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"I am not a migrant, I am a citizen of the world"¹
(Carlos)

¹ "Yo no soy migrante, soy un ciudadano del mundo".

Abstract

The public discourse about migration² (regular and irregular) is not just because of the global financial crisis or the European debt crisis dominated by a populist image as a problem, a threat to welfare and to “security” in the European Union. The constructed negative picture of migration is accompanied by a gradually increasing restrict policy.³ This socio-political construction has reached already the majority of societies in the EU. How to tackle such settled stigmatised discourse?

The empirical study in this thesis aims at adding a more comprehensive perspective on migration processes – especially on immigration to Europe by alluding scientifically on the daily life realities of immigrants. The abstract and complex phenomenon of migration is analysed and depicted as concrete migratory life-stories and histories. Having a name and a face, migrants might be seen as people, rather than solely as an abstract problem. Doing so, this work examines empirically on individual life realities of 13 Latin American immigrants (social actors) residing in Genoa, Italy. Thereby the individuality of migratory trajectories is depicted and prejudices can be challenged.

Scholars underlined the influence of structural and individual factors on the life realities of migrants within a transnational perspective. But the strength of this thesis is that it elaborates on the individual experience of influencing factors⁴ on personal migration projects, by analysing the constitution and negotiation of individual migratory trajectories – the interplay of biography, experience and structural environment. The analysis takes place within the Mico-Meso-level, which allows depicting individual experience of influencing factors on personal migration projects. Theories of transnationalism are basis of the theoretical framework to be able to capture the manifold dimensions of the constitution- and negotiation process of migratory trajectories and lifeworlds. Since the transnational theoretical framework analysis the migration phenomena embedded in a globalised, -interacting, -mobile environment, important categories such as networks and social ties beyond national borders are included in the analysis. This work especially supports the context between the individual experience of socio-economic-political-framework and the individual migratory biography. Migration is not a paved path!

² This and all other terms will be defined and discussed later on.

³ <http://www.borderline-europe.de/> (Accessed on 17.6.2013).

⁴ Factors located on the Macro-level (inter alia legal, structural) and the Meso-level (inter alia social ties, networks) as well personal factors located on the Micro-level (inter alia, marital status, education, age, gender, etc.).

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1. Introduction

1.1. Problem Definition and Objectives

This paper starts with a simple question: “Does migration exist”? Yes, you might respond. Where? In reality, in our mind, in our conceptions, our perceptions?

Let me explain: The term «migrate» or «migration» itself originates from the 17th century from the Latin term «migrāre» and implies – depending on the sphere, physics, biology or sociology - to “change one's abode” or “a movement of atoms” or “of birds, fishes, etc. to journey between different areas at specific times of the year” or “to go from one region, country, or place of abode to settle down in another”.⁵ So, it is about different forms of movement. As it will be elaborated later on, I claim that «Migration»⁶, whether it is perceived as a dynamic process, or as a single linear on-way action (to leave and to arrive), the concept migration is still a construct. Animals, humans (one could claim it's the same), and life as such are in constant movement, in constant flux and transformation. Since evolution had given legs to humans, they are able to move and migrate⁷. But what sorely changed over the time and social- and political realities are the political borders⁸. But borders (of countries, of regions, of cities, of one's mind) are constructed by humans (cf.⁹ KING et al., 2008: 4). If migration is perceived as simply to cross national borders (most of the literature mainly speaks about international migration rather than about the considerably larger internal migration (cf. KING et al., 2008 and REINPRECHT et al., 2012: 14), and borders are constructed and mobile over time, then migration is just a construction, a concept, an instrument for political-, economic-, social- and global order (cf. GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992).

One can read in the introductions of almost every publication about migration research about the notion that people move and migrate since humans exist.

⁵ <http://www.wordreference.com/definition/migration> (Accessed on 21.3.2012).

⁶ If not explicitly or contextually more precisely defined, the term «migration» should be understood as a collective term; it should include any form of migratory movement and mobility: such as emigration, immigration, labour-migration, return-migration, transit-migration, transmigration, and diaspora.

⁷ Early human migrations started about 1.8 million years ago when «Homo Erectus» first migrated out of Africa towards Eurasia. The expansion of the Homo erectus out of Africa was followed by that of the «Homo Antecessor» expansions to Europe around 800.000 years ago. (cf. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0169534705001709> Accessed on 24.5.2013).

⁸ As PRIES (2010) notes, the majority of USA, Brazil, Australia or Argentina population descends from immigrants, who immigrate not longer than 200 years ago (cf. PRIES, 2010: 60). Needless to mention is the shift of political- and territorial borders of states in the last decades and centuries.

⁹ cf. from Latin: confer, "compare"

But - and of course - the circumstances have changed over the time. Nowadays, in the light of multifaceted Globalisation processes: increased transport and communication technology and opportunities also influence people's mobility on one hand and on the other hand, economic, political, environmental- and social inequalities and crises exacerbate and increase migration pressure (REINPRECHT et al., 2012: 14). The interplay of different levels of circumstances influences and shapes the reality and every day life of all humans. On the Marco-level¹⁰ global-, national- and -regional political-, economic- structures, institutional frameworks (legal systems, social systems, etc.) as well as historical- and cultural structures are situated. On the Micro-level a far more complex setting, patterns and schemes of circumstances, constraints, obstacles, but also opportunities can be found, which influence individual's opportunities to "realize her/his own life".

1.1.1. Objectives

This study aims at distributing a more reflected and sophisticated perception on the complex phenomena of dynamic migration processes, at the eye-level of social actors as protagonists: By gaining an inside view of their migratory experiences migrants themselves are the focus of this analysis. Underlying strategies – whether intended and unintended - on migration as a dynamic process will be scrutinized by analysing individual migratory trajectories¹¹ of the 13 interviewed people, who are decent from Latin America¹² and are residing in Genoa, Italy.

This demand – of focusing on the social actor: migrant - arises because there is the impression that movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living condition are perceived totally different, depending if they move across national-state borders or not. Thus a term, a category is constructed: Migrant. Besides the discourses in the public through the media and politics, a categorisation is also constructed within the academia. It appears that as soon as humans are "labelled" and perceived as migrants, a different category of citizens, people, yes even different category of humans are addressed.

