

Migration as creative practice

an interdisciplinary exploration of migration



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FOREWORD

To follow

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Dieu Hack-Polay

This section sets the context of the book and creates connections between the various chapters. It elucidates the hotly debated notion of migrant, given the numerous types of migrants, understanding that many of these categorisations intersect and overlap. A refugee may have economic difficulties as well as political, social, or religious motivations to flee a homeland. An economic migrant may be looking for work away from home because he or she has been forced off the land by climate change, and so might also be described as a climate refugee or forced migrant. This section of the book addresses the theoretical perspectives on migration to clarify these labels and contingencies.

Perspectives on migration

Academic investigations that examine migrant issues have not consistently mirrored the multiple dimensions of migratory crises. For example, Hack-Polay (2016) and Duke, Sales & Gregory (1999) have suggested that scholarly investigations have been inconsequential and thrived in countries taken in isolation; such research usually concentrated on the narrow subjects of mental illness, housing, work and training. There has been an historical deficiency in conventional academic writings in terms of work that link migrants, nation-building and the macroeconomic parameters of human movements. Coverage in the social sciences has not been proportionate with what we see as migrants' central place in constructing the nation from an economic, identity and cultural standpoint. This critical lack of gusto for migration research is outlined by Pittaway, Bartolomei & Hugman (2010) and Stein (1986) There have been some changes recent decades, particularly in the last three decades. Migration research centres have been set up (Hack-Polay & Siwale, 2018;) and grounded research networks initiated on the basis of praxis (Pittaway et al,2010) Nevertheless, d In spite of millions of migrants venturing in new geo-cultural spheres in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, migrant research remains somewhat intermittent and random.

Whilst there are more courses available in refugee studies, migration studies and questions related to human movement (such as climate change), it is arguable that Academic research in migration is still disproportionately small compared with the magnitude of 20th century global migratory movements and historical human migration generally. In the 20th century, Duke, Sales & Gregory (1999) point out a number of cross-national investigations, e.g. Hack-Polay, 2019; Joly & Cohen,1989; Joly, 1996. They argued that these research endeavours centered mainly on critical migratory events in 1980's mainly at a time most migrants into Europe arrived via supported schemes. Through these sponsored schemes, new migrants were awarded recognized

legal status, usually on entering the country of exile. The migrant situation the year 2000 has evolved owing to increased ideological, legal, economic and political interferences which stir up novel controversies. These changes ought to bring about novel data in the area of migration research. The interest of researcher' in migration issues is awoken when there are significant human migratory explosions and tragedies, e.g. Second World War, of the 2004 entry of Eastern European countries to European Union (EU) . Researchers have been slow at engaging with migration research, which signifies that advanced investigations are undertaken mainly when migratory phenomena blow out of proportion (Hack-Polay, 2016; Stein, 1986). Approaching the study of the lives of migrants this way does not reflect well that the close linkages between migration and contemporary globalisation Fundamentally, migration can be viewed as one of the major social phenomena part of the second half of the 20th century and this early part of the current century. The triggers of past migrations still explain current migratory movements, though modern causes have come to pin themselves on the traditional causes to exacerbate the issue. In fact, significant global forces have emerged which show an interconnectedness in human existences. For instance, improved international travels, increased regional alliances contribute to weakening or even the removal of national borders serve as enabling factors which lead to more migratory movements in the world. The expansion of cross-border trade as increasing numbers of organizations venture on the global paths causing more mobility of the productive forces. There is limited room for social scientists to develop expertise in this field and create a viable conceptual as well as a theoretical framework in the long-term. From this standpoint, there is the necessity to deploy more research expertise to study the migrant experience; this will increase the understanding that the research community seeks to bring about perceptual changes to the ways migrants are seen in our globalising world. The main claim of the book is positioned in this framework.

The outcome of this book is not the formulation of a general migration theory, but rather to highlight a number of challenging issues and ideas concerning the migration experience which can help arrive at an appreciation of the place that migrants occupy in human existence, regardless of space and time. The conclusions of this book are helpful as they represent an expansion of previous social investigations and form a conceptualisation of the experiences of people who, by choice or coercion, live away from their birth country or that of their habitual residence. We neither advocate that completely new semantic fields have been developed nor that systematic conceptual frameworks have been created. Research in migration is not field that can be said to be a ready-made. It does not have a significant body of standard textbooks, a theoretical structure, a systematic body of data, and even a firm definition of the subject or the field (Stein, 1986). Ideally, a new approach to data collection, collation, and analysis would mirror the development of some newer social sciences such as management science constructed on the backbones of several disciplines but whose existence is justified by the growth of modern organisations and business.

Our book debates the construction of the migration experiences and the traditionally loose attitudes to integration. We argue that laissez-faire is in fact not favourable to integration nor to the rational deployment of the significant potential cultural richness and immense skills to host countries by migrants. Meanwhile, converging perspectives contend that migrants are the foundations of viable national socio-economic and cultural developments. Indeed, this book supports the perspective that migrants do not simply integrate into existing national entities, they build the nation. This case is consistently made through the book, corroborating the argument that there are no nations that have survived without migratory influxes over time. The creativity and cultural mix which derive from the actions of incoming populations benefit the collective. True progress derives from the sharing of experience, perspective, and forms of cultural action.

Misrepresentation of the migrant experience

The migration experience presents constancies and these are acknowledged at various levels. In important similarity in the migrant experience originates from the thought that migrant groups ghettoise themselves or are isolated by the receiving communities (Hack-Polay, 2019). This tends to happen owing to the lack of clarity in strategies for migrant integration at a national or regional level to culturally and economically, absorb newcomers into the local community fabrics. The newcomers, thus, attempt to select a place within already segregated collectivities with a dominance of ethnic minorities, and particularly those from the new migrants' ethnic origins. A move such as this is directly a pull factor from the well-established ethnic groups and a push factor from the host communities. In fact, many receiving country governments behave as passive bystanders of this cultural and ethnic division process, allowing ghettoization of migrant groups into ethnic clusters. There is evidence that generally a sizeable number of migrants descend into the under-class because of the lack of viable opportunities (Hack-Polay & Mendy, 2017; Hack-Polay & Igwe, 2019). Additionally, effective integration actions for new migrants are hampered by the negative racist campaigns and discourses that originate from amidst the very spheres of society that are tasked with assisting the new migrants, e.g. local officials, the media and some community leaders. Some of these host groups have professed discourses of disunion and segregation. These are often more dangerous than the threats posed by individual members of the locality because discourses emanating from the top are heard and mediated, for example in recent years the current British Prime Minister has likened Asian Muslim women to pillars and letter boxes (BBC, 2018; .

Migrants are very enterprising and need only a small push to unleash their creativity which has over the centuries served nations. It is not a secret that the success of major economies and cultures such as the United States, Canada, Australia, is built on migrant labour and the population itself is ensured maintenance due to migration flows. Up to the present time the USA still admit around a million immigrants each year because it is clear the economy cannot survive without their contributions. Australia, Canada and New Zealand, also in the same way pursue large migrant recruitment campaigns for demographic and economic reasons. What is less easily documented is the extent to which migrants are respected on arrival, and how they are categorised in the context of state support, visas, and long-term opportunity. The affordance of present and future benefits to migrants differs from human rights and prerogatives. The latter values are constructed by nations based on their interests. Migrants to the UK have experienced brutal short-term thinking in the host nation, whereby their contributions to the nation are measured against functional, immediate, needs and dismissed when those are no longer valued or understood. This can in effect negate whole life stories. In the UK, the case of the Gurkha fighters is one such. As British colonial subjects they were brought to the battle frontlines to fight for the nation; however, they faced enormous legal issues to have their rights of abode in the UK recognised until recently in the late 2010s. It is an ethical duty for countries such as the UK to allow people of all ethnic that served the nation to be treated in a dignified way in our human community.

Migrant populations may also claim mutual experience that attach to aspects of ethnicity and the impact of nostalgia. The migration experience can be profoundly submerged in psychosocial disruptions that require early vigorous actions so as to stir greater and more positive integration at the same time as making space for the economic contributions of migrants, the development of social and cultural capital. Ethnicity is not always a differentiating factor in terms of the racialization, social isolation and the social mobility of new migrants in a given new social context. All newcomers report experiencing the stigma of pessimisms linked to immigrant status, mainly due to fierce political and media propaganda. The creative energies that migrants can deploy are dependent on multiple considerations, e.g. the help provided on arrival, the experienced level of social mobility and level of deprivation, in the host country n (Hack-Polay, 2019). The association between the settlement experience and migrants' contributions to their new collectivities from generation to generation, is expressed via contrasting the experience of migrants who arrived through sponsored programmes and the experiences of the migrants who were not supported (Hack-Polay, 2019). Essentially, there is a vast amount of work that demonstrates higher performance of migrants, and that evidence is the main substance of this book. Well-planned and intelligible integration approaches produce positive outcomes. In contrast, an ad-hoc method to settling issues faced by migrant can confine the migrants and their hosts to disappointment. At the very least, the ad hoc approach might lead the new nation in the medium

and long-term to view migrants in terms of socio-socio-economic burdens whilst migrants perceive the host society as thankless for the contributions they make. This antagonism leads both groups to navigate in separate directions, leaving limited scope for the development of mutually compatible and acknowledged formations of citizenship both for the first generations and future generations of migrants.

Our book provides an understanding of migrant experiences and establish how migrant integration to the new societies might be rethought. More specifically, emphasis is placed on the degree to which migrants' capabilities should be deployed more positively in the new countries.. There is a sense in which the deep capacity of migrant populations is frozen through generations of misrecognition and disrespect. States, populations, regions, need to find the way to reverse this process so that the flow of talent, hope, and capacity flow more freely.

Structure of the book

The book is divided into five main sections and 16 chapters. Part I explores historical perspectives on migration and reconceptualises the degree to which migration is inherent to human societies and has been perpetuated through millennia. However, perceptions of migrants generally in society, and in the media and political arenas particularly, remain broadly pessimistic. Part II examines the integration of migrants in host societies, specifically focussing on identity construction as well as inter-group and intra-group solidarity. Part III is concerned with how migrants navigate the host economic structures and the contributions they make despite the significant challenges they face. Part IV considers the influence that migration and migrants have exerted on the reformation of social policies in host countries, which helped in the transformation of the wider societies. Finally, Part V brings to light the theoretical and methodological contribution to the investigation and research in the social sciences. The degree to which extensive interest in migration research have brought about new ways of approaching social realities from a qualitative standpoint.

The authors hope you enjoy the book's holistic approach to seeing the migrant experience and and that this can help reshape how, collectively, our community of researchers and practitioners could contribute to normalizing the migration experience and change perceptions.

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PART 1 – HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION

Here we are concerned with the historical construction of migration and what that signifies in the modern global world. We consider various discourses on migrants and how these discourses can often undermine the creative energy brought by migrants.

CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF MIGRATION

Dieu Hack-Polay

Introduction

The history of our world is predominantly a history of migration. The history of humankind leads us to observe that only a few communities and populations, if any at all, could claim to have lived in the same geographical and social spaces all the time. Indigenous peoples? It is estimated that there are 35 to 40 million forced migrants and displaced people around the world a decade ago (Williamson, 1997). In the same period, Population Report (1996) put the figure higher at 125 million international migrants, with most living in the developed, e.g. Western Europe, North America and Australia. However, the figure advanced by the expert agency is even higher. Moreover, the United Nations reports over 200 million international migrants around the world in 2002017 (UN, 2018). This figure equates to over 2% of the total world population. The number of people living outside of their native land is significantly higher if statistics were able to include migrant workers and other voluntary migrants accurately. Some of the primary reasons that have led people to be on the move have included and still include the search for better conditions of subsistence, work or trade (economic reasons), safety from disaster and human persecution by oppressors and State violence, etc. Petersen puts that in human history, the flight has been an essential form of migration.

In ancient times, people with little technological capacity - by today's standard - used to move from one place to another in search for renewed resources because life would not be sustainable in the same particular environment when resources became scarce (Petersen, 1957). For instance, when the land became no longer productive or the water ponds or rivers dried up, then migratory movements became indispensable in the direction of another land or another country. Migratory movements necessitated by human needs have been a constant and vital driving factor in arid and other geographically hostile environments. An example of the power of the constraining environment is Saharan Africa where large migratory movements have taken place in the past century with increasing numbers deserting arid land to the coastal forests due to shortages of food and difficulties in farming. The movement of Saharan African populations towards the coasts was migration occasioned by the struggle for survival. Overall migration across Africa covers a period stretching from 3000BC to the 10th century (Africa-France, 2003). Petersen terms such a relocation as conservative migration which can be defined as geographical migration with the aim to preserve the same position or status. Conservative migration is, thus, opposed to innovating migration whereby the migrating groups or individuals hoping to achieve changes in their current circumstances; innovating migration may not be forced.

Migratory movements were exacerbated in the 16th to 20th centuries by man-induced events; attacks by conquerors, ethnic or tribal conflicts, religious wars, and wars underpinned by industrial expansion. War, in particular, is significant dimension of the coercion exercised on people which leads to leaving one's homeland (Bouthoul, 1967; Ayitteh, 1991; Loescher, 1996; Bloch, 2002). War in history has occasioned important migrations on all continents. Despite the intensities of wars and their devastating effects, according to Bouthoul, the phenomenon of war remained a least researched social fact by sociologists. To stress the capital importance of war in human societies, he points to the fact that many civilisations that died out perished by war. It is therefore surprising that war as a social fact has been mainly studied by historians as episodic events. Internal conflicts on all continents have caused a critical number of internally and externally displaced people and this is not only a matter of the past but such brutalities are also inherent to the present era. Politicians, academics and the general population alike would remember the Rwandan genocide of the 1990s, the long-lasting Liberian and Sierra Leonean wars since the 1980s, the Sri Lankan, Indo-Pakistani and Afghan wars, to mention just a few. In Europe, the Second World War, often described as the bloodiest war in history, caused millions to flee, and abandoning their normal place of residence. This was the case of hundreds of thousands of Polish, French, German, Belgian citizens, who in fleeing Nazi Germany migrated to Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia and South Africa. Evidence suggests that the latter half of the 20th century saw international migration become a significant factor in social transformation and development in all regions worldwide (Castles, 2000).

Many of the wars of the past fifty years are direct results of State violence which plays a major role in contemporary forced migratory movements. Among displaced people in the West currently, most have fled as a result of persecution by their own States. Tazreiter (2004: 25) argues that "the State has at its disposal the coercive means of the military, overt and covert forms of surveillance and not least an established politico-legal order with which to govern a given territory". In the 1990s in Rwanda, ethnic massacres were thought to be predominantly a State action. The disruption of post-conflict forced migration is intense, prompting the agony of loss of one's former status, one's property, and one's sense of home. This emotional burden is not new. The pains caused by migration had already been highlighted in 400 BC by Euripides who stated "there is no greater sorrow than the loss of one's country". If losing one's country entails such affliction, then it could be argued that those who are forced to endure such great loss have a valid claim to a new life. Despite this normal human attachment to home, there is also a human propensity to move, and a human tragedy of millenia of forced migration. The term migrant has been the subject of important literary, political and legal debate, and has been afforded meanings grounded in racialised and ideological discourses. The discussion must extend to firstly consider eth perspective sof those who have made these necessary and difficult journeys.

A typology of migration

Petersen's (1957) and Fairchild's (1925) typologies of migration can offer some assistance in our attempt to substantiate a working definition of the term migrant. They provide an interesting framework of analysis, although they have some limitations. Their combined approaches are deeply flawed in relation to the hierarchies of human cultural value, but nonetheless they have informed subsequent scholarship and policy, and require us to acknowledge, consider, and contest their assertions.

Fairchild's typology of migration defined four historical types; invasion, conquest, colonisation and immigration. The type of migration in this model depends upon Fairchild's notion of 'high' and 'low' cultures. The author argues that in invasion, for instance, a low-culture people launch an assault on a high culture society in warlike aggression in the view to take over their society. In colonisation and conquest, a high culture people settle in a low-culture environment, with the difference being that while colonisation is peaceful, conquest takes a more aggressive approach. Fairchild's view of immigration is that of peaceful movement of people of similar culture levels. Fairchild (1925) has identified four key types of migrations linked to the social realities of the time, with substantial European incursions into other territories through colonialism. However, several criticisms arise from this typology. Clearly, the model is founded on normative concepts of low and high cultures, which contributes to removing validity from this attempt of theorisation. Two further weaknesses lie in this typology. First, the movements of people leaving as a result of invasion, conquest and colonisation have not been accounted for and categorised. With Europe still dealing with its refugees from the First World War, one would have expected the typology to include at the very least those forced migrations which do not fall within the four categories identified. Second, the classification of colonisation as a peaceful movement is profoundly misguided.

Petersen (1957) exposed some of the limitations of Fairchild's typology, which he also perceived as ethnocentric (Eurocentric) and incomplete. Incompleteness is apparent because the model does not make room for migrants who flee as a result of coercion. Based on the limitations of Fairchild's (1925) typology of migration, Petersen developed another typology, with also four main types of migration: primitive migration, forced and impelled migration, free migration and mass migration.

Primitive migration refers to the movements of people following an ecological push, and the category includes prehistoric primitive wanderers, cattle-owning people (nomads) and agrarian people who move because of a sharp disparity between the produce of the land and the number of people subsisting on it. The people in this category often leave with a vague idea or no idea

of their destination. In the category of Impelled and Forced Migration, forced migrants will be people who migrate with reasonably free will and have a degree of control over whether to leave or stay; at the other end of the category, forced migrants are individuals who flee their homeland without alternatives. As a result of the choice parameter within this category, we could talk of émigrés, asylum seekers, or refugees. A distinction with more comprehensible criteria is being presented here that could further assist an understanding of the term refugee, that is a person who leaves as a result of coercion. The third category, free migration, includes people who make a conscious decision to leave. In Petersen's view, this category includes European migration to fill or exploit their colonies. We could also link modern migratory movements such as those of students, tourists, diplomats and international labour. Petersen's final type of migration is mass migration which is generated as a "collective behaviour, when the principal cause of emigration is prior emigration". Here, people from a given collectivity emigrate in order to follow pioneers who have gone and succeeded in other places.

The typology provides a much more exciting and sophisticated framework for the study of migration. The typology could, however, be simplified using two important parameters available in Petersen's theory, which are freedom to choose migration and coercion into migration. There are advantages to a simplified typology of migration, and Al-Ali & Koser (2002) have been vociferous in advocating a more straightforward framework for categorising migrants. They argue that from a transnational angle the motivation for leaving one's country, which has often been the primary basis for typologies of migration, should be removed altogether. In their opinion, it restricts the extent of the analysis. Although it is "important in determining the extent to which a migrant develops a transnational identity or engages in transnational activities, it is no more important than other factors such as gender, class and race" (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002: 17). Using the two parameters extracted from Petersen's theory, freedom to choose migration or coercion into migration, two broad types of migration could be established, thus providing a more comprehensible typology. Table 1 below provides a simplified typology and framework of migration.

Forced Migration: Migrant has no option but to leave; coercion. People fleeing natural disaster; people fleeing political, religious, ethnic and other forms of persecution.

The simplified typology provided is by no means comprehensive, but it does include the categories of migrants defined by most typologies, including Fairchild's and Petersen's. Because

of its simple nature, it is easily accessible intellectually and could provide a basis for conceptualising migration from a social science perspective.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSES ON MIGRANT: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Ali B. Mahmoud

Mayssa Al Atrash

Introduction:

The world continues to observe the occurrences of armed conflicts, economic crises, and other dehumanising circumstances. And such events have forced vast numbers of innocent people to flee their homes with little hope of finding some safe place where they could collect themselves together and start a new life. In this regard, human migration is one of the most arduous challenges faced by nations. This phenomenon is depicted, in its practical conceptualisation, as the movement of people from one place to another with the aim at settling, permanently or temporarily, in a new location. Since the advent of the twenty-first century, the world has witnessed massive escalations of involuntary migrations because of transformational crises (such as the Syrian civil war 2011-), and new research needs to understand such mass movements. To a degree, themes associated with the migration phenomenon have increasingly informed research topics with ties to other already well-established disciplines (e.g., media, politics, economics, sociology, public health) and they overlap productively. People who entirely leave their home countries to settle in new ones are referred to as migrants, immigrants or refugees based on their reasons for movement. And despite the different motivations behind people's

movement across borders, the terms, migrants, immigrants and refugees are commonly used interchangeably in media and public discourse (UNHCR, 2016). In brief, this chapter represents an attempt to produce a scholarly synthesis of current media and political discourses upon migrants.

Migrants and Communication

Representations of migrants in media

The influx of asylum seekers and refugees has significantly increased all over the world after the spark of armed conflict and crises like the civil war in Syria that started in 2011 (Mahmoud and Reisel, 2015; Mahmoud *et al.*, 2019; Mahmoud *et al.*, 2020). The numbers of refugees have doubled several times since 2010. Five hundred sixty-two thousand six hundred eighty people claimed asylum in one member state of the European Union while the number almost tripled in 2015, reaching 1,255,600 asylum seekers (Eurostat, 2016; De Cock *et al.*, 2018). Such dramatic boosts in the numbers of refugees (Smets and Bozdağ, 2018) have elevated migration to crisis level and brought it to the forefront of media and political attention (Castles *et al.*, 2014; Miazga, 2018).

Abid *et al.* (2017) note that media depiction of migrants as ignorant and dependent, intrusive and aggressive has been pervasive. On some occasions, migrants have been blamed for being a significant public health threat, 'spreading cancer' and 'polluting the air', as once published in 2018 by MTV (a Lebanese TV channel) in an interview with a Lebanese medical doctor (The New Arab, 2018). Such mediatization may instil unfavourable stereotypes (Abid *et al.*, 2017).

of migrants in the minds of the national or settled population and develop negative patterns of attitudes and behaviours towards the migrants (Miazga, 2018). Teo (2000) shows how two Australian newspapers portrayed Vietnamese immigrants and discussed the systematic efforts to instil a dichotomised perception towards the *Self* and *Other*. Hanson-Easey and Augoustinos (2010) examine the interplay between the Australian leaders concerning Sudanese refugees with the latter described as a “dangerous and uneducated people”. Media have portrayed similar stereotypes of migrants in Europe. For instance, migrants and other minority groups have been blamed for elevated crime levels (Rasinger, 2010) or even depicted as natural disasters by assigning them negative non-human metaphors such as *floods* (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008). Such reality-distorting practices by media supplemented with lack of appropriate representation of migrants’ voices in public discourse have led to thriving xenophobia amongst the national and settled populations (De Cock *et al.*, 2018).

Migrants’ Media Usage

Most of the current literature on migrants’ use of media focus on its digital and social formats. In this respect, scholarly work on how migrants interact with social networks appears to be dual-faceted. Published work in this area may be divided into studies focusing on how migrants utilise new, technological platforms for social networks during their migratory journeys, and other scholarly work that investigates the relationship between social media and migrants after arrival in their new homes. In these latter studies, the processes of integration (work, training and education, language skills, cultural affiliation, social capital, rights and citizenship) are particularly highlighted.

Digital social networks are becoming common in a way that enables potential migrants to understand better migration options and destinations for settlement (Thulin and Vilhelmson, 2014; Dekker *et al.*, 2016; Dekker *et al.*, 2018). Migrants are familiar with the use of mobile devices, especially smartphones. Different from their predecessors during the Second World War, refugees today have replaced their suitcases with smartphones as they endure their migration to the host country (Kaplan, 2018).

Smartphone's *polymedia* access goes beyond telephony and text (Madianou, 2014). Besides, smartphones provide an online connection, GPS location services and a digital camera usable in multiple applications yielding invaluable resources for information and communication that allow them to develop *smart* plans (Dekker *et al.*, 2018). Dekker *et al.* (2018) also describe the unique barriers and hazards to the use of social media by migrants on a dangerous journey, suggesting that there is a state of *data precariousness* regarding access to and trustworthiness of social media content. In immigration networks, social media data involves untested and instrumentally relevant statements that can be identified as rumours (Dekker *et al.*, 2016). Social media rumours are a mixture of government and mass media broadcasting data and narrative-based data on individual experiences, including uneven itineraries and strategies (Bakewell and Jollivet, 2016). These rumours circulate beyond the private links of migration networks. Migrants try to evaluate hazards by weighing reassuring and discouraging data (Dekker *et al.*, 2018). Thus, social media can be seen at this stage as a double-edged sword. In this regard, Janetsky (2019) argues that in the event of life or death circumstances, social media is a primary factor of survival. However, other scholars have warned that the growing dependence on platforms like Facebook to manage relationships has brought real hazards to the migrant throughout their journey

(Komito and Bates, 2011). Additionally, given the refugee crisis, creative technology, and social media apps have rapidly developed to combat refugee integration (Alencar, 2018). Migrants tend to have a higher preference for social media platforms over other Internet apps, regardless of their age or sex (Alencar, 2018).

Furthermore, elevated rates of social media and internet usage can be linked to a large amount of free time to be spent on these platforms by refugees (Alencar, 2018). According to Alencar's (2018) study, the respondents refer to life in camps and centres, for all refugees, as very difficult and tedious. With very few or no special leisure and training activities are available to them, and this helps to explain the need for these networks to deal with anxiety at the centre (Alencar, 2018). She also indicates that more attempts are required to ensure better coordination between public policies and actions of local actors to carry out digital media services to address structural and socio-cultural inclusion problems of refugees in EU communities (Alencar, 2018).

The leading social networks are available in multiple languages and enable users to connect with friends or people across geographical, political or economic borders with possibilities to share user-generated content like photos and videos (We Are Social *et al.*, 2019). So, social media may also provide information that helps to integrate migrants by directly or indirectly providing formal and informal contacts and social information (We Are Social *et al.*, 2019). In other words, people who have access to social media platforms can do multiple things simultaneously. For example, they keep in touch with their families and friends. Besides, they share their views and respond to current events, as well as to a broader audience for dealing with social life, finding information and marketing for their businesses (Cassar *et al.*, 2016).

Media shapes people's views on immigration.

The perceived impacts of immigration

The latest Eurobarometer's (2020) results (see Figure 1) show that immigration was amongst the top concerning issues for most of the Europeans (34%) scoring higher percentages than matters like terrorism (17%), unemployment (12%), crime (9%), climate change (22%) and the economic situation (18%)– (Eurobarometer, 2020). Although most of the Europeans in 2019 had divided feelings towards immigration, i.e., 45% positive vs 48% negative but negativity towards immigration had slumped by 9% against a 10% increase in positive sentiment to this matter since 2014 (see Figure 2). However, Scholars have largely attributed negativity of public views towards migrants to the way media is depicting migrants (Berry *et al.*, 2016; Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017; Smets and Bozdağ, 2018), especially that the media are still a vital tool to influence over the public opinion and policy (Miazga, 2018). Therefore, positive sentiments towards immigration could have prevalent if media acted differently regarding its coverage of migrants and migration.

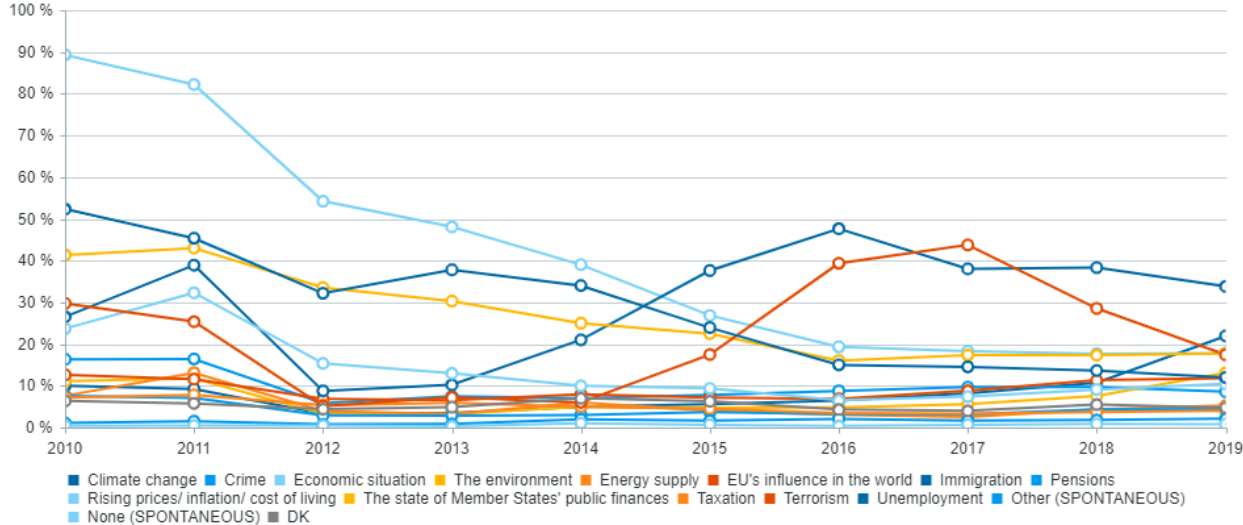
A recent survey run by YouGov (2017) on the public's attitudes towards immigration in Sweden 2017, Figure 3 demonstrates the outcomes of the 2017 study of immigration attitudes in Sweden. Throughout the study period, 16% of the participants believed that immigration contributed negatively to Sweden. In fact, only 6% of participants indicated that the contribution of immigration to Sweden is primarily positive.

The Pew Research Centre's new survey (see Figure 4) says that 11 out of 18 countries that are home to 50% of the world's migrants see newcomers as positive contribution more than a burden. Canadian participants were at the top of the list, followed by in Australia and the United Kingdom. The countries of Eastern Europe alongside Italy and Greece had adverse feelings about immigration. Pew researchers found that nations which responded more favourably have more immigrants than those that did unfavourably (Buchholz, 2019). That can uncover a positive link between public attitudes towards migration and their governments' policies regarding immigration and asylum.

Another more recent YouGov study (see Figure 5 and Figure 6) that took place in seven European countries as well as the United States to explore what people think of the effect of migrants on their countries. The most common advantage of immigration was better food in all nations, apart from France. The highest percentage was in the US, Norway and Britain, where about half (between 47 and 50%) of individuals believed that migrants had a beneficial effect on cuisine. Also widely recognised is the contribution of migrants to national culture, which represents the second most often mentioned benefit in most of the countries surveyed. Between thirty-nine and forty-two per cent of the Americans, Britons and Norwegians again feel that their countries, together with 38 per cent of Swedes, have benefited the most. Unlike the other countries, French people believe that the most common advantage of the immigrant has been visible within sports. The most common disadvantage of immigration is intensified crime ranking 3 to 1. It will most probably be mentioned (62 to 68%) in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Norway. Also, the effect of a migrant on national security (31 to 62%) and welfare schemes in their countries (between 33 and 48 per cent) is reported as a constant concern for a sample.

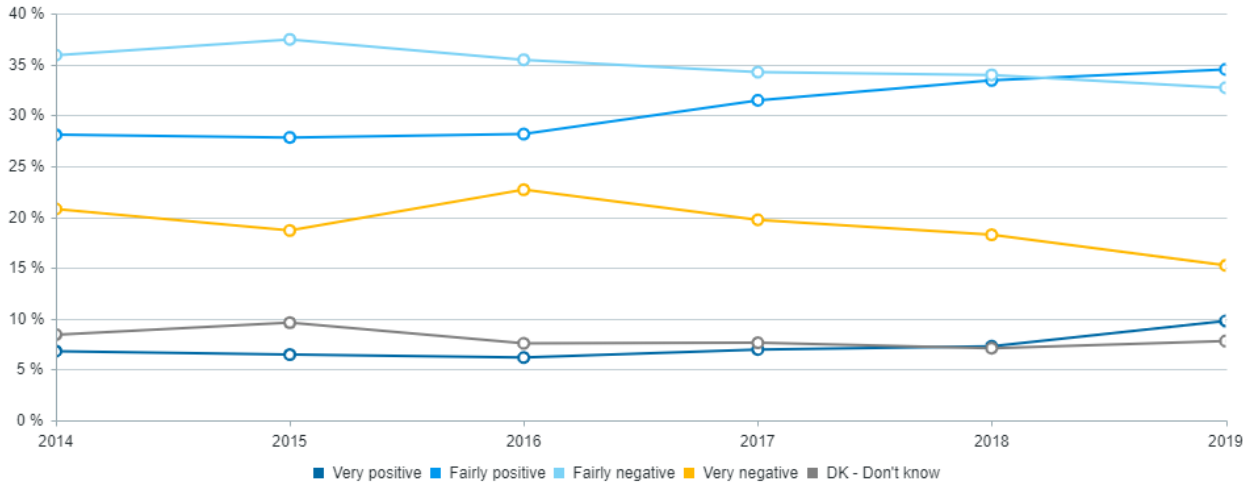
Looking at the positive and negative aspects of immigration combined, one in four Americans (30%) believe that migrants bring benefits to the United States which tops the list of the most immigration-welcoming country. In this respect, Britain has a far-flung second at 22%. Thirty-seven per cent of Germans could only name adverse consequences of immigration, making them the most cynical amongst the surveyed countries whilst, France, Finland and Denmark were found to see nothing in immigration but negativity (31 to 33%). Besides, the survey assessed the participants' views about the overall effect of immigration (see Figure7). Three groups characterised the views of the surveyed countries. The first (France, Germany, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden) said that the ultimate effect of immigration had been generally negative, specifically, the Germans. They reported that immigration was generally bad for their nation (53%)—the second group comprised of Britain and Norway. In Britain, 39 per cent believed the effects of immigration were 'nothing like good' compared to 37 per cent who thought that it was 'better than bad'. Those numbers were respectively 32% and 34% in Finland. In the last group, there was only the United States, whose the majority of the respondents (39%) believed that immigration had been better for the country than not compared to 33 per cent who believed the opposite (Abraham, 2019).

Figure 1: Most two important issues facing European countries (from 11/2010 to 06/2019).



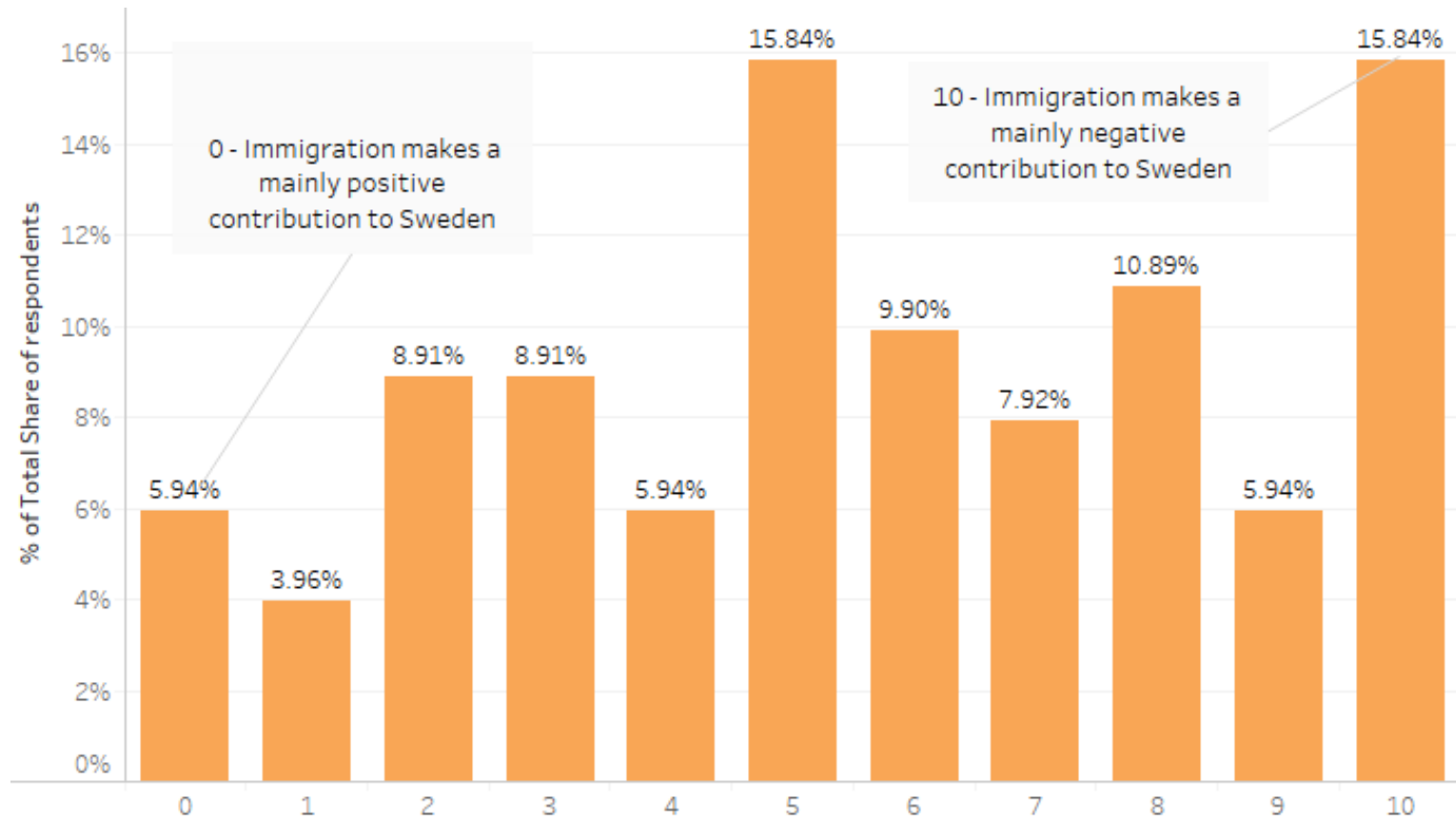
Note. Generated by the authors using the visualisation tool at Eurobarometer Interactive.

Figure 2: Europeans’ attitudes towards immigration of people from outside the EU (2014-2019)



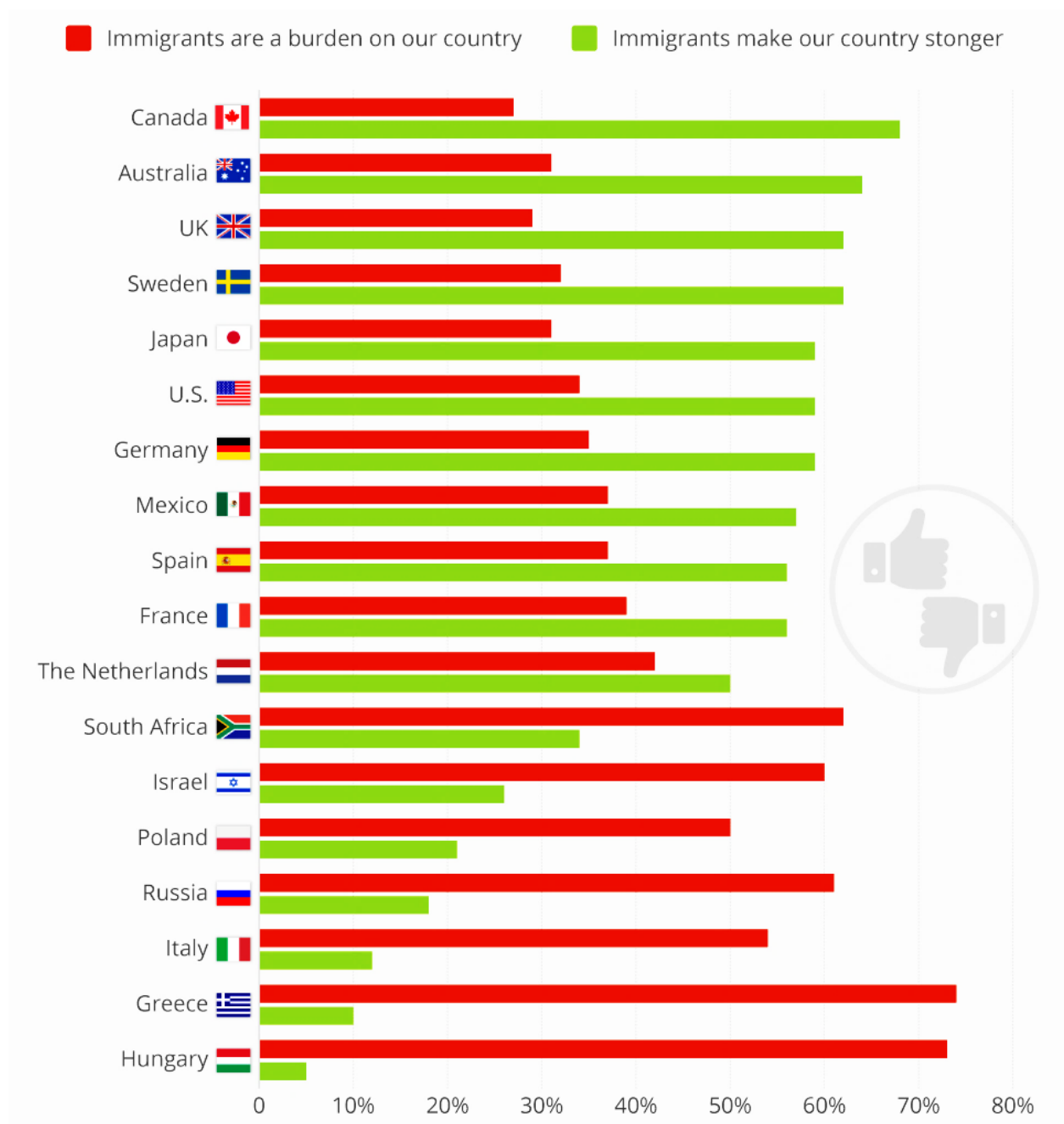
Note. Generated by the authors using the visualisation tool at Eurobarometer Interactive.

