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MIGRATION

REPORT OF THE RESEARCH CONFERENCE ON MIGRATION, ETHNIC MINORITY STATUS AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION

ROME, 13 - 16 JUNE 1972

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PUBLICATION No. 5
ROME, JULY 1973

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PREFACE

This volume is concerned with research on adjustment processes and other social phenomena which accompany cross-cultural[1] population flows. It sheds some light on the current status, direction and methods used in this important area of research, and proposes a series of working hypotheses which should be of interest to policy makers and scholars

While UNSDRI is primarily concerned with research on crime and delinquency, a broader framework had to be adopted for the papers presented in this volume. In fact, the one generalization on which there was agreement among all the participants at the Rome conference was that crime and delinquency were not accurate yardsticks for phenomena of migrant maladjustment. In many instances where emigrants remain isolated as "aliens" - with all the stresses and social problems which that entails - crime rates are low, and often significantly lower than those which prevail among the host population. Conversely, higher crime and delinquency rates can occur temporarily where adjustment and acculturation processes are underway - e.g. among second generation migrants. This should be sufficient to explain why the title of this volume is not "Migration and Crime", but "Migration, Ethnic Minority Status and Social Adaptation".

It will be noted that the editors, and many of the contributors, have made a deliberate attempt to relate their conclusions to concrete policy options concerning emigration, immigration, the integration of migrants and the problem of return migration. This corresponds to our institutional perspective: UNSDRI's principal function is to make available the products of scientific research to those who are in charge of policy formulation and policy implementation.

To that end, it is first of all necessary to know who the policy-makers or system operators are to whom research of the type discussed in this volume should be addressed. Quite evidently, decision-making processes concerned with the fundamental issues of emigration, immigration, integration and return migration reach beyond the specialized governmental bodies which may be established to steer or manage migratory movements. Educators, law enforcement personnel, social workers, economic planners, factory managers, labour unions, civic organizations and, ultimately, the public at large all play a role in, and share some responsibility for preventing and coping with the negative side-effects of population movements in "donor" and "host" countries. This means,

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1/ The limitation to cross-cultural movements is admittedly arbitrary. We could have further restricted the study to trans-national migrations, or widened it to cover all population movements, including for instance rural-urban or South-North migrations within a given culture. It may be assumed, by way of hypothesis, that adaptive problems are not fundamentally dissimilar whether the migration is trans-national, cross-cultural or internal.

then, that if migration research is to be policy-significant, it cannot address itself only to a few academic initiates and migration officials, but should be available to (and responsive to the information needs of) a variety of policy-makers and system- or sub-system operators

A second prerequisite of policy-relevance is a clear awareness of what options are actually available to policy-makers who might wish to encourage, restrict or regulate emigration or immigration. Gough asserts that "migration is a basic phenomenon in human behaviour"; Tapinos and others establish a direct correlation between economic market forces and major population movements. If so, it must be expected that the adoption and enforcement of policies designed to limit, channel or stop such population movements will face serious obstacles, even though these restrictive policies may correspond to other sets of social postulates in the "donor country", the "host" country or conceivably in both. There is no better proof of this than the persistence of illegal migration in the face of national or international regulations, and despite all the misery and exploitation which flows from it. Mexicans who cross the American border to take the ill-paid jobs nobody else wants; Africans smuggled by sealed lorry to the labour-starved industrial areas of Western Europe; Indian physicians who, until very recently, flocked to Kabul or Colombo to take the American Medical Association tests which would allow them to work as hospital interns in the United States, despite an express policy of their Government proscribing such tests in an attempt to plug a dangerous drain of medical talent to the West. If one adds to these basic pressures the political fact that some measure of freedom of movement and right of establishment inevitably accompanies processes of national or regional integration - e.g. in the European Economic Community, in the Puerto Rico/US Commonwealth structure and within pluri-cultural nations - it is quite evident that the policy-maker is not free to limit or regulate migratory movements as he may wish to

A greater scope for action exists generally with regard to the acculturation and integration of immigrants and their families. Even there, however, conflicting social postulates can limit policy options. While integration may be desirable from a humanitarian or even utilitarian viewpoint, the host society is not always willing or prepared to pay the price in terms of dilution of its cultural or socio-economic integrity - quite apart from the spurious (but often deeply-felt) fears of increased crime and violence associated with the presence of immigrant population groups. Of course such prejudices can - and should - be overcome. But this takes more than legislative or administrative fiat. Deliberate educational and information programmes, often extending over considerable periods of time, are generally required to back up integration and acculturation policies

These considerations do not negate the policy relevance of the research discussed or proposed in this volume. Indeed, they call for a more thorough and more specific understanding of social adjustment and reception processes - including their failures - when people move from one cultural area to another, or return to their country of origin. It is essential, however, that such research be placed in the context of

basic and at times irrestible forces - economic, cultural, political - which work for or against migration in the "donor" as well as in the "host" country. From that perspective UNSDRI is happy to propose the suggestions articulated in this volume as a basis for future cross-cultural collaboration among researchers, policy-planners, and system operators concerned with the problem of migration.

Feider Könz
Director

Rome, July 1973

FOREWORD

THE UNITED NATIONS SOCIAL DEFENCE RESEARCH INSTITUTE'S INTEREST IN MIGRATION

The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute is interested in relating studies of crime and delinquency internationally to more general social science theory. Consistently with this policy it is interested in helping develop a more general theory of the social and personal consequences of migration. The present day large scale movement of peoples from one country to another, related to occupational demand and supply, has not only economic consequences but influences the patterning of cultural life, social adaptation and psychological adjustment of those involved. The problem cannot be studied segmentally by criminologists or sociologists on the one hand and psychologists and anthropologists on the other, but needs instead a co-ordinated, integrated approach.

Migration situations are in effect changes of social and cultural environment brought about usually on the basis of an individual decision. They are situations of potential stress, especially for those who for one reason or other are impelled to migrate, in most instances leaving a donor society for a host society only partially receptive or accepting of the migrant. A focus on positive adaptive features - as well as maladaptive ones - in this situation not only allows for more comprehensive theoretical formulations, but can help to formulate policies and practices initiated and maintained by both host countries and donor countries, contending with migratory flow as a social and economic issue.

There is already considerable attention being paid in Europe and elsewhere to the demographic and economic features of the recent large-scale migration of workers. Some sociologists have made serious detailed attempts to judge problems of adaptation attendant upon migration from rural to urban environments, as well as the shifts on a temporary or permanent basis across national or cultural boundaries. There has been much less attention paid by anthropologists, psychologists or psychiatrists to the general question of social adaptation manifested in the subjective experiences of migrants, although such studies are the proper concern of these disciplines. Hopefully more emphasis on an interdisciplinary approach would broaden theoretical perspectives by including not only sociological variables but also the specific effects of differing cultural traditions, including the psychological reactions of individuals and groups of migrants and their children in acculturative situations.

The rate of worker migration into industrial states, principally in North America, Australia and Europe and into South American countries such as Brazil, as well as a general migration from rural areas to urban

settings in many countries of the world, is increasing markedly. This makes the question of the genesis and incidence of socially conforming or deviant behaviour in migrating individuals and their families one of considerable importance from the broader standpoint of policies and programmes of both recipient and donor governments.

As a means of stimulating comparative research from this standpoint, it was decided by Peider Könz, Director of UNSDRI, Franco Ferracuti, Professor of Criminal Anthropology, University of Rome, and at the time Projects Director of UNSDRI, and George DeVos, Professor of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, Special Consultant, to convene an interdisciplinary conference on migration at the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute.

As we conceived it, the purpose of the conference was to formulate features of feasible research which can be adapted and applied in a number of different national or cultural settings in such a way that comparable results would be forthcoming.

It was decided that the conference would not consider per se situations of simple rural-urban migration but concentrate on situations where culture patterns in host and donor societies were manifestly different. This did not exclude, however, situations of cultural diversity existing within national boundaries such as the cultural division between northern and southern Italy. The focus of the conference was on migration which involved some form of cultural change. Such change does not only occur in the migrants themselves, but also in their families, especially their children. Moreover, the process of culture change are reciprocal. If the migration is of a sufficiently large number, the host society cannot avoid change in adapting to an immigrating population, nor can the donor society escape the changes occasioned by the re-accommodation of returnees and accompanying new ideas, or by the intermittent or permanent loss of part of its population.

We were fortunately successful in gathering together for a number of intensive work sessions a heterogeneous group of social scientists unified by their special interest in migration and in problems of social adaptation. This report is the result of their joint efforts.

The social scientists contributing to this report on migration and adaptation are heterogeneous in regard to disciplinary background and points of view. They differ in regard to concepts they would consider of primary or secondary importance in establishing comparative research. As joint editors of this report, Otto Klineberg and George DeVos were faced with the task of creating some integrative armature to form a framework for these disparate reports. A number of different possibilities were discussed. What follows is one that we judged to best relate theoretical issues and research design in studies of migration.

Several basic questions repeatedly occurred during the course of our conference:

a) who migrates?
b) what happens to those who migrate as they attempt to adapt to new conditions?
c) what are the special problems of the families and progeny of migrants, in the new setting or in the community of origin?
d) what are the consequences of migration to host society and donor society?
e) what are the social effects of return migration both on family and society in the country of origin?
f) what is known now and what issues are most in need of further, comparative research?

In grouping the contributed papers in relation to these questions we found that questions a) who migrates? and b) the various forms of adaptation taken by migrants have so far been most fully covered in research and theoretical attention, but even so, much more intensive research is still needed.

The concluding part of this report sketches out both the further direction of research about who migrates and how migrants adapt, and what has not as yet been attempted in respect to research in Europe and elsewhere on other social problem areas related to migration. The four annexes summarize the reports of the working groups into which the conference was divided.

The editors, working together for the first time, found the difficulties of their task were more than compensated by the pleasantness of the joint enterprise.

Otto Klineberg
George DeVos

Paris, Berkeley,
1973

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MIGRATION

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PART I

WHO MIGRATES?

The logical first question about migration is "who migrates?" The search for an answer has two dimensions. First it is necessary to ascertain the number and characteristics of migrating groups within given societies. Then we need a description of the factors that distinguish individuals who migrate from other members of the group who do not.

In a previous publication on migration Gino Germani[1/] has suggested that the question "who migrates?" demands answers on three levels of analysis: "objective", "normative" and"psycho-social". Research on the objective level begins with statistics on the incidence of migration. It also involves gathering data concerning economic, political, social, educational and similar problems in both host and donor settings. In our series of papers we have one brief example of such a report, that of George Tapinos on international migration in western Europe, including some detailed tables on the migratory situation in Belgium as a more specific example, prepared by Gommar Meerbergen.

Official migration policy is usually the result of considerations at the "objective" level. It is our contention, which is to be discussed in the conclusions of this volume, that other levels of analysis are also necessary for formulating governmental policies on migration.

Germani advocates research on the "normative" level to discover community norms and values as they are consciously experienced by members of a group These norms are elicited by open-ended interviews as well as by questionnaires given to samples of informants. By similar means one should obtain evidence on the "psycho-social" level about subjectively perceived individual motivations.

Germani's "normative" and "psycho-social" categories are, in fact, inseparable aspects of conscious social experiences, elicited by interview methods. Accepting his classification would limit psychological research to such eliciting of subjective responses and their direct interpretation as the valid expression of how and why individuals are motivated. Adopting a psychological as well as anthropological point of view suggests that there is yet another, "objective" level of analysis applicable to psychological data.

1/ Germani, Gino. "Migration and Acculturation" in P Hauser (ed.), Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas Unesco 1964.

The psychologist may interpret responses to both "objective" and "projective" tests in a frame of analysis which is outside the subjective awareness of the subjects. Seen cross-culturally, psychological behaviour related to psychological structure, just as social behaviour related to social structure, must be analysed in frames of reference external to the participants in the behaviour. Individuals are not necessarily "self conscious" either of social forces governing their behaviour or of psychological forces underlying consciously perceived motivations. Therefore, while attention to subjective attitudes is essential to determine community or personal attitudes about migration, one must also test for differences in personality structure which may be related to proneness to migrate, given the possibility of choice.

Research at the subjective, experiental level (which includes Germani's "normative" level as well as his "psycho-social" level) is obviously necessary to determine the influence of donor community attitudes on relative individual readiness to migrate, given a context of economic, social or political inducements toward migration. Moreover as we shall later consider in the following section, cultural factors embedded in community attitudes not only differentially influence the social attitudes of those migrating, but also the social attitudes of members of the host society. The social adaptation of migrants is a mutual process taking place between members of donor and host cultures which varies in specific instances in the forms of conflict, accommodation, or assimilation that result.

We have included at this level of analysis Janet Schreiber's paper on research she is conducting in southern Italy. Italians in relatively large numbers have been migrating for 150 years. One of the questions Schreiber is seeking to answer is how this objective fact is, or is not, related to specific, subjective social attitudes about migration. By direct interviews revealing subjective attitudes she is attempting to determine whether there is a consciously formulated tradition that makes emigration a possibility.

Subjectively perceived motives for migration are the principal focus of a recent, well designed study of the internal migration of British coal miners by R.C. Taylor[2/]. Taylor is conceptually influenced by Germani and therefore is interested not only in the external economic facts impelling migration, but in the types of motivational pattern one can discover among migrants and non-migrants from the same community.

2/ Taylor, R.C. "Migration and Motivation" in J.A. Jackson (ed.) Migration, London, Cambridge University Press, 1969.

He concludes there are indeed selective processes at work determining who migrates. Further, there is some utility in differentiating migrant from non-migrant types, as well as distinguishing different "motivational structures" among migrants. He classifies migrants in the study as "aspiring" (21%), "dislocated" (18%), "resultant" (56%), and "epiphenomenal" (4%).

The "aspiring" are characterized by attitudes of dissatisfaction with their present social life. They are interested in material and social improvement of life for themselves and their offspring. They show stronger nuclear family cohesion than interest in community affairs.

The so-called "dislocated" include those with less stable family units, those characterized by personal or family mobility, even those who have changed housing within the same area.

The "resultant" category includes individuals who show neither the aspirers' dissatisfaction with the status quo, nor the "dislocation" of the second group. They seem to be impelled to move mainly by difficulties of finding adequate work or housing in the home community. The "epiphenomenal" cases are defined as idiosyncratic and are therefore difficult to classify.

The four types of migrant can be differentiated according to how they arrive at a decision to migrate. The "aspiring" migrants significantly show the longest future time orientation. They deliberate carefully before migrating. The "resultant" migrants show the least planning, often apparently migrating immediately upon some precipitating event. Their decisions are often "hedonistic" in Taylor's judgement. A precipitating event may end some prior vacillation. The resultant migrants are the most apt to return. Of those returning to the original community 82% were classified as "resultant" migrants. They were most apt to keep ties with the original community through visits and other forms of continuing contacts. The "aspiring" and the "dislocated" had friendship and contact patterns that extended beyond the home community and seemed to be more open to making new contacts elsewhere.

Taylor concludes that migration has a different subjective meaning and significance for each of his sub-groups. For the "aspiring", migration was primarily an opportunity for economic, educational and social betterment. For the "dislocated", the move was away from the social limitations of the home community which did not afford deep attachments. The movement of those classified as "resultant" migrants was prompted less by precisely perceived dissatisfactions or aspirations. The largest percentage of this group perceived migration as an alternative to unemployment or as a means of quick realization of some very concrete and limited objective. Interest in change in the "aspiring" and "dislocated" led them to identify themselves with their new settings while the "resultant" migrants maintained ties of identity with their area of origin.

Schreiber's report on Italian migrants suggests that most of her subjects would be classified as "resultant". Her data suggests that,

although there is chronic pressure of poverty, more personal, idiosyncratic motives related to conflicts or disturbances in family life precipitate the migration.

The results are suggestive, but motivational research cannot stop at the level of conscious, directly communicable attitudes. Both larger situational and psychological contexts are required. Many of the family crises cited by Schreiber (e.g. marriage) have clear economic effects which must be further evaluated before the action of the precipitating event can be understood. Schreiber is presently investigating the psychological context, using projective psychological tests, such as the Thematic Apperception Test, and psychological trait tests such as the California Psychological Inventory. When results on all levels are correlated we may expect a better understanding of the rôle of the precipitating factor.

The paper by Harrison Gough illustrates a research approach on the level not considered by Germani of personality structure. At this level one must look for objectively obtained psychological variables not found simply in a direct classification of expressed social attitudes. In reading the items used in Gough's California Psychological Inventory for example, one must distinguish between the "face validity" of test items eliciting agreement or disagreement and their rôle as part of one scale or another designed to measure psychological traits not obtainable by direct questioning. In other words, just as statistics on migration or other social phenomena refer to the operation of sociological forces not directly visible to most participating members of a society, comparative measurements of psychological traits refer selectively to the presence of psycho-cultural patterns in given members of a community. Evidence of the relative frequency of such patterns is necessary to determine what lies behind consciously rationalized social behaviour.

In sum, in structuring research to answer the question "who migrates?" we must go beyond objective statistics of the prevalence of particular behaviour, into research analysing experiental, subjective attitudes. But we must penetrate still further, by other research methods, beneath the conscious level of experience to determine how behaviour is also structured by cultural traditions governing the development of personality.

A true interdisciplinary approach necessitates due appreciation of several levels of analysis in concert. Interdisciplinary co-operation demands mutual appreciation of the relevance of research rather than a competitive justification of the priority of one discipline over another.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

by

G. Tapinos

(Translation by UNSDRI Secretariat)

Since the end of the War, and more particularly in the last fifteen years, the demographic and social evolution of Western Europe has been strongly marked by important migratory movements. The new migration differs in specific ways from the trans-oceanic displacements which occurred in the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th It results from the lack of economic balance among countries which have reached different levels of development and between which there are no major obstacles to movement.

This article is intended to describe briefly the specific characteristics of such migration, to indicate its order of magnitude and finally to suggest a few directions for research.

1. The Structure of Migration

A. The mechanism and characteristics of migration

In a market economy, the distribution of productive resources follows the supply and demand of production factors. The demand for labour begins at the level of the enterprise. It is transmuted into a demand specifically for foreign labour by labour deficits in certain sectors of the developed economies and by the concurrent virtually unlimited supply of labour in the less developed countries

Present European migration is largely determined by this economic fact. Basically it is a massive labour movement that reacts very closely to relevant economic indicators (employment level, wages). An analysis of the various national situations shows the preponderant impact of the country of immigration on migration trends. The intensity and rhythm of migration flows are determined by the needs and the circumstances of the receiving country. We are not here interested in an analysis of this process[1/] but in identifying its implications with regard to the structure of migration

There are four main traits which characterize migratory movements in Western Europe:

1) Relative newness - undoubtedly some of the Western European countries do have a long tradition of immigration, notably France (2.8 million foreigners at the 1931 census, 6.5% of the total population) and Switzerland But, with the exception of France, immediately after the War, most countries feared an excess of population rather than a shortage. It was only in the late 1950's that sectorial labour deficits began to appear, while only in the early 1960's was the structural character of such shortages recognized.

1/ Cf. G. Tapinos. The Economy of International Migrations. Thesis, University of Paris, Panthéon-Sorbonne 1973, 410 p. + XXXIX p.

Also in the early 1960's a reversal of the century-old pattern took place in the countries of traditional emigration. The phenomenon reached Great Britian, Spain and Portugal alike: only the rhythm and the extent differed.

2) Quantitative importance - the new migration was long considered a marginal phenomenon. But similarly to other migration experiences, though by differed mechanisms, a cumulative process of chain migrations began which affected the entire economic, demographic and social structures of the receiving countries.

3) Diversity - contrary to certain traditional migrations where cultural or political ties have favoured bilateral relations between two countries or territories, no Western European country of immigration has been able to limit itself to only one source of immigration. There is often therefore greater cultural distance between the supplying and the receiving countries.

In this respect, two conflictual situations may be identified:

a) Conflicts may arise from the very importance of the foreign labour, even when the cultural distance between host and donor countries is not very great. This is the case of the Italian immigration in Switzerland.

b) In other cases, it is the cultural distance between two societies, rather than the quantity of labour, that generates tensions. One may refer here to the African immigration in France. The most serious conflicts are not always those between the host society and the immigrants, but those between different groups of immigrants who, because of similarity of economic situation, are forced into daily contact in the places where they live and work.

4) Evolution - unlike political migration (e.g. of Hungarian refugees in 1956 or French repatriates in 1962) which occur within a relatively short time, and unlike certain migrations occasioned by natural calamity and its aftermath, present-day migrations in Western Europe follow a cumulative and dynamic pattern which in the course of time undergoes profound structural modifications.

B. Effects on living conditions

Among the results of migration which directly influence living conditions, geographical concentration and housing shortage are of particular importance.

In Belgium[2/] the foreign population reaches an average of 7.5% of the total, but it reaches more than 15% in Brussels, Charleroi, Mons,

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2/ Belgian figures from the Annuaire Statistique (1971), census of foreign workers of June 1967; further calculations by the author.

Soignies and Liège. In Switzerland[3/] the registered percentages are clearly higher than the national average (16%) in the Geneva cantons (34%), in Ticino (27%) and to a lesser degree in Vaud (22%), Neuchâtel (21%) and Zurich (18%). In West Germany[4/], while the national average is 5%, the rates are 8% for Baden-Württemberg, 6% for Hessia, and 5.6% for West Berlin. Finally, France[5/] (with a national average of 6%) has high concentrations in the Paris area (10%), Provence-French Riviera and Corsica (11%), Lorraine (8%), and the Rhine and Alps area (7%).

There are significant differences in housing from one country to another. The worst conditions are found in countries where an important family immigration is accompanied by a severe scarcity of housing. The situation is particularly serious in France.

C. Labour immigration and consequent family immigration

Labour immigration necessarily induces family immigration with a delay that varies according to nationality, circumstances and politics. Legal provisions and geographical and cultural distances may curb or accelerate family regrouping; but only very restrictive measures, subject to a rigorous control, are capable of preventing it.

A few years ago it was supposed that labour immigration from Portugal or Yugoslavia to France would not be followed by family immigration as there had been with Italians. In Germany it was also thought that immigration could be limited to the entry of workmen. In both cases, the forecasts proved unrealistic.

Family immigration takes two forms. It may consist in a classic family regrouping, i.e. the immigration of inactive members of the family (wives and children) to join the migrant worker. The second form, which has long been known in Germany and is increasing in France, is the immigration of economically active married women who accompany or join their husbands.

Although the increase in family migration can hardly be doubted, there are marked disparities among nationalities. The percentage of men accompanied by their wives is not quite a sufficient index of family regrouping. However, national statistics sometimes provide more detailed information. For example, French statistics, by distinguishing between partial regrouping and total regrouping, reflect the rate of reconstitution of the family unit. And in fact there is a significant

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3/ Swiss figures from La Vie Economique (1972)

4/ German figures from 1971 Ausländische Arbeitsnehmer (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit); 1972 Wirtschaft und Statistik; K. Huber, Communication to German Commission for Unesco, Seminar 5-9 December 1972, Bergneustadt

5/ French figures from the Ministry of Interior, Statistique des Etrangers au 1.1.1972; INSEE, Enquête sur l'Emploi de 1972; further calculations by the author.

difference between the figures for partial and total regrouping, suggesting that working-age children tend to be first to join the head of the family. Swedish statistics show that seemingly high rates of family regrouping in fact represent a high proportion of mixed marriages.

The immigration of foreign labour is likely to continue in the coming years. The "disaffection for industrial work" which is to be seen in all developed countries does in fact produce structural imbalances between the offer and the demand for employment. Without the existence of another type of growth, the labour deficit is bound to continue. And without introducing political restrictions on entry, the deficit will be compensated more and more with the immigration of foreign workmen, who in turn are likely to be followed by their families.

2. Statistical Indicators

Given the differences in definitions and recording methods, a statistical comparison of different national data cannot be very rigorous. The data that follow could be considered as very approximate orders of magnitude and therefore interpreted with caution.

Of all European countries, Germany has had the highest rate of immigration during the last decade. Such immigration includes a considerable number of refugees, ten million from the former Eastern territories and three million from the Democratic Republic. The foreign labour force increased rapidly from 300,000 in 1960 to 3,500.000 at the end of 1971, which represents about 5% of the total population. The percentage is perceptibly higher if one considers only the working population (9%). Women represent about one-third of the immigrant work force.

Swiss law establishes a fundamental distinction between two categories of foreigners: first, those who are subject to control, and secondly, those to whom a residence permit is granted. At the time of the federal census of December 1970, the total population of Switzerland numbered 6,270,000 of which 1,080,000 were foreigners, i.e. about 17%. Ten years earlier the proportion was only 11%. Considering only the working population, about 600,000 (seasonal immigrants excluded), i.e., 25-30% of the total working population, were foreigners at the end of 1971. The maximum influx of foreigners was registered in 1963-64. Since then, various restrictions have slowed the rate of immigration.

In France, foreign immigration is no novelty. The major consequence of the increasing resort to foreign labour has been to modify the type of work offered to the different foreign nationalities. Considering the variety of legal situations, mostly inherited from the past, the numbering of foreigners becomes a particularly intricate matter. At the end of 1971 the foreign population could be estimated at 3.5 million, out of which 1.7 million were active (respectively 6 and 6.5% of the total population and of the active population).

3. Suggestions for Research

From a multidisciplinary perspective three topics seem worthy of further research.

1) Is there a conflict for the host country between economic and cultural objectives?

In other words, does a country that tries to maximize its growth using foreign labour sacrifice its "cultural equilibrium" to "economic interest" in the strict sense of the word? For some countries, it is a false dilemma. It is resolved to the extent that a similar rate of growth can be achieved with a different type of growth, or to the extent that immigration is likely to reduce the rate of real growth on a per capita basis. In both hypotheses, the economic argument sustains the "cultural" argument for restrictive policies.

For other countries, immigration must be considered as a condition necessary to growth, either because it offers an unlimited supply of labour, or because it allows rapid structural adjustments which would otherwise take place only slowly, thus reducing the rate of growth.

2) What social changes are likely to be caused in the country of origin by the return of migrants?

If it is illusory to consider migration as a means of professional qualification, it is nonetheless true that during his stay abroad the migrant becomes familiar with industrial work and with the system of values of industrial society. Subsequent return to the (non-industrial) place of origin may give rise to very important conflicts which could be determinative for the future of developing countries.

3) How can the individual right to emigrate and the dictates of a development policy be demarcated?

Migration in fact expresses the individualistic philosophy of each advancing his own interest, which may conflict with national policies of mutual contribution. It is clear that for the country of origin emigration represents a constraint on development policy and may in fact hinder development rather than promote it

STATISTICAL ANNEX (BELGIUM)

by

G. Meerbergen

(The following paper independently submitted by Mr. Meerbergen is annexed to Mr. Tapinos' paper as a more extensive example of available migration statistics.)

Statistics of foreign residents in Belgium: Historical perspective

Year	Number of Residents	% of Total Population
1890	171 438	2.8
1910	254.547	3.4
1930	319.230	3.9
1947	367.619	4.3
1954	379 528	4.3
1961	453.486	4.9
1963	522 396	5.6
1964	580.468	6.2
1965	623.894	6.6
1966	656.341	6.8
1969	677.096	7.0

Statistics of Belgian and Foreign Population in Belgium by Province for the year 1969

Province	Belgians	Foreigners	% of Total
Antwerp	1.523 086	53.464	3.51
Brabant (inc Brussels)	2.151.003	192.132	8.91
Hainaut	1.334 790	198.717	14.89
Liège	1.017.736	122.092	11.99
Limburg	644 381	55.560	8.62
Luxemburg	219.312	8.712	3.97
Namur	390.744	19.303	4.94
Oost Vlaander	1.308.328	16.917	1.29
West Vlaander	1.048.309	10.199	0.97
TOTAL:	9.643.689	677 096	7.00

Average yearly increase of foreign residents:

from 1900 to 1954 : 3.200 persons
from 1955 to 1961 : 10.500 persons
from 1962 to 1966 : 40.500 persons

Highpoints of immigration:

1930
1948
1951
1957
1964

Lowpoints of immigration:

1938
1939
1950
1954
1959

Region of origin of immigrants in Belgium

In 1890 95% of immigrants came from Holland, Luxemburg, France, Germany and England.

In 1961 the above mentioned countries represented only 31,6% of the immigrants

In 1964 the largest ethnic groups were in order of importance: Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Turks, North Africans, Greeks.

Number of foreign workers, manual labour and office workers in Belgium, according to nationality:

Country	1961	1967
Italy	61.619	68.159
Spain	5.911	25.678
France	11.643	14.784
Holland	9.047	13.453
Morocco	106	13.367
Turkey	29	7.266
Greece	3.230	6.403
W. Germany	3.072	4.432
Portugal	n.a.	2.109
Displaced persons	1.767	1.864
Algeria	79	1.711
Luxemburg	1.381	1.412
Tunisia	15	430
Other European	---- 17.275	17.805
Africa		528
America		1.530
Asia		584
Oceania		41
TOTAL:	115.174	181.555

Geographical distribution of foreign communities

Nationality	in Wallonia	in Brussels	in Flanders	Total
Italy	204.669	25.415	29.105	259.499
Spain	25.037	25.037	9.556	69.589
Greece	8.212	6.301	4.892	19.405
Turkey	5.683	1.827	6.628	14.138
North Africa	10.232	16.094	8.589	34.915
Other	110.049	71.242	99.960	281.251

Number of foreigners per province:

Province	1947	1961	1966	1970
Antwerp	46 255	36.459	51.845	54.187
Brabant	82.773	86.394	171.490	202.031
Hainaut	97.637	154.166	193.756	200.492
Liège	70.157	95.317	126.089	124.011
Limburg	28 357	37.370	57 688	55.634
Luxemburg	5.997	7.278	9.736	8.711
Namur	11.374	14.185	19.682	19.315
Oost Vlaander	12 584	10.113	16.184	17.874
West Vlaander	12.485	12.204	9.422	10.904
TOTAL:	367.619	453.486	655.892	693.159

In the province of Limburg 34 nationalities are represented, numbering 55.629 persons, or 9% of the population of the province. The major ethnic groups are divided as follows:

Italian:	18.361
Dutch :	10.518
Turkish:	4.660
Spanish:	3.854
Displaced persons:	3.226
Moroccan:	2.869
Polish :	2 847
German :	2.544

The strongest ethnic minority group is Italian. In 1961 44% of the foreign residents in Belgium were Italian. In 1966, they numbered 254.294, divided by province:

Antwerp	1.523	or	0.6% of the Italian immigrants
Brabant	25.732	or	10.2% of the Italian immigrants
Hainaut	121.973	or	48.0% of the Italian immigrants
Liège	74.891	or	29.5% of the Italian immigrants
Limburg	19.759	or	7.7% of the Italian immigrants.
Luxemburg	1 242	or	0.5% of the Italian immigrants
Namur	7.891	or	3.0% of the Italian immigrants
Oost Vlaander	735	or	0.3% of the Italian immigrants.
West Vlaander	548	or	0.2% of the Italian immigrants.

In 1969 80.7% of Italians in Belgium lived in Wallonia; 56.4% of the immigrant population of Wallonia were Italian; 6% of the total population of Wallonia was of Italian descent.

The employment sectors of migrant workers, in 1967:

Factories	77.228
Mines	32.222
Services	29.700
Construction	22.394
Trade, banking	14.466
Transportation	4.688
Other	857
TOTAL	181.555

Of this total, 145.174, or 80%, are male. Women number 36.381. Manual labourers number 157.968, or 87% of the total; office workers number 23.587.

THE DECISION TO MOVE AS A

RESPONSE TO FAMILY CRISIS

by

Janet Schreiber

The analysis of the complexity of patterns of migration in an area which has been a source of emigration for over a century serves to illustrate the utility of multiple levels of investigation: first the macro-structural, using as a unit of analysis the relationship between the region, the nation and the area of reception for migrants through which we can understand the parameters of choice making; second the community as a unit of analysis to investigate the social, cultural, historical and economic factors influencing choice and opportunity; third the individual or family through whose experience, perceptions and choices we can begin to see the interplay of factors that produce the behaviour we seek to understand.

Based upon interviewing, observation and testing in an area of southern Italy of heavy, increasingly temporary, intra-European migration (particularly to Switzerland, Germany and France), provisional analysis indicates that the decision to move is generated during a period of family crisis with heightened propensity at particular periods in the life cycle. In the succeeding discussion we are not attempting to deny the importance of economic variables but rather to examine why, given equal degrees of economic deprivation, some people move whereas others do not, and why they choose where and when to move.

The Region and the Nation

Italy provides an excellent laboratory for research on migration. Since the first national census in 1861 over 26 million Italians have emigrated. Today the population of Italy is approximately 54 million. Besides this external migration Italian society is being revolutionized by an internal migration from the less developed south to the heavily industrialized north. The population of the south (Abruzzi, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Molise, Sardinia and Sicily) fell from 36.7 per cent of the national population to 34.8 per cent between the censuses of 1961 and 1971[1/]. Northern Italy has become extensively urbanized and industrialized while the south remains depressed, primarily rural, underdeveloped and beset by the problems of lack of employment, poor education and poverty in an increasingly consumptive society. The real income of the poorest areas of the south is only one third that of the area of the industrial triangle of the north.

The relative economic disadvantages of the south are reflected in migration. During the first period of migration statistically recorded, the 19th century, two thirds of the external migrants came from northern Italy. But since 1900 migrants have come predominantly from the south. The current research was conducted in Campobasso, one of the two provinces of Molise. Molise is the smallest region of Italy and, due to the high rate of emigration, its population is decreasing. The present population is approximately 300,000 while in 1946 it was 400,000. The region is principally agricultural. Forty-three per-

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1/ Unless otherwise indicated, data in this paper are based on those of the Central Institute of Statistics, Rome.

cent of the active population is employed in agriculture, compared to the average for Italy of 15%. Although there are differences depending on the ecological zone, it is generally a meagre agriculture due to the fractionalization of land holdings, rocky, calcerous soil, lack of water and cultivation of wheat at altitudes too high for profitable yields. Most of the communities of the region are small and isolated by their hilltop position and the lack of good roads. Of the 82 communities of the province of Campobasso, 13 have less than a thousand inhabitants and only two exceed ten thousand. Most of these communities have been diminished by emigration, and often count more members living in other locations than in the home community. For example, Acquaviva Collecroce has 1,293 inhabitants, but the town hall estimates that there are 1,500 citizens of Acquaviva currently living in Australia.