¹⁰In social science Marco-, Meso- and Micro level conceptualise the scale of target of analysis (cf. FAIST, 2000a: 31)

¹¹ In this study, «Migratory Trajectories» are understood as the whole individual migratory history; thus all stages of the individual migration process. The term will be defined in detail in the chapter (2.4)

¹² Subsequently solely the term "Latin Americans" or "Latin American immigrants" should be used in order to address people's origin of birth and periods of life they spend in this area. Moreover, The intention to use the term "Latin America" is not meant to re-produce colonial suppressing structures through language but it rather aims to address the geographical areas of Central-, South American, Caribbean countries and Mexico: <http://de.dict.md/definition/Lateinamerika> (accessed 13.3.2012).

This is exactly why this study strives to add a more nuanced –at least academic – perception and assumption on the complexity of migratory processes and dynamics. Latter academic claim on analyses is only possible through a Micro-Meso-perspective.¹³ In this paper, individuals are seen as social actors of their own lives; as self-determined actors – situated within the complex interdependent circumstances – of their migration projects¹⁴. Of course, the interplay of all surrounding structures influence one’s life (decisions, perceptions, etc.), but the degree of - more or less - influential factors differs among individuals. In other words, there is no “one catch all” explanation why people move here or there, or why people decide or perceive migration in this or in another way. As already stated, migration is a complex process, if one (researcher, random citizen, voters, policy makers, migrants, etc.) is WILLING to discern it that way!

The research will allude that **Migration is not a paved path!** There is no regularity in migration trajectories/patterns. Rather crucial is the context between the individual experience of socio-economic-political-framework and the individual course of life (trajectory). This is why migration **is not a linear process**. Through a variation of different migration biographies it will be shown, that migrants are not just stigmatized people (i.a.¹⁵ marginalized, vulnerable and reactionary acting) but rather the aspect of self-determination will be brought out.

Migration is further a subjective – intended and unintended - strategy of action, which is subject to dynamic negotiation-processes. Migratory projects aim at realizing one’s own life (or of a group, e.g.¹⁶ family bond). Doing so, individuals are not sorely limited and constrained by political borders. In turn, through translocal (transnational) ties (Social Capital and Migration Networks) new options and opportunities evolve. Motives as well as decision-making processes are inhomogeneous and are depending on the personal and structural context. **Migration projects are characterized by antagonism**. Migration projects are filled with rational and irrational aspects at the same time and depend on the personal experiences of migration.

¹³ Micro level analyse: values, desires of individuals; Meso-level analyse: collectives and social networks (cf. FAIST, 2000a: 31).

¹⁴ As it will be shown in the Empirical part of this work, some interviewed immigrants use the term “my migration project” (Zoila) or “migration as the project of our lives” (Melba) another proof of self-determination, self-reliance, autonomy of immigrants.

¹⁵ Inter alia

¹⁶ Latin: “exempli gratia”

1.1.2. Leading Research Question

How does individual trajectories¹⁷ of Latin American immigrants in Genoa, Italy are constituted and negotiated¹⁸ within a transnational perspective and what role does their individual migration experience¹⁹ play in this process?

1.1.3. Sub-Questions

1. Are there any underlying **–intended and unintended – strategies**, patterns of migratory daily life?
2. **How** does **somebody become a migrant** and what are the similarities, disparities, patterns **and variations** of individual migratory trajectories?
3. How do migrants **see themselves**? Do migrants perceive themselves rather as **protagonists**, victims, self-determined **or determined by others**, or something else?
4. How do migrants **deal with the separation and distance** to their families / locality of origin²⁰ and what impact it has on the individual process of “insertion” into the new society of residence?

1.2. Methodology and Research Design

Before elaborating on the certain method of collecting data and consequently the method of analysis used in this research, some connectional background and principles of empirical social research will be touched upon.

1.2.1. Theoretical Concepts of Social Research

The empirical data derived in this study derived from qualitative interviews. FORSCHAUER et al. (2008) elaborates on the analysis of social systems through qualitative interviews and its systematic interpretative analysis. Therein they identify two pillars of every empirical social research: a) certain assumption of the constitution of society and social order, and b) rules of scientific research and

¹⁷ Despite this term will be defined later on, inter alia it comprises migratory visions, aspirations, motives, strategies, plans. Migratory Trajectories are the individual life course, -lifeworld, -life histories, and migratory projects of migrants.

¹⁸ Intended- and unintended mediated, influenced and shaped.

¹⁹ Migration biography, eco-social background and structural context.

²⁰ Despite the concept of circular migration, to describe the spatial dimension of mobility and movement in terms of migration, the literature mainly uses the terms “country of origin”, “sending country” and “country of settlement” or “country of residence” or “receiving country” or “host country/society”. Subsequently all of these terms as well the terms “country”, “regions” and “locality” will be used neutrally, equally and substitutionally.

scientific knowledge gain (FROSCHAUER et al 2005: 182-83). The former pillar has two premises on the ground: Constructivism and the Social Construction of Reality. Constructivism tries to explain how knowledge is constructed through communication. The Social Construction of reality stresses that all social origins and aspects of reality (personal identity, points of view, categories such as gender) are constructed interpersonally within social groups. Thus, absolute truth and scientific objectivity is not possible. Communication and language is key since categories of meanings are constructed within this process. The construction of reality is an active and systematic process. Social phenomena are interpreted – in an intended and unintended manner - by individuals within their social setting and environment; hence social phenomena constitute their meaning and interpretation through social interaction (cf. BERGER/LUCKMANN, 1980 quoted in Ibid: 182-84).

1.2.2. Study Design

For MAYRING (2010) a study design is the plan and strategy on how the research process is structured and conducted (MAYRING 2010: 226). The whole research process is circular, in the meaning of loops; for example some parts of the study design (research question, method, theory, approaches, etc.) changed, adopted, refined, developed during the research process. Thus, thanks to the circular approach new insights, understandings influenced and improved the study design and like this the whole process of research. The main part of the study design was already presented (1.1.2, 1.1.3). This table outlines the main analytical categories:

Field of Research:	Transnational processes and phenomena; Migration experiences and biographies
Reference Unit:	Micro-Meso analytical level
Unit of Analysis:	Individual migratory trajectories /lifeworlds; Underlying –intended and unintended strategies of everyday life within a transnational social space
Survey Unit:	Latin American decent individuals residing in Genoa, Italy

1.2.3. Method of Data Collecting

Qualitative Semi-structured Guided Interview

For the data collection the «Semi-structured guided interview» was chosen, which is a particular methodology within the qualitative interview approach.