Figure 3: Attitudes towards immigration in Sweden



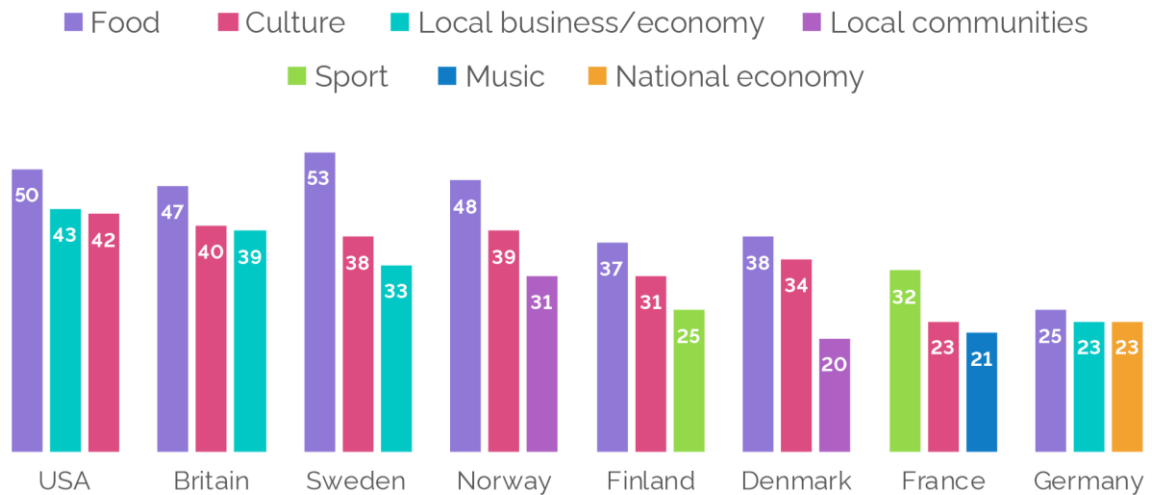
Note. Produced using Tableau software based on YouGov's (2017) data

Figure 4: More immigrant countries see diversity positively



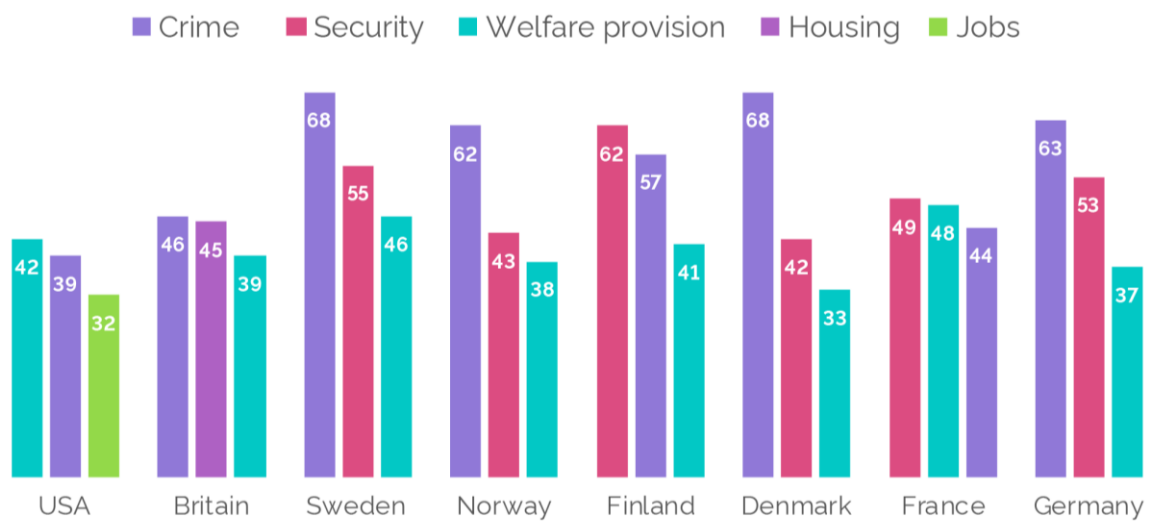
Note. Source: Statista based on Pew’s Centre Research

Figure 5: Most prevalent benefits of immigration as perceived by the Europeans and Americans



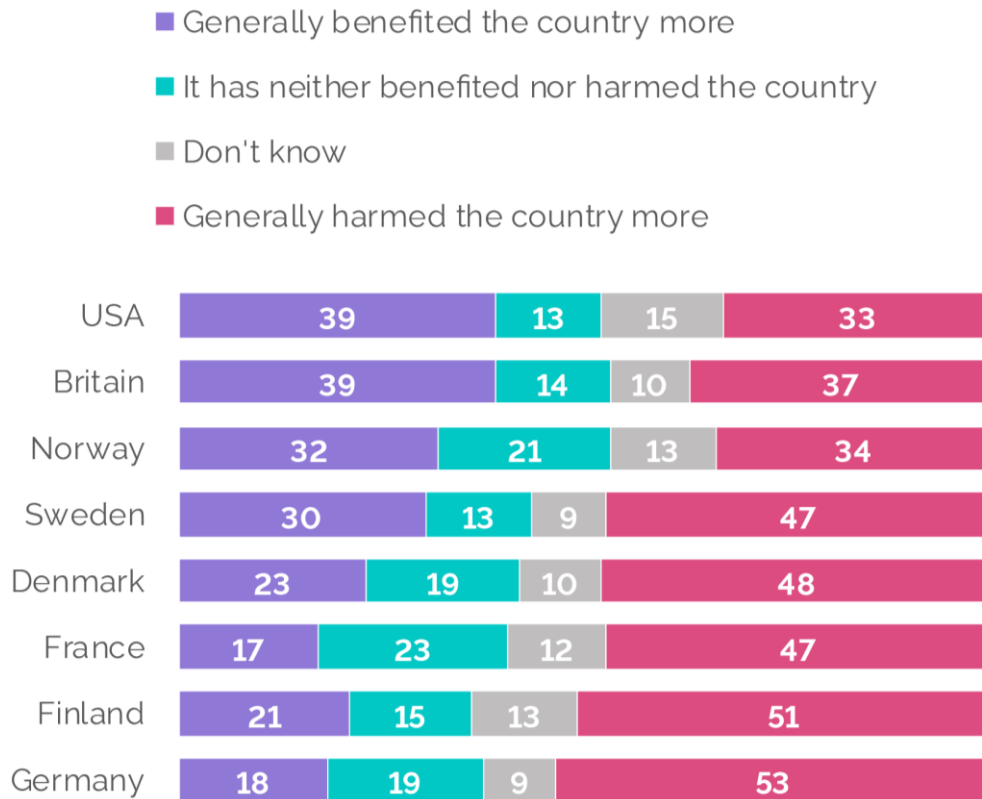
Note. Source: YouGov.

Figure 6: Most common harms of immigration as perceived by the Europeans and Americans



Note. Source: YouGov.

Figure 7: Sample responses regarding whether immigration has benefited their countries or not.



Note. Source: YouGov.

The role of media and politicians in shaping national public attitudes towards migrants and migration

One cause beyond the significance of press coverage for migration has been the increasing level of anti-immigration sentiment and the latest advances made by oppose-immigration political parties in many nations. In Europe, numerous voters, particularly right-wing political voters, have moved from mainstream parties to parties with hardline anti-migration policies (Hobolt and Tilley, 2016; Allen *et al.*, 2017). Similar increases in anti-immigration political parties and rhetoric have followed negative, even hostile, coverage of migration (Cossarini, 2015; Allen *et al.*, 2017). Notwithstanding, it would also be extremely simplistic to blame only the press for adverse reactions to migration (Allen *et al.*, 2017). The news often represents

the words and subjects that politicians and other hardline organisations favour, even in nations with a high level of media liberty (Entman, 2004). This is because journalists often rely on public representatives for information, particularly on political matters (Allen *et al.*, 2017) and because the soundbites can sometimes be tempting. For instance, Nigel Farage has received a tremendous amount of visibility and popularity (YouGov, 2020), probably, upon describing mass immigration as making parts of the country appear "unrecognisable" and like "a foreign land" at Ukip's spring conference late in February 2014 (Sparrow, 2014).

Political gains

The debate about immigration has been distorted by European politicians for political gains. For instance, the current UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson has been accused of using Brexit for his personal political gain and deserting his "liberal" values "to get to the top" (Osborne, 2019). Another example pertains to Viktor Orbán's autocracy, the Prime Minister of Hungary since 2010. Orbán, who was recently granted the power to "rule by decree with no end date" upon the COVID-19 outbreak (Quinn, 2020), has been labelled as a political opportunist for his attempts to gain power out of the elevating public anxiety about migration (Beauchamp, 2018). Alongside acts of anti-Semitism (Forman, 2018) Orbán's aggressive rhetoric has been mostly a crackdown on migrants (Forman, 2018) and their threat to Europe's Christian culture and identity (Beauchamp, 2018).

An additional instance takes us to early in the year 2020. At that time, the Greek authorities detained migrants incommunicado at an undisclosed extrajudicial location before deporting them back to Turkey without trial. Turkish spokespersons revealed that at least three migrants had been shot dead while attempting to cross the borders to Greece (Stevis-

Gridneff *et al.*, 2020). Experts described what happened as a breach of international law. Many migrants told reporters in media appearances that they had been arrested, deprived of their possessions, assaulted and deported from Greece without being offered an opportunity to apply for asylum or talk to a solicitor in an impermissible process that goes against the non-refoulement principle. International law asserts the non-refoulement rule and states that (Trevisanut, 2014):

“No Contracting State shall expel or return (‘refouler’) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.”

We view that incidence as attempts by the authorities in Greece and Turkey to achieve political gains, however, at the expense of those migrants. On the one hand, Turkey threatened to let asylum-seekers flood into Europe, in retaliation for the harsh world criticism of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's military operations in northern Syria (The Economist, 2020). On the other hand, Greece and the EU's unprecedented actions seemed to tell Erdoğan that his threat was no longer valid.

A ‘multifront’ political hostility

Some EU nations are withdrawing or reducing patrols by their own navies to decrease the number of individuals docking at their ports. The NGOs who have stepped in to fill the gap have been regularly declined to dock at port, especially in Italy and Malta (Amnesty International UK, 2019a). Certain European Governments have even stopped them from carrying out their life-saving operations via baseless criminal checks and red tape. It is an approach followed by politicians that are more engaging in voting gains than in fixing issues.

In this political play, men, women and kids trapped at sea are only extras (Amnesty International UK, 2019a).

To dig further, we observe the recent political hostility against Syrian refugees in the middle east. Through which the Syrians have been victims of aggression ranging from violence against and assaults on them in Turkey (IPA NEWS, 2019) to a much worse humanitarian situation taking place in Lebanon where the Foreign Affairs Minister: Gebran Bassil campaigning against the Syrian refugees and demanding for their deportation from Lebanon using racist language, like saying the “genetic distinction” of Lebanese will unite them to confront the refugee issue (El Deeb, 2019). As a result, and based on full liaison with the Syrian regime, 250 Syrian dissidents were forcibly deported from Lebanon to Syria to face a horrific fate ranging from immediate detention to being murdered upon their arrival. In this regard, three of those forcibly deported to Syria by Lebanese authorities were executed by the Syrian regime (Syria TV, 2019). Many critics and activists say that most of the Lebanese politicians are using the Syrians as a “scapegoat” for Lebanon’s deteriorating economy and deep-rooted corruption (El Deeb, 2019). In response to that, Amnesty recently stated that “the coercive environment created by the Lebanese authorities is forcing Syrian refugees to return to Syria, in breach of Lebanon’s obligations under the non-refoulement principle, which forbids the transfer of individuals to a country where they would face serious human rights violations” (Amnesty International UK, 2019b). Furthermore, a statement on racism recently signed by many Lebanese journalists, writers, activists, artists and scholars declared their total condemnation of the racist campaign against the Syrian refugees in response to Bassil’s rhetoric (BBCNadaSamad, 2019).

Financial institutions in Western countries like Bank of America, Lloyds, HSBC and Wells Fargo have been engaging systematically in unexplained aggressive practices against migrants. Based on migrants' narratives, such firms have either blocked clean and legal money transfers (e.g., salaries, research funds), frozen, closed accounts or rejected opening accounts for migrants from certain nationalities. Subsequently, Asian countries like Malaysia have followed similar procedures against migrants of certain nationalities. For example, the two largest Malaysian banks in Malaysia, i.e., Maybank and CIMB Bank have shut thousands of accounts belonging to legal foreign residents who are nationals of Algeria, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Syria, Ukraine and Yemen without any announced reasons for that other than their nationalities being on US watch lists (The Star Online, 2019). Recent media reports have shed light on the struggle of migrants with such hostile acts (e.g., The Guardian, 2015; BBC, 2016), but not to a level high enough to make a significant difference in national public attitudes towards migration.

Conclusion:

The organised hostility practised by many politicians against migrants, mainly for political gains, has spoon-fed the media with the needed orientation to spread politicalised stereotypes amongst the audiences in a way that would misrepresent the migrants. Instead, the media keeps under-wrap any major facts that would benefit a favourable image of the migrants. For example, not too many people know that figures like Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, Rafik Schami, Dina Katabi and many others were originally migrants in their new home countries. Highlighting the migrant background of successful people in media, educating the migrants how to utilise media channels to represent themselves and interact

with the new society would bring many benefits like witnessing accelerated levels of integration and lower levels of xenophobia to mention a few. We believe that governments in the host countries should halt the use of migrants as a tool to achieve political gains at the expense of societies' values. Rather, migrants should be looked at as an invaluable asset that holds great opportunities for the future of sustained nations. It appears to be a cognitive dissonance case to witness anti-migration politicians celebrated in countries where human rights are a virtue. Whilst, Warner (1992) argues that the most sensible option for refugees is to bring refugees back to a situation that had taken place before the chaotic turmoil that forced them to flee, we believe that governments in the host countries should halt the use of migrants as a tool to achieve political gains at the expense of societies' values. Rather, migrants should be looked at as an invaluable asset that holds great opportunities for the future of sustained nations.

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PART 2 – MIGRANTS, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

This section examines the interaction of migrants with new cultures. It evaluates the contribution made by migrants, which sustains culture and renders it dynamic and pluralistic in the spirit of globalization. We discuss how migrants can creatively induct a host culture into a more creative understanding of the global. At the same time, we consider the process of acculturation of the migrants in the host culture and what that signifies for community relations, citizenship and/or hybridity. We thereby consider the transition from being a migrant to being rooted (uprooted) in the new societal context.

Chapter 4: Migration and its cultural dynamic capabilities

History of world is history of migration. Yet, the world has not yet come in terms with this phenomenon as questions of nation and identity have perpetually raised the need to understand the cultural, political, economic, social and religious motivations and implications of migration. Cultural and artistic productions are testimonials to the unbridled consequences of human mobility. The rhizomatic proliferation (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980) of the phenomenological discourse around migration, especially in literature, has made various lines of flight discernible to the presence of the *other*. The expansion of cultural interventions in existing artistic spaces by migrant bodies calls for introspection, specifically, in redefining the way one perceives different modes of expression. Here, we would concentrate on the literary form of expression and how the written word contains the migrant experience.

Transmutation of creative practices is inevitable, when in crux of movement, because they lead to newer meanings and unseen representations. Our chapter would delve into how Francophone literature² and the way French language as a mode of expression has evolved from a tool to assert social aristocracy in the past to a medium of self-assertion, self-representation and further, self-emancipation in the recent times. Writers, from former French colonies writing back to their oppressors, from conflict-ridden countries seeking solace in an unfamiliar language, escaping the ghosts of a past or asserting themselves in an idiom which is not their own for numerous reasons, choosing to express in *langue de Molière* is an interesting study to embark upon. French literature is considered to be a great bastion of revolutionary ideas and the epicentre of democratic ideals which did witness many migrant voices till mid 20th century. Influx of migrant writing in French literature and simultaneously foundation

² Literature produced in French language outside France is generally referred to as Francophone literature.

of French writing outside France by non-natives has readied an immense corpus to be studied, explored and understood. Our objective is to analyse the growth of Francophone literature in the realm of migrant creative practices and try to situate the dialogue the migrant writers are trying to initiate through their discourse.

Francophone literature from Africa

Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Léopold Senghor, Birago Diop, Léon-Gontran Damas belonged to the generation who chose to write in French to create and uplift the Negritude movement in 1930s and 1940s rejecting the colonial project and encouraging a politics where the Africans determined and established their identity on their terms; in a way, their poetics preceded the long and violent struggle of the continent for independence. The authors from different African countries celebrated the common thread of being an African – colonised by their body, mind and soul by Europeans yet united in their endeavours to create a free continent. French became a political instrument through which they meant to reclaim their land from the hands of France. This approach is visible in pre-colonial literature of 1930s and 1940s and post-colonial writings from 1950s onwards in English language as well (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989). The need to speak to the oppressor in his language and the ability to negate and contradict the glorious civilisation on which Europe rides on became essential. This refusal to take French language as a non-political literary tool continued even in the coming decades in Africa when the writers migrated to the Hexagon³ to tell tales of a bloody past and recount haunted memories of a lost generation.

Since decolonisation and projects of rehabilitation in Africa began in the 1960s, several Maghrebian authors living in France like Assia Djebar, Tahar Ben Jelloun, Rachid Boudjedra, Driss Chraïbi, Kateb Yacine and several others marked their presence by writing rich prose inspired by struggle for independence and self-determination. The

³ The mainland France is referred as Hexagon due to its geographical form.

next generation of African writers Patrick Chamoiseau, Calixthe Beyala, Alain Mabanckou were more interested in dealing and documenting the chaos entailing their immediate surroundings. They wrote to record their indigenous culture and regional aspirations which still was reeling from pressures of development and progress after the ravages of colonisation.

Redefining epistemological discourse

All the migrant writers, we wish to discuss, have in their authentic way contributed to the dynamic, ever-changing and limitless potential of language and linguistics through their cultural, political and social engagements in breaking the barriers constructed through the idea of nation-state and nationality. In our endeavour to explore how migration stimulates the cultural capabilities discernible in literature. The lines of flight (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980) energise the cultural interactions in a rhizome-like manner. Contemporary Francophone literature has been one such example where different identities merge to create a localised phenomenological discourse. French as a medium of expression has been adopted, nurtured, embellished, localised, lived and appropriated by these migrant writers in a way that the language is as much theirs as it is of France and its natives (Marshall, 2012). Since 1970s, when the sheen of French literature from the Hexagon started wading, the migrant writers filled the gap with refreshing and unheard narratives which otherwise was filled with pasty stories of existential angst and dread.

While all the migrant writers, in every possible way, are fighting to lay claim to their part of history, they have to succumb to the pressures of Paris to succeed (Casanova, 1999). Pascale Casanova in her book traces the birth of French language and how it comes to be written and read today. Historical interventions in each century with the objective of centralising, controlling and monopolising the dissemination of the language made Paris an important and irreplaceable element (Casanova, 1999). Paris

is as central for the French literary world as New York and London are for Anglophone literature. The migrant writers who seek to affront the establishment have to seek the same channels to speak which oppress them as most of the writers, especially from Africa, have published in Paris which leads them to visibility and publicity.

Manoeuvring an imperial and hegemonic system is almost impossible if one does not have the essential capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The channels to reach out to a reader for a newly inscribed potential author in the literary network without any social or economic capital are virtually as good as non-existent, something Casanova stresses upon. Despite aversion and abhorrence to colonial vestiges, in order to gain a copious readership, the author has to follow the rules of an unfair game laid before her.

Yet, migrant literature, today, is read, discussed, appreciated and written about because of its ability to forge an epistemological culture beyond an established and unbending Europe-bound approach even if it needs the same apparatus to survive. The migrant literature elevates the cause of epistemic privilege subscribed by Donna Haraway and Sandra Harding. The standpoint of any discourse should be judged from the location it comes from (Harding, 2003). The epistemic privilege is the attitude of privileging the source and location of the knowledge which lends to the authenticity of any prevalent discourse. For this reason, a testimonial narrative from an Iranian who lived during the 1979 Revolution *should* hold more strength and be privileged than any historian or ethnographer describing the same sequence of events. Only through this act of honouring the location and position of knowledge production can one breach the hegemonic structures of knowledge and enhance the decolonisation and decentralisation of history. This resonates in Walter Mignolo's philosophy too. In his book *Local Histories/Global Designs* (2000), Mignolo inspects and encourages this project of decolonising knowledge and reclaiming epistemological tools to respond to the Eurocentric approach to epistemology. Currently even the criticism to Eurocentrism is Eurocentric which needs to be broken with new and indigenous forms of writing (Mignolo, 2000).

We would begin to note the trajectory of migrant authors from late 1950s onwards as that decade mobilised the French-speaking community to take up their pens to direct their anger, anxiety, agony, ambition and aspirations to a latent French public in form of fiction, especially in newly decolonised Africa. The 1990s saw a new wave of Sub-Saharan writers based in France engaging with a reality of poverty, development and inequality wrecking their native land while engaging the French readers. The new millennium infused the literary space with abundant memoirs where the personal and intimate coalesce with the political and historical towards localised yet universal experiences of freedom, humiliation, confusion, suffering, affection, fear and many more. Their nationality was not restricted to African continent but from Asian countries too like Iran, Lebanon, Iraq and Vietnam, who chose Canada as their territory for writing. These authors who never had any contact with French learnt the language after crossing the borders. Their texts document the double alienation of the self from itself and the self as other.

Evolution of African diaspora – ambition, aspiration and adaptation

As Roland Barthes suggests that it is impossible to dissociate the temperament of the writer from his language, since his history with the History contributes and structures her poetics and essentially defines her politics (Barthes, 2014). This manifestation of past happens often in a subconscious manner. For the writer, according to Barthes, there is no other way of imagining Literature.

Kateb Yacine published *Nedjma* in July 1956 in Paris, just before the Algerian War of Independence began. Lyrical prose, arduously textured and multilayered symbolism could describe Yacine's *Nedjma*. Beyond the surface, it is an ode to his country Algeria which was weighing under the pressure to liberate itself from France to create an identity of its own through a literary form borrowed from Europe to narrate an experience truly indigenous. Yacine along with Rachid Boudjedra were one of the first

writers to choose their voice of expression in French. Boudjedra in his *Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée* (1975) deals with the racism an Algerian man faces in the streets of Paris. Harmattan published *Nedjma* whereas *Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée* was published by Gallimard, both are publication houses of repute in France, brings us to Casanova's standpoint of courting the oppressor's apparatus to be heard, read and talked about. Assia Djebar (*L'Amour et la fantasia, Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*), another celebrated Algerian novelist made her career by dipping herself into postcolonial crisis of her country through autobiographical prose – gender inequality, conflict of traditions and modernity linked to Arab and French language. Boudjedra and Yacine, however, moved to writing in Arab after a few years and translating their works to French. Moroccan writers like Tahar Ben Jelloun (*Enfant de Sable, La Nuit Sacrée, Le Racisme expliqué à ma fille, L'Ablation*), Driss Chraïbi (*Le Passé Simple, La Foule, La Mère du Printemps*) and contemporary writers like Leïla Slimani (*Chanson Douce, Dans le jardin de l'ogre*) and Abdellah Taïa (*Une Mélancolie Arabe, Infidèles*) continue to use French as their medium of expression. The relation with a language can be attributed to dynamics of power and identity and their desire to engage with French was complementary to their years in France whereas the motive for younger writers like Taïa to continue living in France is orthodox state policies like illegality of homosexuality.

Sub-Saharan region welcomed Calixthe Beyala who started writing in her twenties; she is one of the most vociferous voices from Cameroon. Her prose is accused of being violent, vulgar and furious. For example, an extract from *Le Christ selon l'Afrique* (2014),

Africa has seen itself crashing because, loads of white men were chased out of Europe due to the economic crisis (...) they chose this blessed continent for they can pay 3 servants, 6 mistresses and be on a vacation with a meagre income.
(self-translated from French)

The anger towards Europeans queuing up to her country is unmistakable through her acerbic tone filled with her unorthodox choice of words. This novel traces the life of a young girl living in poverty in Douala in Cameroon where she is forced to rent out her womb for survival. Beyala has chiefly been preoccupied by women and children's role and status in the modern African society. Her French carries an orality associated with fables, stories and tales from oral tradition; she agrees that her way of writing can be of no other way than this (Matateyou, 2001).

Unlike Beyala who transmits her story seeped in the oral tradition through appropriating the written French, Nathacha Appanah makes her space in the pool of Francophone writers by bringing into fore the Indian Ocean region. Her Mauritian origin and her Creole identity are perceptible through her chronicles in *Les Rochers de Poudre d'or* (2003), *Blue Bay Palace* (2004) and *La Noce d'Anna* (2005). Her limited yet acclaimed repertoire endorses the pretext for decolonisation of history to oblige stories of historical significance from smaller regions like Mauritius and Overseas French Department Mayotte.

Canada – new melting pot for Francophone literature ?

Quebec, the French speaking region of Canada has been a quiet yet powerful contributor of numerous literary covers every year included below. The migrant population from non-European regions 1970s onwards is involved in cultural productions in different capacity. Dany Lafférière (*Ecrivain japonais, Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer*) and Naïm Kattan (*Adieu Babylon, Les fruits arrachés, La fiancée promise*) are two important writers from different origins living in Quebec. Lafférière's Haitian identity and Kattan's Iraqi Jewish identity are essential elements of their semi- autobiographical writing. Kim Thuy is a Vietnamese origin Canadian writer who writes about the trials and tribulations of refugees from her native land fleeing post-war. *Ru, Vi, mǎn* and *Le Secret des Vietnamiennes* unpacks

various aspects of Vietnamese culture. Ying Chen, meanwhile, began writing in French in 1993 with publication of *Les Lettres Chinoises* after leaving her country post- Cultural Revolution. Both Asian origin writers have a lucid and simple writing style owing to their linguistic limitations which, at the same time, allows them to take liberties with the language. The invention and innovation of a certain form of language and their obsession to reveal a certain part of their history with acute detail as to not override any existing bias has made Thuy and Chen important voices of our times. The small yet significant writing community in Quebec welcoming voices from non-Francophone regions indicates us on the role Quebec as a literary space has played to bring into fore narratives that do not have any historical or political baggage with the language. In one of her interviews, she said, “no matter the language, one writes the same thing” (Chen, 2008). The universality of emotions of the phenomenon of migration, as Chen suggests, could not be untrue as the Iranian exiled communities embrace a communion of experience through their words.

Migrant experience in myriad forms

Islamic Revolution of 1979 - a common historical circumstance binds a whole generation of Iranian writers. They either exiled themselves or fled Iran during the Revolution and its aftermath. Their memoirs and fictional texts cater to nostalgia, melancholy, bitterness, desire, aspirations and a community which exists in the past. Mostly testimonial accounts, their literary expression to contain and immortalise it ranged from fictional prose to poetry to epistolary novel. As Hamid Naficy (Naficy, 1993) notes, many memoirs deal with exile and loss of home. He defines their separation from home and their constant state of liminality and in-betweenness leads to slippages, ambivalences, distortions, resistances, dissimulations and even subversions of their home culture. English and French saw publication of around 25 memoirs by young Iranian women with 5 of them written in French. Marjane Satrapi, Chahdortt Djavann, Nahal Tajadod, Negar Djavadi and Maryam Madjidi are some who relate in French about trauma, Islam, transculturality, memory, migration and

diasporic identity. The graphic memoir *Persepolis* of Marjane Satrapi has been immensely successful in French, in English and in its cinematic adaptation by Satrapi and Vincent Paronnaud released in 2007. Visual medium has facilitated in recording and universalising the migrant experience.

Riad Sattouf, Marjane Satrapi, Zeina Abirached and Shirin Neshat are a few names who have taken the route of graphic narrative. Riad Sattouf, living in France since the age of 12, spent his childhood in Libya and Syria which forms the crux of series *L'Arabe du futur* (2014-2018).

Women writers have also expressed themselves in visual arts expanding the canvas of depiction of self. With ever-increasing modes of literary tools and intersecting creative spaces, what does migrant life narratives offer to literature and how does literature create space for their experiences, can be captured through the alternative modes of memory documentation in the works of Zeina Abirached and Shirin Neshat particularly. Zeina Abirached, who now lives and works in France, describes her life during the Lebanon Civil War in *Mourir, Partir, Revenir* (2007) while Shirin Neshat in *Women of Allah* (1993-1997), her photographic series, documents various aspects of Muslim women's life behind the veil. Visual and graphic medium has become the new and enriching space for migrants to communicate through non-traditional art forms and yet reach out a public to tell their story. This could be seen as the first step towards decolonising the language and aesthetics and eventually history.

With migrant literature becoming increasingly visible in Francophone literary world, it makes us take cognisance of the fact that when the choice of narration itself is unconventional for many authors we discussed, it lends itself to discover and experiment with new ways of narrative position, social position and hence an epistemic position. When the language transforms, the aesthetics evolve too. The language of self-expression starts living on its own when the delineating experiences find a space to breath, when the feeling of being isolated finds words to articulate, when the desire to recount memories of a home left far behind inhabit and populate

to an extent that the language liberates itself from conventional attributes. Migrant writing infuses multiple cultures in continuous communication where multiple connotations are being created and being dismantled at the same time. Through this exercise, the language and aesthetics are working to decolonise and reclaim history to create histories – each history living behind multiple stories.

Conclusion

The migrants have always occupied a liminal space, finding themselves in multiple cultures at the same time. This inbetweenness itself makes them responsible for their politics and their literary articulation notwithstanding their fight to get heard and read in a just manner. The African community started writing in French to ascertain their identity and position in the clash of civilisations but the language soon was manipulated and won over to suit the needs of more pressing matters of the community. The capability of language seemed to only grow from there. In the hands of another generation of migrants from a different part of the world, French as a foreign language became an instrument to communicate culturally intricate situations while also to exhibit a psychological state which would have been impossible to express in their mother tongue. Images and context more complex to deliver in words were seen graphically in memoirs where French eased the way for artistic representation.

The dialogue with language is always personal and the external forces make it a political choice. It has always been politics, of no matter what kind, which influenced the choice of expression for each writer we mentioned. However, the engagement with self and literature ceases to be political beyond a point. In other words, personal and political meshes into one another to create a new space for intervention which as migrant writer, their position dispenses them with. The liminality that the writers seek and preserve make their narratives possible. The advent of different, hybrid and

polyphonic narratives will not cease as the world is growing more globalised yet stories more localised, more uniform yet more fragmented, more differential yet different, more homogenous yet the heterogeneity of experiences and cultures coming from diverse migrant experiences will make cultural interventions possible. This capacity is held only by an artistic form which endorses new forms of articulation breaching all forms of social normative practices.

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CHAPTER 5 EMBODYING THE SPIRIT OF GLOBALISATION

Omolola S Olarinde

Introduction

Migrants have varying degrees of cultural differences from the dominant culture of their places of settlement. Even after accounting for higher migration among countries with common ties these commonalities in culture, language and colonial networks can occur simultaneously with other cultural differences between migrants and the settled communities that they have moved to (Bredtmann, Nowotny, and Otten, 2017). The implication is that cultural differences remain even between countries with high transnational exchange.

The acculturation of migrants has been a concern for destination countries that require social cohesion to achieve their national objectives. This concern has increased in recent decades because of the changing demographics of migration globally coinciding with declining settled populations in Europe, North America, and parts of Asia. Increasing global connectivity means migration from Latin America, Asia and Africa to the global north has been rising relative to previous decades (José Maule Giménez-Gomez, Yabiba M Walle, and Yitagesu, Zewdu. Zergawu, 2019; Rothe, Tzuang, and Purmariega, 2010). These regions have traditionally been considered by Northern America and Western Europe as having cultural characteristics that, relative to the rest of Europe for instance, were less encouraging to cultural assimilation at the destination⁴. Moreover, war torn regions such as Syria have seen massive forced displacement since 2011. These movements have increased concerns at points of settlement over how acculturation styles of migrants can affect national objectives.

It is reasonable to argue that settled communities face the challenge of transforming their own identity when they come in contact with immigrants. Faced with *the fluid and changing characteristics of culture*, or identity as conceptualised by Rothe, Tzuang, and Purmariega, (2010) both migrants and settled communities have to solve problems regarding the preservation of their identity. Their inclination may be towards preserving the *spirit of globalisation*. Here, globalisation is understood as increased transnational flows of financial resources, goods, people and culture (OECD, 2010; Rapoport, 2016; Ritzer and Malone 2001)⁵. Alternatively, identities may negate the ideals of globalisation for instance when migrant choices run contrary to national objectives of the settled communities where they find themselves. This spirit of globalisation is challenged through dualism⁶ between the identities of migrants and settled communities, which can result in *othering*⁷ of out-group members (Constant and Zimmerman, 2009).

The identity-globalisation nexus is well discussed in field specific literature of economics, sociology, psychology, political science and cultural studies. What is missing is more interconnectedness among the fields. This chapter explores the application of economics of

⁴ Also see the literature on valued or de-valued target groups hypothesis for instance Bourhis, 2001

⁵ A more globalised economy is one with more capital movements and foreign direct investment, more trade, and the rise in goods, input factors, technology and financial assets must exceed output (OECD, 2010). Migration also contributes to globalisation by creating more trade, increasing financial investments and knowledge flows. Furthermore, migration and diaspora networks significantly contribute to the integration of developing countries into the global economy (Rapoport, 2016).

⁶ Also described as *out-group homogeneity effect*

⁷ There is a vast literature on identities being multidimensional which is not compatible with this either with them or against them narrative, as old as De Beauvoir (1949) who says *the self needs the other to self-represent*. There is also the possibility that individuals do not identify with any community. However, the assumption of dualistic identities simplifies our analytical objective of studying what happens when social groups choose to protect their own identity.

identity to globalisation, focusing on the relationship among migrants, settled communities and the larger society. It explores elements of globalisation that have been dealt with separately in the economic literature. The sociological approach to globalisation as growing interconnectedness through social exchange is combined with the economic focus on expanding market interactions. In another sense, this approach examines socio-economic adaptation as it relates to identity.

The current chapter comprises of five sections in addition to this introduction, which discusses links among identities and migration and how those are related to globalisation. Next is a presentation of identity as consumer driven, a prevalent approach in economics. It is followed by the possibilities that a social normative approach offer in acculturation choice. It concludes with lessons learnt from each approach in relation to identity in a globalised world.

Identity and the settled⁸ communities in economics

The acculturation debate that economists often adopt rests on the idea that migrants and settled communities present with distinct identities. This distinction that allows migrants and settled communities identities to be origin specific, is more adaptable to economic analysis because it permits methodological treatment of preferences according to these two distinct social groups (as is done in Akerlof and Kranton, 2000).

The acculturation classification that this paper adopts results from the work of Berry (1997) who identified that there could be four styles of acculturation to the dominant culture (assimilation, integration, marginalisation or separation). This is suitable to such methodological approach of this work. At the same time, there are according to the integrated model, four categories of threats that influence attitudes towards immigrant groups: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxieties and negative stereotypes (Stephan and Renfro, 2002). These perceived threats help explain attitudes towards acculturation.

Realistic threats occur if the hegemonic group perceives that economic and political threats exist between migrants and settlers. For instance in spite of some evidence that migrants' net contributions to the economy are positive in the long-run (see Quak, E. 2019; OECD, 2014), immigrants can be perceived as large burden for public finances (Kerr and Kerr, 2011). The more recent perception studies however point out that attitudes towards immigration in Europe are relatively stable (EU, 2018) with countries where local economic situations were perceived as poor or worsening more likely to desire less immigration (IOM, 2015). Realistic threats are quite similar to symbolic ones: the latter are perceived violations to the in-group worldview. Indeed, the four categories are not mutually exclusive. If settlers' perceive migrant identities as obstructive to their objectives, in other words as a symbolic threat to their worldview, this negatively affects the utility they derive from accepting migrants. As an example, in industrialised societies, corporate cultures such as timeliness are important to the objectives of enhanced productivity. *Intergroup anxiety* refers to feelings of unease during interactions between the two social groups. Finally, *negative stereotypes* are suggestive of biases in the expectations about the out-group.

⁸ For avoidance of stereotypical problems associated with the guest-host nomenclature, the chapter refers to the destination country as the settler community or simply settlers

In the predominant economic literature, each social group holds certain preferences. The attitude or prevalent perceived threat towards immigrant groups is assumed to be utility-driven. This means that satisfaction diminishes when members make decisions that are contrary to their preferred option. This allows for perceived threats to be included in economic analysis as long as they can be captured through a utility function.

The economics of identity, and therefore the chosen acculturation style, is anchored on the idea that people are self-interested and work to achieve their highest payoffs (Akerlof & Kranton, 2000; Kranton, Pease, Sanders, & Huettel, 2013; Prinz, 2019; Sen, 1997). The literature is dominated by two frameworks: one is the game theory approach pioneered by Akerlof and Kranton (2000), the other derives from the human capital school where expenditure on self-development is proportional to returns on investment. These two theories lie on the mentioned utility seeking assumption.

The game theory approach assumes cost and benefits to agents in the migration decision, allowing migration experiences to result from strategic decisions of people. The actions of economic agents are affected by their own payoffs, the actions of others, and their own identity. A broader literature points to diverse and multiple identities that can contribute to the success of the migration experience and immigrant and settlers become complementary to one another (Hieronymi, 2005). In this broader sense, Rothe *et al* (2010) show that as either or both social group of migrants and settlers experience acculturation, three possible outcomes emerge: acceptance (assimilation of one group into another); adaptation or a merger of the two cultures; and reaction or counter acculturative movements.

Akerlof and Kranton's (2000) uses a game theory based model to analyse the more specific discussion of counter-acculturative movements. It applies to distinct social groups that emerge from the migration experience. Game theory in Akerlof and Kranton's specification shows out-group membership is associated with conflicting interests between migrants and settled communities. If migrant choices run contrary to values at the receiving country, they are utility diminishing for the latter. Conflicting interests can manifest as settlers becoming anxious about the possible loss of identity resulting from dilution of social and cultural norms and interference with their economic preferences or social capital (see Putnam, 2007). The presence of conflicting interests will show up in destination country orientation towards openness to migration as well as in programmes that facilitate the migrants' socio-economic adaptation. For instance, destination societies may demand for more allegiance to the hegemonic culture. The Akerlof and Kranton (2000) model points out that policies can be designed to reduce the effects of social exclusion, such as training for settler communities or poverty reduction policies for immigrants.

The human capital approach explains acculturation styles using two tools similar in nature: a quadrant or alternatively, the Cartesian coordinate system. The coordinate system is preferred for discussion here given that it allows for acculturation to be non-linear, or to have a mix between ethnic loss and [ethnic] retention; in other words it allows for a combination between migrants holding their own identities as well as a foreign identity. On the horizontal axis of the Cartesian plane is the commitment to origin country identity. The resultant acculturation style is *separation* in which migrants completely identify with their origin country. When there is no desire to engage in relations with others and at the same time detachment from origin, *marginalisation* occurs. The vertical axes where host country

preferences dominate allows for assimilation and/or integration. Those who have adopted both cultures are referred to as *integrated*; others adopt the destination community cultures becoming *assimilated*.

In both the Game Theory and Human Capital approach, acculturation styles do not occur in isolation, rather interactions with settled communities as well as deliberate decisions of the destination country all contribute to the desire to belong to the culturally dominant group. The acculturation style of the migrant occurs together with the orientation of the host majority towards the migrant, and at the same time group interactions between migrants and their destination communities.

Studies anchored on the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) attributed to Bourhis *et al* (1997) find that the acculturation styles in settled societies vary according to the migrants' country of origin. When settlers accept migrants, the society experiences multiculturalism. This has been linked with innovation or new ways of social and economic living at the destination. Multicultural societies have also fostered globalisation since transnational societies contribute to trade, foreign direct investment and mutually beneficial exchange of ideas.

Deliberate decisions through policy prescriptions by destinations in addressing cultural differences capture the behaviour considered appropriate for people in different social categories and systems as they affect identity (see Box 1). A destination country may insist on migrants' adapting its rules because of the type of outcome the society associates with its identity. For instance, insisting on complying with rules helps those countries stay within their objectives such as corporate culture in the industrialised world. For example, the United States shows a preference towards cultural assimilation, while most other countries encourage integration.

Preferences for acculturation styles can become altered through incentives, specifically, for a given *tax* a migrant chooses an activity that was not initially the preferred one (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). Destination societies use can nudge behaviour by encouraging migrants to belong through funding, labour market participation, and other incentives. This features in immigration programmes such as reception, settlement, and funding as typical to Canada (see Box 1). Further, compulsory language policy bridges linguistic distance with destination country while encouraging the migrant to alter their identity towards the settled community (Oriol, Clots-Figueras, Costa-Font, & Masella, 2007). The choices of migrants, settlers and the larger society come with costs and payoffs related to adhering to this *spirit of globalisation*⁹.

Alternatively, destination countries may prefer to encourage migrants to maintain their own culture, for instance Germany in the post world war II reconstruction period. Policy programmes that encourage origin country identity are less common, especially in recent times. In the case of Germany in the 1940s this resulted from their guest worker approach to migration under the assumption that migration is temporary and the migrants' ultimately

⁹ Multiculturalism, where all ethnic groups are included and the society becomes culturally diverse, as well as the melting pot conceptualised as assimilation by the larger group or otherwise the melting of two cultures into one *pot of stew* are two strategies of the larger society that are associated with better adaptation outcomes. However integration and the associated multiculturalism has been shown to have better outcomes than acculturation or melting pot; the least desired alternatives are segregation and exclusion, see Berry, 2010.

desire to return *home*. This latter approach encourages ethnic enclaves of immigrants living in diaspora communities or parallel societies rather than integrating within the destination (Prinz, 2019). Similarly, migrants can experience consonant resistance to acculturation when they view their stay as temporary and remain oriented towards their original identities (Rothe, Tzuang, and Purmariega, 2010).

Box 1. Deliberate decision targeted at assimilation or integration

Assisted immigration, reception; settlement, and funding Canada since 1872

Allows dual nationality

Access to citizenship by birth (*ius sanguinis*)

Access to citizenship by place of birth (*ius soli*)

Permanent resident permits, shorter residency requirement for naturalisation

Family reunification

Budgetary allocations for integration measures

Asylum seekers allowed to work

Access to labour market by foreign workers

Eased access to labour market by family members, increase integration of second generation migrants by education, labour market access, quicker access to labour market by spouses of foreign workers, eased access to unrestricted work permits, eased naturalisation of young and long term residents, naturalisation rights established, access to healthcare [including of undocumented migrants]

More bureaus abroad for labour integration

Family: members allowed same rights as those they joined

Work study access to labour market

Antidiscrimination legislation; appeal boards for discrimination

Multiculturalism policy (Canada, 1971)

Integration policies and programmes: language courses, social integration tests, integration contracts, strategy for community cohesion

Simplification of appeal procedures for irregular migrants

Right of vote in workers council and to be elected granted for all workers

Social benefits for foreigners

Boards to address xenophobia

Source: Adapted from the *Determinants of International Migration, 2005*

The migrants' acculturation decision and socio-economic adaptation

Achieving social and economic success for migrants may be more complex than for settlers. The extent to which migrants experience success has been associated with orientation towards the settled community (Constant & Zimmerman, 2009; Grigoryev, 2016) as well as their socio-economic gains from acculturation (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). In the cost-payoff perspective, migrants adapt to settled communities at a cost to their own identity as *“the choice of an immigrant to become a citizen is not only a change in legal status but also a change in identity”* (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). Game theory predicts that at higher payoffs to integration, migrants would show increased acceptance of cultures of settled communities. The priority of the migrant will be access to social and economic opportunities, therefore any programmes that contravene this objective causes anxiety to the migrant and a desire to preserve one's identity.

Acculturation in non-economic literature follows from the migrants' orientation towards their own culture as well as the culture of the settled community; a migrant that successfully adapts both cultures is integrated. It is often measured through preferred language, number of years at destination, place of birth (Rothe, Tzuang, and Purmariega, 2010), while in a strict economic sense those who assimilate attain economic opportunities similar to settlers (Constant and

Zimmerman, 2009). Identity affects work participation and cultural activities in the same way that human capital does.

However, in Constant and Zimmerman's (2009) observations identity is strongly predicted by pre-migration characteristics rather than an effect of migration. Identity impacts on labour market integration through certain personality traits that affect economic behaviour and better integration within the market. The literature shows origin country features (Constant and Zimmerman, 2009), intended duration of stay at destination (Campbell, 2018), initial cultural differences, skill, legal status, among the factors that affect the degree to which migrants adapt to the identities, of members of their destination communities (also see Gross and Schmitt, 2003; Prinz, 2019; Russo and van Hoof, 2009).

The evidence on economic acculturation shows that there is no assurance of labour market integration. Moreover, that the extent to which migrant earnings can converge towards that of settlers is country specific, that is the nationality of the migrant affects economic integration (Constant and Zimmerman, 2009). Initially skills are heterogeneous across borders so new immigrants start with lower wages than settlers. Over time, income may converge or may even overshoot settlers' earnings overtime through improved information on labour market workings and human capital investment (Constant and Zimmerman, 2009). The evidence on convergence of wages emphasises that type of employment, for instance self-employed are more likely to see their earnings converge to those of settlers. Moreover, skilled migrants are more likely to compete favourably with settlers than unskilled and to maintain individualistic orientation. The individual orientation also points to skilled migrants using settlers as sources of information rather than their diaspora communities.