In discussing migration from Molise people contrast several different categories of migration: 1) by destination, external or internal; 2) by mode of migrating, "free" versus "controlled" (through the labour office); 3) by the length of the migration period, seasonal, plurennial, or permanent. It the last seven years the migration from Molise and from the south in general has been increasingly external to European Common Market countries, increasingly free rather than controlled, and increasingly temporary rather than permanent. Migrants leave for Germany, Switzerland or France to earn enough money to assure themselves a better life in their home or a nearby larger city when they return.

Migration as an option has existed in Molise for over a century, but it is only in the last fifteen years that some of the most striking changes have taken place. The world described by Carlo Levi[2] is disappearing, and peasants are becoming nomads who leave to find work wherever they can; Zurich, Turin, Milan or Frankfurt. They learn new trades and yearn to return home, but often when they return they find no viable occupation for them, and within a year or so they take off again. The high mountain towns have become places for women, children and the very old.

The Community

Patterns of migration and particular destinations are town specific. There is variation in the volume of migration, the time period of migration and the destination of the migrants. Historical differences in patterns of migration probably are more due to conditions in the host country than in the donor. The bulk of migration to South American countries was in the late 19th and early 20th century and again after World War II. Migration to France and Switzerland has been continuous since the 1870's. Migration to Belgium was principally in the 1950's and early '60's. Migration to Germany and Australia began to be significant

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2/ Cristo si è fermato ad Eboli (Einaudi, Torino, 1945).

in the late '50's. Although region-wide trends in destination change over time, they also vary by town: from two towns 15 kilometres apart with similar economic adaptation and size, one town had a heavy migration to Argentina and Brazil during a period in which the other had no migrants to South America, but many to Canada. This emphasizes the importance of personal networks in the choice of destination.

Migration patterns have differed for each of the three major ecologic zones in the province of Campobasso. In the mountain areas the traditional industry was transhumant herding with some subsistence agriculture. In the hill areas mixed cultivation predominated, the major crops being olives, vines and some wheat. The plains depended upon some cash crop agriculture, trade, grazing and cereal cultivation. Migration in the mountain zone began in the 1870's and continues, although in a different direction, today. The mountain towns of Molise, except for two new resorts, are the most depopulated. Even in recent years (between the censuses of 1951 and 1971) the population of the mountain towns has dropped by between 30 to 60 percent. Migration in the hill areas began later, in the 1890's and the early 20th century, but there is much individual variation in town migration histories among the hill communities. For example in Montenero di Bisaccia migration began to South America in the 1890's but in Mafalda only 12 kilometres away, migration did not begin until the late 1950's, and it is directed principally to Germany and Switzerland.

Although the plains communities have also contributed large numbers of emigrants since 1900, they have not remained depopulated because they have received many of the return migrants from the mountain and hill areas. In fact, particularly since World War II, these communities have increased in size. Here agriculture is much more productive, diversified, mechanized and irrigated. There is also light industry, a port, and transportation and communication facilities.

In all three zones, however, opportunities are limited not only by poor resources but also by the social organization of economics. Economic inequality and lack of opportunity have been the basis of a migratory exodus which has reduced the population of Molise to less than it was at the time of Italian reunification. By 1880 emigration was sufficiently common to be considered a social and economic necessity. Migration was principally male, temporary, came from the mountain zones and the migrants were agriculturalists and shepherds, who migrated alone to try their luck in America Although this migration to America began as temporary, with time it became more permanent[3].

The characteristics of overseas migration varied according to the destination in the Americas. For example, to go to the United States or Canada, the individual usually went to one of the town's elite who acted

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3/ See Cesare Jarach, Inchiesta parlamentare sulle condizioni dei contadini nelle provincie meridionali e in Sicilia, vol. 2: Abbruzzi e Molise (Rome, 1909); Giovanni Zarrilli, Il Molise dal 1860 al 1900, (Campobasso, Casa Molisana del Libro, n.d.)

as broker for the issuance of a passport, and lent the money necessary for the journey. But the migration to Brazil was subsidized by that government, and entire families were encouraged to come, settle and farm. This probably accounts, in part, for the proportional rise in female migrants between 1892 and 1901.

Although there were annual variations, the percentage of early migrants who left alone, as opposed to going with their families, ranged from a high of 89 percent in 1896 to a low of 51 percent in 1899, with an average between 1876 and 1905 of 74 percent. Unfortunately there are no comparable statistics for today's migrants, but from the migration histories I have collected the trend seems to be about the same (statistical tabulation to be completed). Recently destinations of migrants have changed. Since the sixties the migration has been predominantly European. Besides the external migration there has been a mass movement from the small towns to the cities, particularly Rome and the industrial cities of the north. The extent of this migration is difficult to measure. However, the volume must be even greater than that of the external migrations, for in one small town, I found that 81 percent of the migrants had migrated within Italy. Many of them lived in Milan or Turin but retained their residence in the home town and therefore never entered into the statistics for cancellation of residence, the official measure of migration.

The imprecision of the reporting of migration statistics is startling, and as Blumer says, "opportunistic in the most political sense of the term."4/ Over the past century high emigration rates have been a political issue, a source of debate and an onus on the party in power. Individual communities also lose benefits if they show a drop in population so the city employees have been known to discourage the cancellation of residence. Nevertheless, between 1960 and 1969 over 85,000 people from Campobasso have cancelled their residence to move within Italy. Most of these have not moved out of the region. For example, in 1969, 3,245 persons changed residence within Molise, 1,400 transferred to Rome, 779 to the region of Lombardy around Milan, and 598 to Piedmont, the region around Turin. External migration, also under-reported, was officially 10,571.

The Family and the Individual

Census data, unpublished materials from town registers or parish records, employment applications and a migration census conducted in one town provide the data on which this discussion is based. Individual migrants were interviewed for information on their knowledge of opportunities, conceptions of choice, plans, networks and strategies used to implement choice. Their life histories were studied to determine the rôle of migration in the life cycle and to elicit more information about the nature of migrants. Family interaction and response to influences

4/ Blumer, Giovanni. L'emigrazione Italiana in Europa (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1971).

such as regional, national and industrial conditions, policies and media presentations were investigated through interviews with migrants and non-migrants.

The research was originally designed to study decision-making and family interaction in the process of moving, with particular attention to selectivity, the nature of planning and the implications for the family members left behind. However, to begin to investigate these problems it was first necessary to distinguish between varying patterns of migration. Decision-making varies according to the demographic class of the migrant, his socio-economic status and the choices of destination available to him.

In the 18 months of field work the persons interviewed formally included those who had never migrated, some about to migrate, people who returned to the place of origin to visit, officials, industrialists and return migrants. Several different instruments have been used for data collection. Among these are: 1) 110 family interviews using a chronological approach to the major changes in the life of family members and documenting life circumstances, including education, changes in family composition, job or career, economic status, residence patterns; 2) 92 interviews with visiting migrants to investigate how they decided to leave, and under what circumstances they would return; 3) 42 life histories of families in a single town; 4) testing school children in the same town to document their attitudes toward migration, agricultural work and school; 5) participant observation in homes, cafes, clinics and the hospital to provide unsolicited data on migration, and many informal interviews on varied aspects of life.

I am still in the process of analysing much of this material, which forms the topic of my dissertation. However, certain patterns and macro-patterns have emerged from the data and are summarized in the following chart (Table 1) which illustrates the variation in class composition of the migration flow, the professional level of the migrants, the existence of a community base for the migration flow, the historical origin of the pattern, the permanence of the migration, the differing demographic classes of the migrants, the planning features (if the planning tends to be elaborated or more haphazard), the networks used in negotiating the move, and in general if the migration is a move of the whole family or of single individuals.

Class cannot go undefined. In Molise class has been described by Moss5/ and Vincelli6/. I will use the terms most commonly agreed upon

5/ Moss, L. and Cappannari, S. "Estate and Class in a South Italian Hill Village", American Anthropologist, Vol. 64: 287-300.

6/ Vincelli, Guido. Una communità meridionale. (Torino, Taylor, 1958)

TABLE 1: Current Patterns of Migration for Campobasso

Destination	Status[a/]	Community Based Mig.	Historical Origin	Permanence of Mig.	Multiple or Single	Sex Composition	Age Composition	Plans[b/]	Networks	Family
1. Rural area in region	C	No	Old	Permanent	Single	=	All ages	E	Family	Entire
2. Urban area in region	ABPC	No	Post 1960	Permanent	Single	=	All ages	E	Work	Entire
3. Naples & Rome	a)DPB b)C	a)Yes b)No	a)Old b)Post WW II	a)Perm. & dual resid. b)Seasonal	Multi	=	a)All ages b)+ 20-40	a)E b)H	Power Networks	a)Entire b)Sep.
4. North. Italy	CA	No	Post 1955	Temp. and Permanent	Multi	+Male	+20-40	H	Family or none	Sep. & Entire
5. Switzerland	CA	No[c/]	1870s	Temp. and Seasonal	Multi	+Male	+20-40	H	Friends or none	Separate
6. Germany[d/]	CA	No[d/]	1960s	Temp. and Seasonal	Multi	+Male	+20-40	H	Friends or none	Separate
7. France	CA	Yes	1920s	Temp. and Permanent	Multi	+Male	+20-40	EH	Family/ Friends	Sep. & Entire
8. Belgium	C	Yes & No	Post WW II	Temp. and Permanent	Single	+Male	+20-40	EH	Friends Work	Sep. & Entire
9. England	CP	No	1960s	Temporary	Single	+Male	+20-40	E	Friends Work	Separate
10.North America	CAB	Yes	1870s	Permanent	Single	=	+20-50	E	Family	Entire
11.South America[e/]	CA	Yes	1890s	Temp. and Permanent	Single	=	All ages	E	Family	Now Entire
12. Australia	CA	Yes	1960s	Temp. and Permanent	Single	+Male	+20-40	EH	Friends Work	Separate

See next page for footnotes.

Footnotes to Table 1:

a/ Status: A = artigiani & negozianti; B = piccola borghesia; C = contadini; D = dirigenti; P = professionisti.

b/ Plans: E = elaborate; H = haphazard.

c/ Most of the migration to Switzerland is not community based, but there are two streets in Basle with only Molisani.

d/ I have found at least one exception: half of the migrants from Palata go to the same place in Germany.

e/ In the 19th century there was a seasonal migration.

by informants, which are a condensation of Moss' scheme and an enlargement of Vincelli's, and distinguish between five groups: "I Dirigenti" (the directors, the region-state brokers, people of influence); "I Professionisti" (the professionals, doctors, teachers, bankers, etc.); "La Piccola Borghesia" (the small middle class which is usually defined by the possession of land, a house, and an occupation away from the land); "Artigiani e Negozianti" (artisans and small businessmen who are often part-time cultivators as well, if they owned land and a house and did not themselves work the land, they would be "Piccola Borghesia"), and finally "U Cafoni" or "I Contadini" (the first is a derogatory dialect term for someone who works the land and the second is standard Italian for the same occupation).

Migrants, except for the migrants to Naples, Rome and the urban areas of the region fall mainly into the lowest two classes, but are usually not the poorest people in town. Borghesia, professionisti and the dirigenti who migrate to Naples and Rome never identify themselves as migrants. They are either shocked or amused by the idea, for in Molise the term "migrant" is used as a pejorative only to describe the working class. There is also a predominantly seasonal migration to Rome and Naples of the lowest class who go to work as domestics, waiters, vendors and labourers. Many leave in the autumn and return in the spring to work their lands. The most active communities of Molisani are those in the most distant locations. In Canada, the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Australia the migration is predominantly community based. In Montreal, for example, the Albanesi (of Albanian origin) of Molise live in one particular neighbourhood and conduct all their daily activities in Albanese dialect. The Molisani from San Martino live in another neighbourhood of Montreal and the migrants from Santa Croce di Maliano live in a third.

The sex ratio of the migrants is about equal for the migrations within the region, and for the migrations to Rome and Naples. Migration to northern Italy, Australia, North America and Belgium is mainly male, but with a large proportion of females. Migration is about equal, and some years predominantly female to South America, principally because it is a migration of families members left behind. Migration to Switzerland, Germany, France and England is principally male.

If women migrate as single workers it is usually with some family member and they usually migrate to northern Italy, Switzerland or Germany. They tend soon to marry someone who is also a migrant. However, the majority of the female migrants are already married usually just before they migrate. Widowed females are also predisposed to migrate. For a widow without land or grown children to care for her, and who needs an income, it is almost the only option because there are few employment opportunities for women in Molise.

Generally migrants to Switzerland or Germany are young couples or single men. The couples leave their children with a grandmother or an aunt, or hire a woman to care for them while the parents are away. Workers without annual status in Switzerland are not allowed to bring family members and in Germany it is difficult to find housing and child-care.

The planning process involved in the decision to move varies by destination. Moves to Switzerland, Germany and northern Italy are little premeditated. As one migrant put it "Well, I really didn't need to think much about it, after all I wasn't going to America". Germany, Switzerland and northern Italy are very close. In the streets of Campobasso children play a game which they call "Italia". They draw chalk circles with the name of a city in each circle. The size of the circle depends on the relative importance (according to the child) of the city. They use these chalk circles as a base for a kind of tag. I have seen games with 4-8 circles, and including the cities of Frankfurt, Milan, Naples, Termoli, Turin, Genoa, Zurich and Rome.

The closeness of these cities also means that migrants can frequently return. Migrants interviewed managed to return at least once a year. This closeness also makes it possible for migrants to change from place to place. In interviews I found that for migrants to these areas, even the final destination is uncertain. Several migrants first tried northern Italy, then France and finally stayed in Switzerland or Germany.

Although nearly all migrants who go to Germany or Switzerland or northern Italy do so in search of work, economic motivation is only part of the motivational complex precipitating the decision to move. Not everyone who is out of work migrates and many people migrate even though they have a job at home. On several occasions people were interviewed who told us they were going to migrate, but a year later they still had not left. Others assured us that they would stay in the home town and two months later, after the illness of their child, they were in Germany. In the cases of the migrants interviewed in depth (N=65) the move in 90 per cent of the cases occurred after an important period of change or crisis. In the 10 per cent of the cases where this did not apply the informants were young people still unsettled in their choice of work and life style. The following table gives the distribution of responses for precipitating events:

TABLE 2

Events preceding emigration in 65 life history, migration interviews

1)	Recent marriage	21 cases
2)	Recent engagement	4 cases
3)	Need for a dowry for a marrying daughter	3 cases
4)	Pregnancy or birth of an unplanned child (Channels to birth control information are obstructed by tradition and social pressure)	8 cases
5)	Illness of spouse, parent or child	2 cases
6)	Death of spouse or parent	5 cases
7)	Broken engagement	4 cases
8)	Marital difficulties (Migration serves as a functional divorce or separation, both of which are socially and legally difficult to obtain in southern Italy)	6 cases

9)	Argument in the family.....	2 cases
10)	Inability to find a suitable position after having finished school.....	2 cases
11)	Children escaped to marry.....	2 cases
12)	Visit of migrant family members.....	1 case
13)	Visit of migrant friends.....	5 cases
	Total	65 cases

In the 106 shorter interviews on migration history the largest number of responses referred to work or lack of work in the home region, but this still does not explain why people went when they did. Most had remained without work for a long period hoping for something to develop. The only way to discover the precipitating factor is to question informants not only about their work history but about other important events and changes in their life patterns during the pre-migration period. Only in this way can the complexity of causes be seen, for few people express themselves directly and spontaneously as did this migrant in Interview 82: "I left because I could never adapt myself in my home town and then I thought I wouldn't be able to get along in any part of my country so I went outside of it, but also I left because I didn't get along with my family. They were of low social condition; we argued but the disaccord was not caused by lack of money."

The complete family, life history, migration interviews included open ended questions to permit the informants to structure their life experiences in a way meaningful to them, twelve areas of experience elicited in a chronological sequence, and a series of questions designed to reconstruct the decision-making process. There was no case in which the decision to move was not at least partially economically motivated. Informants were asked to classify their incomes as "sufficient", "barely sufficient", "insufficient requiring outside help", or "enough to save". Families prior to emigration rated their income as barely sufficient for a number of years and then with migration they rated it enough to save; still it required some situational factor to precipitate the advantageous move. These factors as listed in Table 2 typically related to crisis in the sense of interruption of continuity, change. The crisis was not idiosyncratic, but rather related to the family and was more likely to occur at particular phases of the life cycle: among recently engaged or married persons, after the death of a parent or a spouse, or after finishing school. These data tend to support Lee's theory that "the heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life-cycle is important in the selection of migrants " 7/

Although related to family crises which create new exigencies and possibilities, this migration is very similar to that described by Touraine and Ragazzi as "mobilité", a kind of migration motivated by

7/ Lee, E. "A Theory of Migration", 3 Demography No. 1, at 47, 56 (1966).

deliberate aspirations. The agricultural worker leaves to "try his luck" without a particular job or even type of work in view, but with an impelling desire for upward social mobility8/. However, this desire is usually mixed with the desire to resolve a particular situation that has accentuated his needs.

Among the families interviewed the option to migrate is a kind of contingency plan, generally not clearly premeditated or elaborated but based upon a nebulous image of the place of destination as providing opportunities and economic bounty. People every day see examples of wealth gained by migration. Whenever a migrant returns, either for a visit or to stay, greatly exaggerated rumours are spread concerning his wealth. In the home communities the years of work and sacrifice that the migrant has gone through tend to be ignored. Instead people focus enviously on the wealth they imagine has come to him.

When people do migrate, it tends to be impulsively and is often characterized by an ambivalent escape behaviour in the desperate hope of improving their life situation in the home town. When informants are asked to describe what they know about the areas of destination, they report nebulous images of wealth, but have very little concrete knowledge about life there. Even knowledge about kinds of industry, employment practices, geography and laws affecting workers is limited.

Taylor, in his discussion of British internal migrants, gives a convincing explanation for this kind of decision-making among his informants, whom he classes as "resultant migrants", in that they do not migrate because of aspiration alone, or from a sense of dislocation, or for personal problems, but because they feel it is the only alternative to unemployment9/. These families must choose between economic security for themselves and their children, and the emotional comforts of "solidary familiars, the known ways and tried values of village life". The world in which the potential migrant is encapsulated is not conducive to an objective assessment of advantages and disadvantages: in fact, the possibility creates an emotionally charged situation and the potential migrant is caught in a conflict of loyalties which he finds difficult to resolve, so he waivers until a particular situation triggers the decision10/.

In situations where moving itself is not the goal but only the means to economic bounty, the decision which the migrant makes is not where to move and how to do it, but whether to choose that strategy and leave, or to stay and try one of the other economic strategies available. In Campobasso about the only possibilities are 1) agriculture, 2) to learn

8/ Touraine, A. and Ragazzi, O. 1961. Ouvriers d'origine agricole. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

9/ Taylor, R.C. 1969. "Migration and Motivation: A Study of Determinants and Types", in Migration (J.A. Jackson editor). Cambridge University Press. pp. 124-131.

10/ Ibid. p. 128.

a trade, 3) the educational system as a means to training, and possibly a job, 4) petty sales, 5) migration. Agriculture is disparaged and it is difficult to make much profit. Education is increasingly tried by young people, but after they have their diplomas there are few jobs available at home, so they may still end up trying the option of migration. From the interviews with people who have tried to learn a trade, it appears that frequently the idea of apprenticeship is exploited by keeping the trainee for several years at little or no pay.

Informants classify destinations into several major categories: America, northern Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, France and England. The sub-categories in all of these are the principal cities contained in the geographic area. The farther away the area is the less likely it is to be differentiated. For example "America" is practically synonymous with a distant place overseas. This is "logical" because almost nobody from Campobasso migrates to Asia or Africa. One informant was pleased to hear that I was an American. "I've been there", she told me, "My daughter was born in America." When I asked her where in "America", she replied, "Sydney".

Choice of destination depends upon distance, contacts and whether the migrant wants to move for principally economic reasons and return home soon (then the choice would probably be somewhere in Europe), or if he also wants to begin a new way of life (then a more likely choice would be northern Italy or "America").

Because of the unelaborated nature of the migrant's plans, particularly migrants to Germany, Switzerland and northern Italy, the planning for the family that remains behind is haphazard. Children are left in institutions or more frequently with relatives who have no idea when the parents or parent will return. If the husband migrates alone the wife may agree that his going will bring general economic good, they will be able to buy a house and provide a more comfortable life for their children, but she will not know when he is to return and will have very little information about his life. In questioning migrants about what would make them return home and when they intend to return, other than the work or house centred replies, the characteristic answer was, "When I'm finally fed up with things".

Many young children of migrants are hospitalized. In the local hospital ward where most children have a relative to care for them 24 hours a day the children of migrants noticeably lack attention and frequently the parents are not even notified. In 1971-1972, 2 out of the 4 children that died in the Termoli hospital were children of migrants and their parents were not present.

Children left in institutions want desperately to be with their parents but actually have no idea where they will be even two months later. Their TAT stories are filled with longing for affection, expressions of feelings of inferiority or lack of autonomy and tales of sacrifice in order to earn for the family. Once the interview was begun children were so anxious to be listened to that they attempted to prolong the interview.

At the same time there are more positive situations where the grandmother and grandfather are young and well enough to care for the child or where the mother receives strong support from the extended family so that she and the child receive affection and are included in family activities during the father's temporary absence. The analysis of the psychological tests given to the children of migrants is incomplete, but the results from the CPI and the TAT seem to indicate either a very poor attitude toward self-capacity, a low socialization score, a strong concern with separation and poor school achievement, or else the results show the other extreme of a more positive attitude toward self-capacity, high achievement in school and a higher socialization score

Children who migrate with their parents have problems in school. If they begin elementary school in another language, such as German or French, they may not have learned any Italian, for their parents speak a local dialect, not Italian, in the home. They come back to Italian schools unable to write or speak Italian. Consequently they have to repeat one or more years. If they return with a diploma from outside of Italy, it is often not recognized and they have to redo their studies.

In recent years both the national and the regional governments have become concerned with the social disintegration caused by emigration from the south of Italy and have constituted special programmes to encourage industry to locate in the south, thereby providing workers with employment in their home region. In press releases, articles and television presentations the installation of new industry is considered as a "brake" against emigration. With these attractions industrialization is becoming more of a reality for the south. In the two years of this study, 1971 and 1972, several major assembly plants were being planned in Molise and roads, dams and expressways were under construction

Special programmes have been devised to attract emigrants to return to the area to work in the new factories. In prior experiments with industrialization in the south, many of the companies had been accused of building the factory in the south but not changing the economy because most of the workers were not hired locally, but came from the north In Molise Fiat is building an assembly plant. They have conducted extensive advertising to encourage migrants to apply for work in the factory, and move from the north back to the south. Although Fiat is criticized by migrants on the same general grounds that they criticize the state for exploitation, a steady job at home would make many migrants return. So far 450 migrants have applied for work in the new factory. Ninety-two visiting migrants were asked what would make them come back "A secure job with which to give security to my wife and to the three babies, as we say here, un tozzo de pane (a stale crumb of bread)", replied one Out of the 92 migrants, 41 replied that it was principally a job and a better way of life that would make them return to Campobasso. Until good jobs are a reality, migration will continue to be one of the few economically rewarding strategies available.

To conclude, the culture of migration, the elaboration and planning which we had originally expected to find among migrants from a region that has been a source of emigration for over a century, did not exist in the way that we had expected prior to the research. Instead, we found complex, changing migration patterns and found that migration is actually much heavier than the statistics indicate. In fact, statistics seem to be collected in an effort to disguise the amount of migration.

In spite of four generations of examples, the migrant today does not profit by the knowledge and experiences of his forefathers. Usually he knows little about his place of destination other than a vague myth of economic bounty. One of the reasons for this is that usually he does not want to migrate; leaving is only a contingency plan, a temporary move used only if another economic strategy does not work. Migration is a disparaged status and conceptualized as the means to other aspirations which bind the migrant to his home. Over time the destinations of migrants have changed so that a compendium of knowledge and experience is not always considered relevant by the migrant.

Although governmental programmes have been instituted to lessen the need for migration, the people of the province have little confidence in them, and will continue to migrate, or attempt to migrate until new opportunities become reality.

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SOME POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF PERSONALITY TESTING TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN MIGRATION

by

Harrison G. Gough

Migration is a basic phenomenon in human behaviour, and one would expect to find the psychological literature replete with analyses. But in fact very little is known about psychological aspects of migration, and studies using valid techniques of measurement are few and far between. It is therefore appropriate to consider personality assessment for inclusion in new or ongoing studies of human movement.

Although modern assessment methods have not frequently been employed in studies of migration, inferences concerning variables that should be measured may be drawn from prior work. One major conclusion to be derived from prior study is that migratory movements must be classified if the relevant psychological factors are to be accurately identified. For example, some persons may be forced to move by the exigencies of war or a natural disaster, whereas others may change residence voluntarily, to seek economic betterment or just a new way of life. There is also a difference psychologically between persons who move toward a precise and targeted objective and those whose migration is less directed or focused.

Petersen[1/] has formulated a typology of migration which serves to emphasize some of the distinctions just suggested. He defined five classes of migration: primitive, forced, impelled, free, and mass. Primitive migration arises from an ecological push, the result of an inability to cope with natural forces (famine, floods, drought). When the impetus comes from government or a social institution, movement is forced or impelled depending on the degree of initiative left to the prospective migrant. Free migration is found among individually motivated persons, seeking new experience, religious freedom, or some other goal. If a flow of persons in free migration comprises large numbers, Petersen classes it as mass migration These types are merely aids to analysis, of course, and need not be regarded obsessively. Their significance lies in the calling of attention to motivational differences to be expected among persons who migrate.

A second major conclusion is that migration is selective: except under the most extreme circumstances some members of a group or society will remain even when most others move. Conversely, even when most persons elect to remain, some will choose to move. The contrast implicit in this dichotomy is one that can be studied to good advantage from the psychological standpoint, and in fact represents an almost ideal "natural experiment".

A third conclusion is that for most if not all migratory trends a significant counter-trend of "back-migration" can be identified. Here again, the dichotomy between those who stay in the new place and those who return to the place of origin is one that invites psychological analysis.

1/ W. Petersen, A General Typology of Migration, American Sociological Review, 256 (1958).

Motivating Factors

As indicated in Petersen's typology, various motivating factors have predominated in different migratory movements. Political, military, and religious objectives have been important, as in the colonization of disputed territory, wars of conquest, and crusades. The economic factor probably looms larger than any of these, particularly in modern times[2], and has been hypothesized to be the true basis of migrations often attributed to other forces.

A migratory trend much remarked a few years ago was that called the "brain drain", in which scientists and other persons with advanced training and skills were being drawn to the United States and other economically advanced societies, from less advantaged places. Even this kind of movement, as Dedijer's[3] interesting analysis revealed, has deep roots in the past. From 600 to 300 B.C., teachers and scholars of the Western world tended to stream to Athens, whereas around 300 B.C. the centre of attraction switched to Alexandria. Around that date Ptolemy I imported Demetrios of Phaleron and Straton the physicist, and founded the first library and museum in Alexandria. It might be noted that Straton turned out to be a counter-migrant, returning to Athens when offered the directorship of the Lyceum. Scholars remaining in Athens during this period complained of "the drain of Greek brains to Alexandria".

In the Middle Ages cities and states took steps to guard against the loss of scholars and students from their universities. After Placentius left Bologna in 1150, the authorities required all professors to take an oath that they would not leave. Nevertheless, departures continued and the city of Bologna issued a series of edicts forbidding such movements. In 1432, city statutes still stipulated the death penalty for any person who conspired to transfer the studium, or for any doctor over the age of 50 who left the city of Bologna for the purpose of lecturing elsewhere.

The motivating forces acting on the migrating scientist or scholar in a "brain drain" movement may be broadly classified as economic (better wages, better working conditions), but other influences such as prestige, the stimulation of peers, and the existence of an intellectual tradition may be posited. Educational motives of a more general kind should also not escape our attention In many countries young people leave home and place in order to attend university and

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2/ Rose, A.M., Migrants in Europe, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1969; Sorokin, P.A., Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1928.

3/ Dedijer, S., "Early" Migration. In W. Adams (Ed.), The Brain Drain, New York, Macmillan, 1968, pp. 9-28.

frequently remain permanently in the new locale. Study in a foreign country[4] exerts something of this same influence. Among students travelling to another country for schooling, some will remain permanently and some will return home; comparison of the two subsamples is an inviting task for personality assessment.

Explanatory Attempts

Among the attempts to explain or conceptualize migration, one of the best known is that of Ravenstein[5] . He set down a series of "laws" as follows:

i) Most migrants move only a short distance;

ii) Movement tends to be toward great centres of commerce and industry;

iii) Rural residents near a city move into the city, and their places are then taken by persons from more remote places;

iv) Each main flow of migration produces a compensatory counterflow;

v) Townspeople are less migratory than persons from a rural environment;

vi) Females are more migratory than males;

vii) Migration from rural to urban and from urban to rural proceeds by stages.

These propositions need to be sharpened before anything much in the way of precise predictions can be made. Lee[6], for example, suggested the specification of four foci for analysis: factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors. Consideration of these leads to some interesting hypotheses. For example, Lee suggested that migrants responding primarily to positive factors at the destination tend to be positively selected, whereas those responding primarily to negative factors at origin tend to be negatively selected. A given stream of migration will ordinarily contain migrants of both kinds.

4/ Kindelberger, C.P., Study Abroad and Emigration. In W. Adams (Ed), The Brain Drain. New York: Macmillan, 1968. pp. 135-155.

5/ Ravenstein, E.G., The Laws of Migration, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1885, 48, Part 2, 167-227; and 1889, 52, 241-305.

6/ Lee, E.S., A Theory of Migration, Demography, 1966, 3, 47-57.

Berelson and Steiner[7], in their compendium of verified scientific findings concerning human behaviour, have also offered several generalizations concerning migration. One of these is that population movement tends to be "concentrated", that is people who move once are likely to move again, places into which people move are likely to be places from which people move, and people are much more likely to move short than long distances. Another is that, at least over the short run, the state of the economy in the receiving country is more influential in stimulating free migration than is that of the sending country.

Stouffer's[8] analysis placed greatest stress on the intervening and end-point variables; his formulation is that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. Zipf's[9] hypothesis was that the number of migrants between any two communities is proportionate to the product of their populations divided by the shortest transportation distance. Leslie and Richardson [10] derived a multiple regression equation to forecast mobility intentions within a community, in which positive weights were assigned to these components: attitude toward present house, number of years of education, perceived class differences between self and others, and expectations concerning social mobility.

Sorokin[11] in his classic text on sociological theories discussed a vast array of conceptual systems, some of which had something to say about migration. For example, population density, anthropometric characteristics, intelligence, and moral character have all been proposed as possible determinants of the movement of populations. Much of this early work was speculative, based on ill-concealed biases, and hence of little more than historical interest. In other instances

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7/ Berelson, B. and Steiner, G.A., Human Behaviour: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.

8/ Stouffer, S.A., Intervening Opportunities: A Theory relating Mobility and Distance, American Sociological Review, 1940, 5,845-867.

9/ Zipf, G.K., The P_1P_2/D Hypothesis: On the Intercity Movement of Persons, American Sociological Review, 1946, 11, 677-685.

10/ Leslie, G.R. and Richardson, A.H., Life-cycle, Career Pattern, and the Decision to Move, American Sociological Review, 1961, 26, 894-902.

11/ Sorokin, P.A., Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1928.

(e.g., population density) the variable selected for analysis appears to be derivative of other more basic factors such as the economic well-being of the culture. We may agree with Lundberg[12] that "in spite of the large literature devoted to the subject no very reliable conclusions are available".

For the psychologist interested in personality, the key issue in migration is selectivity: given a certain level of social movement, how are those who migrate differentiated from those who do not. The formulations of Stouffer and Zipf, for all their elegance, do not touch on this question. The equation proposed by Leslie and Richardson is a step in the right direction, but its component variables are too demographic and insufficiently detached from immediate circumstances to permit a long-range forecast. A more attractive equation to the psychologist would be one based on personality factors measurable earlier in the life of the migrant, and then combined so as to illuminate the motivational dynamics of the decision to move.

General Comments on Psychological Testing

A first thought concerning the employment of psychological testing in the study of any behavioural phenomenon is that the purpose is to generate quantitative data so that statements can be made of the degree of some relationship, given certain constants of context. This is, in fact, an important goal of the psychometrician and in its own way is part of the ineluctable progression in science from qualitative to quantitative statements of relationship. However, there is another goal in the use of psychological measurement that should be noted, and indeed emphasized in any consideration of cross-cultural and transnational research. This is the goal of linkage or cross-calibration. By use of standard tools of assessment, different projects and programmes may be linked together, so that the findings from both will be cumulative. From this standpoint alone one can register a plea for a brief, common, core set of psychological measures so that all projects in whatever place or country can be tied together to at least this degree.

Most scholars interested in migration and related phenomena would probably accept this assertion abstractly. Objections would more often arise on such issues as the validity of the measures, the degree to which tests or scales developed in one language can be translated into another, and the practicality of using such devices with populations unfamiliar with them and highly sceptical of the significance of personological inquiry.

12/ Lundberg, G.A., Foundations of Sociology, New York, Macmillan, 1939.

There are several requirements for meeting these latter, more pragmatic objections. First, the personality variables selected for attention should be of universal or near-universal import. That is, they should be visible in the everyday behaviour of people everywhere, and should be identifiable and definable in any language. Second, the stimulus materials used to assess these variables should, if verbal, be translatable into any language, and if non-verbal of constant meaning in all cultures. Third, the set of measures should be easy to administer and score, and practical for use in any situation where a reasonable degree of co-operation can be assured. Fourth, the instrument itself should carry some internal indicator of the dependability of a protocol, so that dissimulated or otherwise uninterpretable records can be put aside.

The California Psychological Inventory

The California Psychological Inventory[13] is a 480-item true-false personality inventory developed in accordance with the guidelines just given. The 18 variables chosen for scaling are drawn from the domain of "folk concepts" - aspects of interpersonal behaviour that are found everywhere that human beings live and work together. Scales for dominance, self-acceptance, responsibility, tolerance, intellectual efficiency, and flexibility are among those included. The intention of the inventory is to provide a brief set of scales such that any significant and recurring social behaviour may be forecast from either a single scale or from a simple and easily understood combination of scales.