This methodology was chosen since it was my aim to describe and analyse individual lifeworlds of migrants from inside out; accessing an experiential perspective of personal migratory experience, trajectory and biography of individual immigrants. In other words, following the aim of this research and hence the leading research question, the balance between “structured” and a “narrative-animating” approach was needed in order to access the personal migration experience (cf. FROSCHAUER et al., 2005: 33-35 and MEY/MRUCK, 2010: 423, 427). This method allows guiding the interview in a certain direction, given the chosen topics and questions but at the same time the interview remains open without restricting the narrative of the interviewed person. Thus the interview also had narrative and biographical patterns. During the interview the aim was to access the “personal knowledge and personal expertise” of the interviewed people in order to reconstruct their biographical knowledge for coping with everyday situations (FROSCHAUER et al., 2005: 36).

A prepared semi-structured interview guide supported the sequence of the interviews by providing impulses to trigger narratives. The aim of the guide was to structure the interview without limiting the fluency of the narrative of the interviewed individuals. Moreover, guideline-oriented interviews facilitate the reconstruction of subjective knowledge and experience and are suitable to test hypothesis and theories (cf. HUG et al., 2010: 100 and MEY/MRUCK, 2010: 423, 427).

The interview guide was developed through literacy research (both, on the method and on the topic) and informal consultations and conversations of immigrants I met at the language school²¹. According to the literature (mainly FROSCHAUER et al., 2005: 33-35 and HUG et al., 2010: 100 et seq.), the interview guide was organised through rough thematic blocks, open-ended questions design; the focus was set on the perspective and point of view of the interviewed person. Since it was the goal to utmost gain an open interview situation I just raised leading questions. After the first interviews, I adopted the guide and constantly improved the guide through gaining experience with every additional interview. Doing so I paid attention that the schematic and logical structure did not change in order to maintain the compatibility of all interviews.²²

²¹ Inter alia: MAYRING (2010a) and (2010b); FROSCHAUER (2005);

²²“Qualitative Interviews – Ein Leitfaden zu Vorbereitung und Durchführung inklusive einiger theoretischer Anmerkungen” Edited by Heisitnger, Andrea in 2006. This is a practical guide on how to develop questions and the structure of an interview guide. http://www.univie.ac.at/igl.geschichte/kaller-dietrich/WS%2006-07/MEXEX_06/061102Durchf%FChrung%20von%20Interviews.pdf accessed on 20.2. 2012.

Participant Observation

The “Participant Observation” derives from the anthropologic and ethnographical Tradition (cf. KOCHINKA, 2010: 451). Within the Participant Observation the researcher also becomes a part and stakeholder of the observed situation. Depending on the degree of involvement (non, active, passive) the presence of the researcher is conscious among the involved social stakeholders (Ibid: 452). Since Participant Observation is a ubiquity (can be found everywhere) a researcher in a qualitative field of study can’t collect and analyse qualitative data without participating observation (Ibid: 457). Participant observation resulted into protocols. The sources for the protocols of participant observation were mainly informal communications and some thematic conferences, cultural events and exhibitions. This method was used to complement the interviews.

Transcription of the Interviews

The comprehensive book of DRESING and PEHL (2011) was utilized as a guide on how to transcribe qualitative interviews. In order to gain consistence a transcription paradigm is recommended to apply for all transcribed interviews. The paradigm pursued in this thesis (please find in the Appendix, 7.5) contains general rules of the transcription process to transform spoken to written language. Therein spoken unclear or informal expressions, dialects are written (translated) into a clear and grammatical and orthographical (cf. DRESING and PEHL, 2011: 16-24). For the transcription I used the free software F5 (for Mac). The transcription paradigm used was further refined and developed with every interview. Some interviews are transcribed from spoken Spanish into written Spanish. On the other hand some other interviews are directly transcribed from spoken Spanish into written English. Whereas the expert-interview with Andrea Torre was directly translated from spoken Italian into written English. Furthermore, some significant quotes in the original language were put into [] square brackets in order to maintain the explanatory power of language. This thesis deals about diversity in manifold aspects and since language is a well-established system of symbols²³ - the claimed attention to diversity needs also be reflected in this work to languages and its manifold meanings and authenticity and informative value of original quotes.

²³ (cf. FROSCHAUER et al 2005: 182-83).

1.2.4. Method of Analysis

The aim of this study was to analyse several interviews in order to gain a diversity and variation of different biographies and experiences of individual migration processes. Depending on the expected outcome of the analysis, the methodology was chosen in accordance. As already mentioned, the focus of analyse of the interviews is to depict the underlying context (connection and relationship of individual perception of reality, - opportunities, - problems and out of this, the resulting intended and unintended strategies to cope with the perceived lifeworld, - now and here situation) of certain statements of interviewed people (cf. FROSCHAUER et al., 2005: 83).

Theoretical Coding

Finally for the analysis method the “Theoretical Coding” was chosen, which is related to the approach of “Grounded Theory” by GLASER and STRAUSS. The grounded theory is an (typical) example for theoretical coding whereas the content analysis by MAYRING is an example for a paraphrasing coding approach (cf. KUCKARTZ, 2010: 57, 80). The method was chosen due to the demanding of this study: being mainly inductive and thus exploring, and being rather open for new aspects than it would have been possible with a deductive method (e.g. Categories are defined beforehand and not evolving out of the material).

The Grounded Theory is a circular process in which at the beginning a not yet defined phenomenon is step by step analysed and interpreted to depict its attributes and characteristics. The Grounded Theory contains three stages (open coding, axial coding and selective coding) of analysing the transcribed text of the interviews. Within this analysis through open coding the text will be deconstructed; in the axial coding the phenomenon of the text will be re-organised, set into various relationships and interdependences and in the end of the process the whole condensed material (various codes become a few main categories) depicts one or a few “key categories” which are basis for a deduced theory explaining phenomenon of the material. This analysis method develops categories out of the material (inductive approach) (cf. (KUCKARTZ, 2010: 58 et sq.).