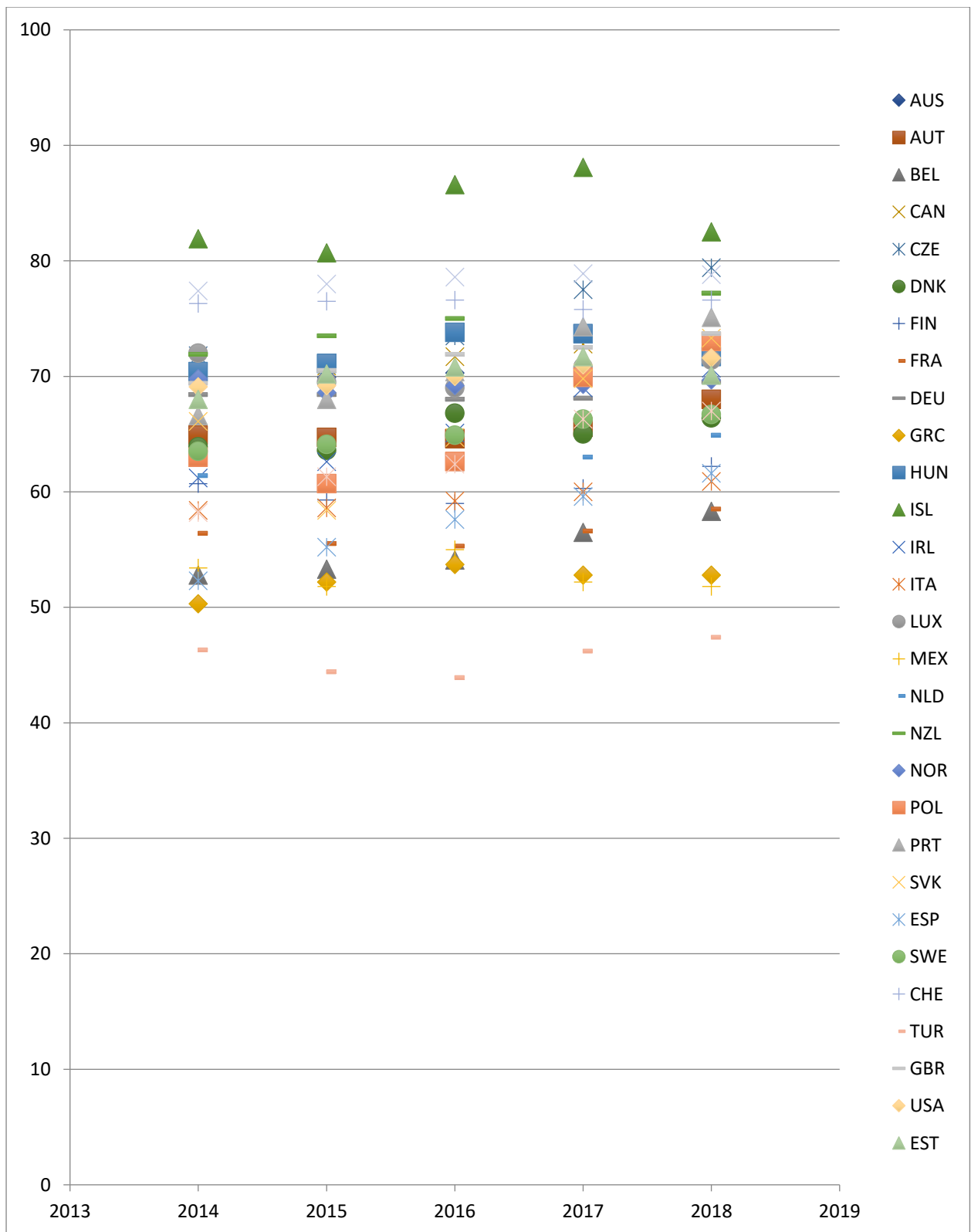
The relationship between acculturation and socio-economic adaptation is bi-directional (see Berry, 2010; and Constant and Zimmerman, 2009). Migrants who subsist well in both origin and destination country cultures also do better using indicators such as life satisfaction, lack of psychological problems, school adjustment and lack of behavioural problems (Berry, 2010) as well as with labour market indicators (Constant and Zimmerman, 2009). One of these labour market indicators (see Chart) shows that the top five countries according to the proportion of immigrants participating in the labour markets are Island, Switzerland, Israel, New Zealand and Czechoslovakia. These are also low immigrant receiving countries depicting a focus on economic integration if migrants wish to stay. The opposite is the case for Belgium, France, Greece, Mexico and Turkey in descending order showing lower employment rates for immigrants in 2018. The latter five countries also feature diaspora communities in which a strong obligation towards migrants' own initial identity prevails. For instance, France has had uprisings by migrant groups asserting their individual identities.

Notably, cooperation within migrant networks is in itself an indicator of [migrant] identity, particularly in the context in which the essence of identity is captured in what people *do* a more measurable context than *identity as a quality people have*. The evidence on the impact of diaspora communities on socio economic adaptation is mixed and is affected by migrant population group. In the case of refugees, ethnic enclaves prove positive to their employment opportunities. Similarly, networks are well documented as positive for their role in information and cost sharing among regular migrants. However, the evidence for irregular migrants shows that the role of ethnic enclaves in job participation is negatively associated with earnings.

Migrants bridge gaps in trade, technology, and innovation between their country and the global community. Moreover, acculturation can result in the accumulation of social capital, in particular, for newly arriving immigrants, who benefit from already established networks of compatriots (Grigoryev, 2016). Other advantages of networks include information sharing on labour market opportunities, initial start-up loans, pooling costs of living, transnational trade and investment, exchange of ideas and innovation, and so forth. Migration networks can reduce cultural barriers between source and origin countries promoting transnational exchanges in trade, finance and technologies (Rapoport, 2016)¹⁰. Diasporas further migration too, although this can be an undesired consequence for settled communities. Viewed from the globalisation perspective, cultural diversity can increase productivity of settlers (Ottaviano and Perri, 2006).

Chart 1. Employment among foreign-born population by country in the OECD (%)

¹⁰ Examples are vast across the globe but notable in Africa are trade resulting from Chinese and Lebanese transnational interactions.



Source: OECD (2019), Foreign-born employment (indicator)

Social choice and globalisation

There is an emerging literature on fostering positive integration attitudes towards cultural attributes different from one's own through education, incentives, publicity and even

empathy (see discussion in Vakis, 2008). Sen (1997) stands out among these studies in his association of positive integration attitudes with the principle of common knowledge of norms by showing conditions under which economic agents maximise individual choices only in consideration of the utility another derives from that choice, while still conforming with axioms of rationality.

Sen builds on evolving economic discourse, which assumes that humans are social beings, having a social identity that is a component of their individual identity. As social beings, humans are not solely self-interested as usually assumed in economics, rather one can care about other people, about one's own social status in the society, and hold similar concerns (Horst, Kirman, & Teschl, 2006). Sen through both the axiomatic approach and his use of game theory demonstrates how people choose outcomes that maximise their satisfaction in connection with the utility that another party derives from this choice.

This section experiments with outcomes of social consciousness, captured in this common knowledge of norms in relation to the *spirit of globalisation*. While the game theory and human capital approaches focus on individual incentives, Sen's paradigm fixes individualism within a broader social context. In practice, settlers and immigrants, in Sen's argument, are capable of adapt to identities that are driven not by their individual interests but by global norms.

We proceed from the premise that the acculturation of both settlers and migrants occur as they interact with one another. Then both settlers and migrants have choices about their orientation towards the migration process and the spirit of globalisation. Sen proves that choices can have process significance, where the identity of the chooser affects outcomes. The individual has a preference for norms of rules so that the extent to which the individual values social status determines conformity (Horst, Kirman, & Teschl, 2006). Consequently those societies that put more weight on status and self esteem will adhere more closely to social norms (Horst, Kirman, & Teschl, 2006).

Sen (1997) also avoids problems that arise with optimal choice by emphasising that decision making need not be based on the optimal choice but on the better of alternative between two options, that is on maximisation. He further posits that games can be chooser dependent¹¹, so that a preference option of a person may show that one allocation is preferred as long as it is another person making the choice. His illustration using the choice of the most comfortable chair at a garden party, shows that in a gathering of many persons, in which there is a clear best chair, a person may not allocate the optimal option to oneself even though it is the most desired personal outcome. The choice value is maximised only in relation to a joint outcome, or to improving the choice value of another person, in this case the host of this imaginary event, when the chooser has the fiduciary responsibility for what his host prefers.

This behaviour is new to economic thinking because it violates the principle of internal consistency in preference ordering, that is the chooser is no longer maximising his own utility. Sen is able to maintain the rationality of this behaviour, by tying it to the utility derived from adhering to a norm, perhaps a rule the person has been taught as a child and similar

¹¹ Within a preference option a person may prefer an allocation (of the best chair) as long as it is done by someone else but prefer the opposite if he himself is to do the allocation

principles. Indeed, for Sen: *The preference ranking for choice behaviour may be well defined over comprehensive outcomes including choice process, of who does the choosing, and outcomes, that is, the distribution of chairs.* The choice is according to Sen: *internalised within the system.*

The migrant community as well as the settled society each have their choice of orientation towards acculturation and the spirit of globalisation. The migrant may have *direct welfare effects* from his choice of norms, for instance when migrants want to maintain behaviour that would help them integrate within the settled community as long as it improves their socioeconomic outcomes. While (Akerlof & Kranton, 2000) hold that it is individual incentives from socioeconomic outcomes that motivates the migrants behavioural choice, Sen points out that *attitude towards responsibility need not be mediated through personal well-being.* Other motivations and each of these may have alternative explanations include: *reputation and indirect effects* (when the person wants to maintain a reputation of being considerate); *social commitment and moral imperatives* (when one does not find it morally right to grab the best alternative); and *conventional rule following* for instance the settled community may cherish rules of proper behaviour towards migrants who are also responsible for staying within the hegemonic social norms that settlers value.

Common knowledge of norms has important implications for the choices of the two social groups as well as the larger society. For instance, Bonin, Constant, Tatsiramos and Zimmermann (2006) explore the role of identity in the risk proclivity of immigrant and settler Germans using measures of immigrants' ethnic persistence and assimilation. They find that assimilation or adaptation to the attitudes of the majority population closes the immigrant-settler gap in risk proclivity, while stronger commitment to the home country or ethnic persistence preserves it. Foley and Kerr (2011) found associations between ethnicity and foreign direct investment as well as share of affiliate activity conducted with country of origin. In relation to chooser dependence, common knowledge of norms raises the possibility that the migrant within a social setting would choose to let a third party, say the larger society or the state, determine income distributions. In Sen's paradigm, if members of a society agree that one option is strictly preferred to others, then it should be taken.

Sen's social choice has practical applications to the evolving field of the human rights context to global norms, which posits that human rights have a universal appeal. If social groups and the larger community understand human rights as universally accepted norms, social choice will depend on preserving the human dignity. One unresolved question in the human rights approach is that while society can agree on norms for instance as seen in the ratification of the universal declaration of human right, the allocation of resources to assure every person of their fundamental rights remains contentious.

Regardless of this challenge, the human rights approach to global norms remains applicable to the spirit of globalisation as a social choice in the migration discourse. In particular cases where the chooser has fiduciary responsibility, that is the person has to act on behalf of others, norms influence the allocation of choices in unique ways; one being that a person gives up ones own preference in favour of the other person. In fact, Sen identifies that the choice may not necessarily result from concern for others but in actual fact reflect adherence to a social norm, say *never take the most comfortable chair for oneself.* This results when the behaviour is choice-dependent, that is the person maximises their own wellbeing only when

the other party has all the options to choose from.

Conclusion

The acculturation framework and economic indices nexus has contributed a richer discussion of labour market integration, variations in belonging according to migrant population group and migrant choice between individualisation and diaspora communities according to their skill.

Immigration policies have a social and historical context and what works well in one country may not fit with another. Canada stands out as a case in point where funding and resettlement have helped meet its national growth objectives. That being the case, there are lessons to be learnt from experiences of acculturation styles of migrants and settlers and socio-economic performance. One such lesson is that integration and in its interpretation for the larger society, that is multiculturalism, holds the record on better economic and social performance of migrants and settlers.

The inclusion of culture and identity into the economic focus on volume and patterns of migration results in fresh perspectives of how networks operate. This shows that the importance of migration networks goes beyond the traditional economic returns and view of migrants as facilitators of more migration. The identity-economics fusion shows that migrants' participation in the acculturation process brings innovation to destination countries and labour market outcomes that are favourable to the migrant and extend back and forth among their origin country, destination and other countries they come in contact with; indeed migrants expand transnational spaces.

Promising possibilities arise from the inclusion of the role of norms in the migration experiences of various social groups for economic literature. Since social norms can affect preferences of migrant and settler communities, they influence whether or not the migration experience is perceived in the spirit of globalisation as defined in this chapter. A general perception of global norms situated within the human rights context means decision can be expressed through measurable indicators. This is because specific indicators exist for both global norms and adherence to human rights. These indicators can capture social preferences in relation to choices of migrants and settled communities.

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CHAPTER 6: CITIZENSHIP, HYBRIDITY, EMBEDDEDNESS AND DUAL EMBEDDEDNESS

Aaron T. Sigauke

Introduction

There is an often-held perception that migration to and settlement in another country facilitates the acquisition of the citizenship status of the migrant in the host country. It is also often assumed that when this happens migrants are more likely to be satisfied and happier with their new citizenship status in the new country compared to what they were in their countries of origin. This chapter argues that citizenship in a place of settlement does not necessarily indicate that the former migrant, now citizen, has lost their feelings of attachment to their place of origin, or homeland. Evidence shows that migrants still hold strong positive connections (emotionally and other ways) with their mother countries (countries of origin). They still regard themselves as citizens belonging to their countries of origin especially so when they face problems (social, racial, political, economic, etc.) in their newly found countries (Papastergiadis 2013). In doing so the chapter provides a deeper understanding of what it means, as a migrant, to be a citizen in the host country and how the migrant still connects with the mother or country of origin. The chapter supports these arguments by bringing in the following citizenship-related concepts: hybridity, embeddedness, differentiated embeddedness and dual embeddedness. In everyday discussions these concepts mean different things depending on the contexts in which they are used. For instance, the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005) says in the natural sciences hybridity is often associated with biological inheritance while in the social sciences, and especially with regards to issues of citizenship, these concepts will carry different meanings.

The chapter firstly defines, separately, each of the above key concepts as they apply to different general contexts. It then focuses on the concept citizenship and the link between citizenship and hybridity, citizenship and embeddedness, citizenship and differentiated

embeddedness and, lastly, citizenship and dual/double embeddedness. While each of these concepts is firstly discussed separately it should be remembered that all are interconnected as will be demonstrated in the cited examples of migrants who have gained citizenship in different countries. The chapter rounds off with some concluding remarks concerning this topic.

This chapter is a timely discussion as it comes at a time when migrations at the global level, voluntarily and involuntarily and for different reasons, seem to be at the increase.

Conceptualizing citizenship, hybridity, embeddedness, differentiated embeddedness and dual/double embeddedness

- ***Citizenship***

Citizenship is a contested and controversial concept with meanings varying from one context to another. Steenbergen (1994) identifies three models (based on rights) often used to explain the concept citizenship: liberal individualism (civic rights); republicanism (political rights); and communitarianism (social rights). However, opinions differ as to which of these should take precedence – an indication that citizenship does not have a single and enduring meaning. It is a site of struggle and a contested terrain (Davies, 2001; Lawson, 2001); what constitutes citizenship varies from one group to another depending on the ideology and context in which it is conceived and defined. Other writers, Peterson and Emanuele (2019) for instance, point out that citizenship is about relationships between citizens and the state; has to do with rights and responsibilities; and is a legal status with reciprocal relationships between responsibilities and rights. While civic liberalism emphasises individual rights, civic republicanism sees citizenship as to do with responsibility and with being active in political communities. A citizen is not just one who holds the country's legal identification documents, what Marshall and Bottomore (1992) have called formal citizenship (passports, etc), but is also expected to obey the law, pay taxes and to contribute towards the state and community needs (active citizenship). Citizenship is about membership in a state or community, an identity that carries an emotional attachment to both the state or community. This is perhaps why Stevenson (2001) describes citizenship as "... more often about membership, belonging, rights and obligations" (p.2). In a study on teachers' views

on what citizenship and being a citizen mean (Sigauke 2011) a wide range of definitions were put forward, for example,

Membership to a local area, country or local group; membership of a country through holding legal identity documents of that particular country; sharing of common culture, birth in a country or within a social group; a resident of an area or country.

This is in support of the above view that citizenship is a site of struggle and a contested terrain. Some people will emphasize some definitions and ignore others (See also Boucher 2019 and Ellermann 2019).

Coplan (2010) points out that generally, citizenship is taken to mean the status of a person recognized under a specific custom, that is, the established pattern of behaviour that can be objectively verified within a particular social setting. It is also viewed as the status of a person recognised under the law of a state, that is, an individual's status under a system of state rules created to regulate behaviour of individuals as legal members of a sovereign state or belonging to a nation. A person may have multiple citizenships, that is, as a citizen of more than one state under the laws of those states. A person who does not have citizenship of any state is said to be 'stateless', while one who lives on state borders whose territorial status is uncertain is a 'border-lander' (Coplan 2010).

There are, however, other conceptions of citizenship that differ from the above. For instance, Osler and Starkey (2005) and Magudu (2012) note that because citizenship is controversial and contested, as mentioned above, being a 'good citizen' is therefore similarly controversial and contestable. In this sense, and as defined by the laws of any government, a good citizen could mean someone who unquestioningly accepts and conforms to values, norms, and beliefs as defined by authority. Murphy-Shigematsu, in Banks (2004, p.303), points out that in other cases becoming a legal citizen does not automatically mean that one attains structural inclusion in the main stream society and its institutions or being perceived as a citizen by most dominant members of the nation state. In an example about his experiences in Japan Murphy-Shigematsu points out that racial, cultural, language and religious characteristics determine whether or not one is really viewed as a citizen of some particular states as would be the case with some immigrants.

Often in such states, even after receiving documentary approval as a citizen, one is asked questions such as “What country are you from?” (Murphey-Shigematsu in Banks 2004, p.303). In his current country of residence, the author of this chapter has often encountered a similar question: “Where are you originally from?” (see also Brodtkin (1998) and Gregorian (2002) both cited in Banks (2004, p.5)).

- ***Hybridity***

In the social sciences a hybrid would be a person whose background is a blend of two diverse cultures or traditions; a mixture of east and western cultures in many forms: linguistic, cultural, political, racial, and so on (Mambrol 2016). Scholars interested in migration, diaspora, transnationalism and globalization have used this term to describe the identity of persons of mixed race or cultural origin or influence (such as migrants), as the cultural production of ‘hybrid’ persons and/or processes of cultural mixing that shape identity formation and cultural production (Gale 2008). In the social sciences and when applied to people, a hybrid would therefore mean a person or group of persons produced by the interaction or cross-breeding of two unlike cultures or traditions; anything derived from socially/culturally heterogeneous sources or composed of elements of different or incongruous kinds.

A number of writers, for instance Werbner and Modood (2015), Bhabha (2015), Mambrol (2016) and others contend that hybridity has frequently been used in post-colonial discourse to mean simply cross-cultural ‘exchange’, the analysis of colonizer/colonized relations that stresses their interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities. Post-colonialism concerns itself with the analysis of the history, culture, literature and modes of discourse on countries of the Global South (Africa, Asia, the Caribbean Islands and South America) - the study of the colonization, the decolonization (winning back and reconstituting the native culture), and neo-colonization process (the aftermath of post-modernism and late capitalism when multicultural corporations control the world). Mambrol (2016) describes post-colonial studies of hybridity as about the ‘split consciousness of being both (two) identities yet neither completely; multiple identities or solidarities; re-assertion of native cultural identity; emergence of new identities where the original identity, historical experiences and memories are not abandoned but constructively

merged with the host culture to move beyond the constructed limits of both, forging solidarities against essential racial oppression'. As noted above, within colonial and post-colonial literature hybridity most commonly refers to colonial subjects from countries of the Global South who have moved to other countries (western) and have found a balance between eastern and western cultural attributes, a cross between two separate races or cultures. It describes the assimilation and integration of migrants into a host society of a nation state (Papastergiadis 2000 cited in Hutnyk 2006).

Chien-Hui Kuo (2003) points out that hybridity challenges notions of identities and cultures as fixed, stable, or bounded entities. It emphasizes the interactions and exchanges that take place and have taken place across cultures. It "functions politically as a challenge to binaries between upper and lower (classes, *my addition*), Eastern and Western, White and Black, Occident and Orient, etc." (Chien-Hui Kuo 2003, p.234); or colonizer/colonized that are often used to enforce and justify imperial and colonial politics.

What brings about hybridity?

McWilliams (2013) describes the motion of people across the globe and state borders through time as the force that brings the hybrid to the fore. As noted by Papastergiadis (2001) territorial borders are not only separating elements, but also points of connection and spaces for transformation (see also Longo 2018). The turbulence of human mobility across borders disrupts territorial borders, but the reaction this mobility evokes is most often a defensive one. Through the process of global integration, a growing number of persons are leaving their home countries to live, study or work abroad. As such, traditional notions of institutional borders as markers for cultural belonging are diminished and many have argued for a vision on culture as 'de-territorialized' (see for example, Hermans and Kempen 1998; Papastergiadis 2001). Drawing upon these notions of human mobility and de-territorialisation, culture should be viewed as being fluid, dynamic and in continuous transformation in close relation to the particular people and contexts involved, instead of being bound to a particular territory (territorial 'root' or 'ground'). Globalization de-territorialises the nation state, its politics, symbols and social identities (*and citizenship, my*

addition). Cultural globalisation is less interested in economic and political systems as it is with the new forms of cultural exchanges (Puumala 2016).

Hahn (2018) notes that a significant increase in the numbers of students who go abroad has been registered since the 1970s and universities globally cannot continue to ignore the resulting cultural diversification of their campuses. As noted by Papastergiadis (2000), cited in Hahn (2018), “difference is no longer to be seen as something that is ‘out there’ or ‘back then’, because it is already part of the ‘here and now’” (p.94). Consequently, higher education institutions need to address cultural diversity as a fact rather than as an eventuality or a marginal phenomenon. This is part of the hybridity/hybridization process. These ideas are relevant to our understanding of the concept citizenship – one’s rights and responsibilities in the state or community where one currently resides.

Attitudes towards hybridity

Globally there have been mixed reactions towards hybridity. Aliu, Ozturk, Aliu and Ozkan (2016) note that recent debates in *Refugee Studies* highlight the fact that in Europe the European Union needs to consider new aspects of tolerance for hybrid identities and tolerate cultural rights of hybrid identities, create cohesion in communities and establish intercultural dialogue amongst home-states and host-states. Since hybrid identities seem to be strengthening migrants’ relations between home-host states these ought to attract some considerable attention. While hybrid identities (migrants) have been encouraged to have dual or multi-characters (citizenship) this situation established a constant system of human circulation/movement between the home-state(s) and host-state(s). However, with the rise of new threats such as terrorism, xenophobia, racism and violence on both the home and host state sides there is a need to pose the following question: What ought to be the limit of tolerance towards hybrid identities in multicultural and cosmopolitan societies (Riemer 1999)? However, Dominy (2018) also poses the question: Should an immigrant suffer from the inability to blend in and adjust to the ways of the adopted or new homeland? If not there is a likelihood for this immigrant to feel segregated and culturally dislodged. According to Papastergiadis (2013), failure in assimilation and acculturation creates a sense of cultural displacement and alienation in the immigrants which is generally accompanied by a broader

reconsidering of one's identity and social stand. In other words, the experience of alienation in the adopted land, in turn, culminates into the questioning and re-evaluation of such wider concepts as personal identity and position (citizenship) in the new society.

- ***Embeddedness***

Anna Schmidt (2019) has contributed to the debate on embeddedness and says in social sciences this concept means the dependence of a phenomenon—be it a sphere of activity such as the economy or the market, a set of relationships, an organization, or an individual—on its environment (the aggregate of social and cultural conditions that influence the life of an individual or community). In short, the concept embeddedness focuses on the different social conditions within which various modes of social action take place and upon which these modes of actions depend. This can be presented as a question like: how do the different social conditions in which different social actions take place shape those actions? Alternatively, how are the different social actions shaped by the social conditions/factors in which these actions take place? These questions are also applicable to actions of immigrants in the host state. Embeddedness is about the fact that behaviour is a product of and influenced by the social environment in which that behaviour takes or is taking place – social action is embedded in, or is a product of its immediate social environment.

In economic circumstances embeddedness takes place when, for example, immigrant entrepreneurs who set deep roots in the economic and social structures of the home and host countries are affected by the values and cultures of both home and host societies (Ren and Liu 2015). Embeddedness does not operate like an external force which merely regulates actors' behaviour by shaping the way in which actors pursue their self-interest but constitutes or is also part of these interests. Embeddedness means that individual preferences or organizational behaviour may be better understood when analysed in relation to the social environment in which they take place.

Perhaps more appropriate for the current discussion is the associated concept 'social embeddedness', a recognition that all activities depend upon the social context in which they take place (Granovetter 1985). Social embeddedness entails that the actors'

preferences can only be understood and interpreted within relational, institutional and cultural contexts. Social embeddedness focuses on the cultural factors that generate a strong sense of common purpose, trust and skill development. It covers all aspects of both economic and non-economic embeddedness. It refers to the closeness of interpersonal relationships and social ties. For example, Heidenreich (2012) points out that in some cases multi-national corporations (MNCs) in host countries have established ties with local communities and have also, in return, gained the trust and reputation from these communities. Social embeddedness lays the social foundation for MNCs' local operations. It helps these MNCs to increase their local influence and visibility, build a friendly and reliable image, improve their relations with stakeholders and achieve sustainable development in the host country. The social embeddedness of MNCs is reflected by their efforts to be locally rooted, serve the local economy and fulfil their social responsibilities as corporate citizens.

These views are important in understanding the social position of not only multi-national corporations (MNCs) in host countries but also immigrant individuals as the rest of the chapter will demonstrate.

- ***Differentiated embeddedness***

Focusing on the concept *differentiated embeddedness* Louise Ryan (2018) shows how Polish immigrants gradually extended their 'intra-EU temporary stays' over time in London - "a super-diverse, global city offering place-specific opportunities for building networks and developing processes of embedding" (p.233). They still, however, faced challenges that included language barriers, non-recognition of qualification, loneliness and unfamiliarity with the new environment which made it difficult for them to quickly embed in this new social environment. The study: '*Differentiated embedding: Polish migrants in London negotiating belong over time*' shows how, over time, immigrants' behaviour respond to or are influenced by the new environment in which they lived (social, economic, familial and friendship ties) thereby affecting their levels of civic, economic, relational and spatial

embedding. Differentiated embedding means that people need not necessarily embed to the same level/extent and in the same way across these different social domains. It takes time and effort to begin to adjust and navigate the different social domains of their new context. Embedding is not a simple one-dimensional process; neither is it unidirectional nor irreversible; migrants can negotiate embedding to different degrees across various social domains. It must also be noted that migrants do not simply continue to embed over time; they may, in fact, reverse embedding (dis-embed) as a result of various factors and events or as a result of diverse barriers different groups may encounter in settling into a new society. We therefore need to understand that migrant experiences of settling and negotiating belonging over time are shaped by major local, national or international structural/political changes. These affect migrants' decision-making regarding their levels of embedding.

- ***Dual/double embeddedness***

Dual/double embeddedness has been used as a concept for investigation in a number of research studies in the area of economics and other disciplines of the social sciences (Ren and Liu 2015; Baker and Faulkner 2009; Lücke and Dakhli 2004). In a study on '*Dual Embeddedness and Acculturation: A Structural Approach to Transnational Integration*' Lücke and Dakhli (2004) point out that globalization has emerged as one of the major forces shaping the 20th century and is expected to continue being a driver of change at the individual, organizational, national and international levels for many years to come. It is the cause for the movement of people in and out of different countries and has not only created opportunities but also challenges to both individuals and nation-states alike. In the area of acculturation resulting from these global movements some research streams have emerged that specifically focus on individuals' psychological and behavioural changes after transferring to another country.

The fundamental tenet in this regard is that actions of people who move from one country to another (migrants) for an extended period of time become embedded in two sets of social contexts and are consequently affected by both home and host socio-cultural influences. This is referred to as dual embeddedness, where the duality is a specific

characteristic of acculturation that concerns the challenge to function in and move between home and new host settings. The concept of embeddedness (as discussed in a previous section) takes three forms. The first is embeddedness according to the micro and macro context in which individual action is embedded, that is, action is contextualized by social network structures as well as cultural or institutional environments (DiMaggio, 1990; Dequech, 2003). This is referred to as structural and institutional embeddedness. Second, structural embeddedness can be conceptualised as social network structures and the duality of structural influences, that is, the interaction of home and host social network ties. Baker and Faulkner (2009) have defined dual/double embeddedness to denote the two-sided nature of communities, markets and organizations—where social, political and economic actions are embedded in social structure and culture. Structural embeddedness and cultural embeddedness and their interactions are variable, dynamic and complex (the interrelationships of structural embeddedness and cultural embeddedness—what is also known as double embeddedness).

In the area of economics Ferraris, Santoro and Scuotto (2018) have defined dual/double embeddedness with reference to how the subsidiary firm/company (*the individual citizen*: my addition) draws simultaneously on counterparts both internal (for example, parent companies and sister subsidiaries) and external (for example, universities, research institutes, consulting firms, suppliers, clients) as sources of knowledge, that is, the *dual relational embeddedness* of subsidiaries. The relational embeddedness of a subsidiary is defined here in terms of the multiple linkages used by the subsidiary to create capabilities to achieve innovative performance (to its own advantage). Still on the area of economics Ren and Liu (2015) have used dual embeddedness to describe the involvement of immigrant entrepreneurs in both origin and settlement societies. In this view, all economic activities are embedded in social relations and institutions. Integration is one of two central concepts (the other is transnationalism) that are important in understanding the process of dual embeddedness. Integration is a two-way process and emphasizes the need for both sides' (migrants and the locals) acceptance of each other: "It focuses on migrants' full participation in the labour market and their formal citizenship, but leaves matters of social membership and cultural preferences open to personal choice" (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013 p.869). This is

consistent with the use of the term 'embeddedness' to describe the immigrant entrepreneurs who set deep roots in the economic and social structures of the home and host countries and are affected by the values and cultures of both societies. Transnational networks, also sometimes associated with the above concepts, has to do with transnational relations defined as contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments (Evans 2000).

Using an example of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Singapore Ren and Liu (2015) demonstrate factors leading to the development of dual/double embeddedness at the levels of the nation-state and the individuals. Firstly, dual/double embeddedness is facilitated by the entrepreneurs' acquisition of Singapore citizenship which not only helps in them integrate into Singapore society but also offers ease of travel since they can now hold a Singapore passport that allows visa-free entry to more than 150 countries, including China. Taking up Singapore citizenship is also indicative of their positive affiliation with the new land. However, while attempting to integrate into Singapore their cultural background and family connections in China keep them connected with their homeland.

Still on immigrant Chinese entrepreneurs Ren and Liu (2015) further identify what they call 'characteristics of dual embeddedness'. The first includes business management characteristics (joint ownership of business enterprises with locals; employing local workers; and keeping personal networks with home country – that is, “transnational links that are transformed into China-centered marketing strategy and multi-site cooperative operations” p.312). The second 'characteristics of dual embeddedness' is about socio-economic links where immigrant entrepreneurs become members of or take up leadership positions in multiple social organizations in China and Singapore; and maintain personal networks/ties with their classmates, friends and colleagues in China. These personal networks become an essential bridge when they seek business opportunities in China. A third characteristic is what Ren and Liu (2015) term 'business culture', another indicator of the immigrant entrepreneurs' dual embeddedness in Singapore and China. In this case immigrant entrepreneurs display two “faces” in their business culture: the “Singaporean face” and the “Chinese face” (p.315).

The above discussion demonstrates the role of dual/double embeddedness as a socio-economic process in which the entrepreneurs sustain and make full use of the economic and social capital from China to help them survive and become established in Singapore's competitive environment. It demonstrates immigrants' simultaneous engagement in both the host and home societies as related processes that affect each other instead of as separate processes that can simply occur together; a mutually reinforcing strategy in the immigrant entrepreneurs' efforts to accumulate economic and social resources in both the origin and destination countries (dual/double embeddedness). These views, together with those raised on other concepts above, will now be applied to our understanding of and controversies around the concept of citizenship. Some specific cases will be cited as examples especially those involving forced and voluntary migrations from and to different countries of the world.

Linking citizenship, hybridity and embeddedness: Sociological implications

This section discusses the link between the key concepts identified above, that is, citizenship, hybridity, embeddedness, differentiated embeddedness and dual/double embeddedness, especially with regards to how they relate to the citizenship position of migrants in different host countries globally. Central to the whole discussion is the concept citizenship. As noted above citizenship itself is a contested and controversial concept with meanings varying from one context to another. In some cases, citizenship is associated with holding identity documents of a particular country while in other cases the emphasis is about being positively active in one's community (active citizenship). Now that we have some idea about what the other key concepts mean, that is, hybridity, embeddedness, differentiated embeddedness and dual/double embeddedness, how then do they link with citizenship; and how do these concepts apply to the citizenship status of migrants of different social backgrounds in different contexts?

Various studies and policy documents on migrations and citizenship positions of migrants in a number of countries have shown that migrants go through diverse psychological experiences (positive and negative) in the new social environments they find themselves in (Australian Citizenship Requirements 2019; Ikefa 2015; Ndhlovu 2014; Blatter 2008). In

terms of citizenship, whether as defined in terms of liberal individualism, republicanism or communitarianism (Blatter 2008; Steenbergen 1994), migrants often go through divided emotional experiences, that is, whether to see themselves as full citizens of the new nation states to which they have immigrated (host state); or the nation state from which they have emigrated (home state); or both. To settle and become a recognised formal citizen of the host nation-state the migrant has to satisfy certain conditions prescribed by the host nation-state (see, for example, vows for the Australian Citizenship Requirements 2019) including involvement in cross-cultural exchanges – linguistic, cultural, political and racial (Mambrol 2016); and to be embedded in the social/cultural expectations of the new social environment they find themselves in (Granovetter 1985). The discussion on the key concepts above has also shown how migrants are sometimes at a dilemma as to whether or not they can belong to both home and host nation states as full citizens. Dual/double embeddedness allows migrants to participate as citizens in social, political, economic and other activities of both the host and home nation-states and therefore for them to feel as citizens of both (see Erdal and Oeppen 2013; Ferraris, Santoro and Scuto, 2018; Ren and Liu 2015).

Citing an example of Polish immigrants in London Ryan (2018) has used the concept of *differentiated embeddedness* to show that immigrants need not necessarily embed to the same level and in the same way across different social domains (cultural, economic, familial and friendship ties). Ryan's study has shown that it takes time and effort for migrants to begin to adjust and navigate these different social domains in their new context. Embedding is not a simple one-dimensional process; neither is it unidirectional nor irreversible; migrants can negotiate imbedding to different degrees across various social domains. In fact, over time, they may reverse embedding (dis-embed) as a result of various factors and events or as a result of diverse barriers different groups may encounter in settling into a new society. What would this then mean in terms of their citizenship status and activities? As noted in an earlier section citizenship is not just about holding the host country's legal documents (passports, birth certificates, identity cards, etc.); it is also about being voluntarily involved in activities that contribute towards the welfare of the state and community as active citizens, *active citizenship* (Stevenson 2001). Differentiated embeddedness would therefore affect migrants' level of involvement as citizens in activities

that contribute to the welfare of their new communities. In general, it can therefore be argued that these concepts - hybridity, embeddedness, differentiated embeddedness and dual/double embeddedness – and as they apply to migrants - to a large extent, psychologically and practically affect the citizenship status and activities of migrants in host states. The following case studies of African migrants in Australia and other countries help to illustrate these dilemmas.

- **African migrants in the diaspora: Australia and other countries**

From her research on African migrants in Australia Ikafa (2015) identifies two groups of immigrants to that country – voluntary (skilled) and involuntary (forced/refugees) immigrants. For both groups, while they are initially excited and look forward to better life opportunities in the host country, the process of integrating into the new environment (to be recognised as citizens of the host country) is challenging. Most participants in that study expressed feelings of confusion, unable to do away with socio-cultural attachments to their countries of origin (home countries) and yet also anxious to be treated and to feel as citizens of the host nation-state. Even after acquiring the necessary citizenship documents Ndhlovu (2014) points out that some immigrants still feel being treated as refugees and foreigners and not as citizens of the host country. They still hold a “a feeling of African-ness” (p.134). They are also unable to integrate and embrace values of the host country; to actively contribute as active/participative citizens to communities (see also Hack-Polay (2020) *Effective Refugees Integration in Communities*). This sense of confusion is summarized in the following comment from one young African immigrant in New Zealand. She says she:

“...feels like a jigsaw piece in the wrong puzzle. For me it was really about the ideas around how I felt the need to assume the values and behaviours of New Zealand culture in order to feel as though I belonged here.... I feel like culture is one of those things which really grounds you and your identity... a feeling of pull and push between who I am. I felt that in order to belong here I had to let go off parts of my home country’s identity” (TVNZ Breakfast 2019).

Similar experiences have been expressed by other migrants in other parts of the world (see also Blatter 2008; Longo 2018; Hollinsworth, 2006).

What does this mean in terms of the key concepts discussed above, that is, citizenship, hybridity, embeddedness, differentiated embeddedness and dual/double embeddedness? From the cases cited above it appears that it is difficult to completely do away with the home-state (country of origin) social/cultural values associated with one's citizenship status in that country while one tries to integrate and play one's role as a new citizen in the host nation-state. The above concepts help us in understanding the different levels to which one can be integrated in the host state society as 'a citizen'.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has argued that, in spite of the sometimes initial excitement and a feeling of relief accompanying the process of migration especially among voluntary migrants and prospects of becoming citizens in the host country, often the same migrants end up with a feeling of 'home sickness', a wish to still belong to their countries of origin (home countries). It has been argued that this is often a product of a number of unanticipated challenges migrants face in the host country, for example, unanticipated negative treatment from locals, language barriers, loneliness and a general unfamiliarity with the new environment. The chapter has focused on four concepts to support these views: citizenship, hybridity, embeddedness, differentiated embeddedness and dual embeddedness as they apply to migrants in host countries. It has looked at experiences of immigrants (voluntary entrepreneurial and involuntary refugee migrants) regarding their feelings as new citizens in host nation states vis-a-viz as citizens in states of origin (home states). The chapter has demonstrated that, in spite of their initial excitements, migrants are still emotionally and socio-culturally attached to their countries of origin and therefore still see themselves as citizens of their home states. The example of Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs in Singapore cited in this discussion demonstrates factors leading to the development of migrant dual embeddedness at the community and nation-state levels, and how this has been used especially by migrant entrepreneurs for the benefit of citizens in both the home and host nation states. The example of African migrants in Australia cited in this chapter also illustrates the emotional difficulties associated with becoming a citizen or dual citizen in the host country.

This chapter has come at the right time as, currently, migrations at the global level, voluntarily and involuntarily and for different reasons, are at the increase.

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CHAPTER 7 INTER-MIGRANT AND INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Jessica Msofe
Michael Terborg

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the interaction of migrants, both voluntary and involuntary, with new communities and cultures. Discussion and research related to migration often focuses on the assimilation or adaptation of migrants into their new countries and communities. This chapter will demonstrate how these interactions take place in the Canadian context, where multiculturalism is enshrined in federal law and is considered a national value. Instead of simply focusing on the ways in which migrants adapt or change, this chapter will examine the ways in which migrants make meaningful contributions to their new countries and cultures as they integrate. By finding unique and creative ways of incorporating their personal experiences and their home cultures and traditions into their new cultures, migrants not only acculturate in their new communities, but also increase cultural transmission, in that people of the new host country and/or culture also adapt in some unique ways. A focus on multiculturalism, and the ways in which it is fostered and encouraged in the Canadian context, will demonstrate how migrants creatively contribute to their new culture, resulting in new understandings of citizenship, community relations, and cultural hybridity.

This chapter will highlight the ways in which multiculturalism aims to foster a sense of belonging in the new culture, while striving to preserve aspects of the migrants' home culture. In 1988, Canada became the first country in the world to pass national legislation related to multiculturalism (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009). The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* acknowledges multiculturalism as a core feature of Canadian society, and it seeks to preserve and enhance cultural understanding, while also reducing discrimination at all levels (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009). While multiculturalism in Canada is not perfect, a concerted effort to encourage it has resulted in high reported levels of migrant satisfaction and sense of belonging. For instance, Hou, Schellenberg, and Berry (2016) found that among their sample of 7,003 immigrants to Canada, from over 100 countries, the overwhelming majority (93%) of those surveyed reported having a strong sense of belonging to Canada, with or without a strong sense of belonging to their country of origin. This suggests that a sense of belonging, fostered and encouraged by multiculturalist attitudes and policies, is a fundamental aspect of migrant integration.

The chapter will demonstrate the ways in which migrants make unique and creative contributions to their new community and culture, by providing specific examples, most often from Canada, but also from other Western countries such as the United States and some European countries. When it comes to discussions of migrants' contributions to their new communities and countries, the focus often tends to be on the ways in which migration can make significant contributions to the economy. Indeed, it can; however, migrants also make significant contributions in other aspects, such as language and culture, which will also be highlighted in this chapter.

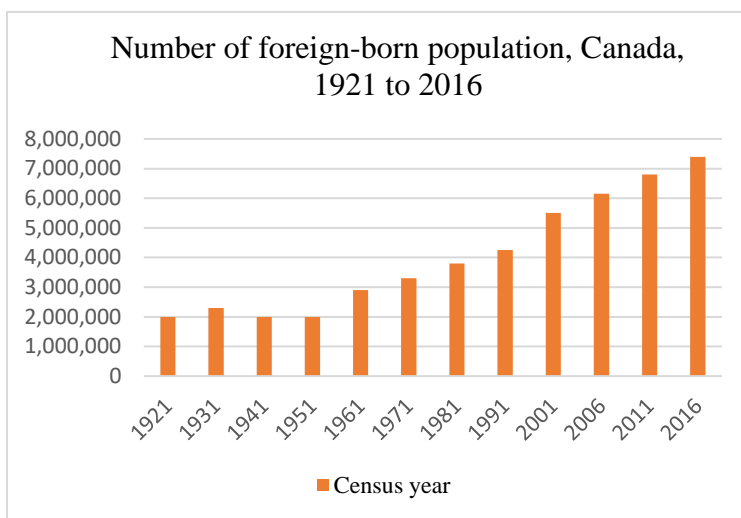
Language

The acquisition of adequate language proficiency has been found to be a vital aspect of migrant integration, especially in terms of social and economic integration (Isphording, 2015). This may be why, historically, migration and language have often been correlated, in that 'linguistic proximity' can play a role in a migrant's decision to move to a new country. Linguistic proximity can be described as the degree of similarity between a person's native language, or mother tongue, and the language spoken in the new country (Adsera & Pytlikova, 2015). However, as Adsera and Pytlikova (2015) point out, when it comes to moving to an English-speaking country, the preference or desire for linguistic proximity tends to be less significant. Language proficiency is important for economic integration, and some migrants have found creative ways to integrate into English-speaking countries, such as Canada. Boyd (2009) highlights the ways in which migrants use "linguistic enclaves" to advance themselves, economically. Boyd (2009) defines a linguistic enclave as a group of people who use the same employment-related language. For instance, migrants who work in healthcare might be more proficient in healthcare-related language than in conversational, everyday language. This allows them to focus more closely on integrating economically, perhaps before or more so than integrating socially.

Similarly, migrants often find creative ways to learn the language of their new culture, in order to integrate socially. A participant in Msofe's (2014) study on challenges faced by African

refugee youth in Ontario secondary schools discussed the ways in which his part-time job at a supermarket helped him become more proficient in English. Habimana said that stocking shelves at the supermarket meant that he frequently had to converse with customers who were looking for specific items, and that these interactions helped him, especially in learning the names of items. It also helped him in learning more conversational English, as opposed to the more academic language learned in the classroom. He said, “There’s a difference because at the school, they teach you theory. Some of them [words] you may never see them in your life after you leave the school, but at work, it’s everyday life.” Here, Habimana highlights the ways in which he creatively used opportunities presented to him at his job to become more proficient in English.