To date, the inventory has been translated in whole or in part into Afrikaans, Chinese (three variants), Czech, Dutch, French, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Sinhalese, Spanish, Tamil, and Turkish. Among the 30 to 40 studies of the non-English editions of the test, those of Chapuis, Quintard, and Wourms[14], Gendre[15], Gough[16], Levin and Karni[17] and Mizushima and

13/ Gough, H.G., Manual for the California Psychological Inventory, Palo Alto, California, Consulting Psychologists Press, 1957.

14/ Chapuis, C., Quintard, G. & Wourms, J.C., Un nouvel inventaire de la personalitē: le CPI (California Psychological Inventory), Bulletin de Psychologie, 1970-71, 24, 997-1004.

15/ Gendre, F., Evaluation de la personalitē et situation de selection, Bulletin d'Etudes et Recherches Psychologiques, 1966, 15, 259-361.

16/ Gough, H.G., Cross-cultural Validation of a Measure of Asocial Behaviour, Psychological Reports, 1965, 17, 379-387.
Gough, H.G., A Cross-cultural Study of the CPI Femininity Scale, Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1966, 30, 136-141.

17/ Levin, J. and Karni, E.S., Demonstration of Cross-cultural Invariance of the California Psychological Inventory in America and Israel by the Guttman-Lingoes Smallest Space Analysis, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1970, 1, 253-260.

DeVos[18] are representative. The most detailed and comprehensive source of information on the inventory is the new handbook by Megargee[19].

To date there has been only one investigation of direct bearing on migration, that of Mazer and Ahern[20] in 1969. They administered the CPI to 190 high school students on Martha's Vineyard, an island off the coast of Massachusetts. Total population of the island is roughly six thousand persons, and approximately 80 percent of the high school graduates each year leave the island for work or study elsewhere. Follow-up of the group tested identified 57 graduates who left to go to college, and 64 who left for work or other reasons. Analyses were conducted separately by sex, as they should be on the CPI. Males who left to take jobs or enter the armed forces scored significantly higher on the responsibility and tolerance scales than males who remained. Females who left to take jobs scored significantly higher than those remaining on the scales for capacity for status and self-acceptance. Both sub-samples leaving to go to college scored higher than those remaining on a large number of scales, 12 out of 18 for males and 11 out of 18 for females. College-going, incidentally, is something that the CPI is already known to predict with accuracy.

The graduates who left for jobs or military service did not differ from those who remained on the social status classification of their families. The personality scale differences therefore are not merely reflections of more versus less advantaged home backgrounds.

Another study warranting comment here is that by Abbott[21] on Chinese families in Tapei and San Francisco. The aim of this monograph was to observe the impact of cultural change on psychosocial functioning. Parents and children were tested with the CPI. A sort of rough and ready statement of hypotheses of the study is that cultural pressures to change would be greater on children than parents, and on San Francisco families than on those in Tapei. The results did demonstrate that adolescents in both samples were moving away from their parents on the variables scaled in the CPI, with the trend being stronger in San Francisco. Somewhat similar results were obtained by Fong and

18/ Mizushima, K. and DeVos, G., An Application of the California Psychological Inventory in a Study of Japanese Delinquency, Journal of Social Psychology, 1967, 71, 45-51.

19/ Megargee, E.I., The California Psychological Inventory Handbook, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1972.

20/ Mazer, M. and Ahern, J., Personality and Social Class Position in Migration from an Island: The Implications for Psychiatric Illness, International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1969, 15, 203-208.

21/ Abbott, K.A., Harmony and Individualism: Changing Chinese Psycho-Social functioning in Tapei and San Francisco, Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs, 1970, 12.

Peskin[22] in their analysis of sex-rōle adjustment among China-born students of different generations.

Education Abroad

As mentioned above, education in a foreign country can be the initial step in a permenent relocation. A psychological comparison between college students who apply for an "education abroad" programme and those who do not, would therefore be of interest. Overseas study is a popular endeavour among American college students, and a large number of colleges and universities have affiliations with European and other institutions to facilitate these exchanges. Several years ago William McCormack and I[23] conducted a study of Berkeley students participating in the University of California foreign study programme.

Students who applied for and were accepted into the programme scored higher than unselected samples of college students on the CPI scales for social presence, self-acceptance, intellectual efficiency, achievement by independence, and flexibility. Other variables were also analysed, and some quite significant differences appeared. For example, participants scored higher on a test of English vocabulary, and on the Carroll-Sapon (1959) Modern Language Aptitude Test. However, on a measure of general information the two groups were not differentiated, nor were significant differences noted on non-verbal indices of intellectual ability.

To evaluate performance in the programme, two classes of criteria were defined. One consisted of ratings by teachers and peers, attending to scholastic performance and general calibre of adaptation as estimated by others. The other dealt with the student's own personal satisfaction with his year abroad, whether or not he had "done well" in the objective meaning of that designation. The two criterion ratings correlated approximately.28 with each other.

In reviewing the test scores and other material gathered prior to the year overseas it soon became apparent that different sub-sets would be involved in predicting the two criteria. Personal evaluation of the year overseas correlated significantly with the CPI socialization scale for both sexes, whereas this same scale had little or no relationship to the ratings of peers and teachers. Their ratings

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22/ Fong, S.L.M. and Peskin, H., Sex-Rōle Strain and Personality adjustment of China-born Students in America, Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 1969, 74, 563-567.

23/ Gough, H.G. and McCormack, W.A., An Exploratory Evaluation of Education Abroad, Berkeley: University of California Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, 1967 (mimeographed).

were more accurately forecast by measures of intellectual ability and verbal facility. For example, a three-scale combination including English vocabulary, language aptitude as assessed by the Carroll-Sapon test, and originality of response to the Kent-Rosanoff word association list yielded a multiple correlation of +.55 with the ratings.

Thirty of the subjects in the study were interviewed prior to departure by graduate students in clinical psychology. A 60-item Q-sort deck was used by the interviewers to record their impressions of each interviewee. When the follow-up ratings by peers and teachers became available one year later, t-tests for each item were calculated pitting 15 subjects with higher ratings versus 15 with lower. The five Q-sort items most significantly differentiating in favour of the 15 subjects with higher ratings are given below, as they indicate something of the personal impression created by subjects who later seem to adapt well to a new cultural setting.

1) Is a conscientious, responsible, dependable person;
2) Has a high degree of intellectual ability;
3) Is optimistic about his own professional future and advancement;
4) Internally motivated - "inner directed", seeks out and initiates new endeavour whether coerced or not;
5) Conveys a sense of vitality, spontaneity, responsiveness, etc.

These findings, and others, suggest that even within a highly homogeneous sample psychological differences will be found between those who do or do not seek new kinds of educational experience, and between those who adapt with greater or lesser success to the demands of a new cultural milieu.

Outline of a Possible Study

I would like now, in this last section of my paper, to sketch a possible study of migration that would draw on the prior work reviewed and that would take advantage of the potentialities for psychological assessment that are currently available.

Step one would be to define target samples in places from which migration can be anticipated. At least two such places should be selected, so that cross-validation of findings will be possible. The Martha's Vineyard study suggests the value of working in an island setting so that leaving or remaining can later be accurately verified. The Caribbean islands of Jamaica and Puerto Rico can be suggested. These choices would permit use of two languages (English and Spanish) in the assessment batteries, and would involve young people whose migratory movements are not focused on a single destination.

In each island approximately 400 high school students would be asked to take the test battery. Widespread education makes high school students a good age group for such a study. Emigration among students would in most cases be expected to occur after the mean age of graduation from high school. To control for sex and economic status, half of the subjects would come from a more advantaged school district and half from a less advantaged locale. The goal would be 100 of each sex in each cell, 400 subjects in all in Jamaica, and another 400 in Puerto Rico.

Demographic and background data would be gathered by field interviewers, and school records on achievement and performance would also be utilized. The psychological test battery suggested for consideration would include instruments from each of four categories:

1) Cognitive-intellectual abilities (2 hours)
   a) Non-verbal test such as the D.48
   b) Hidden figures test
   c) Perceptual acuity test
   d) Verbal ability

2) Personality dispositions (3 hours)
   a) Interpersonal domain - CPI
   b) Self-evaluation - adjective check list
   c) Personal adjustment - MMPI
   d) Projections and fantasies - TAT

3) Aesthetic preferences (30 minutes)
   a) Barron-Welsh Art Scale
   b) Mosaic preference measure

4) Originality (30 minutes)
   a) Guilford Consequences or Unusual Uses test
   b) Word association test

Total testing time would be approximately six hours, which could be accomplished in three two-hour sessions or some other combination. Permission of schools, parents, and probably governmental officials would be necessary, and the co-operation of the students themselves would have to be carefully nurtured. It is estimated that testing, interviewing, and negotiating would take at least a full month in each of the four settings where data were to be gathered, and that a team of from three to four persons would be required to do the work. The individual in charge would need to be someone of good judgement and diplomatic skill, and if possible should be a resident of the island.

The first year of such a project would be taken up with the initial planning and the five to six months of data collection. Scoring, coding, and reduction of protocols would require a second year. In the third year the four settings would be revisited, to obtain criterion information on migration versus remaining on the island, and a first search would also be made for return-migrants. Interviews

would be conducted with at least a sample of those who had elected to remain. If funds would permit, a selected sample of migrants would be followed up and interviewed concerning their reasons for leaving, experiences in the new culture, etc. The fourth and fifth years would be devoted to data analysis, conceptualizing, and to the preparation of reports on the project's findings. Although this project as sketched would be a large one, probably costing from $250-300,000 at today's prices and involving a commitment of about 1/8 of the professional lifetime of the participating researchers, it would be only a small first step toward the understanding of some of the measurable psychological factors that enter into the decision to migrate. Nonetheless, its goals are important and if carried though to fruition the project would yield data of great value.

Concluding Comment

Migration has always been a significant facet of man's behaviour, and in today's world there are ongoing movements of human population that will have tremendous impact on life in the future. The behavioural and social sciences have an obligation to study these phenomena. In particular, the techniques of psychological measurement - which have not played any appreciable rôle in prior work - should be brought to bear on these problems. Testing devices capable of being used in many different cultural settings are now available, so that linkage between one project and another by way of measurement is not just a theoretical possibility. In this paper some of the methodological and conceptual considerations relevant to the use of assessment tools were reviewed, and an attempt was made to sketch a five-year study of migration in which psychological factors would be given major attention.

PART II

WHAT HAPPENS TO MIGRANTS?

INTRODUCTION:

THE ISSUE OF ASSIMILATION vs. ETHNIC PLURALISM

by

George DeVos

The social adaptation of immigrants has been of major concern to social scientists, mainly sociologists in the United States, for more than two generations. The United States has been the paradigm of a society which was in its own self-image a melting pot in which diverse human ingredients coming from many different cultural origins were to be transmuted into "Americans" sharing a society which was to grant equal citizenship and equal opportunity regardless of cultural, religious or racial origin.

The earlier sociologists saw "assimilation" as the ultimate result, whatever intermediate alternatives of conflict or accommodation occurred with respect to given groups. The present generation of American social scientists no longer views American society as a melting pot; it is more attentive to the continuities of ethnic identity. The majority of Americans continues to be conceptualized as "hyphenated". Ethnic majorities within cities have developed their economic and political strengths. Old Americans of mixed or indeterminate background are no longer in possession of all power and prestige. There is no longer the implicit assumption that all other groups will disappear unselfconsciously as they assimilate to the dominant middle-class core culture.

There has been a noticeable variation in ease of assimilation into American culture with northwestern European Protestants disappearing more readily. The assimilative process, however, has obviously been arrested by resistances to acceptance of other ethnic and racial elements into American society. Social discrimination - particularly caste-like tendencies in relation to non-whites - and reactions to discrimination have forced changes in the American ideology about assimilation.

A second feature of the American ideology is the belief in democratic participation and equal access to political and economic power. The American dilemma in Myrdal's words is an inconsistency or cognitive dissonance caused by a strong belief in democratic equality conflicting with the stubborn fact of racial segregation. Shifting from a belief in the melting pot toward one which views American society as ethnically pluralistic is an attempt to resolve this dissonance. If racial minorities can be viewed simply as "ethnic" minorities then the dilemma is resolved; a self-consciously avowed ethnic identity on the part of older racial minorities allows them to take a more equal position among other "ethnic" groups of more recent arrival. Their political struggles against the "majority" can then be viewed as competition within an ethnically plural society.

I have discussed elsewhere my contention that, in effect, the American black minority as well as Mexican Americans are adopting an attitude of "ethnic distinctiveness" about themselves with a strong intention to remain separate parts of a pluralistically conceived American society[1/]. At the same time, Polish Americans in Pittsburgh and American

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1/ George DeVos, "Social Stratification and Ethnic Pluralism", Race, Vol. XIII, No. 4, April 1972, pp 435-460.

Jews and Italians in New York are reasserting symbols of separate ethnic cohesiveness. Even the majority of Americans seemingly are no longer opposed to an ideal of non-assimilation.

This trend in the United States suggests that social science theory in regard to assimilation needs serious re-examination, not only in the case of American society but in regard to what happens to migrants elsewhere. Are the processes occurring similar or different? A central issue is how and under what conditions ethnic identity is maintained against pressures toward assimilation of migrating individuals or groups.

The contributions to Part II, "What Happens to Migrants?" are separated for organizational convenience into two sections. First, papers are presented on what happens to migrants in Israel, Canada, Australia and Belgium. In these cases issues of assimilation or cultural pluralism do not, on the surface at least, involve racial differences. A second series of papers concentrates on situations in which racial difference becomes a central problem in the social adaptation of migrants.

ETHNICITY DEFINED

The maintenance of a separate ethnic identity is essential to social pluralism. Since ethnic maintenance is of direct or indirect concern in a number of papers, it is appropriate by way of introduction to include some overall definition of ethnicity.

There is as yet no acceptable single term in English for an "ethnic group". There is a need, however, for a concept equivalent to "class", "caste" or "family" as a technical term for a group selfconsciously united around particular cultural traditions. If one seeks, however, to define those characteristics that together comprise an "ethne", or an ethnic group, one ultimately discovers that there are no essential characteristics common to all groups usually so designated. This problem has, of course, been equally true for other attempted definitions in social science related to lineage, family, class, caste. The fact that exceptions to every generalization will come to mind does not preclude some attempt at definition. In this case, one could use those features of a group which, in one way or another, combine to comprise a sense of "ethnicity" for those including themselves in the group.

An ethnic group is some self-perceived group of "people" that share a past. They share some commonly held traditions by which they separate themselves selfconsciously from the others with whom they are in contact. Differentiators very often used are "folk" religious beliefs and practices, and a sense of continuity back to a common ancestry or place of origin.

The group's actual history often fades into legend or mythology. This mythology of common origin frequently includes some concept of an unbroken biological-genetic "racial" generational continuity, sometimes inseparab' conceived of as giving special characteristics to their

"culture" or life style. Endogamy is frequent, although various patterns initiating outsiders into the ethnic group are developed in such a way that they do not disrupt a sense of generational continuity. An ethnic group may or may not be a "culture" or "sub-culture" in the anthropological or sociological sense; its symbols of group belonging may in fact be insufficient to carry the full meaning of these terms.

Ethnicity as distinct from lineage, caste or racial definition

Some of the same factors used to characterize ethnic membership may seem to be used in some societies to characterize lineage group or caste membership as well. However, their functions, as well as the subjective definitions given them, are different. A lineage group or caste is focussed on its self-conscious perceptions of itself as an inter-dependent unit of a society, whereas an ethnic group clings to a sense of having been an independent "people", in origin at least, whatever special rôle it has come to play in a present day pluralistic society. Caste or separate racial definitions explicitly relate to a present system of formal stratification or biological inheritance whereas ethnic definitions hark back to a past cultural independence.

Racial distinctions as a part of "ethnic" identity

It must be noted that some sense of "racial" separateness, real or imagined, is part of the internally structured ethnic identity of many groups. It is also used by socially dominant groups to maintain a sense of superiority by preventing assimilation of lower status individuals.

The relationships between caste, ethnicity and race are complex in many pluralistic societies. A willingness to acculturate completely on the part of a racial and/or ethnic minority, not only in behaviour but in identity, may not be acceptable to the dominant group. Physical racial differences can be used as a constituent of social stratification to maintain caste-like exclusions regardless of the presence or absence of ethnic distinctions. The idea that a particular racial minority is less worthy of participation because of an unalterable biological "backwardness" can be more easily rationalized than the concept of stratified exclusion based solely on "ethnic" differences preventing assimilation.

Conversely, if a particular minority wishes to gain acceptance, but finds that such acceptance is seemingly withheld on the basis of race, the group is forced to select among the alternatives to assimilation. It must either accept an inferior caste status and a sense of basic inferiority, as part of collective self- definition, or it must define the situation as simple political and economic oppression. A possibility which may occur coincidentally is resort to a protective and reactive form of "ethnic" definition as a means of establishing and maintaining a sense of collective dignity. Such an "ethnic" definition helps define the group, symbolically creating a positive sense of past heritage on the basis of cultural as well as racial distinctions. This

in-group ethnic sense can be used to escape, subjectively if not socially, the negative effects of caste stratification. Thus, "ethnic" definitions of a subordinate group are sometimes socially and psychologically preferable to direct "racial" definitions governing social segretation.

Territoriality

Most ethnic groups have a tradition of territorial or political independence even though the present members may have become a minor part of one, or sometimes several, different political entities. In contrasting and comparing ethnic groups, however, one notes highly different patterns of territorial possession as a means of maintaining group cohesion. At one extreme there are groups of similar ethnic identity, such as the Japanese, that occupy a nation state. The other extreme is exemplified by European Jews, who have been pressed into urban ghettos which, in some respects, are used to define their inhabitants. In numerically large, politically independent groups, ethnic identity tends to be relatively co-extensive with some form of national identity. Social and political problems related to continuous attempts to maximize territory, sometimes with the inclusion of subordinate subjects, make up much of the world's political history.

In some strict usages of the term, "nationality" is indistinguishable from ethnicity. But in a looser sense, the words "nation" and "nationality" very often encompass groups of diverse origin that have achieved some form of political unity as well as territorial boundary. Often the sense of "national" identity and of subjective cultural identity for individuals cannot be distinguished. This has been true in many historial instances where ethnic and national identity have been one. In other cases ethnic identity is more specific than national identity. There may be a frankly local identity, such as being Breton as distinct from French, or Florentine or Roman as distinct from Italian. These local identifications may or may not entail some feeling of continuity toward the past which is a peculiarity of ethnic identity. If a person were, for example, a Londoner of Irish or Welsh origin as well as an Englishman, and his Irish or Welsh origin remained of prior importance, he would continue a distinct ethnic identity over and above his present-day affiliation to British citizenship and London residence. The crucial question from the standpoint of ethnicity is the priority given to potentially diverse loyalties, for depending upon that priority a person's social relationship will tend to be quite different.

The use of territorial space in maintaining ethnicity, important in some instances, may be minimal or nonexistent in others. The degree to which some territorial concept is necessary to the maintenance of ethnic identity either symbolically or actually must be considered in relation to the use of non-territorial definitions of ethnic uniqueness and how the ethnic group maintains its cohesion through economic, religious or other social functions that keep members in contact with one another.

Occupational or Economic Bases for maintaining Ethnic Identity

Economic factors contribute in a complex manner to ethnic definitions and identity maintenance. Some ethnic minorities without a territorial base or political autonomy can be quite dispersed within other populations but retain strong economic cohesion. They can defend themselves from incorporation or assimilation by maintaining a certain amount of economic autonomy. Religious, racial or language minorities such as the Parsis of India, the Jews of Europe, the overseas Indians and overseas Chinese, manage to persist at least partially because of the fact that their ethnic community organization has a secure subsistence base anchored in special occupations which they can maintain while they seek entry into others.

There is a great deal of political ambivalance in some areas about allowing quasi-independent, economically secure ethnic enclaves to persist. The ambiguous rôle of overseas merchant Indians in East Africa and Chinese in Southeast Asia are cases in point.

Another economic influence on ethnic identity is the exploitation of ethnic sub-groups by the socially dominant population - a point well revealed in racially segregated societies such as South Africa. Racial groups are defined in terms of their class or caste, not simply in terms of their ethnicity. The imposed economic specialization reinforces a group identity.

One of the recent theories relating economic, political and social changes in the status of ethnic minorities to general social change is that developed by Everett Hagen[2/]. According to Hagen, economic change results from the particular innovative reactions of some ethnic enclaves to downward shifts in status. Such shifts are compensated by economically innovative activities which produce an upward shift in relative status.

Religion and Ethnic Group Identity

Religion can bolster various forms of social identity, including both loyalty to a state and a sense of ethnicity. It can be used as a means of changing one's identity through a transcendant universalism. Among revivalist cults, religion can be used as a means of mobilizing members of a group to deal with a felt threat to group existence, or more directly, as a means of promising a change of status by a religiously oriented social revolution.

There are a number of issues related to how a particular religious tradition is shaped for use in identity maintenance. Folk religion very often takes the form of historical mythology about the uniqueness of the group or its genesis; such use of religion as part of ethnic identity is

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2/ Everett Hagen, "On the Theory of Social Change", Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, 1962.

clear. But the "ethnic" use of religion also occurs in adherence to sects within such theoretically unversalist faiths as Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. These can take on minor differences which become symbolically important as a matter of group loyalty. Religious differences have also often been exploited by states to enhance their power. Religious sects have been "nationalized" so as to diminish problems of divided loyalty.

Some religious systems directly validate the vital core-meaning which is lodged in a group's belief about its historical-mythological origin and past tribulations. When such a native religion is destroyed by conquest and the attempted imposition of the belief of their conquerors, the group identity can receive a very severe blow. There can be widespread loss of morale. Adult status rōles can be affected by attacks on the indigenous religious system. One collective form of social malaise or "anomie" to be found in situations of culture contact, therefore, is that due to the loss of sustaining belief which weakens individual as well as collective will to survive. The individual loses pride in self and a sense of maintaining status vis-ā-vis others. Without a sufficiently integrative religious system, some groups such as American Indians suffer from an inability to believe in themselves. They cannot draw sustenance from the Christian belief system of their conquerors without giving up their own identity. Some black Americans also are presently looking outside of Christianity for distinctive religious movements, such as the "Black Muslims", to forge a new, more positive sense of identity.

In essence all ethnic identity tends toward some sense of belonging which approximates a religious function for the member. Conversely religior serves the function of helping maintain separate ethnic identity.

Aesthetic Cultural Patterns in Identity Maintenance

Cultures develop peculiar patterns of aesthetic traditions used symbolically as a basis of self and social identity. In its broadest conception this includes tastes in food, types of dance, traditions, styles of clothing,emphasis of desirable physical characteristics and definitions of beauty.

In the times of ethnic resurgence, one sees greater emphasis on aesthetic features self-consciously related to social communication and communion. The "soul" concept and "black is beautiful" of black Americans are examples in point. These are patterns of implicit communication that form a basis of mutual acceptance and identity. There is a vocabulary of tangible and intangible ethnicity in gestures and speech style as well as formal language differences.

The religious, aesthetic and linguistic features of ethnic identity are related to questions of artistic creativity which should be examined in psycho-cultural terms. Modes of ethnic persistence are related to the capacity to maintain distinct art forms characteristic of groups rather than of individuals.

One of the worries and problems of the present emergence of a geographically mobile world society is a fear of increasing homogeneity. It is not only the cultures of remote parts of New Guinea or Brazil that are being lost but at least in part the distinctiveness of traditional national cultures everywhere. Perhaps the re-emergence of concern with local tradition among youth that we are witnessing as part of a concern with ethnic identity is a seeking out of remaining sources of variability among individuals caught in the convergences of a generalizing modern society.

Language and Identity Maintenance

Language is most often cited by anthropologists as a major component in the maintenance of a separate ethnic identity. Since the major means of social communication is by means of a language which feels "natural" to the users, it is undoubtedly true that language constitutes the most frequently found characteristic of a separate ethnic identity. But one occasionally finds that ethnicity is related to the symbol of a separate language rather than to the actual use of the language by all members of the ethnic group. The Irish use Gaelic as a symbol of their Celtic ethnicity as do the Scots, but speaking Gaelic is not essential to the actual maintenance of identity in either case. Where particular languages have transcended national frontiers as have English, French or Spanish, one's sense of ethnicity is not broadened to include all speakers of the language any more than ethnicity encompasses all believers in a common faith or people with similar life styles.

Peculiarly potent forms of identity maintenance can be related to minor linguistic differences as well as, secondarily, to styles of gestural communication. There is a wide variety of ways in which language or gestural patterning are related to identity maintenance. Changing patterns within particular groups relate to the positive or negative sanctioning of specific dialects. Conflict between local and central political control is sometimes symbolically indicated by the degree to which local dialect patterns are maintained. This is apparent in European countries such as Italy, or in such pluralistic states as Indonesia. In England there is recent re-emphasis on the maintenance of local speech patterns. Political and economic sanctioning toward proper English as a sign of status has lessened in Britain so that one finds it no longer as necessary to adopt "standard" speech or intonation in order to apply for a particular job.

In sum, the briefest definition of ethnicity can be formulated as follows: Ethnicity is a subjective sense of continuity in belonging plus a response to characteristics ascribed by the host society.

What constitutes an ethnic identity is the subjective symbolic use of any aspect of culture as distinguishing one's group as unique. It is necessary to study how this subjective sense of ethnic identity is a continuing response to minority status in migration as well as in other social situations.

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES AND SOCIAL CONFORMITY OR DEVIANCE

If one wishes to examine both the subjective experience of self and ethnic identity as related to either conforming or deviant behaviour, one has to examine identity theory in relation to four major concepts: differential socialization; differential rôle expectancies; reference group definitions; and selective permeability in learning. These are inter-related concepts that have to do with processes of socialization in childhood within a cultural or sub-cultural minority setting as well as with processes influencing the maintenance of identity during adulthood in a changing environment, as in the case of migration.

In previous work I have found it theoretically useful to consider reference group definitions and rôle expectations together[3/]. Other concepts and emphases are presented in the papers that follow. It is obvious that there is as yet no consensus in social science theory. There are convergences of interest, but social science itself remains pluralistic in its disciplinary traditions.

Differential Socialization

There is little question that there are modal or statistical variations in behaviour among groups of different ethnic background. The experience of having one's basic human potential socialized in society can be radically different from one culture to the next. This differential socialization creates differential emphasis on personality control mechanisms which influence behaviour. Yet beyond these non-conscious processes, no matter what the cultural context, indidivuals also learn to differentiate self-consciously between behaviour socially condoned and behaviour considered anti-social. A further refinement is the subject's definition of social and anti-social behaviour which may or may not be consistent with prevalent norms in either donor or host country. The "cultural conflict" theory of deviancy, discussed in a following chapter by Shlomo Shoham is based on this difference.

The culture conflict theory is insufficient to the extent that it remains "sociological", neglecting the fact that it is not simply a question of differences in social perception that may be involved, but

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3/ See especially the use of these concepts in DeVos and Wagatsuma, Japan's Invisible Race, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967). The authors found a high rate of juvenile delinquency in a social minority enclave of former religiously and socially segregated pariahs called Eta whose descendants now comprise 2 per cent of the Japanese population.

also differences in personality structure which may themselves lead to discord between members of minority and majority cultures. In some situations a higher rate of social deviancy may not be simply related to mutual misconceptions of the limits of socially acceptable behaviour, but to the inter-adjustive difficulties that surface in a migratory situation. In the Puerto Rican situation in New York, for example, socialization problems in the primary family are more apt to result in criminal or delinquent behaviour in New York than in Puerto Rico where there are secondary community forces which reduce the surfacing of delinquent tendencies. The migratory situation in the case of Puerto Rican migrants, in contrast for example with Japanese migrants does not result in the establishment of integrative communities reinforcing conformist socialization within the family. The result is a higher delinquency rate in second generation Puerto Rican youth, contrasted with a very low rate in Japanese.

One must take into account not only possible tensions between cultural traditions, but also the different patterns of impulse control, readiness to defy social authority, etc., which have their origin in a cultural tradition of childhood socialization which precedes contact of the young with the majority society.

Reference Group Theory and Processes of Social Sanctioning

Concepts provided by reference group theory in social psychology can be particularly useful in understanding the nature of behavioural conformity and deviance. If reference group theory is complemented by theories of super-ego formation and normal psycho-social development, it becomes a very powerful conceptual system for understanding the informal sanctioning of behaviour within particular ethnic groups. However, some sociologists studying deviant behaviour have unnecessarily narrowed the focus to situational sanctioning by actual groups, neglecting internalized sanctions only secondarily influenced by present group membership. To date, the theory has been most used to explain anti-social influences on delinquent peer groups, neglecting the more psychologically-based inquiry into why only particular children select deviant peer groups. The operation of a peer group must also be examined in a psycho-cultural framework. Examination of the relative priority as sanctioning agents of internalized norms, of family, and of reference group is pertinent to studies both of pre-adults and of migrant adults. Personality as well as situational variables must be assessed in psycho-dynamic terms.

Analysis on a psychological as well as a sociological level brings into greater focus the operations both of internalized sanctions, and of those functioning face-to-face in group situations or through punishment and reward meted out by legal authority. The relative readiness to commit certain types of behaviour which are considered anti-social is directly related to culturally transmitted sanctioning patterns which, on the one hand, impose restraints and, on the other hand, act as inducements to behaviour. The most internalized forms of sanctions are those which have actually become part of the personality

structure and work fairly automatically, needing only periodic external reinforcement. Such patterns of internalized taboos or "compulsive" behaviour result from the socialization patterns that occur in every human culture as part of social learning. They are subjectively experienced as an external ethical or moral system and usually buttressed by religious beliefs and practices. The sense of anxiety aroused by potential violation may operate without the direct reinforcement of group processes (see Column A on chart).

Sanctioning Systems

Form of Sanction — outside: restraint-punishment or inducement-reward; inside: concerns within the individual over the consequences of behaviour for his sense of self

Locus	A. Internal	B. Ingroup	C. Total
outside agent	a) automatic reactions (anxiety)	c) group regulated processes negative or positive reactions to a member's behaviour	e) formal legal sanctions authority regulated
inner concern	b) a sense of self consistency	d) a sense of belonging and identity with a group	f) an impersonal sense of proper social behaviour regardless of situation or social context
orientation	towards self consistency (guilt)	toward appearance to others (shame)	group betrayal (guilt)	group dishonour (shame)

Beyond the operation of automatic processes (a) on the "internal" level are to be found conscious internal tensions (b) over the consequences of behaviour governed by human propensities for a sense of guilt or shame related to one's concept of self. An individual's definition of self can be violated by the commission of particular acts. Such acts, inconsistent with the self image, are either primarily oriented toward internal standards (guilt) or outer appearance (shame).

The next level of sanctioning (Column B) is more related to reference group processes (c) and a social identity (d) which may be more or less distinct from a basic sense of self (b). (This level of selfhood includes one's ethnic identity, be it based on religion, language or a sense of ancestry as discussed above.) On this level the individual

is prohibited from the commission of acts not only by the reactions of his peers (c) but by a danger to his sense of group identity (d). This identity is related to a rôle expectation defined by his ethnic group, a professional or occupational group or a social class. It may be the rôle of citizen of a nation which claims for itself an ultimate belonging. An individual conforms to expectations because to fail to do so causes guilt over violating his sense of identity with his group or shame over bringing dishonour or disrespect on his group. There is on this level the possibility of conflicting loyalties to groups with different standards of conduct and directives for action. These must be examined in detail to find the vectors determining conformist or deviant behaviour.

This intermediate, "in group" level of sanctioning (B) explored in terms of identity or group belonging is sometimes neglected by theorists who simply see sanctioning operative either as the internal effects of conscience (A) on the one hand, or the threat of punishment by external authority on the other (C). One has to examine a more complex pattern of sanctioning on three levels as indicated in the diagram.

Selective Permeability in Learning

Research on social deviancy cannot be separated from general theoretical concern with a psychological theory of learning in both adults and children. For example, it has been a major problem in the United States that the school system fails to induce successful participation of given ethnic groups in the learning process. Problems are particularly apparent in such segments of the population migrating to the United States' northern cities as Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and American blacks from the rural south. A serious question in Europe today is whether similar problems have or will arise in the second generation of specific ethnic minorities.

Processes of "selective permeability" seem to occur in picking up a new culture. The individual in maintaining his sense of self as a member of a given group learns to "take in" information from the outside world selectively in such a way that he prevents injury to his essential concept of himself, or of his sense of being part of a given group. Ethnic identity in situations of continual cultural contact necessitates psychological mechanisms that allow the individual to maintain ethnic distinctions in symbolic, as well as actual, forms. Such ethnic distinctions can be "dangerously" narrowed by acculturation and the too-ready acceptance of cultural elements from other cultures. Therefore, ethnic minorities, whether in their own "territories" or going abroad in migratory situations have a need to maintain themselves by remaining selectively impermeable to certain experiences that might change them in such a way as to threaten their group identity or sense of social self. Learning processes, when too successful, might disrupt an essential concept of ethnic belonging. The well-known criminological theories of differential association and differential identification have to be modified to include the psychological processes that select those aspects of the environment that can be integrated into one's sense of social self while warding off those elements of another culture that can be disruptive to integrity.

The Genesis of Deviant Attitudes in Primary Family Relationships

Subsisting with all the foregoing concepts related to ethnic minority status are general, social psychological considerations of the relationship of the primary family to socially deviant attitudes. Previous anthropological work in which I participated in Japan found significant differences in the family reaction patterns of adolescents considered delinquent compared with those conforming adequately to social norms. Difficulties of lack of marital cohesiveness, lack of love toward a given child, inconsistency in discipline, neglect, and latent or manifest patterns of antagonistic attitudes toward authority were significantly more visible in the parents of delinquent adolescents. Similar results are available from many cultures, e.g., the well-known Glueck studies and the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute's recent work on Puerto Rican delinquents.

It can be hypothesized that the minority status of parents in some cultural groups would aggravate such already present problems producing a higher delinquency rate in children - in other instances the minority status may induce new problems in community or family structure which were only latent previously. Therefore, the conceptual issues raised by migration and ethnicity have to be related to what happens to the family life of migrants and to their offspring in the host social milieu.

The Maintenance of Cultural Pluralism in Assimilative Situations

The paper by Shlomo Shoham relates to the unique ethnic situation of present-day Israel. The principal focus of the society is the creating of a Jewish State in which Jews, no matter what their cultural experiences since the Diaspora, are to be "re-assimilated" on the basis of their overriding self-identification as Jews. Jews from Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas who had been living for generations in some form of ethnic minority status, are gathering together to form a majority society. Difficulties in assimilation are due not to problems of differences in ethnic identity but rather to differences in past cultural experiences which have caused differences in how their Jewish ethnicity became defined for them. Shoham, using as his central concept Thorsten Sellin's notion of culture conflict, sketches out possible research in the area of social deviancy related to the differential experiences of Jews migrating from secularized, Western cultures and those from religiously organized, "oriental" cultures.

