males who were parents (22%) at the third wave of the study. When compared to men, women were significantly more likely to be in a committed relationship (χ^2= 12.461***; Cramer's V= .107***) and to be parents (χ^2 = 11.356***; Cramer's V= .102***). About 29% of the male respondents and 27% of the female respondents reported having a family member arrested. There were no significant inter-group differences in terms of arrests in the family (χ2= .968; NS).

Table 2 presents the bivariate correlations among the variables included in the analysis in each subsample. It can be noticed that in the male subsample most of the selected predictors are significantly related to the dependent variable. While job stability does not have a significant relationship with the dependent variable in the male subsample, it is significantly and negatively related to the dependent variable in the female subsample. In both subsamples, those who manifested violent behavior in adolescence were more likely to report being arrested in early adulthood. Conversely, in both subsamples, the probability of arrest later in life decreased significantly for those who performed better in school during adolescence. In both subsamples, having a family member arrested had the largest correlation with the dependent variable (r = .42, p< .01, for males; r = .31, p< .01, for females).

Table 2. Bivariate correlations by gender

									Males
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
1. Arrest	-	.111*	-.149**	-.072	-.121**	-.103*	.092*	-.027	.418**
2. Problem behavior	.107**	-	-.159**	-.097*	.042	.043	.139**	-.112*	.124**
3.Academic performance	-.097*	.-245**	-	.159**	.049	-.038	-.202**	.069	-.103*
4. Intact family	-.050	-.136**	.115**	-	-.016	-.001	-.081	-.029	-.049
5. Immigrant (1st gen.)	-.043	.049	.069	-.080*	-	-.039	-.002	.059	-.043
6. Marital status	-.062	.062	-.109**	-.024	.029	-	.455**	-.026	.020
7. Parental status	-.035	.273**	-.202**	-.083*	-.018	.360**	-	-.037	.113*
8. Job stability	-.140**	-.033	.071	.015	.046	-.064	-.093*	-	-.085
9. Family member arrested	.308**	.093*	-.007	-.026	-.119**	.045	.140**	-.039	-
	Females								

*p< .05; **p < .01, 2-tail test.

Multivariate analyses

Table 3 presents the results of the binomial logistic regression for each subsample differentiated by gender. As anticipated by the bivariate analyses, multicollinearity is not an issue. Collinearity diagnostics indicate that the lowest tolerance values are .745 (for the male subsample) and .779 (for the female subsample). Model 1 includes only the background predictors based on the information reported at the first two waves of the study. As anticipated, males as well as females who were involved in fights at school were more likely to be arrested in early adulthood. With each unit increase in one's GPA, the likelihood of arrest decreased significantly in early adulthood for males but did not impact significantly the females' risk of arrest. Compared to those born in the United States, male immigrants were significantly less likely to report an arrest at the second follow-up interview. Being foreign-born does not appear to decrease significantly the women's risk of arrest. Additionally, in both subsamples, the structure of the family of origin does not have a significant effect on the dependent variable.

Model 2 includes in the analysis additional predictors based on the information collected at the third wave of the study. When these predictors entered the equation, the error in predicting who is more likely to be arrested is reduced by approximately 29% in each subsample. While for males, problematic behavior in adolescence does not appear to have a lasting negative effect, the odds of being arrested increase more than twice (OR = 2.337; p< .05) for females who reported getting into fights during adolescence. Good academic performance during teenage

years appears to have a lasting positive effect in both subsamples. Those who received good grades in school were less likely to be arrested in early adulthood. First generation immigrant males were significantly less likely to report an arrest than their second-generation counterparts. As in the previous model, one's immigrant status did not differentiate females who reported an arrest from females who did not. Moreover, although the risk of arrest seems to be lower for both men and women who grew up with both biological parents, family structure is not a significant predictor of arrest in early adulthood.

Table 3. Logit estimates for Latino immigrants' risk of arrest by gender

	Model 1			Model 2		
Males	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR
Problem behavior (W2)	.448*	.222	1.566	.333	.251	1.396
Academic performance (W1 & W2)	-.343**	.130	.710	-.259†	.146	.772
Intact family of origin (W1)	-.222	.225	.801	-.140	.254	.870
Immigrant (1st generation)	-.576**	.216	.562	-.670**	.242	.512
Marital status (W3)				-1.189***	.358	.305
Parental status (W3)				.595†	.328	1.813
Job stability (W3)				.166	.386	1.181
Family member arrested (W3)				1.992***	.243	7.330
Constant	-.074	.343	.929	-1.040†	.548	.353
Model Chi-Square		22.600***			106.625***	
Pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke)			.068			.293
N = 481						
Females						
Problem behavior (W2)	.680†	.353	1.974	.849*	.441	2.337
Academic performance (W1 & W2)	-.333	.205	.717	-.590*	.239	.554
Intact family of origin (W1)	-.267	.319	.766	-.395	.349	.674
Immigrant (1st generation)	-.371	.313	.690	.093	.345	1.098
Marital status (W3)				-.670	.413	.512
Parental status (W3)				-1.207**	.446	.299
Job stability (W3)				-1.876***	.514	.153
Family member arrested (W3)				2.561***	.383	12.944
Constant	-1.482**	.569	.227	-.107	.809	.898
Model Chi-Square		11.103*			80.726***	
Pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke)			.043			.297
N = 606						

†p< .10; *p< .05; **p< .01; ***p< .001, 2-tail test. B = logistic regression coefficient; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio.

In accordance with Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control, it has been anticipated that respondents who were married or engaged to be married when interviewed at the third wave of the study would be less likely to report an arrest. Yet the crime-protective effect of marriage is observed only for males.

Compared to males who were single, separated, divorced, or living with a partner without being married or engaged, the odds of arrest were almost 70% lower (OR = .305; p< .001) for men who were in a committed relationship. While motherhood significantly decreases the risk of arrest for women (OR = .299; p< .01), males who were parents had a slightly higher risk of arrest than males who did not have children (OR = 1.813; p< .10).

Job stability appears to have a crime protective effect only for the women included in this analysis. Although job stability does not significantly reduce the risk of arrest for males, the odds of arrest are almost 85% lower for women who did not change jobs too often, when they are compared to women who reported four or more full-time jobs since graduating high school. Nonetheless, in both subsamples, the variable that increased the most one's risk of arrest was having a family member arrested in the five-year period that preceded the last interview. Specifically, the odds of being arrested increase more than seven times for males (OR = 7.330; p< .001) and almost thirteen times for females (OR = 12.944; p< .001) who reported having an arrest in the family.

Discussion and conclusion

The study assessed the incidence of arrest in a sample of Latino young adults and sought to identify the factors more likely to predict contact with the criminal justice system using as a theoretical framework the life course perspective. Additionally, the study examined the potential gender invariant effect of the life course predictors of arrest in early adulthood. Analyses of arrest data consistently showed that women have a significantly lower involvement in delinquency and crime than men do (Lauritsen et al., 2009; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996) and the findings of this study are no different. Although the dataset used in this analysis did not offer details about the nature of the arrest or the frequency of arrests, it is possible that the gender gap in arrest identified in this study might be caused not only by the women's lower involvement in illegal activities, but also by the law enforcement's biased response to persons suspected of a crime. A review of the sentencing

literature, for instance, found that for comparable offenses, Hispanic females are sentenced more leniently than their male counterparts (Steffensmeier et al., 2017).

Consistent with prior research (Bersani, 2014; Bui & Thingniramol, 2005; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Nielsen & Martinez, 2011; Sampson et al., 2005), results show that foreign-born male respondents were significantly less likely to report being arrested in early adulthood than native males. Although one's immigrant status did not appear to influence significantly the risk of arrest in the female subsample, additional analyses showed that foreign-born females experienced an arrest less frequently (6.6%) than their US-born female counterparts (9.0%).

As prior research also found (Giordano et al., 2002; Sampson & Laub, 1990; Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014), problematic behavior in adolescence (i.e., getting into physical fights at school) had long term negative effects for both males and females. It should be noted, however, that when controlling for early-adulthood predictors, the risk of arrest increased significantly only for the young Latinas who reported getting into physical fights during adolescence. In the United States, African American and Latino youth tend to get into fights more often than white adolescents do (Kann et al., 2014). And the results of this study show that the percentage of female adolescents (18%) who got into fights is almost twice lower than the percentage of Latino male adolescents (34%) who got involved in fights. A study conducted by the Pew Research Center (2009) also showed that young Hispanic males are significantly more likely than young Hispanic females to have engaged in risky behaviors such as fighting (19% versus 7%) or carrying a weapon (9% versus 3%). Nevertheless, while physical violence among female adolescents is less common, when it exists it might reflect cultural norms (e.g., one's response to provocations), which consider retaliatory violence acceptable not only for boys, but also for girls (see Jaycox et al., 2006). And Latinas who share this view might have a higher level of aggression and a lower ability to resolve conflicts through negotiation, which could explain the long-term negative effects of violent behavior in adolescence for the females included in this study. However, additional research is needed to better understand how the social context affects the consequences of violent behavior in both gender groups.

As other researchers also found (Farrington et al., 2009), attachment to school in adolescence appears to have long-term crime protective effects in both subsamples differentiated by gender. Although respondents who grew up with both biological parents appear to have a lower risk of arrest in early adulthood, the structure of the family of origin is one of the background characteristics that does

not decrease or increase significantly the male and female respondents' risk of arrest in early adulthood. Results, however, might have been impacted by data limitations. Specifically, the analysis could not account for the potential changes in the structure of the family of origin (e.g., parental divorce) that could have occurred between the first and subsequent waves of the study because the dataset did not include this information.

Even though the structure of the family of origin did not predict variations in one's risk of arrest, a criminogenic family environment did. In both subsamples differentiated by gender, the risk of being arrested increased significantly if a family member has been arrested as well during the five years preceding the last wave of the study. This finding is consistent with the results of several other studies (Andersen, 2017; Andreescu, 2019; Besemer & Farrington, 2012; Case & Katz, 1991; Farrington, 2011; Farrington et al., 2001, suggesting that offending appears to run in the family, as Farrington (1998) contended decades ago.

As previously noted, life-course scholars explored the crime-deterrent effects of adult institutions of informal social control, such as marriage, parenthood, and employment (Giordano et al., 2006; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993). Consistent with the theoretical predictions job stability was negatively related to arrest. However, the effect was significant only in the subsample of women. This finding differs from the results of a previous study showing that in a sample of first and second-generation immigrants of Cuban ancestry, job instability predicted the males' arrest, but had no significant effect in the female subsample (Andreescu, 2019). Although future research should examine the stability of the finding, differences in coding procedures might explain differences in results.

In accordance with the theoretical predictions and prior research (Sampson et al., 2006), the likelihood of arrest was significantly lower among Hispanic males who were married. One's marital status, however, did not differentiate Hispanic women who reported being arrested from those who did not report contact with the criminal justice system. This finding is congruent with the results of other studies that also identified the crime-deterrent effect of marriage for men, but not for women (Andreescu, 2019; Duncan et al., 2006; Kerr et al., 2011; King et al., 2007; Thompson & Petrovic, 2009; Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014). Conversely, this analysis indicates that parenthood appears to have a crime-protective effect for women, but not for men, as other researchers also found (Chen & Kandel, 1998). In sum, consistent with Kreager et al.'s (2010) findings, it appears that for Latinas, the transition to motherhood and not marriage had a crime protective effect. Even if the

effect is relatively weak, for the Latino men included in this study, parenthood, is positively related to arrest. Although this finding is not consistent with the theoretical expectations (Laub & Sampson, 2003) and prior research that found a significant decrease in men's crime trajectories following the birth of their first biological child (Kerr et al., 2011), data limitations might have impacted the results. For instance, the original study did not ask respondents if arrests occurred before or after the respondent became a parent. Nonetheless, results similar to those reported here were presented in other studies as well. When controlling for marriage, Blokland and Nieuwbeerta, for instance, did not find trajectories of crime to decrease post parenthood. Additionally, the authors noted that fatherhood increased the sporadic offenders' involvement in crime (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005). Moreover, Thompson and Petrovic (2009) found that while motherhood had a significant crime deterrent effect for women, fatherhood was associated with a significant increase in offending (illegal drug use) for men.

In summary, even if most effects are gender specific, for the most part, Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control was supported by empirical evidence. Results show that there is continuity and change in behavior and that certain important transitions in adulthood, such as marriage (for men) and motherhood and stable employment (for women), appear to have crime protective effects for Latino young adults. On the other hand, ties to delinquent families significantly increase one's risk of contact with the criminal justice system. Yet, before discussing the implications of these findings, the study limitations should be mentioned.

The analysis was based on a sample of men and women with immediate ancestry in 14 different countries from Central and South America. However, by using the Latino/Hispanic pan-ethnic identifier, this study could not uncover potential inter-group differences in cultural norms, structural and political factors, immigration experiences or acculturation practices (see Bursik, 2006; Portes et al., 2009), which might have affected the results. Additionally, the study relied on self-reports and intentional and non-intentional errors might be present. Moreover, this is a secondary analysis and potentially important indicators (e.g., precise measures of juvenile delinquency; quality of marital relationships; quality of ties to school and the family of origin) could not be used because they were not available. As previously noted, even if the structure of the data allowed for causal inferences to be made, the study did not ask respondents to report when and how many times they have been arrested. Therefore, it is not known if job stability, marriage, or parenthood

preceded or followed one's contacts with the criminal justice system. Future research should try to overcome these limitations and should also consider the effect of recent societal changes affecting contemporary institutions of informal social control (e.g., marriage, parenthood, employment, educational institutions) on the life trajectories of Latino men and women in the United States. Additionally, to better understand the current challenges many Latinos are facing and to obtain a more detailed picture of the life circumstances that increase one's risk of arrest and incarceration, a multi-method approach that would include ethnographic research should be used and recent information should be collected. Moreover, in order to provide culturally competent services meant to prevent the involvement of the Hispanic/Latino subpopulations in the criminal justice system, future research should consider the heterogeneity of this ethnic group and should use an intersectional approach, which would examine the multiplicative effect of an individual's social identities, framed not only by gender, but also by race, age, and socioeconomic status (Ibañez et al., 2019).

Nonetheless, despite its limitations, this analysis has several implications for research, theory, and practice. The study adds to the limited literature that tested empirically the age-graded theory of delinquency and crime using subsamples of men and women. Results indicate that there is heterogeneity in the effects of life course transitions on behavioral outcomes. Specifically, the study shows that certain turning point events in adulthood impact differentially the gender groups.

This analysis also expanded the theory by considering the long-term crime-protective effect of a transition that occurred in childhood as a result of relocating from one country to another. Although not examined here, future research could add international migration occurring in early adulthood to the list of major transitions that can change one's life trajectories. Several studies showed that US-born Latinos have different life experiences than first-generation Latino immigrants do (Cleary et al., 2018). Therefore, when examining behavioral outcomes, future research should also explore the potential impact of traumatic events that may have affected foreign-born Latinos before (e.g., exposure to war- and drug-related violence), during (especially when fleeing the country as an undocumented migrant), and after they migrated to the United States (e.g., extended stays in detention centers; separation from family; unstable living situations; acculturation challenges) (see Cleary et al., 2018).

Moreover, findings suggest that for both Latino males and females, childhood experiences can influence life trajectories. Given the long-term positive

effect of school performance this study documents, the implementation in schools of programs meant to stimulate achievement and increase the Latino students access to higher education is imperative. Even though the Hispanic high-school dropout rate declined dramatically over the past decade and college enrolment increased, Latino youth are still behind other racial/ethnic groups in terms of educational attainment. As of 2014, among persons ages 25 to 29, 63% of ethnic Asians, 41% of non-Hispanic whites, 22% of African Americans, and 15% of Hispanics had a bachelor's degree or higher. The results of a public opinion poll conducted in 2014, showed that 66% of Hispanics who got a job or entered the military directly after high school cited the need to help support their family as a reason for not enrolling in college. Comparatively, 39% of whites listed economic reasons as an obstacle to continue their education (Krogstad, 2016). Although 26% of recent immigrants from Central and South America have at least a college degree, while in the 1990s only 10% of the Hispanic immigrants were college graduates, there is still a gap in educational attainment between this group and the overall US population. For instance, in 2018, 33% of US adults ages 25 and older and 58% of recently arrived non-Hispanic immigrants had at least a bachelor's degree (Noe-Bustamante, 2020).

Results also showed that significant negative correlations exist in both gender groups between academic achievement and problem behavior in adolescence. For young Latinas, violent behavior in school was a significant predictor of arrest later in life. While the original dataset did not include details regarding the circumstances and/or causes of physical fights, other studies indicate that many Latino youth (especially first-generation immigrants) live in communities plagued by violence (Violence Policy Center, 2021) and socioeconomic disadvantage (Kayitsinga, 2015). In 2019, the homicide victimization rate for Hispanics in the United States (5.15 per 100,000) was almost twice higher than the homicide victimization rate for non-Hispanic whites (2.62 per 100,000). Homicide is the third leading cause of death for Hispanics aged 15 to 24 (Violence Policy Center, 2021). The findings of the current study also show that Latino boys and girls who manifested problematic behavior in adolescence were more like to have justice-involved family members, which in both gender groups was the strongest predictor of arrest in early adulthood. Even if the current analysis was based on data collected more than a decade ago, more recent official data show an increase in incarceration rates for Hispanic/Latino men and women, which are also overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Ibañez et al., 2019).