Figure 1: Adapted from *Focus on Geography Series*, Statistics Canada, 2017.



In addition to migrants having to learn the first language of the new country, migration also allows for languages to adapt and include different words or sayings from many other languages or countries. Metropolitan areas around the globe are home to people from a great number of countries. As seen in Figure 1, according to the 2016 Census, 46.1% of the total population of Toronto, Canada were immigrants. In comparison, 21.9% of the population of Canada, as a whole, reported that they were immigrants to Canada (Hussen,

2019). Of course, with populations of varied backgrounds come many diverse languages. In 2016, “immigrant languages,” languages other than English, French, Indigenous languages, or sign language, were the mother tongues of 22.3% of Canadians (nearly 8 million people) (Statistics Canada, 2017). Again, these rates tend to be even higher in metropolitan areas such as Toronto, where more than 200 languages are spoken and where 46.5% of people reported speaking an immigrant language (Statistics Canada, 2017). This diversity in language can contribute in significant ways to new dialects or language practices, or what has been coined by Quist (2000) as “multiethnolects.”

A multiethnolect, essentially, is a variation of a ‘host’ language that is influenced in a number of ways by multiple ethnic groups (Quist, 2000). Variations in phonetics (speech sounds), grammar, pronunciation, syntax (the arrangement of words), and/or morphology (word forms) act to create a new way of speaking and expressing group identity. For example, in Copenhagen, Quist (2008) describes 20 to 30 “loanwords” from Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish and Serbian that are often used as slang words or intensifiers in adolescent speech. It is important to note that these additions, or the integration of immigrant languages into host languages, are done purposefully and deliberately by youth; they are making particular choices based on the context. As Svendsen & Royneland (2008) point out, in their study in Oslo, multiethnolects were not ‘broken’ languages, but instead “one of several varieties in many of the adolescents’

linguistic repertoire, and they display their ability to choose between a multiethnolect and standard South-Eastern Norwegian” (p. 79). As such, multiethnolects are seen as creative uses of language, rather than language delays or ‘problems.’ Multiethnolects are not “learner languages,” but rather “youth languages” (Svendsen & Royneland, 2008).

Mother Tongue, Canada, 2016

Language	Number	Percent
Total	34, 767, 255	100.0
English	20, 193, 340	58.1
French	7, 452, 075	21.4
Other Languages	7, 974, 375	22.9
Aboriginal Languages	213, 230	0.6
Immigrant Languages	7, 749, 120	22.3

Table 1: Adapted from *Focus on Geography Series*, Statistics Canada, 2017.

Because many young people today live and move in spaces that are multiethnic and multilingual, Wiese (2015) writes that these new ways of speaking are important and central parts of their lives, regardless of background. Multiethnolects are not only used by migrants, but also non-migrants, as they were used as an expression of group identity (Svendsen & Royneland, 2008; Wiese, 2009, 2015). In this way, migrants, and the languages that they bring with them, have the capacity to contribute to new ways of speaking in their new communities, lending to new ways of expressing group identity among all youth, not just migrant youth.

Food

Regardless of country of origin or reason for migration, all migrants bring food-related ideas, practices, and customs to their new communities. As Fabio Parasecoli (2014) wrote, “food is as exclusive to human behavior as language” (p. 416). Food reflects the experiences and memories of migrants; the stories, histories, traditions, and rituals of people can all be connected to food. In this way, food and food-related practices are unique in that they can work to connect migrants both to their new communities and to inter-migrant communities.

Food and culinary practices can help migrants to build connections and relationships with those in their new communities. As Takenaka (2017) highlights, migration plays a significant role in transforming local food. In many cities, especially major cities, around the world, you will find cuisines and restaurants from a number of different countries. In Toronto, you are able to find restaurants serving food from any corner of the world, along with ethnic supermarkets (e.g. Chinese, Punjabi, African) and farmers markets. A frequent weekend debate over what to eat for dinner might sound like this: Do you feel like eating Chinese food? Mexican? Mediterranean? Japanese? In most cities, you are able to eat food from a variety of place around the globe.

Restaurants and take-out aside, some migrants have taken the opportunity to connect with and teach those in their new communities about food. In New York City, Lisa Gross, the

daughter of a Korean immigrant, started League of Kitchens, a unique culinary experience in which immigrants teach cooking classes in their own homes. This type of initiative not only builds connections and relationships between migrants and community members, but also provides ways for migrants to maintain their food and cultural norms, as well as teach others about traditions, recipes, and food practices from their countries of origin. As Hughes writes, in discussing the social role of food, “Differences and challenges have been overcome [among migrants] and a resilient community has utilised networks to confidently mark out its place in a new home” (p. 290). Not only are migrants involving themselves in their new communities, but they are bringing their own traditions, practices, and cultures with them to these communities.

Another way in which migrants have contributed to their new communities, in terms of food, are in the form of fusion cuisine, which combines different elements from different culinary traditions. Fusion cuisine presents a remarkable example of the ways in which food can be used to carve new identities among migrants, identities which represent both their countries of origin, their host countries, and/or other migrant communities in their host countries. In a country such as Canada, where such a wide variety of cultures are present, fusion food becomes even more exciting and interesting. Calgary, Canada is home to Carino Japanese Bistro, which is a fusion of Italian and Japanese cuisines; in Toronto, you can find Huevos Gourmet, a fusion of Mexican and French cuisines; and in Corner Brook, Taste of Jamaica serves Jamaican dishes that are made with local, Canadian ingredients. Fusion cuisine is interesting because it provides a creative way to both maintain cultural identities, as well as forge new, unique identities. Food creates connections between people, countries, traditions, and customs (Omori, 2017; Takenaka, 2017), and fusion cuisine is a tangible way of demonstrating connections between two or more different countries, different traditions and customs, and creating new cuisines, while in the process, new identities (Omori, 2017).

Finally, food can provide an opportunity for migrants to become entrepreneurs, as many migrants open restaurants in their new communities. These restaurants also provide an important source of employment in the community, and among other migrants. In Canada, the CEO of Paramount Fine Foods, Mohammed Fakih, an immigrant himself, is now devoted to providing opportunities for other migrants, specifically skilled refugees. Paramount Fine Foods, as of July 2019, had hired 150 refugees. This presents an example of how migrants find creative ways to contribute to new cultures, incorporate their own cultures, and also build inter-community and inter-migrant relationships.

Traditions

Berry (1997) outlines four strategies related to acculturation; these strategies are related to how migrants deal with maintaining their culture, customs, and traditions, as well as participating in their new culture, customs, and traditions. The four strategies, according to Berry, are: (1) integration – these migrants retain their cultural practices and also participate fully in their new country; (2) assimilation – these migrants do not wish to retain, or are forced to abandon, their cultural practices, and participate fully in the new country; (3) separation – migrants who retain their cultural practices, and do not wish to, or are not allowed to, participate in their new country; and (4) marginalization – migrants who do not want to

maintain, or are forced to give up, their cultural practices, and who do not want to, or are not allowed to, participate in their new country. While Berry's (1997) conceptual framework has been widely used in describing acculturation among migrants, it also does not allow for much discussion in terms of the "grey areas," or in terms of creating new, hybrid identities (Grant, 2007). In countries where multiculturalism is encouraged and valued, these hybrid identities become very common. For instance, in Canada, most observed holidays are still directed connected to Christianity (e.g. Christmas, Easter), but by law, those celebrating other major religious holidays (e.g. Eid, Diwali) must be provided with reasonable accommodations. In public schools in Ontario, Canada, the *Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC)* has created a Creed Policy which ensures that accommodations for things like prayer observances are made, regardless of the potential impact on regular daily routines. For example, the OHRC (2019) writes that teachers should consider prayer observances when scheduling exams and school trips, and should provide accommodations for prayer, such as private areas or rooms. Laws and policies such as these ensure that migrants are able to maintain their cultural traditions and customs, should they choose to do so. However, these types of accommodations and policies often do not come without some disagreement.

Traditions and customs can also be maintained through the creation and maintenance of various ethnic and cultural organizations and clubs. For example, there are many ethnocultural groups listed for Toronto; examples include the Afghan Association of Ontario, Jamaican Canadian Association, Elderly Vietnamese Association, Latvian Canadian Cultural Centre, and Iranian Community Association. Some cities also devote a week of each year to celebrating the various cultures in the community. Brantford, Ontario has held its infamous International Villages Cultural Festival for the past 47 years. At this festival, various ethnic communities put together a "village" to teach others about their culture, traditions, and customs. Each village can include things such as food and drink, music, dancing, and historical information. In 2019, the International Villages Cultural Festival had 17 different villages participate, including British, Chinese, Caribbean, Indian, Italian, Muslim, Filipino, and Scottish. These types of events provide unique and creative ways for migrants to showcase their cultural traditions and customs, and to teach others in the community about their countries of origin.

When provided the opportunity to maintain cultural traditions and customs, and also to teach others about their cultural traditions and customs, migrants again find unique and creative ways to define their identities, to define citizenship, and to balance cultural hybridity.

Games/Recreation

As with language and food, migrants bring ideas and experiences related to games and recreation to their new communities. Stodolska, Peters, and Horolets (2016) explored the ways in which leisure, specifically in nature, is related to the adaptation of migrants. Their study also emphasized the ways in which leisure, again specifically in nature, can encourage interactions between those of different backgrounds. They found that recreation in natural environments promoted the adaptation of migrants to their new cultures and communities,

as it allowed them to build feelings of attachment, social bonds, and memories. Migrants were also able to learn about their new country.

While this particular study by Stodolska, Peters, and Horolets (2016) did not find that leisure in natural environments encouraged interactions with strangers, it is thought that certain activities, such as gardening, can, in fact, promote interactions between migrants and members of their new community, and some initiatives have been undertaken to explore the impacts of such activities. For instance, Rome, Italy has recently focused on promoting urban gardens as a way to encourage inclusion among migrants. The community gardens are described as a way to transmit knowledge and theories, and a way to encourage interaction and conversation, between migrants and native-born citizens of all ages (Ansa, 2018). An initiative such as this highlights the ways in which migrants may bring diverse knowledge and practices which may benefit the community, and also provides a way for migrants to learn about gardening and gardening practices from other migrants or native-born citizens. As Nayak (2019) notes, as with food practices, migrants also often bring substantial knowledge and experience related to gardening with them when they move to new countries or communities. Putting this knowledge and experience to use can help migrants integrate into their new communities; they are not only participating in activities that they previously enjoyed in their home countries, but they can also teach and share knowledge with members of their new community, building and fostering relationships based on shared interests and hobbies.

In addition to leisure and hobbies, participation in recreation and games, specifically sports, can provide a way for migrants and community members to build relationships and learn from one another. Stodolska, Peters, and Horolets (2016) note that participation in sports allows for immigrant youth to build respectful relationships with their peers. A specific example of this, in Canada, is a hockey program that is run for newcomer youth. Hockey is Canada's national sport, and despite many newcomers being unfamiliar with the sport, the hockey program has been a hit among youth and their families. Lani Poce, a community connections coordinator, said that both parents and children have been excited about the program, highlighting the ways in which it is a good way to get involved in their new community. Poce said, "The kids want to be involved. They want to meet other Canadians. They want to do what Canadians do" (Willick, 2018).

While the previous example shows the ways in which migrants might become involved in the sports and recreation of their new communities, there are also instances in which migrants can bring their sports and recreation experience and knowledge from their own countries to their new countries. This can provide migrants with ways to connect with new community members, build relationships, and even learn a new language. For example, a qualitative study by Msofe (2014), which looked at some of the challenges faced by African refugee students in Canadian secondary schools, noted that sports were often a source of great support for new migrant students, both in terms of building relationships and in learning the new language. For example, one participant, Abasi, said of soccer,

That's how it all started with the sports. Because again, my friends were basically from school. I didn't know any people from outside of school. And then, when I heard about soccer, which I'm crazy about, and that's when I started meeting people, and I was

very into it. I was the captain of the team for a couple of years, and I even organized intramurals. I started becoming more comfortable that way, you know?

I started opening up more and then that changed me a little bit, in a way, to be more comfortable. And, from then on, then I started getting, you know, that's when I started meeting new Canadians and stuff, once I started playing soccer with them. I started becoming more comfortable talking to them because you can say something to them after that, right?

Abasi talked about soccer as a useful way to practice speaking English because playing with Canadians and other non-Canadians meant that he was forced to speak English. He was also more comfortable in such a setting because as he put it, "In sports, it's just one language." This was an important statement because it highlighted the idea that on the soccer pitch, everyone was the same; it was a place where everyone fit in and where everyone worked together. This corresponds with the assertion that participation in recreation leads to higher interaction among people, which in turn, leads to higher levels of trust among people and between groups (Aizlewood, Bevelander, & Pendakur, 2006).

Economy/Work

When it comes to the topic of migration, and specifically, the benefits of migration, there tends to be much discussion on the economy or on how migrants can benefit the destination economically. As demonstrated throughout the chapter thus far, the migrants offer many social contributions to the destination countries, in terms of language, food, traditions, etc., which are often overlooked or under-reported. However, it is also true that migration lends to positive impacts on the economy, in that migrants bring new ideas and creativity.

Research conducted between 2003-2013 in Canada found that while just 17% of private-sector firms were owned by immigrant entrepreneurs, these firms accounted for more than 25% of all net new jobs created (Picot & Rollin, 2019). While migrants are often described as threatening the job opportunities of those in their new areas, in Canada, the opposite was found to be true. Picot and Rollin (2019) instead describe migrants as "job creators" rather than "job destroyers." Peace by Chocolate is an example of a successful migrant-owned private firm in Canada. After arriving in Canada as involuntary migrants from Syria in 2016, Tareq Hadhad and his family, chocolatiers by trade, opened their own chocolate shop in their new home of Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Not only has the Hadhad family business doubled in size in just three years, now employing 50 people, but they have also found a way to contribute to their fellow migrant community, by introducing the Welcome to Canada chocolate bar. This is a fundraising partnership with The Refugee Hub at the University of Ottawa, which works to increase the protection and rights of refugees (Peace by Chocolate, 2019). Peace by Chocolate is one of many examples of the ways in which migrants, both voluntary and involuntary, work to contribute in creative and significant ways to their new communities.

Outside of entrepreneurship, migrants play important roles in the labour force. In countries such as Canada and Germany, jobs are being created at a pace that the native population simply cannot fill (Khasru, 2018). Other jobs, such as seasonal farming work, rely heavily on

migrant workers. In Canada, for example, there is a Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), which allows agricultural employers to hire non-native, migrant workers seasonally, when there are no Canadian citizens or permanent residents available to complete the work. Migrant seasonal workers to Canada come from certain Caribbean countries and Mexico, and they provide very valuable employment, ensuring that Canadian farmers are able to adequately staff their farms and produce as much as possible throughout the season (Government of Canada, 2019).

Migrants can also provide highly-skilled labour, and as such, are sometimes recruited to the new countries, in order to make significant and meaningful contributions in their new communities. In the Canadian province of Nova Scotia, it is estimated that 50,000 of the population of 970,000 are without family physicians (Ray, 2018). In an attempt to remedy this issue and fill that gap, the government has created a new streamlined immigration pathway for foreign-trained physicians (Ray, 2018). In this way, migrants are provided specific opportunities that will allow them to migrate to Canada quickly, and to provide necessary and important services to their new communities.

Not only do migrants fill many gaps in the labour force, but diverse cultural perspectives are also related to creativity and innovation, promoting job creation and productivity (Jensen, 2014). Innovation can be described as the creation of new ideas and knowledge. In Canada, more than 35% of Canada Research Chairs are foreign-born, despite the fact that migrants make up less than 25% of the Canadian population (Parkouda, 2010). Similarly, Stephan and Levin (2001) looked at productivity in science among native-born Americans and migrants to America. They found that migrants to America were much more likely to have made outstanding contributions to U.S. science (Stephan & Levin, 2001). A large-scale longitudinal study on innovation and immigration in Europe also indicated that immigrants from diverse backgrounds contributed significantly to innovation in their new communities (Ozgen, Nijkamp, & Poot, 2011), while another, in Germany, also found that immigration had either no effect on innovation, or a positive effect on innovation, but that immigration did not have a negative impact on innovation (Jahn & Steinhardt, 2016). Overall, the consensus is largely that migration has a positive effect on innovation, in that migrants bring new ideas, knowledge, and ways of thinking which contribute, positively, to their new communities, which actually, should come as no surprise. Migrants bring with them different experiences, ways of learning, thinking, and knowing, and use this information to contribute new ideas and practices to existing fields and domains in their new countries.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated some of the ways in which migrants make creative contributions to their new countries and cultures, in an attempt to both integrate with the local community and, also, to maintain their home cultures. In an environment, or country, where multiculturalism is valued, protected, and encouraged, these contributions can become even more significant. Because aspects of culture such as food, language, games and recreation, become such an integral part of a person's identity, these things, of course, move with those who migrate to other places of the world. While migration is positively linked to economic growth and prosperity, we must not overlook the creative ways in which migrants contribute to their new communities in terms of social growth and prosperity. These

contributions allow for new definitions and understandings of notions of citizenship, cultural identity, and cultural hybridity.

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PART 3 – MIGRANTS AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

This section examines the creative energies that migrants inject in the economic structures in both private sphere (in terms of entrepreneurship and social enterprise) and public spheres (in terms of contribution to organisational and occupational life).

CHAPTER 8 - THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR EXPERIENCE OF WORK LIFE PPRESSURES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the main features of the employment situation of migrant workers to which existing research points. It begins by considering the type of employment in which they are typically located and the implications this has for their work and non-work lives. It then considers the dangers of generalizing about the employment position of migrant workers and examines some of the reasons for diversity. Consideration is given to the impact on migrant workers' perception of their situation of the comparisons they make between their migrant situation and that which they experienced in their country of origin. Finally, the

chapter exemplifies the issues raised by reporting a study of the work and life relationship of migrant workers in London.

EMPLOYMENT VULNERABILITY

There is a consensus in the literature on the employment of migrant workers that they tend to be disproportionately employed in 'bad jobs' (McGovern, 2004). They are particularly likely to be employed in unskilled and low skilled work.

In the United Kingdom, a TUC (Trade Union Congress) study (2007) of Polish and Lithuanian migrant workers found a high incidence of low pay and long working hours in sectors such as hospitality, manufacturing, transport and caring. In the hospitality industry migrants are meant to provide a constant supply of unskilled employees (Janta et al., 2011). The TUC evidence to the Migrant Advisory Committee's review of migrant employment (2013) indicated that the majority of the A8 **(1)** workers who arrived after labour market restrictions were lifted in 2004 were employed in poorly paid low skilled parts of the economy. Datta et al. (2007), in a study of migrant workers in 5 low paid sectors of employment in London (UK), found that migrant workers had to maximize their income by accepting jobs for which they were significantly over-qualified, undertaking regular overtime, and taking on a second job.

There is some consensus in Western European literature about the types of jobs and sectors where migrant workers are likely to be employed. An OECD report (2001) points to their concentration in blue collar and low status jobs in construction, hospitality, health and personal services. Bryson and White, using data from the WERS **(2)** survey, found that 30% of UK work forces employed migrant workers and that their main sectors of employment, in declining order of importance, were hospitality, health, manufacturing, distribution and business services. Research on migrant workers in Finland emphasized their concentration in the hospitality and cleaning sectors.

Not only do migrant workers suffer disproportionately from 'bad jobs' but they are also more likely to experience unemployment. In Ireland, workers from the A8 countries suffered more from unemployment than native workers. Their unemployment rate in 2009 was 19% compared with an overall national rate of 12%. In the USA, De Lara¹, Reese and Struna (2016:

312) found that “70 percent of immigrant workers remain unemployed for several months” in California, even for blue collar warehouse jobs. A higher unemployment rate among Chinese migrant workers than among native workers was part of the employment context of Chinese migrant workers (Baines 2007). For many migrants from the global south the situation has become worse because of increased competition from migrants from the new member states of the European Union (Datta et al., 2007).

The growing number of migrant workers taking up employment in western countries has raised the issue of whether the influx of migrant workers has a negative impact on the employment situation of native workers. However, research has found little evidence that migrant workers have negative consequences for native worker employment and pay (OECD, 2001). The adverse wage effects, for example, of migrant workers are not discernible (Bryson and White, 2019). In relation to employment an examination of migrant jobs in Ireland found no evidence that migrants substituted for native workers (Turner, 2010).

The reasons for the disproportionate employment of migrant workers in ‘bad jobs’ are varied and complex. In some cases, the regulatory status of being a migrant worker can have an important impact upon their power in employment (Kononen, 2019). Thus, a migrant who is not eligible for welfare state support is in a more vulnerable position in employment which may influence a decision to accept low paid work. The attitudes of employers often contribute to migrant workers being employed in ‘bad jobs’. Employers take advantage of the precarious situation of many migrant workers and the greater power it gives them in the employment relationship to limit their employment rights (Kononen,2019). A result of A8 migrants’ presence in the labour market has been to ‘oil the wheels’ of Britain’s flexible economy encouraging the growth of atypical contracts (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). The ready supply of A8 workers has given employers few incentives to move away from flexible employment practices.

Employers often are unwilling to recognize the qualifications of migrant workers as qualifying them for appropriate employment. Kyoung Hee’s (2019) study of migrant accountants in Australia showed that despite their qualifications the migrants had to go through a succession of low paid and low skills employment before eventually obtaining professional employment.

Although much of the accountants' experience was based on discrimination the employer often gave reasons related to the requirements for the job in terms of cultural fit, local accents and lack of experience. This experience of overqualification, or underemployment seems to be a problem faced by most migrant workers to some degree and at some time. Educational qualifications do not give the same advantages to migrant workers as to native workers. They tend to suffer an occupational downgrading – a type of brain-drain (Turner, 2010).

Apart from employer discrimination a number of other factors can contribute to the under employment of migrant workers. These include language problems, a lack of experience in competition with native workers, and a lack of information. A lack of knowledge of the employment system and of any support network can result in them being locked into an underemployment situation and low paid sectors.

All of these factors can contribute to a feeling of vulnerability among migrant workers, which can result in an eagerness to show extra effort and send a signal of higher productivity through a stronger work ethic, making them an attractive employer option to employers. Thus the disadvantages of A8 workers (poor English, poor labour market information, low portability of qualifications) encourage them to be absent from work less than native workers. Dawson et al. (2018) found that initially migrant workers displayed a level of absenteeism three times lower than native workers although after 2-4 years the difference tends to decline.

Their disproportionate experience of 'bad jobs' inevitably puts migrant workers at risk of experiencing problems of work life balance.³ Low pay and the associated inequality have been increasingly linked to longer working hours. Bosch (1999) in a detailed analysis of working hours, found that in those countries (UK, USA, and New Zealand) where income inequality has increased and average and lower incomes have stagnated or fallen, working time has increased with workers trying to compensate for their decline in earnings. In a US context, Voss and Fligstein (2001) suggest that an important reason for longer working hours is the level of inequality in North American society, where from the 70s through to the 90s, wages at the bottom end of the income spectrum stagnated and people had to work harder just to maintain living standards. Increasing inequality does not only manifest itself in long

working hours for full-time workers. A common strategy is for families to seek to maintain living standards by part-time women members opting to work longer hours. The work life experience of low paid workers is portrayed by a study of life in a low income South London neighborhood (Dean and Coulter, 2006). A majority of the economically active working-age parents were not content with the work life balance they achieved under the current working arrangements. The researchers emphasized the sense of powerlessness and lack of control over their work life balance expressed by respondents, which was not helped by that lower paid workers having less access to flexible working practices (Gray and Tudball, 2003; Heyman, 2005).

However, in addition to low pay and associated long hours, migrant workers may experience other pressures which make a difficult work life balance more likely. One of these is the need which many perceive to send remittances to their country of origin. Remittances have usually been discussed in terms of their role in helping developing countries. Little attention has been paid to the sacrifices migrants have to make in the process of generating these funds. Datta et al.'s study (2007) found that 71% of migrant workers regularly sent remittances, averaging about 20-30% of their income. The migrants working the longest hours were the most likely to remit. Of those who worked more than 48 hours per week 76% remitted, while of those working 18 hours or less only 61%. Thus, many migrant workers experience the pressure to work longer hours to meet the additional need to send money home. Coping strategies include multi-earning (18% in Datta et al.'s study had more than one job) and sharing accommodation.

Migrant workers may also face tension in the relation between work and non-work roles as a result of the demands of childcare. The negative impact of low paid work, long working hours and home obligations in relation to remittance upon family roles is exacerbated by the frequent absence of close kin networks. Such networks would otherwise help with childcare. In a country such as the United Kingdom, where a market-based approach to childcare pertains, there is often a lack of accessible and affordable care. Provision can then become very complicated for migrant workers. There is little evidence of migrant families using formal childcare facilities. This is often because of its cost but cultural factors may also be relevant -

the migrant worker may not trust non-parental care. Parental care therefore tends to be the normal response (Roder et al., 2018). Women work less after starting a family, either giving up work entirely or finding a way to work without using additional child care support ('the jugglers', Roder et al., 2018). Highly qualified professional migrants are an exception to this problem as they are more likely to be able to afford private childcare. An exception is highly qualified professional migrants who can afford private child care (Rubin et al. 2008). The 'jugglers' have to find low cost solutions to help with care. Most common is the strategy of delegating care and the use of 'other mothers' (Dyer et al., 2011) such as members of the extended family, sometimes not available locally, but in the country of origin where many adult migrant workers have left-behind children or spouses. Workplace care, use of older children or negligence may be other approaches (Wall and Jose, 2004). Regardless of the option chosen it will often put more pressure on the male migrant worker—to work more hours and leave women to cover both work and caring commitments resulting in work life challenges.

Finally, migrant workers can experience considerable stress as a result of role discontinuity (von Mende, 2008) which in turn can complicate the relationship between work and non-work life. This role discontinuity may be a result of not getting their previous educational credentials and work experience fully recognized by employers, as discussed above. Thus, they may have to take up job roles in the new country that are of a lower level and status than those they may have had at home (Green, 2007). The hospitality sector is a clear case of the general phenomenon that migrants are over-qualified relative to the skill level required in their work role (Barrett et al., 2006). As a result migrants, locked into low skill jobs far below their level of employment prior to migration, experience a loss of status and self-esteem (Bauder, 2003; Liversage, 2009). Some migrant workers confess to being ashamed of their jobs (Datta et al., 2007). However, over-qualification is not the only discontinuity experienced by migrant workers. Other cultural identities related to roles in their home country may be deeply embedded, but may not be respected in their new country. This makes it difficult for the migrant worker to view positively their new life and change to meet the requirements of new roles.

DIVERSITY OF EXPERIENCE

Different groups of migrant workers are exposed to different structural and cultural factors which impact upon their employment situation. Women migrants would seem to face particular work life difficulties. Women migrants tend to be concentrated in a limited number of occupations, especially in those where women have typically dominated and which are associated with female roles and sex stereotypes – domestic workers, ‘au pairs’, entertainers, sex workers, helpers in restaurants and hotels, cleaners, sales staff and manual workers in labour intensive manufacturing (ILO, 2003). The demand for women migrants is high because they often represent a form of replacement mobility for female nationals who are freed from household and care responsibilities to take up other positions in the labour market. Thus women migrants have limited representation in the professional and skilled categories with the exceptions of teaching and nursing. Their jobs tend to be low skilled and low paid with inferior working conditions. Women migrants are in addition often concentrated in the informal economy where working conditions are poorest. Public work life balance policies benefit migrant women less than nationals in part because of their lack of knowledge and language barriers (Rubin, 2008). In addition, because many women migrant workers have ‘worker’ rather than ‘employee’ status (e.g. casually employed through agencies) they may have fewer rights to such benefits. Therefore, given the prominence of the family role in their role set and the aforementioned difficulties in making adequate child care arrangements, these additional work-related pressures might be expected to make the challenges faced by women in reconciling work and non-work roles particularly difficult.

The work of several researchers emphasizes the need for caution and the dangers of generalizing because the pressures faced by migrant workers may be managed through the use of agency. Focusing on migrant workers as passive victims ignores their ability through agency to negotiate the barriers they face (Syrett and Lyons, 2007). Alberti (2014) provides a countervailing view to the negative employment experience of migrant workers with a study showing how migrants exercised mobility and used their temporariness strategically in order to exit difficult situations, gain time, re-invest their skills or simply renew their capacity to be mobile. Migrant workers hope to use temporary roles as an opportunity to develop their English skills and move on to a higher skilled position, which better uses their other skills

(Hopkins and Dawson 2016). The stories described by Dyer et al. (2011) highlight the diversity of migrants' experiences of and strategies for work life balance with gender identities, social class, earning potential and formal visa or citizenship rights all impact on the strategies which migrant workers are able to draw upon. They are a heterogeneous group with internal ethnic, gender, and class divisions.

There are also important differences in the pressures faced within different sections of the migrant population. For example, white migrant workers tend to suffer less from low pay and overqualification than ethnic minority migrants (Hack-Polay, 2008). Similarly Kyoung Hee's (2019) Australian study of migrant accountants found that Caucasian applicants faced less discrimination than Asian migrants. Immigrants from Western Europe are less likely to experience unemployment (Turner, 2010) An additional year of education increased earnings by 10% for white immigrants but by only 4-4.5% for ethnic minority workers (Baines, 2007). The unemployment rate of women migrants from the global south is 5.6% higher than that of European born migrants (Rubin et al., 2008). There are also important differences in the burden of remittances. In Datta et al.'s (2007) study while 80% of African migrants and 67% of Latin American migrants regularly sent remittances home, this went down to 49% for Eastern European migrants. Whereas the remittances sent by African migrants tended to be for more immediate subsistence needs, remittances to Latin America often had longer term objectives e.g. investment in mandatory education.

Researchers have pointed to the different situation faced by migrants from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) compared with other migrants. Von Mende (2008) found that problems of adaption and role discontinuity were significantly less for migrants from CEE than for migrant workers from the global south. Ciupijus (2015) suggests that however contingent and circumscribed rights are under EU citizenship, this citizenship adds a qualitatively new dimension to the labour migration process. The UK government has not been able to control the mobility of CEE workers who are not dependent on a restricted scheme or tied to a single employer. With EU citizenship CEE workers have greater freedom to navigate the labour market than without it (their status in the event that the UK leaves the EU is as yet unclear) Notwithstanding these advantages, migrants from Central and Eastern Europe face more

difficulties in achieving recognition for their qualifications than home workers (Sirkeci et al., 2018).

These findings stress the important of exploring in some detail the context in which migrant workers move and operate before making assumptions about their situation. This is further exemplified by the tendency to conflate migrant and ethnic minority experiences and challenges. Holgate (2005) cites, in this respect, the failure of a young Asian woman graduate to be effective as an union organizer of Asian migrant workers. In making the appointment the trade union did not take into account the very different background of the organizer compared to the workers, being female, British-born, university educated and unable to speak any of the languages of the workers.

DUAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE

Just as it is important not to generalize about the employment experience of migrant workers so it is important not to make assumptions about their perceptions of and reaction to their work experience. It is important to understand the importance of expectations (Vroom, 1964) in forming orientations to work. In the case of many migrant workers their most importance experience of work and life in general has been in their country of origin and this is likely to have played an important role in the formation of their expectations. In this context migration literature has developed the concept of dual frame of reference to refer to the process whereby the migrant worker assesses the conditions of the host society by reference to a comparison with the conditions of the home society (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). As a result, migrants do not necessarily see their new employment situation as all that bad and they may appreciate low paid work (Wright and Clibborn, 2019)

The existence of dual frames of reference is certainly likely in relation to migrant perception of the relations between work and non-work. The pervasive influence of culture on the interplay between work and family has been emphasized (Shaffer et al, 2011). A comparison of three regions with the United Kingdom in respect of corporate initiatives on work life issues displays this. In CEE countries, all former socialist societies, state support has traditionally

been generous in areas such as parental leave but less so in respect of flexible working. At the company level, where more traditional attitudes to gender roles may pertain, support for work life balance from both managers and colleagues appears limited. (Abendroth and Dulk, 2011). Crompton et al. (2005) suggest that this may be a reaction to the socialist state and its interference in the life of individuals.

A similar lack of company interest in work life balance would seem to exist in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa not least because the informal economy accounts for a major share of employment in which workers are commonly exposed to long or irregular hours of work with little or no social protection (ILO, 2009). In Latin America, although the general trend is for increased flexibility of hours, this is largely in the form of employer driven flexibility, with schedules being determined and varied according to operational requirements (Arriga, 2005). The consequences of such flexibility for working conditions are negative. A Columbian study argues that it is generating widespread 'mental overcharge' and leading to stress and associated pathologies (Guerrero and Puerto-Barrios, 2007) while in Mexico employer-led flexibility has significantly affected the working conditions of women. Unstable working schedules and multi-purpose responsibility at work has increased the risk of women giving birth babies of low weight (Villegas et al., 1997). In predominantly collectivist cultures such as in Sub-Saharan Africa the emphasis for managing the work life interface would appear to lie primarily on the extended family. Given the typically high rate of unemployment, employers do not have the kinds of incentives to offer work life balance policies often articulated in the UK e.g. to help attract recruits and reduce labour turnover (Wang, 2008). In Nigeria workers seem to accept work life conflict as inevitable (Akanji, 2012). Coping strategies appear to be to suppress the conflict rather than eradicate or reduce the factors which cause it. These include of an institutionalized social support system, corruption, high unemployment and employer driven flexibility.

These three examples are to be contrasted with a situation in the UK characterized during the last two decades by a succession of legislative initiatives in the work life area and company initiatives in the area being heralded as an indication of a model employer. One might expect therefore migrant workers based in the UK to afford their migrant experience a favorable comparison with that of their home country.

MIGRANT WORK LIFE TENSIONS AN EMPIRICAL EXAMPLE

The issues raised in the discussion of the literature on the employment situation of migrant workers were examined empirically in a study of migrant workers in London who had been in the UK for at least three years. Data was collected via a survey and focus groups.

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Questionnaires were distributed to migrant workers from three regions, Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and Latin America (LA) in the Greater London area. These regions were chosen strategically as they represent very different cultural contexts and potentially interesting and contrasting pre-migration experiences. The three groups represented a substantial proportion of the London migrant community (37%). The sample was stratified by age and marital status. The questionnaire covered a number of themes including employment; work-life balance, caring responsibilities and remittances. One hundred and fourteen valid questionnaires were received. In addition, six focus group interviews were carried out, two with migrants from CEE, three with migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and one with migrants from Latin America. Areas covered in the interviews included covered personal circumstances, employment roles, pre-migration roles, perception of work/non work relationships. A snowball sampling strategy was employed in the case of both the survey and the focus group interviews given the difficulty in identifying members of the desired population and the absence of any sampling frame, which would have facilitated probability sampling.

There was ample evidence in the survey data of the kind of pressures faced by migrant workers, which have been discussed in the literature (Data et al., 2007; Von Mende, 2008). In terms of employment status, 39% of respondents were employed in categories 1-5 (higher skilled or managerial) of the Standard Occupational Classification. This compares with 66% for the UK populations as whole and 71% for London (ONS, 2015). Thus, more of our respondents of the survey occupied lower status jobs than the UK working population as a whole.

In terms of hours worked most of the migrants reported working over 40 hours, with an average of 44 weekly hours across the three regions, which is above the national average of 40.8 hours. Ten per cent of these respondents work over 50 hours per week. 60% of CEE respondents worked more than 40 hours weekly compared with 57% for Africans and 46% for Latin Americans. 21% of respondents had a regular second job compared with 4% for the United Kingdom as a whole. More Latin American respondents had a second job (33%) than CEE (9.5%) and African (5%).

Overall, a significant proportion of respondents reported doing jobs well under their qualification level **1**. An average of 61% across the three regions believed that the job role they were in at the time of the research was below their qualifications. The proportion of respondents reporting being in employment well below their qualifications was higher for Africans compared with CEEs and Latin Americans. The measure of over-qualification used was comparing qualification level with job level, e.g. graduates being employed in non-graduate jobs or holding unskilled jobs (Bonfati et al,201; Sirkeci et al., 2017; Mutuku, 2017).

In relation to remittances 32% of respondents sent money regularly to their relatives back home (37% in the case of African respondents, 35%, Latin American respondents, down to 25% in the case of CEE respondents). Most respondents remitted money back home on a monthly basis. The amount sent home annually varied considerably. Overall 71.4% sent less than £1000 per year to relatives in the home country. When the participants who send remittances were asked whether this leads to them working more hours, 51.4% indicated that it did.

Despite these pressures the migrants surveyed were less dissatisfied with the relationship between work and non- work than the UK working population as a whole. 48% of the UK population expressed dissatisfaction with work life balance (ONS, 2012) compared with 31% of our respondents. When satisfaction with work life balance was cross tabulated respondent profiles, the differences identified were not significant. Despite the points discussed in the literature, therefore, the situation of women was not significantly different from that of men.

The survey data presented therefore an interesting puzzle – why were the migrant workers displaying higher levels of satisfaction with their work life balance than the UK working population as a whole despite working longer hours, being more likely to have a second job and, in a minority of cases, being responsible for remittances? This issue was explored in the focus group interviews.

The data from the focus group interviews largely coincided with the survey data in respect of the kind of challenges faced by migrant workers. A significant number of the respondents faced the pressures identified in the literature. Thus, in respect of working hours about half the respondents regularly worked hours above their contractual commitment but in only two cases did these hours involve a second job. In most cases, the extra hours were worked in their prime employment:

‘Contractually I work 37 hours weekly but in reality much more - not uncommon for me to be working to 7-8 in the evening; 45-50 hours per week’ (Polish HR professional).

Similarly, in respect of role discontinuity, half of the respondents considered they were in job roles at a lower level and status than those in which they been employed in their country of origin or possessed qualifications which were at a higher level than required by their current employment.

‘I work in a completely different area from the one I used to work in. I’m a qualified civil engineer and I lectured in universities; but my qualification is not recognized in this country. Do I think my job is equivalent? Not at all’ (Latin American administrator).

Role discontinuity was particularly evident in the case of Sub-Saharan African respondents:

‘I had a degree in micro-biology in Nigeria and then working in a Bank as a Treasury manager’ (Customer service officer with the Post Office).

About half the respondents regularly sent remittances to relatives in their country of origin including most of the Sub-Saharan African respondents who typically remitted home on a monthly basis to support their family. None of the respondents had older dependent relatives living in the UK. However, six of the respondents had dependent children, all women, two

CEEs and four Sub-Saharan Africa respondents. Their perception of their caring challenges resonated with the literature, emphasizing the lack of family support and the high cost of childcare in London:

‘I realized when my son was in hospital for a while it was quite lonely without family here. In Poland you have grandparents- child care is less common.’ (Polish estates administrator).

Sub-Saharan African respondents with dependent children particularly emphasized the high cost of childcare whereas ‘in Nigeria it would have been easier to receive support from relations or neighbors at no cost’. Respondents’ strategies for dealing with child care issues including working part-time, deferring working initially to take over child care and in one case working longer hours to finance child care costs.

Table 1 shows the spectrum of responses from respondents on their view of the relationship between their work and non- work lives. Overall, they provide little evidence for major role conflict between work and non-work roles and were less dissatisfied with their work life balance than the UK working population as a whole.

This is not to say that some respondents did not feel their work life balance could be improved. Several stressed the problem of working and living in a large city like London, emphasizing the cost for work life balance of the time spent on commuting and that a city as large as London is a tiring place to live in, adding to the pressures of work. Thus, for one of our Polish respondents moving out of London figured as an important strategy for improving his work life balance:

‘Friends have moved to Cambridge for similar jobs and salaries – where the housing is cheaper – working much closer to their jobs –I think I might try this’.

While another Polish respondent is wistful for her hometown:

‘It’s a very small town- everyone knows each other- when I left at 18 I thought I would never go back to such a dead place. Now I’m completely opposite –it’s lovely’.

Only comment 10 from a Latin American respondent indicated a fundamental role conflict relating to the pressures of his work role and unsympathetic supervision, and in the context of significant role discontinuity:

‘She (his mother) is an elderly person and I’d like to have the feeling I have spent as much time as I can with her –with my brothers and sisters the relationship has suffered because I’m constantly here – thinking about work- doing work at home’.

Table 6 Respondents' views on work life balance

1. I have enough time to do what I want to do- to sit on my couch watching TV-If I want to go out and meet friends –I can also do that
- 2 I's much easier to sustain work life balance in the UK because of flexible work arrangements
3. We have enough time for self and family- in Nigeria flexibility from the workplace is very limited and vacation times rigid.
- 4 My current job at TFL is quite demanding with variable shifts so rest days not fixed but with ten weeks annual leave I believe my work life balance is quite reasonable.
5. I am quite happy now – I had less time in the private sector- as a restaurant manager and in a law company there were longer hours
6. Happier here than in Poland – with the balance – family and work
7. I used to work long hours in Poland and not get the hours back
- 8 When you take everything into account –not many hours left – it is difficult in London when you spend so much time commuting but I think I am moving slowly in the right direction- having a diary and planning ahead.
- 9 The sheer volume of work-have talked it over with my manager, about work life balance- we have now agreed to keep a close eye on how many hours we work each day and try to reduce them –to keep within 37 hours.
- 10 I don't think there is a balance – members of my family in Columbia complain- I used to talk to them, write to them more regularly than I do now.
11. By the nature of my working arrangements I have created a satisfactory work life balance
12. In Nigeria my job was clearly defined allowing for little flexibility so work life balance was hardly in control- it was hardly possible to schedule work so one could work from home
- 13.I can be working here to 6-6-30 – by the time I get home it can be 8 –it does not give me a lot of time- travelling takes a long time,
14. I'm quite flexible with my working hours- with the biotech progress some hours are longer-sometimes there is weekend or evening work but I get 52 days holiday a year.

We looked to the focus group data for help in explaining the puzzle identified in the survey data that migrant workers' dissatisfaction with work life balance was lower than that displayed by UK working population as a whole. The positivity of the focus group respondents in relation to work life balance was based on a number of dimensions but in most cases it was

possible to identify a strong interconnection between the migrants' perception of work in the UK and their home country experience. Their experience of work in the UK was seen positively in comparison with their pre-migration experience. The areas of comparison which were emphasized were strongly related to region of origin.

For CEE respondents the key area of comparison was that of employment conditions generally. They appreciated the better conditions available in the UK:

'In the UK you are more relaxed –not as pressurized- also the wages in Poland are much lower. UK salaries are five times those in Poland; the cost of living is not that much less. In the UK when you pass the probation you get a permanent contract; it gives you lots of security whereas the message I get from friends in Poland is that organizations are exploiting people- lots of zero hours contracts and people have no security'.

The organizational culture in the UK was compared favorably with that of Poland:

'People work harder in Poland – you don't get lunch breaks- you don't really go off sick –no way can you ring in and say I'm not well – you must have a doctor's certificate- you have to be on time – in the UK if you call your line manager and say you are stuck in traffic she would not cut your head off- if it happens more than once in Poland there would be consequences'.

For Sub-Saharan African respondents the most important area of comparison was flexibility at work and it emerged as a key issue influencing their perception of work life balance, particularly for the five women with dependent children (comments 2, 3, 11, 12 from table 6). For one respondent a pattern of part-time hours enabled her to combine work and caring in a way which would not have been possible in her country of origin:

'Contract work of fifteen hours per week. This is a deliberate arrangement so I can have more time with the children since my spouse works full-time. This wouldn't

have been possible in Nigeria; it was you either took the job and work along the lines of set work hours or you had no work’.