Israel is, in effect, a society based on the ideal of an overriding ethnic identity which is difficult to separate from a religious sense of continuity. Consequently there is a discouragement of non-Jewish immigration and indigenous non-Jews have in some respects been given only a secondary citizenship. Therefore, despite emphasis on assimilation, Israel remains oriented toward an actual future of pluralism. Even Israel social science research tends to consider deviancy in the Arab minority groups as a problem separate from that of difficulties in assimilation among Jews of vastly diverse cultural experiences.

The second paper, by Grygier and Ribordy, reports on the adaptation of four groups of European migrants in Canada, a society that for economic, political, as well as social reasons, generally welcomes migrants as new citizens. It is interesting to note how the entering migrants from different cultural backgrounds respond quite differently to the host society. For example, Grygier and Ribordy conclude that one cannot make general policy decisions prematurely in regard to the encouragement or discouragement of particular patterns of adaptation taken by immigrants; one must gain a longitudinal perspective over more than one generation. For example, the Italians form more separate ethnic enclaves which might be viewed as preventing social adaptation. But seen longitudinally, these enclaves actually aid Italians in making an eventual positive adaptation.

The variety of adaptive patterns is also emphasized in the next paper, by Ronald Taft. But he, writing about Australia, an assimilationist country, examines the differences more in terms of individual psychology and socio-educational class than of ethnic background. (One must note that Australia has an ethnically very restrictive immigration policy.) Concentrating on second generation immigrants Taft finds similar possibilities for a successful social adaptation as among multi-generation natives. He does not find empirical or theoretical reasons to suggest that a bi-cultural background creates problems of cultural marginality.

The last paper in this group, by Eugeen Roosens, is a proposal for the study of the adaptation of migrant families in Belgium, which has had neither a conscious ideological tradition nor a long-range policy concerning immigration. What is occurring in Belgium, where the migrant population has reached approximately 7 per cent of the total, is in many respects representative of what has been occurring in Europe generally in the last ten years. Without deliberate intent Western European industrial societies have in most instances solved social problems of internal population increase and have stabilized birth rates. But they have been increasing their standard of living through expanding industrialization, so they now find themselves shorthanded in unskilled categories of labour. Increasingly they have been drawing in foreign workers from the less industrialized Mediterranean areas, without anticipating the social changes that are to result from this process. These changes are inevitable when an increasing percentage of a population is foreign born.

Roosens' proposal for an adaptation study in Belgium brings out directly an issue which has been apparent in the previous waves of migration to and within the United States. Once a migratory population reaches a certain density, it becomes visible to the host community Reactive attitudes related to physical or cultural similarities and differences develop within that community. Among Belgians Roosens notes the different social attitudes toward northern Italians and Algerians. Since the Algerians are considered to belong to a different race, they are responded to with much less receptivity than are immigrants from Europe. The influence of these attitudes is bound to have repercussions on how adaptation takes place. The question arises: can assimilation

in Belgium take place across what is perceived as a racial barrier? Similar questions remain to be answered elsewhere in Europe. In Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, to name some of the other countries with assimilative legal policies, there is strong ambivalence or resistance on the part of segments of the native populations.

The Maintenance or Reactive Development of a Separate Ethnic Identity in Racial Minorities

The final papers deal with the development of black identity in several settings. In the New World, which received the forced migration of slaves, racial separation still marks both those areas where the black population is a minority - the United States and Brazil - and the Caribbean, where blacks are a majority of the population. Social stratification according to colour still occurs to some degree in the Caribbean, where recent political moves toward independence have removed the socially dominant whites from political control. The modes of traditional racial accommodation and partial assimilation differ from island to island. The United States is attempting to move out of a racial caste system of social relations. Brazil has its own form of non-assimilation and social-economic disadvantages accorded to its black minority.

A complex pattern is found in the former colonial countries, where black immigrants come both from the territories to which slavery had dispersed them and, especially in France, from Africa.

The reports by Bastide on Brazil, Sutton on Caribbean migrants, and Raveau on France, present specific samples of this highly complex topic of racial conflict and accommodation. Roger Bastide's paper is not about recent migrants but about a type of social adaptation that has been working itself out over many generations in Brazil. It is about the dilemma posed by the maintenance of a type of separate identity among Brazilian blacks, reinforced by the attitudes of Brazilians who are "sociologically" white even if not genetically totally European. Bastide's paper describes the rôle of "ethnic" religious beliefs in the personal adjustment and social adaptation of the black Brazilian to the total Brazilian social system.

In the next paper Constance Sutton examines the more recent migration from the Caribbean to North America of blacks motivated by economic pressures. She discusses the conflicting pressures felt by the immigrants to distinguish themselves from and to identify with the native black population. Traditionally, "acculturation" (merging into the host black community) indicated a loss of status for West Indians. But more recently the black movement, a product of North American blacks, has contributed to a positive value of black identity. The nature of this identity and its eventual consequences are still evolving.

François Raveau examines in greater detail one indication of differential experience among black immigrants of different nativity. Studying psychotic delusional patterns, he finds an inverse relationship

between delusions related to France, and political independence of the land of origin. He suggests that a sense of group belonging might permit certain tensions to be dissolved within the group that would otherwise be referred to the surrounding society.

MIGRATION AND CRIME IN ISRAEL:

A RESEARCH PROPOSAL

by

Shlomo Shoham, Martin Laskin and Esther Segal

INTRODUCTION

This paper proposes a study of the relationship among immigration, social integration and crime in Israel. Whenever any group migrates to a different cultural setting, the behaviour of its members may either deviate from or conform to the accepted norms of the host society, depending largely upon the extent to which the group becomes integrated into the new cultural setting.

If we look upon the faulty or incomplete internalization of the norms of the host society as the primary causative factor of individual deviant behaviour, and if we can regard social integration as the critical process by which the socialization of the immigrant takes place, we have then constructed a two-step process that is necessary if conforming behaviour is to be the outcome. The process involves internalization of the norms of the host society by the immigrant, which is achieved through his social integration into the host society. This results in conformity to, and psychological acceptance of the norms and values of the host society.

The basic assumption is that the adjustment processes of second and third generation immigrants are the focus of different, more complex problems than those faced by the original immigrants.

The dependent variable of our conceptual scheme is acculturation. The independent variables are described in detail below.

1) The first major independent variable concerns the conception of the second generation immigrant by various groups within the host country. The following four categories within this variable are suggested:

1.1) the real self-image: the subjective self-concept of the second generation immigrant;
1.2) the ideal self-image: a certain goal-oriented image that the subject sets for himself;
1.3) the real social image: the image transmitted to the subject by the various reference and membership groups of the host country;
1.4) the ideal social image held by some reference and membership groups: an idealized image of the second generation immigrant.

A discord or content discrepancy between two corresponding categories may result in one of six typologies. The hypothetical model is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

	real self image	ideal self image	real social image	ideal social image
real self image	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX			
ideal self image	resentment	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX		
real social image	technical discord	self de-preciation	XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX	
ideal social image	over-rated expecta-tions	ideological conflict	disenchant-ment	XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX

Resentment results from a discrepancy between the immigrant's real abilities and his idealized conception of his worth. This may lead to a "sour grapes" type of rejection of the host society whose achievement pyramid is too steep for the immigrant to climb.

Technical discord is the result of the immigrant's conception of a role differing markedly from the host society's conception of the same role.

Over-rated expectations of the host society are the result of the difference between the idealized image of the value to society of a given immigrant group, and the reality as conceived by the immigrants themselves.

Self-depreciation may be illustrated by the example of the Algerian who looks upon France as his mother country and regards himself as a standard bearer of French culture, but is looked down upon by the metropolitan French as a lowly pied noir.

Ideological conflict may occur, for example, when the ideal self image of a Zionist differs from the social image of what a Zionist should be.

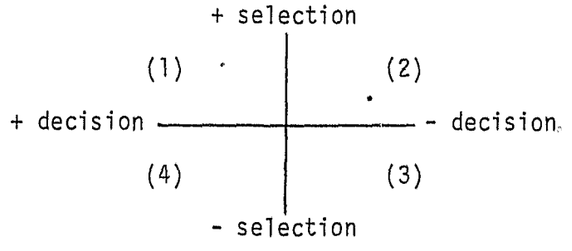
Disenchantment occurs when the expectations of a given immigrant group prove to be unfounded in fact.

This two dimensional model is supplemented by a third dimension. This is the conflict between the perceptions of the second generation immigrant and that of his parents.

2) The second independent variable concerns the acceptance of the second generation immigrant by the host society. The following model relates to the apparent motivation of the first generation. One

continuum ranges from positive decision in one extreme (e.g., migration because of ideological motivations) to negative decision in the other (e.g., expulsion from the country for political reasons). The other continuum relates to the factor of selection by the host country, one extreme being positive selection (based on positive criteria such as acquired skills) and the other negative selection (based on ethnic or demographical variables such as colour, religion, etc.)

The intersection of these two continua produces four hypothetical "property spaces".



This scheme enables a convenient rating of acceptance, ranging from the optimal type of acceptance (positive decision and positive selection) to the lowest index of acceptance (positive decision and negative selection).

3) The final variable concerns the indices of rejection of relevant groups of the host country by the second generation immigrant, and is the complementary counterpart to acceptance. The rejection of the normative structure of the host society cannot be expressed only by official crime and delinquency statistics, but also must be expressed by the more complete range of deviations which are not necessarily transgressions of the criminal law.

In order to explain deviation among first or second generation immigrants, the emphasis should be placed on a factor or factors that tend to block the immigrant's social integration and consequent conformity to social norms. According to Sellin, a main blocking factor in this process is "Conflict of Conduct Norms"1/, which is a result of culture conflict.

The Conflict of Conduct Norms

According to Sellin's theory, conflict of norms exists when more or less divergent rules of conduct govern specific life situations. One of the ways this can come about is the immigration of members of one cultural group into another. Culture conflict can also be looked

1/ See Thorsten Sellin, Culture Conflict and Crime, A Report of the Sub-Committee on Personality and Culture, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1938.

at in a wider perspective as a by-product of secularization. Sellin says that culture conflicts are "... the natural outgrowth of processes of social differentiation which produce an infinity of social groupings, each with its own definitions of life situations, its own interpretations of social relationships, its own ignorance or misunderstanding of the social values of other groups. The transformation of a culture from a homogeneous and well integrated type to a heterogeneous and disintegrated type is therefore accompanied by an increase in conflict situations"2/.

THE ISRAELI SITUATION

We now have before us two aspects of culture conflict. One is the conflict between traditional and modern within a group that is undergoing secularization, and the other is the external cultural clash between immigrant and host cultures. In Israel these two aspects merge in the case of the oriental immigrant3/. Not only does the oriental immigrant experience the conflict of Eastern and Western cultures when he comes to Israel, he also experiences the conflicts generated by the changes within his own group as it moves from traditional towards secular. Secularization is felt as an external pressure in the form of a clash between traditional and secular societies, and also as a result of the internal transformation of the traditional oriental group itself into a group possessing the characteristics of a secular entity.

It can be argued either that the internal conflict is one that has been generated by external pressure, or that the seeds of secularization already existed in the oriental community itself before it was transported to the Israeli setting, which serves, therefore, as a catalyst for the process of secularization. Both arguments may be valid, depending upon the extent of secularization existing within the immigrant's home country.

Secularization, Culture Conflict, Crime and the Family

The relationship between secularization, culture conflict and crime becomes most apparent when we consider the place of the family in this process. In both traditional, and to a lesser degree in secular society, the family serves as a mediating group in transmitting social norms to the individual. The family is therefore a main, if not the most important agent of socialization and social control. Especially in traditional society, where the functions of education, socialization and social control are almost entirely carried out within the family. The family in its rôle as a socializing agent undergoes great changes and stress during the process of secularization.

2/ Ibid., p. 66.

3/ In Israel, migrants from North Africa and the Middle East are known as "oriental".

Shoham, in discussing crime and social deviation, emphasizes the rôle of the family in this process when he says that:

> The main problem of culture conflict with respect to crime and immigration arises with the second generation. The native born of immigrant parentage or those who came very young are the most prone to suffer from the effects of their parents' immigration. The conduct norms of their parents diverge as a rule from the prevailing norms of the receiving country. The process of integration may also injure and sometimes shatter the social and economic status of the head of the family. This and other effects of the process of integration may weaken the cohesion of the family unit and this hampers the family control over the young. All these factors presumably increase the susceptibility of the children of immigrant parents to absorb the so-called "street culture" and to become juvenile delinquents4/.

Cultural Differences between Oriental and Western Communities in Israel

Raphael Patai notes four general characteristics of Oriental Middle Eastern culture that have been incorporated into the lives of the Jews living in these lands5/.

The first of these is "familism". Much more of the daily life takes place within the confines of the family than it does in the western world, and individuality is not stressed as it is in the western family. The oriental family differs from its western counterpart in that it is patrilocal, patriarchal, patrilineal, extended and ideally endogamous. The most fundamental difference between oriental and western families lies in the way that the family views its rôles in terms of education and socialization of the young.

The basic purpose of education in a western family is to make the child an independent individual as soon as possible, so that he may succeed in a society where the basic unit of competition for economic and status rewards is the individual. In oriental society, on the other hand, the extended family is the most important unit of competition, and thus the aim of the family is to make the child into an obedient and conforming member. Thus what is functional in one culture may be dysfunctional in another and when a group such as the oriental Jews comes

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4/ Shoham, S., "Immigration, Ethnicity and Ecology as related to Juvenile Delinquency in Israel", Israel Studies in Criminology, S. Shoham (Ed.), Tel Aviv, 1970, pp. 77-78.

5/ See: Patai, Raphael, Cultures in Conflict, Herzl Institute, New York, 1958.

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1 OF 3

to a western society such as Israel, it is not only at a competitive disadvantage with the westerners but also comes into conflict with western norms regarding family structure.

A second aspect of oriental culture that may cause culture conflict among immigrants in Israel is the typical oriental emphasis upon "personal contact". In traditional oriental culture most contacts among individuals are on a personal and intimate basis, even in business and official transactions. It is almost unthought of for a traditional oriental to have social contact with another individual on the fragmented and impersonal basis that is characteristic of western society. Most of the absorption of immigrants in Israel is carried out by impersonal bureaucratic organizations. This framework precludes those primary relationships which are so important for oriental Jews. This shift from personal to impersonal bureaucratic relationships may upset the balance of ego-identity because the organization of social rôles around which the ego is built no longer serves as a guide in the new setting.

Aesthetics is a third area where oriental and western cultures clash. Among the oriental Jews, every article must be embellished, even if it is designed to serve only a utilitarian purpose. Among the Europeans on the other hand, aestheticism is largely absent. The Europeans have a tendency to look at objects more from a utilitarian than an aesthetic point of view. Western man even regards time in a utilitarian sense and divides his life into periods of minutes and seconds, whereas in oriental culture the concept of time does not play an important rôle. These differences between the "tool" orientation of western society and the "symbol" orientation of oriental society causes great disadvantages to the oriental community in Israel when they try to compete with the Europeans for material rewards.

Religion is the fourth area of culture where inter-cultural differences are marked. In oriental culture, religion pervades every aspect of life, and the supernatural has greater importance than the natural since it is believed that the supernatural controls nature. The strong belief in afterlife makes poor people better able to put up with worldly deprivations and less anxious to improve their conditions. The European outlook, on the other hand, is basically secular. In western society an individual can be deeply involved in religion although his involvement does not necessarily influence his behaviour or attitudes in other spheres of social existence. The emphasis that the oriental Jew places upon religion extends to all areas of his life and gives him a more passive outlook. When he must co-exist with the western view of life that seeks to manipulate nature rather than to be controlled by the supernatural, conflict may result.

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

The proposed study of culture conflict amongst oriental immigrants is based on an examination of the acculturation of the immigrant. Acculturation may be defined as integration from a cultural point of

view, the process by which migrants learn and adopt the norms and values of the host society through various reference groups. The study will attempt to test acculturation both directly and on the level of individual adaptation. A measurement of acculturation should reveal the main areas of social friction and culture conflict, which may then be statistically related to the occurrence of crime.

The indices for testing the group acculturation of oriental immigrants will be:

Ecology (ecological factors, urbanization)
Social image
Group cohesion
Cultural gap between immigrants and host society
Economic factors
Structure of population (homogeneous vs. heterogeneous)

The indices for testing the individual adaptation of oriental immigrants will be:

Age, sex, period of time in country
Self concept according to status, education, vocation
Normative orientation
Socio-economic position
Level of education
Level of individual expectations in education, economic status
Perception of mobility
Attitudes about status
Tool orientation vs. symbol orientation
Traditionalism vs. secularization

These indices of acculturation will be tested separately at both behavioural and normative levels.

The Hypotheses

1) There should be a high correlation between adjustment on the personal and on the group level (the level of acculturation of the immigrant will be positively correlated with the indices of adjustment).

2) Deviant behaviour among the second generation of immigrants will occur when personal and group acculturation levels are not correlated and will be expected to increase as the degree of correlation between the two levels decreases.

3) A high rate of delinquency among second generation immigrants who are in the intermediate stages of acculturation is to be expected.

4) A higher rate of delinquency among the second generation immigrants who are characterized by a high degree of acculturation at the normative level and a low degree in the objective indices of personal adaptation is to be expected.

5) As the gap between the generations increases so will the incidence of delinquency among the second generation immigrants.

6) The gap between the immigrant and the absorbing society will determine the level of acculturation and the rate of delinquency. As the gap increases, the level of acculturation will decrease and the rate of delinquency among the second generation will increase.

Research Method

The subjects will be given closed questionnaires which will include two parts. The first will consist of background questions covering demographic, ecological, socio-economic and other objective variables.

The second part will include items which will test attitudes held in relation to the indices of acculturation. The items will be in the form of scales, which will rate each subject according to degree of acculturation. Each subject will be characterized by four profiles of acculturation.

Group acculturation - on the normative level
Group acculturation - on the behavioural level
Personal adaptation - on the normative level
Personal adaptation - on the behavioural level

The personal profiles will be determined by the grades obtained for each of the items which are included in the different variables. In addition, each of the subjects will be characterized by a general profile which will indicate his place in each of the indices of social adjustment.

In order to test the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, a pretest will be given to a group of subjects similar to the research population. A selection of items will be made through an item analysis of the pretest. Only those items that differentiate to a significant degree will be included in the questionnaire.

The Research Population

The population of the four groups described below will be selected randomly, using the national population register or police records. The four groups will be:

Group A - The research group will comprise second generation oriental immigrants who are over 18 and who have been convicted of at least one crime.

Group B - The research and comparison group will comprise parents of Group A subjects. This group will be used as a companion group to Group A and as a control group for Group D.

Group C - The control group will comprise youths without criminal connections but who are in other ways similar to the delinquent group, Group A.

Group D - Will comprise the parents of Group C and will be used as a companion group for the Groups B and C. The subjects will be chosen according to the following criteria: age, sex, amount of time in Israel, and type of dwelling.

Methodology

This research is an exploratory study and may be defined as ex post facto research.

Interpretation of the items will be carried out according to the Guttman System (SSA), which is based on intercorrelations between the variables. This system involves a graphic presentation of the interrelationships between the items, indicated by the proximity of the related variables. This system will enable the identification of personal and group profiles and also will enable the prediction of delinquency amongst an immigrant population.

INTEGRATION, ASSIMILATION AND CULTURE CONFLICT:

A STUDY OF FOUR IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

by

Tadeusz Grygier and F.X. Ribordy

Introduction

It has long been taken for granted that different groups of immigrants become integrated within their adoptive society at differing rates and with varying degrees of culture conflict. Integration, in this context, can be defined in operational terms as: "partaking in the life of the country productively (economically and socially) and to one's advantage (making use of the country's opportunities for advancement, its culture, social services and related features)". The reasons for the varying speeds and degrees of success with which this process is accomplished have never been fully understood. This paper represents an attempt to examine the multiplicity of characteristics which affect the integration of immigrants in a host country. It is based on two empirical studies, one carried out in Toronto[1/], the other in Montreal[2/].

Originally, the Toronto study was intended to examine the apparent failure of community services to meet the needs of Toronto immigrants, but it soon became clear that this relationship could not be studied in isolation and that the use or non-use of social services is just one indication of the extent of immigrant involvement in community life. The initial focus of the study was therefore broadened to include an assessment of the most significant factors affecting integration. At the same time, it was necessary to test the operational definition of integration which had been selected for the study.

Four specific groups of immigrants were chosen for the study: British, German, Hungarian and Italian families who emigrated to Canada during a period two to seven years prior to the commencement of the study and in which there were children attending grade one in the local school system. The arbitrary nature of the sample can be readily recognized but unfortunately it was unavoidable. A total of 400 interviews was conducted, with 50 couples from each of the four ethnic groups. In addition, 27 adolescents, both boys and girls, were interviewed.

The Montreal study was based on official police statistics and centred on criminality of Italian immigrants and their Canadian-born children. It led to an analysis of the transformation of the types of offences as a phenomenon of cultural mutation. Eighty-seven Italians arrested by the Montreal police in 1967 were later interviewed. A scale which measured the degree of alienation from Italian culture was developed as a correlate of the data on change in the nature of criminality.

1/ T. Grygier and J. Spencer, The Integration of Immigrants in Toronto. Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1966.

2/ F.X. Ribordy, Conflit de culture et criminalité des Italiens à Montréal. Thèse de doctorat en Criminologie, Université de Montréal, 1970.

The concept of integration

The following definition of integration was accepted by the Unesco Conference in Havana in 1956: "a dynamic process in which values are enriched through mutual acquaintance, accommodation and understanding... a process in which both the immigrants and their new compatriots find an opportunity to make their own distinctive contributions". This process is only one of the many which have been fostered in the field of immigration. It is enhanced by the Canadian concept of the "mosaic of cultures" just as assimilation of many cultures in a rapidly changing society has led to the concept of the "melting pot".

In the present study three factors were considered in attempting to assess the level of integration. These were: the degree of involvement, economic and social, each immigrant has with Canadian society; the degree of satisfaction he derives from making use of opportunities, facilities and services available to him in Canada; and the economic and social contributions he makes to Canada as the result of this involvement.

Originally, the questions in the interviewing schedule were designed to assess three aspects of integration - economic, social and cultural - in accordance with the operational definition cited above. In the end, analysis of the data, particularly by the factorial method, revealed a more pronounced distinction between subjective and objective integration. We found, therefore, two distinct factors of integration rather than either three or one. The subjective factor consisted in feelings and attitudes about integration; the objective factor was composed of behaviour patterns, such as reading Canadian newspapers regularly, having friends outside the immigrant's own ethnic group, and making use of Canadian agencies for assistance with problems such as child behaviour.

The relationship between subjective and objective integration was found to be moderately positive (the tetrachoric coefficient of correlation was .35 for men and .25 for women). It must be concluded that actual involvement in the Canadian way of life is only slightly connected with the extent to which an immigrant feels satisfied and at home in this country. Some immigrants, particularly those with high expectations, are well integrated according to objective criteria, but measurement of their subjective attitudes indicates that they do not feel integrated. Other immigrants feel at home in Canada even though they are not, by objective standards, integrated. An example of this is the case of the Italian immigrant who adjusts to Canadian life by becoming closely integrated in a fairly isolated Italian community.

Some of the interview questions dealt with objective economic integration, for example, "Are you employed now and are you able to use the skills in which you were trained?" Other questions examined the subjective feeling of being integrated economically, "Are you satisfied with your present job?"

The contrast between objective and subjective integration was also reflected in other parts of the interview. For example, the reading of Canadian newspapers indicated objective integration, and questions related to the respondent's general feeling of being integrated in Canadian society served as indices of subjective integration.

The following items, arranged in rank order, showed high correlations with "objective integration":

a) present competence in English sufficient for maintaining social contact with native Canadians,

b) reading Canadian newspapers,

c) some knowledge of English on arrival,

d) English education (in England or at least "Basic English" level acquired in Canada),

e) previous level of general education,

f) tolerance of adolescent girls' going out in the evening,

g) "index of integrative friendships" (tendency to choose as friends native Canadians or members of ethnic group other than the respondent's own),

h) tolerance of adolescent boys' going out in the evening,

i) current employment other than in own ethnic group,

j) city background,

k) use of Canadian agencies in child care,

l) maintaining contact with local school,

m) lack of unemployment,

n) tolerance of "dating" for girls,

o) subjective feeling of being integrated (not index of subjective integration, which correlated even less),

p) lack of participation in own ethnic organizations or groups.

Other items had lower, but not necessarily non-significant, correlations.

The following items correlated with the "index of subjective integration":

a) feeling of being a part of Canadian community and of Canada being the respondent's new home,

b) enjoyment of Canadian opportunities,

c) intention to settle in Canada,

d) acquisition of new skills, education or business in Canada,

e) satisfaction with the present job.

Correlates of Integration

a) The level of education

Education for the purposes of this study was measured in terms of the number of years of formal schooling completed by the immigrant. It is recognized that this method fails to take into account many forms of technical and vocational training, but the method is relatively objective and so more suitable for international comparisons.

The findings indicate that a high level of education does not in itself ensure better integration. Nevertheless, healthy objective integration takes place when a good education is combined with the following factors:

i) successful transplanting of skills,
ii) fair knowledge of the language,
iii) determination to know more about the new environment through reading,
iv) willingness to reach out to the receiving society through the formation of friendships with the native population or with members of other ethnic groups.

It became obvious that a positive relationship does exist between the level of education and freedom from unemployment. This correlation is not as high as might be expected: the majority of male immigrants experience periods of unemployment during the first years after their arrival. Nevertheless the rate of unemployment is higher among immigrants with a lower level of education and among those possessing fewer skills.

The correlation coefficients show that a high level of education has even less effect on "subjective integration". In fact, respondents with little formal schooling often claim to find opportunities in the new country even when these opportunities are scarce. They also regard themselves as members of the new community in spite of their language difficulties.

b) Employment

Careful examination of employment patterns among the immigrant subjects resulted in the following conclusions:

i) Obtaining employment, an essential part of the process of integration, is affected by the ethnicity of the immigrants to a much greater extent than was originally assumed. In fact, this ethnicity plays a more influential rôle than that of education, acquisition of trade skills in the country of origin, or even the acquisition of new trade skills, professional qualifications or an independent business in the host country.

ii) Upward occupational or economic mobility does not seem to depend entirely on any single determinant.

iii) Job satisfaction does not seem to increase when immigrants are working for or with people of their own ethnic group.

iv) A strong reciprocal influence exists between the enjoyment of opportunities offered by the new country and the immigrant's subjective feelings towards integration into the local community.

c) The employment of married immigrant women

Our data show that employment, especially in an environment where the majority of the workers are of a different ethnic origin, is a positive factor in the integration of immigrant women. These women tend to play a more active rôle in society than women who are not employed.

It would, however, be a mistake to confuse integration with happiness. In fact, there is a strong tendency among the working women in the sample to be dissatisfied with their jobs. On the other hand, a high positive correlation was found between employment and the purchase of a house. The purchase of a house may be regarded as a sign that the immigrant has formed a permanent link to his new country.

d) The relationship between school and immigrant parents

It was assumed originally that there is a relationship between the degree of integration achieved by the immigrant families and their acceptance of, and involvement in, the Canadian school system.

Although this broad hypothesis was disproved, several important conclusions did emerge from the study. A contrast was observed between measures of subjective and objective integration. Acceptance of the school system, most often based on lack of knowledge or involvement, did not prove to be a factor in the objective measure of integration. Parents who felt integrated subjectively showed a tendency towards acceptance of the school, but this seemed to indicate a non-critical attitude rather than approval. On the other hand, immigrant parents

who became involved in the school tended to be better integrated on objective measurements than those who did not. Thus the two parts of the hypothesis proved to be unrelated and no finding could support both of them.

e) Child adjustment

Our definition of child maladjustment was based on the reports of the parents rather than on independent assessments, such as school records. But it is interesting to observe that only twelve husbands and fourteen wives out of the total sample of two hundred families indicated concern over their children's adjustment. These 26 parents formed the study group.

Analysis of the indices of integration shows that the study group had a higher degree of objective integration than the group as a whole; on the other hand, they had a lower degree of subjective integration. One can deduce from this that lack of subjective integration on the part of the study group indicates a subjective rejection of Canadian values and is not just a result of the composition of the group itself. It follows that families that reject the culture in which they live tend to produce maladjusted children. It is also probable that rapid integration, that is the quick assimilation of the overt characteristics of the new society, may be harmful in the long run: integration may be only superficial, allowing underlying conflicts to persist[3/].

f) Participation and involvement in ethnic organizations

This study was based on the assumption that there would be a negative relationship between integration and participation in ethnic organizations, and that ethnic organizations, because of their connection with the wider community, would act as a crutch for the immigrant during the process of adjustment to a new way of life. This hypothesis was confirmed.

The four ethnic groups show significant differences in the extent to which they participate in ethnic organizations and in their attitudes towards this participation. Italian husbands and wives have the largest percentage of participants: 84% of Italian husbands and 86% of Italian wives are joiners. This is almost seven times the proportion of British husbands and wives who participate (12% and 14% respectively). Among

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3/ See also Ronald Taft, Human Relations, 1963, 16, 279-293. He found that insistence on rapid assimilation correlates positively with anomic attitudes, authoritarianism and dogmatism, while gradual integration, defined as convergence of behaviour and shared norms, correlates with flexibility and independence.

the German group there were indications of a strong desire to cut off ties with the homeland. The most concise expression of this desire appears in the following statement: "We have strong ideas how Germans should behave in a new country. These are: 1) avoid other Germans, 2) learn some English before coming here, 3) act as a Canadian and 4) criticize the customs as seldom as possible."

g) The cohesiveness of extended families

The most significant finding in this area was that there are two fairly different kinds of extended families, one very cohesive, the other with loose ties of kinship. We found that cohesive extended families are associated with low integration, but this does not necessarily mean that cohesive kinship groups are a negative influence on the quality of integration. In the long run the opposite may be the case. It may well be that the opportunity to develop little Italy in the middle of a metropolis will prove to be a source of strength and support for the Italian community during the process of becoming Canadianized. If so, then any attempt to speed up the pace of change would give rise to problems in social adjustment.

Parent-Adolescent conflict

The data available from the study of relationships between parents and adolescents appear to be inconclusive, but some interesting facts did come to light. There were striking variations in the attitude of parents towards the dating patterns of their children; the attitudes of the teenagers themselves were equally revealing.

The curfew hour most often chosen by the Hungarian and Italian parents was 9 o'clock, for both the boys and the girls. Several Italians commented that this was a "silly question" and asked what good could boys and girls come to, going out in the evenings.

Most German parents favoured a 10 o'clock curfew for the boys and 9 for the girls, while the British parents chose 11 and 10 o'clock respectively. The British parents were also the most lenient towards dating alone, probably because British patterns are not unlike Canadian ones. On the other hand, the German, Hungarian and Italian parents favoured group dating, with Italian wives being the most cautious.

The British and Hungarian men were more lenient than the women in their opinions about curfew hours and dating. The Italian men were slightly more lenient regarding dating but stricter than their wives about curfew hours. The German men were stricter in nearly all respects.

Only 27 teenagers were interviewed, two-thirds of whom were from Hungarian and Italian families. The sample was too small to expect statistically significant indications of a relationship between parent-adolescent conflict and the level of integration, either subjective or objective; but out of seventeen aspects of conflict examined, eight

were at least suggestive of some association. Of those eight, four suggested that objective integration reduces conflict; four appeared to show that subjective integration increases it.

A comparison of the data on child adjustment and on parent-adolescent conflict suggests (very tentatively) that lack of any realistic attempt to integrate on the part of the parents leads to maladjustment of their children; if an attempt is made, but remains a wish rather than an objective reality, the family problems are postponed, but not entirely eliminated.

Comparisons between the four different ethnic groups

a) The British Group: The British group had, on the whole, the greatest advantages with respect to education, language and job skills, although there were several whose skills were not acceptable in Canada. Both men and women were generally satisfied with their life in Canada, and they integrated fairly well, although they showed no obvious desire to become Canadian (e.g., most of their friends were British, 14% of the men chose ethnic employment, and few took out Canadian citizenship). The number of working wives increased from 28% to 38%, but only 18% worked full-time in Canada. Contact with the school was good, though the British parents did not always approve of Canadian methods. There was no noticeable parent-adolescent conflict - though the only delinquent in the whole study was found among the British children.

Our data confirm Richmond's findings[4/] that the British are culturally well-adjusted and economically well off, but many never planned to settle in Canada and do not believe migration has improved their circumstances.

b) The German Group: The vast majority of the German parents had no more than public school education, but did possess job skills and had some knowledge of English - both of which stood them in good stead. The men appeared to be hardworking, ambitious and fairly independent, yet also eager to integrate - as indicated by their index of Canadian friendships and their lack of ethnic employment. The German men were the most critical of the Canadian schools and the Canadian teenage patterns. Forty per cent still attended ethnic organizations and, contrary to all other findings, the longer the German men stayed in Canada, the less they liked it. A possible explanation was given by a German-born research assistant, who did all the calculations. She was a meticulous woman with a doctorate in sociology from the University of Heidelberg and the fact that there was one negative correlation among seven positive ones did not escape her attention. She not only

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4/ Anthony H. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967.

checked her data "three times" but said that she would have checked them six times if they were any different: she understood the reasons perfectly. She said that in Canada she felt an independent person; in Germany she could not. Before her marriage she was pitied because she had no husband, and therefore no status; after her marriage she became merely an appendage. She could never go anywhere by herself, she could only accompany her husband.

In Canada her situation changed, and the more she felt liberated, the more her husband (by now her former husband) felt frustrated. This she felt, was a general pattern. German women and their children gained independence and status in Canada, but German fathers lost their power and status and the more this was evident the less they liked it.

c) The Hungarian Group: The Hungarian group provided the most heterogeneous and thus perhaps the most interesting ethnic group of the four studied. Seventy per cent of the Hungarian group arrived in 1957; the vast majority of them were able to speak little English, if any. Despite the contrast in language construction, most of them tried hard to learn English well. Many found they could no longer practise their previous occupations; and many suffered from long term unemployment. In spite of this, a large number of Hungarians took out Canadian citizenship, appreciating the opportunities of the New World and disliking their previous DP status. The Hungarian parents who learned new skills (14%) and those who bought a business (8%) became the most satisfied with Canada. As a group the Hungarians considered themselves fairly integrated, although objectively they were not quite as integrated as the German group.