Programs meant to prevent the Latino youth from having a criminal record should involve not only the school, but also the parents and the Latino communities. One such program that showed promising results is the *Seguridad, Apoyo, Familia, Educacion, y Recursos* (SAFER) Latinos project. The main objective of the SAFER Latinos pilot project was to reduce Latino youth's violent victimization and offending rates. The program followed a community-based model and targeted four areas: family cohesion issues, such as those caused by sequential immigration (e. g., children arriving without parents; parents arriving in US without children and bringing them years later), school-related barriers (e.g., school performance and dropout rates), community cohesion, efficacy, and alienation, and gang presence and the integration of violence norms (Edberg et al., 2010). A review of family-based violence prevention programs implemented in Hispanic/Latino communities identified six programs [i.e., *Schools and Homes in Partnership* (SHIP), *Bridges to High School*, *Parent Management Training* (PMT), *Families and Schools Together* (FAST), *Brief Strategic Family Therapy* (BSFT), and *Structural Family Therapy* (SFT)] that demonstrated "at least some significant preventive effects for youth violence and behavior problems" (Leidy et al., 2010, p. 12).

In sum, even though for the Latinos examined in this study certain life transitions, such as marriage (especially for men) and parenthood and job stability (for women) appear to have crime protective effects, a criminogenic family environment constitutes a risk factor of arrest in early adulthood. Although public policies and social programs cannot limit one's ties to delinquent family members, culturally appropriate programming can help Latino youth to build resilience in the face of adversity and reduce their acceptance of norms that tolerate violence and illegal behavior. Therefore, efforts to prevent one's involvement in the criminal justice system should start in childhood and adolescence. As prior outcome evaluation studies indicate (Cervantes et al., 2004; see also Leidy et al., 2010 for a review), crime prevention programs that focused on Latino youth were more likely to be successful when they were comprehensive, demonstrated cultural sensitivity (e.g., addressed the deep cultural characteristics relevant to the Latino families), considered the specific needs of the community, employed bilingual facilitators, and were planned in partnership with members of the ethnic minority targeted by the intervention.

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Examination of Factors Predicting the Likelihood of Irregular Cross-border Migration Decision: Evidence from Ethiopia, Addis Ababa

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Abstract. In Ethiopia, most studies that were conducted so far on irregular cross-border migration are often tended to omit examining the relative weights of crucial factors associated with origin and destination countries, and personal attributes of the migrants that made evidence remained inconclusive for decision making. The study explored the major driving pull-push factors predicting irregular cross-border migration decision among 402 international returnees randomly drawn from Addis Ababa based on a cross-sectional survey to provide scientific evidence on the issue. Descriptive statistics and multiple regression models were used to analyze the data. Majority of the returnees (90%) concurred that economic factors took the most leading share in compelling the respondents to migrate in irregular manner. Socio-cultural and socio-political factors at abroad and homeland made the first and the second greatest contributions on irregular migration decision with the values of ($\beta = .403$; and $\beta = .381$) respectively at ($p = 0.000<0.001$). Meanwhile, nevertheless, the decision to migrate was influenced by situations in both the destination and the origin areas, the findings of the present study illuminated that the decision to migrate is robustly more predicted by conditions in the former areas than conditions in the latter ones.

Keywords: *cross-border; irregular migration; migration decision; pull-push factors*

1. Introduction

In today's interconnected world, migration is found to be at the cutting-age of international discussions on social and economic development as a whole (FAO 2017; UNDESA 2013; Echeverría 2020). More fundamentally, irregular cross-border migration has become a subject of heated debates among a variety of actors. It is utmost priority policy challenge and remains a demanding political agenda (IOM 2019; Harpviken 2018); and it frequently makes headlines, and policy makers are under a rise of public and political pressures to address the issue of migrants in irregular situations (Morehouse and Blomfield 2011; IOM 2005). Currently, irregular

migration is truly a global structural phenomenon (Cvajner and Sciortino 2010a; Düvell 2006; IOM, UNFPA, and UNDESA 2013).

Latest evidences invariably indicate that migration in general and cross border migration in particular is inevitable in our modern epoch. It has become inescapable and almost touches every corner of the globe due to globalization (Messay and Teferi 2017; IOM 2017). In this respect, the Horn of Africa has unique migration challenges as every month thousands of irregular migrants attempt to cross-border to escape conflict, drought and economic challenges (Schroder 2015; Fransen and Kuschminder 2009). Human movement in the region is mostly irregular as the result of limited options for regular movements and also reactive to political and environmental factors (Siegel et al. 2016); and in the Horn of Africa, irregular migrants cross borders by violating conditions for entering another country without having proper authority (Jordan and Düvell 2002). By the same token, Ethiopia is not an exception to the situation as it has become an important origin, transit and destination for irregular migration flows in the Horn of Africa (Shishay, Wendu, and Kinfe 2019; ILO 2016; Assefa, Seid, and Tadele 2017); in Ethiopia documented and undocumented labour migration to different areas of the globe has remarkably increased (Girmachew 2017); and Ethiopia is a hub for outward migration (Siegel et al. 2016).

On the one hand, the experience of migration is characterized by the following evils: both sexes are increasingly exposed to exploitation and abuse, losing their lives; others trapped behind walls of discrimination, xenophobia and racism as the result of rising cultural and religious tensions in some societies (UNODC 2010). Migrants generally tend to be less food secured than non-migrants, discrimination and xenophobia play an important part, and migration exposes migrants to less healthy food choices (Chikanda and Crush 2018). In Ethiopia, despite efforts being made by the Ethiopian government and other core actors to reverse irregular cross-border migration, an overwhelming number of Ethiopians are currently moving to abroad irregularly. Through 2008 to 2013, about 460,000 Ethiopians migrated irregularly to different parts of the world (Rohwerder and Carter 2016); and between 2012 and 2016 around 317,136 Ethiopian migrants arrived Yemen in less than 5 years via Yemen to Saud Arabia and other Middle-East countries (RMMS 2016) on the other hand.

Accordingly, attempts were made to review some empirical studies that have been undertaken in Ethiopia on the issue under way. Ethiopia is one of the

largest origins (both transit and destination) of trafficked persons from Africa; and the most common drivers of migration in Ethiopia are found to be an amalgam of socio-economic, political and environmental factors (Messay and Teferi 2017; Shishay, ,Wendu, and Kinfe 2019; Fransen and Kuschminder 2009; Siegel et al. 2016); and irregular migration can be ended up with severe mental health problems that may ultimately impose negative impacts on the life of the migrants in the future (Mesfin and Emirie 2018; Muna and Atinkut 2018; Anbesse et al. 2009).

Moreover, a survey conducted on the links between migration and sustainable livelihoods on three countries (Ethiopia, Mali and Bangladesh) uncovered that international migration is seen as just one of the livelihood strategies open to households and a desirable option for both skilled and unskilled individuals in Ethiopia (Fransen and Kuschminder 2009). A study looked at female migration and reintegration in Ethiopia, found that unless returnees' establish a sense of belongingness in the country of return, then they will most likely re-migrate (Kuschminder 2013); and a case study conducted on Ethiopian returnee migrants expounded that they were swamped by hopelessness and painful experiences as the result of physical abuses, restrictive mobility, and a variety of harassment by respective employers (Shishay, Wendu, and Kinfe 2019).

However, none of the aforementioned studies dealt with exploring the relative weights and influences of factors associated with origin and destination countries, and personal attributes of migrants to migrate irregularly. The present issue under consideration has become blurred and has hardly been explored so far in Ethiopia. As the result decision makers and other core actors have been fallen out of a full understanding of the dynamics of the issue. Hence, here is a clear need for targeted evidences for scientific investigation to start filling the gap.

Accordingly, the main intent of the study is to examine factors predicting irregular cross-border migration decision in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa. The study could contribute for further understandings of irregular cross-border migration, with the aim of providing insights for policy-makers and development actors to develop pragmatic strategies and ultimately to mitigate irregular fluxes.

2. Material and Methods

Description of the Study area

The study was conducted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (see Fig.1), which is

located on a well-watered plateau surrounded by hills and mountains, in the geographic centre of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa Plan and Development Commission/AAPDC 2020; Addis Ababa City Administration 2015). It is located at geographical coordinates: between 8055' and 9005' North Latitude and between 38040' and 38050' East Longitude. Its average elevation is 2,500 meters above sea level, and hence has a fairly favorable climate and moderate weather conditions. It is the capital, the largest city, the educational and administrative center of the country (UN-HABITAT 2008; AADPC 2020).

Moreover, it is the seat of the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commissions for Africa as well as various other continental and international organizations. It is often referred to as "the political capital of Africa" for its historical, diplomatic and political significance for the continent (UN-HABITAT 2008). The total land area of Addis Ababa is about 527 km² or 54, 000 hectors; and the city has a complex mix of high climate zones, with temperature differences of up to 10°C, depending on elevation and prevailing wind patterns (World Meteorological Organization 2019). It is a chartered city having three layers of government: City government at the top, 10 sub-city administrations in the middle (of course, Lemi Kura, the 11th sub-city isn't considered in the study as it is the newly emerging sub-city that isn't well established), and 121 woreda administrations at the bottom (AAPDC 2020).

Research Design and Approach

In this study, mixed methods research design was employed based on two underlying assumptions: studying migration as a whole and irregular migration in particular is a complex and multifaceted process that involves data from a variety of sources, and the perspectives of different actors; and employing a single approach to study the phenomenon may limit the comprehensiveness of the data and accuracy of the findings.

Mixing both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone (Creswell 2009; Creswell and Clark 2007; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Creswell and Clark 2010; Bryman 2006; Tashakkori and Creswell 2007). Amongst the mixed methods designs, "*Concurrent Embedded Design Approach*" was used as the primary design. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently, though the weight between the two may vary depending on the nature of the research

questions to be considered and the secondary method is embedded within the predominant method (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner 2007; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009; Creswell and Clark 2010; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).

Accordingly, the quantitative data were given more weight and the qualitative data were embedded within the former one to substantiate the numerical data obtained via survey questionnaires. For the purpose at hand, the sub-cities of Addis Ababa were grouped into two clusters: Lideta, Arada, Kirkos, Addis Ketema, Gulele; and Nifas Silk, Yeka, Kolfe Keraniyo, Bole, and Akaki Kality were clustered as inner-urban and peri-urban areas respectively. The clustering is based on the livelihood strategies and activities available for the urban poor, wherein the inner-urban centers the dwellers more likely tend to be engaged in non-agricultural activities, while in peri-urban areas the communities are being progressively absorbed into the urban fabric and are dependent both on agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Accordingly, out of ten sub-cities clustered into inner-urban and peri-urban areas two sub-cities from each cluster having a large number of returnees were selected, namely; Addis Ketema and Kirkos; and Akaki Kality and Kolfe Keraniyo from the former and latter areas respectively via purposive sampling technique.

The study employed a simplified formula provided by Yamane (2001) to determine the sample size at the 95% confidence level and 5% degree of variability (Israel 2002).

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N\,(e)^2}$$

Where: n = sample size; N = population size; and e = level of precision.

Based on the above formula, a representative sample size of 416 was drawn randomly from a target population of 5,228 officially registered international returnees found in Addis Ababa (Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs/BOLSA 2021). Out of four hundred sixteen survey questionnaires administered, a total of four hundred two were completed and returned, constituting 96.6% response rate. Survey questionnaires, key informant interviews (KIIs), semi-structured interviews (SSIs), and focus group discussions (FGDs) were used as tools of data gathering. Using both types of data enable the researcher to expand an understanding from one method to another, to converge or confirm findings from different data sources

(Greene, Benjamin, and Goodyear 2001; Creswell 2009; Bryman 2006; Tashakkori and Creswell 2007). The survey questionnaire was pre-tested to check for its internal consistency, and a Cronbach's alpha (α) of 0.892 was obtained as a whole.

The survey questionnaire was translated into the local Amharic language and tested for face validity. A principal component analysis (PCA) was also carried-out to reduce the factors into a smaller set of components and to summarize data so that relationships and patterns can be easily interpreted and understood (O'Rourke and Hatcher 2013; Abdi and Williams 2010; Everitt 2004; Field 2009; Gray 2017). Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's test were undertaken to check the sample adequacy and the suitability of data for factor analysis respectively on both pull and push factors separately. The KMO measures of sampling adequacy were calculated above the commonly recommended values in both cases (Field 2009; Hair et al. 2010), and Bartlett's tests of sphericity were significant and considered adequate for performing a factor analysis (Tabachnick and Fidell 2013; Pallant 2010; Hair et al. 2010; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007) (see Table 5 and Table 6).

Descriptive statistics and multiple regression analysis were employed to analyze the quantitative data. The qualitative data were also transcribed, coded and interpreted thematically to supplement the numerical data secured through survey questionnaires. Furthermore, the authors were committed to meet the ethical standards set forth by the APA from inception to completion of the study to protect the subject's identity.

3. Results and Discussions

Descriptive Analysis

Demographic profile of the respondents

Table 1 indicates that the number of female returnees assumes higher figure than their male counter parts with percentage of 83.8%. This may indicate that majority of the migratory or returnee group is female-dominated in Ethiopian context. Thus, unlike the foregoing finding, the previous studies conducted by (Songsore 2003; Elbadawy 2010) found that males were more likely to migrate abroad compared to females that seems contradict with the above one. With regard to marital status, relatively as a whole the share of unmarried respondents outweighs the share of the rest respondents found in other marital status and account for 51.2%; and the married ones held the second position with percentage of 35.1%.

As evident from the results of analysis, as a whole, about 47% of the returnees were only attending secondary school education. This could limit returnees' access to information and technology to respond to knowledge-based vibrant economy of the modern era. The highest level of education attained by the Ghanaian returnees was senior secondary school education, with majority of them completing junior high school (Kodom and Dako-Gyeke 2017). The percentages of returnees who had first Degree and Master's Degree were found to be only about 3.5% and 0.2% respectively. This may show that most returnees are deprived of getting further education, which may in turn have a powerful negative impact in the world of work to make a living. Moreover, the percentages of sampled returnees from inner-urban and peri-urban areas were found to be 33.3% and 66.7% respectively which in turn portrays that a vast majority of the returnees were from peri-urban areas. As evident from the results of analysis, as a whole, about 47% of the returnees were only attending secondary school education.

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Economic characteristics of the respondents

Figure 2 presents about the economic characteristics of the respondents at abroad and homeland. Accordingly, the results of the analysis highlighted that the overall mean income of the respondents at abroad and homeland was found to be about 6233.46 ETB and 1038.06 ETB respectively, that is, an indication of the overall mean income of the study population at abroad is about six times the average income at homeland that may imply households having significant number found in

the study area had poor purchasing power so as to acquire enough and nutritious food and did not have access to sufficient food to meet their dietary energy requirements.

The medians monthly income of the study population at abroad and homeland were found be about 6,000 ETB and 800 ETB respectively. Furthermore, as can be noted from the given data, while the mean income of the respondents at abroad was about 6147.69 ETB and 6250.00 ETB for male and female respondents respectively, and on average the homeland income on monthly basis of the male respondents (1938.46 ETB) and female respondents (864.39 ETB). Table 2 illustrates that domestic work is the most predominant occupation category in which returnees were being engaged in their respective destinations. Numerically speaking, 76.4% of the respondents were engaged in domestic work when they were at abroad.

Moreover, as it is observed from the given data, company employment as an occupation was the most suffered occupation and the percentage of migrants who were working as employee at abroad was below 1.0% which directly related with their education levels in the study area as a whole.

Determinants of irregular cross-border migration decision

As shown in Table 3, the study returnees reported that: the presence of job opportunity in more affluent society (mean = 4.24, standard deviation (SD) = 0.909), better income and prospects for wealth creation and building assets (mean = 4.17, SD = 0.980), pressures of individuals who returned back from migration (mean = 3.33, SD = 1.562), lure words and pressures of brokers (mean = 3.22, SD = 1.603), and presence of sustainable food security at abroad (mean = 3.00, SD = 1.396) were attached the greatest values above mean score and found as the most five important motivating factors that exert a powerful influence on Ethiopian emigrants to migrate irregularly to abroad.

On the contrary, in the view of returnee respondents among the pull factors indicated (Table 3) rated below the mean score as follows: family reunification at abroad, independence and freedom available at abroad, strong social cohesion found at abroad, and pursuit of better and special education at abroad with mean value and standard deviation 2.24 and 1.205, 2.27 and 1.167, 2.31 and 1.231, and 2.48 and 1.252 in ascending order respectively as the four least motivating factor

that influences Ethiopian emigrants to plan to move away in irregular situations.