Although these two areas of comparison, working conditions in general in the case of CEE respondents and flexibility in the case of Sub-Saharan African respondents, were the main dimensions emphasized as contributing to a positive work-non-work relationship, in the case of both groups, in addition pre-migration values and the application of those values to their UK experience also contributed to this positivity.

Thus, CEE respondents seemed to draw self-esteem in their UK work situation from the superiority of the work values with which they arrived in their new country:

‘My attitude to work is that I think I should complete the task – if I work extra hours I would not ask for extra time – recently during the tube strike I did not ask to work from home- it was my duty to be at work’.

For another CEE respondent his different values were because of a feeling ‘you have to work for what you want – inculcated by previous generations’. More explicitly the comparison was drawn with UK workers: ‘I was shocked by some people- how they would not complete deadlines – cancel meetings at short notice’.

For Sub-Saharan African respondents, most of whom were members of Pentecostal Christian Churches, their pre-migration religious values also played a part in the development of positive values towards work. One respondent was very firm that his Christian background affected his attitude to work: ‘You should view your employers as an authority to be loyal to; one should therefore measure up to one’s pay’. For another ‘Being fervent and diligent at work are important Christian virtues and one should be guided by these principles –one should be conscious of your commitment to your employer’. Religion was therefore perceived as a mitigating factor that helps migrant workers reframe their perception of work life balance, seeing it in more positive terms.

In the case of the CEE respondents, particularly, there was some evidence of agency in achieving a satisfactory relationship between work and non-work life. Initial employment experiences in the UK had not been conducive to a satisfactory work life balance but respondents had resolved this situation and at the same time reduced role discontinuity by job moves. In one case, this was by moving from the private sector to the public sector:

‘As a restaurant manager and in a law firm there were longer hours – more work to take home; time is more stable in the public sector. I have five evenings a week to spend with the family’.

Another respondent moved from property management to university administration with positive consequences:

‘At the end of my previous job I was really stressed – as a property manager- I was getting calls on my mobile at night (my bathroom is flooded); my job at the university was more organized and controlled-less pressurized’

The Latin American focus group was the exception in that its members were significantly less positive about the work – non-work relationship than other respondents. However, as in the case of other respondents there was a strong connection between their frame of reference and home country experience and values. One of the group complained about the spill over from work compared with their home country:

‘A thing that happens here is that you tend to be thinking about work. I come from a rural part of Columbia and I don’t want to take work home but I can’t help thinking about it. I don’t think that happens in Columbia.

Another member of the group felt he had not balance (comment 10 in Table 6) and compared negatively aspects of his work situation in the UK in relation to Columbia:

'I never remember being as stressed as I am here and there I was managing important projects- compared with the long lunch break in Columbia many people here eat at their desk- here people tend to have a sandwich – two slices of bread with something inside –is that lunch –it is a joke'.

CONCLUSION

This chapter on the employment situation of migrant workers and the relation between their work and non-work lives has identified a degree of consensus in the literature. First migrant workers typically face a number of challenges in their work situation: jobs which are of low status and low pay, excessive working hours, additional financial burdens such as obligations in respect of remittances to their home country and jobs which do not reflect their level of qualification.

However, it is important not to generalize those challenges equally to all migrant workers. Some groups are less likely to face them than others while through agency migrants can eventually overcome challenges, which they face when first taking up employment in their new country

Despite the challenges of their employment situation, many migrant workers remain positive about their work and not as dissatisfied with the relationship between their work and non-work lives as home workers as we saw in the empirical study of migrant workers in London. This positivity can be related to their attachment to dual frames of reference – that of their country of origin and their new country. Because often employment conditions in their new country compare favorably with those of their country of origin, they are satisfied with their new employment, despite its disadvantages. In addition, as the study of migrant workers in London displayed, often the values migrant workers bring to their new country give them a degree of resilience, which enable them to accommodate to the challenges they find.

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CHAPTER 9 - WOMEN'S POST-MIGRATION NARRATIVES OF ENTREPRENEURIAL BECOMING

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Introduction

This chapter explores the multifaceted trajectories of migrant women and their experiences of becoming entrepreneurs in non-metropolitan areas in the UK. In doing so, it makes an important contribution to knowledge on how peripheral contexts and personal circumstances shape, inhibit and enable the entrepreneurial identities of migrants and their life decisions, in particular migrant women. The chapter argues that for migrant women, entrepreneurship provides a path to not only challenge the deeply engrained barriers they experience in labour markets, but also a way to (re)connect with the self, family and community and find meaning in work.

Worldwide trends indicate that migrant women are increasingly engaging in entrepreneurship as a preferred strategy to build their lives abroad as well as a way of overcoming constraints they face in gendered and racialised labour markets (Ramadani et al., 2015; Welter and Smallbone, 2010). However, while substantial research has been conducted on gender and entrepreneurship and women's entrepreneurial experiences (Kobeissi, 2010; Marlow, 2002; Marlow and Martinez Dy, 2018; Minniti and Naude, 2010; Poggesi, Mari and De Vita, 2015; Ramadani, 2015), less is known about migrant women entrepreneurs, in particular those highly skilled. This chapter fills this gap by exploring how gender, migration history, educational background and past employment experiences shape migrant women's journeys of becoming entrepreneurs. Drawing on a study involving interviews with 21 migrant women business owners in Lincolnshire (UK), the chapter examines how migrant women creatively challenge barriers, navigate obstacles and overcome limitations through their post-migration journeys of entrepreneurial becoming.

Existing research in the UK context largely focuses on entrepreneurial activities of migrants based in metropolitan and migrant-dense areas and is often gender-blind (Jones and Ram, 2010; Ram and Jones, 2008). Fewer studies explore the ways in which more peripheral locations, with their sparser networks and less dense markets, inhibit or enhance entrepreneurial processes (Collins and Low, 2010; Munkejord, 2017; Pio, 2007; Ramadani et al., 2015; Ramadani, 2015). Traditional rural

entrepreneurship research has identified the importance of local embeddedness (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006; Jack and Anderson 2002) and distinctive forms of capital available in rural areas (Bosworth and Turner 2018), each of which can be harder to access for recent migrants.

Entrepreneurship is often associated with creativity and innovation. In this chapter, we refer to creativity as ‘an ability to make connections between different ways of thinking and different types of people’ (Bilton, 2007: 2). Migrant women’s narratives discussed here show how they navigate a range of structural and everyday constraints, and create bespoke connections based on opportunities available to them to gradually embed themselves in a new place, new host country, new community and construct their identity.

The chapter focuses on migrant women from the so called EU8 group, namely the eight Central and Eastern European countries (Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary and Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia) that joined the EU in 2004. Lincolnshire received a large number of migrants from these new EU nations, who found themselves entering sectors such as manufacturing, agriculture, retail and hospitality. EU8 migrants have also been found to have positive motivations towards business entry (Jones et al., 2014), an aspect this chapter explores in more detail from the perspective of EU8 migrant women entrepreneurs in Lincolnshire.

Conceptualising migrant women and entrepreneurial becoming

Migrant women are often employed in gendered roles involving cleaning and caring (Adib and Guerrier, 2003; McDowell et al., 2009), experience high levels of deskilling (Kofman, 2012; Rydzik et al., 2017) and find themselves disadvantaged in labour markets often due to a lack of familiarity with employment practices, limited social networks and non-recognised qualifications (Dyer et al., 2010). As a result, with time, greater UK contextual knowledge and employment experience, many choose entrepreneurship over being an employee, seeing it a way of navigating some of the disadvantages of being a migrant woman in a new environment. Indeed, entrepreneurial opportunities can represent an important channel for economic and social participation and upward mobility, by allowing disadvantaged or marginalized groups, including women and ethnic minorities, to create their own opportunities to participate in the economy (OECD, 2017), albeit one where they swap one set of working conditions for another.

Existing research into women’s entrepreneurship is particularly concerned with the gendered nature of entrepreneurship (Marlow and Martinez Dy, 2018) and the constraints and opportunities that women entrepreneurs experience (Minniti and Naudé, 2010; Poggesi et al., 2015). These constraints are often related to wider structural inequalities, vertical and horizontal occupational segregation as

well as women's wider familial and caring responsibilities (Marlow, 2002). Much research in gender and entrepreneurship has sought to assess the role of family to motivate women to become entrepreneurs and to provide support for their businesses to become established and grow (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Jennings and McDougald, 2007). Similarly, for migrant entrepreneurs, family support at the start-up stage is important, as this can enable migrant women to engage in entrepreneurship (Munkejord, 2017). Munkejord's (2017) study on migrant women entrepreneurs in rural Norway discusses the significance of spousal support as a motivational and decisive factor during the start-up phase. In that study, situations informing entry into entrepreneurship included: whether migrant women were pushed into entrepreneurship by unemployment or underemployment; desired to make a life in a rural area; or had a satisfactory job but wanted more from work such as increased flexibility, independence or status (Munkejord, 2017). In all scenarios, the essence of being inherently embedded in family underpinned migrant women's entrepreneurial motivations (Munkejord, 2017). Additionally, the women's partners either formally joined the enterprises or informally provided business support. The role played by partners was key during start-up by providing emotional and, in many cases, instrumental support (for a theorising on emotional and instrumental support, see Eddleston and Powell, 2012).

In general, migrant entrepreneurs tend to rely on co-ethnic labour and support networks in terms of capital (see Bourdieu, 1983 for conceptualisation of different forms of capital) and their businesses often provide for co-ethnic communities rather than the mainstream. Although intra-ethnic variation exists and could largely be attributed to the length of time these individuals and their families had spent in the UK (Vershina et al., 2011). Business ownership is often considered as a survival strategy for migrants who struggle to compete in the job market (Ram et al., 2008). Additionally, it has been documented that migrants face a range of challenges in rural and peripheral areas, including racialised labour markets; challenges with housing (Findlay et al., 2013; Mayes & Koshy, in press; McAreavey, 2017; Doyle, 2018; Saxby et al., 2018), and entrepreneurship is seen as a way of navigating these. To date, literature on ethnic minority enterprises has focused on economic achievements and overlooked their social contributions (Zhou, 2004). Nonetheless, social participation of migrants is closely linked with community engagement and there is increased consensus that community engagement is key to social contribution being acknowledged (Bruton, Ketchen, and Ireland, 2013). However, little is known about identity development among highly-skilled migrants – including entrepreneurs – who seek community belonging in a country different to where they grew up. One notable exception is Cesur and co-authors' (2018) study on high-skilled Turkish migrants, professionals and entrepreneurs in Europe that discusses their desire for developing a Western identity and how they shaped their sense of belonging through socio-economic practices.

Identity formation and development that happens in the host country is core to the process of how a migrant worker becomes an entrepreneur. Studies on identity show that individuals are socially constructed through social interactions, and that throughout their lives they acquire diverse and multiple social identities and linked roles (Alvesson et al., 2008). Indeed, Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) emphasize that identity is central to meaning, motivation, decision-making, and other activities that are critical for creative entrepreneurial action.

The complexity of female migrants' entrepreneurial identities and motivations cannot be studied from a single perspective. Therefore, this study applies an intersectional lens (Browne and Misra 2003; Romero and Valdez, 2016; Valdez 2011) to examine the dynamic and interrelated processes through which gender, socio-economic background, family, the act of migration, social embedding in the new locality and labour market influences all shape entrepreneurial trajectories. Such approach entails conceptualising issues of multiple positionalities and interlocking oppressions, and then formulating social explanations to address these (Clarke and McCall, 2013). It also enables researchers to consider the structural contexts as well as the interconnecting systems of power and oppression in which all ethnic groups are embedded (Romero and Valdez, 2016), and examine how these shape the life chances of entrepreneurs from diverse social locations differently (Valdez 2011).

This demands a rich, qualitative approach where migrants and not just statistics but individuals with diverse narratives of creative pathways into entrepreneurship. Migrant women entrepreneurs draw on diverse strategies to negotiate their entrepreneurial, migrant and gender identities, and this chapter brings attention to their life trajectories and how the process of engaging in entrepreneurship evolves.

Methodology

This study addresses the call for more qualitative research into the experiences of migrant entrepreneurs (Barrett and Vershinina, 2017), how their ethnic and entrepreneurial identities intersect (Dana and Dana, 2005) and the heterogeneity of female entrepreneurship (Mirchandani, 1999). To explore migrant women's trajectories and experiences of becoming entrepreneurs, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 migrant women business-owners between 2015 and 2017. The life history approach was adopted to explore how a range of factors including personal motivations and aspirations, family and spousal support, educational background and previous work experiences shape individuals' trajectories of becoming entrepreneurs. In order to provide rich in-depth insight into participants' experiences, this chapter draws exclusively on six narratives which are then used to conceptually illustrate participants' stories of entrepreneurial becoming.

Participants were recruited through approaching community and educational organisations, adverts in shops and on migrant community social media sites as well as through snowballing. The interviews lasted between 30 to 90 minutes and were conducted face-to-face in participants' workplaces or locations of their choice. All participants were based in the rural county of Lincolnshire and lived in the UK for at least five years. Participants were between 20 and 40 years of age; 17 were from Poland, and four were Lithuania. They differed in background and education, with 11 women having university education. Participants' businesses ranged from beauty salons and physiotherapy, retail and catering, to financial, transportation and translation services. The women interviewed were at different stages of running their businesses, ranging from one to ten years. Nine women were self-employed business-owners who planned to take on employees once they became financially sustainable and the others employed between two and 15 workers. All except two were mothers which allowed exploration of how motherhood as well as gender can influence entrepreneurial identities and shape trajectories of becoming entrepreneurs. Pseudonyms are used to protect the identities of research participants. Thematic analysis, applying both inductive and deductive approaches, was used to identify, analyse, and report themes within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Three main themes have been identified and are discussed below.

Findings: Migrant women's journeys to becoming entrepreneurs

Reconnecting with the pre-migration self in a new context

Constructing an entrepreneurial identity is a dynamic process consisting of ongoing and simultaneous interactions with other social identities (Chasserio et al., 2017). For some migrant women in our study, entrepreneurial becoming was a means of asserting their identity and reconnecting with the idea of the old self in a new context. For Marta – a 34-year-old Pole married to a Sudanese dentist – the journey of becoming an entrepreneur meant renegotiating and reasserting her role in multiple realms. First, in the household, where there were culturally-specific expectations of her role as a woman. Second, in the new country, where she was a newcomer and where, despite being highly educated, she experienced deskilling: “many women in my husband's family are really educated like doctorate or something but they want a degree to get married [a cultural expectation] and thereafter they stay at home to raise children. It is not the same in my family”. Marta is a beauty therapist and has a bachelor's degree in Cosmetology as well as a Master's degree in Public Health. Her decision to migrate was not solely self-determined but was influenced by her husband finding work in Lincoln:

“I was doing so many things at the same time: working in a beauty salon, studying and teaching at university where they gave me more duties to look after students. Everything was good but only one thing wasn't. Salary. My salary was about like £300 per month. So, I was a bit

disappointed but at the same time my husband pushed me to leave to the UK. He is a dentist and he got a job offer in Lincoln through his uncle and said to me, we can make more money and we can more quickly buy a house in the UK. Maybe you like working for a while like this at university in Poland but in the UK, you will be happier because you can make more money”.

Marta’s husband convinced her that they should take the opportunity to build their joint future with a more financially secure job and in a more economically stable country. The decision to leave Poland was based on an agreement that they would stay in the UK for several years and then decide on their next move. They stayed in Lincoln for nine years and in the meantime their daughter, now 2 years old, was born. Soon after arriving in the UK, Marta looked for jobs in beauty salons in Lincoln and beyond. Each time she got rejected as she was over-qualified. Teaching was not an option for her in the UK due to her English language skills. Her first job was in a shop. This role led to the next job, a cleaner at a school. Limited employment opportunities available to her post-migration left Marta disappointed and affected her sense of self: “You know the only job I could find in Lincoln was a cleaner. But I used to work at university and I’d just started my doctoral work. My husband came here with me and he has a job, a good job, and he is very happy, and I am absolutely unhappy”.

Research on women entrepreneurs shows that some women accept traditional norms and social expectations, and integrate them in their self-identity, while others challenge these and subsequently redefine and introduce new norms (Chasserio et al., 2017). For Marta, it was upsetting to think about doing the low status job of a cleaner in UK, having previously had the higher status work of teaching in a university. She felt unfulfilled at work and under pressure at home from her husband and his family. That was the point when she realised that she needed to do something bold and the idea of starting a business emerged: “When I could not find work as a beautician, I said to myself: ‘Marta you have to do something by yourself. If nobody wants to employ you, you cannot be a cleaner forever’”. Marta realised that she needed to face the reality of the conditions in the new country and take advantage of the entrepreneurial opportunities available by creatively reinventing and applying herself in her new foreign context, as a way of regaining her pre-migration sense of self and agency. She decided to start a business even though her husband was not supportive of the idea:

“My husband is actually the reason that my business does not go very well. He never motivates me and never says “keep going, that’s a good idea” or “I’ll help you with this” or even tell me “I’ve got some idea for your business maybe you can do this or that”. In the first place when I started my business my husband always told me “it’s not a good idea you’ll have troubles you know that you have to pay for tax, it’s difficult and you may make some mistakes.” So when I

opened up my salon I was very terrified more than I should have been because I knew if something went wrong he'd tell me "see, I told you"."

Family support has been shown as integral for entrepreneurs in early stages (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Jennings and McDougald, 2007; Munkejord, 2017). Setting up a business without the support of her partner was thus challenging for Marta. Yet, despite having no prior experience in running a business, she perceived entrepreneurship as the best way of reasserting her identity as an independent, skilled woman, and regaining some sense of control over her life and self-worth both at work and at home. Although having her own business helped her achieve this to a certain extent, she still had some regrets over not pursuing the university career that was laid out for her pre-migration and is not fully satisfied with running a business:

"I think sometimes about what I'd be doing if I were in Poland. To be honest when I was in Poland working at university I really liked that and enjoyed it. So, if I was there, definitely, I'd be still working for the university. You know I am not a good business woman".

Marta's journey shows that becoming an entrepreneur, in particular for highly qualified migrant women, can be experienced as a way of reconnecting with the older self and reclaiming their sense of identity pre-migration and lost self-esteem. However, this may be only partially successful and may never substitute the sense of self and confidence that they had pre-migration, or how they remembered themselves as being. Nonetheless, it can temporarily help women renegotiate their position and give them a sense of agency.

There are similarities between Marta's narrative and that of another participant, Amelia. Amelia is a 35-year-old cosmetologist with BA degree from a Polish university. Once in the UK, Amelia learnt that there was no equivalent term for her cosmetology degree in the UK and that the widely used UK term 'beauty therapist' can be pursued in college without the need for a university degree. She first came to the UK ten years ago to work during the summer and save money for university fees back in Poland: "I was working for some factories and warehouse, but it did not matter for me because I needed to save some money." During that summer, she met her husband who is also Polish and was working in the same factory. She therefore knew that she would return to the UK when she finished her studies. Indeed, she got married after returning to the UK, has two children, both born in the UK, and has been living in the UK for seven years. Before setting up her business, Amelia worked in factories. Her journey of becoming an entrepreneur sheds light on how experiences of deskilling and dissatisfaction with low status work can lead one to setting up a business as a way of regaining skilled work and fulfil career aspirations:

“When I came back to the UK after finishing my studies, the only job I could find was in factories. I was not happy working there for a long time. I wanted to have plan for my life (...). I wanted to use the skills I’ve got and the things I’ve learned and studied for.”

Amelia’s beauty therapy business allows her to re-utilise the skills and qualifications gained pre-migration and to re-continue pursuing a career in the field she had chosen to specialise. Being an entrepreneur also helped Amelia manage and mitigate the perceived disadvantages arising of being a Polish migrant woman in the UK and distance herself from negative experiences of being a migrant. Kobeissi (2010:3) argues that there is a need to appreciate “the impact of gender-related variables on the extent of female entrepreneurial activities in different contexts”. Marta’s and Amelia’s, as well as other participants’, journeys show that the factors that motivate migrant women workers to become entrepreneurs extend beyond solely economic discussions and link deeply to their perception of self and self-worth in the new context. To make this transition, in effect to re-invent themselves twice – first as a somewhat innocent migrant worker then as a more streetwise entrepreneur – involves drawing on great reserves of creativity.

As a migrant and mother, Amelia has experienced racialisation and stereotyping at her children’s school due on her nationality:

‘We usually go to school by bus and there are always some people who ignore us. But, you know, part of living in a different country probably is that foreign-born people can feel like this.... Anyway, I think after the referendum it will be a little bit strange. (...) They are nice but when they ask you “where are you from?”, they usually say “ahhhha Okaaay’.

For Amelia, people who make assumptions about her just based on her nationality do not have a proper understanding of “who she is” and stereotype her. This contrasts to the dynamics when she meets people through her business. Those interactions give her a chance to be recognised as a qualified professional who performs complex cosmetic procedures: “in my business people know me with what I am doing, but at school they know me just by my nationality and they have not got enough information about my culture and so on”. For Amelia becoming an entrepreneur enabled her to create a new identity as a businesswoman which helps her to gain acceptance and some level of status in social groups she is part of e.g. mothers in the school. Findings of a study by Zeinali et al. (2017) show that in very brief interactions, such as school gate conversation, migrant women felt that they were unable to get beyond being perceived as the Other, beyond the stereotyped image of a migrant others projected onto them. However, a strong business identity can shift first impressions away from one of “otherness” based on nationality. Having her own business helped build Amelia’s self-esteem,

leverage her pre-migration education and gain recognition in the wider community which they may not otherwise have:

“If I go to city sometimes, I see many women who are mothers from school saying hello and my son sometimes says “oh mum, you have many friends” and I say “no, they are not my friends they are my customers”. I don’t feel like a business woman. I don’t feel like a boss because still it’s a hard work and every month I have to pay for everything. But I feel like it is worth it.”

Overall, although opportunities for highly skilled migrant women workers, like Amelia and Marta, in non-metropolitan areas are limited, entrepreneurship constitutes a creative way of negotiating these limitations on women’s own terms. It also constitutes a way of reconnecting with their old sense of self and past professional identities in the UK environment. While challenges remain for them, their business activities enable them to achieve some pushback on structural limitations they face as well as some re-negotiation of gender roles at home, and how they are seen and accepted by the local community where they seek to build a life.

Entrepreneurship as a way of connecting families

For migrant women, entrepreneurship was also a way to connect families and achieve work-life balance, in particular for those women who had children. With a degree in tourism and hospitality, Greta, 33 years old, migrated to Lincolnshire from Lithuania. She is married to an Englishman, with whom she runs a Fish and Chips shop in a small Lincolnshire village that has a small number of migrants. They have a two-year-old daughter and, at the time of the interview, Greta was pregnant with the second child. They bought their business – the only fish and chips shop in the village – with a property attached to it. The idea was to give Greta flexibility and help her gain work-life balance. In reality, while achieved to a certain extent, it also resulted in difficulties, as family life and work were intertwined with no physical border to separate them. Indeed, this challenge is not unusual for small businesses as “entrepreneurs’ businesses and families are often inextricably intertwined institutions, rather than completely separable entities that have no observable effects on one another” (Jennings and Mcdougald, 2007:747). Greta reflects on the complexities of achieving work-life balance:

“Because I live here, and the business is there, and I do not need to travel so, I do not need to leave my kid anywhere. Everything worked well for us both working and living. Although at the same time when you are living in a premise where is also your workplace you are constantly thinking about work and it is difficult to relax.”

In their research on transnational migrant entrepreneurs, Vershinina et al. (2019), argue that as a result of traditional gender ascribed norms, which determine the professional and domestic

responsibilities of women and men, women tended to assume roles that were typically loosely defined and generally unpaid (Danes and Olson 2003). Together with her husband, Greta decided to turn the old fish and chips shop to a modern place, providing village inhabitants with healthy foods (e.g. using oil filtration system, serving grilled fish and salad). Greta's husband, an engineer, did the refurbishment and Greta was mainly involved in interior design to make it a family space for local people, who are their main customers, as well as rethinking the menu to accommodate healthier options. The decision to start a business in the specific place was strongly informed by having the support of the family of Greta's husband in the village:

“My husband's mum, she has got a coffeeshop in the village and she told us about this place and we thought it is good but how we are going to do it. But then she helped us a lot she does fish and chips on Fridays so, she knew a lot about it. We are quite close with my husband's parents and they are living nearby and they help us a lot with everything.”

It has been shown that smallest firms exhibit a form of flexibility which is, at least in part, a function of how they are embedded in household and family (Wheelock and Oughton, 1996). For Greta, running her business was opportunity-driven, treated as a pragmatic option that suited her relationship and mothering responsibilities, and enabled by her husband's family who were strongly embedded locally. It also was key in helping Greta manage her family life and childcare responsibilities. Having her own business enabled Greta to connect with her husband's family, the place and its community, embed locally, and spend more time together with her young family, with economic aspects of the business playing a secondary role.

For Karolina, a 34-year-old physiotherapist with a degree from Poland, family also played a vital role. Karolina has lived in Lincoln for seven years. She is married to a Polish man and they have a daughter. The reason for their migration was family-oriented. The aim was to reconnect them as a family in one, albeit new, place. It was also family-enabled:

“I did the same job back in Poland and it was successful, but we tried to change something because we wanted to stay together. After we got married and having my daughter, all the days we were separated and it's not good for a family. My husband was working very far from home and we saw each other twice or sometimes once a week. So, we wanted to try something different in a different country maybe. My family first came to Lincoln. My sister came here because of her husband and before her husband was the husband's sister. So, my sister said you can come here, and I'll help you and show you everything. “

Setting up her physiotherapy business enabled Karolina to realise the goal of bringing the family together and living in one place. The family also played an integral role in encouraging Karolina's business. Karolina strongly emphasised the role of her husband and her family in encouraging her to materialise her business idea and supporting her throughout:

“My sister was here in Lincoln and she said “it’s a nice place we can rent a house together. It’s easier”. We started first from working in the factory. We worked separately so, when I was working, she could stay with children because she has got a child one year older than mine. I could do the opposite for her and it was easier for all of us. And when I opened my business it was the same and she helped me.”

Research on immigrant women's entrepreneurial motivations in rural areas has shown that family embeddedness and spousal support is considered of a significant importance, particularly during start-up stage (Munkejord, 2017). It has been also argued that the interaction between the family unit and business can actually enhance entrepreneurial behaviour (Gomez-Mejia et al. 2007). Indeed, as Karolina's experience shows, partners and relatives can be integral in encouraging the development of the business and offering emotional support:

“My husband run all his life after me. All the time if I have got new ideas he says: “you want to try it, okay we will try and try again”. So, I do not have anybody to say “ohh maybe it is not a good idea”. Everybody just pushes me to keep up moving and they always say we will help you: my husband, my parents and all my family. I have got everybody stand by my side. At first when I opened the business, I couldn't speak English well so if somebody called, I just said “sorry my English is not good maybe it's better to explain everything to my husband” and he was always happy to do it. I don't have any worry for the future of my business because of my husband. When I first opened my salon, it was in a basement and I was thinking it will be very little spa with not many customers. I told my husband and he said: “just do it and go and talk to the landlord” and I did it. I know if I want to have a bigger business in future or whatever he always supports me”

For Greta and Karolina, as well as other participants, entrepreneurship played a vital role in bringing their families together, albeit in a new place, achieving a sense of work-life balance they could be content with, and managing childcare responsibilities. The family-related goals were key in making decisions about setting up their businesses. These, and not economic factors, were the primary motivations and entrepreneurship enabled these to be fulfilled. The partners and extended family were also fundamental in fulfilling the entrepreneurial dreams both in terms of creating opportunities,

providing practical advice and childcare support as well as encouraging women to materialise their ideas.

Entrepreneurship as a way of connecting with the community

For some migrant women, entrepreneurship was a way of connecting with the local community and making a local contribution. Paulina is 33 years old and migrated to Lincolnshire from Poland ten years ago. She runs a Polish restaurant and bar in Boston with the help of her partner. Her migration journey started when her father passed away and her mother could not afford to pay for Paulina's studies. She came to the UK with hope to earn money to fund her studies. Her first job was in a factory in Boston. After a while, she realised that it was not something she wanted to do for a long time. She considered herself a creative person and doing a routine job did not satisfy her:

“One day I decided that I do not want to do factory work that I can do anything but just not standing and doing the stupid things for nine hours a day. That's just killing me. The only thing I knew was that I don't really want to touch chicken breast eight hours per day for six days per week. That was the point I started thinking to do something nicer. I have always done some sort of waitressing job and always liked talking to people and serving them. I just knew that I like this sort of jobs. But starting a business was some sort of coincidence”

Paulina's first business in the UK was providing translation and interpretation services for migrants in Boston. However, the job was not financially secure and, when she got pregnant, traveling to do translation in different places became difficult. Paulina explains how she developed interest in opening a restaurant for Polish people in Boston:

“We just discovered that the place is for sale and before us it was also a Polish restaurant. I got pregnant and we just thought “Let's try”. We gonna have a family. We need to try something different. Just try. The Polish restaurant before us was famous but they closed after three years I think because they just couldn't manage to keep the place safe. It was a lot of fights and they just couldn't do it. And we thought “that's going to help our business if we start in that place”. People already used to it and they still call us the other name of the previous restaurant.”

She saw owning and managing a Polish bar and restaurant as an opportunity to challenge negative perceptions about Polish migrants in Boston and a way of bringing people together in a friendly way. She cared about the place she lived in and wanted to challenge preconceptions and do something for the local community through her business. This desire to engage locally stemmed from her experiences of being a migrant in Boston. Soon after coming to Boston, Paulina realised that local

people did not accept migrants easily. She wanted her business to become a tool to challenge some local prejudices towards migrants, while helping her build relationships with local people as well as other business owners in neighbourhood. However, the outcome was somewhat different from what she initially expected:

“Business owner on the opposite side of the street will turn his head if he sees someone is standing outside and having a cigarette. So, no conversation whatsoever. This business helped me to be part of the Polish community as we have no connection with local people here. I tried hard the first few years, but this community does not want to accept us into them. If some ladies are not bothered to even answer my hello, I am not bothered anymore either.”

While Paulina’s plans did not materialise quite as she hoped and she felt somewhat rejected by the local community, her entrepreneurial activities allowed her to develop stronger ties to Boston’s Polish community.

Anita’s business is also community-centred. Anita, 40 years old, migrated to Boston, Lincolnshire from Lithuania. She has a Master’s degree in English Philology from one of the top universities in Lithuania. She is a Lithuanian community leader in Boston and works with council and college on different community projects, organising events with the purpose of bringing communities together and promote community cohesiveness. Anita’s migration to Boston was opportunity-driven:

“One day my husband received a phone call from his friends who was expanding their business in Boston. They had bought a new shop and at that moment he was working on his own business, furniture business, but it was not going as well as he wanted. So, he just wanted to take advantage. (...) Also, because our daughter, the oldest one was 13 years old and she always had a dream of studying at university in London.”

Despite being satisfied with her job in Lithuania as an ESOL teacher at university, Anita joined her husband in the UK. Her journey of becoming an entrepreneur shows her proactive involvement in socially-oriented opportunities and her motivation to help communities, in particular the migrant community. The feeling of foreignness among immigrants often triggers a sentiment of “we-ness” among those facing the similar difficult situation of trying to adjust to the new circumstances of the host society while lacking important resources, facing discrimination in the host society, and having higher barriers to returning to their home country – factors contributing to a shared contextual understanding (Lancee, 2010). Thus, being a migrant herself has enabled Anita to better understand their needs:

“I have been working for an institute teaching English for one year before starting my business and was examining and searching what are the needs of the community. I tried to understand the need of people who are apart from the social life and feel lonely, they did not feel so much integrated because of the language. We know someone who has been in Boston or UK for five or eight years and they have never been in an English café or any concert. English language barrier is what they feel but they try to go to Boston college to find the help they are looking for and sometimes they fail. They choose me because of my academic level because we have different teaching methods here and I teach ESOL according to the programme I used to teach at university and also because I am European. I speak Latvian, Lithuanian and Russian.”

It has been shown that through their entrepreneurial activities, migrants can create employment for their locality, cater to local community needs and cushion the social incorporation of migrant communities in British society (Jones et al., 2018). Indeed, Anita’s journey to becoming an entrepreneur was motivated by her entrepreneurship activities enabling her to reach communities where her skills can add value and where she can help address their needs, while providing her with an income:

“ESOL classes is my business and supplementary school, a school for migrants’ children to learn their native language, it’s like our community and it is more with voluntary work. I myself spend lots of voluntary hours there but then I have got an advantage to support our events for our children by raising money from our ESOL classes.”

With varying degrees of success, both Paulina and Anita’s form of entrepreneurship was shaped by wider needs in the community. Their experiences of being migrants informed their entrepreneurial activities. Their experiences of being migrants informed their entrepreneurial activities. Among EU8 migrants, two factors contributed to their lack of involvement in rural community activities: lack of time and, especially among those new to an area, lack of awareness of opportunities to become involved (MacKrell and Pemberton, 2018). The challenge of adjusting to their post-migration life for Paulina (who was facing discrimination) and for Anita (realisation that learning English makes a difference to migrant lives) raised their awareness of how they could make an impact. Both were willing to create the time and space to be more socially involved and having meaningful community engagement was a decisive factor motivating them to embark on their journey to become entrepreneurs.

Conclusion

The narratives of becoming entrepreneurs discussed in this chapter identify a diverse combination of entrepreneurial drivers among female migrants. Some are not dissimilar to mainstream entrepreneurship theory, such as the desire for autonomy and independence (Lumpkin and Dess, 1996) or the opportunity to employ one's skills more profitably than in the prevailing labour market (Casson, 1982). However, with thinner labour markets in more peripheral regions and less international and cultural diversity compared to bigger cities, the barriers faced by female migrants are often greater.

In this context, the research has illustrated a number of trajectories through which entrepreneurship emerges. The themes illustrated in the cases include different connections that act as the motivators of entrepreneurial action, including connections in the past, present and future in the form of personal histories, family connections and (aspirational) new community ties. This complexity makes it apparent that social research into migrant entrepreneurship demands an intersectional approach to reflect the fact that gender, nationality and locality simultaneously shape the lives of migrants and the way that they are perceived in their new communities.

Although entrepreneurship does not override the other identities attributed to migrant women, it does provide space for a re-negotiated sense of self and an opportunity to re-present oneself in alternative ways. The research shows that entrepreneurship allows migrant women entrepreneurs to assert their identities in different ways, including reconnecting with their pre-migration selves and reinventing post-migration selves in their new contexts. These are important steps to escape low paid work and deskilling and achieve a level of fulfilment in line with their education levels and ambitions. Among potential entrepreneurs and associated business support advisors, these findings highlight the need for a more holistic assessment of business and lifestyle goals. The particular focus on migrant women in this chapter further enhances understanding of the drivers of entrepreneurship that support and sustain them through the inescapable challenges of business start-up.

The findings should inform local policy initiatives aimed at supporting migrants, especially women, to make the most of their skills and resources and to capitalise on entrepreneurial opportunities. Firstly, it is evident that traditional spaces of business support and formal networking organisations are unlikely to be welcoming to migrant women, whose motivations for starting a business lie in more social and familial spaces. Secondly, the personal attributes and motivations of migrant women to engage in entrepreneurship can strengthen resilience through their community embeddedness. Thirdly, the nature of opportunities open to these individuals can be quite different given their ability to combine international as well as local networks over time. As a result, information and support needs to be targeted through more community-level channels and identify business ambassadors

connected to migrant communities who better understand the socio-spatial contexts in which these entrepreneurs operate.

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CHAPTER 10 - MIGRANTS AS CREATIVE ECONOMIC FORCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UK LOCAL ECONOMY

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Introduction

Migrants make up a major part of advanced nations population and labour, and are an important driver of many economies. Nearly 11.5% of the population in France, 13% in Germany and the United States, and 20% in Canada are migrants (Edo et al., 2018). Since the EU Referendum vote in June 2016 referred to as Brexit (the UK voting to leave the European Union), one of the most discussed issues among business leaders and politicians is the impact of Brexit on employment and workforce trends, as well as international trade perspectives and migration. According to Chris Morris, the Reality Check correspondent for the BBC News (2018), in the second quarter of 2018, the latest for which figures are available, more EU citizens may have left the UK than arrived in the UK, for the first time in more than eight years.

Historically, policies on migration feature prominently in the UK Government's development and labour strategy starting from the Windrush generation (i.e. those that arrived in the UK between 1948 and 1971 from Caribbean countries). Population trends shows that between mid-1991 and mid-2016 net migration resulted in an addition of 4.5 million people to the UK population, accounting for just over half (55%) of total population growth, according to the Migration Observatory (2018). The rise and the recent influx of refugees to the European Union, has given more audience to the economic and political consequences of immigration

(Edo et al., 2018). Maintaining ethnic homogeneity, jobs for nationals versus jobs for immigrants, settlement patterns, social mobility, crime, health and political impacts have been contentious issues over the past few years.

There are multiple reasons why people might want to leave their homelands, some voluntarily for economic or other reasons, others might have been forced to leave their homes (refugees, displaced persons, etc.). Economic and psychological theories are considered the core theories integrated to create the foundation for the human resource development discipline (Swanson, 2008). Therefore, this chapter focuses on the economic and social contributions of migrants to the UK's local economy. It reviews current and previous research in this area to contribute to knowledge. There is limited research on the impact of migrants on the local economy. On balance, with few exceptions, the evidence suggests that immigration has positive economic effects on the native population (Budget-model, 2016), but it is mixed as to whether low-skilled immigration adversely affects low-skilled locals, impact on the wages and employment of native workers (Edo et al., 2018).

Overall, the evidence that we survey suggests that the fiscal impact of migration is not clear since there are conflicting results. To demonstrate this we review the economic theories, migration trends, labour markets and effect on the UK and local economy. This is followed by analyses of the attitudinal economic, and political and social consequences of immigration and its impact on the UK local economy (positive and negative economic and social impacts). Finally, we provide a discussion, analytical implications and a policy perspective.

Theoretical Foundation

The dominant thinking of human resource development lies within three core theory domains of economics, psychology, and systems and integrates them into a unique disciplinary theory of human resource development (Swanson, 2008). Economic theory helps to understand the possible consequences of immigration for receiving economies, and the theoretical aspects of the possible effects of immigration for the receiving economies' labour markets (The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration, 2017). The relationship between migration and labour markets have always been the dominant topic in migration debates (Škuflić and Vučković, 2018). Economic models propose that the main mechanism through which immigration can affect the labour market is by increasing the number of workers (Edo

et al., 2018). Explaining further, Edo et al., (2018) maintains that this increase mechanically reduces the level of physical capital per worker, which negatively affects the productivity of labour.

Škuflić and Vučković (2018) found that emigration increases the unemployment rate in emigrant countries confirming that, besides generally expected positive effects in terms of a fall in unemployment, emigration could also harm emigrant countries' labour markets. Edo et al., (2018) emphasise that in response to an immigration induced increase in labour supply, the average wage of workers therefore declines. It is worth noting that an important assumption underlying these preliminary results is that the capital stock in the economy is fixed (Edo et al., 2018). Overall, while empirical studies reveal a positive impact of migration on receiving countries, the impact on emigrant countries is less clear-cut (Škuflić and Vučković, 2018).

Education and skills is another aspect where migrants contribute to the economy. Immigration might also influence the level of human capital in the economy, either directly if immigrants have high educational attainment, or indirectly by increasing the incentive on natives to acquire human capital (Portes, 2018). There are strong relationships between the educational attainment of immigrants and the level of skills of the labour force (Dustmann and Frattini, 2014; Hunt, 2017; George et al., 2011). Scotland has the highest level of university-educated migrants in the European Union (FSB, 2019). Also, about one in two native-born individuals fall into the "low education" category (defined as those who left full-time education before 17), while only 21 per cent of EEA immigrants and 23 per cent of non-EEA immigrants do so (Dustmann and Frattini, 2014). Similarly, evidence suggests that increased low-skilled immigration increase school performance and outcomes for US natives (Portes, 2018).

Migration Trends and Labour Market

In the European Union countries, there were about 4.4 million immigrants during 2017, 2.0 million citizens of non-EU countries, 1.3 million people with citizenship of a different EU Member State from the one to which they immigrated, around 1.0 million people who migrated to an EU Member State of which they had the citizenship (for example, returning

nationals or nationals born abroad), and some 11 thousand stateless people (Eurostat, 2019). The United States has a larger immigrant population than any other country, with 47 million immigrants as of 2015 (United Nations, 2017). However, the economic, social, and political impact of migration continues to be the subject to political debate and divides opinion in many societies (Dustmann & Frattini, 2014; Dustmann, Frattini & Preston 2012; Portes, 2018; George et al., 2011). Therefore, international migration is an important path for development: remittances constitute a tool for poverty reduction, while diaspora skills and networks provide resources for economic and social progress (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2019).

Politically, the effect of migrants, especially in European politics has led to politicians reviewing immigration laws and regulations with the view of limiting the number of migrants. Take the UK for example, the hostile environment” by the UK government in the past 5 years to tackle illegal immigration has led to changes in the immigration rules. This has given rise to declined (EU migrants) or stable immigration (non-EU migrants). Again, much public and policy concern has focused on the distributional impacts of immigration, particularly the potential negative impacts on employment and wages for low-skilled workers (Portes, 2018). Since 2016, overall long-term immigration to the UK for work has continued to decrease, this has mainly been due to the fall in EU immigration to the UK for work (Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2019). For the same period, non-EU citizens, work-related immigration to the UK has remained broadly stable, however, the number of skilled work visas issued has been increasing (ONS, 2019). The statistics by the Migration Observatory (2018) on Migrants in the UK Labour Market provide an interesting feature (Table 1).

Table 1. Key Features of Migrants in the UK Labour Market

Gender	Among men, migrants are more likely to be employed than the UK born (83% vs 79% in 2018), but among women, migrants are less likely to be in work (66% vs 72%)
Social welfare	Unemployed migrants were less likely to claim unemployment benefits (18%) than the UK born unemployed workers (26%).

Skills	Migrant workers born in India, East and Southeast Asia and EU-14 countries are more likely to be in high skilled jobs than the UK born, while those born in new EU member states are more likely to be in low-skilled occupations
Hours of work	The share of involuntary part-time workers is highest among migrants from the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia (9%), compared to the UK born (3%)
Nature of jobs	Migrant workers were more likely to work during night shifts and in non-permanent jobs than the UK born, in 2018

Source: Migration Observatory (2018, p. 2)

Regarding labour market impact, the primary determinant of how immigration affects wages and employment is the extent to which newly arriving workers substitute for or complement existing workers (The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration, 2017). It has been suggested that recent migration has had little or no impact labour market, but possibly some, small, negative impact on low-skilled workers (Portes, 2018). Dustmann et al., (2012, cited in Portes, 2018), using UK LFS data for the period 1997-2005 show that a 1% increase in the foreign-born/native population ratio leads to an increase of between 0.1% and 0.3% in average wages. The key effects of migration on the host country labour market include (1) in the short term migration affects employment/unemployment; (2) in the medium-term migration leads to pressure on wages, (3) in the long term, migration affects the structure of the economy (e.g., capital/labour ratio) (Škuflić and Vučković, 2018, p. 1827). An argument is that migration not only increases the aggregate number of workers, it can also change the skill composition of the workforce; and thus, the wage structure of worker (Edo et al., 2018). On this note, Portes (2018) conclude that while migration may have had some small negative impact on wages for the low paid.

Another determinant of how immigration affects wages and employment is related to the degree of substitutability between immigrants and natives (Edo et al., 2018). The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration (2017, p. 204) explain that substitutability between two groups – say native workers and immigrant workers measured by the *elasticity of*

substitution. In theory, if immigrants and natives of similar education differ in terms of their language abilities, quantitative and relational skills, they will specialise in differentiated production tasks (Edo et al., 2018). By their assessment Edo et al., (2018) maintain that Immigration, particularly highly skilled workers, can also affect productivity and wages through its contribution to human capital formation and innovation in receiving economies. If highly skilled immigrants invent new technologies or bring new ideas from their home countries, immigration is expected to exert a positive impact on the productivity and wages of all native workers (Edo et al., 2018).