The first phase (the more deductive one), - the open coding – aims at exploring and organising the text. The transcribed text will be scanned (reading for several times) for phenomenon, which is related to the leading research question and to leading concepts of the research (Theories). In this stage draft concepts and their inherent

dimensions (hierarchies of codes and relationships and dependencies) are developed (cf. KUCKARTZ, 2010: 60). For example in my particular case, all aspects and phenomenon related to inter alia the personal experience on the individual daily life in the immigration society, - related to any occurrences, decisions, dynamics, processes on the whole migratory project, - related to transnational behaviour and activities.

A code is a label given to phenomenon described in the transcribed interview. Thus coding is the process of data analysis. Therein concepts are formulated and codes are attached to certain phenomenon evolved in the text (cf. GLASER and STRAUSS, 1998 cited in KUCKARTZ, 2010: 74-75). The codes describe and categorise the phenomenon. Within the open coding two types of codes are used. 1) The "conceptual code" is based on concepts, theories. For STRAUSS and COBIN (1996) concepts are conceptual definitions and etiquettes, which organise aspects of phenomenon, such as occurrences. On the other hand 2) "in vivo codes" are codes deriving from the text and are not filtered and influenced by concepts (theories, e.g.: Transnationalism). The result of the first phase is a list of concepts, which will be abstracted to categories in the axial coding phase (cf. KUCKARTZ, 2010: 75).

KUCKARTZ (2010) defines a category as a tool to classify phenomenon, categories have attributes and characteristics, which represent theoretical important aspects. For GLASER and COBIN categories are an independent conceptual element of a theory. Categories are a classification of concepts (Ibid: 75). This attributes have a continuum, for example a "experience of distance" varies between strong/intensive and low/no problem.

I stuck on principal ideas and questions for the coding process. Main questions to the material to identify phenomenon and to classify them were: Which aspects are addressed here? What's happening here? Who is involved? Why? What is the aim and purpose of the event? When? Where?

In the second phase – axial coding – the circular approach is even clearer. First one by one interview was coded. As a result the number of codes become quite numerous (approx. 185 codes in total). In this phase the aim was to structure the codes (describing phenomena), to put them into relations to each other and doing so to establish dimensions and hierarchies (within a hermeneutic frame as a paradigm of coding). Labelled (coded) text segments of all interviews are organised together into categories and subcategories. The development of dimensions is important during this process. This whole axial coding process shifts the analysis into a more

and more abstract level and dimension. The result is a broad spectrum of main categories (meta-categories) and containing sub-categories (cf. Ibid: 75-75).

In order to implement the hermeneutic frame as a paradigm of coding, I set the focus on whether the phenomena are a cause/condition or a consequence/result or a contextual aspect of other phenomenon in order to shed light on underlying strategies and patterns. Another focus for me was to depict variations and contradictions. Thus it was possible to reflect and consider the analysing material in a comparing thinking and perception manner (cf. Ibid: 75-82).

The third and last phase – the selective coding – aims at identifying the key category. This aim is accomplished by systematically putting into relation of the meta-categories. The results are revealed patterns. These patterns are the basis for the deduction of theories (Ibid: 77-78). The analysis resulted into five Meta-categories rather than one main category.

In conclusion, although the theoretical coding method mainly represents an inductive approach, the coding process (whether in-vivo or –conceptual coding driven by theoretical approaches) or the interpretative work depends also on the already existing knowledge of the researcher. According to my understanding of the Grounded Theory, this “accumulated knowledge” -perspective derives especially from intensive engagement with each interview. Thus, with every additional text the perspective on patterns and underlying structures and strategies enhanced and developed further.

QDA Software

For the analytical process I used the QDA (Qualitative Data Analysis) Software, «Atlas.ti 6.2». On one hand it took some time and effort to get familiar with this powerful tool but on the other hand due to the intensive coding process I gained even more insight of the empirical data. This process takes time but as a reward, with the help of the software its possible to structure, to connect, to identify underlying relations and to display the complex connections of the relationship of different codes, sub-categories and categories. Also the memo function is a powerful tool. Hence the analysis process could be documented, temporally thoughts and draft categories could easily be managed and organised with the memo tool. As well the research diary, developments of ideas were implemented with this tool. Since the software does not work on Apple computers, it was a great help that the University of Vienna provides the software in it's computer rooms.

1.3. Field Research

The principal intention for this thesis was to focus on migratory trajectories of Latin American immigrants. The interest, motivation and affinity on migratory processes of Latin American collectives arose mainly due to my voluntary year in Nicaragua. The personal interest on migration phenomena derived from personal background as well from the focus of my studies. Genoa (Italy) was chosen for private reasons but in the end by accident. Beforehand I know really little about the migratory situation in Genoa. Being there I learnt that Genoa is might the most interesting spot in terms of Latin American immigration in Italy (and maybe not just about Latin American migratory patterns). However, at the beginning I was too shy, too uncertain to plunge into the empirical studies. An intensive literature study about the situation of Latin American immigrants in Genoa was important for the purpose of a first thematic insight. But key for the empirical study was the attendance of an Italian Language school facilitated by the city administration. There I meet a broad diversity of immigrants²⁴. Thanks to this language course I was able to gradually delve into (especially Latin American) migratory processes in Genoa.

As already stated, the guide for the interview developed over the time. The very first interview I accomplished with a representative of the "Casa America"²⁵, Mr Andrea Gualco. In the end I did not use the interview actively for the analysis but Mr Gualco is key in my empirical work since he was the central nodal point for many other interviews. Thanks to his recommendations I met people through the "snowball effect" I would not have met otherwise. Through his contacts I could mainly meet Latin American decent people strongly engaged in ethnic²⁶ organisations (e.g.

²⁴ Diversity, in the meaning of gender, origin, age, socio-economic background and purpose of the attendance of the language school. Most of the people had to accomplish certain levels of language capacity in order to meet demands linked to their residence permit. Since my purpose and background (i.e. EU citizen) was totally different I personally felt as a "privileged immigrant" in Genoa.