However, as a whole all variables associated with pull factors were rated above the mean sore on a five-point Likert Scale(overall average = 2.99, SD = 1.26), which in turn may imply that all the pull factors had substantially contributed to irregular cross-border migration in Ethiopia.

Furthermore, qualitative data were collected via Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and Semi-Structured Interviews (SSIs). Returnees, key officials, core actors, and experts were asked about their views concerning the factors that were accounted and attracted the Ethiopians to migrate irregularly to abroad. The results are presented hereunder. The factors motivating Ethiopians to move away are tremendous in number and the cumulative effect of both socio-cultural and economic factors. Some may migrate to build assets in affluent nations and others may migrate to join their respective family found at abroad.

In connection with this, one of the key informants confirmed that:

> …Well, I think Ethiopians move to different parts of the world in the hope of improving their own and their respective family life. The main reason for choosing irregular migration is that potential migrants think the cost of irregular migration will be lower than the regular one. However, the consequences are not incalculable. They are likely to become entangled with the number of difficulties upon their arrival: ill-treated in inhumane manner, at risk of deportation and suffer its consequences, persecution and discrimination just to mention a few. The decision to migrate irregularly in Ethiopia mostly to earn better money to improve their living standard to some extent as there is differential of wages between origin and affluent nations (the latter is better than the former in wages). Of course, some others may migrate due to non-economic factors, but they are very few in number (1 July, 2021).

During the FGDs, participants rightly expressed the situations as follows:

> …in our country including Addis Ababa, pull factors for irregular cross-border migration may vary in degree and in kind. Some individuals may be attracted solely by lucrative job conditions prevail in the destination regions, others may migrate to get in touch with their family members living abroad, and few others may have their own hidden agenda including conducive political factors at abroad to exercise democracy whereby the origin is featured by less political autonomy. In Ethiopia, whatever factors driving international migration particularly the irregular ones, the potential migrants are not from the well-to-do families rather they are from the poor family. In this respect, the poor are governed by the principle “do or die”. Generally speaking, because of the aforementioned reasons and others the pull factors for irregular migration can be viewed as an amalgam of both social, economic, political conditions in Ethiopia including Addis Ababa, though the

> economic conditions outweighs by far the other pull factors as the poor are governed by the aforementioned principle to escape from poverty (2 July 2021 and 7 July 2021).

This implies that the result obtained from qualitative summary of the respondents' perception on the pull factors accounted for emigrants to migrate irregularly also strengthen data obtained from quantitative analysis. That is, participants of FGDs disclosed that the prevailing economic conditions in the destination areas are the predominant pull factors amongst others, which in turn substantiate data obtained from quantitative analysis. Furthermore, participants of SSI shared the same ideas and reported the following:

> ….the prime propelling forces of irregular cross-border migration are various and often differ from one person to another. It is a complex phenomenon that is often driven by social, economic, cultural and other factors. There are, however, many factors that tend to be common to such migration as a whole. Some of the common factors are associated with destination area conditions that induce people to migrate in search of better conditions: better jobs and wages, better access to labor market, political stability, and the like. This is without underestimating the common conditions like absence job opportunities, unemployment and the like that motivate Ethiopians to move away from their native land. In addition, success stories could be considered as pull factor for those who keep on hearing and looking to the success of those who have already migrated (August 5, 2021 and August 15, 2021).

Generally speaking, the results obtained from qualitative data also strengthen data obtained from quantitative analysis. As seen in Table 4, the overall average of the respondents' responses for the factors that drifted them to migrate irregularly were (overall average = 3.46, and SD = 1.22), which may reflect that majority of the respondents rated the items between the ranges of high and very high. That is, the mean score is above an average on five-point Likert scale. In the views of the returnees the three most dominant component factors which drive them out of their origin country were found to be: lack of employment opportunity, low wages and other associated payments, and the prevalence of food insecurity with the mean values of 4.27, 4.24, and 3.98 in descending order respectively (Table 4). This implies that the aforementioned push factors were rated above the mean scale and majority of the responses for the items were falling between high and very high. A final observation from Table 4 is that the respondents of the study clearly held more intense attitudes to the conditions that repelled them to leave their origin country to move abroad in irregular manner and rated all the associated variables above an average on five-point Likert scale.

Moreover, FGDs were also held with a team constitutes returnees and various core actors about push factors forcing Ethiopians to migrate in irregular manner. Accordingly, they forwarded their ideas as follows:

> ---To tell you the truth, in Ethiopia, there were and/are repelling factors that affect individuals to migration irregularly being exposed to an immense hardship on their way to arrive the destination and even after arrival. Though, to mention all push factors is difficult, in Ethiopia, as a result of low job opportunities or poor living conditions, migration is often seen as a form of household income diversification. The prevalence of poverty in general and urban poverty in particular is another bottleneck in our country for such kind of migration. In addition, disagreement between family members, very low income of family, and quest for a better future to improve their living conditions are also some major push factors. The other is the growing of unemployment rate resulted in unable to be absorbed into labor market/ world of work (2 August, 2021 and 7 August, 2021).

As majority of the participants reported, Ethiopian emigrants left their country and migrated to abroad due to: the prevalence of unemployment, urban poverty, and poor living conditions in the origin country amongst others, which in turn may indicate that the poor economic conditions in the origin country had sound effect in drifting Ethiopians to migrate irregularly to find work and to improve their economic situations and their family. Similarly, Düvell (2011) noted that the key pushing forces of the supply of illegal migration are poverty, limited opportunities at homeland, lack of education, economic imbalances, unstable social and political conditions, and war amongst others. This indicates that the factors highlighted by the participants of the study are in harmony and congruent with the finding of the aforementioned author.

As depicted in Figure 3, majority of the returnee respondents concurred that above all economic factors took the most leading share in compelling the returnees to migrate irregularly with the percentage 90%, while social factors held the second position with the percentage of 3.7%. Moreover, the summary of responses obtained from qualitative data via (KIIs, FGDs, and SSIs) is harmonized with the above findings and majority of the participants shared the above ideas and reported that many Ethiopians do have a plan to make migration a career due to low job opportunities and poor living conditions in Ethiopia including Addis Ababa to scale-up their means of generating incomes and ultimately to improve their life and their respective family found at origin country. They also highlighted that dissatisfaction with the current living conditions is crucially one of the most important variables that make migration a solution to avert the situation.

Predictive Analysis

Principal Component Analysis on Pull-Push Factors

Before plunging into conducting factor analysis, the sample adequacy was tested by employing Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's test to check the suitability of data for structure detection and factor analysis (see Table 5). Measuring Sampling Adequacy (MSA) is at the center of scientific investigation as insufficient inter-correlations among variables can lead to unusable exploratory factor analysis (EFA) results (Chan and Idris 2017; Hair et al. 2010); and it is good practice to obtain the MSA to assess sampling adequacy prior to performing an EFA (Pallant 2007; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007; Pallant 2010).

Following MSA, factor analysis was undertaken to identify sets of variables that are tapping the underlying phenomenon as it examines the patterns of correlations among a set of variables. As evident from Table 5, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure verified the goodness-of-fit of the variables for the factor analysis with a KMO equal to 0.798, which is rated as 'meritorious' as the minimum acceptable value for KMO is 0.60 (Field 2009; Hair et al. 2010). Bartlett's test of sphericity (Chi-square = 2300.921, df = 55, p= 0.000) indicated that relations between variables were sufficiently large for PCA as significance level for Bartlett's test below 0.05 suggest that there is substantial correlation in the data (Hair et al. 2010; Pallant 2007; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007).

Three distinct factors were yielded and extracted which explained about the total percentage variance extracted (96%) on the pull factors accounted for and attracted the returnees to migrate irregularly to abroad. The first factor (factor 1) that constitutes six variables is related to an emigrant's personal characteristics and behavior, and may also have positive contribution to migrate irregularly. Hence, it is labelled as socio-cultural factors. The second factor (factor 2) deals with the presence of job opportunity in more affluent society, and better income and prospects for wealth creation may seem to directly relate to an individual emigrant resource endowments and asset accumulation, therefore, referred to as economic factors. The third factor (factor 3) may seem to indicate the overall human motivators of irregular migration, thus, denominated as human pressures.

A final observation is about the variable with the strongest association to the underlying latent variable. Accordingly, the result of factor analysis portrays that the first factor (socio-cultural factors) as a whole explains most of the variance in pull factors of Ethiopian emigrants (83%), which had by far the highest percentage

variance extracted than the rest three resulting factors. Furthermore, all factors are positively contributing and lure the emigrants to the destination areas in irregular manner in Ethiopian contexts.

Table 6 reveals the results of the KMO and Bartlett's tests on push factors. Accordingly, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure demonstrated the goodness-of-fit of the variables for the factor analysis with a KMO equal to 0.821, which is rated as 'meritorious' as the minimum acceptable value for KMO is 0.60 (Field , 2009; Hair et al. 2010). Bartlett's test of sphericity (Chi-square = 1572.33, df = 45, p = 0.000) indicated the inter-correlations among variables were generally considered adequate for performing a factor analysis as the significance level for Bartlett's test below 0.05 suggest that there is substantial correlation in the data (Hair et al. 2010; Pallant 2007; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007; Pallant 2010).

As vividly indicated in Table 6, two distinct factors were extracted which explained about the total percentage variance extracted (97%) on the push factors that compelled the returnees to migrate irregularly to abroad. The first factor (factor 1) that comprises five variables that seem to signify the combination or interaction of social and political conditions that were pervasive in a country, therefore, labeled as socio-political factors at homeland with the total percentage variance extracted (82%). The second factor (factor 2) that constitutes four variables in one or another, they seem to be associated with the economic activities and systems of a country, hence, named as economic factors at homeland.

Moreover, the result of factor analysis clearly indicates that the first factor (socio-political factors at homeland) explains most of the total percentage variance extracted on push factors (82%) and outweighs their counter resulting factors. Finally, to identify one or more key-factors that explain why the study population decided to migrate irregularly, a multiple linear regression analysis was performed with the extracted scores of (pull-push factors). The result of the multiple linear regression analysis for each extracted factor is presented. The next section presents the results of analysis about the relationship between explanatory variables and the outcome.

As revealed in Table 7, irregular cross-border migration decision is significantly affected positively with all five extracted factors included in regression analysis at 0.1% and 5% probability levels ($p = 0.000<0.001$ and 0.05). In other words, all five extracted factors (three from pull factors: socio-cultural factors, economic factors, human pressures, and two from push factors: socio-political factors at

homeland and economic factors at homeland) had a significant positive impacts on irregular cross-border migration decision. Moreover, results show that amongst the three key explanatory variables extracted from pull factors the effect of socio-cultural factors at destination areas had the strongest effect in making decision to emigrate with an unstandardized coefficient of (5.926), followed by economic factors at destination areas with an unstandardized coefficient of (2.723), whereas among the two key explanatory variables extracted from push factors socio-political factors at homeland had a strong compelling effect and followed by economic factors at homeland with unstandardized coefficients of (5.011 and 4.555) respectively.

Furthermore, the results of analysis uncovered the relative importance of the factors for migration decision. Accordingly, based on the results of beta values, amongst pull factors, socio-cultural factors at abroad (Beta = .403) are the most important factors motivating irregular cross-border migration decision followed by socio-political factors at homeland (Beta = .382) and economic factors at homeland (Beta = .224) (Table 7). The above results in turn may imply that, nevertheless the decision to migrate can rely on different parameters and taken within a broader political, economic, social and environmental context, influenced by situations in both the country of origin and the country of destination, in this study the above findings concurred that the decision to migrate is relatively more influenced by conditions in the destination areas than conditions in the origin country.

On examining the contributions of made by the independent variables in the model, it was found that socio-cultural factors at abroad made the greatest contribution with the values of (β = .403, p = 0.000<0.001); which is followed by socio-political factors and economic factors at homeland with the values of (β = .381, p =.000<0.001; and β = .224, p =.000<0.001) respectively. In the above model, the coefficients of determination (R square/adjusted R square R2 = 0.964) predicts that 96.4% irregular cross-border migration decision was explained by the aforementioned five key extracted variables; and only 3.6% decision is due to factors that are not taken into account in the analysis.

As self-evident from Table 7, the results are best shown by the following regression equation:

Y=.906+5.926X1+2.723X2+2.077X3+5.011X4+4.555 X5.

Where: Y = Irregular cross-border migration decision

X1 = Socio-cultural factors at abroad

X2 = Economic factors at abroad

X3 = Human factors or pressures

X4 = Socio-political factors at homeland

X5 = Economic factors at homeland.

The other most interesting findings were the relative strength of the composite pull-push variables. Thus, conclusion would be drawn that both pull and push factors had statistically significant positive impacts on irregular cross-border migration decision in Ethiopian context at large and Addis Ababa in particular.

4. Conclusions

The study aimed to eloquently shed light on the relative weights of the major pull-push factors in predicting irregular cross-border migration decision in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa. The study was built on the discourse of *"pull-push model"* of migration as the main framework to get the general picture of the phenomenon. All relevant assumptions of the multilinear regression analysis were examined to perform the predictive analysis. Accordingly, the standard model's degree of predicting the dependent model was found to be R = .982, while the model's degree of explaining the variance in the dependent variable was R^2 = .964, which indicates that the model predicts the dependent variable very well.

The results of multivariate regression analysis have demonstrated that both the conditions in the origin country as well as in the destination areas jointly had sound positive impact for Ethiopians to make decision to emigrate in irregular manner. In a nutshell, conclusions drawn from the present study is two-fold: irregular cross-border migration decision is found to be increasingly a matter of decision making encompassing a set of intertwined propelling forces found in the origin and destination areas, above all the prevailing economic conditions in the destination areas are the most predominant pull factors amongst others; and the overall results of the study were not amplifying and quantifying a single existing theory of migration instead an amalgam of a number of theories of migration as a whole.

Acknowledgements: The authors are very grateful to returnees of Addis and other core actors who participated in offering the necessary information and enumerators who patiently carried out the survey questionnaires.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. List of Figures

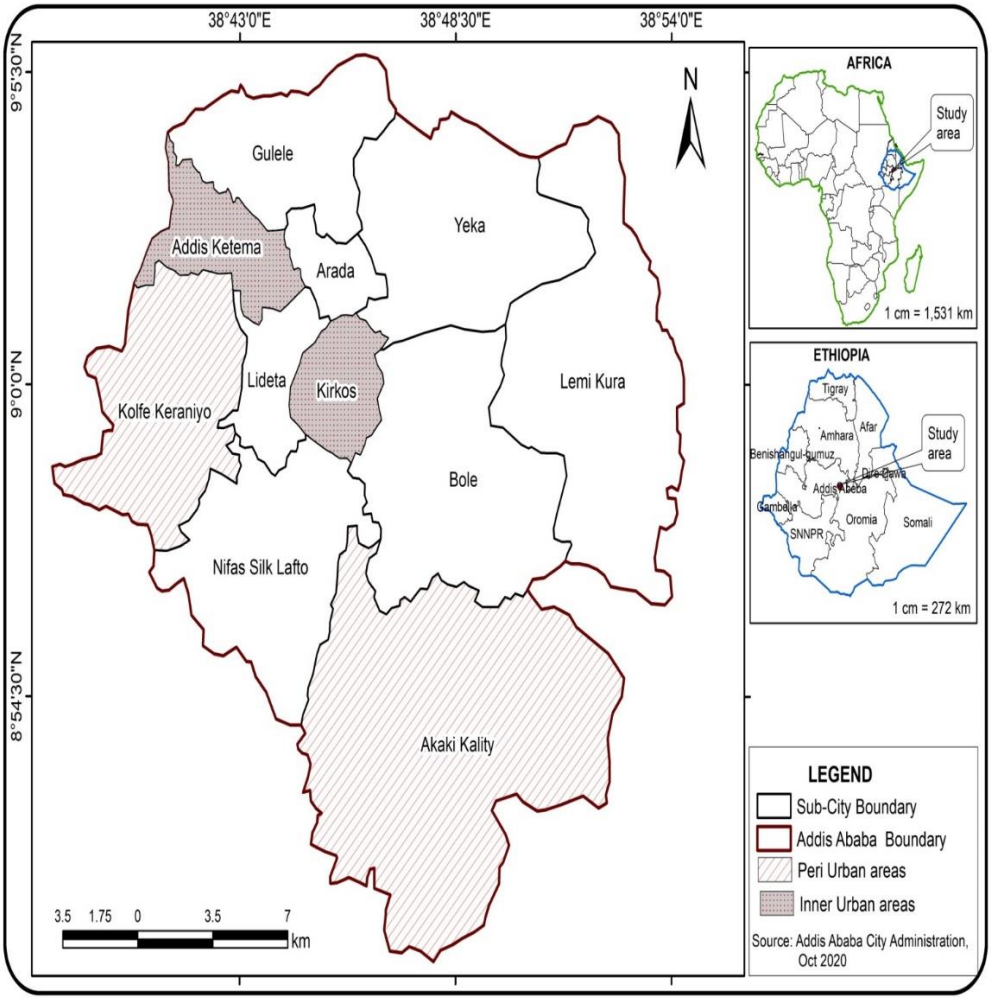

Fig. 1: Location of the Study area, Addis Ababa

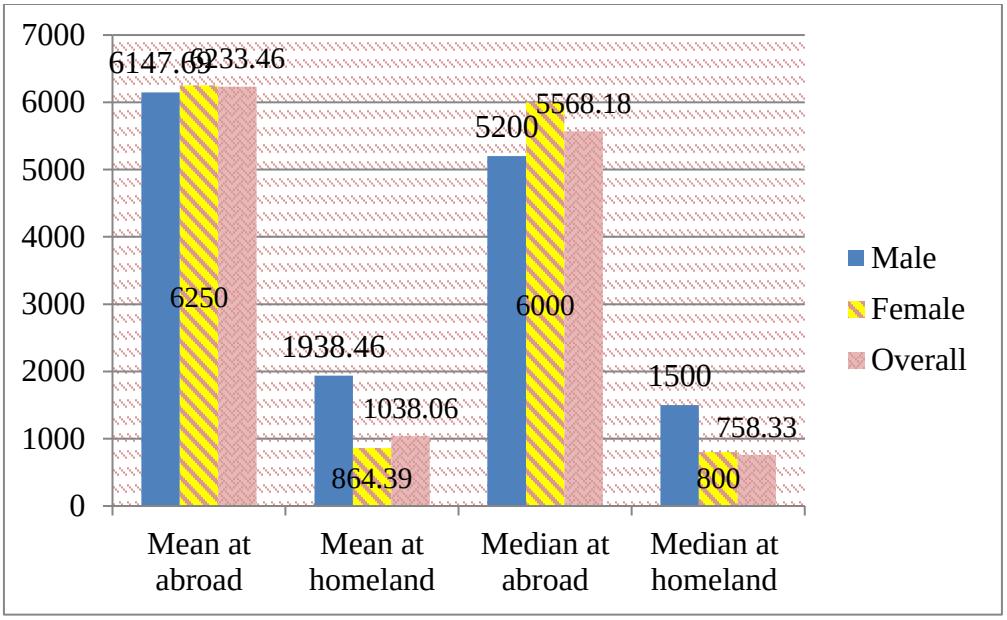

Fig. 2: Income at abroad and homeland in Ethiopian Birr (ETB)