The Hungarian wives, in particular, presented an unusual pattern in that, unlike the women in the other three groups, they were as integrated as their husbands. A large number of them still held jobs, though fewer than in Hungary (70% had been employed in Hungary compared to 38% full time and 22% part time in Canada). The working wives appeared to be the most educated, the most ambitious, but also the most dissatisfied with their present occupation. It seems that the motive for most of their working was to buy a house, not job satisfaction, and that these women would probably have been more satisfied staying at home.

d) The Italian Group: The Italian group invariably appeared as the ethnic group which differed most sharply from the others, partly because their way of life was so unlike that of Canadians and partly because they chose to remain in the comparative security of the Italian community.

As a group, the Italians were the most homogeneous. Parents appeared to marry young and to have relatively large families. Most had plenty of relatives in Canada, many of whom they saw daily or at least weekly or monthly. These relatives appeared to be a great source of strength - for advice on child care, for financial help, for baby-sitting and so on. However, the Italian group began life in Canada

with several major disadvantages - lack of experience in urban living, lack of formal education, lack of occupational skills, lack of English - most of which the majority of them never overcame. As a result the Italian group suffered an overwhelming degree of unemployment, and many wives (34%, compared to 8% in Italy) had to work full-time to augment the family income. The least ambitious appeared to be the most satisfied, and the most ambitious the most frustrated. Many sought other satisfactions - such as buying a house or joining Italian recreational organizations. Only three couples really attempted to learn English. The rest remained in their ghetto-like Italian community - feeling somewhat integrated, yet, objectively speaking, remaining outside the general flow of Canadian life. Teenagers revealed in interviews that they were beginning to feel this contrast but none of them had protested openly as yet.

e) The use of social services

The different ways in which the four ethnic groups make use of the social services is best illustrated by the case of child care. We asked in our interview: "Where would you seek advice if you had great difficulty with your children's behaviour?" The question was interpreted to the families as meaning unruly or disturbing behaviour which the respondents were unable to deal with.

The findings may be summarized as follows:

i) The Italians in the sample said that they would go to their relatives for help. This choice is certainly consistent with our observations elsewhere on the cohesiveness of the Italian kinship group and its usefulness as a source of mutual aid and social control. At the same time, it should be recognized that this very fact may also have inhibited the Italian families in reporting any trouble with their children.

ii) The Germans chose the doctor as the source from which they would seek advice first.

iii) The Hungarians chose the clergy and private Catholic agencies, in that order.

iv) The British most frequently chose a public or government agency; school social services were included under this definition.

Cultural change and criminality

This research was carried out in Montreal, using as a model Italians arrested by the Montreal Police in 1967; its goal was to analyse the qualitative transformation of criminality in relation to cultural change.

In a multi-cultural society, like that of Montreal, it is practically impossible to analyse the acculturation of the Italian immigrant because, on his arrival in Montreal, he is received by Italian relatives who find him lodging and employment in an Italian milieu. Once the acclimitization period has passed, the immigrant will himself look for a better-paid job and thus make an effort to learn English, since in Montreal the English-speaking group, owners of most of the industries, will pay a higher salary to the Italian worker than to the French-Canadian. This anglicization, however, is only for economic purposes as the Montreal Italian has a tendency to live in his traditional milieu, even in groups corresponding to the Italian provinces, in the eastern part of the city which is traditionally French. Therefore, the Montreal Italian works in English, lives among Italians, in contact with the French-speaking population, from which he usually chooses his wife; thus his children attend an English school, speak Italian at home and play in the street with French-Canadian children.

Because of the difficulties of direct analysis of acculturation the study instead focused on the loss of Italian identity as an index of cultural change. Loss of Italian identity was measured with the aid of a scale resulting from a questionnaire previously explained by Grygier and Spencer, Hobart and Boissevain[5/]. The division of the scale has a divergence above and below medium and is formed by three classes of individuals: the "centrals", very Italianized, the "marginals", in process of changing, and the "isolated", detached from Italian culture.

The loss of Italian identity scale necessitated the verification of various factors indicated in different studies, for example: the place of birth, age at time of immigration and length of time spent in the host country. This analysis indicated that the losing of Italian identity is closely related to the place of birth and age at time of immigration. Those born in Montreal and those who arrived very young are the most detached from their traditional culture, and may be grouped together as suggested by Child and Shoham[6/]. The length

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5/ Grygier and Spencer, op. cit.; C.W. Hobart, Italian Immigrants in Edmonton: Adjustment and Integration, Ottawa, The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1965; and J. Boissevain, The Italians of Montreal: Immigrant Adjustment in a Plural Society, Ottawa, Commission royale d'enquete sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, 1965.

6/ I.L. Child, Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943, and S. Shoham, "The application of the 'culture-conflict' hypothesis to the criminality of immigrants in Israel", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1962, 53, 207-214.

of stay in the country of adoption has practically no influence on the deculturalization measured by sentimental ties, which seem not to lessen during the entire life of the migrant. Cultural change is affected by scholastic level, because, on the one hand, the better educated have a greater possibility of contact and, on the other hand, the younger immigrants who have studied in Canada mix more easily with the local population.

The analysis of criminality among Italians in Montreal showed that 70% of arrests were for gambling (36%), offences against public order (21%), and traffic offences (13%). The remaining 30% represented something more serious, including offences against persons, morality and property. The comparison between the nature of criminality and cultural change shows that the "centrals", who live in Montreal in the same way as they lived in Italy, exhibit a culturally based pattern of deviation (minor offences), while for the "marginals" the cultural nature of the deviation decreases to be replaced - in those who have already more than half lost their Italian identity - by more serious crime. The "isolated", who have practically lost their Italian identity, commit crimes in a pattern similar to the general population of Montreal.

Two interesting points should be noted in this analysis of the relation between cultural change and criminality: that on the one hand not one person in the "isolated" group was arrested in a billiard-room, a place where the immigrants group in ethnic solidarity, and on the other hand that the most serious crimes are committed by those immigrants in the process of deculturalization, i.e., during a period of equal cultures, which has been shown by Sellin, Sutherland and by Shoham[7/]. Shoham states that "the danger of culture conflict is imminent when the original norms and values of the immigrant dis-integrate and they are replaced by a cultural blank or chaos"[8/].

Suggestions for social policy

It is apparent that there is need for a greater understanding of the diversity of cultural patterns among the different ethnic groups who comprise an immigrant population. This was particularly evident from one of the major findings of this study, the distinction that exists between what we have called objective and subjective integration.

7/ T. Sellin, Culture Conflict and Crime: A Report of the Sub-Committee on Delinquency of the Committee on Personality and Culture, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1938; E.H. Sutherland and D.R. Cressey, Principes de criminologie, Paris, Cujas, 1966; S. Shoham, op. cit.

8/ Ibid., p. 209.

By objective standards, the British group was integrated from the start. Subjectively they were less integrated and many felt that they did not belong to Canada; on the contrary, Canada used to belong to them. This attitude provides a sharp contrast with the pattern of the Italian community which perpetuates the neighbourhood life and cohesive extended family of a Southern Italian village within the middle of a large city. The contrast compels us to draw attention to a significant conclusion relating to the pace of change and integration.

One might be tempted to denigrate any policy which encourages the persistence of a foreign village in a metropolis. It appears to run contrary to an effective immigration policy and to retard integration into the new society. However, this slow pace of integration carries with it some highly desirable consequences. The kinship group and the ethnic community stabilize and regulate behaviour according to well-established norms. Particularly for a group whose original way of life is as different from the Canadian as is the Italian, lack of this control might cause personality strain or the well-known symptoms of social maladjustment.

The greater is the difference between the immigrant's way of life and that of the community into which he settles, the greater becomes the pressure for integration and, finally, assimilation - and the greater the conflict of cultures. What Thorsten Sellin[9/] said of the consequences of such a conflict for crime and delinquency before World War II is still largely true today. If the contrast between the two patterns of living is great, we may have what Alvin Toffler[10/] has called "culture shock". This, in his words, leads to bewilderment, frustration, dis-orientation, a breakdown in communication, a mis-reading of reality and an inability to cope. "Yet culture shock is relatively mild in comparison with the much more serious malady, future shock. Future shock is the dizzying dis-orientation brought on by the premature arrival of the future"[11/].

For any technologically underdeveloped group a transfer to a great metropolis, with its congestion and modern technology, the "future" always arrives prematurely. The problem is compounded if the transfer is to a foreign culture, with a different language and totally different traditions.

9/ Thorsten Sellin, op. cit.

10/ Alvin Toffler, Future Shock, New York, Random House, 1970.

11/ Ibid., p. 13.

We live in an era of rapid change, in a four-dimensional world. Changes brought by time and those resulting from dislocation are cumulative: time and space are interchangeable. The more the tempo of social change increases, the more confusion there is about the social rôles our children are expected to play. Loss of identity and anomie[12/] increase when to this is added the pressure to abandon an old culture and adopt a new. They particularly increase if the new culture is in a state of flux, so that there is pressure to assimilate and yet no pattern to follow.

The generation gap has affected most countries to a varying degree. Up to a point it may be functional and contribute to progress, to new value systems, adapted to technological development, replacing old values that may have become obsolete. But a generation gap that leads to loss of identity and of values cannot possibly be functional. At this stage it creates a mental health hazard for both generations. According to our colleague at the University of Ottawa, Dr. Victor Szyrynski[13/], the generation gap is particularly conspicuous in the new societies, where it thoroughly uproots the younger generation, separating the children from their families and their community. Dr. Szyrynski, as a psychiatrist specializing in community therapy, recognizes the inherent dangers in the concepts of assimilation and the "melting pot". These are the concepts in which the old cultures have to melt, as rapidly as possible, in favour of the allegedly superior new alloy. These are the concepts which, in his words, lead to "the complex of betrayal", frequently found among immigrants forced to renounce their own cultural traditions.

The opposite of the melting pot concept, that of a multicultural society, does not avoid strains, but it does offer a society of many roots and of respect for these roots. A society characterized by mutual respect between different cultural groups and different generations is, in our view, more healthy. A social policy that allows different immigrant cultures to perpetuate in tolerant co-existence is less likely to lead to loss of self-respect and to its correlates: crime and neurosis.

12/ See Emile Durkeim, Le Suicide, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1967, 461 pp., and
Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, New York, Free Press, 1957.

13/ "Motivation for self-expression of cultural groups: the need for a distinctive identity". Paper read to the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights, Toronto, 13-15 December 1968.

Summary and Conclusions

a) All social planning requires a recognition of social realities, some of which are:

i) integration is a mutual process;

ii) in all planning we must realize that objective integration, defined as "partaking in the life of the country productively (economically and socially) and to one's advantage (making use of the country's opportunities for advancement, its culture, social services and related features)", must be distinguished from subjective feelings and attitudes about integration and about making the new country one's home; these two are almost uncorrelated;

iii) the same social services for the native-born and for immigrants, the latter coming from a variety of cultural groups, do not result in the same service for everyone; it means almost no service for some groups.

b) It follows that diversification of social services is needed.

c) Immigrants need social services planned and supplied by people who understand their cultures.

d) Some immigrants should be recruited and educated for social work (not necessarily at the professional level), to work in their own milieu.

e) Knowledge of the language of the host country is the key factor in objective integration; involvement of the parents in school activities is another; both have important, and obvious, implications for educational policy.

f) Language courses for immigrants before they leave the country of their origin may help to promote a gradual and successful integration better than any remedies undertaken at a later stage.

g) The rapid pace of integration may be detrimental to its quality and may well destroy the immigrant community's network of social controls.

h) Governments should give an immigrant on arrival a brochure, written in his own language, briefly indicating the cultural norms practised in his new country and the laws regulating social order; this would put them on their guard against cultural deviants which might be encountered.

i) The judicial assistance services should have within their framework, particularly in large cosmopolitan centres, polyglot lawyers capable of representing immigrants who are unable to defend themselves in the language of the host country. This would reduce the bewilderment - and sometimes the conviction - of newcomers due to language difficulties.

j) Finally, xenophobia could be diminished substantially by the simple act of not pushing the integration of migrants. The process does not advance far among the first generation, anyway. This policy of "laissez-faire" would greatly diminish antagonism and frustration, and by so doing would help maintain pre-existing means of social defence.

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF MIGRANTS

by

Ronald Taft

Adaptation to a culture should not be conceived as complete conformity to the norms, nor lack of it merely as deviance from them. The adaptation of an individual to his society involves both social and emotional adjustment, and acceptance of and conformity to social norms. The key word is "ability to cope" with the demands of society. Society should be viewed as fluid, changing and quasi-open, rather than according to the more traditional rigid, stable and highly structured concept that is often used in models for studying social adaptation.

The society to which migrants need to adapt is usually highly developed, and satisfactory adaptation to its ambiguous set of norms and complex and evolving structure puts considerable strain on the migrant's ability to cope. Passive conformity is not a sufficient solution. The Chicago concept of inter-personal competence[1/] proposes three groups of variables: well-being, efficiency, self-actualization. Competence so conceived would be facilitated only limitedly by conformity to prevailing modes, even if they could be sufficiently learned. What adaptation requires is a compromise or fit between the needs of the individual and the demands of society. In most cases such a fit is possible - up to a tolerable level at least; in others, however, either the demands of society are beyond the individual's tolerance, or the needs of the individual are beyond the tolerance of the society.

The above description of the interrelationship between an individual and his society should be taken in conjunction with such basic considerations as differential socialization, rôle expectations, reference groups, processes of social sanctioning and group identity.

We shall now examine the adaptation of immigrants and other ethnic minorities in the light of this conception with special reference to the "second generation" [2/]

The Emotional and Social Adjustment of Migrants

In any society, the citizens differ in the degree to which they might be described as 'adjusted' (or 'adapted'). In common usage this term often refers to emotional stability and freedom from internal conflicts and tensions; that is, freedom from psychoneuroses. Here we are

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1/ Foote, N.N. & Cottrell, L.S. Identity and Interpersonal Competence. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1955.

2/ Considerable portions of the remainder of this text are extracted from the following works by the author and should not be reproduced without permission.

1. Chapter on Ethnic Groups from F.J. Hunt (edit.) Socialization in Australia, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1972.

2. Chapter in P. Watson (edit.) Psychology in Race Relations, London, Penguin, 1972.

more interested in a person's harmony or conflict with his external environment, although the degree of external adjustment will often be reflected in his emotional and personality adjustment. The external adjustment may reflect the internal state, and vice versa.

One of the most accessible indices of the external adjustment of a citizen to his society is his satisfaction with various aspects of his life, and this is the most common measure used to study adjustment in immigrants. While an immigrant's satisfaction is not a direct observation of the degree to which harmony exists with his environment, it can be assumed that it usually bears a close relationship to it. This is, however, not always the case. In one study[3] of Hungarian "intellectuals" in Australia, the criteria used to measure their adjustment were whether they held a job which was objectively of the same status as their pre-immigration occupation, and whether they had any friends (irrespective of nationality). These objective indices constituted a measure of "occupational and social adjustment" which was different from and uncorrelated with the measures of satisfaction. An immigrant might, for example, have had no friends but he could be quite satisfied with that state of affairs. It was also found that there was no relationship between the degree to which the respondents claimed to be satisfied with their jobs and the degree to which their occupational status had dropped since they had left Hungary. Despite such divergences as these between objective measures of adjustment and subjective feelings of satisfaction, the latter measure is the one that is usually preferred in studies of immigrant adjustment.

The adjustment of an immigrant to his environment is very much a function of what he wants out of life, together with the capacity of his environment to satisfy him. Depending on the temperament and life experience of an immigrant, the relative importance of his needs will vary. For that reason, no general principles can be laid down a priori as to what satisfactions are needed in order for immigrants to be able to adjust to their new environment. It would be expected, for instance, that a small businessman who voluntarily left England for Australia to set up another business would be more dependent on the satisfaction of his economic instrumental needs than would an intellectual. The satisfactions sought by immigrants, particularly intellectual ones, are often subtle and elusive; for example, the difficulty in expressing oneself freely in the vernacular language may constitute an excruciating frustration in the life of an intellectual immigrant. Because of variations in the needs of immigrants it is important to take into account the 'type' of immigrant when considering his problems of adjustment. Thus, a vast difference has been found in the degree of satisfaction of highly educated immigrants in Australia compared with workers[4]. Polish and

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3/ Taft, R., & Doczy, A.G. The Assimilation of Intellectual Refugees in Western Australia, R.E.M.P. Bulletin, vol.9, No.4, vol.10, Nos.1/2 1962.

4/ Taft, R. From Stranger to Citizen, Tavistock Publications, 1966.

Hungarian refugees who had undertaken some tertiary level education before emigration were much less satisfied with their life in Australia than a comparable group of less well-educated Polish refugees. From comments made by the intellectual immigrants in these studies, their source of dissatisfaction seemed to have often included either objections to "cultural" life in Australia, or to the professional opportunities. In either case, the problem seems to lie in the need for self-fulfilment. While remembering the importance of self-fulfilling needs in the adjustment of intellectuals, we should also not underestimate the role played by these needs in the life of less well-educated immigrants.

The success of the emigration may be judged by the relationship between the gain in satisfaction and the cost of emigration. This means that if the emigration was forced by conditions at home, and the cost of emigration was comparatively low, a low level of satisfaction in the new country is sufficient to keep the balance. This would be the case with political refugees, such as Displaced Persons who emigrated from Europe after World War II. In fact it has been found that satisfaction with life in Australia is lower among refugees than among voluntary immigrants.

So far we have been referring to what we have called the external adjustment of immigrants. Reference should also be made to studies of mental break-downs, which may be taken to represent signs of poor internal adjustment. Whether problems of adjustment to the new social environment play a part in the onset of the break-downs is difficult to establish. Some mental health workers have claimed that emigration and the consequent problems play important roles as a precipitating cause. As far back as 1932, it was demonstrated that there were high rates of schizophrenia among Norwegian immigrants in Minnesota[5]. Ruesch and his fellow workers[6] have argued that the stresses associated with acculturation to America are associated with certain types of psychosomatic illnesses. Other studies in the U.S. suggest, in addition, that there are higher rates of crime and juvenile delinquency among immigrants than among non-immigrants. The explanations offered for these inflated figures range from the strain of adjusting to a different society to conflicts and disintegration within the immigrant's primary group.

Before fully accepting findings and explanations concerning break-downs in immigrants, it should be noted that there are many difficulties in trying to separate the rates of mental illness that are due to national differences from those due to the strains of migration. An additional problem is that the migrants may have had a pre-disposition to mental illness before emigration, in which case a high incidence of break-downs

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5/ Ødergaard, O., Emigration and Insanity, Acta Psychiat. and Neur. Scand Suppl. IV, 1932.

6/ Ruesch, J., Jacobson, A. and Loeb, M.B., Acculturation and Illness, Psychological Monographs, vol. 62 (Whole No. 292), 1948.

among immigrants in a particular country would be due to a bias in the original selection. For whatever reason, however, it does seem that migrants exhibit a higher than normal rate of mental disorder, and that particular groups (age, sex, national origin, present conditions of life) are especially prone to suffer from particular disorders[7].

Australian research by Krupinski[8] on mental break-down in immigrants shows quite clearly that there are considerable national differences in the incidence and type of mental illness. Thus, immigrants from Eastern Europe and Baltic States have a relatively high incidence of mental disorder, and in particular schizophrenia (paranoid type) and alcoholism, while those from Western and Southern Europe have a relatively low rate, even compared with Australians. The fact that Jewish refugees have a relatively low rate of disorders of all types, despite a high proportion of extremely critical experiences during the War, suggests that a simple explanation of mental break-down in terms of environmental stresses is inadequate.

The Assimilation of Immigrants

The process of adaptation of immigrants involves a number of different facets, and it is useful to consider them separately because the assimilation status of a particular immigrant can vary among them. The author has identified the following facets[9]:

A. Cultural knowledge and skills

i) Ability to use the vernacular language, colloquialisms, and possession of other skills required for communication. An example of the latter might be gestural behaviour, such as the appropriate use of the bow in Japan. Richardson[10] has developed an interesting measure of knowledge of colloquial language for use with British immigrants in Australia. This consists of slang words that are known to nearly all Australians and to very few newly arrived immigrants.

ii) Knowledge of the history and culture of the new group, its ideology, values, norms and social structure. An immigrant cannot be considered fully assimilated until his knowledge of the new culture becomes equal at least to that of the older citizen who holds a similar social position to himself. Very often cultural knowledge and skills are taken by an observer to be assimilation itself, so that an immigrant who is fully familiar with the new culture and skilful in the use of language is regarded as assimilated. This facet of the assimilation process constitutes an important part of what is usually called acculturation, i.e., changes in cultural patterns brought about as a result of the interaction between the groups. Acculturation also implies what is covered in E i) below, the adoption of values and norms from the host group, as well as just knowledge of them. In a study of Hungarian refugees in the United States, Weinstock[11] found that these two aspects of acculturation were sufficiently correlated to be added together to make an overall index.

B. Social Interaction

i) Social acceptance, that is, the degree to which there is an accepting attitude on the part of the host group to the members of the new group. This is equivalent to the absence of prejudice. Kosa[12], in his study of Hungarians, found that immigrants who perceived least discrimination against their nationality were most adjusted to Canada. Similar results have been found in various studies in Australia[13], although the relationship is not a simple one, since many immigrants do not feel any prejudice against them until they have increased their social contacts with the host population to a sufficient degree to experience it personally.

ii) Interpersonal contacts and relationships with members of the host group. These contacts may vary in frequency and in the degree of intimacy and may lead to the establishment of a new primary group for the immigrant, including close friendships and even a marital relationship with members of the host group.

7/ A useful review of the various studies of mental health problems in immigrants is to be found in Weinberg, A.A., Migration and Belonging, The Hague. Martinus Nijhoff, 1961, Chap. 2.

8/ Krupinski, K., Sociological Aspects of Mental Ill-Health in Migrants, Social Science and Medicine, 1967, 1, 267-279, and subsequent reports by the Victorian Mental Health Authority.

9/ Taft, R., 1966, op. cit.

10/ Richardson, A., The Assimilation of British Immigrants in a Western Australian Community, R.E.M.P. Bulletin, vol. 9, Nos. 1/2, 1961.

11/ Weinstock, S.A., Some Factors that Retard or Accelerate the Rate of Acculturation, Human Relations, Vol. 17, pp. 321-340, 1964.

12/ Kosa, J., Land of Choice, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957.

13/ Taft, R., 1966, op. cit.

C. Membership Identity and Social Integration

i) Obtaining membership in the new society in a formal sense, typically by acquiring citizenship, and in the case of sub-groups within that society, by obtaining formal membership. This is equivalent to secondary group acceptance.

ii) Integration into the new group. This refers to filling a position in society which is accepted by the host society as a legitimate one for the immigrant. He is permitted to carry out the rôles and to receive the privileges and rights that go with it. This adds to mere formal membership a social validation of the immigrant's new position. Like B ii), this C ii) facet also includes being accepted in marriage; that is, marriage into the host group in which the wife, at least, and possibly the family of the wife, accept the immigrant in his formal marital position.

D. Social and Emotional Identification

In the above description C ii), we can assume that the immigrant is identified by society as a member of the new group, but this does not necessarily mean that he himself feels an allegiance to or affiliation with it. When he accepts the new group as his own reference group we may speak of his emotional identification with it.

E. Conformity to Group Norms

i) The immigrant adopts the values, attitudes and expectations about people's behaviour that are held by the host society.

ii) He behaves in accordance with the norms set down for him by the new society.

iii) He conforms to the norms, not only in his behaviour but in his appearance and expression. This last stage bears some affinity to A ii), since an immigrant must know the culture in order to conform to it. Very often this change in appearance in order to look similar to the older members of the society is regarded, together with the language and cultural skills, as equivalent to assimilation. But it does not suffice unless we also consider the feelings of the immigrant, the attitudes of the host society, and the interaction between the behaviour of the immigrant, and his acceptance by the society.

The complex analysis of the assimilation process reminds us that the course of assimilation is an uneven one, and investigations into determining factors should analyse the different facets individually.

M. Gordon[14] has made a similar analysis to the one proposed here, and has suggested that "cultural assimilation", which is roughly equivalent to what we called facet E, is likely to occur first, and often on its own. (He does not propose a facet, or "stage" as he calls it, corresponding to our facet A, the acquisition of cultural knowledge and skills.) According to Gordon, "structural assimilation", equivalent to our B ii), "interpersonal contacts" and "social integration" (C), combined with cultural assimilation, open the way to a more general assimilation.

The Relationships between the Assimilation Facets

Some degree of order can be brought to the many facets of assimilation by the application of statistical methods of determining which facets tend to go together. Two different methods of organizing the facets in clusters, Richardson's scaling studies[15] and a series of factor analyses[16] have led to similar results. There appear to be two main groupings of assimilation trends: one of trends related to "primary assimilation", the other of trends related to "acculturation". The former, which Richardson divides into satisfaction and identification aspects, relate to such variables as being satisfied with life in the new country, feeling identified with it, feeling at home in the new country and desiring to stay there for the remaining lifetime. The acculturation aspects refer to knowing and using the vernacular language, adoption of the prevailing value norms and social interaction with the host population. In opposition to Gordon's contention that acculturation and social integration precede other aspects of assimilation, the Australian studies suggest that more commonly a degree of satisfaction with the new country must be experienced before the immigrant can identify with it; and some degree of identification is needed before acculturation occurs. However, for any particular immigrant there may be an individually determined sequence of assimilation facets, and generalizations concerning sequences can at best only apply to limited groupings or "types" of immigrants.

The Adjustment and Assimilation of Second Generation Immigrants in Australia

One of the factors that influences the adjustment of immigrant school-children is how they are regarded by their peers. Research findings are limited on this topic: a study by Doczy in Perth[17]

14/ Gordon, M.M., Assimilation in American Life, Oxford, New York, 1964.

15/ Richardson, A., 1961, op. cit.

16/ Taft, R., 1966, op. cit.

17/ Doczy, A.G., The Social Assimilation of Adolescent Boys of European Parentage in the Metropolitan Area of W.A., Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of W.A., 1966.

among high school boys indicated that the immigrants were less popular than the Australians, and that the difference was greater in the duller classes than in the brighter.

Bhatnagar, in an extensive study in England of immigrant children from Cyprus and the West Indies, comments that "there was a large gap between the level of adjustment of English and immigrant children. The adjustment level appeared to be strongly related to the status given by the community to the groups to which the child belonged"18/. Doczy's studies in Australia also suggest that the adjustment of immigrant school-children is less than that of Australians. This was based on teachers' assessments in Perth of boys' emotional adjustment, maturity and personal security. Support for these ratings came from the boys' own estimates of how satisfied they felt with their life in Australia and in school. In another study (unpublished) conducted in Sydney in 1967, Doczy found that only about one quarter of Southern European immigrant adolescent boys were satisfied, while nearly one fifth were very dissatisfied. The corresponding figures for Australian children were two thirds satisfied, and virtually none very dissatisfied. The low rate of satisfaction in the immigrants is serious and implies stresses and frustrations that are unique to them.

Some writers have suggested that one of the causes for adjustment problems in a young immigrant is conflict in his ethnic identity because he lies marginally between two worlds - his original ethnic one, and the larger society into which he is assimilating. Thus the immigrant would be ambivalent about his identification between the ethnic and the Australian groups, and may feel that he does not belong anywhere. Undesirable consequences of this marginal position are alleged to be emotional stress and possible delinquency.

There is in fact no evidence of any greater delinquency in immigrant adolescents than in Australians of the same class background. Surveys19/ of immigrant children suggest that there may even be less. There is some evidence that immigrant children have more problems of emotional adjustment than do Australian boys. But this is not necessarily attributable to their alleged marginal situation; it could be related to other considerations, such as the strain of adapting to and gaining acceptance of the Australian society. This strain is to be distinguished from the burden of marginality.

The fallacy of a crude application of the marginality concept is that the transition from one ethnic identity to another does not necessarily leave the individual bereft of an identity; it may provide him with a double identity, or even a triple one by reference to the transient group. Thus, a second generation Polish immigrant

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18/ Bhatnagar, J., Immigrants at School, London, Cornmarket Press, 1970, p.10.

19/ Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, The Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children, Canberra, Feb. 1960.

might not only be identified as a Pole and às an Australian, but also as a Polish-Australian, or perhaps, just as "a second generation immigrant".

Another stress that is often alleged to be associated with second generation immigrants is culture conflict, due to contrasting and incompatible teaching about norms of behaviour emanating from the ethnic family on the one hand and the institution of the larger society, and the school in particular, on the other. The ensuing conflict, usually referred to as "culture conflict", may be expected to cause confusion and stress in a bi-cultural person such as an ethnic child, since he would not be sure which standards to apply. In fact, there are several ways in which such conflict can be overcome: the parents can change the normative requirements for their children out of respect for the dominant Australian ones; the child can learn to to tolerate the two sets of norms by observing whichever one seems to be appropriate in a particular situation, or he can suppress one set and follow the other one almost exclusively. There are undoubtedly some children who suffer stress as a result of cultural conflict within themselves, but most children will resolve the conflict in one of the ways mentioned above.

It is more likely that culture conflict will be manifested in the form of tension and disagreements between the parents and child. However, in most cases even this form of conflict is not really high and a good deal of the disagreements may be attributable to normal generation gap problems as much as to culture conflict. Among Polish adolescents, only one quarter reported even "moderate" disagreements with their parents on ethnic matters20/, and most of these occurred on the subject of the language - Polish or English - spoken in the home. Similar figures were found for arguments between Jewish youth and their parents, and there were as many disagreements over non-ethnic matters as ethnic21/. These findings provide further indications that the marginal rôle of an ethnic member should not be regarded as a universal problem in second generation ethnics, even though it may cause difficulties in individual cases. The problems of the immigrant children mainly arise from sources other than their association with two different national backgrounds.

Compared with the younger child, the adaptation problems of the child who immigrates during his early adolescence, say between 13 and 15 years, are particularly difficult, and the need for special

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20/ Taft, R., and Johnston, R., The Assimilation of Adolescent Polish Immigrants and Parent-Child Interaction, Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behaviour and Development, 13, No. 2, 1967, 111-120.

21/ Taft, R., The Ethnic Identification of Jewish Youth, in P.Y. Medding (edit.) Jews in Australian Society, Melbourne University Press, in press.

help all the greater. It is probable that adolescents at this age are particularly disturbed by being uprooted. This is the period when a child is just starting to build up his sense of personal identity and to establish a network of stable social relationships. To a large extent, emigration disrupts these processes, and increases the problems of adaptation. In addition, unless the junior high school level immigrant obtains a good working knowledge of English quickly, he will reach the minimum school leaving age before he becomes significantly engaged in the educational system.

If there is a delinquency problem among second generation adolescents it seems that it is more likely to be associated with such factors as personal and family dislocation and breakdown, and the difficulties experienced by the family than with cultural conflict. There is a need for a new round of investigations of the adjustment problems of this group, with a special orientation towards their adaptation to society. For this purpose the analysis with which this paper began, in terms of a fit between the person and his changing society, and its relationship to his coping mechanisms and competence, is offered as a possible approach.

A PSYCHO-CULTURAL RESEARCH PROJECT ON

IMMIGRANTS IN BELGIUM

by

Eugeen Roosens

Immigration is one of the major phenomena Belgium has to cope with. The country has about 700,000 immigrants from Italy, Spain, Portugal, Algeria, Morocco, Turkey and other countries. Not only they, but the Belgian communities in which they live are all centrally affected by immigration.

Professor Leo Lagrou and the author of this paper have elaborated a research project, the central theme of which is the psychological and cultural structure and functioning of the nuclear immigrant family in the context of acculturation.

The topic can be refracted into the following items:

1) Immigrants' auto-stereotype of male-female rôles at the erotic, sexual, social, economic and educational levels
2) Adults' auto-stereotype of parent rôles in relation to their children
3) Child rôles as defined by the parents
4) Child rôles as defined by the children themselves
5) Parent rôles as defined by the children
6) Actual behaviour in the above areas
7) Immigrants' image of the surrounding Belgian or other families
8) The way immigrants think they are perceived as a family by the surrounding ethnic out-groups
9) The actual image the surrounding ethnic out-groups express
10) Observed facts, events, expressions and symbols which inter-relate these various items.

The choice of this particular research theme as a focus of our study is based on the following considerations:

1) The existing literature on processes of culture change and its psychological implications, as well as many publications on delinquency, clearly show that the structure and functioning of the family is at least an important heuristic locus for more general study of psychological and cultural change. This is precisely what we intend. Starting with the family as a central topic, one is able to extend the research naturally into the other behavioural and environmental fields. Religion, ethics, occupational problems and interaction with the ethnic out-groups will emerge in this way.

2) As far as we can see now, family is a major matter of reflection and concern to the immigrants themselves so that an inquiry in this field might appear as something useful and realistic.

3) There are practical reasons to privilege the study of the family. Professor Lagrou is already working on this problem with

Portuguese immigrants, while the author of this paper has spent four years of field work on family change in Central Africa[1].

The study of the nuclear family will include men and women, either single or not accompanied by their families.

Our central research topic will be considered from different angles: nationally in Belgium, in carefully selected Belgian localities, and in the homeland of at least one immigrant nationality.

A. The National Level

Subject and Method

1. At this level we will concentrate on the study of immigrants' children.

We intend to collect all available information:

a) From the national network of Psycho-Medical-Social Centres which are testing school-children in a systematic way. These centres are able to give information on the entire population of immigrant children, their performance and psycho-social problems, at least in a rough way.

b) From mental health hospitals, release centres and correctional agencies. The Faculties of Psychology at Louvain have close relationships with both Psycho-Medical-Social Centres and mental hospitals.

2. In a second stage, we will draw a sample of the total population of immigrant school-children and will compare the groups with the highest and lowest performance levels. A comparative study of their families will be made, focused on the following items: i) differential socialization, ii) differential rôle expectations, iii) reference groups, iv) selective permeability in learning as elaborated by DeVos and Wagatsuma[2].