²⁵ This non-profit association was established in 2000 and mainly serves as a cultural bridge between Italian and Latin American countries. The association organises cultural, social, political events, lectures, and seminars. It also publishes a periodical thematic magazine. Two of them I utilised in this work. Overall Casa America is seen as an academic, elitist organisation among immigrants thus only a small part of Latin American immigrant visits or even know about this organisation, as the representative Andrea GUALCO told me in the interview. <http://www.casamerica.it/>

²⁶ According to Max Weber (1976), the concept of "ethnicity" refers to group of people, which is constituted by a belief in common ancestry and culture and thus forms a homogeneous group identity. Therein certain cultural elements such as language, dress, customs and religion are used as symbols of difference and exclusion. For Fredrik Barth (1969) ethnicity has nothing to do with the cultural things that divide the members of a society. Rather ethnicity means how different groups delimit from each other. Ethnicity is how members of social groups articulate or represent their differences to other social groups. Ethnicity is therefore a social and cultural product (cf. REINPRECHT, 2012: 19-23).

Cristina), - engaged in politics, the «COLIDOLAT»²⁷, the director of «Centro Studi Medí»²⁸ Andrea Torre and for example Nicolas, who worked at Casa America in the past. Especially Mr Torre and Mr Gualco made me valuable presents, as they gave me informative books about the particular Latin American migration phenomena in Genoa. Grazie mille! Another key figure in the field study was the interaction with Zoila Katuska Bajaña Espinoza. I met her through her diligent and ambitious engagement on topics and projects to raise light and give voice and visibility to Latin American decent residents of Genoa (1st and 2nd Generation of immigrants). Besides, every interaction (i.a. interviews, participations on events) inspired my research; especially the language school, the first interview with Mr Gualco, and the interactions with Mr Torre and Zoila were crucial and very important for this study!

1.3.1. Immigrants as Experts

For this study in total 28 interviews were realised. Out of these 28 interviews, 13 were chosen to be analysed in detail due to structural limitations of this thesis. In addition five other interviews are taken as subject-specific expert-interviews. Although not all interviews could be taken for the analysis, all interviews were reflected within the participatory observation approach, as well all influenced the analysis in general by bearing each particular trajectory in mind. Thus each of the 28 interviews added values to the analysis. Most important to mention, in order to meet general standards of ethics in science and because of confidentiality – with the exception of the interviews with Mr Andrea Torre and Zoila Bajaña²⁹ - ALL interviews were anonymised!

The borderline between “expert interviews” and “non-expert-interviews” became blurred for two reasons. The first reason is a general approach in which people interviewed about THEIR lifeworld and thus their own point of view on their reality

²⁷ The “Coordinamento Ligure Donne Latinoamericane” (COLIDOLAT) established in 2005, is a social non-profit association, whose aims are: to work for peace, solidarity and justice, promoting human rights, civil, political and social issues with particular regard to the cultural identities of the Latin American population. Its activities are designed to give visibility to the many skills of Latin American women in the field of education, teaching, linguistic, literary, artistic, social, welfare, political, cultural, legal, business, as well as many others. <http://www.colidolat.org/>

²⁸ The association was founded in 2003 and is operating studies and research in the field of immigration phenomena in Genoa. <http://www.csmedi.com/> (all three accessed on 14.6.2012)

²⁹ Especially during the period of working on the analysis of the empirical data, I stayed in touch (emails, Facebook, Skype, Whats App) with some of the interviewees in order to recheck and clarify meanings and ideas of their interviews. So it happened that, by asking Zoila which synonym she prefers for herself, she stressed that it would be a pleasure for her that her full name will appear in this study: “*Llamarme así en tú tesis. Llamame simplemente zoila. con apellido Sera un placer*” (Chat on Gmail with Zoila on 27.5.2013).

just can be seen as “*internal experts*” on their own subjective experience (LUCKMAN, 1979 cited in FROSCHAUER et al., 2005: 36).

Second reason is that some of the interviewed individuals can be seen at the same time as experts of their personal experience as Latin-American immigrant but also as expert due to their profession dealing with related issues (intercultural mediator, Leader of a migratory association or even as a municipal politician). I also interviewed Italian decent people, professionally dedicated to the comprehensive thematic of Latin American immigration in Genova (researcher, street worker or a conducting member of an Italian association).

1.3.2. Interviews in the Field

The recording of the interviews took place in Genoa, in the period from 21st February until 23rd June 2012. After I gained confidence through the first interview, and with the revised interview guide I did my first interviews with mates and friend from the language school. The friendship relationship with the most of the interviews helped me intensively to generate all the interviews. To greater extent, this amicable relationship, gave me the extraordinary opportunity to really get into the diverse lifeworlds, biographies, experiences, points of view of the interviewed people. Here again, an honest Thank you to every one, Muchísimas Gracias de todo corazón!

In addition, this self-confidence in my professional work helped and empowered me to get more actively into the inhomogeneous “Latin American community”.

Taking the interviews became a momentum. Less and less I need and thus gradually less I referred to the interview guide during the interviews. Given the aim to access very private biographic experiences the duration of the interviews were quite long (Between 32 minutes and 2:26 hours; the average duration was 1:18 hours). Except the interviews with Andrea Torre and Andrea Gualco (Italian and English), all interviews were held in Spanish language.

1.4. Fundamentals of International Migration

1.4.1. Becoming a Migrant

In 2010 about 214 million people were living outside their country of birth, which represents about 3,1% of the world's population (UNITED NATIONS, 2010 cited in REINPRECHT et al., 2012: 14). The global average increase of international

migration flows is around 2%. International migration flows are unequally distributed: One third migrates to a few countries, USA, Canada, Japan, Germany, UK, France and Italy. This figure demonstrates that only a part of all international migrants heads to “Northern Countries”. A huge number of international immigrants migrate within the “global South” (South – South rather than South – North). The highest numbers of unregistered international and internal migrants are recorded in Africa and Asia. Nevertheless this number is also increasing in Europe (Ibid).

214 million humans represent a small fraction of the estimated world population. Accordingly 3,1% of the world’s population doesn’t live “permanently” in the country they were born. FAIST (2000b) affirms that about half the world's population could be “potential migrants” (FAIST, 2000b: 4). Yet, only a small fraction out of these “potential migrants” will become migrants. But this international point of view is just one side of the coin. This international perspective has blind spots on internal migration flows. *„Most of potential migrants in the South either migrate internally, or do not migrate at all“* (Ibid).