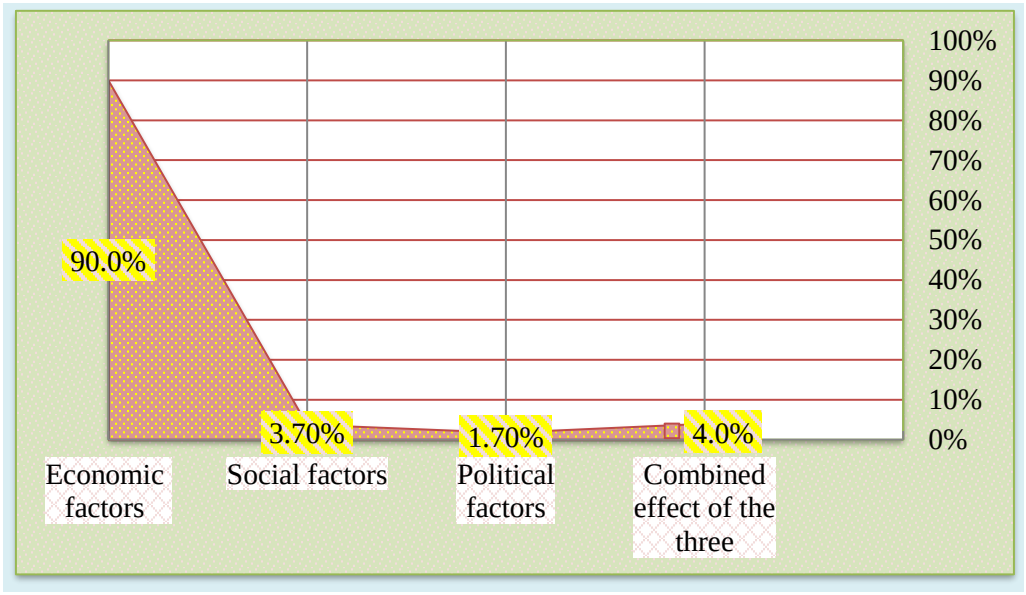

Fig. 3: Summary of responses on most underlying pushing factors

Appendix 2: List of tables

Table 1: Descriptive statistics on demographic profile of the respondents (N = 402)

No	Characteristics	N	%
1	Gender		
	Male	65	16.2
	Female	337	83.8
2	Marital status		
	Married		35.1
	Unmarried		51.2
	Divorced		11.2
	Widower/Widow		2.5
3	Educational level		
	First Degree	15	3.7
	Diploma	31	7.7
	Certificate	21	5.2
	Secondary School Education	189	47.0
	Primary School Education	146	36.3
4	Category of residence area		
	Inner-urban area	134	33.3
	Peri-urban area	268	67.7

Source: Authors tabulation based on survey data (2021)

Table 2: Occupation of the respondents at abroad

S.No	Major categorized occupations	Responses	
		N	%
1	All-round Worker	8	2
2	Cleaner	19	4.7
3	Daily laborer	21	5.2
4	Employee/Company Worker	4	1.0
5	Domestic Worker	307	76.4
6	Driver	11	2.7
7	Garage Worker	2	0.5
8	Guard	11	2.7
9	No job	4	1.0
10	Shepherd	6	1.5
11	Petty Trader/Trader	8	2.0
12	Private Work (House rent, etc.)	-	-
13	Student	-	-
14	Broker	-	-
15	Tailor	-	-
Total		402	100.00%

Source: Authors tabulation based on field survey data (2021)

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics on pull factors

S.No	Pull factors	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	Family reunification at abroad	2.24	1.205
2	Independence and freedom available at abroad	2.31	1.231
3	Strong social cohesion found at abroad	2.27	1.167
4	Presence of sustainable food security at abroad	3.00	1.396
5	Presence of job opportunity in more affluent society	4.24	.909
6	Better income and prospects for wealth creation/building assets	4.17	.980
7	Pursuit of better and special education at abroad	2.48	1.252
8	Accessibility to urban services (including health care, transport, etc.)	2.66	1.321
9	Pressures of individuals who returned back from migration	3.33	1.562
10	Lure words and pressures of brokers	3.22	1.603
	Overall average	2.99	1.26

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics on push factors

S.No	Push factors	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	A restriction in human freedom and a violation of human rights	2.87	1.407
2	Intense political instability and conflict	2.81	1.438
3	Family dysfunctions and breakage	2.71	1.372
4	Absence of adequate urban services and infrastructures	3.20	1.381
5	Peer pressures	3.09	1.497
6	Lack of employment opportunity	4.27	.835
7	Low wages and other associated payments	4.24	.838
8	The growing of urban poverty	3.96	1.099
9	The prevalence of food insecurity	3.98	1.083
	Overall average	3.46	1.22

Source: Own construction based on field survey data (2021)

Table 5: Rotated component matrix on pull factors

S.No	Pull factors	Components		
		Factor 1: Socio-cultural factors	Factor 2: Economic factors	Factor 3: Human pressures
1	Family reunification at abroad	.715		
2	Independence and freedom available at abroad	.901		
3	Strong social cohesion found at abroad	.868		
4	Presence of sustainable food security at abroad	.589		
5	Pursuit of better and special education at abroad	.731		
6	Accessibility to urban services (including health care, transport, etc.)	.788		
7	Presence of job opportunity in more affluent society		.835	
8	Better income and prospects for wealth creation/building assets		.865	
9	Pressures of individuals who returned back from migration			.884
10	Lure words and pressures of brokers			.895
Total variance extracted (%)		82.585	10.275	3.423
$\chi 2$ (55) = 2300.921, p = 0.000; KMO = .798				

Only variables with factor loadings of more than 0.50 and eigenvalues greater than one were retained; KMO = Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy.

Table 6: Rotated component matrix on push factors

S.No	Push factors		Component	
			Factor 1: Socio-political factors at homeland	Factor 2: Economic factors at homeland
1	A restriction in human freedom and a violation of human rights		.874	
2	Intense political instability and conflict		.819	.
3	Family dysfunctions and breakage		.797	
4	Absence of adequate urban services and infrastructures		.792	
5	Peer pressures		.773	

6	Lack of employment opportunity			.808
7	Low wages and other associated payments			.757
8	The growing of urban poverty			.687
9	The prevalence of food insecurity			.663
Total variance extracted (%)			81.693	15.769
	$\chi 2$ (45) = 1572.33, *p = 0.000*; KMO = .821			

Only variables with factor loadings of more than 0.50 and eigenvalues greater than one were retained; KMO = Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy.

Table 7: Multiple linear regression predicting the likelihood of irregular cross-border migration decision

No	Constant and key extracted factors	Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients			Model summary		
							R	Adjusted R square	S. E of the Estimate
		β	Std.Error	Beta	t	p-value	.982[a]	.964	2.823
1	Constant	.906	.959		.944	.346			
2	**Pull factors**								
2.1	Socio-cultural factors	5.926	.189	.403	31.354	.000***			
2.2	Economic factors	2.723	.153	.181	17.782	.000***			
2.3	Human pressures	2.077	.134	.210	15.501	.000***			
3	**Push factors**								
3.1	Socio-political factors at homeland	5.011	.199	.382	25.156	.000***			
3.2	**Economic factors at homeland**	**4.555**	**.204**	**.224**	**22.315**	**.000*** **			

*** P-value significant both at 0.001 and 0.05; only variables with factor loadings of more than 0.50 and eigenvalues greater than one were retained

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On the Refugee Needs: A Holistic Approach

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Abstract. The present paper is inspired by the dramas of the Ukrainian refugees, in the 2022 war. It starts from the acknowledgment of the complexity of their needs, from their rights to be supported, and from the difficulties to organize the support, immediately and adequately, with many people untrained to help, and with the bureaucracy blocked in its books of procedures. We launch here the hypothesis that an account of human needs – as it is done in the well-known Maslow Pyramid – could be in itself a guide in supporting the refugees with what they need. It could guide against the agglomerations of all the helpers with items such as clothes, shoes, or blankets when the refugees need medical assistance or news from home. It could guide against the simplistic approach to refugees' support as a simple enterprise done individually and sporadically. With such a hypothesis, we remind here Maslow Pyramid, an example of its adaptation in Nursing – done by Virginia Henderson, which leads to the spider web diagram in nursing care. The main part of the paper is the proposal of the Pyramid of the Refugees' Needs. It is an adaptation of the Maslow Pyramid for refugees in emergency cases. We propose it, as a concept that is easy to put in a diagram, distributed among those involved in support; and ready to be interpreted as a call to pay attention to the refugees' needs as a whole. We focus here only on the general (regular) needs, and not on those of unaccompanied minors or vulnerable people. Our main proposal here is to operationalize the concept of the refugee needs – to realize a spider web diagram with the categories of needs in each stage of refuge and to project the assistance according to the needs, implement the support according to it, and report it on the same bases. The paper – part of a larger project on refugees - is structured in three parts: I. Maslow Pyramid of General Human Needs; II. Maslow Pyramid applied in Nursing; III. Maslow's Pyramid is possible to be applied to get at a glance all categories of Human Needs.

Keywords*: Maslow Pyramid of Human Needs; the Emergency situation for refugees; Refugee' in emergency situation Pyramid of Needs; Refugees' Identity Needs; Refugees Communication Needs.*

Introduction

The present attempt is inspired by the drama of the Ukrainian refugees and the complexity of their demands toward Romanian authorities, NGOs, Churches, and Civilians.

Firstly, we introduce the popular distinction in the psychology of motivation between *needs, demands, and desires. Human* desires and demands are subjective.

They are practically unlimited and theoretically hardly to be systemized. Or the capacity to assist refugees are limited and the process must be rational and well planned according to a criterium transparent and largely agreed upon between two parts (assistants and assisted). That is why the concept of the pyramid of needs seems to be the best solution for working in the field.

With such a perspective in mind, we addressed two questions: "*Which demands are the legitimate refugees' needs?"* and *"How much needs could be prioritized?"* To answer the two questions, we appeal to the psychologic theory of human needs as it is structured in Maslow's *Pyramid of Human Needs* and to its application in a particular case: nursing care. The analysis and the efforts to simplify the two theories lead us to the idea that the Pyramid of Needs could be adapted to the refugees' needs.

Encouraged by the large utility of the Pyramid of needs in nursing, we tried to explore – in the literature on refugees and refuge, especially in the Memoirs – resources to compile a pyramid of needs in the refugees' cases. An exceptional set of resources represented for us the UNHCR and FRA normative documents, reports, and manuals. Excellent resources were also the Romanian law, the authorities' guides, and reports. The media reports of the concrete needs of the refugees crossing Romanian borders in the Ukrainian crisis were also taken into consideration. Similarly, interviews with the international refugees provide us with arguments for compiling a Pyramid of Needs in the case of the Refugees.

We reproduce below a) a simplified view of the Maslow theory, and b) a very popular application of it in nursing care. Our main aim was to introduce the concept of the Pyramid of Needs in the Refugees case.

We estimate that the concept will be simple to communicate and distribute if it will be configurated in an image. With such an image in mind will be much easier to design, apply and report on refugees' assistance. That is why we propose, a paper in three parts: 1. Maslow Pyramid of Human Needs, general theory; 2. Maslow Pyramid in Nursing; 3. Pyramid of the Refugees Needs.

1. Maslow's original Pyramid of needs

1.1 Maslow Pyramid on Human Needs at a glance

In support of the people who eventually arrived in refugee conditions, we propose below a remembering of Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of human needs,

in its form of 1943[1]. The pyramid is a hierarchized inventory of the general categories of human needs. Maslow draws the attention that they are acting, that is there are no categories that could be totally excluded from satisfaction without affecting the human life quality and human dignity.

The pyramid reveals the whole picture of satisfaction that any person needs, to be fully functional socially, and personally happy.

To focus on the categories and hierarchy of human needs charted in the Pyramid, we propose the diagram below, largely like thousands of such images used in psychological literature. We opted for one composed by Kendra Cherry and adjusted by David Susman[2]. It is because it seems to us very intuitive and because it is recently (February 2022) adjusted.

Figure 1. Maslow (1943): Pyramid of Needs

Source: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (verywellmind.com).

[1] Maslow, A. H. (1943): *Theory of Human Motivation*, in *Psychological Review*, vol. 50, no. 4, pp. 370-396, Classics in the History of Psychology -- A. H. Maslow (1943) A Theory of Human Motivation (yorku.ca).
[2] Cherry, Kendra, & and Susman, David, (2022): *Maslow Theory of Needs*, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (verywellmind.com).

The image corresponds to Maslow's conception of 1943. Although it was later remodeled[3], it remained a reference theory in understanding human motivations, precisely because it was based on observing reality and reiterating the old Latin addition to European soteriological experience: "*Primum vivere, deinde Philosophare".*

1.2 Maslow's Pyramid on Human Needs contents en detaille

Maslow (1943) operates with a 5-level pyramid and defines them, in the terms listed below.

Basic level or level no. 1. The level of the Physiological needs. (They were formulated in Maslow's 1943 theory. They are improperly called so because, in fact, they refer to all the needs without which human life and its quality are threatened. They are the needs for:

air; b) water; c) food; d) sexual life; e) sleep and rest; f) clothing.

The mentioned needs unmet affect the human dignity instantly, put in major risks the individual human existence in minutes, hours, days (according to the needs unsatisfied) and its quality within weeks.

Basic level or the level no. 2. The level of the Safety needs. The security and safety needs are those that unmet affects severely the individual life existence or and its quality. They are the needs for:

a) health and personal Integrity; b) personal security; c) emotional security and d) financial security.

The mentioned needs unmet affect human dignity instantly, the individual human life in weeks.

Level no. 3. The level of needs for Love and Belonging. The needs in this category are those to be related to a family, to a small group or more - friends, group of work, group of sports, group of shared hobbies, high school colleagues, college, comrades-in-arms - and to be part of a large group, a city, a region, an organization, a nation, a region, a religion, to be part of humanity, etc. They also need of being

[3] Maslow, A. H. (1954): *Motivation and Personality*, Publisher Harper&Brother, ISBN 978-0-06-041987-5. (There were some other editions.); Maslow, A., H. (1962): *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature*, Reprint 2011, Publisher Martino Fine Books, ISBN-10 – 1614270678.; Maslow, A., H. (1962): *Toward a Psychology of Being*, (1st edition, 1962; 2nd edition, 1968), Publisher Sublime Books, 2014, ISBN -13 978-1627556224.; Maslow, A. H. (1964): *Religions, Values and Peak Experience*, Columbus, Ohio state University Press, Reprinted by Penguin Books ISBN: 0 14 00.4262 8.; Maslow, A., H. (1965): *Eupshychian Management*, Republished 2011 as *Maslow on Management*, Publisher Wiley, ISBN: 978-0-471-24780-7.

considered reliable and to be accepted,

They are reflected psychologically as needs to need for a family, friendship, romantic attachments, a church belonging.