Economic and Social Consequences of immigration

It is worth noting that the economic characteristics of an area or country present attractiveness to immigrants. The economic structural approach deals most explicitly with the distinction between the short and long-run economic growth. Hence, macroeconomic theory distinguishes between a short run in which technology and education (human capital) of workers are fixed and a long run in which they adapt to changing economic circumstances (The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration, 2017). It is assumed that the primary impact of immigrant inflows on a country is an expansion in the size of its economy, including the labour force (The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration, 2017). Migration Watch UK (2016) explored the impact of Immigration on the economic 'welfare' of the existing resident population of the UK;

Overall GDP, which the Government has persistently emphasised, is an irrelevant and misleading criterion for assessing the economic impacts of immigration on the UK. The total size of an economy is not an index of prosperity. The focus of analysis should rather be on the effects of immigration on income per head of the resident population. Both theory and the available empirical evidence indicate that these effects are small, especially in the long run when the economy fully adjusts to the increased supply of labour. In the long run, the main economic effect of immigration is to enlarge the economy, with relatively small costs and benefits for the incomes of the resident population (Migration Watch UK, 2016, p. 1).

According to research undertaken by Wadsworth, Dhingra, Ottaviano and Van Reenen (2018) for the Centre for Economic Performance London School of Economics and Political Science,

EU immigrants pay more in taxes than they take out in welfare and the use of public services. The report also notes that EU immigrants help reduce the budget deficit and immigrants do not contribute negatively to the local economy. Migration Watch UK (2016) Economic impacts of immigration to the UK summarized that the impacts will be on GDP per head (a key measure of prosperity), the effect on the employment of UK-born workers, jobs created in the UK economy, impact on average wage level and fiscal cost to the UK Exchequer. The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration (2017) give an example that supposes foreign-born construction workers enter the labour market, causing a decrease in construction workers' wages. They note that firms will respond by hiring more construction workers. Since additional first-line supervisors may be needed to oversee and coordinate the activities of the expanded workforce, the demand (Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration, 2017).

Analysis by the Entrepreneurs Network, a think-tank, showed that 49 per cent of the 100 fastest-growing companies in the UK have a founder born overseas (Financial Times, FT, 2019). Evidence from studies revealed that almost half a million migrants have settled and started businesses in the UK since the last 10 years (Duedou, 2017; Ladford, 2018). Migrants SMEs in Britain was reported to increasingly contribute nearly 20% of the UK's SMEs sectors and provides over 25% of jobs opportunities in Britain (Ladford, 2018). This is more evidenced in Britain Capital city, London where research shows that nearly half of the SMEs ownership belong to foreign nationals and overseas migrants (See London Economy today report, 2018).

Analysis by the Entrepreneurs Network of FTSE 100 companies (cited in FT, 2019), the largest public British companies by value, found that at least 20 had immigrant founders, including Marks and Spencer, EasyJet and Associated British Foods, which owns Twinings tea and Primark;

Joshua Wohle, the Dutch-born co-founder of SuperAwesome, which provides software to keep children safe online, said: "I came to the UK to get a degree in computer sciences. I stayed for the start-up ecosystem." (Cited in FT, 2019).

A report, commissioned by the Federation of Small Businesses (SBF, 2019) in Scotland provides key information to articulate the substantive contributions migrant entrepreneurship makes to Scotland:

Immigrant-led SMEs, to highlight one group, generate £13 billion in revenues and 107,000 jobs for the Scottish economy (SBF, 2019, P. 5).

One in ten SMEs in Scotland is immigrant-led with at least one partner or director having been born outside the UK (SBF, 2019, p. 5).

Immigrant-led SMEs provide 107,000 jobs in Scotland (SBF, 2019, p. 5).

The key summary of the economic impacts of immigration to the UK as presented by Migration Watch UK (2016, p. 1) are as follows:

- The impact of on GDP per head – a key measure of prosperity - is essentially negligible.
- There is tentative evidence to show that immigration of non-EU workers into the UK harms the employment of UK-born workers, and there is substantial anecdotal evidence that workers in some sectors of the economy have suffered from competition with migrant labour: the IT industry is one such sector.
- Half of the jobs created have been taken by immigrants since 2010.
- Immigration has been a fiscal cost to the UK Exchequer, costing over £9 billion a year.

On the positive side Citi GPS: Global Perspectives and Solutions (2018) emphasise that migrants are on average much younger than the host country populations and this has a significant impact on the costs and benefits associated with their migration. The report notes that in 2017, three-quarters of migrants were of working age, compared to 57 per cent of the global population, with this reflecting the fact that only 14 per cent of migrants are under 20 years old, compared to 34 per cent of the global population. Their overriding conclusion is that migration is conducive to native and aggregate prosperity, especially over longer time frames.

Dustmann and Frattini (2014) explain the fiscal effects of immigration to the UK on the tax and welfare system is perhaps the single most important economic issue of concern in the public debate when assessing the pros and cons of immigration in the UK. They maintain that

there have been claims of immigrants from Europe having free-ride on the benefit- and health system, resulting in demands that not only should their access to benefits and public services be restricted, but that immigration from the European Economic Area (EEA) countries should be restricted as well. Taxpayers are understandably concerned about the potential fiscal costs of immigration (Citi GPS: Global Perspectives & Solutions, 2018).

The impact of immigration on productivity and hence (per capita) growth is methodologically harder to estimate (Portes, 2018). The overarching difficulty with fiscal analysis is that the impact of migration depends not only on a range of migrant and country-specific variables but also on the fundamental question that is being asked and the methodology and assumptions used to explore it (Citi GPS: Global Perspectives & Solutions, 2018). It is believed that rather than being a drain on the UK's fiscal system – immigrants have made net contributions to its public finances, a reality that contrasts starkly with the view often maintained in public debate (Dustmann & Frattini, 2014).

On the negative side, the impact of migration needs to be understood against wider pressures due to housing shortages, national hospital services (NHS), primary school enrolments, General Practice (GP) availability, social welfare services especially in some UK regions. Research suggests that immigration from outside the EU could hurt the employment of UK-born workers, especially during an economic downturn according to Full Fact is the UK's independent fact-checking charity (2017). For example, research from University College London finds that an inflow of immigrants the size of 1% of the UK-born population leads to a 0.6% decline in the wages of the 5% lowest paid workers and an increase in the wages of higher-paid workers (cited in FullFact.Org. 2017). Another issue is the concept that the UK is already 'overcrowded' In this case, a rapid increase in the population due to migration could lead to falling living standards (Pettinger, 2017). Writing for the Economics Help on Impact of Immigration on UK Economy, Pettinger (2017) gave an example that the UK faces an acute housing shortage, but also an unwillingness to build on increasingly scarce green belt land. The increased population could increase congestion and urban pollution (Pettinger, 2017).

Migration Impact on Local Economy

A common question people often ask – is whether immigration causes unemployment? Migrants have often been blamed for 'taking our jobs' – especially in periods of high unemployment, and in local areas of above-average unemployment. Several studies on the

impact of migration on the local economy focus on the econometric issues and estimate the impacts of migration and remittances (Bettin, G., Lucchetti, R., Zazzaro, A. 2012; Mergo 2016; Redehegn et al., 2019). Other studies aim at understanding the determinants and impacts of migration in source communities, urbanization and macroeconomic issues (Redehegn et al., 2019). Immigrant-led ventures are more likely to have strong ties with the local business community and their supply chain (FSB, 2018). There are several ways in which migration impact on the local economy:

- (1) Immigration may also impact on the prices of goods and services (Portes, 2018). Portes reveals that immigration is associated with a fall in prices for non-tradeable goods and services, but a rise in the price of tradeable.
- (2) Migrants Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) contribute to the growth of host local economies. SMEs generate revenue, enhance employment and provide access to commodities for remote communities (Mendy and Hack-Polay, 2018). In the UK, there are around 275,000 black and minority ethnic businesses contributing £20 billion to the economy (Mendy and Hack-Polay, 2018). Immigrant-led ventures can contribute to the revitalisation of struggling urban spaces (FSB, 2018). In Scotland, higher migrant enterprise in localities is found to be associated with increases in entrepreneurial activity by natives/local population.
- (3) Migrants contribute to the growth of the labour force. For example, EU migrants make up over 20% of the labour force in 18 British industries (Guardian News, 2019). The Guardian presents an analysis from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) figures that find fruit and vegetable processing and the hotel industry among sectors of the economy facing worst damage if free movement of EU members ends. Take London for example, two distinct positive effects of migration are its qualitative impact on the London labour force and economy, through diversity, flexibility, international experience and skill sets; and its quantitative contribution through expanding labour supply and thus enabling employment growth and reducing upward wage pressure (London School of Economics and Political Science, 2007). Budgetmodel (2016) suggests that immigration leads to more innovation, a better-educated workforce, greater occupational specialization, better matching of skills with jobs, and higher overall economic productivity.

- (4) Migrants work in most types of jobs and specialist sectors such as nursing, social care and odd jobs such as cleaners, agricultural labourers, etc. These are jobs which some locals either lack the knowledge, manpower, skills or find it difficult to do or engage. Also, migrants fill important niches both in fast-growing and declining sectors of the economy (OECD, 2014).
- (5) Net immigration into some cities tends to displace some existing residents, who move out into other parts of the counties. Citing Sá (2015) studies on the impact on housing prices in UK local authorities from 2003 to 2010, Portes (2018) shows that immigration actually reduces house prices at a local level, as natives leave the local areas due to high immigrant inflows; although this does not imply that immigration does not overall exert upward pressure on house prices at a national level (Portes, 2018).
- (6) Promotes intercultural integration between local and migrants. Immigrant entrepreneurs also appear to be very well embedded within fellow migrant networks and migrant entrepreneurs act as a bridge between their home and host cultures (FSB, 2018). Interactions between migrants and native entrepreneurs enable greater integration and mutual cultural understanding in wider society (FSB, 2018). The integration of migrants is crucial. Much of the theoretical understandings implied in migrant's integration applies mixed embeddedness approach (developed by Kloosterman and Rath, 2001 and Kloosterman, 2010) related to integrating refugees into labour markets (Hack-Polay and Igwe, 2019).
- (7) Increase in income and standard of living of migrants. Despite the growing rate of out-migration, origin families are still tied closely with their migrant communities (Redehegn et al., 2019). Hence, through remittances, the welfare and income of families left behind by migrants in their home countries are improved.
- (8) Migrants contribute more in taxes and social contributions than they receive in benefits, boost the working-age population and contribute to the technological progress of host countries (OECD, 2018).

Conclusion and Implications

Migration and economic implications have been intensive., However, assumptions are still often driven by ill-informed statistics leading to public antagonism towards migration. These negative views risk jeopardising efforts to adopt migration policies to the new economic and

demographic challenges facing many countries (OECD, 2014). Although migrants accounted for an increase in the workforces in Europe and the United States, they contribute significantly to labour-market flexibility and human capital development of receiving countries (OECD, 2014). Therefore, understanding these impacts is important to inform and develop better immigration policies to maximise the benefits of migration. Theoretical the effects of immigration examine economies of labour markets (The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration, 2017).

Hence, in this current study, we focused on the economic and social contributions of migrants to the UK's local economy. The dominant discourses on the economies of labour markets influence the public and policy concerns. In many cases, the impacts of immigration are reported negatively. Several studies such as Global Perspectives & Solutions (2018), Migration Watch UK (2016), London School of Economics and Political Science and University College London finds that an inflow of immigrants less more positive impact to the UK economy than the often the negative stereotypes perpetuated by many politicians and sections of the media (The Conversation, 2018). The impacts on employment and wages for low-skilled workers are not clear-cut.

Immigration played a central role in the UK Brexit movement. The results of the UK's EU Leave Agreement will undoubtedly have significant impacts on businesses, movement of people, immigration rules, migrants' workers rights and conditions, etc. Approximately, 3 million European nationals already living in the UK and approximately 1 million British citizens living across the EU according to financierworldwide.com (2018). Both the EU and the UK must make concrete arrangement to accommodate immigrants' residences living conditions and rights and define their immigration system after Brexit. The terms of the agreement will affect UK immigration rules for migrants coming from the rest of the World.

On balance, evidence suggests that immigration has positive economic effects on the local economy (Budget-model, 2016), but it is unclear whether immigration adversely impacts on the wages and employment of local workers (Edo et al., 2018). Therefore, we conclude that the impact of migration on the local economy includes the impact on the prices of goods and services (Portes, 2018), growth of labour force, growth of SMEs, increases the mobility of specialist workers and promotes intercultural integration/interactions between local and

migrants. More so, evidence shows that immigration contributes to the technological progress of host countries (OECD, 2018).

Indeed, there are strong pieces of evidence that support that migrants are an important driver of the UK economy. We join the Entrepreneurs Network to call on policymakers to enact policies that encourage skilled migration. These include visas that allow UK universities graduates to work in the UK for two years after leaving education, in the hope that this will encourage young entrepreneurs to keep their businesses in the UK. Similarly, we join the Federation of Small Business (FBS, 2019) to call for more integration of immigrant's enterprise networks with public and private business support programmes by the local, regional and national governments. As noted by Hack-Polay and Igwe (2019) the policy of integration of refugees is an important agenda in terms of labour market integration, education, housing, healthcare and cultural orientations.

To conclude, the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD, 2019) maintains that given the shrinking supply of skills and labour, Brexit has not dampened employers' interest in employing EU migrant workers. The CIPD study found that at the beginning of 2018, some two-thirds of organisations said they would continue to employ EU nationals. Whilst in 2017, CIPD research found that the proportion of business managers who intended to recruit EU migrants was largely the same as the proportion doing so in 2016, across all sectors (CIPD, 2019). According to the study, the most common reason given by business managers as to why they employ EU workers is that they do not consider nationality when hiring, but simply choose the best person for the job. For semi-skilled or unskilled positions, the main reason given was that employers could not find domestic applicants to fill those vacancies (CIPD, 2019).

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PART 4 – CREATIVE RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

This part discusses some examples of creative research methodologies used to investigate the migrant experience in recent decades. We bring to light the degree to which these methodologies that departs from some traditionally established frameworks have improved our understanding of the migrant lived experiences and how to approach migrant integration.

CHAPTER 11 - RESILIENCE NETWORK ORIENTATIONS AS A NEW APPROACH IN REFRAMING MIGRANTS' EMPLOYMENT UNDERPERFORMANCE RHETORIC: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

John Mendy

Introduction

This chapter analyses secondary data from previous research in order to offer new insights into migrants' employment underperformance and economic dependency rhetoric. The analysis highlights what previous scholars have offered in terms of the individual, collective and inter-organisational levels of research that investigates what really happens in the migration-employment process and how we can begin to make sense of areas that have been neglected in the sociology of knowledge and work organisations. Given the predominantly

economic dependency, employment underperformance and marginalisation, among other aspects, what is being proposed here is referred to as 'Resilience Network Orientations' or RNOs, which serves as a new approach of understanding the more positive aspects of migrants' contributions in the world of work and is nestled in concepts of resilience and negativities of migration research. The concept of RNOs combines micro and macro characteristics of individual, organisational structural possibilities and inter and personally networked in order to make deeper sense of the migrants' employment experience.

The literature and research on migrant employment is varied and inconclusive about the extent to which migrants might be viewed beyond the prism that currently and for decades has seen them as a problem. For example, studies that have examined the impact of economic recession on migrants' employment have pointed the negative impact that this could have on vulnerable groups such as migrants (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Dustmann, Glitz and Vogel, 2010). Some of the reasons advanced for this negativity includes, among other things, that migrants have low skills levels (Lerner and Menahem, 2003) in environment where ethnic racism and employment discrimination tend to be normalised (Kingston, McGinnity and O'Connell, 2015). Yet another stream of research highlight that migrants seemed to have excluded themselves from the very employment strategies that were designed to integrate them into the employment markets they moved into (Kalter and Kogan, 2006). Some other type of approach other than the one that has depicted migrants' employment experiences negatively is needed.

A few studies such as Dustmann and Fratini (2013) and Wang and Altinay (2012) have looked favourably at migrants' contributions, most scholars tend to see migrants as entrepreneurial failures (Nwankwo, 2005) with nothing to contribute in generating employment (Lindsay and Macauley (2004) or contributing to wider social networks (Morosanu, 2013). Opportunities for widening and deepening our knowledge of migrants (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011) is missed.

The RNOs concept fills a much overlooked gap, which is that left in between theoretical enthusiasts advocating for migrants' embeddedness/integration and incorporation into the host country and fewer and emerging scholars who recommend benevolence and greater recognition of migrants' efforts. RNOs serve as an additional theoretical development to migration studies' traditional concepts of assimilating, integrating and embedding migrants

into the host countries value systems as they are predominantly viewed in migration research as sources of economic dependency or sometimes security and identity threat by host nations. The notion of RNOs provides an alternative to this predominant research narrative and opens a new way of looking into the formulation of employment practices and policy frameworks. The RNOs notion facilitates the integration between employment studies, migration work in particular and the situated discourses in which these aspects can be understood and appreciated.

The author contributes in three ways as follows. Firstly, contribution to the migration research and literature highlights an overemphasis on the problems caused by migrants to receiving countries' employment structures, strategies and processes (Jones et al., 2010) and therefore the need to fill the attendant lag in addressing the interventions needed (Sacchetto and Vianello, 2016). Those that have been proposed have not been adequate and appropriate enough in indicating whether migrants' capabilities might be increased to deal competently with their employment marginalisation, underperformance, discrimination, self-exclusion, lack of integration, disengagement (Lindgren *et al.*, 2014) and related migration negativities. The author highlights migrants' employment research contributions over two decades and develops a new Resilience Network Orientations framework. The latter shows the capabilities needed so as to help address the resilience aspects missing in migration studies as well as incorporate the vital social network capacity that has been recognised in a few of the migration literature and research (Azam and Gubert, 2006). This led to the second contribution of 'resilience culture capacity' – which highlights the disservice that previous studies have shone on migrants' cultural heritage and its potential contribution to enriching host countries cultural diversity and the facilitation of human and employment capacity development, the very aspects needed for social networks and resilience capacity orientations. The remaining chapter comprises an examination of the theories and case examples used as a pathway to developing the chapter's contributions in migration studies. Their implications in current research in the area and future studies are considered in the conclusion.

Literature Review

Despite the phenomenal rise in migrant labour and the associated studies associated, migrants' labour accounts are depicted in the literature and research as problem. Such a perspective is based on narratives of discrimination, marginalisation, underperformance and an overall threat to receiving countries (Rajendra et al., 2019; Viola and Musolf, 2019). Having recognised issues such as income differentials between migrants host nationals (Hildebrand et al., 2017) which might have partly created a black employment underclass (Clerge, 2014) and the lack of integration between migrants and receiving communities (Alkopher and Blanc, 2017), the structure-conduct-performance (SCP) approach was first proposed to resolve such a problem by Chamberlin (1929) and Robinson (1933). When it was later developed by Hastings (1960) and Bain (1968) in an industrial organisational economics model the benefits of recognising the economic performance of companies operating in complex market environments was realised.

The SCP provides insights into the direct impact that market environments have on market structure as well as on an organisation's economic performance and well-being. These issues impact on the performance of migrants in the employment markets they are situated. The cyclicity of the Structure, Conduct and Performance factors highlight their direct impacts on organisations as well as the impact that external issues such as political and legal frameworks could have on firms' performance (also see Ferguson, 1993). Such a market-orientated approach has been superseded by explanatory frameworks based on individually, racially orientated perspective (Glick Schiller, 2015) or legally based approaches (Zetter, 2008). These models and frameworks only tell part of the story regarding migrant labour and so do the most recent studies on socio-economic (dis)integration (Hildebrand et al., 2015), crisis of migrant/community identities (Viola and Musolf, 2019) or even employment segregation (Piazzalunga, 2015). Notions of performance and conduct are sometimes alien to migrants, who come from cultures where metrics to measure these constructs are not available and therefore not captured/recognised in the literature (Daniel and Caruthers, 2016), leading to a disregard for more nuanced cultural values and an overemphasis on financial issues of dependency (Buys and Mbewana, 2007). The models and frameworks do not take into account the resilience characteristics of migrants and indeed host country citizens. However, a framework is needed in an attempt to capture the complexity of migrant labour issues over

the past two decades (see the study's contribution). The RNO framework is based on research examples as shown in Table 1.

Recent studies have overlooked RNOs contribution as they tend to overemphasise the integrating, assimilating and incorporating elements of migrants into the host country (Hildebrand et al., 2015; Clerge, 2014). Whilst there is a growing body of work that highlights cases of migrants' lived experiences both in host as well as countries of origin, there is still limited work in terms of what migrants actually contribute and how their vulnerability to the negativities in most migration research can be addressed. In order to do so, researchers have turned occasionally to resilience (Conz *et al.*, 2017) – i.e. people's capability to 'bounce back' from adverse situations such as the ones highlighted in migrants' employment studies (Fredrickson, 2001). Such a proposition has not been integrated yet into migration research although there has been recognition of the value and contribution of social networks when migrants encounter adversities in receiving countries. Part of the propositions in emerging resilience studies includes the development of self-efficacy skills (Bullough *et al.*, 2014) and positive emotions (Tugade and Fredrickson, 2004) to address part of the psychological damage as a result of employment discrimination, marginalisation, underperformance and so on (Luthans, 2007a) has led to. The author proposes a Resilience Network Orientations Framework as a way to address migration negativities and concerns, and to show what migrants' contributions could bring to current and future studies in the area. Doing so will help in raising awareness and understanding of new developments in migration and employment research/studies and potentially guide policy makers in formulating new policies and guidelines that help migrants integrate better into receiving countries' cultures and employment systems.

Methodology

Examples from the literature and research on migrants' employment are varied but most provide examples in line with the study's aims and objectives (see introduction and Table 1). Research conducted on migrant labour over the past decade was selected because the bulk of the studies on the topic emerged during this period. Furthermore, such a choice is premised on the desire to extract as much relevant information as possible on migrants' employment experiences and the way they behaved to see how these could highlight a counter/alternative

narrative to the predominant discourse of negativity. Their impacts and implications for migration theory, research and practice are highlighted in the conclusion.

This study is based on a methodology of examples which focuses on exploring the ontological (in)securities faced by migrants as a result of a traumatic set of research accounts (Smart et al., 2012; Croft, 2012) on the real-life phenomenon (Yin, 2003) of traumatic labour experiences (Papadia, 2019). In recent years, two dominant paradigms in the study of migration, terrorism, mass mobility of humans and the like have attracted attention in terms of how to better understand both the negative and positive aspects of people's experiences. These are ontological security (Kinnvall and Mitzen, 2018) which takes the view that a more positive view to the rhetoric of anxiety, insecurity and uncertainty should be adopted by a growing body of scholarship so as to help balance the ontological insecurity of power, domination, suppression, discrimination and so on (Ejdus, 2020). Important as this methodological development in migration studies in general might sound, it has not been used to look into the negative issues raised in migration employment and the extent to which its usage could highlight migrants' ontological insecurity (i.e. the threat to a person's existence and self-regard).

Recent studies in ontological security/insecurity have highlighted how inter-related our existence and sense-making of our realities are (Kinnvall and Lindén, 2010). However, such a dialectic methodology has focused attention on the state rather than highlighting the effects of such an approach on the individual. Drawing from the examples in the literature and research, the author presents an alternative, which is Resilience Network Orientation, as that which has been missing from the individual level of dealing with the ontological insecurity caused by the negativities in migration employment studies. This approach provides a different ontological security, which is based on the need for migrants' accounts gleaned/constructed from previous research that might have unintendedly brought about migrants' ontological insecurity as a result of the need to maintain the continuity of institutions and employment processes in receiving countries. In applying this approach to previous literature and research, which has rendered migrants an insecure group of individuals by the state, the author develops a new RNO framework, which leans towards the ontological securitisation of migrants and migrant employment (the controlling and

objectifying power of institutions and the state now shifts to the individual and their ability to be resilient.

The examples provide researchers with valuable and useful in-depth knowledge of situations in participants' lived experiences, troubling and negative as most of these might be (Lewis et al., 2015). These could often include the accounts used to depict their behaviours and actions (Welch *et al.*, 2011 – see Tables 1 & 2). The methodological exemplar format was chosen because it is adequate and appropriate to look into the migration negativities (Eisenhardt, 1989) and how they lived through these and what could be learnt in terms of analytical and theoretical insights (Hill and Lent, 2006). The main challenge with this type of methodology is that examples of the type sought might be few thereby limiting their number. Having been aware of such a difficulty, the author tried to capture a variety of examples from developed as well as developing countries to provide some heterogeneity and the potential for comparative analysis (see Table 3). Given the study's interest in capturing migrants' employment lived experiences from different contextual settings, it proved appropriate to identify the cases presented herein.

There is a research protocol, which has been followed in support of Yin (1994) who advised that the process of identifying the research question(s) and achieving the study's objectives should be done in a systematic and rigorous manner. Such an identification was made possible after having taken into account what Miles and Huberman (1994) regard as undertaking a systematic theoretical analysis of relevant literature in order to appropriately identify the study's guiding question, the data collection process and how the materials will be analysed. This step-by-step process (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007) is part of the iterative-ness that Lewis (1998) thinks will adequately help in contextualising the phenomenon being studied and the potential to develop theory or an approach out of it. This is how the study's sense-making of migrants' employment experiences increases its credibility (Husserl, 1965) whilst simultaneously surfacing the phenomenological and ontological insecurities and insecurities involved (Schutz, 1967). What emerged as additional findings are presented in the next section following Denzin and Lincoln (2002).

In sum the methodological and research examples are most suited to investigate migrant's employment experiences as it gives current and contextualised meaning of people's accounts of what actually happened. A systematic data collection process entailed the identification of

research question(s) based on the literature and setting out an analytical process in line with case study methodology (Husserl, 1965; Yin, 1994). The way the difficulties was overcome has also been specified, all of which show how the study attempted to capture the negative and positive experiences of migrants thereby contributing to the study's credibility and its contribution to migration studies (see ensuing sections).

Findings on Positive Migrants' Employment Experiences

This section identifies, reports and analyses the chapter's findings using appropriate literature. The examples provided serve to inform and deepen the analysis of the case study materials. In order to make sense of migrants' employment experiences in various settings, the author adopts Myers's (2013) and Yin's (2003) sense-making process in order to surface the situational particularities of migrants' employment over a two decade period (see Tables 1, 2 & 3), the challenges and responses. The contextualised challenges are different from each and these range from the individual, the collective to the more global issues that migrants had to deal with. Challenges at the individual level included, for example, a need to find employment as a survival mechanism; difficulties at the collective level involved having to identify networks from which individuals can give and derive support from and those at the organisational and even more global level included greater checks on their employment activities and progress by higher ups. A thematic process was adopted with the aim of group categorising migrants' experiences in terms of chosen language to describe experiences following Camaioni's (2017) communicative process. Such a process highlights social aspects in line with Berger and Luckmann (1966) given the inability of structural aspects in migration studies to do so. The social network elements are highlighted in the thematic presentation of the aspects leading to the RNOs approach. The study's results and 'RNOs' are the chapter's contributions and an extension of Altinay and Wang's (2011) and Wang and Altinay's (2012) cultural and entrepreneurial orientations. RNOs go beyond the dual orientations presented in the migration literature to include other aspects such as the social, the situational and challenging circumstances in the respective years and the concrete actions taken by migrants to resolve their employment problems. The detailed elements involved in how the migrants made sense of their employment realities and what they actually did in surmounting their

negative portrayal in earlier studies are articulated in the various situations over two decades. The difficulties and actions are analysed using migration and employment studies literature.

Migrants' employment areas and challenges

Migrants' employment tend to generally fall within services (McEvoy and Hafee, 2009) although other areas such as construction and manufacturing (Jones et al. 2014) have been noted in the literature (see Table 2).

The use of historical archives, interviews and focus groups as methodological insights to study migrants' efforts tended to highlight a reliance on network development to serve as buffer to the negative portrayal in the literature and research (Morosanu, 2013). Although these networks are surfaced as important survival mechanisms, their usefulness and potential contribution to the literature and research, have not been fully exploited yet. Although Altinay and Wang (2011) had forwarded the notion of Cultural Orientation (CO) as a way of highlighting migrants' positive contributions, they did not go far enough to recognise why this might have been the case. The notion of resilience completes what has been missed and is further incorporated into the Network Orientation developed as this chapter's contribution in the next two sections.

Key Findings on 'Resilience Network Orientations'

Based on the examples in the previous section, the research protocol has demonstrated the various situations that gave rise to the challenges and difficulties that the migrants were faced with and the methods used. The actions they took to avert their calamity have also been presented, all of which are fundamental if we are to derive substantive and objective meaning out of lived experiences of migrants' labour in the tradition of Schutz (1967) and Husserl (1965). The various structural and economic impediments served not only to cement traditional migration literature of assimilating, integrating and incorporating migrants into the host country's employment system, but their use was an attempt to deny the migrants of their socio-cultural network orientations in the tradition of Orlikowsky (2007). When this happened, a network orientation void became apparent, one that was waiting to be filled with a different or somewhat new type of knowledge and awareness or what the combined theoretical postulations of Camaioni (2017) and Berger and Luckmann (1966) would refer to as social knowing. This is the capability of individuals not only to make sense of their

situational reality but to act by coordinating their actions with other affected stakeholders in such a way so as to avoid further difficulties. When this happened the migrants showed their resilience in bouncing back from their adversities.

These personal and collective characteristics showed that employees were not daunted by the challenges presented at each stage of their migration journey. They showed how thinking and acting in a strategic manner proved beneficial for their survival. They also developed the social knowledge having communicated what types of actions they wished to take and heightened their positivity amidst the gloomy situations they faced. These different facets of migrants' employment experiences showed the complexities of situations, challenges, experiences and actions such that they transcend those depicted in migration studies presented by Altinay and Wang (2011) and Wang and Altinay (2012) among others. The migrants showed tenacity and strategic thinking and awareness of what types of responses are required. This is what the study refers to as 'Resilience Network Orientations', an approach necessary in fostering beneficial interactions between affected individuals and a process of sorting out adversity within contextualised/situational instances.

The RNOs' aspects also present a narrative of how migrants demonstrated an inner set of resilience qualities that helped them overcome their individual and collective adversities in their home as well as host countries in a similar way that Wischnevsky et al. (2004) highlighted the need for various qualities for a company to survive when challenged by negative external forces. The migrants showed resilience characteristics that proved necessary, efficient and effective in surmounting their employment difficulties. In each of the RNOs thematic categories, the migrants demonstrated the relevance and effective resolution of problems through identification of problem areas, figuring out which stakeholders they need to cooperate with to resolve their new challenges and taking the necessary actions. Such a capability is what this study has termed 'Resilience Network Orientations', whose application in adversarial employment situations is designed to resolve migrants' employment problems and help reframe the negativity employment underperformance of migration studies. By the penultimate thematic presentation, the migrants could be observed to have dealt with their situational problems that sought to facilitate an environment of ontological insecurity in the tradition of Croft (2012).

Discussions

Research into migrants' employment has looked into the assimilation, incorporation and integration of migrants into host countries' structural and economic mechanisms as a way of managing the inflow of people (Nwankwo, 2005). Where this has failed, the migrants have set up their own employment, often as coping mechanisms to the economic constraints (Collins and Fakoussa (2015). However, both sets of responses have not adequately addressed the employment challenges faced by the migrants nor have they achieved host countries' purposes of integrating, assimilating and incorporating migrants' employment capabilities and their contributions. Recommendations to widen and their include migrants into the socio-economic fabrics of host countries (Dustmann and Fratini, 2013) and thereby encourage cultural inclusivity and diversification (Wang and Altinay, 2012) have alluded to potential benefits but not fully resolved the challenges faced by migrants. One of such areas includes employment, either via state agencies, charitable organisations or entrepreneurship. Barriers relating to lack of assimilation and integration therefore continue to persist despite efforts made by regulatory agencies and migrant individuals. Likewise, the migration studies debates on employment continue to be predominantly influenced by a language of negativity and pessimism despite efforts made over the decades by the incoming labour pool. As a way to rectify this anomaly and contribute to the migration debates and discussions, this study investigated *** case studies of migrants over a twenty year period (1999 – 2019) to see what can be done and whether migrants' lived experiences of employment can give us a glimmer of hope in what is practically and theoretically needed (Barratt-Pugh and Gakere, 2013).

What the findings' themes have shown is what migrant employees have contributed to home and host countries' economic arrangements despite the structural barriers for them to do so. Additionally, the migrants have shown what the presence of multi-cultural agents can bring in enriching the socio-cultural conglomerations of both home and host countries. The migrants' accounts in the multitude of examples have shown their capability in turning migration literatures' stories of doom and gloom and negativity into people whose resilience attitudes and characteristics can herald positivity and prosperity especially in receiving/host countries. As social collectives, the migrants were able to construct endearing and enduring network of collaboration that resisted the negative factors and barriers to their personal progress and professional development. By engaging in 'Resilience Network Orientations' the

migrants were able to turn negativity into positivity, barriers into drivers of change and in so doing helped to add something different and new to migration studies. What they have also contributed could be seen as social knowledge, which is the knowledge created by and from an interactive group of people determined to change their precarious situation for the better. They did so by replacing obstructing employment mechanisms and structures with human aspects such as creating new relationships and networks, learning to be resilient and resistant to negative forces to their individual and collective development and a desire to make a positive difference to their situations. They took on a varied set of employment roles and their experiences culminate in a story and an approach of dealing with migrant labour adversities. This has been captured as 'Resilience Network Orientations' or RNOs.

Analysing the literature exposed its simplistic presentation of the structural economic model of migration. It was necessary to highlight the complexity of migrants' employment, the individual and collective experiences of those concerned, their challenges and actions chosen to overcome these. The case examples over a twenty-year period helped in identifying how migrants' experiences were actually lived, their contributions and shortcomings and what these added to the migration debates and discussions. The various themes are crafted to show the details of migrants' journey and the multiplicity of actions and responses involved in alleviating their employment problems. Although Wang and Altinay (2012) had earlier shown the importance of culture and the value of diversification, this chapter has highlighted what was previously missing in migration studies – that is, 'Resilience Network Orientations' which is about the various approaches people used in home and host countries so as to turn their barriers and problems into real opportunities for everyone. The migrants adopted such an approach to demonstrate the benefits of using their social and professional networks in order to bring about positive change to their new employment situations/contexts. They showed resilience, determination and a communicative spirit in adopting new roles and contributing differently in facilitating positive changes to their employment status. They turned migration studies' employment underperformance into positive and practical ways of resolving the structural barriers of integration, assimilation and integration. More importantly, it is vital especially for host countries to look into the benefits of 'Resilience Network Orientation' as a new way of researching the employment barriers within a trans-continental and in-country situational contexts. This has the potential to shift the debates

from underperformance, negativity and such like to positive and resilient people. These migrant and the study's contributions should be factored in current and future migration discourse and practice. This has useful potential for managers in general and HR professionals in particular as they examine new policy developments in this fundamental area/problem. Theoretical and practical implications raised by the study's findings are considered in the concluding section.

Although the migration literature has accounted for some of the problematics of migrant employees (Blazek, 2014), this is only part of the story on migrants' employment. The examples presented in this chapter highlight additional difficulties relating not only to structural factors that might have contributed to the inequality in wages (Hildebrand et al., 2015) but wider issues relating to linguistics (Viola and Musolf, 2019), ethnicity and gender (Piazzalunga, 2015) and macro-economic constraints (Bonifaci and Marini, 2013). Beyond these depictions, migrants proved resilient enough to measure up to the economic challenges they faced. The migrants' examples suggested that they were aware of the need for cultural sensitivity as well as developing coping mechanisms through their social support networks (Sacchetto and Vianello, 2016). Though some of these aspects have been highlighted as essential in developing networks (Kitching et al. 2011) previous migration studies have not highlighted the extent to which these essentials could be developed into a resilience framework.

Conclusion and implications

The study addresses migrants' employment difficulties by using case study examples from both developed and emerging economies. From both the ontological securities and insecurities the author developed RNOs. The implications of the study's results are examined on a theoretical, practical and HR/Management level. The results suggest the HR professionals should be aware of the lived experiences of migrants' employment trajectories as lessons to be learnt from both the developed and developing worlds. From the developed world lessons highlighted by the study include the need to develop research and literature that provide a more balanced presentation of the negativities as well as positives of migrants'

employment. From the developing world, the lessons include greater development and engagement into migration discourse and analysis. The migrants' accounts have shown the abundance and plethora of employment attributes that they bring to host countries, thereby robbing the developing world of much needed expertise and employment capability in a number of sectors badly needed by those emerging economies. The difficulties highlighted in the respective years serve to highlight how such capabilities were being constrained by the structural, regulatory and economic institutions. The responses from migrants indicated their wish to use the same capabilities as opportunities for further personal and collective development. These should provide lessons for management professionals in general and HR practitioners to be able to identify talent from migrant pools of labour and to use it for beneficial purposes. These talents and behavioural attributes point to migrants' tenacity, or, if one wills, their resilience in overcoming or bouncing back from adversarial situations like the ones encountered over two decades. The resilience characteristics have been captured in this study's contribution referred to as Resilience Network Orientations (RNOs), whose aspects include the following:

The first theme highlighted the barriers that migrants encountered as their organisational and social between 1999 and 2019. It also reflected not only how they experienced these new economic situations (Dustmann and Fratini, 2013) but also the ways they decided to communicate what they felt as they tried to come to terms with their new realities in support of Schutz (1967). The home and host countries' employment mechanisms were designed to impose regulatory regimes that strictly defined the execution and management of the working environment. Their adoption, however, led to non-linear responses from migrants, contrary to what was expected by employing agencies and statutory bodies. This therefore posed a contradiction in terms (Smith and Lewis, 2011) but exposed other possibilities for the migrants to contribute (Golsteyn and Schildberg-Horish, 2017). This theme could be summarised as the host and home countries' desires to maintain the employment status quo although the unintended consequence was the constraint in working relationships between host organisations and migrants and the creation of an employment relations (see Tables 1, 2 & 3).

The second theme saw the organisations in the host countries trying to address the employer-employee relationship vacuum. They did so by further routinizing employment practices,

which they hope will stabilise a fast becoming volatile situation. Such efforts highlighted a desire by host nations to revert the damage as early as they could before additional challenges started to surface in the migrant-host country interactions. Migrant staff failed to comply as they saw other possibilities and opportunities in their employing companies and outside of these firms. They started building internal and external networks of communication and personal relationships (see Table 3). The migrants realised the importance of communicating internally and external for these networks to work in their favour (Camaioni, 2017) and resolve their challenges (Sanders *et al.*, 2014).

The third theme showed migrants reversing the barriers to their employment as they started engaging in actions with other colleagues so that they can boost their professional and social credentials. This orientation is referred to as sociology of communicative action (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). They exuded and communicated the ability to network among other colleagues and this helped in reversing the negative attempts that the use of the assimilation model might have caused to their employment prospects and journey. They interpreted and turned what could have been a dire situation (Myers, 2013) into positive lived experiences of employment. They therefore brought value and social cohesiveness to their new and home country situations (Mendy, 2019). By so doing, they brought about a social change through the networks they built in order to turn the employment underperformance problem of migrants into employment solutions. They did so by reinterpreting what migrants can contribute as they also initiated new entrepreneurial activities that helped to redefine their identity and purpose in both home and host countries. This is new in migration studies and in the debates and discussions in migration employment.

Socially, the migrants became aware that their survival was dependent on a network of alliances, whose coming together and coordination heightens each individual's resilience capacity and professional development.

Practically, previous migration studies have not fully captured migrants' employment histories, their challenges and responses over a twenty-year research span as this study has done. Mostly, previous studies tended to over-emphasise the economic aspects of migrants' efforts whilst downplaying other social elements such as their capacity to be resilient and to bounce back from the adversities faced over the years. This ability to be resilient shows a

number of lessons to be learnt as follows. Firstly, that migrants need to recognise that their existential threat also poses threats to other individuals (migrants and non-migrants alike). Secondly, there is an urgent need to recognise the value of resilience characteristics such as coping under threat, cultural sensitivity and empathetic disposition for the greater good. Although Kitching et al. (2011) had earlier demonstrated the economic value of migrants' efforts despite the structure-conduct-performance inequalities by Robinson (1933) and later adherents to industrial organisational economics informing migration inequalities (Alkopher and Blanc, 2017) resilience networks is new and its contribution has been shown.

Theoretically, RNOs contributes to migration and employment studies by recognising the need to include traditionally insignificant contributors into mainstream migration studies and a recognition of the contribution of networks. Their characteristics showed not only how migrants constructed their own meaning out of very challenging situations but developed the capacity to be resilient and overcome the employment hurdles. They showed their desire to change their plight into opportunities and to encourage other stakeholders to reshape present as well as future employment relationships for the collective benefit. Future research directions could benefit from a further development of network orientations theory and the usefulness of resilience in this development. The methodological insights to be potentially offered by such a combination is also awaiting to be developed by migration studies scholars and professionals.

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CHAPTER 12 - METAPHORS IN MIGRATION RESEARCH: BEYOND THE OBVIOUS

Dieu Hack-Polay

Introduction:

The use of metaphor has a very long history in a number of disciplines but the most prominent uses of metaphor have been observed in linguistics, and philosophy, namely rhetoric. This long history of the use of metaphor can be traced back to a well-known philosopher like Aristotle.

In his *Poetics* and his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle makes a case for the connection existing between metaphor and language as well as the role of metaphor in communication. The main thought in Aristotle's argument regarding metaphors is that 'these are implicit comparisons, based on the principle of analogy and their use is primarily ornamental' (Ortny, 1979). While the idea of 'implicit comparisons' that Aristotle puts behind metaphors could be a fair translation of the role of metaphors, his comments that they are only ornamental may be misleading. Is Aristotle arguing that the use of metaphor is a mere nice thing but not important? Considering the use of the term 'ornamental' by the philosopher, it appears confirmed that Aristotle's perception of metaphors is that they are not important to language and communication. This is a point that can be refuted because it constitutes a rejection of the cultural, social and psychological constructions and underpinnings of metaphors. This aspect is further developed in a later paragraph when I examine the metaphor as a research tool. If Aristotle's point about metaphor is important in that it raises the critical debate about the nature and role of metaphors, it shows serious limitations in its view that metaphors are not important.

Perspectives on metaphors

Eminent twentieth century philosophers such as Russell (1956) and Wittgenstein (1961) are clearly followers of Aristotle although Wittgenstein may seem to have changed views in the course of his life. In the early to mid-twentieth century a philosophical current named *Logical Positivism* developed and reigned. Russell and Wittgenstein are part of this movement. They argue that the use of literal language is the unique best way for characterising reality and objectivity; literal language being seen as the language of science. Thus, as Ortny puts it, 'other uses of language were seen as meaningless for they violated the empiricist criterion of meaning' (1979). However, in my view, it is difficult to regard other forms of language, outside of the literary one, as meaningless because all forms of language contribute to enrich the communication process and the acquisition of knowledge. That is why, in another theoretical current that Ortny terms *Constructivism*, metaphor is seen as 'an essential characteristic of the creativity of language'. It is clear that metaphorical language may not necessarily be accessible to all minds and would require some creativity to decode its message. But the need for creativity is not a negative but rather positive thing. This is also the view of relativists such as Sapir (1921) and Whorf (1956). They agree that 'the objective world is not necessarily immediately accessible but is constructed on the basis of the constraining influences of human knowledge and language' (in Ortny, 1987). This assertion implies that cognition is the outcome of a construction activity of our mind. As Ortny points out 'knowing is a result of a step beyond the information given'. It is in this context that the use of metaphor is this bit of social research being undertaken for the present thesis and is therefore chosen as one of the key methods of inquiry. For a step beyond the political and ideological must be made so as to fully and truly comprehend the state of exile.