In conclusion, as FAIST (2000b) tries to get to the bottom of migratory processes: *“Why are there so few international migrants out of most places? And why are there so many out of so few places? Only once migration out of a few places has started, do we see relatively more people moving”* (FAIST, 2000b). My understanding of this quote is that analysing migration depends on the point of view, the perception, and the conception of migratory processes. Definitions, concepts and mainly theories help to conceptualise dynamics, processes, and patterns.

1.4.2. Migration in the Light of Globalised Capitalism

Recent international migration flows can’t be analysed without the context of «Globalisation» and global «Capitalism». Globalised Capitalism – with its economic lenses -blurs national borders in order to foster unbounded flow of capital, goods, consumption cultures and even normative political ideals. But such national borders are even more clear and effective again when it comes to a global mobility of human beings. It seems that national borders became the task to separate the global rich from the global poor (cf. HOUELLEBECQ, 2000: 21-28).

HOUELLEBECQ (2000) defines «Globalisation» as the prevailing development of the neoliberal economy towards an unbounded globalised economic system. The neoliberal economy - as a paradigm - strives to detach the responsibility of the economy for social standards and social justice by withdrawing the national

regulatory embedment towards a global unregulated sphere (Ibid: 23). Crucial component of the capitalised Globalisation is the capital market and trade. Therein capital is high mobile across borders since control and regulative measures are quite weak. This high mobility of unbounded capital could seriously harm national economies (e.g. Mexico 1994, or the Asian financial crisis in 1997) (cf. Ibid: 24-31). The tipping point for this study is that analysing international migration phenomena needs to include the context of Globalisation. Causes for international migration are not always directly caused by Globalisation but global migratory movement from the “Global South” towards the “Global North” are directly linked to Globalisation. Global connectivity of transport and communication are condition of international migration. The economic aspect is central in the Globalisation and in turn the strongest pull-factor for international migration (cf. TODD, 1998: 16 et seq. cited in Ibid: HOUELLEBECQ, 2000: 32).

Scholars, such as GLICK-SCHILLER et al. (1992) stress the economic, social and political factors in the country of origin and in the country of residence that structure the flows of international migration. They also explain the strategies of survival and multisided practices of migrants and potential migrants. Those strategies are constituted within the global historical context of discrepancy of power and inequality (cf. GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992: 8). The world nowadays is “*bound together by global capitalist system*” (Ibid). Therein, the authors are pointing on the economic factors that structure the flows of international migration. Roughly to say, a global restructuring of capital caused a shift of economies, which created (especially in economically poorer countries) a displaced and unemployed labour force (cf. Ibid: 9).

1.4.3. Definitions and Conceptual Basics

The introduction (1.1) offered already an attempt to define the concept and phenomenon «migration». Therein the social-, political- and economical constructed pattern of the term migration was elaborated. This paragraph aims at discussing and defining central terms and concepts to this study.

Again, migration is to be understood as a social construct. Nation-states decide who is defined as immigrant, emigrant, as refugee or as “illegal”³⁰. Most

³⁰ As Chapter 3.4 elaborates, no human being is illegal! Therefore the terms «undocumented» or «irregular» will be used in order to hint on the legal status of stay. Opposed to the sense of Italian law: “(...) *foreign nationals having entered Italy without a regular entry visa are considered as illegal immigrants whereas foreigners who no longer meet requirements for staying in the national territory (...) are irregular immigrants (...) according to regulations in*

states follow the definition of the UN for the status of immigrating individuals. Since the aspects of time and space (spatial) are two central categories in the understanding of international migration, these aspects influence the definitions (cf. (REINPRECHT et al., 2012: 15-16). The UN (1998) published a recommendation of international migration definitions based on spatial and time categories. Therein the UN distinguishes between short-term migrant and long-term migrant. The short-term migrant defines a person who moves to a country, which is different to the usual residence or different to the place of birth, for a period from three up to twelve months while a long-term migrant characterizes a person regularly residing longer than 12 months (cf. UN 1998: 18 cited in FASSMANN, 2012: 68).³¹ Third country, in turn denotes a Non-European Union member country.³²

Some scholars make a distinction between “voluntary- and involuntary migration”, such as for refugees³³. But the understanding of voluntary or involuntary is a broad one. Thomas FAIST (2000b) stresses that *“refugees are not synonymous with involuntary migrants and labour migrants are not with voluntary migrants. Refugees and labour migrants are dichotomous distinctions applied by authoritative collective agents to international migrants. “[T]he continuum of forced to voluntary can apply to either refugees or labour migrants.”* (FAIST, 2000b: 25). Thus the terms refugees and labour migrants are used by nation states and the continuum from involuntary to voluntary is influenced by the degree of freedom available to individuals. (cf. Ibid).

For REINPRECHT et al. (2012) social science considers migration as permanent change of the place of settlement, a movement and mobility by crossing borders and the change of cultural settings in the new place of residence. Out of the complexity of different dimensions of conceptualisation of migration (i.a. legal status, motives, political) the literature distinguishes various concepts inter alia by circular migration (several exit and entries into countries), seasonal migration, labour migration, family reunification, transnational migration (cf. (REINPRECHT et al., 2012: 13-15). Thus the aspect of permanent stay is relativized.

force, [they] must be removed” http://www1.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/en/themes/immigration/_be (accessed on 21.3.2012).

³¹ Bearing this concepts in mind, in the follow the terms migrant, immigrant will be used in the meaning of an international migrant who is or plans to reside longer that 12 months in the / or several countries of destination.

³² http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_SDDS/EN/migr_flow_esms.htm (Accessed on 21.3.2012).

³³ “Under International Law, a refugee is defined as a person with a “well-founded fear of persecution” for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group.” http://www.unesco.org/most/migration/glossary_refugee.htm Accessed on 24.4.2013

Typologies of – International - Migration

In the follows of this study the term migrant will be used equally with other conceptual terms and typologies deriving from the academic discourse. This is due to the fact that it is complex – even not possible – to typologise the whole process of migration without reducing and simplifying the inherent complexity of migratory phenomena. This is because processes are always an open-ended process and a result of acting people in social networks and opportunity structures and since there are no international recognised characteristics (cf. PRIES, 2010: 59). Nevertheless, at least some criteria should be established and discussed in order to approximate towards a preliminary definition of «migrant». Doing so, FAIST (2000b) established five criteria on the construction of typologies of migrants: 1) territory: e.g.: from domestic to international; 2) time scope: e.g.: from temporary to permanent; 3) scope of flow: e.g.: individual, family, group, mass-migration; 4) cause and motives: e.g.: from voluntary migration (labour, education, family reunification, etc.) to involuntary or forced refugee ascendance or human trafficking e.g.: for sexual exploration; 5) legal status: e.g.: from legal to “illegal” (cf. FAIST: 2000b: 22). To conclude, the argumentation of Saskia SASSEN (1999) stresses the transnational (translocal) focus of this study: *„Migrations are acts of settlement and of habitation in a world where the divide between origin and destination is no longer a divide of otherness, a world in which borders no longer separate human realities”* (SASSEN, 1999: 6).