These needs unsatisfied could drive anxiety, loneliness, and depression and could introduce the risks of major morbidity or of suicide.

Level no. 4. The level of needs for Esteem. The category of self-esteem needs - noted by Maslow as divided into two subcategories, that of the minimum self-esteem needs ("lower") and, respectively, that of the maximum needs, "higher" - consists of:

The *"lower" sub-category* includes needs for: a) social status; b) appreciation; c) recognition; d) of fame; e) prestige; f) respect.

The *"higher" sub-category* includes needs for a) self-confidence; b) self-respect; c) acquiring competence and high performance; d) independence (autonomy); e) freedom; f) power; g) and, even, abnegation, self-dedication to general causes.

They generate altruistic behavior and make altruism a high standard of humanity. These needs, when felt by one person, guide or reduce all the others to a minimum. Gandhi reduced his physical needs to eat a banana a week, cover himself with a simple cloth, and so on[4]. Under the pressure of a very strong need for self-esteem, some people may develop behaviors of general self-denial (sacrifice and martyrdom).

Uncovering such needs affects the dignity of a person.

Level no. 5. The level of Self-actualization. (Person's dreams reaching)

*A*ccording to Maslow, the persons need to reach their full potential, to become everything they could be. It includes all the urges that tempt the person and determine his behavior. Exceptional people like the great performers: in sports, like Nadia Comăneci; in science, such as the Einstein type; in art, such as those of the Brâncuși type; in philosophy, somewhat like Bertrand Russell; in politics, such as Eleanor Roosevelt or Gandhi, exemplifies the presence of such needs and how these needs have guided their behavior and shaped them to perform.

At the level of ordinary people, self-actualization means the presence of the need for maximum achievement in being good parents, pursuing their talent, in

[4] He theorized these reductions in Gandhi, Mohandas, Karamchand (2012): *Il libro de la sagezza*, Trudy Settel, Ed. Traduzione Franco Pari, Newton Comton Editori. So did cynical philosophers, anchorites, communist prison saints.

pursuing their goals.

To generate climates to let these needs unmet is to deprive them of happiness.

In the later developments in the theory of needs, Maslow also accepted the existence of other needs, which were not perfectly accommodable to the original theory. These new needs are:

A. COGNITIVE NEEDS the needs of creativity and imagination; foresight and foresight; to exercise intellectual curiosity; finding meanings; to achieve cognitive consonance and harmonization of validated knowledge content…

B. AESTHETIC NEEDS: the need to live surrounded by beauty in everyday life, to have a beautiful life

C. THE NEEDS TO SELF-TRANSCENDENCE[5]: the need to be good, to dedicate oneself to others, to be altruistic, and even the need for mystical experiences, etc.

He also extended the theory by admitting, that the order in the hierarchy is not a rigid one. It is flexible according to the external circumstances and particularities of the individuals. Some individuals could sacrifice the meeting of their basic needs in order to cover their need to express their creativity. Also in the maturity papers, Maslow emphasized that the determination of behavior is multifactorial. Multiple or all needs are involved in determining behavior at the same time.

The theory was intensively criticized, mainly because the psychologist did not find evidence that the needs follow a hierarchy and because it is difficult to test it, according to the epistemological criteria for a scientific theory.

Despite the criticism, the Maslow Pyramid of needs is resilient at least two domains of practice use it intensively: marketing and nursing. We believe that the utility, simplicity, and elegance of the theory made it very popular. (It should be noted, however, that it was also repeatedly reevaluated by Maslow himself).

Indeed, in practice, it has proved to be useful, at least, in the field of marketing and patient care. In these areas, Maslow's theory of human needs and their fulfillment has developed opportunities to understand man simply as a being with common general needs (hence, easy to understand by empathy). It teaches us to look at and treat persons with special needs, to nurse those that are no longer in

[5] Koltko-Rivera, Marko, E., (2006): *Rediscovering the later version of Maslow hierarchy of needs: Self-transcendence and opportunities for theory, research, and unification* in *"Review of General Psychology", no. 10/2006, pp. 202-312.*

a situation of autonomy, to meet their complex system of needs, and respect each of their human dignity.

Maslow's Pyramid favors the concrete understanding of the human person as an entity with a set of needs. Without satisfying their system, human life and dignity are severely affected.

That is why we take it as the base in designing the refugee needs system and as the guidance in supporting refugees to help themselves and avoid shortages in their routes to liberty.

2. Maslow Pyramid of Needs, and its application in the Nursing Care

In spite of its universality, the Pyramid is flexible. Applied to specific areas, it shows faces of the needs or new needs to be taking into account, when the person life quality and human dignity is respected. In the nursing practice functions one of the largely used interpretation of Maslow Pyramid. There is not nursing plan, in the actualized care system – that ignore the principle. Each nursing plan operates with a diagram inspired by the theory of human needs, as it was conceived in the humanistic psychology.

According to Virginia Henderson[6], the patient's needs were rethought in a holistic 14-class scheme. These needs are monitored and noted daily in a template document based on diagram, in a radial pattern. It shows the diagram of the health of the cared for person, respectively, each monitored need satisfaction, in its involution towards the accentuation of the disease or his evolution towards the health.

Compared to the 1943 Maslow Pyramid, Virginia Henderson's list is an interpretation of nursing. It adds needs and eliminates needs, taking into account the specifics of the analyzed case, the specific case of the patient. Also, Henderson's list does not rank needs but emphasizes their interdependence and their holistic functioning, in a unitary whole and in relation to the context.

The 14 human needs selected by Henderson are: 1) to be able to breathe; 2) to be able to drink and eat; 3) to be able to eliminate; 4) to be able to move and sit

[6] Henderson, V. (1991): *The nature of nursing: Reflections after 25 years*". New York, National League for Nursing Press, Third Edition, ISBN 100887374 948; Henderson, V. (1991) : *Principii fundamentale ale îngrijirii bolnavului, [Basic Principles in Nursing Care],* București, Editura Danemarca, without an ISBN and .

in a proper position: 5) to be able to sleep and rest: 6) to be able to wrap and unveil; 7) to have a normal body temperature (37.2 degrees C); 8) to be clean and have protected skin; 9) to avoid obvious dangers; 10) to be able to communicate; 11) to be able to act according to his beliefs; 12) to be concerned with its realization; 13) to recreate; 14) to learn.

She put them in a radial schema and used them in monitoring their meeting. Finally, on such a base she put the nursing diagnostic and instructs daily, the cares-plan for any patient.

Virginia Henderson's diagram proved the help that a simplifying concept of motivation can bring to a complex human activity as is health care. Today, all around the world qualitative nursing care is based on the concept of Henderson, based on an interpretation of the Maslow Pyramid. Henderson's accomplishment is inspiring and encouraging.

We also propose an interpretation of the Needs Pyramid appropriate to the special case of refugees' needs.

We consider Maslow's Pyramid of human needs useful in revealing what needs are important and how - for any person, and under any conditions. We consider this interpretation useful in guiding people in a situation of refuge in packing the things that are necessary for them. Most of these things are needed both during their deployment at home and in the immediate aftermath of the border crossing ("emergency aid"). It is only after these preparatory phases that refugee assistance enters the phase of structural assistance. Structural assistance involves trying to cover all personal needs of Maslow.

3. On the refugees' needs in emergency situations emphasizing need for identity and communication

3.1 Needs of the refugees and their particular configurations in each stage of refuge

The needs of people who flee their homes are multiple, and those who flee internationally are even larger. Practically, they leave their life with all the facilities here, they lose their main opportunities to valorize the competencies achieved – especially because of the new language to be acquired; they lose their socio-economic status, mechanisms to adapt to normal life the personalized needs to the personalized possibilities to satisfy them. All those become needs for them.

The needs of the persons that flee from war are a continuous dynamic. Their dynamic is determined by the stage of refugee that they go through. According to the UNHCR manuals, there are different types of refugees assistance that are to be delivered to a refugee in different situations. Analyzing them, it is easy to observe that the differences in assistance are created by the stage of the refuge that a person goes through. We describe these stages of refuge explicitly as:

stage 0. *Escaping from the Risk of Death* versus *Refuge (losing all the material possessions, professional, socio-economic status)*

0. A: escaping from home and home city (at risk of being destroyed)

0. B: escaping from the highly insecure country

stage 1. *Admission into a country of refuge*, a signatory part state in the *Geneva Convention for Refugees*.

stage 2. *Transit* from a country of refuge to another one;

stage 3. *Insertion* into the country of refuge;

stage 4. *Inclusion/Integration* into the adoptive country;

stage 5. Voluntary repatriation[7].

stage. 5+ Traumas of the refuge

The needs for variety and continuous progress are daunting. However, there is psycho-philosophical literature, mainly contributed by humanistic psychology, which succeeded to draw a minimal general picture of human needs. The emblematic figure for the simplified theory of human needs is Abraham Maslow (1908-1970)[8], a professor at Columbia University, a descendant of a refugee family with roots in Kyiv, Ukraine. A particularization of the picture of the human need, done for nursing purposes, was proposed by Virginia Henderson[9]. Later, the nurses used the theory of Henderson and designed a spider web diagram in projecting and administrating the nursing cares to each patient. Simple to be used, the diagram was the best indicator of the condition of each patient at any moment of his/her life under nursing care.

Starting from these theoretical major sources, inspired by the nursing care

[7] The concept of *voluntary repatriation* is different by the voluntary return. (The second one is applied to the migrants that does not fulfill the requirements of the *EU Directive of Qualifications.*)

[8] The general needs of man as a bio-psycho-social being were mentioned, according to Maslow, in the first diagram quoted (Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (verywellmind.com).

[9] Henderson (1991): *The nature of nursing: Reflections after 25 years*". New York, National League for Nursing Press, Third Edition, ISBN 100887374 948. Ellis, J.R. and Nowlis, E.A. (1989): *Nursing. A Human Needs Approach*, Fourth Edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, ISBN 0-395-43304-5.

practice, embracing the positive perspective[10] proposed in the humanistic psychology, in the literature on the problem, and valorizing Romanian experiences in helping the Ukrainian massive influx of refugees in the 2022 crisis, we try to configure the system of the refugee needs.

The system of the refugee needs that we propose is drawing the attention that in emergency situations the well-known Maslow Pyramid of Needs takes a new shape: a rectangle meant to underline that the external circumstances of life become crucial in configuring the refugees' system of needs.

Those circumstances become crucial in a refugee case because the person loses his/her usual life milestones or sensitivity to them. There are not anymore, for him/her the common pressures for an external and internal coherency, for consistency to his/her previous acts[11]. On contrary, they tempt the refugee to dissimilate into a new environment. The new condition generates the need *for identit*y, as need to accomplish the new country law's requirements, (to document our physical identity with a valid ID and Passport); to keep our internal energy (to keep our psychologic integrity as sane and independent persons); and, the needs to keep our cultural identity (to preserve our names, our language, our attachments to our commune – patriotic - values, to our ways of life, to our high and popular culture traditions, religion, etc.).

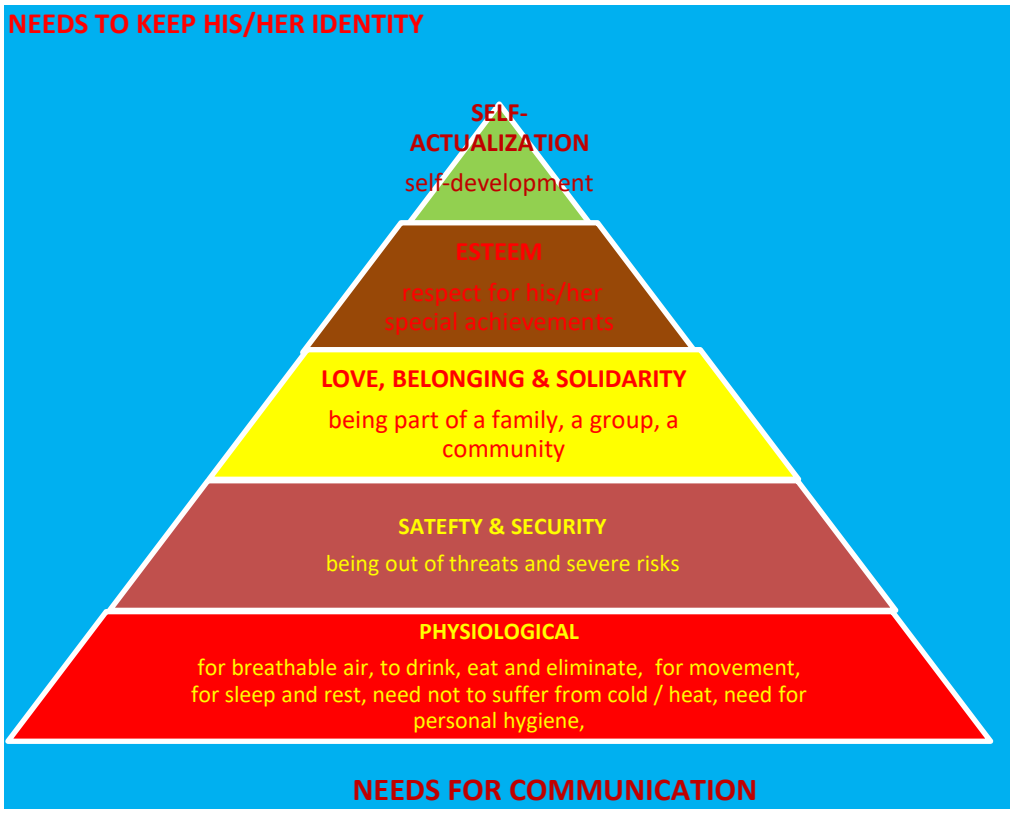
The external circumstances also generate the refugee's needs for communication: to express him/herself and to get empathy; to freely express its demands and to get informed about what happened to him/her family in the new environment, to his/her beloved left home, to his/her possessions left home, to his/her country, to this world …

Briefly, it looks like in the below rectangular image.

[10] A positive perspective is one that look to a person in difficulty as a unit of possibilities and specific energy easy to be release with a minimum external support. (It left the traditional approach that sow the human being in difficulty as "a bag of symptoms".)

[11] The book *The Pianist (*original title *Death of a City*, 1946*)* written by W. Szpilman and elaborated by Jerzy Waldorff provides a powerful inside in the life of a refuge in a dead city, as the Warsaw's ghetto was 1939-1945.)

Figure 2. Refugees Needs



What is new in the image proposed is the placement of the Pyramid into a rectangle image are two added understandings of the refugees' needs with two new sets of needs that accompanied permanently the refugee' life and have to be considered on each other levels.

The first added understanding of the refugees' needs is, that in emergency situations, a refugee becomes dependent on external support and what it is important for him/her and for the supporters is to assist him /her to regain as soon as possible its independence. This becomes possible if he/she is keeping his/her identity. It means the need to keep his/her documented and felt identity. (The documented - official identity – means to keep the documents as the IDs and other documents that prove his/her uniqueness and belonging to a community with an official existence. The felt identity is about his/her feeling that his/her reality as a person is a valuable one for somebody, for his/her family, group, or country.) In the absence of a documented identity, he/she meets bureaucratic difficulties, plus mistrust of his/her group. In the absence of the felt identity, he/she is exposed to

collapse, getting sick, or even committing suicide. There are no chances for a person's independence without the feeling that he/she is needed by his/her family, group, or country.

The second added understanding of the refugees' needs is that communication is also crucial to keep the refugee person in good health (mental and physical), and in a position to strive for its independence. (In such a context, the need for communication is composed of other categories of needs as a) the need to be kept informed about his/her beloveds' situations, to inform them on him/her conditions and to be connected with them as frequent as possible; b) to be informed on the war's dynamic, on their fate; c) to stay close and in cheat with people familiar to him/her; d) to learn about others people in similar condition; e) to express his/herself; g) to speak about his previous status, his/her today condition and hopes; h) to get active listeners; i) the needs to impress the audience and to mobilize them to support him; j) to see the effects of his/her messages in their support and many others.)

In brief, the formula proposed in the figure above is comparable with the Maslow Pyramid image, slightly adapted, to incorporate the needs for identity and communication, and to illustrate how a person in an emergency situation could get an independent person.

3.2 On the refugees' needs in emergency situations, "en detaille" described

The refugees' needs are special because they are needs reshaped by the emergency situation. In a comprehensive list, their categories are 1) physiological needs; 2) safety and security needs; 3) needs to belong to and to be loved; 4) needs to esteem; 5) needs for self-actualization; 6) needs for identity; 7) needs for communication.