A significant metaphor writer like Burke (1969) has expanded on the usefulness of metaphors. He starts from the assumption that “Man is a symbol user” (p. 136). The author asserts that from this perspective people can express reality through symbols. It is therefore not inaccurate to advocate that metaphor in this sense extends the classical rhetoric (Ferrando, 2019) which had a central place in classical education and serving in Roman decision-making and public relations (Jablin, Putman, Roberts & Porter, 1987: 78). Metaphors and rhetoric are close usages of language and indeed essential function of language which helps to translate social realities in other forms than their raw forms. It could thus, be asserted that metaphors illustrated human linguistic arguments. It is therefore inextricable that they have a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols (Burke, 1969:43).

Metaphors in migration research

Refugee metaphors are seemingly felt symbolisms that generate cooperation and understanding, and should help to persuade people about the meaning and emotion of exile. If, as Burke (1969: 40) points out, Social sciences have resurrected metaphors from neglect and disrepute, then it is no surprise it is still used as a research tool, including in this research.

To reinforce the idea that metaphors play a key role in knowledge acquisition, Boyd (19..) points to the fact that metaphors can help generate scientific theories; and better that some metaphors are actually scientific theories in themselves. In fact, he explains that metaphors are significant in scientific inquiry and in theory formulation. In this line it is accepted that metaphors may recover a kind of linguistic imprecision but this is not unique and a special

feature to them. Boyd clarifies that linguistic imprecision is inherent to most referring terms in general. Philosopher, Max Black, has supported the view that metaphors may help to identify aspects of reality whose construction has been enabled by the same metaphors. It is to recognise that a non-negligible part of reality that we are seeking to grasp may escape our search unless we put them metaphorically. Thus, successfully decoding a metaphor is likely to bring fresh evidence and fresh knowledge to the body of knowledge that the human investigation has already enabled us to claim. In this perspective, it can be argued that non literal language is not necessarily a linguistic distortion or 'aberration' as supporters of literal language tend to voice. Nonliteral language, especially metaphor, is an essential ingredient of language acquisition and, consequently, is, as Rumelhart (1999) sees it, a natural and normal linguistic phenomenon. Normalising the language of metaphor is also normalising the process of knowledge acquisition through the use of metaphors (Burrell, 2017; Ferrando, 2019). This process is crucial for, sometimes, literal interpretation is insufficient in some situations. In situations where the literal interpretation is rejected, it is important to seek metaphorical explanation (Searle, 1979).

It is surprising, given the richness of metaphor and its role in sociology, that it has not always been widely used as a research tool. Jary & Jary (1995:409) argue that

The role of metaphor in sociology and the sciences in general is considerable and is arguably indispensable. The value of metaphor is in suggesting new relationships or new explanatory mechanisms.

It is exactly with the establishment of new relationships and new explanatory mechanisms in

mind that metaphor has been contemplated for the present research.

Metaphor as a research tool: strengths and limitations

As shown in the section above, the subject of metaphor nourishes much debate in philosophy and linguistics. However, the use of metaphors in other areas, especially social sciences, is a recent fact. Weindling (1995) argues, to support the recentness of metaphors in social sciences, that the first such contributions in the field came from Ortney's (1977) "Metaphors and thoughts". This paper, originally a conference paper, gathered together a number of eminent specialists in the fields of philosophy, psychology, linguistics and education.

In the United States of America, which can be regarded as the place of birth of metaphors as tools of social research, metaphors were mainly used in research on the nature of organisations, the perception of the school and principalship. In the US again, Morgan (1986), Bredeson (1988) and Beck & Murphy (1993) were the most prominent researchers who used metaphors in their social investigations. This movement also rose in Australia with Grady (1993) who has been keen to employ metaphors in his search to understand teachers' representations of their own schools. However, in the United Kingdom, the use of metaphors in social research was timid and very limited until the 1990s. Education has been the major field of the social sciences that employed metaphor as a tool of social investigation. Metaphors have been used to gain a good "insight into the way people organise their knowledge and use it as a basis for action" (Weindling, 1995:1). For Lakoff & Johnson (1980) metaphors are pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action". This is to say that the way in which we conceive things, we think and we behave has a strong

metaphorical nature although we may usually (not) be aware of that. Morgan (1980), for example, thinks that the common perception of organisations has been based on metaphors: "the organisation as an organism or a machine", he says, is a metaphor which is associated with the management theories of thinkers such as Taylor, Fayol and Weber.

The use of metaphors in research, therefore, conveys positive aspects. This is because they provide some imagery which can be observed mentally as well as seen in real life. That is why Hedlund (quoted by Peters, 1982), argues that in tumultuous times, metaphors and imagery are vitally important. In fact, they help the "troubled" mind to express their real thoughts by comparing their circumstances or views to real life objects and facts. This observation is very crucial for the social researcher who strives, as intensely as possible, to transcribe an objective picture of social facts which for Durkheim (1981), have special features and can therefore be objectively studied as physical objects. Based on this theory, metaphors can be perceived as important social constructions that can help the social scientist track down truth and reality. That is where could be perceived the importance of metaphors for this research on the experiences of refugees in Europe. It is often argued that refugees have been through traumatic experiences and psychological and social transformations, that their conditions of life in exile are not always enviable but often undesirable. However, as the literature review shows, merely refugees have been asked to describe, using their own imagery and comparison to real life objects and situations, what their experiences have been like. Probably, interviews and questionnaires administered in previous research have revealed good metaphors but these have not been the subjects of specific examination in the line of the present thesis. This metaphorical approach, in my view, is likely to enable researchers and policy makers alike to place themselves in the 'shoes' of the said vulnerable refugees, and feel

their feelings. In so doing, real policy, both sensitive and sensible (based on real life situations), can be formulated to tackle real issues faced with by refugees in Europe and worldwide. In social research particularly, metaphors can help generate theory of asylum that can inform decision-making. Haack (1994) puts it more eloquently:

A metaphorical presentation can be helpful to the goal of instruction if it makes a theory comprehensible to an audience unfamiliar with its technical vocabulary, or insufficiently sophisticated in its logical, mathematical or experimental techniques, to understand it in a literal presentation; or if, by inviting the audience to participate in figuring out the significant respects of comparison, it improves their understanding of the theory and memory for its details (in Hintikka, 1994:14).

This powerful exploration of the practical use of metaphor in the process of theorisation is an insight into what metaphors are capable of. It is clear that metaphors are implicit [sometimes explicit] comparisons. As such they invite the hearer to make analogies between what the speaker tries to compare. In the case of refugees, metaphors help the unfamiliar mind to understand the physical, psychological and social pains of fleeing and exile. The recent government policy to disperse refugees in the regions has had lessons to learn from. Populations in the regions traditionally unfamiliar with refugees are now asked to welcome them without preparation, with all the cultural and ethnic differences that living together with the 'aliens' comprises. My tour of the United Kingdom as part of my work with refugees has taught me that many people, both professionals and ordinary citizens, are not always aware of the refugee experience. Metaphors from refugees are therefore particularly appealing to these groups because they get the audience to catch the dynamic of fleeing and asylum

seeking by associating such experiences with more familiar and emotionally appealing ideas. Recently, as part of training sessions I run in the regions, I got my audience to 'imagine they had to flee, living behind all they love and all they spent whole lives to build'. Some participants recalled the recent flooding in the United Kingdom that led thousands to flee their homes and villages, leaving behind them desolation and ruin. That was an exercise that I took to the hearts of many in my training audiences.

Migrants have a message, or - 'a theory' as Haack puts it, to convey in order to plead their cause. As this theory has not always been understood or listened to, metaphors help to decode the meaning and essence of the experience. Burrell (2017) and Fogelin (1988) point out that metaphor is an interactive phenomenon in the sense that it is an utterance which a speaker intends his hearer to amplify and adjust. This process for the hearer is a process of 'confrontation' whereby he or she is invited to 'compare belief and experience' (Haack in Hintikka, 1994: 17). This idea by Haack says it all: metaphors convey a message of invitation to confront the unusual, the alien. As often refugees have not been given a voice, the present research intends to serve as a forum to send refugees' invitation to the popular, political and scientific minds to enter their arena and 'feel' their sentiments.

Given the strengths that have been highlighted in metaphor as a research tool, it would not be wrong to agree with Haack (1994) who observes that 'metaphors can be the training wheels of inquiry' (in Hintikka, 1994:16). It would also be difficult to go against Zemach (1994) who points to the fact that 'a good metaphor is, then, an invitation to a way of life' (in Hintikka, 1994:253). This invitation has something similar to, a participant observation, in which the research is called to behave like one of the population being studied so as to have real and

direct experience of their daily existence. Participant observation has been hailed as one of the most powerful and effective tools of investigation in the social sciences. Metaphor as a research tool does not only resemble participant observation in terms of the real experience it provide the research but it has something special in terms of knowledge production. Cummings (2000) enlightens us about this special nature arguing that

Metaphors organise knowledge in specific ways by drawing our attention to shared features of two objects or events which, at first, seem quite different. By giving us the words to describe the unknown, they lead us to generate new hypotheses about the world (Cummings, 2000).

However, using metaphor one may run the danger of turning the metaphor into interviews or discussions. To prevent this happening, great care should be taken about the approach by mainly giving clear instructions and agreeing on the practicalities with the respondents. In practice, in the present research, the use of metaphor consists of providing participants with the beginning of a series of metaphors which they are asked to complete. The self-completing sentences are intended as a guideline for participants.

The intention, here, as shown earlier, is to see what images refugees tend to associate with asylum. Initially, it had been proposed to collect only two metaphors, the first and the third in the list above. However, listening informally to a few refugees led to the addition of the remaining three, as many tended to relate some of the bad memories of their lives in exiles and their hopes for a hypothetical return to the homeland. There is no claim that the suggested metaphors above are the only nor the most popular among all groups of refugees

but the selection has simply been motivated by regularities in informal discussions as asserted above. In order to assist in the interpretation and discussion of the data, participants are asked to explain the metaphors that they formulate, however simple they may seem to be. Doing so, it is aimed to achieve accuracy in conveying the message that refugees have both for their host communities, voluntary workers, politicians and social researchers. The suggested metaphors may serve as guiding items for further investigation, perhaps outside of the present academic thesis.

Notwithstanding the positive aspects of metaphors, some problems attached to their use should not be neglected. Metaphors have some weaknesses that can impact on the research activity. There is a cultural dimension in metaphors that should be taken into account (Ferrando, 2019), especially with regard to research on migrants. Migrants come from a variety of cultures and they may express imagery which is seen or understood nowhere in the United Kingdom and Europe. It would, thus, be necessary to ask the respondents to explain some of the metaphors that are not accessible to the European mind. In the same way, most authors would agree that that one of the serious limitations of metaphors as a research tool is that they are often open-ended and unspecific, lacking directedness (Ferrando, 2019; Haack 1994). In fact, metaphors are figurative expressions and as such they may be seen as vague and unclear. In the present thesis, it could be a serious difficulty to overcome. This difficulty stands at two levels. First, as metaphors are not always accessible to every mind, there is a need to clarify them. The unclear nature of metaphor gives further ground to the unconverted to dismiss the story of exile as an exaggerated and carefully constructed story. This is all the more dangerous that we may fail in our attempt to get the message of refugees across to the

many stakeholders.

To resolve the problems, however, their ability to 'block' the dynamics of this research has been played down. Not only metaphors are thoroughly explained by the researcher to break cultural barriers, but the whole text of the thesis is supported by an extensive, though not necessarily comprehensive, review of the literature. This exercise prepares the minds for the positive understanding of the voice of refugees. In addition, the researcher is informed by Haack's (1994) idea that although metaphors may lack of specificity and directedness 'at the same time they invite a certain process of specification and fitting-in of details', and they are full of novelty, thus much needed, 'in the early and fumbling-around phases of inquiry' (in Hintikka, 1994:16).

Conclusion

It is not solely the cultural dimension that represents a difficulty in the use of metaphor in social research. Major strengths of the metaphor have been outlined earlier when it was asserted that metaphor enlightens and helps to find clarity, it can also "restrict other ways of seeing" (Cummings, 2000). This limitation applies here because the metaphors the participants provide in this research are shaped by the beginnings suggested to them by the researcher. The use of metaphor in migration research enable social science to capture the richness of the migrant experience, providing greater insights into the symbolic world of migrants.

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CHAPTER 13: NARRATIVE

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Shehnaz Tehseen

Introduction:

Narrative analysis as a prominent qualitative approach has been widely used in a wide variety of disciplines e.g., archaeology, anthropology, history, literary criticism, linguistics, political science, sociology, and psychology (Neuman, 2014). Narratives is a method to analyse the several features such as connected relationships and casual sequences. Furthermore, narratives are used to serve various purposes. Also, narrative analysis may constitute the examination of one specific story or a set of stories or even a large collection of stories. Narrative analysis serves an analytic frame whereby a researcher can interpret stories within a particular context of research (Sahlstein Parcell and Baker, 2017). A narrative, as a raw data refers to practice and text in social life. Narratives describe the subjective understandings and practices of people in their daily lives. Additionally, narratives are observed in verbal or non-verbal texts to describe the quality and understandings of lived experience. Through narratives, people can develop their identities and locate themselves both at macro and micro surroundings (Neuman, 2014).

Researchers who conduct narrative analysis can make diverse, substantial as well as meaningful interpretations along with conclusions by emphasizing on various elements. These elements involve the structure, functions, substance, and performance of stories (Sahlstein Parcell and Baker, 2017). According to Garson (2017), narrative analysis has been

considered better alternative to the psychological scales or survey research. Furthermore, this analysis is "empowering" the social science methodology that assists the respondents to articulate their evaluative standards and viewpoints. Narrative analysis has been popular amongst researchers from a wide variety of disciplines, e.g., folklore, communication studies, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and political science etc.. With many scholars on migration studies argue that migrants' stories are first experienced, and then communicated and told. This chapter is intended for addressing the methodological aspects of narrative analysis in migration scholarship. The chapter provides a review of the employment of narrative analysis to conduct empirical investigations that include migrants as participants. Narrative analysis has been deemed as an integral part of qualitative methods in migration studies and referred to as the examination of a sequentially told or narrated story, with a focus on how elements are chronologically ordered. Furthermore, narrative analysis is used to understand why some parts of the told story are assessed in a different way from others, and how the perceptions of both the past and the present correlate to each other and how such interactions determine the way the future is perceived. Finally, we feature how the use of narrative in migration research has enriched our understanding of the power of narratives in social sciences generally.

What is Narrative Research?

Though several scholars differentiate between narrative and story (Smith and Sparkes, 2008), social science usually uses these definitions as interchangeable terms (Riessman and Speedy, 2007; Spector-Mersel, 2010). Narrative inquiry is a multidisciplinary research area that deals with the tales that we share in our daily life. It is assumed that beings are storytelling beings

that through these tales make sense of their ever-changing globe (Murray, 2018). Narrative analysis is a category of analytic frames which is used by the researchers to interpret stories that have been told within the research context or/and have been shared in daily life. Lieblich, *et al.* (1998) defined narrative study as any study that uses or analyses the narrative materials. The narrative materials include data collected in a real-life story or in a different manner such as field notes, observations, or personal letters. Furthermore, a narrative study can be used for comparison among groups, to learn about historical period or social phenomenon, or to explore a personality (Lieblich, *et al.*, 1998). Researchers who perform such analysis generally make diverse substantial as well as meaningful interpretations along with conclusions by emphasizing on diverse elements. These different elements constitute the structure of the story, the functions which the story serves, the story's substance, and the way the story is performed. Communication researchers from various research backgrounds including quantitative and qualitative or traditional as well as postmodern conduct narrative analyses that makes it challenging to cover all its aspects (Sahlstein Parcell and Baker, 2017). By using the narratives in research, a researcher can add to the existing survey, experiment, traditional methods, and observation. That's why narrative methods have been considered as the essential part of social sciences' repertoire (Lieblich *et al.*, 1998). Narrative inquiries indicate the human stories of experience. Furthermore, narrative inquiries can provide rich frameworks to the researchers to investigate the ways the humans experience the world that is revealed through their stories (Webster and Mertova, 2007). Carr (1991) mentioned that narrative is not related to short-term elementary actions and experiences, but it pertains to longer-term sequences of actions, human events, and experiences.

In migration studies, the diversity of pathways and contexts of migration confronted by asylum seekers may be identified by qualifying narrative studies in particular. Although the

retrospective data are subject to standard limits, a thorough documentation of the myriad history of asylum would provide a platform for future longitudinal studies. And by having such information gathered in the process of asylum, a significant contribution can be made (Rasmussen, 2014). Therefore, Narratives are understood as normal, transformational interaction occurrences from an interpretational, post structuralist, realistic view. We are acting on and reacting from our own story worlds to our social environment (Cohen, 2012; Dalmau, 2015; De Fina, 2009; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008a; b; Fairclough, 2001; Wortham, 2001). In other words, they are regarded as wealthy historically based discursive activities, which highlight the methods in which we are negotiating who, where, and with whom we or we are not (Bamberg, *et al.*, 2007; De Fina, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2007). Inside the multiple interdisciplinary semiotics and discursive traditions that embrace this method, the technique of narrative has been highly productive in analysing identity management, in particular the study of migrant communities, and how their multidimensional identity-building initiatives intersect with the ways they discursively unmask their transnational lives (Bamberg, 2012; Dalmau, 2015; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2011; Georgakopoulou, 2006). In fact, since the early twentieth century, Indeed, since the early twentieth century (Dalmau, 2015; Spector-Mersel, 2010), narrative research has given a concise, extensive knowledge of the entry into migrant narrative discourse of multi-coloured self-ascribed and other-attributed social classifications. It has exhibited that such trans-local identity (non) affiliations are strongly related to the aspects in which social performers cope with (naturalize, adopt, overlook, battle or resist) incidents of social inequality in their host communities, including racialization and stereotyping behaviours (Baynham, 2003; 2005; Dalmau, 2015; De Fina, 2003; De Fina and King, 2011; Lanza, 2012; Relaño-Pastor, 2010; Relaño-Pastor and De Fina, 2005).

The Narrative Inquiry Procedure:

The Narrative Paradigm

Moon and Blackman (2014) pinpoint that the ability to comprehend philosophy is essential because social science study can only be meaningfully understood if there is clarity about the choices made that influence the research outcomes. Some of these choices are built, not always knowingly, on some significant philosophical principles. Furthermore, philosophy offers the overall values of theoretical reasoning, a technique of perception, interpretation and self-awareness, which are all used to gain understanding of realities and to design, perform, analyse and interpret studies and their results (Moon and Blackman, 2014). According to Spector-Mersel (2010) the narrative procedure involves a unique category of studies, but it also includes a definite view of the social world and how we perceive, feel and perform ourselves in it. The narrative strategy is nothing other than a paradigm at the current point of its advancement (Spector-Mersel, 2010). In this regard, we present below a six-dimensional paradigm of narrative analysis developed by Spector-Mersel (2010, pp. 211 - 8).

Ontology: To know how we can learn about what happens in the human world (Moon and Blackman, 2014) the narrative paradigm is based upon the constructivist paradigm, with its phenomenological and hermeneutical origins and the post-structuralist paradigm, the construction, fluidity and multi-dimensionality of social reality. But in its focus on the story-telling nature of human behaviour (Sarbin, 1986), the narrative paradigm has specifically maintained that social reality is mainly a narrative representation. That does not imply that we actually create narratives from nothing but that there is a shared connection between existence and narrative, as already outlined. The comprehension of stories stresses the key

role of narratives in our life (Spector-Mersel, 2010). By means of storytelling we achieve a feeling of continuity and identity (Alasuutari, 1997; Gergen and Gergen, 1988; McAdams, 1993), understand our culture, and modify our behaviour (Kenyon and Randall, 1997). On a collective level, social reality is also narrativistic: families live by stories passed from generation to generation, nations and religions shape their common identity by means of stories, the media convey the world to us. And due to its holistic nature, which bring together multiple aspects, such as perception, emotion and motive (Birren, 1996); uniqueness, culture and universality (Ruth and Kenyon, 1996); a dual environment of intervention and awareness (Bruner, 1987); past, present and future (Freeman, 1993) these multiple narrative features are possible (Spector-Mersel, 2010).

Epistemology: Referred to as 'study of knowledge', epistemology deals with everything from validity, scope and knowledge acquisition techniques, including a) what represents a claim for knowledges; b) how knowledge can be gained or generated; and c) how it can be evaluated in terms of its transferability. Epistemology is essential because it affects how scientists structure their studies into understanding (Moon and Blackman, 2014). The narrative paradigm assumes that we know ourselves and our environment through subjective and culturally embedded interpretation procedures, where the lines between ontology and epistemology blur. The narrative epistemology has a straightforward understanding of the conditions of our stories. Firstly, stories are embedded in the present condition of the narrator. From the present's perspective, history or future is always told. Secondly, no narrative, even so lengthy and comprehensive, can contain it all. Thus, any story is the consequence of a conscious and unconscious choice from different options within our history of life (Rosenthal, 2004). Thirdly, narratives are rooted in three areas: the instant intersubjective relations in which they were created; the group-based social field in which

they grown and the cultural meta-narratives that make any specific narrative meaningful (Zilber, *et al.*, 2008). Given these influences, our stories are obviously not only our exclusive creations, yet we are only their co-authors (Ruth and Kenyon, 1996). We have great liberty to "write" our stories, but this freedom is restricted by the backgrounds we share with them, by the *honourable* stories that exist in culture at a certain moment and by social structural elements such as age, sex, ethnicity, class, health, marital status and financial status (Spector-Mersel, 2010).

Methodology: Qualitative scholars use an impressive variety of (1) data-serving materials; (2) techniques of gathering or generating these materials; and (3) techniques of analysing and interpreting. The narrative approach differentiates primarily in the first and third dimensions from other qualitative methodologies, although in the second aspect it has unique features. In terms of study data, narrative methodology focuses on narratives in conformity with narrative ontology and epistemology. If social reality is a narrative reality, then narratives are the natural channel for studying it, on its many levels: personal (self-narratives), collective (narratives of groups, organizations, nations), cultural ("honourable" key-plots) and universal (e.g., cognitive processes). The data of any narrative research are, therefore, stories — written and oral, personal and collective, autobiographical "big" stories and "small stories", as conceptualised by Bamberg (2008) and in an earlier paper by Georgakopoulou (2006). Some of the stories that we wish to examine have already been told, such as published autobiographies or historical texts, hence we need to locate the relevant stories according to the criteria set out. Nevertheless, many of the stories that interest us will be told only during research. Here we may distinguish between stories collected through observation and those produced during interview. In the first case the stories are told in the "natural" framework of the narrators' lives and their direct audience is not the researcher. For instance,

Georgakopoulou (2007) conducted a study of three Greek women, based on audio-taped data that two of the participants recorded wearing audio-microphones. By comparison, stories are developed for investigators in interviews— the most frequently used tool in narrative research — the stories are communicated and affected by the storyteller's understanding of the purpose of the research, the reasons beyond their intention to tell the story and their interpersonal interaction. For example, George and Selimos (2018) conducted interviews with newcomer immigrants in a mid-size city in Ontario, Canada to solicit their experiences and attachments to the social domains that constitute their everyday life in the city (George, *et al.*, 2017). These methodological criteria make the methodology of narrative unique, which corresponds to the appeal made by Atkinson and Delamont (2006) to *save* narrative inquiries from many implementations in qualitative studies, emphasizing the need for an analytical position rather than just going to town on such implementations (Spector-Mersel, 2010).

Inquiry purpose: The aims of the narrative research range from internal, emotional and behavioural issues in terms of psychological issues to sociological, anthropological and historical issues in migration studies (e.g., Cappelletto and Merler, 2003; Connor, *et al.*, 2014; Ortega-Alcazar and Dyck, 2012; Salma, *et al.*, 2018; Sloodjes, *et al.*, 2018; Vamos, *et al.*, 2018). Between them are linguistic and interpersonal processes which consider storytelling as a communication medium (e.g., Dalmau, 2018; Gimenez and Morgan, 2017). Many scholars want to know how people as individuals and groups form their identities with narratives (e.g., Abadia, *et al.*, 2018; Barcus and Shugatai, 2018; Mcghee, *et al.*, 2018; Müller-Funk, 2019; Rubins, 2014). Some seek to expand their knowledge about the identities of people (Spector-Mersel, 2010): they study autonomous narratives, especially life stories, assuming that these are fully or partially expressed by the narrators (e.g., Alasuutari, 1997; McAdams, 1993; Polkinghorne, 1991). Furthermore, scholars frequently concentrate on the narrative identities

of individuals with particular conditions like circumstances related to migration and asylum (Sabar-Ben Yehoshua, 2000).

Inquirer stance: At the point of interpretation, the inability to separate the investigator from the studied phenomenon is further highlighted. The narrative paradigm emphasizes that while positivism considers that the researcher is neutral and free of values and "biases," the investigator reads narratives through a prism of values, images, stereotypes, tendencies and personality characteristics. The study report therefore always represents a partial version of the truth. The scientist tells stories just like the participants do. Consequently, the narration of the investigator is not more accurate than the stories of the respondents or any alternative interpretations (Spector-Mersel, 2010).

- Narrator stance: The final study report is especially characterized by shared control between the researchers and participants. Most narrative scientists share with the respondents the drafts of their reports, requesting for their approval and often their remarks. All in all, it is widely agreed that the voice of the narrators should be heard clearly in any report in narrative research, mainly via the inclusions of extensive quotations of the narrators using their own phrases and expressions (Spector-Mersel, 2010).

Narrative analysis data sources and forms

Normally, migration scholars evaluate stories from a broad range of sources. For analytical reasons, they may purposely be engaging in collecting narratives from different sources, such as gathering verbally narrated biographies or conducting interviews focusing on stories about a given sort of experience or sequence of events. Thus, *real-life* pieces, such as journals,

diaries, social media posts and speeches where stories are told, (i.e. inter-personal conversation, public addresses), can then also be explored by scholars conducting narrative analysis. (Sahlstein Parcell and Baker, 2017). Although narrative analysis constitutes many different frameworks. However, four general forms of narrative analysis are used for a given study. These four general forms include structural, functional, thematic, and dialogic/performance. The structural form of narrative analyses deals with the examination of specific characteristics of the story, e.g., plot elements. Functional form of narrative analyses describes the objectives of the given storytelling moment. It involves such questions for instance, “What is the objective of the story?” and “What is the benefit of how or when the story was told to the narrator?” Thematic analyses deal with the study of narratives’ substance and determine the motifs which exist in stories, and types of stories that are told such as survivor narratives, stories of grief, counter narratives, and master narratives etc and stories’ genre such as comedy and drama etc. The dialogic/performance of narrative analyses focus on examining the issues, for instance, where, how, and to whom the story is told and how story speaks to wider discourses in a given culture or community (Sahlstein Parcell and Baker, 2017).

Narrative Research in Migration Studies

Over the past 17 years, academic interest in migration studies has grown unprecedentedly. Presently, there are more than three times as many issues and original publications produced

as with the early 2000's. For example, the Qualitative Migration Research in Europe (QMR-E) papers continued to grow in amount during this era and accounted for almost one-quarter of the overall original papers published in the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (JEMS) and Ethnic and Racial Studies (ERS) (Yalaz and Zapata-Barrero, 2018). The investigation by Yalaz and Zapata-Barrero (2018) also shows that QMR-E papers are varied in terms of their qualitative techniques and designs, communities and research locations, how they classify migrants, their analytical stages, and the main migration topics they concentrate on. Notwithstanding, we can still claim that European Migration Studies' growing interest in qualitative research makes it obvious that migration researchers concentrate on thorough investigation of their scenarios and have direct interaction with the respondents (Yalaz and Zapata-Barrero, 2018).

The narrative research practices are prominent in contemporary migration studies for studying life histories of migrants (Apitzsch and Siouti, 2007; Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). The value of researching lived experience, intentionality, subjectivity, and description of migration-related processes, phenomena as well as understanding of migrants' lives' crucial aspects through biographical methods depends on the efforts to overcome the inadequacies and flaws of the positivist-empiricist and variable-oriented migration research (Vargas-Silva, 2012). However, an extreme scepticism twist was taken as the reaction against empirical researches in migration-related processes and phenomena and processes due to the employment of biographical and qualitative methods (Vargas-Silva, 2012). Therefore, for instance, social constructionists have rejected the biographical narratives' references, data, and material by biographical narrative and narrators regarding the social realities outside life-history reconstruction (Iosifides, 2018). The investigation emphasizes on the 'discursive practices' which the narrators use to mention the life trajectories (Iosifides and Sporton,

2009). Therefore, an immigrant's narrative about trajectory of social mobility and spatial in the host country regarding the passing of different phases and stages have led towards the social situation's and relation's modification that are regarded as discourses or interpretations. Since those discourses/interpretations exhaust the social domain, therefore, they cannot inform regarding the reality at the back of told story (Iosifides and Sporton, 2009). Moreover, the biographical narratives in the migration studies' field can lead to deeper and much better understanding regarding the social processes and can assist in the process of policy making (Iosifides and Sporton, 2009). Vargas-Silva (2012) suggests that the immigrants' extended biographic accounts and in-depth narrative interviews with them are the best possible options to begin the immigrants' research which could be an interview or complement to various other techniques involving the participants' observation. Some studies have used narrative methods to get useful insights from stories of immigrants for policy making process. For instance, Curry, *et al.* (2018) used narratives of refugees to determine their successful resettlement in New South Wales, Australia. By using the narrative method, the semi-structured interviews conducted in 2016 with nine refugee participants revealed challenges that they faced in relation to social networks and relationships, employment, and support services. The authors suggested the resettlement policies based on narrative stories of refugees for their successful resettlement.

Conclusion – *So, tell me about your story*

Stories are the way individuals communicate about their own history, their internal thinking, mental status and the manner they view their own realities. The employment of narrative inquiry in the context of migration studies have become more popular recently, mainly as

consequence of a reaction to positivist-empiricist dominance and related concepts of social reality (Iosifides and Sporton, 2009), attracting the attention of many researchers that study samples of migrants. Aiming at articulating narrative analysis in migration scholarship, we explored the conceptual definitions of narratives and their analytics in general (and within migration studies in particular). Furthermore, we presented the six-factor philosophical paradigm comprising: ontology, epistemology, methodology, inquiry purpose, inquirer stance, and narrator posture developed by Spector-Mersel (2010) and offered a review of data sources for narrative analyses (i.e., collecting verbal histories, conducting interviews, and interpreting stories reported in real life artefacts). In addition, four general forms of narrative analysis including structural, functional, thematic, and dialogic/performance are used for a given study were discussed. Overall, narrative methods can be an invaluable procedure to gain valid insights about migrants' life's experiences and trajectories through analysing their stories. However, certain issues should be taken into consideration when choosing narrative analysis for qualitative investigations. For example, people memories tend to be *selective* in narrative inquiries. People remember 'what they can' and perhaps, intentionally or unintentionally, drop some occurrences off their stories (Muylaert, *et al.*, 2014). From this point of view, it is important that the investigators know that the participants narrate what they experienced as perceived by them but not the exact facts themselves. Also, for external validity matters, we would argue that a representation for all of the subjects in the target population is firstly addressed. Once such an issue has been satisfied you would look at 12-40 participants or more as a sample size, if available resources allowed for that. This means a narrative research can sometimes be a challenging long journey. References

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PART 5 – CASE STUDIES

This part examines migrant's contribution to social policy frameworks in host countries. The migrant lived experiences themselves are sources of learning for host countries, which use the migrant resource to frame social policies fit for the 21st century globalizing world in which the socio-economic fabric is no constant change. This part presents three practical cases that exemplify migrant contribution in vital social policy areas in the UK in the past two decades, e.g. the Stephen Lawrence report, the Victoria Climbié report which help develop robust policing frameworks as well as Child Protection policies which are currently internationally interpreted and applied.

CHAPTER 14 - MIGRANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

Iren Ikafa

Introduction

This chapter explores the contributions of migrants to social policy reforms in Australia. Australia is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world. About a quarter of the population are migrants who were born overseas, and about half have parents who were born overseas (ABS, 2018). Historically, migrants have contributed significantly to the growth of Australian population and economy (Wright et al, 2016). After World War II, the Australian government instigated significant migration programs to boost the population and stimulate the post-war economy and encouraged migrants from Europe to migrate to Australia (Jupp, 2001). Following the introduction of the multicultural policy in the 1970s, the government accepted migrants from all parts of the world and resettled refugees (Muli, Pittaway, & Shteir, 2009). Nearly 7 million migrants have been resettled in Australia, including over 700,000 forced migrants or refugees (Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP), 2014).

Migrants also contribute to the human impact through employment and labour market. If migrants have advanced skills, knowledge and are healthy, they can contribute to wealth of the country however, if this is not the case, they would have to depend on the government's social welfare schemes. Most economic migrants who come to Australia are skilled migrants with advanced qualifications and skills, and contribute to human capital (Carrington et al., 2004).

Migrants bring new culture, language food and music from their home countries which contribute to culture diversity in Australia (Collins, 2003; Poynting et al., 2004). Besides, migrants make contributions by generating businesses and making connections in local and international businesses (Zimmermann, 2005).

Additionally, migrants contribute to fiscal impact by working in various industries such as health, hospitality, sports, education, horticulture, and contribute to the wealth of Australia (Wright et al, 2016). As a result of their participation, skilled migrants also add to the

Australian government's revenue through taxation. Overall, migrants contribute to the growth of population and to human, social, and fiscal policy reforms in Australia.

Population growth

Australia is among the most culturally diverse countries in the world. According to Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2016), about a quarter of the Australian population are migrants who were born overseas and half have parents who were born overseas. Historically, migrants have contributed significantly to the growth of Australian population and economy (Wright et al, 2016). After World War II, the Australian government instigated migration programs to boost the population in order to stimulate the post-war economy and encouraged migrants from Europe to migrate to Australian (Jupp, 2001). Following the introduction of the multicultural policy in 1970s, the government recruited and accepted non-European migrants and migrants from other parts of the world and resettled many humanitarian entrants as part of its program (Muli, Pittaway, & Shteir, 2009). Approximately 7 million migrants were resettled in Australia, including over 700,000 forced migrants or refugees (DIBP, 2014; Price, 1986).

The number of migrants worldwide is increasing. Economic migrants are moving from one to other countries to seek better life opportunities for themselves and their children (Ikafa & Perry 2019). The international migrants rose from 154 million in 1990 to 244 million in 2015 (United Nations, 2015). The OECD countries such as Australia and Canada have been the main destinations for economic migrants (IOM 2015). Hence, the change in economic migration program in Australia. Over the past two decades the government has focused on attracting highly skilled migrants on permanent and temporary skilled visas and to offset the effects of Australians migrating to other countries. For example, 2015, 89,540 Australians moved permanently, and 74,200 moved for over a year to other countries and they were highly skilled professionals in demand and included scientists and engineers (Markus et al, 2009).

In addition, migrants are making positive contributions to the labour market and the economy in regional and rural areas. The government has also expanded permanent and temporary

visas to encourage migrants to move to regional and rural areas due to challenges in attracting skilled migrants in these areas (Hugo, 2004).

Human capital, employment and labour market

The human capital is most apparent in employment and labour market but also has a wider application in other areas such as health (Carrington et al., 2004). Economic migrants contribute to human capital through employment and labour market by offsetting the ageing population in the workforce and raising the bar of Australia's per capita growth (PCG). Skilled migrants in particular possess advanced qualifications and skills, and prospective employers can contract them to fill skill shortages which are hard to find in the local labour market (Hack-Polay & Mendy 2018; McDonald, 2015). Migrants make outstanding contributions by increasing the workforce and consequently, increase productivity growth in organisations (Hugo 2014). Additionally, skilled migrants are normally employed in high paying jobs and contribute to the wealth of the country (Productivity Commission, 2016).

The health of migrants is another important human capital factor that benefits Australia's workforce. Australia practises stringent pre-migration screening to ensure that all new migrants on permanent visas have good health on arrival to Australia and they are provided medicare to ensure they can access medical health care services when needed. Most migrants are healthier than their Australian borne counterpart, which is reflected in the workforce (Anikeeva et al, 2010). In general, migrants make notable contributions to human capital via employment, labour market, good health, and being independent of social welfare payments.

Social impact

Migrants bring new culture, food and music from their home countries which contribute to culture diversity in Australia (Collins, 2003; Poynting et al., 2004). Likewise, migrants make contributions by generating businesses, making connections in local and international businesses, which consequently enhance international trade agreements and create a positive image of Australia at the international level (Zimmermann, 2005).

Furthermore, countries with a greater cultural diversity stand a better chance of effectively adjusting to fast-changing atmosphere in a global world because their cultural diversity bridge

social capital gaps and promote tolerance (Putman, 2000). Migrants also make major contribution to social capital through language, and fostering tolerance as well as understanding (Carrington et al., 2004).

Fiscal impact, productivity and innovation

Migrants make contributions to fiscal impact via government revenue through taxes. According to Wright et al (2016) economic migrants make a positive fiscal impact because the Australian migration program selects skilled migrants who are younger and can participate in the workforce. For example, temporary 457 skilled visa holders make substantial contribution as they are often employed in high-paying jobs and do not have access to social welfare payments or settlements services, and they are unlikely to stay permanently in Australia (Larsen, 2013).

Most skilled migrants possess high level qualifications and make enormous contributions to productivity growth rate, and help to facilitate innovation at organisational and national levels (Pharham et al., 2015). Migrants bring innovative ideas and assist organisations to develop new technology, engaging in research, and improving business models in various industries (Jensen, 2014; Freeman, 2015). Importantly, skilled migrants obtain well paid employment that utilise their skills. As a result, unemployment is low in this cohort of migrants, and they integrate well into the Australian labour market compared to other OECD countries (Hawthorne, 2013; Productivity Commission, 2016).

Furthermore, international students contribute billions of dollars to the fiscal impact and higher education sector, and boosting jobs and wages in cities and regional areas. Example, the international education income value rose from \$1.2 billion in 1991/92 to \$18.8 billion in 2014/15 in Australia (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2007). Wright et al (2016) also reports that international students are allowed to work up to 40 hours per fortnight, and thus, they make contribution to the workforce in industries like retail and hospitality.

Additionally, working holiday makers are now holding various temporary visas and are making major contributions to labour market in industries such as horticulture in regional and rural

areas of Australia (Wright et al, 2016). Majority of working holidaymakers go to regional areas to work in farms, particularly picking fruits and vegetable (Boucher, 2016).

Conclusion

The conclusion drawn from this chapter is that Australia is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world and migrants contribute to the growth of population, and to human, social and fiscal policy reforms in Australia. Traditionally, migrants have contributed significantly to the growth of population and economy of Australian. Migrants also continue to contribute to social capital policy reforms by generating businesses, making connections in local and international businesses, which enhance international trade agreements and create a positive image of Australia at the international level. In addition, migrants make remarkable contributions to human capital through the labour market and productivity growth in various industries. Furthermore, migrants make significant contributions to fiscal impact via government revenue through taxes. International students also contribute billions of dollars to the government revenue and higher education sector. In addition, working holiday makers are now holding various temporary visas, and they are making notable contributions to labour market in industries such as horticulture. Overall, migrants contribute to population growth, and to human, social, and fiscal policy reforms in Australia.

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CHAPTER 15: A HUMBLE SERVANT FOR QUEEN AND EQUALITY

Magdalena Read

INTRODUCTION

Migrants' contribution to the socio-economic development of the country is widely debated. When the Migration Advisory Committee (2018) published the most comprehensive evidence-based assessment on the impact of migration in the UK, this contribution became more apparent.

This case study reveals an example of an amazing contribution by looking with a big lens at the life of an ordinary but remarkable Jamaican citizen (now a British citizen) who unwittingly influenced policymaking in diversity and equality, the criminal justice system and social inclusion. It shows how simple acts can lead to something big. One does not need to be in power to influence policy change.

This chapter examines how Sidney McFarlane (the case study), a fervent believer in egalitarianism, retained his loyalty to the UK and became a role model to other migrants, despite facing numerous instances of institutional discrimination. It starts with the exploration of the life of the case study from his country of origin and the 'whys and how's' of his adventure to the UK which is perceived by people like him as 'Mother Country'. The story goes on to explore the dire reality of being an immigrant including a life in service where he was confronted with moral dilemma of needing to be loyal to his host county whilst battling with prejudice from his white contemporaries. The story reveals Sidney's brevity and attitude towards prejudice. How he perceived himself made a huge difference to his humble approach to integration. His dedication and courage along with his passion for community service, led him receiving one of the country's national honours, the MBE, also one of the highest honours that can be bestowed upon a lay person in the Catholic Church, 'the Benemerenti Medal', as well as one of Jamaica's national honours 'the Badge of Honour for Meritorious Service'. The story is concluded with an epilogue from the case study and the lessons he wanted to impart to every reader.

About Sidney

Way back home

Sidney was born in Jamaica in 1935, where he attended St Aloysius Boys' School and Kingston Technical College. He arrived in the UK from Jamaica in 1955, a year after the end of food rationing. Along with thousands of others from the Caribbean, he answered the call from what people in the colonies knew as the Mother Country, where the need for labour to help rebuild Britain was acute. For many from the Caribbean it was also seen as an opportunity to escape

the limitations of small island life, see the world and earn good money, with the intention of returning to the Caribbean in style.

In Jamaica he could have gone on to post-16 education but was forced to leave school because his parents could not afford to pay the fees. Although secondary education was free in the UK following introduction of the 1944 Education Act, this was not the case in the colonies. Nevertheless, he arrived in the UK as a skilled worker and expected to gain employment in a position that fitted his experience and qualifications.

Settling in his new territory

In hindsight, Sidney was perhaps somewhat naïve as to the extent of prejudice and discrimination he would face. When he left Jamaica, he had been working as a cost account clerk but was unable to find an employer who would take him on in that role. The reality of the situation was brought home to him when a personnel manager at British Oxygen Company in Edmonton, north London, said he would have loved to take him on in the office, but the staff would not have accepted him. Perhaps you should try the factory floor, the manager suggested, which was presumably his way of being helpful. Regardless of how experienced or well-qualified a black colonial migrant was, it was not enough to get over the hurdle of the colour bar on certain occupations.

As the money he had saved in Jamaica became depleted and the thought of claiming the dole from the “National Assistance Board” was anathema to him, he ended up working on the London Transport Executive (LTE) buses, out of Hackney Depot having decided that being a bus conductor was a cleaner occupation than a factory hand. A fellow Jamaican he trained with at LTE Chiswick Depot found himself the cause of a “lightning strike” at Camberwell Green Depot where he worked. Thankfully, Sidney did not face similar action at Hackney Depot. Nevertheless, the experiences of everyday racism on the buses, with people, for example, reluctant to touch his hand when he gave them their ticket or change, was another reminder of the all-pervasive prejudice of the time.

Sidney was not the sort of person to let knock-backs get in the way of his aspirations to make a success of migration. Neither was he someone who would abandon his principles by adopting a similarly prejudiced approach as the one he had experienced – he remains convinced that not all indigenous people harboured the same dispiriting racist attitudes.

He didn't realise that two years after being in the UK he would become eligible for national service in the armed forces. He strongly challenged the legality of this decision, but was told that under the National Service Act 1948, migrants arriving from colonies that had not gained independence were deemed to be as British as the indigenous population. He was legally eligible to be conscripted for National Service, after he had been domiciled in the UK for a minimum of two years. The idea of being in the armed forces filled him with dread, and he made increasingly desperate efforts to amass the funds to return to Jamaica. However, he was convinced by his wife Gwen, who, based on her enquiries, appreciated better than Sidney the much-improved pay (including marriage allowance) for regulars, and more generous leave entitlement and subsidised travel.