3. Finally, we would try to attract educational specialists to formulate recommendations to the Belgian Government.

Personnel and Timing

The first part of the study would require the collaboration of two doctoral students, one psychologist and one anthropologist, for a period

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1/ Roosens, E., Socio-Culturele Verandering in Midden-Afrika, Utrecht-Antwerp, Standaard Wetenschappelijke Uitgaverij, 1971, 382 pp. (Socio-Cultural Change in Central Africa).

2/ DeVos, G., Wagatsuma, H., Japan's Invisible Race, Berkeley, University Press, 1967.

of four years. Six months will be spent collecting the existing data, two years and six months will be needed for field work, and one year for elaboration of the data.

B. The Local Level

Subject and Method

We think that an adequate interpretation of test material and loose case studies is impossible without an understanding of the local communities in which the immigrants are living. We intend local studies of three ethnic groups: i) Portuguese immigrants in Ixelles (Brussels), ii) Italian and Algerian immigrants in Anderlecht (Brussels), iii) Italian and Algerian immigrants in Genk (a semi-rural area in Limburg). The first year would be spent in participation observation, collecting as much information as possible on the local community. During the next two years we would concentrate on the family, creating or adopting more standardized techniques. We do not wish to begin with standardized tools until we have become familiar with the population to be studied. The elaboration of the data would require another year. Particular attention will be paid to the items we investigate at the national level.

Communities

The Ixelles Area (Portuguese Immigrants): A study on family rôles and the use of contraceptives among Portuguese women is being conducted by Mrs. Bucher (a Brazilian Ph.D. student at Louvain) under the supervision of Professor Lagrou. Mrs. Bucher has done one year of prospecting interviewing and general data collecting. She is now concentrating on a section of Ixelles (Brussels) where 1,200 Portuguese immigrants are living. As we are already introduced into this milieu and the study seems full of promise, we intend to recruit two other doctoral students (a psychologist and an anthropologist) for the period of three years.

The Anderlecht Area (Italian and Algerian Immigrants): A second local community would be the "quartier de la Gare du Midi" (Anderlecht, Brussels), one of the most important immigration centres of urban Belgium. A student of the author has been working in this area for eight years as a priest in two Italian parishes near the Gare du Midi. Three Belgian Jesuits we know very well have been living as workers in this community since 1964.

Our selection of northern Italians and Algerians is based on the following considerations:

a) Northern Italians and Algerians are popularly considered to belong to different races. A differential study might show the importance of the racial factor at work in the interaction with the Belgian community.

b) The groups have a very different cultural background.
c) In the mind of the Belgian public, northern Italians are classified as the highest ranking immigrants, while Algerians are located at the bottom of the scale.

This study, together with the third community study on Genk would require the collaboration of two doctoral students (a psychologist and an anthropologist) for four years.

The Genk Area: The same research unit would work simultaneously with two groups of the same ethnic origins as those of Anderlecht.

We selected the Genk area for the following reasons:

a) Both Algerian and northern Italians can be studied in this semi-rural area, so that a comparison with the analogous ethnic groups of the city becomes possible.
b) Genk is one of the major semi-rural areas of immigration in Belgium.
c) Both the Government and the local authorities have made efforts in the Genk area to receive the immigrants in a decent way. This does not seem to be the case in the area of the Gare du Midi.

C. The Homeland Level

Subject and Method

A study in the homeland of at least one of the groups studied in Belgium should be undertaken. Although it is too early to make any decision, the case of the Portuguese community might be worthwhile. As far as we can now see, many Portuguese from the North have been living in a socio-cultural and economic situation quite different from that of the South. There seem to be different attitudes towards family planning and family rôles. If these first hypotheses are confirmed, a differential study would be rewarding.

Our emphasis of the homeland study is based on the following considerations:

a) In order to understand psychological and socio-cultural change it is essential to know who and what is changing. Information on the homeland, as given by the immigrants, is confusing from the methodological standpoint.
b) Generally speaking, the home image tends to be idealized. In some cases it is denigrated. It would be worthwhile to know how far these processes reach and what is the underlying mechanism. This is impossible without an adequate study of the home area.
c) For a number of immigrants the image of the homeland may perform an integrating function. In other words, the homeland might remain the prevalent reference group. Analysis of this topic is crucial to understanding interaction with ethnic out-groups.

d) The homeland image has a considerable influence on the way immigrants try to educate their children.
e) A study of pre-migrational attitudes toward migration and toward Belgium could be made.
f) The consequences of emigration for the donor community could be evaluated.
g) The impact of information, sent or brought home by emigrants, on the image of the Belgian host country could be analysed.
h) We could study returned migrants.

Personnel and Timing

One year of research in Portugal by the unit working in Ixelles, after 18 months of field work in Belgium, so that mutual feedback of the Belgian and Portuguese field research is possible.

Other Suggestions

As the symposium is trying to shape feasible research projects, we restrict our selection to the foregoing communities. However, if funds are available, it would be worthwhile to make a study of some so-called well-integrated immigrant communities in the area of Charleroi.

Another study of the immigrant families with high socio-economic status belonging to various international agencies would be very rewarding, especially so since comparisons could be made with the studies of working-class immigrants.

THE PROBLEM OF BLACK IDENTITY AMONG BRAZILIAN NEGROES

by

Roger Bastide

(Translation by UNSDRI Secretariat)

If one put the question to a Brazilian white, his answer would certainly be that there is no such thing as a black identity, only a national identity. He would to some extent be right: Brazilian blacks are nationalists, proud of being Brazilian. But the problem is more complex than it appears at first sight; a black identity might exist within a national identity, but there could also be a crisis of identity among individuals subjected to contradictory pressures toward integration into a national entity and toward marginalization within this entity.

Because of their sparse numbers we will not treat in depth the Afro-Brazilians, the Candombles, Xangos and Batuques, who have kept in their new home country entire segments of African culture (and particularly religious rites). Some remarks are nevertheless appropriate, since the Brazilian findings can no doubt be generalized to apply to the Voodoist groups in Haiti, as well as the Cuban Santeria and Trinidadian Xangos.

We discovered the existence of a "principle of cleavage" ("principe de coupure") among the Afro-Brazilians similar to that existing in other populations. But while we are accustomed to a cleavage among such identities as family and professional[1], among Afro-Brazilians the cleavage separates the cultural identity from the national identity. The same individual is both deeply "African" in his religious culture and politically fully integrated into the Brazilian nation[2]. But this diversification of group identities does not produce any apparent conflict of personal identity.

The African identity does not conflict with the national identity, because of its different nature. Through the shell games and initiation rites the Afro-Brazilian knows where he belongs and what his rôle is in both the cosmic system and his group. He is not lost as an individual; his own future is harmoniously integrated in the future of the world[3]. The degree of integration is such that when African worship was prohibited by the police, mental illness increased so substantially that the prohibition was lifted at the request of the medical profession[4]. This suggests that the African identity ensures and provides the basis for personal identity, while the Brazilian identity only

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1/ Goffman, Erving, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Doubleday Anchor, New York, 1959.

2/ Bastide, Roger, Le principe de coupure et le comportement afro-brésilien, Anais do XXXI Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, Anhembi, São Paulo, 1955 (493-504).

3/ Ziegler, Jean, Conversation personnelle, 1972.

4/ Fernandes, Gonçalves, Xangos do Nordeste, Civilizaçao Brasileira S.A., Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

serves as the basis for membership in social, economic and political groups. It places the blacks within a frame of norms and rôles imposed not by their particular cultural entity, but by the larger society which marginalizes them.

Shifting now from the Afro-Brazilian to the larger group of black Brazilians, one will notice that, starting from the abolition of slavery, a complete pattern of inter-racial relations was developed which defined what was normally expected of blacks. One can therefore transpose to Brazil what Young and Chassy said about the "Negro" of North America:

> "The Negro is something which exists; it is a social identity without very close relations to the colour of the skin. Since we are dealing with a social identity, the term refers to a model of behaviour adopted by a group of persons who, by virtue of it, consider themselves as things after a process of socialization and development of social control"5/.

Octavio Ianni showed that the changes of economic structure due to the disappearance of slave labour did not ipso facto entail a change of the social structure; the whites continued to transpose into the new system the values, ideals, and techniques of rule which had developed in the slavery system. The master and the slave simply became whites, blacks and mulattoes. "The whites' negative assessments of the blacks and mulattoes are redefined in the new socio-economic system, in which a bi-polar division of the population continues to exist." "In the process of conversion of the slave into a Negro or mulatto, the selection of colour as a social attribute constitutes the final and definitive expression of the new social being; it will provide the mark of perfect social delimitation of a group of men " The author notes clearly how colour prejudice, the mystique of progressive whitening of the Brazilian population, the myths of "arianization" and "racial democracy" all result from the reorganization of the social system designed to maintain the superiority of whites in the new system of labour6/.

But this superiority could only be maintained if the blacks accepted - or interiorized - the model which the whites had established for them, i.e. if the blacks behaved in the manner expected by the whites. As said by Florestan Fernandez, "Whatever the type of maladjustment considered, the dynamic pole of the process is invariably constituted by the desire to be categorized economically

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5/ Young, T.R. and Chassy, Paul, La restauration d'une identité: les "Black Muslems", Cah. Int. de Sociol., LI, 1971 (277-289)

6/ Ianni, Octavio, As metamorfoses do escravo, Difusão Européa do Livro, São Paulo, 1962.

and socially, and to be considered as a human being; this required the black and the mulatto to identify himself ... with white behavioural models, social values and life-style." There was no other way to rise in white-dominated society, to find in it a place and a rôle, than to become a "Negro with a white soul", or completely to erase the stigma of colour by marrying with whites, giving birth through generations to ever lighter skin, so as to extinguish oneself as a race7/. But in reality the black could never attain the desired white status. He was rejected by a whole series of more or less hypocritical measures which prevented the black man from effectively competing on the labour market and the black woman from having lighter-skinned children except by concubinage, i.e. outside the white family norms. In short, the whole strategy of the white class consisted of imposing a double identity on the Brazilian black, treating him as a citizen equal to any other but at the same time as a black "incapable" of citizenship (for his laziness, his vices, his lack of education).

This imposition of an identity on the blacks, who accepted it, is evident for example in radio and television, where the black has to play the rôle attributed to him by the whites with specific qualities: on one hand a sense of rhythm and gift for improvisation; on the other hand, lack of morality, shiftlessness and servility. The result is a highly developed image of a "burlesque" black, an image which the black influenced by these messages transforms into a model: "his gestures, his attitudes, his slang, his metaphors, his quasi-theatrical sentence structure, his way of talking and laughing, all this shows an extraordinary influence of the broadcasting black on the real black. This influence reaches the point where it is reflected in criteria of individual or group self-evaluation by the black himself"8/.

It is certainly evident that all Afro-Americans from the United States to South America have created a culture of their own, a culture which constitutes a definitive response to their new conditions of life. It is also evident that this culture changes as conditions of life change; this is easily seen in comparing the rural culture of the North American black with the urban ghetto culture. The same development has occurred in Brazil, but the influence of the whites has succeeded in sterilizing, to the benefit of the whites, the creative dynamics of Afro-Brazilian culture. This serves the purpose of controlling and, at least at present, stopping the spontaneous development

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7/ Fernandes, Florestan, A integração do negro à sociedade de classes, Universidade de São Paulo, 1964.

8/ Borges Pereira, João Baptista, Côr, profissão e mobilidade, Livraria Pioneira, São Paulo, 1967.

of black culture at a level which 1) satisfies the general public and 2) is compatible with the image of Brazilian nationalism ("our civilization is not simply a copy of Portuguese civilization; it is original, and includes elements drawn from non-European civilizations").

The question at present seems to be the following: must the black choose between the two identities, one promising the paradise of integration if only he moves into the world of white values, and the second allowing him to retain his culture, but under the control of the whites? Is there no other solution, which would allow him to retain his culture while becoming integrated into the larger society? This would of course imply a black impact on the dominant culture, forcing it to accept black identity as an equivalent to white identity, and not simply a picturesque adjunct to it. The two identities, national and black, would be reconciled instead of being antagonistic. It is perhaps this urge for reconciliation which explains, at least in part, the dramatic success which the "spiritism of Umbanda" has had in Brazil.

Here the comparison between Brazil and the United States is interesting. In the United States as in Brazil, an important strategy utilized by blacks to compensate for the deterioration of their identity has taken a religious form. In both cases the final objective is to create a "social identity which would be recognized and truly respectable"9/. But within the religious framework the directions taken are diametrically opposed (separatism for the Black Muslim movement, integration for the spiritism of Umbanda).

The spiritism of Umbanda grew out of Macumba, the African cults of Rio de Janeiro. Macumba is characterized by an intensive syncretism of African religions, still relatively pure at the end of the 19th century, Indian religions, folk Catholicism (saint cults) and European spiritualism. The fusion of elements succeeded so well that the trance which constitutes the objective of the cult can be brought about as well by the African gods transplanted to Brazil as by the American Indian spirits or the spirits of the dead, in this case dead slaves (Father Jean, Father Joaquim, etc.10/ This meant that within the terreiros of Macumba the synthesis of Brazil's three cultures was already taking place. This pointed to a "national" religion as opposed to exclusivist, purely colonial religions, like "Roman" - versus "folk" - catholicism. In this sense a Macumba leader, Jacy Rêgo Barros, wrote a small book, Senzala e Macumba, to protest the "arianism" of non-syncretic christianity, affirming that Macumba

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9/ Young, T.R. and Chassy, Paul, La restauration d'une identité: les "Black Muslems", Cah. Int. de Sociol., LI, 1971 (277-289).

10/ Ramos, Arthur, O Negro Brasileiro, I. Ethnographia religiosa, 2e ed., Companhia Editora Nacional, São Paulo, 1940 (chap. IV and V).

was the place to create a culture responsive to the Brazilian miscegenation11/. But Macumba, with its bloody sacrifices, its wild trances, its utilization of black magic, its recruitment among the blackest and most miserable of the population, was accepted neither by the white bourgeoisie nor by the developing lower middle class of blacks. This led to the schism between Macumba, now called Quimbanda and specializing in black magic, and the spiritism of Umbanda, which accepts the values of the lower middle class: elimination of the black magic, of bloody sacrifices and of the liturgy sung in African tongues, and above all development of "morals" as the focal point of teaching. While Quimbanda is based on the egoistic impulses of man, Umbanda is based on the dictates of caritas, as well as on the development of the spiritual personality of man which will allow him to escape from the prison of matter. This acceptance of middle class values is such that some Catholic priests envisaged, within the framework of ecumenicism, dialogue with Umbanda which in their opinion has been able to adapt better than Catholicism to a multi-racial society, drawing the faithful from "an imported church to a more authentically Brazilian church"12/.

As it expanded, Umbanda went beyond the black Macumba participants to recruit its believers. As a result, there are often many more whites than coloured participants at a Umbanda seance. Umbanda leaders are rarely very dark. One could conclude that Umbanda reflects in its religious leadership the Brazilian principle of social mobility: miscegenation, which admits mulattoes onto the social ladder (as syncretism permits an easier acceptance of African cultural traits by non-Africans than would be the case if African culture had remained pure).

It is now possible, leaving aside of course the non-black participants, to see how Umbanda leads to a revision of black identity and its convergence with Brazilian identity. The black is not an outsider, he represents only a special way of being Brazilian:

11/ Rêgo Barros, Jacy, Senzala e Macumba, Ed. do jornal do commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 1939. It is significant that in the European spiritualist seance, some mediums received messages from deceased Negroes, but they were at once expelled by the chief of the "tente" because they took advantage of participation to talk nonsense and to make jokes instead of indoctrinating the faithful and preaching morals to them. Thus European spiritualism maintained this stereotype of the "burlesque" or immoral black, so it is understandable that the blacks wanted to create their own spiritualism to prove the respectability of reincarnation of blacks.

12/ Kloppenburg, Boaventura, "Ensaio de uma nova posição pastoral perante à Umbanda", REB, Vozes, Petropolis, 1968 (404-417); Mombelli, Savino, "Umbanda", Fede e Civiltà, 9-10, Parma, 1971.

1) Black identity is a "respectable" identity from two points of view. Firstly, while remaining rooted in the culture of his African ancestors, the black has transformed this culture in such a way that it can be adopted by non-blacks. Secondly, but concurrently, the black has adopted Western values (just as Black Muslims have already borrowed the values of the North American middle class, i.e. value criteria of respectability, contrasted with ghetto blacks who are not "respectable").

2) We have pointed out that there was an opposition between the two identities imposed on the black from the outside. It can be said that all movements initiated by the blacks from the moment they acquired self-consciousness have tended to demand recognition of a valid - as well as national - black identity (provoking blacks to be labelled racists, wildly unacceptable in a country where the whites are "racial democrats"). Before the Second World War "A Frente Negra" represented both a rebellion against the image of blacks created by the whites and a movement by which black masses were to be educated to interiorize white values (do not drink, work hard, stick to it, act like a gentleman)13/. Immediately after the War there was the "black experimental theatre". It was not only a theatre but the elaboration of a whole philosophy of the black Brazilian14/. But these efforts failed and the black always found himself facing the choice between white Negro and exotic, even "burlesque" Negro.

It seems to us that the spiritism of Umbanda secures to its black followers a validation of their black identity, to the extent that mulattoes or white believers in the spiritism worship African divinities as equals of Catholic saints (they represent the same beings under different names) and to the extent that, contrary to the European spiritualism, black spirits enter the body of the medium not to express foolishness but to act charitably. And this black identity is not in opposition to the national identity. All that contradicted Western values in African religions has been eliminated, preserving only that which could be adjusted15/. It can even be said that every Umbandist, white or black, accepts a black identity, at least culturally to the extent that he is an Umbandist. At this point the two identities are so intertwined that the black Brazilian has a white identity at the same time as his black identity, and the white Brazilian accepts a black cultural identity along with his white somatic identity. In the intertwining we can see the outline of a national religion: the syncretic institution creating a syncretic, peculiarly Brazilian identity.

13/ Bastide, Roger, A imprensa negra no Estado de S Paulo, in Estudos Afro-Brasileiros, 2a Serie, Universidade de São Paulo, 1951.

14/ Nascimento, Abdias do, Dramas para negros e prologo para brancos, Ed. do Teatro experimental negro, 1961.

15/ Bastide, Roger, Les Religions africaines au Brésil, Presses Universitaires de France, 1960, 2e Partie, Chap. VI.

CARIBBEAN MIGRANTS AND GROUP IDENTITY:

SUGGESTIONS FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

by

Constance R. Sutton

In recent years while an increasing number of Europeans and North Americans have been touring in the Caribbean, a reverse movement of peoples has taken place. Large numbers of Caribbean people have migrated to urban centres in Europe, the United States, and Canada, and on a scale unmatched by their earlier migrations. By 1970 immigrants from various Caribbean islands formed sizeable communities in London, Montreal, Paris, and New York, to name only some of the larger centres where they have settled.

This movement to the cities of Western powers that have directly controlled the Caribbean region in the past and continue to influence its destiny today is but the latest of the migratory movements that began early in this century and that took peoples with different island backgrounds to other Caribbean islands (Cuba, Santo Domingo, Trinidad, Aruba), to the Panama Canal Zone, and to New York City. Thus, the Caribbean immigrants found today in the North Atlantic metropoles come from societies that are emigration-oriented. As children they grow up with emigration held out as a major future prospect for which to plan and prepare. It is typical for them to have close relatives who have emigrated (and sometimes returned), or even one or both parents who have left for places where opportunities appeared more promising.

It is not dislike for their island societies that disposes Caribbean peoples toward emigration, for most would prefer to remain at home and intend to return after they have accumulated sufficient capital or achieved a better education. Nor is the recent large-scale arrival of Caribbean peoples in the metropoles of the West an expression of their lingering colonial loyalties or their eagerness to identify with the peoples of the metropole. Their motives are strictly economic, for now, as in the past, they emigrate in search of a better livelihood, a better education, the opportunities to improve their lot which their own societies cannot provide. As a Trinidadian student in the United States put it, "Caribbean peoples are economic exiles".

For the North Atlantic countries, the presence of this new wave of immigrants has raised unforeseen issues. In all cases, the Caribbean presence is having an impact on the host country's institutional and symbolic structures, causing a re-examination and re-evaluation of the operative assumptions on which they have been based. One reason for this is that Caribbean immigrants do not evoke the same responses or seem to follow the same processes of adaptation and absorption believed to have characterized the experience of some of the previous immigrant groups1/. Nor do they occupy, as do, for example, the Syrians or Finns in New York City, the position of a distinct ethnic enclave that is socially invisible at any level other than the local one. Instead, Caribbean immigrants, along with non-white immigrants from other colonial

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1/ Lewis, Gordon R 1971. "An Introductory Note to the Study of Race Relations in Great Britain", Caribbean Studies, (11)1:5-29.

or ex-colonial areas, raise problems in the areas of education[2/], housing[3/], job and union discrimination[4/], police behaviour[5/], and in the arena of interpersonal encounters with members of the host society[6/]. Their rôle has been described as that of showing up the deficiencies of the host societies and their mode of incorporation into these societies appears to be significantly different from that of earlier immigrant groups. Why this is so, and what the outcome will be, is an intriguing question to all concerned - the immigrant populations, their host societies, and their island home societies[7/].

2/ Bowker, Gordon. 1971. "Interaction, Intergroup Conflict and Tension in the Context of Education", International Social Science Journal (23)4:536-548.

3/ Haddon, Roy F. 1970. "A Minority in a Welfare State Society: Location of West Indians in the London Housing Market", in The New Atlantis, (2)I:80-134.

4/ Allen, Sheila. 1970. "Immigrants or Workers", in Race and Racialism, ed. by Sami Zubaida. London: Tavistock Publications.

5/ Lambert, John R. 1970. "Race Relations: The Rôle of the Police", in Race and Racialism, ed. by Sami Zubaida. London: Tavistock Publications.

6/ Little, Kenneth. 1971. "Approaches to the Sociological Study of Race Relations in Britain", in Ethnics, Vol. I:127-136

7/ It is worth noting that this recent emigration has helped to create a new and dynamic field of social interaction between peoples of the Caribbean resident in the metropole and those who remain back home. Anthropologists have analysed the rôle that remittances play in establishing and maintaining this social field (see, for example, Manners, Robert A. 1965. "Remittances and the Unit of Analysis in Anthropological Research", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 21(3):179-195; and Philpott, Stuart B. 1970. "The Implications of Migration for Sending Societies: Some Theoretical Considerations", in Migration and Anthropology, Proceedings of the 1970 meetings of the AES, Seattle: U. of Washington Press), but there have been only passing references to how it operates to effect changes in political and racial consciousness. This is an important area for future research as it has become clear that the experiences of immigrants are quickly relayed back to their home societies where their effects reverberate. Likewise, developments within the Caribbean have an impact on the status, activities, and political orientations of the immigrants. The specific nature of these linkages needs to be explored, particularly with respect to the wider racial and ethnic identities that Caribbean peoples are acquiring.

Sociological theory reflects this situation in its controversies over the appropriate framework to adopt for analysing the recent immigrants. In Britain an immigrant perspective that borrowed heavily from the works of American sociologists has been expanded to include other hypotheses: the colour-class theory, the stranger hypothesis, and the racial approach[8/]. It is the racial perspective that the authors of Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations[9/] employ to explain Britain's "unique" response to the newcomers from the ex-colonies. This racial factor is analysed by some as an aspect of the system of stratification and power while others view it as an attribute of the colonial relationship[10/].

In the United States, sharp disagreement exists over whether an immigrant or colonial model is more appropriate for analysing race relations in that country[11/]. Interestingly enough, this controversy is not about the status of immigrants who come from the region where Western colonialism first took root, but is over the status of black Americans. Where and how Caribbean immigrants fit within the already well-formed structure of U.S. ethnic and race relations, and whether the immigrant-ethnic, the colonized, or the racial caste model best describes their position and experience in that country, are all questions that need to be researched.

Caribbean immigrants also raise interesting questions concerning the formation and content of ethnic and racial identities. While the experience of immigration is known to heighten individual and group self-consciousness in general, how this contributes to the processes involved in constructing an ethnic identity has begun to be analysed only recently.

It is the persistence of ethnic and racial groups in modern societies, the new meanings that are imputed to ethnicity, and the new functions ethnic groups play, particularly in the politics of change,

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8/ Patterson, Sheila 1963. Dark Strangers. London: Tavistock Publications.
Deakin, Nicholas. 1971. "A Survey of Race Relations in Britain", Ethnics (I):75-90.

9/ Rose, E.J.B. and Associates. 1969. Colour and Citizenship - A Report on British Race Relations. London: Oxford Univ. Press.

10/ Zubaida, Sami. 1970. "Introduction" to Race and Racialism, op. cit.

11/ Glazer, N. 1971. "Blacks and Ethnic Groups: The Difference and the Political Difference it Makes", in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Vol.II. ed. by N.I. Huggins, M. Kilson, D.M. Fox. New York, Harcourt Brace.
Blauner, Robert. 1972. Racial Oppression in America. New York: Harper & Row.

that has caught the attention of anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists. In anthropology, current approaches tend to emphasize either the pressures emanating from the institutions of the wider society that create ethnic groups out of ethnic categories[12/] or the symbols and forms by which ethnic groups maintain their social identity[13/]. The process by which stigmatized groups engage in conscious efforts to assert a new personal and collective identity has been labelled "ethnogenesis" by Singer[14/]. It is this process that is most relevant for understanding the ways different Caribbean groups define themselves and the terms by which they relate to their host societies. This paper can only suggest dimensions of this phenomenon of ethnogenesis and point out how the distribution of different Caribbean groups in different urban centres offers exciting possibilities for comparative research.

A glance at the existing literature shows the presence of Caribbean groups of different historical and cultural backgrounds in the same city, and of the same group in different cities and countries. Most of the studies of Caribbean migrants to date, however, have confined themselves to documenting the experience of a single group in one setting rather than focusing on the explicitly comparative concerns that recent migratory movements have made salient. A notable exception to this is a pioneering article by Sidney Mintz[15/] which looked at the differential adaptation of Puerto Rican immigrants in three contrasting social and cultural settings and related the differences to features of the host societies - in this case St. Croix, Hawaii, and New York.

I shall limit my discussion here to four Caribbean groups for which information, though limited, was available: Haitians, English-speaking West Indians, Puerto Ricans and French West Indians. The four groups share a history of colonization by metropolitan powers as well as a contemporary concern with the issues of political, economic and cultural independence. But within this framework there are important differences in past and current relationships to the North

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12/ Glick, Nina. "The Creation of an Ethnic Group in New York City". Paper delivered April 1971, Meeting of Society for Applied Anthropology.
Cohen, Abner. 1969. Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns. Berkeley: University of California Press.

13/ Barth, Frederick. 1969. "Introduction", in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference, ed. by F. Barth. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

14/ Singer, L. 1962. "Ethnogenesis and Negro Americans Today", in Social Research, V.29, No. 4, pp.419-32.

15/ Mintz, Sidney. 1955. "Puerto Rican Emigration: A Threefold Comparison", Social and Economic Studies, (4)4:311-325.

Atlantic metropoles and in the contents and forms of their own national cultures. These dimensions affect the ways in which they present themselves and are perceived by the societies to which they immigrate.

For all peoples whose history has included cultural dominance by a colonial power, the question of national identity is somewhat problematic, but not to the same degree. It is impossible to do justice to the complex question of national identity in a few brief sentences, but one dimension along which significant comparisons can be made is cultural autonomy. Of the four groups discussed here, the Haitians are most prone to view themselves as constituting a society with a distinct cultural heritage which has acknowledged French and African sources but is perceived as distinctly Haitian. In contrast, the English-speaking West Indians have, until recently, seen themselves as partaking of many of the attitudes and attributes of the English, who are regarded as carriers of a superior culture. Today they are in the throes of attempting to develop a national identity that reflects the more distinctive aspects of their history and experience. Racial consciousness and pride have become salient elements in their new preoccupation with redefining themselves and their relationship to the West.

Though my information is meagre for the French West Indies, there are indications of a strong identification with the metropolitan culture which parallels and perhaps surpasses that of their English-speaking counterparts. The reaction of the masses to the works of Aimé Césaire and Franz Fanon, and any repudiation of a view of themselves as black Frenchmen, is unclear. In light of the incorporation of Martinique and Guadeloupe as Overseas Departments of France, the issue of a distinct, more autonomous cultural identity merits further study.

In turning to Puerto Rico, we find that race is a subordinate issue in the concept of a national identity. For Puerto Ricans the question of identity is intimately linked to the struggle against American economic and cultural penetration of the island society, and in this context they turn to emphasizing the Spanish and Indian elements of Puerto Rico's heritage.

In the Caribbean, the issues of cultural autonomy and national identity are posed vis-à-vis the colonial cultures, but as Caribbean peoples immigrate to the North Atlantic metropoles, other factors affecting their group identity come into play. Crucial among these are: a) the ethnic and racial make-up of the host society, and b) its own past and present experience with Caribbean and other immigrant groups.

The distribution of Caribbean groups in the North Atlantic metropoles is suggestive of the lines along which future comparative work might proceed. Let us consider for the moment four of the cities which have drawn Caribbean migrants in large numbers: Paris, Montreal, London and New York. In Paris, the French West Indian community of Martiniquans and Guadeloupians in 1968 numbered 150,000 and there is also a sizeable Haitian community. Like Paris, Montreal has attracted

increasing numbers of French West Indians and Haitians, and there is in addition a small but growing community of English-speaking West Indians. England's urban and industrial centres, not surprisingly, contain one of the largest overseas communities of English-speaking West Indians. Although they numbered less than 100,000 in 1950[16], by 1970 there were an estimated 572,000[17]. New York provides the most diverse array of Caribbean peoples of the four cities. The English-speaking West Indian community numbers around half a million, the city's Puerto Rican population is now estimated at over 800,000[18], and approximately 120,000 Haitians have arrived during the past decade[19]. Altogether, New York City has one of the largest populations of black and Puerto Rican people of any city. Of the four groups I am considering, then, two are found in Paris, three in Montreal, one in London, and three in New York. Haitians and English-speaking West Indians are the most widely represented, each having significant communities in three of these cities, while French West Indians are found in two of the urban centres and Puerto Ricans in one.

Drawing on the existing literature on Caribbean immigrants in these four settings, I want to suggest factors relevant to the ethnic and racial statuses they occupy. Paris will provide my point of departure. Here comparisons can be made of the responses of and to the two French-speaking groups: Haitians and French West Indians. These two Caribbean groups differ in their relationship to France and French culture, and in their attitudes toward their racial status and national identity. However, Raveau[20] indicates that the French do not perceive the two groups as different; to them, blackness is a category that overrides cultural differences. But the reactions of the two immigrant groups to this racial rejection are not identical. Among Martiniquans and Guadeloupians, who arrive with the notion that they are culturally French, it evokes a counter-ideological stance, but among Haitians the response is that of uninvolved foreign visitors. As Raveau states, the first represents a reaction that one may expect from a national minority group, while the second is only possible for a group which considers itself exogenous.

16/ Kramer, Daniel C. 1969. "White vs. Coloured in Britain: An Explosive Confrontation?" in Social Research, V. 36, No 4.

17/ Deakin, Nicholas. 1970. "Ethnic Minorities in the Social Sciences", in The New Atlantis, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 134-159.

18/ Fitzpatrick, Joseph. 1971. Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

19/ Glick, Nina. "Ethnic Groups Are Made Not Born: The Haitian Immigrant and American Politics". Conference on Inter-Ethnic Relations in Complex Societies, Brown U., 13-15 May 1971.

20/ Raveau, François. 1970. "The use of Minorities in the Social Sciences", in The New Atlantis, Vol 2, No. 1, pp. 159-168.

The category in which an immigrant will be placed is strongly affected by the ideas and images a society holds of itself. This is noted in an article which analysed recent reporting in the French popular press[21]. The findings indicate that the French do not perceive themselves as a distinctive socio-ethnic group and apply racial and ethnic categories only to the five per cent of their population (West Indians, Africans, etc.) that exhibit traits marking them as somehow different. As culturally homogeneous nationals, the French viewed themselves as individuals able to move about freely in society, untrammelled by socio-cultural traits.

In Montreal, Canada, the French-speaking West Indians encounter a very different situation. There, ethnic pluralism is an acknowledged fact of the society and a basis for politics. Although the French-speaking West Indian community in Montreal is not large, one may compare it with that in Paris, and examine how its members relate to the French-speaking Canadians, themselves a minority group. Moreover, the expectations of the immigrants concerning Montreal or Paris are likely to influence how they will interpret their experiences in these two settings. Finally, it is possible in Montreal to study the ties, if any, between French West Indians, Haitians, and English-speaking West Indians who have become a growing community in that city during the past decade.

Though the English-speaking West Indian community in Montreal is currently being studied, there are, as yet, no published accounts. It contains an active university student group, several of whom took over a computer centre at Sir George William University in 1969 in a protest action that was publicized widely in the international press. This event had profound repercussions in the West Indies, contributing to the Black Power revolt in Trinidad a year later[22].

There are a few articles on English-speaking West Indians in Canada and references to them in Winks' authoritative The Blacks in Canada[23]. They all suggest that English-speaking West Indians have not become

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21/ Guillaumin, Colette. 1971. "The Popular Press and Ethnic Pluralism: The Situation in France". International Social Science Journal, V. XXIII, No. 4, pp.576-594.

22/ Oxaal, Ivan. 1971. Race and Revolutionary Consciousness: An Existential Report on the 1970 Black Power Revolt in Trinidad. Cambridge, Mass.

23/ Winks, Robin W. 1971. The Blacks in Canada. New Haven: Yale University Press.

deeply involved with Canadian society. Greene[24] found no relation between their length of residence and their participation in socio-political activities or their support for the political regime of the host society. A study of English-speaking West Indian domestics in Canada emphasized the difficulties they encountered adjusting to Canadian society and their longing to return to the West Indies[25]. Winks writes that West Indians band together and hold themselves aloof from Canadians, both black and white[26]. During the 1920's and 1930's, they opposed integration and, in sharp contrast to black Canadians, were ardent supporters of Garvey, whom they hailed as the chief spokesman of "The West Indian Nation in Exile"[26].

Despite the concept of a West Indian nation, island rivalries kept English-speaking West Indians in Canada from working together toward common goals. These divisive tendencies appear, however, to have been encouraged by two features of Canadian society: a) its ethos of cultural pluralism which makes ancestry the proper basis for group identity, and b) the assumption that each group prefers to be left alone to guard its separate identity rather than to assimilate into what is regarded as the amorphous entity of Canadian society. In Canada it is by embracing one's ethnicity that one gains visibility and conforms to expectations[27]. Visibility here, whether racial or cultural, is not thought of as a handicap.