The general premises of listing these categories of needs are:

a) that the listed needs are real needs, not simple desires[12] or requests; that their coverage is mandatory; (They ensure the bio-psycho-social existence of the human being, and they are not just some desires with roots in self-centering or some

[12] For differentiation of needs by pampering requirements of the desires see Cotinaud, Ollivier, (1983): *Psychologie et Soins infirmieres, approche relationelle*, Paris, Centurion, ISBN 9-782227 130 272, pp. 16-37. For understanding relationship between emotions and needs, between the needs and satisfied needs and the conflict of needs see, Dally, P., & Watkins, Mary, J., (1964): P*sychology and Psychiatry*, Six Edition, London, 1986, ISBN 0-340 -37b85-b, pp. 3-6.

infantile pampering requirements. They condition the access of the person that is fleeing from war to safe are.)

b) that they could be ranked by different criteria (ex. after the urgency of their satisfaction, in certain circumstances), but human dignity depends on access to meet all the needs listed; (They are altogether parts of the same coherent system of needs which satisfaction warrant the human person health and independence.)

c) temporarily, some needs, those in the upper part of the *Pyramid* can be postponed or compensated by satisfying others which are theirs complementary, but their satisfaction cannot be postponed indefinitely, without harming human quality of life and dignity;

d) these needs are strongly determined by the context. In the emergency situation in which certain people end up, a situation that adds to the "classic" list of needs two new classes of needs: the need for identity and the need for information. In the regular conditions, the refugees' needs become peculiar for each stage. The categories I, and II (basic needs, the needs for security) plus the needs for identity and communication are dominant in the stages of refuge 0, 1,2, 3 and 6. The categories III, IV, V are dominant in the stages 4, 5, 7.

Physiological needs of the refugees in the emergency situations:

These are the basic needs of the human being living without major life risk. Concretely, they need breathable air; to drink, eat and eliminate; for secure movement; for sleep and rest; not to suffer from cold / heat; for personal hygiene.

Needs for safety and security of the refugees in the emergency situations

These are the basic needs of the human being aware of his/her own risks. Concretely, they are needs for personal integrity, not to fear that he will end up severely injured, disabled, or mutilated; not to be victims of identity stilling; not to be victims of traffickers in human beings; not to fall victims to crooks and exploiters; not to be afraid of isolation, of disrespect and emotional insecurity; for financial and general security of NOT TO BE AFRAID OF THE FUTURE.

Needs for love, belonging to, and solidarity of the refugees in the emergency situations

These are the basic needs of the human being living in the human condition, humanitarian shaped. Concretely they are needs for being and feeling like a part of

a group; for feeling intimacy and constant connection with loved ones; to receive solidarity and to express gratitude; to trust those who offer to help; to be accepted as a person with a definite identity into a new group.

Needs for the esteem of the refugees in the emergency situations

These are the basic needs of the human being living in well-being. Concretely they are the need for self-confidence, to cultivate self-respect, to dedicate oneself to general and prestigious causes; to acquire competence and high-performance capabilities in the profession and in helping and encouraging others; for independence and freedom; for social status, appreciation, prestige & recognition.

Needs for self-actualization of the refugees in the emergency situations

Every human person develops a category of needs that can be satisfied when he/she feels free to fully realize his/her potential, according to the natural endowment, the professional training that the person acquired. Those needs are: needs to not lose hope that the opportunities for self-actualization left home are not definitively lost; to "see" opportunities for his/her actualization offered by the new environment or at least, to see that the actualization is not definitely blocked by the refuge; to get motifs to keep alive the interests in knowledge, in professional development, and in living beautifully; to get ways to self-transcendence, to generosity and mission beyond him/herself.

Around such needs dominate the needs for identity and the needs for communication

Needs for the identity of refugees in the emergency situations

The needs for identity are the need for keeping his/her documented identity and his/her felt identity. The documented - official identity – means to keep the identification documents as the IDs and other documents that prove his/her uniqueness and belonging to a community with an official existence. It is to be sure you can prove – on the ground of a document officially issued – your –physical personal identity it in front of the authorities. It is to have on yourself a valid ID Passport, and visa (when it is the case). It is to keep yourself in security condition and to not become a victim of the identity's stilling or other fraud to identity. In the absence of a documented identity, he/she meets bureaucratic difficulties, plus mistrust of his/her group. (The recompositing of an identity for a person takes effort,

and time and involves difficulties in crossing borders, getting a residence, getting a job, assistance for health, social assistance…)

The felt identity is about his/her feel that his/her reality as a person is a valuable one for somebody, for his/her family, group, or country. In the absence of the felt identity, he/she is exposed to collapse, getting sick or even to commit suicide. There are no chances for person's independency without the feeling that he/she is needed by his/her family, group, or country. A felt identity is about a) keeping the person's internal energy to preserve who he/she use to be (to keep the person's psychologic integrity as a sane, independent, and, possibly, inspiring person); b) keeping personal cultural identity (to preserve our names, our language, our attachments to our commune – patriotic - values, to our ways of life, to our high and popular culture traditions, religion, etc.), to not dissimilate in another culture; c) to get accepted as what you are; d) to be not de-personalized by imposing forced work, humiliating jobs, inhuman residence, poverty; e) to be not humiliated or deprived by the human condition of life because of their current situation.

A person with an identity well kept is more likely to get independent by the others' support, than one with a broken identity.

Needs for communication of the refugees in the emergency situations

For the refugees, the communication between themselves and effectively with them becomes the need to be not excluded, de-valorized, or depersonalized taken as an object. Analytically seen such needs are:

- to get access to a set of credible sources and to be informed correctly about his/her condition in the new country, what is to be expected, what not; about the dynamic of war; to learn what is happening to him/her family in the new environment, to his/her beloved left home, to his/her possessions left home, to his/her country, to this world; to learn about others people in similar conditions …

- to get involved in drafting solutions for refugees' problems solving and to see them disseminated;

- to be active in internal communication – among the refugees – and in communication with the new neighbors and helpers, as interpreters or as providers of concrete solutions offered by the refugees;

- to express him/ herself: to feel free and encouraged to express him/herself and his/her stories and dramas, as parts of his/her identity; to get appreciation and understanding for the courage proved in the refuge experience faced; to feel and

encouraged to speak about his/her fears and weaknesses, about his/her capacities and hopes and about his/her family and communities experiences, depressions, and hopes.

- the needs to impress the audience and to mobilize them to support him; to see the effect of his/her messages in their support;

- to have listened: to be surrounded by empathy.

- to get support to freely express him/her personal demands and in understanding which demands could be taken as needs to be immediate, which not, and why not all the demands could be taken as needs to be met.

A person which communicates – expresses themselves, gets listeners, impresses the audience, gets involved in inspiring others – is already an independent person in stressful conditions. All the types of messages listed above are verbalized messages. When the unverbalized messages miss, it is to pay more attention to the non-verbal ones. The non-verbal messages – others than those caused by the unmastered new language – are by themselves a signal to a person in need. A person which cannot yet communicate at all is a sick person. A person with limited capacities of communication, one who just listens – unable to be active, unable to express himself, unable to desire to impress and mobilize others, unable to articulate demands, or who articulate fantastic demands is a vulnerable person, which needs help.

On brief, in the case of the refugees, the need for communication expressed and with the strive to see it met is a sign of the readiness for independency of the person who communicates.

Conclusions

In assisting the refugees in emergency cases, we proposed above to focus on their needs. Further, we plead for using the *Maslow Pyramid of human needs adapted*, as a tool to simplify the large complexity of needs of the refugees, to work with categories of needs, to detail each category's content, to accept a hierarchy of needs, which reveals the priorities and to emphasis that the human needs are interrelated into a system.

The adaptation of the Pyramid, which we introduced for the refugees' understanding, is adding to the “traditional” five categories of needs, two new ones: the needs for identity and for communication. They modify the shape of the known

Human Needs System from a *Pyramid,* indifferent to the context, into a new image which suggests that in exceptional circumstances, the context becomes itself a pressing force that introduces new human needs: identity and communication. The needs for identity and the need for communication become in each of the refuge stages, specific demands addressed by the refugees to themselves as groups and to their assistance.

The advantages offered by such a concept of the refugees' assistance are multiple. The concept facilitates a common understanding of human needs; systematizes the multitude of demands expressed by refugees and on prioritizes objectively the refugees' demands satisfaction and the criterium respected in it.

The concept of the refugees' assistance based on their needs offers:

- a pattern of a common understanding of the refugees' needs as a system composed of various categories to be addressed as a system governed by internal rules and internally coherent.

- a pattern that draws attention to how important is to communicate to the refugees, encourage them to express themselves and actively listen to them, to involve them in the assistance process.

The operationalization of the concept of refugees' needs - as a spider web diagram – could be an easy instrument to project the policy to assist them in each stage, to implement such a policy (to see briefly how a category of needs is met and to correct it), to report comprehensibly and objectively what it is done, what it is to be done further.

That is why we strongly recommend the use of the tools generated by the concept in helping the refugees.

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Substantive Citizens at High Sea: Crossing the Formal Borders of Citizenship by Performing Acts of Rescue on the Mediterranean

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Abstract. By offering some insights into how a critical citizenship framework can be applied in the investigation of the civilian search and sea rescue cause, this paper introduces and sets the character of substantive citizens. Navigating on the tumultuous waters of the Mediterranean Sea to conduct search and rescue (SAR) operations of migrant boats, volunteers and humanitarian workers are not only activists and vigilantes, but they are also practitioners of a substantive dimension of citizenship that is more oriented to a normative and civic logic. At times disobedient to European authorities, members of SAR organizations operating on the Mediterranean Sea cross the formal borders of citizenship by embodying a civic ideal of solidarity and resistance. In doing so, they distance themselves from the legal category of citizenship and transform the Mediterranean space into an arena of politics. Ultimately, all of this comes together in a critical view able to provide an alternative research program on migration issues that gives proper attention to practices of making citizens. For this, it is imperative to interpret citizenship less as a national and given formal status and more as a practice of resistance through political action and struggle for rights.

Keywords*: critical citizenship framework, substantive citizens, SAR organizations, Mediterranean Sea, arena of politics*

1. Introduction

The notion of citizenship has been a major subject of discussion in the political and social academic debates since the end of the Cold War. After Thomas Marshall (1992) exposed the classic theory of citizenship, which is state-centric in its essence, a considerable number of studies reinforcing or refuting his work were carried out (see Habermas, 1992; Lehning & Weale, 1997; Delanty, 2007). This paper takes, therefore, a more critical stance towards Marshall's theory. This is because when it comes to exploring the notion of citizenship as practice in non-governmental humanitarian borderwork, the argument should be designed around normative and

civic frameworks. In citizenship studies, acts of solidarity like those of rescuing migrants in overcrowded boats at the high seas of the Mediterranean could only be looked at through subjective and empirical lenses, rather than objective and juridical ones. Considering this assumption, the paper revolves around the purpose of explaining how the classic theory of citizenship can be refuted on the basis of the sea rescue cause.

The first section outlines the proposed critical framework that, by introducing ideas that go beyond the state-centric notion, could be used for broadening the studies on citizenship. Thereafter, by moving beyond the legal and formal understandings of citizenship, the second section explores collective actions undertaken by members of SAR organizations as integral parts of a substantive dimension of citizenship. Whereas these members of SAR NGOs are targets of toxic narratives created by nationalist politicians and reproduced by some media outlets, this paper takes a different stance that considers them as disobedient actors who, by rescuing people in distress, tend to contest and remake the traditional notion of what is understood to be a citizen. Such a stance is not original to this paper. What is new is actually the notion that ordinary people might also be able to exercise citizenship by intervening in a space that not so long ago was reserved for sovereign states only.

The fact that ordinary people now intervene in the Mediterranean space by playing a humanitarian role still receives little attention within citizenship and migration studies. Thereby, in the attempt to fulfill this gap, the argument does not address acts of rescue by reproducing positionalities of saviors and victims or the heroification of the rescuers and the invisibilization of the rescuees. Instead, it is intended to draw on critical and revisionist investigations of citizenship by exploring empirical evidence that are supported by the insightful contributions of authors and practitioners with an intensive knowledge and background in the fields of citizenship, migration and humanitarianism.

2. Citizenship as practice: challenging the traditional conception

In the European tradition, the conception of citizenship comes to be primarily defined by reference to rights that states are required to uphold. What is legitimate in this traditional conception is the inseparability of the transformation of the state and the transformation of citizenship (Delanty, 2007). Yet there are fatal

flaws in this state-centric conception of citizenship. Eventually the most important flaw is the absence of the normative and civic aspects. The traditional conception based primarily on the rights that states are required to uphold lacks the capacity to problematize the normative and civic implications that are embedded in the concept of citizenship. Even though citizenship continues to be mostly circumscribed by a state-centric conception, it is imperative to challenge the notion that citizenship only ties people to their legal status and membership.

The traditional conception of citizenship underpinned by membership and a sort of strict participation within the confines of a pre-established community (i.e., the nation state), definitely make this notion inappropriate today (Papa & Milioni, 2013). Unlike Thomas Marshall's (1992) classical theorization of citizenship, the argument here suggests that citizenship should not be reducible to the state. This is because citizenship also upholds a substantive dimension that resists reduction to a narrow, formal, and purely legal category (Delanty, 2007). In his attempt to (re)define the concept, Engin Isin says that "citizenship is about conduct across social groups all of which constitute a body politic" (Isin, 2009: 371). Being a citizen, according to Engin Isin's argument, "[…] almost always means being more than an insider – it also means to be one who has mastered modes and forms of conduct that appropriate to being an insider" (Isin, 2009: 371-372). For him, "this creates an actor both in the sense of a person (law) but also a persona (norm)" (Isin, 2009: 372).

Rather than being too tied to the legal category and within a defined community, citizenship could be practiced and enacted outside territorial confines. This opens up a critical and necessary understanding that citizenship would be less as a legal and more as a normative subject (Papa & Milioni, 2013). The EU citizenship, for example, was designed to bring the Union closer to ordinary people, providing it with a certain popular legitimacy that post-Maastricht debates confirmed it sorely lacked. But even so, citizenship continued to be consisted of a passive acceptance of a pre-constituted package of rights (Bellamy, 2001). Claiming cultural values and privileging proximity, the EU citizenship classifies people as belonging to a territorial community (Aradau, Huysmans & Squire, 2010).

Citizenship is more than that. It goes beyond the formal status and the acceptance of rights associated with states. Citizenship is a product of a more complex process that include normative and civic dimensions. In this sense, critical studies of citizenship taught us that, borrowing Engin Isin's words, "[…] what is important is not only that citizenship is a legal status, but that it also involves

practices of making citizens – social, political, cultural, and symbolic" (Isin, 2008: 17). In the last couple of years, many scholars have been trying to differentiate what Engin Isin referred to as "[…] formal citizenship from substantive citizenship" (Isin, 2008: 17), and they tend to "[…] consider the latter to be the condition of possibility of the former" (Isin, 2008: 17). But for this logic to work, it is required to bring forward an analysis that looks at citizenship from a locus on mobilizations, rather than an institutional and/or a representational angle (Andrijasevic, 2013).

This also requires informal than formal qualities capable of reshaping the way individuals would acknowledge themselves as citizens. Yet in this reading, participation is redefined because it is no longer related only or primarily to formal political process. Participation is extended by the attempt to include fundamental civic aspects like voluntary organization, community associations, and new social movements. These aspects represent forms of civic participation (Norris, 2007; Papa & Milioni, 2013). This suggests that, more than just a pre-established set of rights related to the state, citizenship performs an independent role in the constitution of a polity through citizens who formulate, deliberate, and dispute different viewpoints of justice and rights. Instead of assuming a given ordering of politics, a critical approach of citizenship is focused on the ways citizens renegotiate politics to determine the rules and processes that govern their public life (Bellamy, 2001).

In advancing this critique, it is possible to shift to the question of what makes the citizen. Consequently, an emphasis is placed on what the individuals do, namely on those claims and actions that citizenship is enacted (Andrijasevic, 2013). In doing so, an alternative research program that promotes a critical and different knowledge of citizenship based on a new vocabulary is able to flourish. Engin Isin (2009) created this new vocabulary of citizenship, whereby rights (civil, social, political, sexual), sites (bodies, streets, borders), scales (from urban to international), and acts (volunteering, protesting and resisting) contribute to the enactment of a renewed way to interpret citizenship. For Engin Isin, "when we use already existing categories such as states, nations, cities, sexualities and ethnicities, we inevitably deploy them as 'containers' with fixed and given boundaries" (Isin, 2009: 370).

This new vocabulary created by Isin allows citizens to identify with issue-related politics according to their personal interests that could go from ecology to migration and mobility. Eventually this became a political activity less dependent on traditional organizations associated with the state and more oriented to personal values (Papa & Milioni, 2013). According to this critical perspective, citizenship

becomes contingent, contested and in flux (Isin, 2009; Andrijasevic, 2013) rather than a formal status (Andrijasevic, 2013). In general words, the notion of citizenship is being rethought as an unofficial and subjective practice taking place in different sites and as performative actions. The emphasis is rather on the interaction between actors and the development of common experiences that go beyond the formal practices attached to a defined community (Papa & Milioni, 2013).