1.4.4. Positioning and Contextualisation in the Field of Research

Figure 1 presents an overview of the three analytical levels. (1) The Micro-level inhibits the individual values, preferences and expectations of the migratory project. Therein motives, aspirations and migratory visions are articulated. (2) The Meso-level embodies collectives and social networks. These social networks include social ties, which can be in their attribute either strong (kinship, e.g. family ties) or weak ties. The social networks also include symbolic ties and transactions as content of ties, which inter alia are social capital, responsibilities, solidarity and reciprocity (FAIST, 2000b: 31-32). (3) On the other hand the third level, the Macro-level. *“Political-economic-cultural structures denote an array of factors in the emigration and destination countries and in the international political and economic system of nation-states”* (FAIST, 2000b: 32).

<i>MICRO</i> values or desires and expectancies	<i>MESO</i> collectives and social networks	<i>MACRO</i> macro-level opportunity structures
<i>individual values and expectancies</i> – improving and securing survival, wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation, and morality	<i>social ties</i> – strong ties families and households – weak ties networks of potential movers, brokers, and stayers; <i>symbolic ties</i> kin, ethnic, national, political, and religious organizations; symbolic communities <i>content of ties</i> – <i>transactions</i> obligations, reciprocity, and solidarity; information, control, and access to resources of others	<i>economics</i> – income and unemployment differentials <i>politics</i> – regulation of spatial mobility through nation- states and international regimes; – political repression, ethnic, national, and religious conflicts <i>cultural setting</i> – dominant norms and discourses <i>demography and ecology</i> – population growth; – availability of arable land – level of technology

Figure 1: “Three Stylised Levels Of Migration Analysis”. (Source: FAIST, 2000b: 31).

Push-Pull Model

The first generation of international migration research is the Push-Pull model. Therein, both factors embedded in two different countries and societies are set into relation. As the schematic arrows in Figure 2 indicate the flows between this two regions are seen as distinct movements as immigration and return migration. Typical categories are economic-, demographic- and political factors. The advantage is that this model includes at least both societies / localities (origin and destination) within the analysis. Also it covers both, structural and personal factors and preferences influencing migration decisions (cf. FAIST, 2000b: 11).

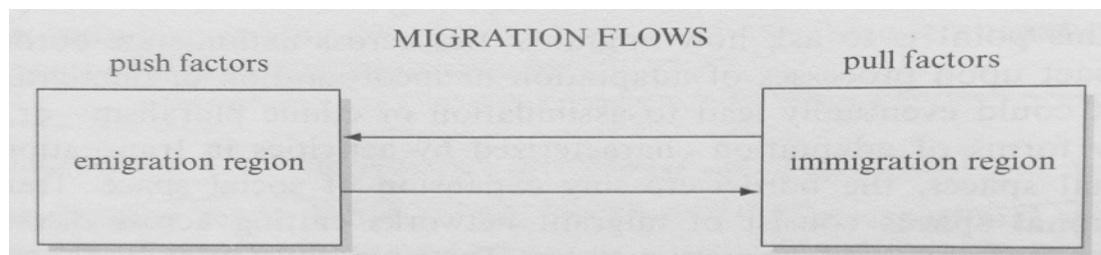


Figure 2: “Stylised Push-Pull Model of Migration”. Source: FAIST, (2000b: 12).

Centre-Periphery Model

Likewise as in the latter model also linkages between the emigration states and the immigration states connects them together. But as Figure 3 indicates, in this model the international migration flows between the periphery (“Global South”) and the centre (“Global North”) is just one among other linkages that connect them together. The migration flows are embedded in structural dependence of the periphery towards the centre region within a capitalist world economy. Manifold linkages tie the periphery regions and the centre regions together (i.a. trade, military, cultural cooperation). This approach mainly focuses its analysis on the Macro-level (cf. Ibid: 12).

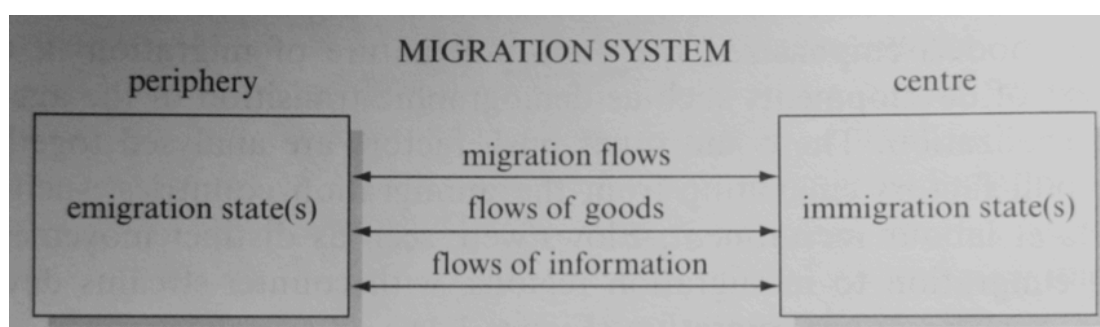


Figure 3: “Stylised Centre-Periphery Model of Migration”. (Source: FAIST, 2000b: 12).

Transnational Model on Migration

Different to the latter two concepts, the third generation of international migration scholars conceptualise not just two or a few direct linkages between emigration- and immigration states but rather a merge of linkages, which in turn constitutes transnational social space (cf. Ibid: 12). The distinction between country of emigration and country of immigration blurs, since e.g. transmigrants move back and forward. Thus migration and migratory mobility as such are not anymore seen as single one-way journeys but rather tend to become an integral part of the life of migrants (Ibid).