Not surprisingly, the largest English-speaking West Indian immigrant communities are found in New York and London. Unlike the situation in Great Britain, West Indian arrivals in New York come to a city that not only has a large native black population but also an established English-speaking West Indian population, the product of earlier migrations. It is estimated that by the 1930's West Indians represented between 17 and 25 per cent of New York City's black population[28]. But it is difficult to get accurate figures on the numbers of West Indians in the United States since so many are without proper visas and are therefore not recorded in the immigration statistics.

24/ Greene, J. Edward. 1970. "Political Perspectives on the Assimilation of Immigrants: A Case Study of West Indians in Vancouver". Social and Economic Studies, V.19, No.3, pp. 406-423

25/ Henry, Frances. 1968. "The West Indian Domestic Scene in Canada", Social and Economic Studies, XVII, No. 1, March, pp.83-91

26/ Winks, Robin W. 1971. The Blacks in Canada. New Haven, Yale University Press.

27/ Winks, Robin W. 1971. "The Canadian Negro: A Historical Assessment", in Black Society in the New World, ed. by R. Frucht, New York, Random House.

28/ Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel. 1963 Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, Mass. The MIT Press.

There are striking differences in the situation in New York and London which have consequences for the English-speaking West Indians in terms of their self-ascribed group identification and their strategies of action. As Bryce-Laporte[29] notes, U.S. racism has made West Indians virtually invisible as a foreign immigrant population. The two-caste system of racial categorization over-rides all other criteria of group ascription, and submerges foreign black populations within it. Bryce-Laporte describes some of the consequences of this situation, among which is the absence of studies on West Indians in the U.S. This is in marked contrast to the vast literature on other immigrant groups, or to the extensive literature on West Indians in Great Britain[30].

To white Americans, then, English-speaking West Indians in the U.S. are considered first and foremost as black people, and West Indians have had little choice in this matter. Moreover, even when their status as foreign immigrants is acknowledged, their place in U.S. society is seen in the context of the native black population. Neither their problems nor their achievements are regarded in the same light as those of other foreign immigrant groups, nor have their struggles in this country become part of the saga of the making of America by its newcomers. This is not to say that West Indian contributions in the fields of entrepreneurship, political leadership, the arts and education have gone unnoticed. But these contributions have been viewed by white Americans and by West Indians themselves, as achievements of "Black America".

But significant differences have operated between West Indians and Black Americans. West Indians, unburdened by the history of harsher and more crudely facilitating U.S. patterns of race relations, have found it possible to seize upon and exploit opportunities that seemed unavailable to black Americans. Their relative success has often been used by white Americans to reinforce the negative views they hold of

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29/ Bryce-Laporte, Roy S. 1972. "Black Immigrants: The Experience of Invisibility and Inequality", Journal of Black Studies, (3) 1:29-56.

30/ The first full study of West Indians in the U.S. was written by a black sociologist, Ira de A. Reid, and published in 1939. The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937 (New York: Columbia University Press). Since then, Paule Marshall has written a novel entitled Brown Girl, Brownstones (New York: Random House, 1959) describing the Barbadian community in Brooklyn. English-speaking West Indians in the U.S. have not been the subject of any other full-length study since Reid's work, which can, however, still be read with profit today. It should serve as a baseline for measuring changes in the English-speaking West Indian situation in the U.S.

the native black population and by West Indians to assert their own superiority over American blacks. In this respect, the presence of black Americans serves a similar purpose for black immigrants, for white immigrants and for white Americans generally - namely to indicate where the bottom is. That black Americans protect white Americans from experiencing a sense of total failure in a society as success-oriented as the United States is a notion that James Baldwin discussed at some length over a decade ago. It is also obvious that since West Indians do not escape a primary ascription as black people, the rôle of black Americans in elevating the status of West Indians is complex, ambiguous, and certainly more limited in nature than what obtains for the white immigrant.

The racial caste system in the U.S. also acts as a counter-acculturation pressure on West Indian immigrants and their offspring. Unlike the situation of white immigrant groups, acculturation to U.S. ways in the case of black foreigners means acculturation to being a black American, which usually implies a loss of status. Thus the racial situation in the U.S. has led West Indians to place a positive value on retaining their West Indian customs and on emphasizing their island backgrounds and their distinctive identities, even though this behaviour is often resented by black Americans and has been a source of conflict between the two groups.

The conditions that have fostered a resistance among West Indians to becoming absorbed by or identified with the larger black American community have recently shifted in ways that should affect the content and form of group identity assumed by West Indians. As part of the push by black Americans to break the racial barrier and destroy the entire system of racism, there has also been a conscious effort to assert a black cultural hegemony. The affirmation of the existence of a distinctive and valuable black culture is seen not only as an act that calls attention to a neglected heritage that should be set alongside the other cultural contributions to the American way of life, but as a celebration of a heritage that conflicts with the dominant cultural values of the white society. Part of this celebration has consisted in commending traits that white Americans had used to stigmatize black people.

There are at least two important ways the U.S. Black Power movement affects the English-speaking West Indians, as well as other foreign blacks, in that country. First, the movement has opened up opportunities for black people at the higher levels of the social system, and West Indians, because of their better educational backgrounds, benefit from this directly, and perhaps disproportionately. Second, it has altered some of the behavioural norms required of black people to achieve success and made access to social rewards less dependent upon the approval of individual whites. This has provided some positive incentives for foreign blacks to acquire a black American identity. The process is further encouraged by the new ideologies that emphasize the plight of all black people in "white" societies and provide a link with the African past through a view of black people as "Africans of the Diaspora".

The effectiveness of these efforts to convert a stigmatized racial identity into an ethnic identity that can be universalized and serve as a rallying point is not well known. Nor do we know by what steps one moves from a primary identity as a black Barbadian American, a member of a group of 32,000 other New York City Barbadians, to a black West Indian, a black American, an African of the Diaspora, a member of the Third World. What these new and increasingly broader identifications imply for social action, personal identity, and options perceived is also not well understood and should be researched. We do have considerable evidence on individuals and groups operating with several identities. But it is the salience of a given identity and the context in which it is controlling that are essential to understand if we are to explore the relationship between group identity (consciousness) and the processes of social conflict and change.

It is interesting, in this connection, to note that there have been a number of unsuccessful efforts to bring together, under a single organizational aegis, the English-speaking West Indians in the U.S. A recent attempt was made in 1972, when the National Association for West Indian Americans was launched in New York City. The black American community viewed this step negatively, as a sign that West Indians were proclaiming exclusivity and seeking to maintain themselves as a preferred group in relation to the larger society. In the context of the rivalries created by New York City's ethnic politics, they saw a West Indian organization as an effort to organize competition for political positions created by the protests of black Americans. The West Indians, on the other hand, saw their effort as a means of moving from narrow insular identifications, as Jamaicans, Barbadians, Trinidadians, to one by which they can better make their presence in the U.S. felt, both as blacks and as West Indians[31/]. But though the leaders declared their double identity, to organize as West Indians still had ambiguous connotations. Thus, like past efforts of this kind, the organization's status and future hangs in doubt. This suggests that perhaps the more natural line of movement for West Indians is from the immigrant insular community directly into the wider black American community.

When we turn to England, a very different situation prevails. Here West Indian-wide organizations and forms of identity more readily flourish. Not only is there no large native black population to predetermine the framework within which they act and are viewed, but unlike their compatriots in the U.S., West Indians go to England not expecting to encounter racism. Moreover, they do not arrive there, as in New York or Montreal, with the expectation that their ways will be very different from those of the host country, since they perceive themselves as

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31/ Butler, Neville. 1972. "The National Organization of West-Indian Americans Cannot Remain Separate and Apart From Black Americans" in Antillean Caribbean Echo. 18 March, 1972. p. 5.

culturally similar to the English[32]. England, unlike the U.S., is not thought of as a country to exploit solely for economic purposes. It is the country whose culture West Indians believe they have imbibed from their early school days. It is the country that is the source of their own "great tradition".

Their response then to being seen by the English as foreign or exotic, their encountering racial discrimination and prejudice, produce a reaction quite different from that which they have when they encounter racism in the U.S. It is English arrogance and aloofness that make it clear to West Indians in England that it is not cultural differences but English racial prejudice that operates to define their status. It is then, the English response to the anglified West Indian that leads the West Indian to shift his identity to that of a "black man in a white society", a victim of a hated and oppressive system. And Enoch Powell and the restrictive Immigration Acts passed in England during the past decade prove to West Indians that they have correctly interpreted their situation[33].

The Caribbean is represented in New York City by two other important populations: Puerto Ricans and Haitians. The latest and most up-to-date study of Puerto Ricans in New York City is that by Joseph F. Fitzpatrick[34] and it contains references to earlier studies. The Haitians (like the Dominicans) are still a relatively new population in New York City and so there is little written material on them. There are only the unpublished papers of Dr. Nina Glick[35] who recently completed an excellent anthropological field study on the question of the formation of an Haitian ethnic identity in New York City. Dr. Glick argues against the view that ethnic groups will form as a natural consequence of migration or minority status in a host society. Her thesis is that ethnic groups are created and manipulated by the institutions of the wider society, and she documents the ways in which

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32/ Lewis, Gordon R. 1971. "An Introductory Note to the Study of Race Relations in Great Britain". Caribbean Studies, (11)1:5-29.

33/ Lewis, Gordon R. 1969. "Protest among the Immigrants" in The Political Quarterly, V.40, No. 4, pp. 426-435.
Midgett, Douglas. 1971. "Twice Removed: West Indian or Black British?". Paper given at the meetings of American Society for Ethnohistory, Athens, Georgia.

34/ Fitzpatrick, Joseph F. 1971. Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

35/ Glick, Nina. 1971. "The Creation of an Ethnic Group in New York City". Paper delivered April 1971, Meeting of Society for Applied Anthropology; "Ethnic Groups Are Made Not Bor : The Haitian Immigrant and American Politics". Conference on Inter-Ethnic Relations in Complex Societies, Brown U., 13-15 May 1971.
Glick, Nina and LeDivelec, M.H. "Anthropologists Come to the Big City: Traditional Concepts and Urban Anthropology", delivered at Annual Meeting, American Anthrop. Assoc., 1971, New York City.

the Democratic Party, the Catholic Church, and the Board of Education persuaded Haitian leaders to organize Haitians as an ethnic group with a common identity so that they might compete as a special interest group for the resources of the city. This approach, which emphasizes the instrumental and political aspects of ethnicity, tends to discount the psychocultural elements in ethnic identity, elements which affect members of the group in profound but less directly political ways.

It is worth noting that this analysis can be more readily applied to Puerto Ricans and Haitians, than to West Indians, whose ethnic organizations have all been self-generated[36]. In contrast to the English-speaking West Indians, Puerto Ricans and Haitians tend to be regarded as ethnic groups by the host society. The fact that they speak a foreign language is taken as presumptive evidence that they also possess a distinctive cultural heritage. This assumption is not made by the wider society with respect to West Indians. It is in terms of distinctive character, not cultural traits, that West Indians are regarded as different by others.

But Haitians and Puerto Ricans occupy an ambiguous position in terms of how they are perceived and whether an ethnic or racial label is applied to them. Haitians clearly fall within the racial category, though their language and sense of a distinctive national culture should result in their occupying a different position within black society than do the English-speaking West Indians, and evoking a somewhat different response from white Americans. The situation of Puerto Ricans is even more complex for only some of them are "black" in terms of U.S. racial categories. Still, some analysts believe that the key factor which prevents Puerto Ricans from following the path of other immigrant groups is not their late arrival in an economy increasingly unable to absorb relatively unskilled labour, but that a large number are viewed racially as black. The anthropologist Seda-Bonilla[37] has argued that it is the racial stigma from which Puerto Ricans suffer most, since they, together with Chicanos, American Indians and blacks, have been placed in the category of non-whites, of "stigmatized" minority or "colonized" minority.

Earlier writers had predicted that all light-skinned Puerto Ricans would pass into the mainstream of American society, leaving behind the dark-skinned Puerto Ricans who would be absorbed by the black ghetto[38].

36/ Reid, Ira DeA. 1939. The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937. New York, Columbia University Press.

37/ Seda-Bonilla, Eduardo. 1971. "The Identity of the Nuiyoriccans", New Generations, Vol.53, No.4, pp.6-11.

38/ Padilla, Elena. 1958. Up From Puerto Rico. New York, Columbia University Press.

Twelve years later it is apparent that this phenomena has not taken place. Light or dark-skinned, most Puerto Ricans have not assimilated into either white or black America. Instead, the Puerto Rican middle class has taken an active rôle in helping to form a Puerto Rican community and in stressing the need for Puerto Ricans to meet their problems by joining together to acquire greater power. In this, as in the Haitian situation, Puerto Rican culture and collective identity in New York City have been an outgrowth of efforts to organize the community in terms of common, ethnically-defined interests[39]. This reversal of the European immigrant relationship of ethnicity and organization is attributed to the large differences that are thought to distinguish ethnic minorities from colonized minorities[40].

Hopefully this brief and spotty survey has underscored both the need and opportunities for systematic cross-cultural research. My intent was to draw attention to certain contrastive features that appear to determine whether racial or ethnic categories are applied to Caribbean migrants, and to note those cases where the two forms of ascription are inter-linked and the migrant group appears to have a choice of which to emphasize. Which of these categories predominates is not a matter of indifference for it will surely influence the terms by which the immigrant population defines its relationship to the host society and conducts its business. Thus the conversion that took the West Indian in London out of an ethnic category and put him into a racial category, "from an 'exotic' creature to a black man in a white world"[41], has important implications for social attitudes and actions.

In summary, some of the factors that affect the kind of collective identity and group consciousness a migrant population acquires, are the following:

1) the ideas immigrants arrive with regarding their social and cultural status in the host country;
2) the initial ascriptive category by which immigrants identify themselves in the host country and how it changes as a consequence of collective experience;

39/ Fitzpatrick, Joseph F. 1971. Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

40/ Blauner, Robert. 1972. Racial Oppression in America. New York: Harper & Row.

41/ Midgett, Douglas. 1971. "Twice Removed: West Indian or Black British?". Paper given at the meetings of American Society for Ethnohistory, Athens, Georgia.

3) whether or not other ethnic and racial groups are already present in the host society;
4) the attitudes and policies of the host country regarding racial and cultural differences.

Let me conclude by quoting a passage in a West Indian novel that reflects some of the subjective significance of acquiring a wider and new identity, in this case as a black person[42].

> " 'Twus what I mean when I say you don't understan' life", Trumper said. "An I didn't understan' it myself till I reach the States. If there be one thing I thank America for, she teach me who my race wus. Now I'm never goin' to lose it. Never never".
>
> "There are black people here too", I said. I hadn't quite understood him.
>
> "I know", said Trumper, "but it ain't the same. It ain't the same at all. 'Tis a different thing altogether. 'Course the blacks here are my people too, but they don't know it yet. You don't know it yourself. None o' you here on this islan' know what it mean to fin' race. An' the white people you have to deal with won't ever let you know. 'Tis a great thing 'bout English, the know-how. If ever there wus a nation in creation that know how to do an' get a thing do, 'tis the English. My friend in the States use to call them the great administrators. In America I have see as much as a man get kick down for askin' a question, a simple question. Not here. That couldn't ever happen here. We can walk here where we like if 'tis a public place, an' you've white teachers, an' we speak with white people at all times in all places. My people here go to their homes an' all that. An' take the clubs. There be clubs which you an' me can't go to, an' none o' my people here, no matter who they be, but they don't tell us we can't. They put up a sign, 'Members Only', knowin' full well you ain't got no chance o' becomin' a member. An' although we know from the start why we can't go, we got the consolation we can't 'cause we ain't members. In America they don't worry with that kind o' beatin' 'bout the bush".
>
> "What's the difference between us an' the black people over there?" I asked.

42/ Lamming, George. 1953. In the Castle of my Skin. London: Ace Books Ed. (1960). P.246.

" 'Tis a great big difference", said Trumper. "They suffer in a way we don't know here. We can't understan' it here an' we never will. But their sufferin' teach them what we here won't ever know. The Race, our people".

ETHNICITY, MIGRATION AND MENTAL DISORDER

by

F.H.M. Raveau

(Translation by UNSDRI Secretariat)

This study introduces a clinical approach to the general concept of ethnicity which we will define, together with George DeVos, as an actual consciousness of group belonging. This notion, connected with an historical or mythic past, can also be projected toward a common future development, which can be real or utopian. This relationship with the others will be expressed through various modes of participation (territorial, linguistic, economic, religious, cultural, biogenetic). Therefore, the concept itself will be multiform and subject to constant change.

Many approaches can be used to understand the restructuring of collective identity. First of all there is the historical, based on various sources of information and giving a tentative, a posteriori explanation. But, besides the post-mortem character, of no interest to the social anthropologist, this approach lacks experimental validity. There is no possibility of verifying the hypothesis through variation of the methodology applied to a developing situation.

We are more attracted to contemporary observation. To watch the development of a Martiniquan ethnicity allows a comparison with other West Indians, e.g. Barbadians. The study of the revival of Breton ethnicity can be supplemented by the observation of other regional movements in Europe. The study of ethnic conflicts such as those between black and white in the United States or Catholic and Protestant in Ulster allows a better understanding of opposition to groups within which new forms of ethnic expression are developing. It is necessary each time to establish a methodology that comprehends how a group is conscious of its difference and the ways in which this consciousness finds expression.

Population movements offer a particular opportunity for observing these differences. Migrations abruptly bring together different people and cultures who are forced to define themselves for self-recognition. A Martiniquan or Haitian or African will have a considerably clearer idea of his belonging to a national group when he is placed in a foreign society. There is then a possibility of assimilation which means the abandonment of peculiarities of origin and the acceptance of the values of the host society. Or there may follow the opposite, a rejection of this same society and an exaggerated defence of a rediscovered or reinterpreted original culture. This could produce an ethnicity of conflict, of which A. Césaire and F. Fanon are among the best examples. But there is also the problem of failure of identification with others and failure to obtain recognition of one's own individuality. We face here one of the most exciting problems of the psycho-pathology of migrants.

Looking at the new patterns of psycho-pathological decompensation one should be able to observe not only psycho-social tensions but the means of expressing them and thus relaxing them in a foreign milieu, which will vary with the original group membership. The symbolism of symptomatic expression is interpreted according to a diagnostic system peculiar to the dominant society, in most cases the host society. This

socio-centrism does not constitute an obstacle; on the contrary it can be a useful tool for registering differentness.

We will not concern ourselves with complete diagnoses, but will make a rough analysis of symptomatic expression. In this way it will be possible to identify the cultural bases of migrant mental disorders, and we will see again the rôle played by the force of ethnic consciousness.

For this study we selected three groups of migrants, Francophone black Africans, French West Indians (Martiniquan and Guadeloupian) and Haitians. We observed all patients of these groups whose first hospitalization or consultation for paranoid or schizophrenic symptoms took place from 1954 to 1970 in one Paris hospital.

We divided the symptoms into two groups. In the first, the delusional pattern placed blame primarily on the host society, whites in general, and the French more particularly, as seen in the neighbour, the superior, the man in the street, and the institutions of the host society (means of transport, factories, schools). Our second group did not inculpate the host milieu, but mainly people or institutions of the society of origin. None of the usual sociological or epidemiological variables was significant in the results which follow.

For the African subjects (443, of which only 11 females) the two-group symptomology follows a definite historical pattern. Beginning in 1954, when nine-tenths of the patients manifested a pattern in which the host society was implicated, there is a progressive reversal of the pattern, so that nine-tenths of the 1970 subjects manifest the other pattern.

If we look again to the cases we had under treatment during these 16 years and if we keep in mind that between 1958 and 1962 most of Africa gained independence, we can suggest an explanation for this reversal. The end of a colonialist era, the discovery and the first stages of a national independence, progressively changed the African immigrants into complete foreigners. It is significant that the work of Klineberg and Zavalloni on nationalism and tribalism among African students reveals this national identity, this sense of belonging, that we defined above as ethnicity. The obvious paradox remains that the new identity is in its turn blamed for, and appears as a constituent element in mental disorder. The contradiction is best explained through comparison.

In treating the few Haitian cases, we were struck by the fact that the various assaults of French society - in particular discreet or obvious racism - were felt as natural expressions of xenophobia, not of particularly racial discrimination. The citizens of the oldest black republic established a saving distance from the host society by awareness of their coherent otherness. As the level of expectation was relatively low, the level of frustration was even lower. None of the Haitian delusional patterns referred to the host society. It was quite

otherwise with inter-Haitian conflicts, which as we know, can sometimes assume a dramatic character which may rationally lead to ideas of persecution. This type of conflict with a national character, new to the Africans in this period, could supersede the colonial conflicts as nationalism replaced colonialism.

The group of Martiniquans and Guadeloupians provided a sample numerically comparable to the Africans (423). Among this group, the division remained fairly constant throughout the period, almost all of the cases manifesting patterns which blamed the host society. This is not surprising. Here again, both normal and pathological case histories showed that it was difficult to be both French and black. Contrary to the Haitians, the Martiniquans and Guadeloupians have no principle of distance that protects them from the discriminating French society.

It seems that becoming conscious of belonging to a particular ethnic group does not influence the frequency of mental disturbance among migrants. But it directly affects the pattern of the symptoms. These are expressed in a way that helps to understand the origin of conflict in pluri-ethnic societies. The recognition of belonging to a group makes it possible to dissolve certain tensions within the group itself, tensions which would otherwise be projected into the surrounding society. This mediation of social conflict within the migrant group offers one approach to understanding the function of ethnicity in intercultural contact.

THE BLACK IMMIGRANT:

THE EXPERIENCE OF INVISIBILITY AND INEQUALITY

by

Roy Simon Bryce-Laporte

(Summary by UNSDRI Secretariat of paper published in Vol. 3 No. 1 Journal of Black Studies, pp. 29-56, and to appear in a later version as "The Black Immigrants and American Race Relations: Some Preliminary Considerations" in Through Different Eyes, ed. Peter Rose, William J. Wilson and Stanley Luckmann.)

Black (mainly West Indian) immigrants in the United States have suffered the peculiar disadvantage of dual invisibility. Their demands and protests as blacks are ignored by white-dominated society accustomed to ignoring black claims. And despite their disproportionate success, their cultural contributions as foreigners are similarly ignored. Even the inequality they suffer is left out of the body of Americana, which is by contrast rich with the account of inequalities borne by other immigrants. With the exception of black sociologist Ira Reid, even scholars who specialize in immigration have generally ignored the black immigrant.

"Thus, we can arrive at one major aspect of American race relations viewed through the prism of the black migrant - a general disregard of his intrinsic cultural worth. Moreover when his feats do win the regard of white society, they are usually presented vis-à-vis the native black American, rather than the larger foreign-born and native-born populations of the country".

Emigration has been a common West Indian phenomenon for all of this century. Much of it has been directed toward North America. Rising expectations, continuing demographic pressure, restrictions on entry to other destinations, and strong North American influence in the Caribbean will mean continued, increasing West Indian migration to the United States and Canada. Because of the North American wage structure, trained West Indians will often fill relatively low-status positions (nurse, secretary) or take positions they would normally be ashamed of (domestic and manual labour), and still earn more than in higher-status positions at home.

"Until the recent post World War II period blacks constituted the subordinate segment in most of the countries with large or predominant black populations. Inasmuch as the ruling component in all these societies was white and presumably of European stock and to the extent that racial membership generally corresponded with stratification and life-chances, it is simply untrue that the average black immigrant has come out of a non-racist situation".

The effect on the migrant would vary according to the amount and precise character of the racism he had experienced including the way in which he had been racially categorized in his land of origin. Most immigrants are aware that the racial problem in the United States is more severe and more blatant than what they have previously experienced. Perhaps hoping to avoid the low-status ascription of blacks in the United States, they often subscribe to the myth that no colour problem exists at home.

Unlike some others, the black immigrant comes to North America for specific, instrumental reasons. He is repelled by the worse racism, but attracted by the economic possibilities. He comes highly disposed toward the Protestant Ethic of working, saving, planning for the future. To the extent that black immigrants succeed where native blacks do not, the phenomenon may be compared to the intermediate

groups in colonial society (non-Europeans imported by the colonial power), beneficiaries of the outsider's mobility into interstitial economic opportunities and of the power of self-fulfilling prophecy.

The initial American socialization of Caribbean blacks is determined by the dominant pattern of residence among kin, friends, or at least immigrants from the same island. They learn to fear and despise native blacks, an attitude reinforced by newspapers, television, compatriots, and native whites.

Rivalry between natives and immigrants is especially pointless among blacks, because both groups are overwhelmingly affected by their definition as blacks. The foreign blacks have certainly not succeeded in having themselves regarded primarily as foreigners. And by the second generation they have indeed become black Americans with few foreign traces. Foreign blacks' fewer inhibitions in dealing with whites have helped to break barriers across which all blacks can move. And the immigrant commitment to the black struggle is becoming increasingly an American commitment. Especially among the current younger generation the ethnic differences are being drastically reduced. The question now is whether black solidarity can serve ends truly contrary to those of white solidarity. The day is coming when blacks will have to deal, as whites must now, with the responsibility for human equality which is the concomitant of power.

CONCLUSION

SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

The material presented above is rich in suggestions for further research. DeVos lists the many variables that should be taken into consideration; Gough describes a five-year study of the characteristics of migrants; Roosens indicates some of the problems he would like to see studied in Belgium and Shoham does the same for Israel; Sutton suggests what might be explored in the case of immigrants from the Caribbean now found in various parts of the world. The report by Taft on Australia includes the researchable hypothesis that there is lower satisfaction among refugees than among voluntary migrants, and that there are special difficulties in adaptation to the new society in the case of adolescents. Grygier and Ribordy refer to different degrees of cultural change in different groups of immigrants to Canada and suggest that the slower the pace of change, the more successful the integration. Bastide and Raveau raise the question of the nature of black identity in Brazil and France, among the native-born, migrants, and overseas citizens of African ancestry. The research topics proposed could keep a good many investigators occupied for a good many years.

What follows now might be regarded both as a long footnote to what has already been said about research, and also as an attempt at integration. The participants in the Rome meeting, many of whom are represented in this volume, were asked to help in formulating research proposals concerning issues that were important, interdisciplinary, could be explored comparatively, and had, at least potentially, significant policy implications. It was a source of great satisfaction that in spite of the wide range of disciplines and countries, there emerged a high degree of consensus regarding the projects proposed. There was no attempt to agree on specific research designs since this must obviously be left to those who will conduct the studies, but there was substantial agreement on the general directions that research might follow.

As has already been indicated, it was found convenient to discuss the whole problem in terms of four major questions, although with full realization that they overlap considerably and that they could not be treated in isolation from one another. These questions are:

1) Who migrates?
2) What happens to the migrants?
3) What happens to the people back home?
4) What happens to the children - and even grandchildren - of those who migrate?

In the papers presented in this volume, the first two of these questions have received the greatest attention, although references to the others are by no means absent. From the standpoint of research, all four of them are of importance; it may even be that the last two require particular attention, precisely because they have received too little in the past.

1) Who migrates?

The answer to this question represents one of the earliest concerns of those who have been interested in understanding migration. Man may be a migrating animal, but obviously not everyone migrates, and not all the time. The factors responsible may be at least in part economic, in terms of the "push" out of areas with unemployment and the "pull" of those in need of a labour force; in part political, particularly among refugees; age, sex and other demographic variables also play a part. There is still an unexplained process of "selection", however, since even in the same economic, political and demographic situation some people migrate but not others.

One of the earliest theories proposed is that of a positive, selective migration, which holds that those who leave are the brightest, most intelligent members of a population, those who have the brains to appreciate the advantages of the new environment; interestingly enough, however, this flattering description of those who move was applied much more frequently to internal migrants (for example, from rural to urban areas) than to immigrants from abroad. In 1899 the German anthropologist Otto Ammon, in his study of the population of Baden, developed the theory that urban residents were more dolichocephalic than rural, because those with long heads loved novelty and adventure and emigrated from the country to the city, leaving behind the more conservative, more stodgy, less intelligent brachycephalic who preferred the quiet rural life. Although this anatomical dimension was abandoned by later writers, the theory of a positive selection of the more intelligent continued to be defended The superiority of urban over rural children in intelligence test performance, as well as that of northern over southern blacks, has been explained on this basis, although the influence of a superior educational environment is at least equally plausible.

Those who migrate from one country to another, however, have frequently been considered to be inferior In the case of the United States, for example, there are examples going back as far as the judgement of Benjamin Franklin in 1753 that the German immigrants in Pennsylvania were stupid, ignorant, and incapable of adapting to a free society. The Irish who migrated to Massachusetts were regarded as the dregs of their society In 1838, a congressional committee charged that the United States "is being flooded with the outcasts of the jails, alms-houses and slums of pauper-ridden Europe".

Is selection positive or negative? Elsewhere one of the editors has written that "selection may be determined by a number of different causes. Economic factors undoubtedly play an important part, and bad conditions at home and good conditions elsewhere will certainly provide a definite spur to migration. . ..... A second group of factors relates not so much to the intelligence as to the personality of the migrants. ..... A third group of factors may be regarded as accidental. The inducements held out by friends and relatives, ... misdemeanours committed at home, failure in social adjustment, may all

play a part[1]". It might be added here that the paper by Schreiber in this volume clearly illustrates the rôle of what might be called accidental factors.

The proposal made for research on this topic is difficult, complex, time-consuming - but in our judgement interesting and important. It may be subdivided into the following series of issues.

a) What are the motivations involved? Is the migration motivated by economic concerns? Is it forced or voluntary? Does it involve single persons, whole families or even whole communities? Is it due to governmental policies? Is it internal or external with regard to national boundaries? Is it meant to be permanent or temporary?

b) Is prediction possible? Can one identify future migrants or migration-prone individuals as different from others? Can a distinction be made between those who will be more, or less, successful in the host country?

c) What are the psychological characteristics of those who migrate? Variables to be measured include intelligence or problem-solving ability; linguistic aptitude; perceptional acuity or judgement; modernity versus traditionalism of outlook; personal soundness or ego strength; positive versus negative self-image; achievement motivation; success in internalizing socio-cultural rules.

d) What sociological variables operate? The study was proposed of integration into the community, religious values, cohesiveness of family structure; personal contacts and kinship ties in donor and host settings.

e) What demographic variables should be explored? Of special importance would be age, sex, education, occupation, status.

2) What happens to the migrants?

This question is undoubtedly the one to which the greatest attention has been paid in the past, and to which the major portion of the available literature has been devoted. It is also the one which has attracted the greatest attention on the part of the contributors to this volume. For this reason we shall content ourselves with a few introductory remarks before presenting an account of the suggestion made for further, comparative research.

1/ Klineberg, Otto. Social Psychology, rev ed. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1954. pp. 267-268.

Two complementary aspects of this issue can be distinguished, the first related to what has variously been called assimilation, acculturation, integration, adaptation - to mention only a few of the terms used. In essence this refers to the extent to which immigrants change their behaviour patterns in the direction of those dominant in the host culture, even to the adoption of new moral standards and a different set of interpersonal (including family) relations. The second aspect refers rather to the manner and extent of retention of a way of life which the immigrants have brought with them; in other words, their own cultural identity. These two aspects are of course inter-related, since immigrants may change in some respects and retain their individuality in others. The balance between these two processes will vary with the attitudes of the host population as well as with the cultural loyalties of the migrants. It becomes of interest, therefore, to study what happens to members of different ethnic groups migrating to the same host country, and also of the same ethnic group migrating to different countries.

It is clear that the issues raised are closely related to the question of who migrates. For example, the amount of crime or psychopathology found among immigrant groups may be related to the difficulties of adaptation or to culture conflict, but it may also be a function of the kinds of people who move. Similarly, if West Indians are compared in Britain and France, or Italians in the United States and Brazil, any differences discovered may be due to the characteristics of the host countries, or to variations in the nature of the respective groups of migrants, or both. If, therefore, the decision is taken to study Italian immigrants in various parts of the world, attention will have to be paid to both "Who migrates?" and "What happens to the migrants?".

The research proposed starts from the need to identify a number of indicators (or indices) which in some cases can be measured, and which give information regarding the nature of the adaptation made by immigrants in the host society. These indicators include physical and mental health, the nature of housing, education (including language problems and teacher-student relations), employment and social mobility, family relationships, religious and political associations, level and quality of participation in the activities of the host society, the use of leisure time, the amount and nature of criminal behaviours. This list should not necessarily be regarded as complete. In any case it must be accompanied by the realization of the reciprocal (or dialectic) relationship between the host society and the immigrant populations.

In the papers by Taft and by Grygier and Ribordy, a distinction is made between "objective" and "subjective" adaptation or integration. The indicators listed above are primarily objective. According to these authors, how immigrants feel about their degree of adaptation is equally important. Since these two criteria of adaptation do not necessarily coincide, and since they may be accompanied by different reactions, it would be important to include the subjective factor in any research design.

As has already been indicated, two sources of migration received special attention. One of these, the Caribbean area, is specifically suggested as a suitable subject for research in the paper by Sutton, and strongly supported by a number of other participants. A scheme was outlined for a study of four islands, Martinique, Barbadoes, Haiti and Puerto Rico, from which immigrants have gone on the one hand to the United States and Canada and on the other to France and Great Britain. These islands are especially interesting for their combination of African cultural elements (and race) on the one hand, and Anglo-Saxon, French or Spanish on the other; for the difference in attitudes between peasants and the middle class; for the degree of identification with many aspects of the new, host culture. The focus of the study would be on changes in attitudes and in the self-image of the migrants. It would be necessary first to become acquainted with the components of ethnic identity on the four islands in order to appreciate, at a second stage, the effects of migration on cultural identity. Data concerning age, sex, length of sojurn, socio-occupational level, social mobility, religious beliefs, interpersonal relations, and similar variables would be obtained both from deviant (criminal, mentally ill) groups and the normal population.

The suggestions for research on Italian immigrants were not developed in the same detail, but it was felt that it would be of the greatest interest to compare the process of change among Italians who have taken up permanent residence in the United States, Canada, Brazil, Australia and Argentina, as well as Italian workers who move for varying periods to other European countries.