By shifting to the question of what makes the citizen and placing an emphasis on what the individuals do, scholars, educators, public officials, practitioners and journalists sought to encapsulate the multiple interlinked facets of citizenship with political and social activism. Because of that, they engendered the concept of 'civic engagement' (Arvanitidis, 2017). Broadly speaking, the meaning of engagement refers to as forms of citizenship that are constructive. That is to say, forms of citizenship that are essentially acquired by being more engaged in political actions, which is closely associated with a sense of 'political efficacy' rather than with a formal duty (Papa & Milioni, 2013). Also, civic engagement could be interpreted as efforts to directly address public concerns through individual work, collective actions, mobilizations and involvement with activist causes. This includes wide ranging activities (carried out either alone and/or together with other citizens) that are designed to identify and deal with issues of public concern (Arvanitidis, 2017).

The focus on civic engagement contributes to the shift from citizenship as the possession of civil and political rights to citizenship as practice. This has been a crucial theoretical and political move to help unravel the historical construction and contestation of the citizenship conception. Likewise, much of the literature that challenged a 'static' and nationally bound conception of citizenship emphasized practice through the establishment of norms, civic engagement and the emergence of activist citizens (Aradau, Huysmans & Squire, 2010). Following this line of thought, civic identity comes to serve as a prerequisite for citizens to become socially and politically active by engaging themselves as social members within the public life (Papa & Milioni, 2013). This prerequisite also became central to the aforesaid alternative research program able to promote a critical knowledge of citizenship.

By introducing the notion of acts of citizenship, Engin Isin shifted the focus in citizenship debates from subjects and their status to the acts that political subjectivities are conceived (Aradau, Huysmans & Squire, 2010). To be more precise, thinking about citizenship through acts means for Engin Isin "[…] to implicitly accept that to be a citizen is to make claims to justice: to break habitus and act in a way that

disrupts already defined orders, practices and statuses" (Isin, 2009: 384). What is particularly interesting to note in this notion is that it is through acts that 'actors' transform themselves from subjects into citizens. The key issue is, therefore, not to think of the 'doer' prior to the 'deed' but rather to investigate the process as well as the acts through which actors emerge (Andrijasevic, 2013).

Engin Isin argued that "acts of citizenship are those acts through which citizens, strangers, outsiders and aliens emerge not as beings already defined, but as beings acting and reacting with others" (Isin, 2008: 39). In this sense, acts of citizenship are struggle for rights which should be seen as political forces that expand the frontiers of citizenship (Balibar, 2009; Andrijasevic, 2013). These struggles for rights are secured through participation and civic engagement in collective arrangements that do not reflect the underlying general norms common to legitimate the democratic systems. What is particularly important to grasp about these struggles is that they are products of ordinary citizens organizing themselves so as to contest the traditional ways the polity is structured (Bellamy, 2001). In other words, these struggles are social expressions and collective actions that open up spaces to voices and aspirations that contest what is traditionally understood as citizenship.

From a general perspective, Engin Isin defined acts of citizenship as those acts that "[…] transform forms (orientations, strategies, technologies) and modes (citizens, strangers, outsiders, aliens) of being new actors as activist citizens (claimants of rights and responsibilities) through creating new sites and scales of struggle" (Isin, 2008: 39). In this context, activism and voluntary associations also serve to create new sites of struggles and resistance. Activism and voluntary associations offer opportunities for groups of citizens to conduct public work through collective action outside the control of government (Galston, 2000; Theiss-Moise & Hibbing, 2005). For example, knowing that citizenship should be enacted and practiced at a variety of sites, humanitarian activists tend to invoke civic engagement to perform acts of citizenship, keeping the boundaries for participation fluid. Conciliating a plurality of subjectivities, civic engagement goes beyond the traditional delineations of citizenship, like voting or paying taxes (Papa & Milioni, 2013).

Activism and voluntary associations are useful vehicles towards the promotion of acts of citizenship. Besides their political nature, they carry the possibility of redefining politics and citizenship in contexts where there is a partial

retreat of the state from providing care to vulnerable and minority groups, such as refugees. As a matter of fact, the negligence or withdraw of the state (to varying degrees) across Europe makes civil involvement a central issue in destabilizing the limited imagination of a defined community associated with state-centered politics (Cantat & Feischmidt, 2018). In this reading, acts of citizenship through activism serve as practical foundations of an alternative research program that changes the dominant figure of citizenship which has been persisting since the French Revolution. Once again, Engin Isin reminds us that "the focus is shifted from what people say (opinion, perceptions, attitudinal surveys) to what people do" (Isin, 2009: 371).

What is also particularly interesting to highlight is that citizenship outside the activism from social movements risks to become reduced to weak and minimal forms of participation. The sites outside these social movements provide the citizens little control and little ability to address new issues and concerns or challenge dominant discourses (Papa & Milioni, 2013). Contrarily, the sites inside the social movements allow citizens to actively reimagine the boundaries of community and of belonging through civic engagement. As a consequence, representations of social and political communities premised on a highly strict and narrow dichotomy between the 'Self' and the 'Other' are challenged (Cantat & Feischmidt, 2018). Considering activism and voluntary associations as vehicles for the promotion of acts of citizenship, it is possible to think of citizenship through an activist framework, whereby humanitarian actions and maneuvers undertaken by ordinary citizens could be described as substantive practices that carry a contingent production of contested power.

As the next section of this paper intends to demonstrate, activism within social movements appear to constitute a site where citizenship upholds alternative meanings and translates to alternative practices. These practices are articulated by civic identities 'unbounded' from the nation state and its official agents. They represent activities taking place in a variety of sites according to performative actions (Papa & Milioni, 2013). Bearing this in mind, the Mediterranean Sea becomes a major site of analysis. As a place where the states often fail to protect vulnerable groups of people on the move, the Mediterranean became a site where ordinary citizens decided to navigate by showing through practices of SAR operations that a renewed and alternative form of thinking citizenship is possible.

3. Taking on the role of substantive citizens

In the last two decades, thousands of people drowned and disappeared as they attempted to cross the Mediterranean Sea in overcrowded boats to reach a safe haven in Europe. From January 2000 to June 2018, it was estimated more than 20.000 recorded deaths at high sea (Olmedo & del Miño, 2019). In 2016, for example, a record number of migrant deaths was witnessed, with more than 5.000 lives lost (UNHCR, 2016; Stierl, 2017). Besides, those travelers who survive the journeys have constantly been met with tear gas, high fences, militarized national border patrol and myriad xenophobic performances (del Valle, 2016). Crudely put, the emergence of a securitized regime along the Europe's maritime borders indicates that the Mediterranean Sea became a site of human suffering, where SAR organizations have to deal with security measures of containment undertaken by border authorities and that undermine their acts of rescue at high sea.

In a report that covered the period from January 2019 to December 2020 and was based on research and interviews with several migrants, visits to detention centers and meetings with officials and UN experts, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) supported the idea that such security measures of containment adopted by European border authorities "[…] prevent or obstruct the work of humanitarian SAR organizations and other migrant human rights defenders" (OHCHR, 2021; 27). The report added that these measures, "[…] together with political and media rhetoric linking SAR organizations with criminality, have contributed to undermining the humanitarian nature of SAR and to creating a hostile environment" (OHCHR, 2021; 27). For OHCHR, this hostile environment is based on acts of "[…] xenophobia, discrimination and exclusion against migrants and those who advocate on their behalf" (OHCHR, 2021; 27).

By investing in sealing its borders to unwanted people on the move, and setting legal, administrative, and practical obstacles to halt them, Europe proves the inconsistency of its migration policies (del Valle, 2016). What could be conclusive about it is that the more European nations like Italy attempt to deter the Mediterranean migration flows, the more desperate border crossers will find ways to circumvent these controls. Within this context, illegal smuggling and human trafficking became a problem, given that legal pathways were closed (Hasian, Olivas & Muller, 2017). However, the key role played by the so-called

security/mobility nexus in the formation of the border regime is far from being a smooth assemblage: its securitized frame is also subject to contestation (Stierl, 2017).

SAR organizations and the struggles of their members to perform acts of citizenship and solidarity beyond the formal borders of nation states have been crucial to contest the way the European border regime is structured. As convincingly argued by Engin Isin, "acts of citizenship stretch across boundaries, frontiers and territories to involve multiple and overlapping scales of contestation, belonging, identification and struggle" (Isin, 2009: 371). According to his argument, "such contestations stretch across nations and towards urban, regional, transnational and international scales" (Isin, 2009: 371). And the Mediterranean maritime zone is precisely a place of contestation, where ordinary citizens have been empowered to act against securitizing measures adopted by border authorities, such as deterrence, militarization, policing, surveillance and expulsion.

In the face of new challenges that democratic societies experience today (specially the migration challenge on the Mediterranean Sea), it is necessary to consider not the 'received dimension' of citizenship, which is supported by a state-centric vision. Rather than that, it is necessary to consider what is known as 'achieved dimension' of the civic, which comes into being through the achievement of human agency according to specific practices (Dahlgren, 2009; Papa & Milioni, 2013). In order to turn the Mediterranean Sea into a contested place through humanitarian and collective practices of solidarity, SAR organizations and their members considered the 'achieved dimension' of the civic. The humanitarianization of the European maritime border was not a linear but a contested political process, particularly because of the involvement of a range of actors (Stierl, 2017).

A vibrant tradition of activism and advocacy concerned with witnessing and rescuing was coordinated by a range of non-state actors in the Mediterranean zone. The commitment to witnessing means to speak out on behalf of people who suffer. The commitment to rescuing means to alleviate suffering and protect life and health. With these commitments in the foreground, the members of SAR organizations take a firm stance on the unacceptability of deaths at sea, specially when caused by EU policies (del Valle, 2016). Eventually these commitments also open space for debates about how the meaning of citizenship can be redefined within social movements like the SAR civil society groups. Together with their

demands for safe passage and legal routes, the members of SAR organizations evoke certain understandings of what it means to become a substantive citizen. Following Engin Isin's argument, "theorizing acts of citizenship means to recognize that acts produce actors that become answerable to justice against injustice" (Isin, 2008: 39).

Due to the proliferation of non-states actors at work in the Mediterranean maritime zone throughout the past few years, a space previously out of reach for civil society, there exists greater possibility for acts of 'disobedient observation' (Heller et al, 2016; Stierl, 2016), potentially capable of countering the state monopolization of the sea (Stierl, 2016). The emergence of acts of 'disobedient observation' goes in line with Engin Isin's explanation concerning acts of citizenship. Pursuant to Engin Isin, "for acts of citizenship to be acts at all they must call the law into question and, sometimes, break it" (Isin, 2008: 39). Similarly, he added: "for acts of citizenship to be acts at all they must call established forms of responsibilization into question and, sometimes, be irresponsible" (Isin, 2008: 39). This is exactly what the members of SAR organizations do when they enter a European port with rescued passengers who do not have correct paperwork.

SAR operations are protected by the maritime law, however there is also the European immigration law, which punishes the conduct of facilitating what is often called as 'illegal entry' into the territory of a state. The Italian authorities, for example, had proven adamant to use prosecution as deterrence in this case (del Valle, 2016). The first remarkable case of prosecution as deterrence occurred in July 2004, when the German humanitarian ship Cap Anamur rescued 37 people in distress at 100 nautical miles south of Lampedusa. With all passengers on board, Cap Anamur had to wait for permission to land at the border of Italian waters for more than two weeks. Only after the master declared state of emergency because some passengers threatened to throw themselves overboard that the Italian border authorities escorted the ship to the port of Empedocle. Immediately upon landing, the captain, the first officer and the head of the NGO Cap Anamur were detained and prosecuted by the Italian authorities under the charge of facilitating illegal immigration (Cuttitta, 2017).

After entering the Port Empedocle without obtaining permission and being escorted by the authorities, Elias Bierdel (president of Cap Anamur), Vladimir Dachkevitce (captain of the ship), and Stefan Schmidt (first officer) found themselves in an Italian court staying trial for allegedly helping and abetting smugglers (Hasian,

Olivas & Muller, 2017). In the last years, many other cases of prosecution as deterrence occurred when captains and heads of NGOs decided to rescue people in distress. The latest case that made the headlines of all media in Europe was the detention of Carola Rackete, captain of the SAR vessel Sea-Watch 3. The detention occurred in June 2019 at the Port of Lampedusa when the Sea-Watch 3 (a vessel bearing the same name of the NGO) was accused of breaking the Italian laws.

The Deutsche Welle informed that "Carola Rackete was arrested by Italian authorities for resisting a warship after her ship hit a customs and border police motorboat in the port of Lampedusa" (DW, 2019). In his statement about this incident, the Italian Interior Minister Matteo Salvini described it as 'an act of war,' though there were no injuries (DW, 2019). Besides, the Deutsche Welle reported that Rackete faced "[…] a fine of up to € 50,000 for bringing rescued people into Italian docks without permission" (DW, 2019). Sicilian prosecutors also opened, according to the Deutsche Welle, "[…] an investigation against Rackete for supporting human trafficking" (DW, 2019). This procedure of prosecution as deterrence created a sort of official meta-narrative, whereby sailors who perform SAR operations are lumped together with NGO rescuers and both dissenting groups come to be vilified for saving lives at high sea (Hasian, Olivas & Muller, 2017).

Aiming to contest this meta-narrative, SAR organizations increased their presence on the Mediterranean waters. Since 2014, NGOs have been gradually changing the SAR scene. Migrant Offshore Aid Station (MOAS), the Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and Sea-Watch Organization all refuse the idea that migrants should die for trying to reach Europe. By denouncing the absence of governmental vessels from the SAR zone, the Sea-Watch Organization, for instance, took up the role of the watchdog (Cuttitta, 2017). Describing themselves as "ordinary people who were lucky to be born in Central Europe," Sea-Watch members (most of them laborers, educators, and engineers) came together as they were not willing to just sit back and watch how people are dying at high sea because there is no legal way for them to come to Europe (Sea-Watch, 2015; Stierl, 2017). Having this in mind, Sea-Watch members decided to take a more political stance and activist role towards forced migration and the increasingly violent European border policies.

Apart from the practical work of rescuing and assisting migrants, Sea-Watch carries out fundamental acts of documentation and denunciation of the violence along the European maritime borders. This is because Sea-Watch members regard these acts as tools of transformation of the Mediterranean space into an arena of

politics (Heller, Pezzani & Stierl, 2017). Sea-Watch seeks to mark its presence by conducting SAR operations, as well as documenting and denouncing violence in the borderzone to hold accountable the European naval forces that sporadically engage themselves in media-effective rescue missions (Stierl, 2017). MSF takes a similar stance by stressing that SAR operations cannot be kept separated from the critique of the causes that make them necessary (Cuttitta, 2017).

MSF believes that saving lives also needs to be coupled with pointing at those European authorities who had the power and responsibility to solve the migration problem. Besides providing food, water, blankets and medical help, the MSF's message is twofold: first, the European states have the capacity and responsibility to deploy rescue ships, and second, they should create safe and legal routes for those trying to reach Europe. Aiming to make this message reach the popular masses, MSF also agreed to facilitate access for journalists to file their own reports (del Valle, 2016). On the other hand, MOAS decided to take a softer stance, giving proper attention to the rescue of migrants only. In this sense, the physical survival of distressed migrants is the MOAS stated aim. What comes before the sea journeys or after disembarkation is secondary. From a purely operational perspective, there is something objectionable in this softer stance, when, in the end of each year, thousands of people are rescued out of life-endangering situations at high sea (Stierl, 2017).

MOAS privileged an attitude of prudence by avoiding confrontations and complex political evaluations. Its members follow the slogan "save lives first and sort out the politics later." Broadly speaking, MOAS sees the Mediterranean as a natural stage for SAR operations, whereas Sea-Watch and MSF aim to turn it into a political stage from which they can make their voice heard (Cuttitta, 2017). However, apart from the discussion about neutrality and impartiality that the work and aims of MOAS, Sea-Watch and MSF open up, it is crucial to argue that these SAR organizations share practices and ideas of solidarity based on common humanity that are political in their very nature. Even MOAS – which seems to have adopted a less rigorous approach in the contestation of the European border policies – refused the idea that border crossers should die at high sea, thus opting to act in favor to the most vulnerable people affected by the political decisions taken by the border authorities.

The choice for the 'most vulnerable groups,' or those people often 'neglected' implies, by definition, a political reading (del Valle, 2016). From this

perspective, one should note that, regardless their different stances and aims, the SAR organizations play altogether a political role by rescuing people whom European states do not seem to be willing to help in the first place. In doing so, their humanitarian work assumes a political relevance, even if practiced without the natural intention to be political (Cuttitta, 2017). This political relevance also embraces the elements of civic engagement by cultivating a fertile ground for a substantive meaning of citizenship to grow. Engaged in a political action of rescuing, members of SAR organizations exercise a form of citizenship less oriented to a formal duty.

Citizenship can be seen as a starting point for civic engagement, which comes to be a prerequisite for any kind of activity in voluntary association. In this reading, citizenship acquires a substantive character underpinned by actions for equality, liberty, justice and solidarity. These actions are also followed by procedural values, such as openness, responsibility and tolerance (Dahlgren, 2009; Papa & Milioni, 2013). Apparently, the humanitarian initiative Alarm Phone, which was created and put into practice by the project called Watch the Med in 2014, reflects these actions and procedural values that support the substantive character of citizenship. Taking into account the fact that European border authorities have been failing to respond in a more humane manner to the massive migration flows on the Mediterranean Sea, ordinary citizens that were already involved in a wide humanitarian network decided to develop the Watch the Med project.