The case study had been politically active in Jamaica as part of the pre-independence generation, and for him pursuing education to the fullest was a must. Like Sidney, migrants coming to the UK to find jobs are more likely to be overqualified for their jobs (Altorjai, 2013; Fernández-Reino, and Rienzo, 2018; Johnston, et al, 2015; McCollum and Finlay 2015; Shelley, 2007).

A LIFE OF SERVICE

Life in the Royal Air Force

Sidney joined the RAF in 1957. He is one of the many ethnic minorities from the colonies sacrificing their lives to serve for the country but their contribution to the war (both First and Second) has largely been forgotten (Brennan, 2015; Lord Bilimoria, 2012; Talking Humanities, 2018). Within the first year of the two-year mandatory National Service in the Royal Air Force (RAF), he converted to regular service, and subsequently served for 30 years, progressing through the ranks from aircraftman to commissioned officer.

After his retirement from the RAF he was engaged by the Ministry of Defence for 12 years as a civil servant, employed on recruiting and selection duties. After 42 years of exemplary service in and out of uniform, he retired from selection duties at the Officers and Aircrew Selection Centre at RAF Cranwell. During his RAF career Sidney was awarded three Commander-in-Chief (C-in-C) commendations for outstanding service during tours of duty in the Middle East and with NATO forces in the Netherlands and Germany. C-in-C's commendations are awarded annually to all ranks who meet the criteria of above-average to outstanding performance in their primary and secondary duties, and who demonstrate involvement in a variety of sporting/recreational and other voluntary activities and cultural life of the RAF station.

Having converted from National Service to Regular service he soon recognised that a career prospect in the RAF were much better than a return to civilian life. This is despite the prevailing challenges/barriers which meant that many native servicemen had remained intensely hostile to migrants from the Caribbean and Africa.

A particularly strong memory among Caribbean servicemen who served during the war was the racial prejudice they suffered at recruitment and during service (Talking Humanities, 2018; The Guardian, 2019). Nevertheless, the RAF offered Sidney many educational and cultural opportunities in addition to a reasonably good career. For example, he responded to an appeal for volunteers interested in playing a musical instrument and becoming a member of the RAF Station Band. After six months learning and practicing, he became an accomplished Bass Trombone player in time for the first formal Air Officer Commanding (AOC) annual parade. He later pursued Open University studies (80% funded by the MOD) and graduated with a BA (Hons) degree in Psychology.

Whilst in service, Sidney faced racist attitudes and remarks, which were often described as a 'Freudian slip', or as banter by many contemporaries and some senior non-commissioned officers (NCOs). According to Heath and Di Stacio (2019), stereotyping may lead to the

unwarranted generalization of negative characteristics to the ethnic group as a whole. In 1968 the new Race Relations Act was introduced. Prior to the introduction of the Act, racial discrimination was not prohibited in Britain. During that time, 'it was standard to see signs, 'no blacks', 'no dogs', 'no Irish' and racial discrimination were legal in Britain (Verma, 2018).

The case study would often challenge racist remarks and attitudes directed to him by making it clear that a second Freudian slip would trigger a formal complaint to his or her superior. The Complaints and Redress grievance procedures were dealt with under the Disciplinary Code of Queens Regulations, whereas there was no such equivalent system in civilian life!

Another barrier that he had to surmount was the perception held by some officers and senior NCOs that most 'West Indian chaps' tend to carry chips on their shoulders, were very easily offended, could not be trusted and were therefore difficult to manage. According to Heath and Di Stacio (2019), the presence of such negative beliefs may explain why racial discrimination persists. Sidney believed that this perception had to be eliminated if the careers of West Indian servicemen were to prosper. He successfully challenged and changed this perception by raising the matter with his superiors at every opportunity, not only for himself but on behalf of other ethnic minority airmen. In addition, he combined this approach with a self-appointed mentoring role in which he strongly encouraged fellow West Indians to consistently perform their duties to the best of their abilities, and above all not to breach Queens' Regulations disciplinary code of conduct, as this would adversely affect their progress.

Despite his education, Sidney faced many challenges and/or barriers to career progression in the junior ranks and service to the UK. A recent study conducted by Heath and Di Stacio (2019), revealed that 'black Caribbean's have faced significantly greater risks of discrimination in employment than the white minority groups. They concluded that, "the persistence of subtle racism in the form of negative stereotypes and beliefs about non-Europeans' aptitudes and skills might help to explain the stability over time of the risks of discrimination faced by these groups" (Heath and Di Stacio, 2019:24).

Despite the unequivocal discrimination that he endured, Sidney saw himself as an ambassador for Jamaica and Jamaicans. As with many migrants from the Caribbean of the time, he did not want to afflict. In the RAF, there was an attitude among NCOs and officers that led to view West Indians as only capable of certain undemanding tasks, and as a result they were often not given the opportunity to be tested with supposedly challenging jobs. Annual performance appraisals would often generate poor and below-average outcomes due to these unfair assumptions and perceptions, which were disadvantageous to career progression for minorities. The case study challenged the status quo of unequal opportunity, not only for himself, but also for others who were similarly subjected to institutional racism. To help overcome those barriers Sidney set goals and developed clear strategies to navigate pathways to achieve those goals. One goal was to attain Warrant Officer rank before completing 22 years' service (minimum requirement for pension eligibility); that he achieved on completion of 18 years' service. His coping strategy was underpinned by his faith, which has been central to his life. Research suggests that religion plays a vital role in helping migrants to cope with discrimination and related challenges that they face in the host country (Ikafa and Hack-Polay; 2019; Wald, 2004; Hashimi, 2011). In addition, the case study person's

outstanding personal qualities of integrity, leadership and propensity to serve others were vital to his perseverance and career advancement in the service. His personal qualities commanded respect from both superiors and subordinates alike; his exemplary conduct for which he was awarded the RAF Long Service and Good Conduct medal, was another significant quality that made him a person of influence throughout his career.

With limited anti-discrimination and equality legislation in existence in the 1950s and 1960s, redress often depended on an individual having to fight lonely battles. Sidney's inclination was not to rush to judgement or immediately react to discrimination and prejudice, instead preferring to let his abilities speak for themselves. With a lot of perseverance, he made his way through the junior ranks to become a senior NCO, employed as the Personal Assistant to several Group Captains (Station Commanders), usually the most senior officer commanding an RAF station. One of the essential requirements for fulfilling this post included first-rate competency in shorthand writing. In that role he lost count of the times that fellow service personnel would ignore him, as some just could not compute that an African Caribbean serviceman could be in such a position of responsibility. He recalled an incident in 1969, when he had to put one such incredulous individual (a Flight Lieutenant) right by pointing out that things do change, and society moves on, by simply reminding him politely that a man had just landed on the moon. On another occasion he was selected to join the Air Attaches' staff in Venezuela, but was unable to take up the post as the Foreign Office refused to issue him with a Diplomatic passport because he was not "UK born", even though he was in his 19th year of service in the RAF. This is a somber reality faced by African Caribbean immigrants to the UK who fell victims of the Windrush Scandal (Grant, 2019).

Through many such trials and tribulations, he maintained the attitude that he would not let it get him down or stop him from achieving his goals. This meant that on occasions when challenging inappropriate offensive or racist remarks, he would 'bite his tongue' mindful not to risk breaching the RAF disciplinary code. He also had to work considerably harder than his white contemporaries to achieve a similar rate of progression (Grant, 2019; Altorjai, 2013; Fernández-Reino, and Rienzo, 2018; Johnston, et al, 2015; McCollum and Finlay 2015; Shelley, 2007). Whilst serving with NATO forces, and following the encouragement and recommendation of his commanding officer and his wife's support, he was selected for officer training, graduating as a commissioned officer in 1979 and rising to the rank of Squadron Leader.

The case study had always believed in giving something back to society through community involvement and other endeavours. He perceived himself as an African Caribbean UK citizen who has successfully integrated not in a passive way but through actively leading the way as far as he could. His duty of service in the RAF continued into civilian life.

Community activism

Recognition for altruism

The case study worked tirelessly for Marriage Care for almost two decades; firstly, as local chairman for Lincolnshire, and later as the national chairman for six years. The organisation

offers free service to anyone who needs help with their relationship whether people are married or unmarried, or in a homosexual relationship. As a registered charity, Marriage Care:

- helps people with relationship difficulties;
- designs and runs programmes for couples preparing for marriage;
- provides relationship and emotional literacy education resources for schools and youth organisations.

The organisation has existed for over 60 years and covers 56 centres throughout England and Wales. The case study was the first black ethnic minority national chairman of the Board of Trustees 2002 – 2008. His appointment was reported in the *Catholic News* newspaper and in local and national newspapers. In recognition of his tireless service with Marriage Care, Sidney was awarded one of the highest honours that can be bestowed upon a lay person in the Catholic church – the ‘Benemerenti Medal’ by His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI in February 2011, following recommendation by the Bishop for the Diocese of Nottingham, Bishop Malcom Mahon. The award is given to people who have exhibited long and exceptional service to the Catholic Church.

Sidney was also heavily involved with the Jamaican Diaspora UK. The movement takes a very active interest in a variety of topics representing a wide cross-section of society, including health and social welfare, culture, arts and sports, youth, religious affairs, trade and investment and education. The Diaspora movement helps Jamaicans who live and work in the UK to engage in the development of their home country, providing them with support should they need it. Sidney’s voluntary role for over two decades involved being a Lincolnshire representative and member of the East Midlands team, organising visits for the Jamaican High Commissioner’s tours, and attending meetings and conferences. It also included giving motivational talks to BAME communities using his own experiences to encourage young people to make the most of the opportunities that are available to them. He remains passionate about helping people achieve their full potential and finds the positive feedback from motivational talks most rewarding. In 2011 Sidney was honoured by the Jamaican Government, when he was presented with the Badge of Honour for Meritorious Service by Jamaica’s Governor General, at a ceremony at King’s House in Jamaica, for his voluntary service to the Jamaican Diaspora in England. The award is equivalent to the OBE.

Sidney has long held the view that one should devote some of their life to helping and serving others less fortunate than one’s self. This sense of service perhaps began initially from his early childhood serving as an altar-boy, with continuous development throughout adulthood and became embedded during his RAF service. His faith has been central to his life and he firmly believes that to be a good Christian you must be willing to help others. It was therefore not surprising that following his retirement from the RAF Sidney had taken up several voluntary roles, which have had a huge impact on both organisations and individuals who seek help from them.

In 1999, Sidney was awarded the MBE for voluntary service to the community and for his service with the Ministry of Defence.

Contribution to the criminal justice system and re-socialising offenders

Sidney served as a member of the National Probation Service (NPS) in the Lincolnshire Area (2001 – 2007) – another statutory organisation where all board members served as volunteers fulfilling statutory duties. As the board’s Diversity Officer, he played a vital role in four key areas:

- Promoting better understanding of the importance to the National Probation Service of managing diversity within the recruiting and selection process.
- Assist NPS senior management team and selection panels on valuing and managing diversity.
- Having explored with board colleagues and HR staff how discrimination and general poor selection practices can undermine diversity principles within the selection process.
- Highlight and reinforce the real and perceived benefits from implementation of diversity practices.

The case study has a longstanding interest in the Criminal Justice system, regarding the extent to which the nature of its operation unfairly and adversely affects black and ethnic minorities. Various studies have highlighted the fact that compared to the white population, black and ethnic minorities are over-represented within the prison population in England and Wales or in the UK at large (Lammy, 2017; Blake, 2018; Ruggiero, V et al, 1998). Sidney is a former member of the Lincolnshire Criminal Justice Board, Community Engagement Delivery Group) – (2005-2010). The body was abolished in 2010 due to budget cuts.

The case study is a member and chairman of Lincolnshire Police Independent Advisory Group (AIG) from 2006 to 2018. AIG is a voluntary organisation that was established following the inquiry into the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993, the outcome of which stated that the Metropolitan Police service was found to be institutionally racist (Macpherson, 1999). Institutional racism exists when an organisation collectively fail to provide appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin (Macpherson, 1999; Anthias, 1999). The role of the AIG included independent advice to the police; assistance with critical incidents (e.g. through membership of Gold Group); maintaining transparency of decision-making; keeping processes open; honesty and fairness.

Chairmanships and membership of other voluntary organisations

CALL Advocacy in Lincolnshire (2001-2006)

CALL is a not-for-profit organisation that provided an independent voice for people who cannot advocate for themselves. The organisation trained advocates to high multi-skill levels and delivered service in all elements of statutory and community advocacy to adults, children and young people across Lincolnshire. As a Chairman, Sidney was able to secure core funding from the local authority for the sustainability of the organization.

Lincolnshire Race Equality Council (2004-2007)

The battle against racism has also been an on-going pursuit to which Sidney has been most proactive, and in 2002 he became a volunteer member of Lincolnshire Race Equality Council and served as chairman of the Executive Directors (2004-2007). During his time as Chairman,

Sidney made a difference by raising awareness of the extent of racism within the county by personal presentations to community groups, local authorities and schools.

Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), Lincolnshire (2007-2010)

During 2007, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), Lincolnshire, opened its decision-making process to external scrutiny by the local community through the establishment of Lincolnshire Hate Crime Scrutiny Panel (HCSP). This is an independent panel that was tasked to select, examine and review specific Hate Crime cases, i.e. race, homophobic and religiously aggravated, in the CPS Lincolnshire area. It helped raise public confidence in the criminal justice system and raised awareness of how the CPS handled hate crime cases. Sidney's key contribution was increasing the level of reporting of hate incidents by ethnic minority groups, including the Polish and Portuguese seasonal migrant workers. *The message is that hate crimes will not be tolerated. We do need younger people to get involved.* In 2010 following budget cuts the CPS was restructured from County to Regional operations and Lincolnshire HCSP was disestablished. Sidney subsequently accepted an invitation to join the CPS Regional HCSP and served until December 2018.

Longhurst & Havelok Homes(L&H Homes) (2007 – 2016)

L&H Homes is a registered Social Housing Association. During this time the company owned and managed over 8,000 homes and operated across the East and West Midlands, East of England and the Yorkshire and Humber region. Working in partnership with over 30 local authorities, L&H Homes delivers affordable and general needs housing. As Chairman, as well as providing leadership, Sidney's crowning achievement was the successful merging of Longhurst with Havelock Homes and the growth of the new organisation, L&H Homes Ltd.

Horizon Community Development Limited (2012 – 2018)

A not-for-profit, social enterprise organisation that provided specialist business advice, guidance and organisational development/capacity building with hard to reach individuals and to the voluntary and community sector. During Sidney's leadership, the company was able to assist hundreds of individuals transform their lives and others.

Sidney also served as a member of Lincolnshire Honours Panel Committee from 2008 – 2019. This committee, which is chaired by the Lord Lieutenant, undertakes due diligence checks on applications for the Queen's Award for Voluntary Service, and on some specific nominations for national honours. He was able to assist 12 voluntary community groups receiving the Queen's Award. He also undertook due diligence work which contributed to the award of national honours to six individuals.

Age is no barrier for his extensive community activities. To date, he is still actively serving the community through his involvement with the following:

- Lincoln Elders Forum (LEF) – Chairman since 2014. The mission of the organisation is to support the welfare of older people by enabling their voices and opinions to be heard by decision makers locally and nationally. As Chairman, Sidney has facilitated numerous meetings with local organisations, including Lincolnshire Police Community

Safety, Trading Standards regarding scam mail/fraud, LCC Director of Adult Social Care and Lincolnshire Healthwatch.

- Member of the University Court of Lincoln since its inception in June 2011, following an invitation from the Vice Chancellor. The Court meets twice a year, receives updates from the Vice Chancellor, and as a body contributes to the future continuing development of the university and taking forward its ambassadorial engagement role with its communities.
- Member of the Board of Trustees/Directors of the Lincolnshire Bomber Command Memorial Trust since January 2016, which as a body is responsible for the governance and management of the International Bomber Command Centre.

Sidney's contribution to the book, "Portraits of Black Achievement"

In 2001, Sidney was a contributor in a book commissioned by the Blair Labour government called *Portraits of Black Achievement* (Macdonald, 2001). The book provides an insight into the life journeys of some remarkable people and it creates a record of how social and economic barriers have been surmounted. Sidney was the only person featured in the book who had served in the armed forces, the Royal Air Force (RAF). His contribution to the UK armed forces has led him to be chosen amongst the lucky few achievers from various walks of life portrayed in this book. The book contributed to changing perceptions of the part played by BAME people in UK economic and cultural life. It also provided real-life examples of role models for those growing up today by transforming their sense of what is achievable.

EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSION

*"In the late 50s early 60s there were no anti-discrimination laws. Often you would see signs saying, 'no Jews, no Irish, no dogs and no blacks needed'. When I arrived in London, I applied to British Oxygen Company in Edmonton which has a base in Jamaica. They have been recommended to me by my former employer (Reginald Aitken Limited), where I had been employed in Administrative/accounts work. After a forty minutes interview, I was told by a very honest Personnel Manager, that he was happy with my qualifications, personal recommendation and experience level, but could not offer me the position in the office, **"as hitherto they have not had any of my countrymen employed in the office and would likely to have a strike on his hands"**. However, I could start on the factory floor and work my way up when the situation changes. I declined his offer, and after countless unsuccessful applications for similar positions, I joined London Transport as a bus conductor. This was about the only clean job that was open to me. To add insult to injury I was then called up for National Service and joined the Royal Air Force. Although I went in 'all kicking and screaming', I thought that I'd be looked after there! However, I did manage to carve out a career of thirty years' service in the Royal Air force, progressing from lowly airman, to non-commission and commission service!*

I did experience racism, but I didn't see it as racism as such, but rather ignorance and prejudice. At the time I thought this was the Motherland, and we are ambassadors from our own country,

and so I had to make the best of it particularly if you are low rank, as a conscripted airman. As a married airman I thought that I would be eligible for Married Quarters, which was one of the drivers for me converting to regular service. However, to meet the eligibility criteria it was necessary to accumulate several points based on length of service, number of children and rank held. Therefore, although technically eligible for Married Quarter, early allocation was impossible without significant length of service. However, the Air Ministry had a policy in place whereby if an airman was able to find private accommodation that met certain minimum standard, a 3- or 4-year contract with the Landlord would be arranged. Having identified appropriate private accommodation and spoken by telephone with the Landlord, I was offered the Apartment, which he was confident I would find acceptable after viewing. However, when I arrived for the viewing (in uniform), he apologised and expressed his disappointment that he had to withdraw his offer because he had recently signed a petition to the Local Council “to get rid of some of my countrymen from the street because their constant loud music and the smell of curry was unbearable”. He had thought that I was an English RAF serviceman as he did not discern a West Indian accent during our telephone conversation.

There was much injustice at the lower rank levels. For example, as a duty clerk/orderly you were part of a Station Duty team that had to look after everything after normal duty hours. This was a weekly duty! However, when I did my first week’s duty, I was told by the Sergeant that I would also be on similar duty the next week, and until someone else was posted in, as “he didn’t think that ‘my kind’ would fit in the office”. I was really very angry and upset and during weekend at home I strongly contemplated not returning to Camp, but I was persuaded by my wife that I must return. She reminded me that I couldn’t just leave the RAF but should return and speak with someone else in authority above the Sergeant. She was of course right, because – if you didn’t return to duty you would be court martialled for being absent without leave. During my spell of duty as Duty Clerk, I was ordered to make tea 3 times a day for the week for the office of 20 people; this meant that I was hardly doing any proper work. Although I protested that I didn’t know how to make tea, as we drank different brand of ice-tea in Jamaica, I was given some basic instructions and told to get on with it. I eventually developed strategic ways of getting out of the task by deliberately sabotaging the tea, some thought that I was making it far too strong, and they did not enjoy it and I was stopped from making the tea.

The Performance Appraisal and Reporting process at the time, which was a ‘closed’ system that did not allow legitimate challenge or justification of assessments. Based on my experience and observation at arrival interviews on a new RAF station I would make a point of emphasizing that I do not carry a chip on my shoulder, and when undertaking my duties if I made mistakes I wanted to be told there and then so that I may learn from mistakes and not wait until the annual appraisal report.

In civilian life I applied unsuccessfully to be a member of the Police Authority on two occasions during last 6/7 years. At one point, I was told that they had a gender imbalance because of lack of women membership, and it was a pity that my application clashed with this situation. I then wrote to the Home Office about the recruitment and selection procedure. The Home Office subsequently undertook a review of recruitment process and I was asked to contribute considering my experience, which I did. Regrettably, I have to say not much has been changed. However, the bottom line is that you don’t need to take things sitting down. You need to be

involved to effect change. That is one of the reasons I got involved and served for nearly 10 years as an independent monitor for Lincoln Prison, where some policies were not always favourably applied to BAME inmates. For example, some inmates were charged with one offence which was then turned into four or five. Some Prison Officers were doing it unwittingly. In prison there were many cultural issues. Things are getting better due to diversity training. African Caribbean prisoners tended to get excited and raise their voices, which was construed as being disrespectful, but these weren't real offences. Many people in our communities do not fully understand how the criminal justice system works, and to that extent they tend to conclude that it is generally unfair and biased against BAME communities.

You can go beyond the placard if you are in a position of some influence, or if you become part of the organisation. Following my resignation from the Independent Monitoring Board HMP Lincoln, I served for two terms on the Lincolnshire Probation board, and I became a member of the Community Engagement Subgroup of the Lincolnshire Criminal Justice Board.

To sum up – I have three messages to the readers:

- *Get involved within an organisation or as close as you can be to it e.g. through a sister organisation – you've got to be part of it to change it!*
- *Service to the community also helps you. It improves lives for everyone.*
- *You must not be afraid of being criticised as you fight your corner – don't take no for an answer.*
- *As the recent report by the 'Service Complaints Ombudsman for the Armed Forces' regarding the persistence of racism in the Armed Forces shows (The Guardian, 2019), maintaining vigilance in tackling prejudice and discrimination is a must. We should remember well the words of the great African-American abolitionist Frederick Douglass: "Without struggle there is no progress".*

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It is noteworthy to state that without the support of my wife of 63 years and family, it would not have been possible for me to have served and continue to serve the community to such an extent for over two decades.

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CHAPTER 16: CASE STUDY 2 - THE TRAGIC DEATH OF ALTAB ALI AND THE BEGINNING OF CONFRONTATION AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM

Mahfuzur Rahman

Morsaline Billah

Introduction

Immigration is a topic of social and political concern across the globe and usually it has positive economic effects on native populations in a country. Immigration leads to multicultural and ethnically diverse society towards. UK is considered as one of the leading economy with transnationalism where the immigrants forge and sustain multi-standard social relations (Gardner, 2002; 191). Historically, immigrants from South Asia have been settling in Britain for many hundreds of years (Visram, 1986). Among the immigrants of British subcontinent, Bangladeshis became famous as cook in British Ships (also known as Lascars) travelling around the world. Many of the current British Bangladeshis are 3rd or even 4th generation of those Cooks or Lascars. Although the majority of the Lascars worked in the ships travelling abroad, some of them took the ships to London and started working as peddlers or restaurants (Gardner, 2002; 192). Overtime, they settled in the UK and became part of this comprehensive multicultural society. However, the path to this inclusive society is often confronted by racial discrimination and violence, as experienced by British Bangladeshi community in UK. Considering the ratio of Bangladeshi immigrants in UK from Sylhet and to reflect on the very own views of community, this chapter have used the terms Bangladeshi, Bengali and Sylheti interchangeably as suggested by Thapan (2005: 127).

Brick Lane and its surrounding neighborhoods in London are considered as Little Bangladesh in UK due to predominant Bangladeshi settlement in the area. Some of the ancestors of British Bangladeshis travelled to UK during British colonial period in undivided Indian subcontinent and eventually became settled in the country. The majority of the Bangladeshi immigrants in UK are from Sylhet division of Bangladesh (Thapan, 2005: 102). Earliest report of Bengali migrant was said to be Saeed Ullah, who migrated to UK for work. It is also said that he came to take revenge for his Sylheti relatives who were killed during the

Sylheti uprising of 1782, also known as the Muharram Rebellion. This is considered as one of the first ever anti-British movement, which took place in early December by the Sylheti Muslims against East India Company. Other records showed that East India Company employed Sylheti cooks during 1873 and they travelled to UK as lascars on the ships to work in the restaurants. First few arrivals before World War I eventually initiated the process of "chain migration" from Sylhet region of Bangladesh. They led to substantial numbers of people migrating from rural areas of the region to London and other big cities in UK and favoured establishing the relationships between relatives in UK and the region (Thapan, 2005).

Their sole purpose of immigrating to UK was to find better quality of life, employment and avoid conflicts in the region before, during and after the liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971. Before 1971, Bangladesh was known as "East Pakistan", which came into existence when British colonial period came to end at the Indian subcontinent in 1945. Two different countries (India and Pakistan) based on religion was established. Pakistan had two parts, i.e. East Pakistan and West Pakistan, geographically thousands of miles apart from each other. The people who migrated in the UK during this period became mostly settled in Tower Hamlets council of London, particularly around Spitalfields and Brick Lane. To avoid conflicts during 1971 and initial few years of political turmoil in Bangladesh, a large number of people immigrated to UK. In addition, in 1970s, UK immigration laws were reformed, which allowed a number of Bangladeshi immigrants to come and look for jobs. Job opportunities for the new settlers mainly included employment in low paid sectors, with unskilled and semi-skilled work. They usually worked in small factories, predominantly in textile and clothing factories. With the increasing popularity of Indian cuisine, some Bangladeshi people mainly from Sylhet region were encouraged to start restaurants offering Indian style food. Initially, a number of Bangladeshi restaurants, shops and other small businesses were established in Brick Lane and surrounding areas. Subsequently, the influence of Bangladeshi culture and diversity began to flourish across the East London boroughs. However, the period was not so easy and convenient as we see today and experienced a rise in the number of repetitive racial attacks on Bangladeshis in the area. In fact, Bengali community experienced racially motivated attacks which had significantly increased throughout the 1970s. Attacks took place in

different forms, for example, windows were smashed down with the bricks and they were thrown through windows, doors were smeared with excrement. These incidents left the Bengali families intimidated in such a way that they felt insecure to leave their houses. White youths known as "skinheads" appeared to roam around in the Brick Lane area and they were mainly supported by British Nationalist Front (BNF). They came in groups to vandalise the properties and physically assaulted children and women. Bangladeshi children were allowed to leave school early; women walked to work and other places in groups to protect themselves from potential violence. In most case, parents began to impose curfews on their children, for their own safety and did not allow them to go to playgrounds and outsides; as a protective measure, flats were installed fire-proof letterboxes and doors to protect against racially motivated arson. National Front marches in the vicinity of Brick Lane were usually provocative and often ended in violence. The racially motivated groups blamed immigrants themselves for 'not integrating with British society and culture' and at the same time, the behaviour of police was hostile, they even blamed families in the locality for damaging their homes for insurance purposes during any suspected case of arson. In an extreme and condemned event on 4 May 1978 just before council elections took place, a Bangladeshi textile worker named Altab Ali was murdered in a racially motivated attack near the Whitechapel road. He worked in a textile industry at Hanbury Street, which runs from Spitalfields to Whitechapel near Brick Lane, and was returning home past the park to Wapping when he was brutally attacked by a group of racists (Begum, 2015).

The murder of Altab Ali ignited the protest against violent racial abuse and violence and seven thousand Bangladeshi came down to the streets. The communities began to organise themselves and subsequently led to the formation of new youth movements. Bengal Youth League (BYL) and Bangladeshi Youth Movement (BYM) were formed with the idea of reclaiming streets from the racists and protecting the communities against racial attacks. These organizations coordinated the biggest march of Bangladeshi people from Brick Lane to the Houses of Parliaments along with the solidarity from people of different cultures. BYL, BYM and other organisations active in labour movement and anti-racial campaigns were crucial to street mobilisations to confront fascisms. In this regard, white leftists who stood for workers' unity and socialism provided supports for the youth movement. These campaigns worked against the ideas of racial difference, discrimination and for equal rights in jobs and

salary as well as for greater unity of people from black, white and Asian origin (Jalal, 2012; Hasan, 2010).

Altab Ali became a symbol of protest and solidarity in fight against racism and fascism. Bangladeshi became successful in establishing their rights and defeated the fascist organisation National Front. The event of the murder of Altab Ali and the subsequent Bangladeshi youth movement in this area had far reaching influence on the way that the Bengali community are portrayed in the today's Britain. However, it should be noted that the Asian Youth Movements are the powerful examples of political movements influenced by black politics and different religious communities came together towards a version of secularism which unified people in these difficult times. In the following section, a series of consequences are described, which the murder of Altab Ali brought in Bangladeshi community.

Beginning of confrontation towards racism and fascism

Before the murder of Altab Ali, a very people knew a little about Bangladeshi community. The antiracial movement brought by Bangladeshi youth drew the attention of media and common people in Britain. The first demonstration against racism started from the Saint Mary's church courtyard at East London. This demonstration later gathered in Hyde Park with thousands of people who chanted the slogans against racism and ended by handing over the letter to 10th Downing Street demanding the stop of racial attack and discrimination. This movement was supported by different anti-racism organisations, trade unions and other radical organisations. The slogans reflected emotions, dissatisfaction and strong determination of Bangladeshi community. Some of the examples were, "Here to stay, here to fight", "Self Defence, No Offence, We Want Peace", " End police brutality", " Black and white, unite and fight", "What do we want? Justice now" "Who killed Altab Ali?" "Smash, smash, smash the National Front" (Jalal, 2012).

Bengali youths in front line in the movement against racism

In the battle for Brick Lane, Bangladesh Youth Movement (BYM) played the most pivotal role in 1978. Though this organisation was founded in 1976 at the Asian Studies Centre at East London, it was in the front line for every antiracism movement in the following years. Bengalis usually gathered in this centre and organised demonstrations and movements under

the leadership of Barrister Lutfar Rahman Shahjahan. This organisation, along with other two organisations, worked for the movement towards accountability of police force and establishing housing rights for homeless Bangladeshis. For the representation of Bangladeshi youth, Tower Hamlets Law Centre played an important role and manage the liaison with law enforcing agencies. In addition, it set up a 24 hour help line to provide supports for the victims of racial attack and abuse. Following the murder of Altab Ali, the summer of 1978 was considered the golden time of anti-racial movement. During this period, the movement against racism and fascism gathered momentum and gathered pace at national level. BYM started working in collaboration with Southhall Youth Movement and Bradford Youth Association. The success of movement at East end inspired the movement in other regions. In the face of this movement, Nationalist Front became defeated at the Tower Hamlets and they were forced to relocate their headquarters from Bethnal Green. These movements in the 1970s and 1980s brought together many progressive secular and leftist parties who believed in multicultural inclusive society, where there would be guarantee of freedom, equality and justice.

Establishment of different entities

After the end of anti-racism movements, the leaders and the youth organisations contemplated about future activities, which led to the formation of "Federation of Bangladesh Youth Organisation". This organisation published a bilingual newsletter named "YuvaBarta" and produced four documentaries for Channel 4. Meanwhile, the media and Government organisations became well aware of Bangladeshi community in UK. British Government's Home Affairs select committee prepared a report on Bangladeshi community in which Tower Hamlets' Racial Equality and Federation of Bangladesh Youth Organisation played the major role. This led to declaration and inclusion of Bangladeshis as British Bangladeshis and Federation of Bangladesh Youth Organisation acquired more institutional form.

The impetus created for civil rights, following the success of the anti-racist movement, also paved the way of women's right and gave a voice to the women's section of the community. With the untiring initiatives, a group of professional women came forward and worked towards the establishment of the Jagonari Womens Association so that women right could be established within Bangladeshi community and beyond. They were supported by the Federation of Bangladesh Youth Organisation and other organisations. In shaping the dreams

of Bangladeshi women, they put forward efforts to acquire a plot of disused land on Whitechapel road next to the Davenant Centre and the Jagonari Womens Centre was subsequently built.

The success of the anti-racist struggle prompted the Bengali community organisations to re-define their roles in regard to educational needs. This new role was often linked with token gestures to secure funding from the government authorities. This allowed to organise a number of events and notably, Bengali Educational Needs in Tower Hamlets (BENTH) was the theme of an education seminar, which was later converted into an education campaign group. The community activists strongly felt and believed that the future progress of the Bengali community was dependent on educational achievement that could potentially lead to public sector and mainstream jobs. A series of activities resulted in specialist youth work, teacher training and Bengali mother tongue projects to uplift the educational condition of the community. In addition, BENTH was responsible for production of an educational supplement to raise educational issues called the BENTH Bulletin [6].

Naming of Altab Ali Park and establishment of Altab Ali Arch

Altab Ali Park is recognised as one of the major symbolic places to the Bengali community and regarded a matter of pride. Altab Ali Foundation was established in 2010 by the Bangladeshi Community in London. They have been holding annual vigil on 4th May at Altab Ali Park to mark the death anniversary, declared as the Altab Ali Day since 2010. The day is represented as solidarity against racism and extremism in the East End, which is usually attended by hundreds of community leaders, activists and antiracist activists. There had been a long standing demand from the local Bangladeshi community to rename St Mary's Garden [7]. This was successful in 1998 when the park was renamed Altab Ali Park, an initiative brought forward by the Stepney Neighbourhood of Tower Hamlets Council to commemorate the racist murder of Altab Ali. Before that it was called St Mary's, the site of a 14th Century white church called St Mary's Matfelon from which the name of the local area "Whitechapel" was derived. It survived bombing in the Blitz during World War II, however, a few years later a lightning strike finished it off. A few graves stones remain today. The Shaheed Minar, which commemorates the Bengali Language Movement, stands in the southwest corner of Altab Ali Park. The monument is a smaller replica of the one in Dhaka, Bangladesh, and symbolises a mother and her martyred sons.

Altab Ali Arch commemorates Altab Ali and other victims of racist violence murdered by racial attacks in different time. Tower Hamlets commissioned a Welsh artist and blacksmith named David Peterson to build a wrought iron arch for the entrance of the park in 1989. The design took into account both Bengali and European architecture. It comprised of red coated metal wrapped around and interwoven through a tubular structure with a meaning to signify the integration of different cultures in the East End of London.

Participation into mainstream politics

In early and mid 1980s, many participants of anti-racism movement became interested in mainstream politics and joined different political parties. Majority of Bangladeshi community supported the Labour party due to their more liberal policies than other political parties. However, many were unable to become the member of this party due to hesitation and indecision of senior party members. Bangladeshi community activists formed "People's Alliance of Bangladeshi in 1982" and three contestants from this alliance fought for local council election. Of the three, one was elected councilor and this success in election sent clear message to the political establishment at Tower Hamlets that the voice of Bangladeshi community could not be ignored. The fact is that there are now several British Bangladeshi Member of Parliaments (MP) in different constituencies across UK, which could be regarded as direct outcomes of these events (Jalal, 2012).

Identity of Bangladeshi community

At present, British Bangladeshi community have gained strong foothold and they have represented themselves in different levels of organisations including politics, law, science, entrepreneurship, business, teaching and research etc. Following many events since the murder of Altab Ali, they have established themselves as open, welcoming, inclusive and integrating society into British culture while keeping their sense of own culture and roots. They regularly organise social events representing Bangladeshi culture and heritage and maintain strong human values to other communities.

All the Bangladeshis migrated outside Bangladesh, especially those living in Europe and North America become inspired by the events which took place over last several decades in Tower Hamlets and the neighbouring areas of East London. It has been internationally acclaimed that the roots of British Bangladeshi community is deeply related to this part of London, depicting its history and cultural heritage. A number of community centres, namely The Kobi Nazrul Centre, Berner Centre, Jagonari and Davenant Centre, Weavers Trust Centre,

the BWA Centre have been established in the locality to foster group activities, social support, public information, and other purposes of Bangladeshi community. Several schools have been established to support the community and named after key Bangladeshi public figures including: Bangabandhu Primary School, Osmani primary school, Shapla primary school and Kobi Nazrul primary school. Bangladeshi people are deeply rooted with religion whichever that is. However, they like to cohabit and celebrate their culture irrespective of their religions. There are mosques, temples and churches for Bangladeshi Muslims, Hindus and Christians, respectively. There are religious organisations for every religion. The Spitalfields Ward in Tower Hamlets was renamed as Banglatown, registered with the Boundary Commission has defined the British-Bangladeshi community on the map of UK. Erection of the Banglatown arch in Brick Lane and Bangla language Martyrs movement or Shaheed Minar has given a permanent presence of Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets. The street signage in Bengali has also provided the same effect on residents and visitors, who come to live there permanently or visit there to see identity of Bangladeshi in London (Jalal, 2012).

Conclusion

The ultimate sacrifice of Altab Ali shaped the future of British Bangladesh community in UK and placed their permanent position as citizens with dignity, security and respect. The community now contributes to economy, politics, business, entertainment, media and other branches. The achievements and pride are hard fought by overcoming the difficulties confronted by the then community.

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CHAPTER 17 – CONCLUSION

Dieu Hack-Polay

The book has examined the construction of migrant experiences and traditional laissez-faire attitudes to integration. Most publications have often over-emphasized the problems of migration. However, this book has considered the positive narratives and the opportunities presented by migration, hence our seeing migration as creative practice. What emerges from our perspective is the view of migration as a phenomenon that is inextricably linked to the survival and development of nations. Consistent research evidence positions migrants as the foundations of any viable nation's sociocultural and economic growth. This book's chapters have significantly elaborated this argument. Departing from the excessive focus on economic contributions, the book views cultural dynamism as emanating from cultural mix, in which migration is central.

Case for a greater understanding of migrants

There are many regularities in migrant experiences. For example, if some migrant communities often separate themselves from the majority, this could be linked to issues with the social infrastructure, e.g. the lack of clarity in integration frameworks which could enhance the cultural, economic and social insertion of the migrants in the nomenclature of their new society. The newcomers would eventually elect to associate themselves with existing segregated ethnic or migrant groups. Such a move is a direct result of a pull factor from the established ethnic community and a push factor from the hosts. Often, the host

authorities largely take reactive action to address the host-migrant cultural gap, which can then cause the ghettoization of migrant groups, which then are relegated to the under-class. Effective integration is further complicated by negative discourses.

Despite the acknowledgement of the value that migrants add to national collectivities, particularly in difficult times, the positive view is dissipated when difficult times arise. For example, in the UK the Gurkha fighters were called upon to fight for the nation but but they were then denied the right of above when the battle was over. This attitude defies all human ethics and contributes to the exclusion of migrants.

The correlation between the migrant settlement experience and the contribution they make as communities, both through first generation and subsequent generations, is exemplified by the comparison between groups of migrants that arrived in the United Kingdom or other receiving countries through sponsored programmes and those that were not sponsored. In essence, overwhelming evidence, as unveiled through the chapters, points to higher performance of sponsored migrants. This testifies to the fact that well-thought and coherent integration strategies do work. An ad hoc approach to dealing with migrant issues is likely to sentence both migrants and receiving countries and lock them into a cycle of regrets. For instance, the host country might in the medium and long term see migrants and social and economic burden and migrants in turn would perceive the host country as ungrateful to the services they rendered it. Such antagonism in view, is not there to help since the parties navigate in different direction and there is little room to develop good citizenship for first generation migrants and the ensuing generations.

Evidence suggests that for migrants who have an opportunity to meet locals and expand cultural networks and find jobs, the host country is likely to be perceived as haven, therefore motivating the migrant to release creative energies and formulate long term project for the adoptive nation. However, the long-term unemployed and those with little opportunities to explore diversity remain homesick and lonely thus developing negative ideas about the host country and their own self-esteem. For the latter the experience of migration and the host country become 'hell' in metaphorical terms. Such analysis brings to light the correlation between cultural exploration and successful integration. This shows that as migrants see hell in their experiences of the new country, actions to rebuild their lives and contribute would be slow (Shackman & Reynolds, 1995). This has implications for the way in which receiving nations manage migrant resettlement processes. Significant resettlement programmes such as those of Asians in Australia, Canada and the USA four decades ago (Robinson, 2000) can remove barriers. The state then acts as a referee, recognising and rewarding positive integration efforts.

All migrants as national heroes

In many parts of the developed worlds, cohorts of migrants have been vilified and help responsible for economic downturn and rising crimes. However, the evidence from the literature suggests the opposite. Migrants tends to be preoccupied with labour and culture (Hack-Polay, 2019 and 2006). This evidence then raises the question of whether migrants are used to justify political failures and to feed media headlines to create sensational stories. All

the chapters of this book have evidenced the positive role that migrants play in host society, from economic, social, cultural to policy contributions. They lend their labour and create labour through entrepreneurship; their conditions raise policy issues that are resolved for the benefit of the whole society; they participate in political decision-making; they exhibit their cultures for the enjoyment of all, etc. Migrants, then, appear to represent the life blood of the nations and significant contributors to the survival of human society. Constraints and fissures associated with the presence of migrants could therefore be attributed to inadequacies in integration framework and negative narratives (Wieczorek-Zeul, 2006). This is not engendered by the migrants but by the new social system. Language and cultural barriers, racism and lack of the helping networks as well as the lack of consistent government policies usually played against migrants. Overall, migrants desire to contribute to the social, economic and cultural life of the host country and secure lasting membership. Migrants often do more with less and make an important and lasting contribution to receiving country environments (Tabori, 1972). Usually, famous migrants are visible and hailed 'credits' to the new nation. Millions of unsung migrants are heroes to national socio-cultural and economic development. The 2020 coronavirus has demonstrated this, with most health workers in many countries taking up the fight against the elusive deadly virus so save the nations' health and wealth (The Guardian, 2020). This pandemic has finally awoken people's mind on the criticality of migrant contribution as these migrant labour keeps the care sector, the factories and the transport systems alive.

Good citizens

Both the hosts and the newcomers will draw benefits from migration if they to enter a cultural dialogue. Understanding each other's narrative can play a part in transforming their common space. Cienfuegos and Morelli (1983) found that debating migration experiences can allow migrants to redefine their experiences and integrate thjeir cultures. With a more fulfilling host country experience, integration and citizenship transition could be smoother. Beyond the migrants, receiving countries ought to see new citizens.

The book has significant implications for policymaking. The understanding of migrant integration goes through self-questioning among the hosts about the cultures of the newcomers, issues and opportunities they bring and the possible actions that could be enacted in order to social both themselves (the hosts) and the new members. In doing so, it is undeniable that learning about the psychosocial and symbolic world of the migrants is a sine qua non conditions. This enables the migrants to reciprocate the same. It is not productive to place the whole onus of integration on the newcomers (Hack-Polay, 2019). The new national setting needs to strategize about attempts encourage the majority to connect with these offerings. If some do not seize the opportunity, then comprehensive efforts ought to be made to understand the cultural and psychological blockages which stand in the way on integration.

With the significant diverse contributions that migrants make to their new countries, there is a need for a shift in how migration is perceived, interpreted and utilized. Historical and biblical literatures bring to light the fact that migrants have always invested significant emotions, physical strength and cultural creativity in creating new spaces in the host nations. With globalization intensifying in the 20th and 21st centuries, migrants have entered different

countries and played an instrumental role in filling labour shortages, enriching cultures and in many instances reviving ailing communities. They have become fully-fledged citizens, playing active parts in nation building. The literature in the past few decades has been mainly concerned with migrants' economic contribution (Ammassan, 2004). However, this book shows the need to see migrant contribution in a broader sense to avoid perceiving them only as economic instruments. This is because man is not only *homo economicus* more primarily *sociali hominum*, that is a social (human) being. The growth of the *sociali hominum* is what brings economic development and entrepreneurship. We have witnessed throughout history that nations develop and become strong as they empower the migrants to give the best of themselves.

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