With regard to the amount of criminality found among immigrant groups, it was felt that the concept of culture conflict was not in itself adequate as an explanation. Of equal, if not greater importance, is the manner in which immigrants are perceived in relation to crime. Expectations (stereotypes) on the part of the police and other public authorities regarding which groups of immigrants commit what kinds of crimes may determine the likelihood of arrest and swell or reduce the statistics. These expectations may be reinforced by the manner in which the mass media report ethnic crime, giving more attention to the origins of some criminals than of others. A cross-national study of such attitudes and expectations in different countries with regard to different immigrant groups was considered feasible and significant.

3) <u>What happens to the people back home</u>?

With one important exception (that of the "brain drain") this aspect of the problem of migration has not received the attention it deserves. There are many other ways in which emigration may affect the home country. The simplest and most direct is in terms of money earned abroad and sent back to the family. This may be accompanied by certain consumer goods or appliances which may open up new horizons of material culture. If and when the wanderer returns other aspects of behaviour may be introduced. Somewhat less obviously, when a migrant leaves his

family to go abroad, there may be many consequences of "father deprivation", including not only the difficulties encountered by the wife and mother, but also the stigma attached to his "fatherless" children. Return migration, if on a large scale, may cause marked economic changes, and may also contribute to the development of new, imported varieties of crime and delinquency. Migration might also alter the reciprocal images of host and donor countries, and thereby contribute to a change in the pattern of international relations.

It was proposed that the effects on the donor country be investigated in the case of working-class migrants from four countries - Puerto Rico, Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey. In each country a number of families would be studied intensively, divided into three groups: families of migrants, of returned migrants, and of transient migrants. The technique would be that of participant observation, with special reference to the attitudes of those concerned, their aspirations, their position with regard to social and educational mobility, their living conditions, use of leisure time, political and social participation, family structure and relationships. A comparison could be made between Puerto Rican and Italian immigrants in the United States, and Italian, Yugoslav and Turkish immigrants in Germany. Such a study would involve observations in both the host and donor countries. The intensive study of small groups of families might then be followed by a more extensive investigation of a larger sample to test hypotheses suggested by the more qualitative approach.

4) What happens to the children and grandchildren?

This topic has attracted considerable attention in the past, particularly in connection with the amount of crime allegedly committed by the second generation. In the United States, for example, the idea was widely held, at least for a time, that immigrants were responsible for much more crime than might be expected in terms of their proportion in the general population. But when corrections were made for certain variables such as age and social class, and when statistics were carefully collected, as in New York State by the Wickersham Commission, it was found that immigrants committed proportionately fewer crimes than the native-born. The accusation was then shifted to their children; if not the immigrants then certainly the children of immigrants were responsible for more than their fair share. This opinion is still widely held, at least in the United States. In the present volume, the report by Taft indicates that this is not always true, that there is no greater amount of delinquency among the children of immigrants to Australia than among the native-born.

The proposals for research on this issue went far beyond the problem of delinquency and crime, and stressed rather the whole process of adaptation, which is probably more complex for the second and third generations than for the original migrants. It was suggested that among the independent variables should be included the self-conception or self-image of the second generation, the image of this group held by various segments of the host population, whether the original

migration was due to positive choice (for example, for ideological reasons) at one extreme or to negative choice (as in expulsion for political reasons) at the other; the nature of the selection exercised by the host country; the degree of acceptance or rejection by the second-generation of specific values held by relevant groups in the host country and the degrees and kinds of deviance (not only official crime and delinquency) which may emerge as a consequence.

More specifically, it was suggested that southern Italians might be selected for study in such recipient regions as Australia, Belgium, Canada, Sweden, United States and northern Italy. Wherever possible, comparisons would be made with other second-generation immigrant populations (it was thought that if a child received most of his schooling in the host country he should be considered second generation, even though he was actually born in the home country). Accepting the distinction between subjective and objective adaptation, to which reference was made above, the following aspects of adaptation might be studied:

a) cultural knowledge and skills (objective);
b) feeling of well-being and satisfaction, identification with host country (subjective);
c) social interaction with people of host country (objective);
d) social integration (objective);
e) acceptance of host country as reference group (subjective);
f) degree of conformity to group norms of behaviour (objective).

These and other indices of adaptation should be regarded as the dependent variables which would be related to such independent variables as degree of integration of the parents, intellectual and personal characteristics, parents' attitudes, and attitudes of the receiving country or region towards immigrants in general and southern Italians in particular. Wherever and whenever possible, a sample of the third migrant generation should also be included.

Concluding Comments on Research

If research in this field is to be truly comparative, it will have to concern itself with the same ethnic group migrating to various regions, with different ethnic groups migrating to the same region, or (preferably) both. If it is to be complete it will have to address itself to all four research issues listed above: who migrates, what happens to the migrants, to their children and grandchildren, and to the people back home. It will also be expected to raise questions about the practical or policy implications of the findings.

Like the situation in Vienna which was once desribed as "hopeless but not serious", one might say that the research situation here outlined is "impossible but not discouraging". It is of course impossible to plan an investigation which will answer all the questions raised, but a start can certainly be made, which would then hopefully be followed up at a later date or by other investigators. The fact is that

excellent research on some of these issues is being conducted, but usually in one country under one set of conditions. It should not be difficult to persuade a number of these same research scholars to pool their resources in the search for comparable data.

Two migrating groups have been mentioned with particular frequency as deserving such cross-national attention. One is the Caribbean, the other the Italian. Work is already in progress on both groups, and could be profitably extended for comparative purposes. The migrants from the Caribbean could be studied in terms of who migrates, what happens to the migrants (particularly when the race factor enters) and to their sense of ethnic identity, and what happens to the home country as a consequence; second and third generation migrants might be more difficult to find. Italians could be studied in relation to all the issues raised. In both cases, comparisons should of course be made with the experience of some other groups of migrants. Either, or both, of these migrating groups would appear to be exceedingly promising as targets for a comparative, cross-national or cross-regional research programme.

ANNEXES

Annex I

Report of Group I[1/]

WHO MIGRATES?

During the first day of conference the group attempted to identify certain general issues that would be important in determining methodological and other guidelines for research projects on migration. A consideration enunciated early and agreed upon by all was that insofar as possible common techniques of measurement, standard methods of appraisal and equivalent indices should be employed. Attention to these concerns would help to ensure the comparability of findings among different projects and hence their cumulative validity.

With respect to focusing one's efforts and choosing among the vast array of techniques and methods that could be employed, certain critical criteria of classification were noted. There might still be a small nuclear core set of procedures that could be used in any study, but where choices would have to be made they should be based on the articulated aims and goals of the inquiry.

Among the questions that should be asked (and answered) at the outset, these may be listed: is the migration motivated by economic or occupational concerns? Is the migration impelled by circumstances and/or governmental policy? Is the migratory pattern one involving single individuals, families or parts of families, or even entire communities? Are there governmental policies on who may emigrate or immigrate that affect the composition of the migratory population? Is the migration internal with respect to national boundaries or external? This list of questions is not meant to be exhaustive; its purpose is to point to certain methodological implications.

A second class of questions refers to the predictive or conceptual problem that is to be studied. For example, is the intention to differentiate betweeen the future migrant and non-migrant, so that a technique for identifying future migrants or migratory-prone persons can be developed? Is the intention to distinguish pre-migratory differences between migrants who are "more successful" and "less successful" after arrival in the host country? Is the intention to differentiate those migrants whose departure is permanent and those who return? These and other questions are highly relevant to the selection of variables for inclusion in the study, and hence for the selection of method.

1/ Members of this group were: Miss C. Aquino, Dr. M. Bailey, Professor H. Gough, Mrs. S. Sadli, Mrs. J. Schreiber and Mr. G. Tapinos.

If the dimensions implicit in the above discussion are visualized in some sort of geometric interplay it is clear that there are intersections and combinations, and that studies can be classified in one or another of the cells. It is recommended that, as a minimum, studies in the same cell seek to use a common core set of procedures and methods. To illustrate this convergence of dimensions, a study might be addressed to adult male job-seekers who leave one country for another under governmental restrictions in the host country that forbid the bringing of families during the first year of residence. Suppose further that interest is centred on the adequacy of personal adjustment under these circumstances. If a personal interview is included as one of the tools of appraisal, it would seem evident that a standard list of questions on sexual frustration and adjustment should be included. In this research "cell" failure to inquire into the sexual aspect of personal adjustment would be a grave oversight.

In light of the above considerations, and discussions within the group, a list of variables was drawn up that could be suggested for inclusion in a "core" set of procedures for studies of migration. In some cases, fairly valid and well-standardized techniques are available; in other instances present methods must be modified or adapted (e.g. a test translated from one language into another); and in still other instances an entirely new instrument should be developed and validated. Thus, this report calls for both methodological and substantive research.

An obvious variable with which to start our list, both because of its self-evident relevance to human behaviour and because of the availability of dependable methods of measurement, is that of intelligence or problem-solving ability. Tests such as the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale are now used on a worldwide basis, and, where individual and intensive testing of this kind is not possible, shorter group measures such as the D.48 and Ravens' Matrices can be suggested. It is even possible to achieve a reasonably reliable gross estimate of intellectual level from orally administered tests, such as the five minute Kent Emergency Test. The ultimate in quick and speedy classification is given by the single-item oral tests of intelligence, developed for screening purposes by Hildreth.

Within this general domain, attention should also be given to special aptitudes, in particular linguistic aptitude. The Carroll-Sapon Language Aptitude Test is a good example of one used with English-speaking subjects. Presumably it could be adapted or modified for use elsewhere. Another sub-variable in this first category is what might be called perceptual acuity or judgment. The ability could also be referred to as field independence. Witkin's rod and frame for individual assessment is the best possibility, and for either group or individual study Witkin's embedded figures test or similar devices can be noted.

Modernity versus traditionalism of outlook is a second variable. Here there are many scales that have proved useful, including those by Smith and Inkeles, Doob and Kahl. Gough has also presented a

brief eight-item modernity scale that appears to be entirely free of response-set artifacts such as desirability and generalized misanthropy; this last named scale is also available in French, German, Italian and Spanish editions.

A third variable is personal soundness, psychiatric stability, or ego strength. In the Midtown Manhattan study of undiagnosed mental illness a 22-item measure was developed by Langner and proved to be valuable in door-to-door appraisals. This index might be translated and used as a standard variable. Barron's ego strength scale is another possibility, and of course wherever a personal interview can be conducted, the interviewer can be called on for a rating or quantitative impression of some kind.

Positive versus negative self-image is a fourth. There are several promising ways of assessing this kind of self-acceptance. One is to use a quick and simple self-report method such as an adjective check list with normal instructions and then with a request for an "ideal self"; correspondence between self and ideal self can be expressed metrically and used in later analyses. Interviewers can also be asked to rate this factor, and other tests have scales for self-acceptance, self-evaluation and the like.

Achievement motivation is a fifth possibility. The classical method of assessing such motivation is by scoring of projective test responses, using the Thematic Apperception Test in most cases. In more recent years doubts have been expressed about the validity of this mode of assessing achievement motivation. There are perhaps five to ten different self-report scales for achievement motivation now in use, and among which a choice could be made for assessing this factor.

A sixth variable is socialization, defined as the degree to which socio-cultural rules, mandates and imperatives have been internalized. Again, perhaps five to ten reasonably valid psychological scales for assessing this factor have been developed and a choice could be made among them.

Turning to sociological variables, selection is also important. The group enumerated the following five as illustrative of the kind of emphasis that is needed: integration into the community, religious values and preferences, cohesiveness of family structure, number and type of contacts available at home and in the target of migration, and kinship ties and sibling position. Demographic variables are also critical, although they scarcely need listing. Among those that certainly must not be overlooked are age, sex, education, occupation and status level.

During the second day of deliberation the group attempted to sketch several specific projects that would illustrate the methodological themes noted above. These projects are not advanced as carefully considered programmes ready for review and criticism; they may even contain insuperable practical and other difficulties. The group merely expressed the hope that they might illustrate how methodological convergence may be achieved in projects of rather different specific aims and goals.

Before getting into the examples, perhaps a preview of this convergence would be useful. Some sort of personal interview is stipulated in the first three projects. It would add to the comparability of results if all three were to use a standardized format, with additional questions included at the end to cover particular hypotheses and needs of the project. A standard interview ensures coverage of basic factors in all cases, and will also permit development of special methods of coding and interpretation. The great power of the Spitzer-Endicott "DIAGNO-II" (a standardized and computer-scored psychiatric interview) in clinical psychiatry gives a hint of what a similar approach might furnish in the study of migration. Among other benefits of the Spitzer-Endicott technique has been the opportunity to observe regional and cross-cultural diagnostic biases among psychiatrists. DIAGNO-II, one might note, has been relatively impervious to this bias even when the interviews are conducted by clinicians of differing outlook.

The group then proceeded to case illustrations, beginning with a study of teenage migration whose emphasis is on a possible "talent drain" within disadvantaged regions of any country.

This study takes as its target group young adults, specifically teenagers, who elect to migrate during the first two or three years after reaching the age dictated by laws governing compulsory education. The incentive for carrying out this study springs in part from the belief that there is a sort of teenage "talent drain" comparable to the so-called "brain drain" observed among older scientists and professionals.

To guard against parochialism and non-generalizable findings, the study would be conducted in at least two and preferably three locales. These would be drawn from different countries speaking different languages and having to at least some extent contrasting social and economic circumstances. They would need to resemble each other in incidence of migration in order to ensure a sufficient number of subjects and comparability as to size of community and directionality of movement. A flow from less developed less urban to more developed more urban regions of a country might be stipulated as a common characterstic. For example, teenage movement to college or work from southern United States to the northern seaboards or industrialized northern Midwest could define one group, and movement from southern to northern Italy another.

The design would call for sociological and psychological assessment of perhaps 1,000 teenagers in each locale at time 1. Assuming something like a 30% migration rate this would yield 300 migrants and 700 controls in each place. The assessment would include attention to the following factors among others:

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Cohesiveness of family
4. Size of family
5. Economic status of family
6. Problem-solving ability as indicated by a standardized ability test

7. Modernity of outlook
8. Need-achievement
9. Personal soundness
10. Socialization
11. Perceptual judgment
12. Peer-group identification
13. Leadership potential.

For some of these standard measures are available and could profitably be used. For example, there are attitude scales for modernity of outlook and Witkin's rod-and-frame could be used for field independence. For others, e.g. leadership, prior work has identified clusters of variables that forecast leadership and differentiate between leaders and non-leaders. In other cases. new methods must be focused or developed. An example is the need for a method of calibrating "cohesiveness of family".

For convenience, it would be proposed to administer tests in schools, and to conduct interviews with subjects and parents at home and at the school. After gathering of basic data, an interval of 2 years would ensue, after which follow-up would show which subject had migrated, and for what declared purpose. Retesting on all or most of the tests would be done on both migrants and controls.

Analysis would then be carried out by category of migration (to job, to school, to a greater or lesser distance), sex and other breakdowns. Analysis could also pit time versus time variables taking into consideration all the classificatory factors.

The search could be for reliable relationships found in both countries. The hypothesis, expressed in a general way, is that those who leave (for whatever reason) will be more effective, more resourceful, and higher in leadership potential. Naturally, provision will be made for the discovery of unhypothesized findings. Analysis of changes for migrants and non-migrants are expected to show greater changes for the migrants, but not always in a favourable direction.

To repeat, the intention in offering this example is not to insist on the truth or merit of its hypothesis, but rather to illustrate certain methodological implications; some methods are available, some can be developed by easy modification of extant devices, others will require substantial new work. In all cases a fundamental concern is that wherever possible, methods that are in use in other projects should be employed. Linkages of this kind can furnish an important push towards cumulative work and the generation of findings whose true significance can be reliably assessed.

The second example is a study of migrants who live under solitary or "enclave"conditions in the host country.

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

In the host country with problems resulting from less than hospitable attitudes to foreign immigrants, such as Switzerland, it would be possible to hypothesize that immigrants who have the support of an enclave group will, after a one year period, be more likely to be functioning adaptively regardless of differences in personal capacities and expectations than immigrants living in dispersed conditions.

The study could sample recently arrived male migrants of specific age group, say 25-35, from one culture, say Turkey. (The information for sampling could be readily provided by the consulate.)

The subjects should be tested as soon as possible after arrival for:

1. personal capacities:
   a) coping abilities
   b) intelligence
   c) ego strength

2. expectations:
   a) of host society
   b) of length of stay and plans
   c) of required behaviours
   d) of social and economic conditions
   e) of personal treatment and possible discrimination

3. social networks to aid insertion:
   a) kin
   b) other

4. type of migration:
   a) free vs. recruited
   b) alone vs. group
   c) legal vs. illegal

5. specific knowledge:
   a) occupational
   b) language ability
   c) knowledge of the city.

After an interval of one year a subsequent study would be conducted to locate and interview the subjects to assess the degree of their social and occupational adaptation, including some specific indicators:

i) job success
ii) language ability after one year
iii) degree of stated satisfaction
iv) whether or not he has remained
v) kind of identification
vi) kind of social integration
vii) conformity to group norms
viii) cultural skills.

The third example deals with the impact of migration on the families and children of the migrants.

The study would initially be descriptive in nature. Wherever possible, the relationship of government policy to observed characteristics would be delineated at the outset. A prerequisite would be some baseline indication of the extent to which dependent children of migrants demonstrate divergent patterns of development from those of dependent children of non-migrants on one hand, and on the other the degree of their resemblance to children in the host country. The work of H.B. Young on second generation Italian migrant children in Boston compared with their Roman and Palermo controls would exemplify the kind of research proposed except that the work has no particular policy implications (because of its focus on creativity), while the present work would try to get at variables that have clear relevance for policy makers in the areas of housing, education, public health and labour.

Obtained measures of donor, host and migrant children could be grouped and those areas where migrant children dropped precipitously below the norm of both donor and host communities would be singled out for host - or donor - community intervention, i.e. special school and vocational programmes. Eventually what would emerge is a picture of dependent children's response to the host community in absence of any special intervention versus their response in the presence of such intervention. Subsequent, more detailed measures could be made of the areas of intervention and the remaining areas could be kept under less scrupulous surveillance in subsequent retesting, i.e. either batteries could be shortened or sample size cut.

A large (1,000 plus) sample of children of migrants would be gathered as soon as possible after their arrival. Controls would be gathered in the host and donor communities.

Special variables to be assessed for migrants' children:

1) Initial response of child
2) Age entered into host country
3) Status change in migrant family contingent on migration
4) Length of time family has been fragmented
5) Length of time migrant child has been left behind
   a) in care of extended family
   b) in public care

After an interval of 10-12 months the following variables should be assessed:

A. School Variables
   1) School achievement in host and donor community, if records exist
   2) Patterns of achievement and socialization in school (sociograms, etc.)
   3) Reported and unreported delinquency
   4) Individual measures of IQ, controlling carefully for language levels

B. Housing
1) Assimilation of family and child
2) Housing, living amenities, density

C. Health
1) Diet
2) Health

D. Family/Personality
1) Family environment - constituent, non-constituent (Fels Institute Materials)
2) Occupation aspirations
3) Some personality testing

E. Miscellaneous
1) Age of dating
2) Marriage
3) Occupation

In discussing these and other examples that might be proposed, one needs to keep in mind certain basic economic and political concepts. A statement concerning these issues is given in the following commentary:

Among the different types of present migration, the labour-external-migration appears to be of special concern.

It is a labour-external-migration which means two things: a) a labour migration which implies that migration is linked with a problem of choice of occupation: b) an external migration which implies that there are differences of nature (and not only of degree) between the country of departure and the country of arrival, these differences being at the same time economic (non-developed/developed) and cultural.

The core of the problem is then the link between these two elements.

In view of that two themes could be explored:

1. For the host country, is there a conflict between the economic objective and the cultural objective?

In other words, does a country which tries to maximize its growth rate by calling upon foreign immigration, sacrifice its "cultural equilibrium" to the "economic interest" in the strict sense of the word? For some, this contradiction is fictitious and can be withdrawn if one estimates that the same growth rate could be achieved with a different type of growth; even when it is considered as definitive, immigration is such that it slows down the real growth per head of population. In both hypotheses, the economic argument brings aid to the "cultural" foundations of political restrictions.

For others, on the contrary, immigration is considered as a necessary condition to growth either because it offers an unlimited supply of labour, or because it allows the realization, without delay, of structural adjustment which otherwise would occur slowly, and therefore slow down the rhythm of growth.

Answering this problem requires discussion on three levels:

a) legal, the right to emigrate/immigrate should/should not be recognized? Does one need to distinguish the right to move from the right to settle? etc.
b) economic, is migration a permissive or a necessary condition of economic growth? etc.
c) socio-cultural, are there social costs which surpass economic benefits? etc.

2. For the country of origin what changes in the society are being influenced by the many back and forth movements of the migrants?

If it is illusionary to envisage migration as a type of professional qualification, it remains nonetheless that as a result of his stay abroad the migrant will become better accustomed to industrial labour and the system of values of an industrial society.

Annex II

Report of Group II[1/]

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE MIGRANTS?

The group decided that evaluating the general factors underlying the process of adaptation of migrants can be best done by preliminary studies aiming at an assessment of the nature of immigrant groups and the psycho-socio-economic characteristics of the host society. This will include an assessment both of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the groups in question.

This is to say the techniques to be employed in any such research would be drawn from the discipline of anthropology, sociology, social psychology and demography.

The group discussed a number of basic factors affecting the process of adaptation, e.g., the duration of stay as it affects both the migrant and the host society. In other words a distinction has to be drawn between short-term migrants and what might be described as the migrant-settler.

The methodology will clearly be affected by the pattern of distribution of immigrants.

The group postulated a number of indicators delineating the field of enquiry:

Health	- Physical and Mental
Housing	
Education	- Language problems
	Curriculum problems
	Migrants' effect on education
	Teacher-student
Employment	- Social mobility
	Status
	Aspirations
Familial Relationships	- Ingroup
	Mixed marriage

1/ Members of this group were: Dr. S. Eisenstadt, Professor F. Henriques, Mr. G. Meerbergen, Miss F. Morin, Miss M. Morokvasic, Professor F. Raveau, Professor C. Sutton, Dr. E. Vetere.

Associations	- Religion, political and club affiliation Protection societies, trade unions
Level and Quality of Participation in the Host Society	- Cultural institutions Newspapers Use of leisure
Crime	

These indicators in essence connote a dialectical reciprocity. That is to say, it is essential, if such research is to be successful, that both the effects of the migrant on the host society, and the effects of the host society on the migrant have to be considered.

All these indicators are deeply connected with the form and nature of the host and immigrant groups. Thus, the significance of the indicators can only be obtained by both an anthropological and historical approach.

The research design developed would serve as a basis for comparative research. That is to say it could be applied to any of the major migrant situations in the world.

It would be hoped that an enquiry on these lines - a holistic approach - would provide information as to the existence or otherwise of ethnicity.

Annex III

Report of Group III[1/]

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE PEOPLE BACK HOME?

The consequences of migration for the donor country can be analysed under many different perspectives. One area of interest is the positivity or negativity of migration for the donor country. This can be considered in economic terms, and such an analysis might show that the balance of benefits will often swing in favour of the host country.

Of greater interest to the group was the problem of social, cultural and psychological changes in the donor country, resulting from population imbalances, disruption of families, and increase of economically dependent population groups. Some national experiences with policy guidelines for alleviating brain-drain phenomena and consequences were discussed, e.g., contracts with fellowship recipients to serve in home country after termination of the fellowship. Some of these policies may constitute important areas for research.

Another obvious area of interest is socio-economic and cultural modifications in the donor country resulting from return migration. It has been acknowledged that many different types of problems can emerge in the great variety of countries undergoing migratory processes either as donor or hosts. Consequently, the group agreed to the proposition that an optimal research strategy should begin with a relatively broad and general conceptual frame of reference, which would help data gathering, storing and processing. Once the data are available for analysis, a second-level theoretical frame of reference could be derived or chosen for explanatory and predictive purposes.

One question which occupied the group dealt with the rationale for comparative work in this field. The group reached the conclusion that, as in other areas, a comparative research effort appears to be justified by two main needs: a) verification of a general hypothesis through coinciding trends in different cultures; b) analysis along a continuum or continua of variables, which change systematically in different cultures (i.e. socio-economic development, degree of ethnic identity, family life variables, cultural values, and social consequences of normative prohibition).

Problems such as these can be profitably studied "in vivo" in areas of return migration, which will in many instances provide a "quasi experimental" setting. Alternate parental rôles, and alternate

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1/ Members of this group were: Dr. J. Collazo, Professor F. Ferracuti, Professor E. Roosens, Professor T. Tentori.

modes of reaction to migration which originate family disruption may provide important data for the analysis of deviant and non-deviant socialization patterns for children of migrants.

Another area of concern which emerged from the discussion deals with the related problems of the reciprocal images of host and donor countries, and their modification as a consequence of migration and of changes in the degree of consciousness of ethnic identity of the migrants and their families. The whole migratory phenomenon will be affected by the perception of the participants in the process and by the level of adjustment both in the home and donor countries.

The group considered that the methodology for research on the problem should be interdisciplinary, taking into account the unavailability and inherent difficulty of standardized psychological techniques. An obvious focalizing unit for the study seems to be the family, in a multigenerational approach. This could serve as a starting point for field research and data gathering. Whenever feasible, standardization of techniques and inclusion of constructs from disciplines other than social or cultural anthropology is advisable.

As an example of the kind of research proposed, the group indicated a field of study on working emigrants, with particular emphasis on return migrants. Although the group recognized the importance of the problems of some élite emigrants, it considered that the main question concerns the working class. Their problems cannot be studied in one nation only, but should be considered in a comparable perspective in different countries.

It would be possible to carry out this comparative research in Puerto Rico, Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey, given the similarity of problems among the working class in these four countries, despite the differences in economic and political structure, as well as historical background. The group did not believe that at this level the problem could be approached by the method of representative samples; rather, the study should be conducted on the basis of significant biographies of the families. For this reason, the group proposed to conduct, in each country, an intensive study of ten families of permanent migrants, ten families of return migrants and ten families of transient migrants.

The technique must be that of participant observation in the framework of all available data from the donor and receiving countries.

In this perspective the attitudes of the people, their aspirations, their position in the dynamic of a social and educational mobility, their style of life (living conditions, use of leisure time, reading habits, political participation, and social participation in general), family structure, size of family, family ties, relationship between family and some system of patronage will be investigated in a general way.

Both Puerto Rico and Italy have emigrants to the United States who live in the same cities; e.g. New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. This situation allows a simultaneous approach to the problems of the Puerto Rican and Italian families inserting themselves in the same host communities. For this reason, it was suggested to carry out the field work on the migrants in the United States, preferably in New York, where there is a large working class of especially varied ethnic origin.

The study will investigate the attitudes of the people who decided to migrate. These attitudes will be considered in two different social and historical milieux, one in America and one in Europe. It is proposed to investigate comparatively the Puerto Rican and Italian immigrants in the United States making, for Puerto Rico, a survey of the patterns of the permanent, returning and temporary migrants and, for Italy, of permanent migrants and returnees. On the other hand, for the European situation, the migration to Germany of Italians, Yugoslavs and Turks of the same three types (permanent, returnees and temporary) will be investigated.

Annex IV

Report of Group IV[1/]

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE CHILDREN OF THOSE WHO MIGRATE?

A. Preamble: Second and Third Generation Migrants

The group considered that the first step should be a description of the process of adaptation, and that a conceptual framework hypotheses would be refined at a later stage. The basic assumption suggested by the group was that the adjustment processes of second and third generation migrants are the focus of different and probably more complex problems than the adaptation of original migrants.

The group also considered that cross-cultural research in this field is essential for the reasons stated in the report of Group III.

The conceptual scheme adopted by the group was guided by a rather loosely structured model which takes adjustment, or acculturation, as its dependent variable and some facets which will be described in more detail as the independent variables.

1. The first major facet relates to the second generation migrant's self-image vis-à-vis the image of him held by the various groups in the host country. Consequently, the group suggested the following four categories in this facet:

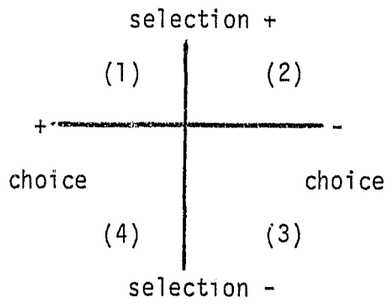
   a) the real self-image, meaning the actual self-concept of the second generation migrant,
   b) the ideal self-image, which relates to a certain goal-oriented image that the subject sets for himself,
   c) his real social image, which relates to his actual image transmitted over to him by the various references and membership groups in the host country,
   d) the ideal social image, held by some reference and membership groups anchored in an idealized image of the second generation migrant.

The resulting matrices of these four categories would have six typologies which might guide didactically the research tools and instruments when the project is implemented. This two-dimensional matrix is supplemented by the dichotomy of the perception of the second generation migrant and the perception of his parents, which supplies the third dimension to the matrix.

1/ Members of this group were: Dr. K. Elmhorn, Professor T. Grygier, Dr. P. Könz, Professor S. Shoham, Professor R. Taft.

2. The second facet relates to the acceptance dimension of the second generation migrant by the relevant group in the host society. The first conceptual clarification here was felt by the group to be spelt out by the following model, which relates to the apparent motivation of the first generation, i.e. the parent's migration. The continuum ranges from what the group found useful to denote as positive choice in one extreme (e.g. migration because of ideological motivations), to the other extreme of negative choice (e.g. expulsion from the country for political reasons). The other continuum would relate to the dimension of selection by the host country: one extreme of the continuum being positive selection (e.g. skills) and the other extreme negative selection (e.g. colour).

The resultant intersection of these two continua would produce four hypothetical "property spaces" as follows:



This would enable the group to achieve a convenient ranking of acceptance, ranging from the optimal type of acceptance which is positive choice and positive selection to the lowest index of acceptance which is a combination of positive choice and negative selection.

As a special category in this facet, it was proposed to introduce the achievement of the second generation migrant as conceptualized and studied by MacLelland and associates.

3. The final facet which is the counterpart to the facet of acceptance relates to the indices of rejection of the relevant groups of the host country by the second generation migrant. It was found convenient to represent this by a hypothetical scale of deviancy which is given below:

Inwardly directed ←							→ Outwardly directed
Autistic	Self-destructive	Escapist	"Bohemian"	Accidental	Altruistic	Passionate	Acquisitive
							Occasional
							Semi-professional
							Professional
							Rebel
							Chaotic
							Ideational

SCHEME OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR

By spelling out various types of deviancies the group intended to express the opinion that the rejection of the normative structure of the host society cannot be expressed only by official crime and delinquency, but must also be related to the more complete range of various deviations from norms which are not necessarily transgression of the criminal law. In this connection, it would be desirable to include data on variations of concepts of social deviance, as currently undertaken by Ribordy (Ottawa), Wolfgang and Newman (UNSDRI).

B. Pilot Outline of Adaptation of Second Generation Immigrants

1. Country and region of origin: Southern Italy.

2. Recipient countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Sweden, USA and northern Italy. Parallel research in Israel and Japan would also be of major value, though the situations in those countries present a unique degree of complexity.

3. Conceptual framework: In the short time available the group was not able to operationalize the dimensions of selection and choice, but it was agreed on their importance The same applies to the hypothetical scale of deviance. Otherwise, the drafters of the project outline accepted the preamble without reservations. When operationalized the conceptual framework is derived primarily from the papers by T. Grygier, F.X. Ribordy, E. Roosens and R. Taft. It accepts the difference between subjective integration, but it employs mainly the aspects of adaptation outlined in Taft's paper (The Concept of Social Adaptation of Migrants). In particular, it singles out the following indices of integration, acculturation and adaptation:

a) cultural knowledge and skills (Taft; objective integration in Grygier's terms);
b) feeling of well-being and satisfaction; identification with the host country (subjective integration);
c) social interaction with members of the host country (objective integration);
d) social integration (objective);
e) acceptance of the host group as a reference group (subjective);
f) conformity or non-conformity to group norms: this may vary according to particular social institutions, e.g. language, communal organization, home life (food, discipline, etc.), religion, inter-ethnic marriage, economic institutions, political institutions (all these are indices of objective integration).

The above variables will be considered with respect to five dimensions:

1) what the individual immigrant desires,
2) what action he takes to achieve it,
3) his perception of his achievement,
4) objective achievement,
5) the effect of the relationship among the above individuals' personal adjustment.

The conceptualization includes material related to real images and ideal images. These are considered in relation to real self-image and ideal self-image; real social image and ideal social image; the child's real and ideal image of the parents; and the parents' real and ideal image of the child. It is assumed that the relationship between each of these variables and other variables will be major determinants of the outcome with respect to the immigrant child adjustment.

4. Sampling: The principle of sampling will be to get adolescents of an age sufficient to provide meaningful information and yet before a significant number of children leave standard secondary school. The group suggested grades 9 or 10 as the basis of sampling. The sample of children will include those of parents born in the host country, children of immigrant parents other than southern Italians and children of parents born in southern Italy. The schools from which the samples are to be drawn should be standard schools, religious or secular as necessary, with a sufficient proportion of children whose parents had come from southern Italy.

The second sample will consist of parents of the above children.

5. Methods: All variables can be divided into indices of adjustment and its determinants. Among indices of adjustment there will be the following:

a) discrepancies between real and ideal images of self, social image and parent/child image;
b) sociometric status;
c) academic progress;
d) extra-curricular achievements;
e) linguistic skills;
f) socially deviant behaviour, operationally defined in terms of the need for special services or consultation;
g) ethnic preferences and behaviour;
h) sense of well-being and optimism about achieving life goals;
i) inter-generation conflict vs. integration within the family.

All the above are dependent variables. The independent variables or determinants will include:

a) integration of the parents in the host country, again operationally defined in similar terms;
b) general intelligence;
c) personality as measured operationally along such dimensions as rigidity, adaptability, ambition, trust, ego-strength, adherence to tradition vs. unconventional innovation, etc.;
d) parents' attitudes toward children's adaptation;
e) attitudes of the receiving community towards immigrants in general and southern Italians in particular /e.g., i) attitudes towards social acceptability at all levels of achievement, ii) stereotypes of immigrant group, and iii) attitudes toward preservation of cultural identity/.

6. Methods of data gathering: The main instruments will be interviews with children, their parents (in mother tongue, if necessary), and significant others; questionnaires, rating scales, sociometric techniques, and standard psychological tests will be used as appropriate.

ANNEX V

RESEARCH CONFERENCE ON
MIGRATION, ETHNIC MINORITY STATUS AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION

Rome, 13-16 June 1972

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