The members of this project decided to be in charge of an Alarm Phone that offers a number, working 24/7 and covering the sea corridors. The main idea of this initiative is to localize overcrowded boats and contact the European coast guard and other SAR organizations responsible to perform rescue operations. First and foremost, the Alarm Phone provides important details that the European border authorities can no longer say that they were not aware of (Kynsilehto, 2018). This initiative also functions as a tool to listen to and support migrants moving through dangerous spaces, operating day and night and offering advice to precarious travelers. As a result, by making the emergency situations at high sea publicly known, the Alarm Phone monitors whether authorities adequately respond to distress calls (Stierl, 2016). In 2019, for instance, an outstanding report was released to celebrate the five years of the Alarm Phone, where members of the Watch the Med project came together to expose and discuss the practical implications of this initiative.

Beyond showing the continuing and necessary interest to voice solidarity

with those on the move who, before and after their arrival, still face a range of forms of excessive violence (Edding & Stierl, 2019), the report also exposes some of the cases that the Alarm Phone was able to save lives. Just to have a better idea of it, on 3 April 2019, 64 people in distress were rescued after reaching out the Alarm Phone. On 4 July 2019, 54 people called the phone after surviving the night in distress and were later rescued. Other 80 people in distress dialed the number and were rescued on 9 August 2019 (Stierl & Kopp, 2019). Properly speaking, the struggles of the Alarm Phone activists to save lives are not only claims for rights and responsibilities, but also enactments of substantive citizenship.

In their very manifestation, the struggles of the Alarm Phone activists challenge the formal category of citizenship that is reductive in a national-legal-settlerist frame. In this sense, it is through mobilization like the Alarm Phone initiative that citizenship cannot simply be understood as national citizenship 'scaled up,' but as something that (re)signifies and escapes from border control (Nyers, 2015; Stierl 2016). Engin Isin explained, for instance, that "citizenship is enacted through struggles for rights among various groups in their ongoing process of formation and reformation. Actors, scales and sites of citizenship emerge through these struggles" (Isin, 2009: 383). Moving beyond sovereign scripts, the activists' struggles acquire the ability to create an underground world of knowledge, in a way that subjects of escape and those in solidarity with them enact substantive citizenship by claiming for the fundamental rights to move, cross, survive and arrive. As a consequence, these struggles challenge and assign responsibility to governments (Stierl, 2016).

In this conflict between state and non-state actors on the Mediterranean waters, the latter has been increasing its securitizing role to undermine the performance of the former. To have a better idea, the already mentioned report released by OHCHR pointed out that "during the reporting period, SAR vessels and aircraft operating in the Mediterranean continue to be prevented from monitoring, searching for, assisting and rescuing migrants in distress" (OHCHR, 2021: 25). The report also indicated that "this led to periods in which no humanitarian SAR NGOs were present at sea, leading to tragic and preventable loss of life" (OHCHR, 2021: 25). However, regardless of the increased securitizing role played by state actors, members of SAR organizations tend to create possibilities for acts of disobedience, either by creating a phone or entering a port without permission.

Although prevented from conducting their activities in large-scale, the

ordinary citizens working for the sea rescue cause found alternative ways to transform the European maritime borders into a civic space. The Alarm Phone, for instance, revealed to be a model of a trans-border solidarity coalition not commissioned by anyone, and that responded entirely to the plight at sea by intervening in a space that is reserved for states (Stierl, 2016). While unimaginable not so long ago, interventions performed by NGOs helped make disobedient actions in sea spaces conceivable. This also paved the way for those who seek to rescue not subjects of compassion but support, in solidarity, as well as enactments of the freedom of movement (Stierl, 2017). In today's world, it is quite impossible to imagine border zones without actors who appear to be challenging the very nature of citizenship.

4. Conclusion

The European borders are still sites where security policies of containment get played out. However, this paper intended to demonstrate that the European maritime border, more specifically the Mediterranean zone, also became a site where a new form of citizenship is enacted. By practicing alternative ways that contested the increasing securitization of the borders, members of SAR NGOs transformed the Mediterranean into a space where a substantive category of citizenship as practice could be claimed. In a more critical way of thinking about the civilian search and sea rescue cause, it was possible to associate the Mediterranean zone with the new vocabulary of citizenship created by Engin Isin (2009), whereby rights (in this case those of moving, crossing, surviving and arriving), a site (the maritime border), a scale (European), and acts (volunteering, rescuing and resisting) helped contribute to the enactment of a renewed way to interpret citizenship.

Notwithstanding their different aims, attitudes, interests and stances, all SAR organizations explored in this paper share an ideology that embraces a humanitarian ethos of saving lives regardless of the cost of doing so. The fact that all these SAR organizations are victims of securitization and considered by governments and authorities as perpetrators of irregular migration make them be seen as disobedient actors navigating on European waters. But following a more critical thinking, this paper invited the reader to look at these disobedient actors as comprised by ordinary citizens who, through their activist behavior, aim to remake their relationship with state authorities, thus contesting the traditional notion of

citizenship exclusively linked to the legal status. In other words, identifying these citizens as people working towards a more substantive form of citizenship as practice enables to focus not only on the acts of solidarity, but also on how these citizens are capable of creating alternative solutions by consciously breaking the law to make sense of their acts.

All this said, it is worth closing this paper by pushing a theatrical metaphor which considers Engin Isin's argument that "acts of citizenship include subjects becoming activist citizens through scenes created" (Isin, 2008: 38). Bearing this in mind, it is possible to argue that entering a European port without the permission from authorities to save the lives of the passengers or creating an alarm phone to assist migrants in distress are acts performed in a created scene where the climax is the revelation of a form of citizenship that is no longer associated with a legal status. Scenes like these are for Engin Isin "[…] momentous acts that require the courage, bravery, and righteousness to break with habitus" (Isin, 2008: 18).

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BOOK REVIEWS

Jonathan Hopkin, *Anti-System Politics. The Crisis of Market Liberalism in Rich Democracies*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020, ISBN 9780190699765, 331 pages

Review by Cristina MATIUTA

The rise of political parties that challenges the established political order in the advanced western democracies is widely debated in the literature of the last decades. The book signaled here- *Anti-System Politics. The Crisis of Market Liberalism in Rich Democracies-,* written by Jonathan Hopkin, Professor of Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics, adds value to this debate, explaining why anti-system parties from both the left and the right prosper in different countries and among different types of voters. As the author states from the beginning, the basic premise of the book is that the political and economic system failed to provide solutions and to protect citizens from the brutal effects of the economic crisis and the anti-system movements are a predictable response to this failure: "What the anti-system Left and Right have in common is their shared rejection of the political and economic order governing the rich democracies at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This rejection is most powerful in the democracies where inequality is highest, and where the social and economic effects of the Global Financial Crisis have been most severe" (p. 3).

Coined by political scientist Giovanni Sartori in the 1960s to describe political parties opposing to the liberal democratic political order in Western democracies, the term "anti-system" often overlapped in the public debate with that of populism. Even if the anti-system parties studied in this book adopt, to a greater or a lesser extent, a populist view of democracy, the author generally avoids the concept of populism which has acquired a significant pejorative connotation, undermining

serious and systematic analysis. Rather than dismissing anti-system politics as populism, driven by racial hatred, foreign conspiracies, irrational belief in fake news etc., we need to understand what has go wrong in the rich democracies to alienate so many citizens from those who govern them and why the democratic political institutions failed to represent popular demands. To answer these questions, the author argues that the anti-system politics is rooted in structural changes in the economy and it is the long-term result of abandoning the post-war model of egalitarian capitalism in the 1970s.

The book is divided into three parts with a total of seven chapters. Part one, including the first two chapters places the anti-system politics in the long-term perspective of the conflictual relationship between capitalism and democracy over the past century. Thus, using a comparative approach and various political and economic indicators available for several decades (party & union membership; income shares, deficits & distribution in democracies etc.), the first chapter shows how democracy collided with the market economy throughout the twentieth century, generating economic and political instability of the early twenty-first century: "…the market liberal orthodoxy of the late twentieth century placed Western publics under a level of stress not seen since the 1930s. They had been subjected first to increasing inequality and insecurity, as labor market protections and welfare provisions were rolled back, while wealthy elites took most of the gains from the economic growth. Then the market volatility generated by a separate plank of the neoliberal reform agenda provoked a global crisis, which costs millions of citizens their jobs and wrecked the household balance sheets of many more" (p. 48). The second chapter presents the rise of anti-system parties and explains how exposure to inequality and financial insecurity predicts anti-system politics better than cultural factors. It shows that anti-system politics is stronger in countries with high trade deficits, weak welfare protections and closed electoral systems that limit the range of political options voters can choose from. Instead, in countries where economic and social institutions protect the population from economic risks and provide a more equal distribution of economic benefits, the success of anti-system politics is rather limited.

The second and third parts of the book apply the theory to several countries, illustrating how different kinds of anti-system political movements can win support in different social, economic and political contexts. Thus, Part Two analyzes the success of anti-system politics in the English-speaking world, namely the United

States (chapter 3) and the United Kingdom (chapter 4). The election of Donald Trump as president of the United States in 2016 brought anti-system politics to the heart of the world's most powerful democracy. "Trump's rise is deeply intertwined with the financial crisis and with the longer term political shifts resulting from the market liberal turn of the 1980s"- says the author (p. 87), which made US voters much more vulnerable and exposed to the fluctuations of the market system than in other advanced economies. His rise illustrates the failure of political establishment to protect the living standards of the majority. Similarly, the British voters' response to inequality and market liberalization took the form of the "Brexit" vote, in fact an anti-system vote of rejecting the political establishment and the economic policies it had implemented since 1980s: "Brexit is the consequence not of Britain's participation in an unpopular European project, but of the political choices made by British governments in recent decades, and the inability of the governing elites to respond to the consequences of these choices. Like the United States, the United Kingdom adopted a markedly neoliberal economic strategy after 1970s, and again like in the United States, this led to rapid increases in inequality, economic insecurity, and severe industrial decline in many regions. As a pioneer in the liberalization of financial markets, Britain found itself at the epicenter of the Global Financial Crisis of 2008" (p. 118). Therefore, the Leave vote was firstly a protest vote, not against the unbearable pressure from immigration, but against the economic and demographic decline.

The third part of the book (chapters 5 to 7) turns to the crisis of Eurozone and the success of anti-system parties in several European countries. The author distinguishes between two different patterns of anti-system politics in the Eurozone countries: more left-wing in debtor countries, demanding greater burden-sharing at a European level and a strengthening of social protection at home and more right-wing in creditor countries. The cases of southern European countries demonstrate how the financial crisis turned into a debt crisis not well managed by the national governments and that led to a powerful anti-system response directed against the institutions imposing austerity measures. The final chapter argues that the current wave of support for the anti-system political movements reflects the failure of the neoliberal economic model and the inability of the market liberalism project to deliver prosperity and security. It underlines that the only way for mainstream democratic parties to survive is to assume a more activist role in protecting societies from economic turbulences: "The idea that markets can resolve most social

problems, and that governments should simply provide the basic institutions to allow this to happen, has run out of political capital. Whatever new paradigm emerges must facilitate meaningful mass participation in political decision-making over whatever society thinks are important. In other words, what most people understand by the word *democracy*" (p. 257).

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Ulrike Krause, "Difficult Life in a Refugee Camp. Gender, Violence, and Coping in Uganda", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2021, ISBN 978-1-108-83008-9, 302 pages

Review by Carmen UNGUR-BREHOI

"Difficult Life in a Refugee Camp. Gender, Violence, and Coping in Uganda" by Ulrike Krause is a well documented and meaningful work related to subjects like gender-based violence, gender roles and relations, humanitarian aid as well as strategies of displayed women and men in encampment in Uganda's camp Kyaka II, for the refugees who mainly escaped the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Their voice becomes the voice of a collective character, with specific male or female features, cited at the bottom of the pages, which suffers a continuous process of traumas. The message that the work transmits is a lucid, sympathetic and painful one, making the reader wonder what would happen if the scene changed its location. At the final page, we get to meditate about the profoundness of human condition and we expect a sequel.

The book consists of five chapters: *Introduction, Gender Based Violence in the Camp and Beyond, Humanitarian Aid and the Camp Landscape, Changing Gender Relations in the Camp* and *Coping with Difficult Life in the Refugee Camp,* each chapter is formed of some subchapters. Reading each unit, we are introduced to another episode of a harsh life filled with cruelty and endurance from the part of the refugees, whose limits were put to test on and on again. The author managed through these empirical stories to find, beyond the horrified challenges, the strategies and the strengths the women and the men in Kyaka II possessed and that helped them survive such unimaginable traumas.

In *Introduction* is presented the framework of the themes developed later on-how is it possible, that after more than thirty years of a broad spectrum of conflicts in the Kivu regions of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the refugees in search for security and safety to find a new jungle in the camps that are suppose to protect them and serve as humanitarian sites for refugees' accommodation and

support. An accurate exploration is made regarding the concept of gender, with a focus on difficulties and violence within camps. For a better understanding of the historical background, some subchapters explain in detail the situation of the refugees in Uganda since independence from British rule in 1962 until 2020 and the creation of camps, in particular Kyaka II, that served to provide assistance to more than 68,000 refugees from Rwanda in 1967, and in 2020 to almost 122,000 refugees from DR Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan. The issues faced by the people that had to settle there are in general the limited livelihoods, prevailing violence, unsatisfactory living conditions, diverse restrictions and, according to the author, "multidimensional uncertainties" (lack of freedom of movement and work, but also of basic products-hygiene products, food, clothes, money). Other subchapters bring information about the author's research with the refugees in Kyaka II, the ethical considerations regarding researches with human participants, choosing the writing style of the situations met.

The second chapter, *Gender Based Violence in the Camp and Beyond,* seems to be the unfolding of a TV series that points out the violence that women in particular, but also men, faced during three main moments: during the conflicts (from stealing, burning down houses to sexual violence-raping, loss of some family members, kidnapped and murdered by rebels), during flight (again sexual violence-rapes, murders) and in the camp - a phenomenon that is visible, widespread and omnipresent (sexual assault, rape, forced marriage, domestic violence, physical assault, psychological and emotional abuse). The author analyses the scope of violence, who were the victims and the perpetrators in the cases discovered, the location of violence, the specific type of abuse (sexual abuse of adults and minors, prostitution, commercial sex, sex for favors, militarized violence), the conditions of sexual violence and of domestic abuse (women as perpetrators), the forms of structural and cultural violence (early and forced marriage). Ulrike Krause states as a conclusion that there are three key factors that contribute to the violence: the insufficient or ineffective law enforcement, the traumatic events and their consequences, as well as the gendered power structures.

The *Humanitarian Aid and the Camp Landscape* is the title of the third chapter and it develops the dramatic connections between camp conditions and gender-based violence. The paradox of self-reliance strategies and the refugees dependency on aid, the power structures of the agencies imposed on the camp's inhabitants, the camp hierarchies and hierarchizations, the refugees treated as

"protection objects" (especially the women) and not as actors are all deeply and accurate researched. The image of the situation increases with the subchapters regarding the signposts and the measures against gender-based violence applied by the local agencies (preventive projects, focus on victims-mostly women). Empowering vulnerable women through access to different skills training for income generating activities (tailoring and sewing-fields typically for women and for the domestic tasks) was entangled with vulnerability, economic performance. The research tracks down another horrifying issue-the camp as a site of humanitarian control and the aid workers themselves as perpetrators of violence (they traded food and relief items for sexual favors, teachers in schools in the camps exploited children in exchange for passing grades, medical care and medicines were given in return for sex).

The discussions and interviews with Congolese men and women revealed the tendencies of gender role and relations experienced by the refugees in Uganda's Kyaka II, reflected in the fourth chapter - *Changing Gender Relations in the Camp.* A distinct situation of the gender roles and relations is exhibited before the flight, which was described as the "normal situation" by the refugees (the patriarchal, "familiar" gender relations - men had responsibilities and women were being in charge of the domestic tasks, but genders having strictly defined roles) and in the camp (negotiating roles, men-women as equals, social changes and settings, aid workers as patriarchal structures and the humanitarian influence). The chapter is a comprehensive insight into how the experiences and change of location, living under different conditions affect the practices and perspectives of the living group regarding gender systems.

The final chapter tries to observe the profundity of *Coping with Difficult Life in the Refugee Camp.* Ulrike Krause included many dialogues in the entire chapters, but we consider that the most emotional and shattering are in this chapter. People witnessed and experienced such catastrophes outside the camp and had to continue living and staying alive during encampment, with the tremendous memories of earlier forms of violence and also with others on-site. They all had to cope with. Their stories proved the long aftermath of violence that can unfold. After claiming of their rights, fear of repatriation, there is still hope in these long-tested people. The hope that requests for changes.

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