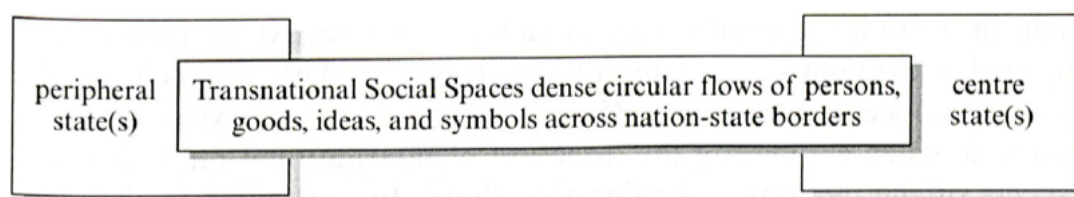


Figure 4: “Stylised Model of Migration in the Transnational Social Space”. (Source: FAIST, 2000b: 13).

1.5. Structure and Organization

The study is divided into two main parts: Theoretical- and Empirical Part. Chapter 1 opens the Theoretical Part of this study. After the objective and leading research question are presented in order to give a clear direction of this research the concepts of the methodology for acquiring and analysing the empirical data are presented. Afterwards this Chapter briefly sketches the circumstances and the development of the empirical research. Some conceptual basics, definitions and positioning of this research conclude Chapter 1. Building on these fundamentals, Chapter 2 aims at presenting, discussing and finally developing the theoretical framework of this study. Chapter 3 is besides the analysis the second pillar of this study. It analyses in detail – both – the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of migration and especially Latin American immigration patterns in Genoa. Since the unit of analysis of this thesis – migratory trajectory - is located within the Micro-Meso level (social actors and its proximate real and virtual environment) also the analysis of the embedment within the contextual Meta-level (legislation, historical-, political-, economical- and social aspects) is indispensable. Profound statistical data and literature of migratory processes in Genoa sourced this Chapter.

As the heart of this study, Chapter 4 opens the second part, the Empirical Part. This comprehensive Chapter presents the results of the analysis of the empirical data. The main categories – which emerged inductively – structure the analysis. Therein, the 13 qualitative interviews are set into context with elaborated theories and literature. Finally, the results of the analysis of the interviews are summarised and discussed by setting them into context with five expert interviews. At the end of this Chapter a brief conclusion wraps up the main findings and links them with the leading research question and sub-questions. This paper closes with subjective reflections on the research process and a resulting outlook for further research in Chapter 6.

The Appendix offers a further summarised and profound inside on each of the 13 migration biographies. Interview guide, transcription paradigm and a network diagram of the derived categories of the analysis are also presented in order to document the process of analysis of this study.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter aims at (1) limiting and positioning the theoretical field of research, as well (2) to develop and discuss established concepts on international migration processes.

The quite diffuse Meta-concept of «transnationalism», as a general approach aims at positioning and understanding international migration processes in a globalized³⁴, connected and dynamic global society. Subsequently this Chapter moves towards a specification of a “Macro-Meso-Micro connected concept”. Therein, transnational analysis also contends analytical focus on migration networks and social capital.

The theoretical framework of this study aims at developing a Macro-Meso-Micro concept that tries to meet the requirements given by the leading research question and the central unit of analyses of this research: the daily lifeworlds of international migrants, residing physically on one certain geographical place – Genoa, Italy – but conceive and analyze their migratory history, experience, trajectories in an cross-border context of ties and networks, back to their place of origin³⁵ - and sometimes even to further localities.

2.1. Transnationalism and Transmigration

To give a first definition, the wider approach of «Transnationalism» and «Transmigration» in the field of migration processes aims at analysing migration phenomena embedded in a globalised, -interacting, -mobile environment rather than within a closed national state, perceived as a «container» (cf. PORTES, 2003; SMITH & GUARNIZO, 1998, VERTOVEC, 2001 and GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992). Before discussing different concepts of transnationalism, the focus should be given first to the vivid academic discourse, whether the phenomena - conceptualised as transnational - are new and to what extent the transnational concept is a “one-catch all” approach.

PRIES (2010) asserts that the term and concept of transnationalism is vague and often used in an unspecified manner. Since the 1990's the transnational concept got increased attention in the light of the broad discourses about the concepts and term Globalisation. Alike the term of Globalisation, transnationalism also became more

³⁴In the meaning as elaborated in Chapter 1.4.2, Migration in the Light of Globalised Capitalism

³⁵ Sometimes social fields of individuals are spanned over more than two places crossing national borders (cf. FAIST 2000b, GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992)

and more a “one catch-all” concept and term. The more often transnationalism was mentioned and elaborated the more often the concept became obscure and unclear (PRIES, 2010: 11-12). In order to avoid becoming a “catch-all” approach, PRIES (2010) especially highlights the cross-border aspect as trans-national. Given that perceived social reference areas (time-spatial) are no longer local; analysing social phenomena can’t be done solely within national dimensions. Rather, they extend across national borders. In other words, social fields (social space of perception and interaction) of individuals are no longer just constituted within one locality in one nation-state but rather multiple-local beyond national borders and boundaries (cf. Ibid: 12-13).

In their book the authors, GLICK-SCHILLER, N., BASCH, L. and BLANC-SZANTON, C. (1992) claim –covered by empirical evidence - that transnationalism is a new migration experience, which is increasingly becoming global phenomenon and differs from significantly from other migration experiences (GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992: x). The authors define «transnationalism» as *“the emerge of a social process in which the migrants establish social fields that cross-geographic, cultural and political borders”* (Ibid: ix). A central element of transnationalism is the *“multiplicity of migrant’s involvements in both the home and the host societies”* (Ibid). Also a central premise to the conceptualisation is that *“transnationalism is grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of migrants”* (Ibid: 5). The scholars go further and define immigrants as «transmigrants» *“when they develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political – that span borders”* (Ibid: ix). *“Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns and develop identities within social networks that connects them to two or more societies simultaneously”* (Ibid: 1-2). In terms of geopolitical- and economic system, the hypothesis of the book also claims *“that transnationalism is becoming increasingly a global phenomenon as populations in capital-dependent countries are everywhere forced to migrate to centres of capital in order to live [and that the] manner in which transmigrants conceptualise their experiences, including their collective identities, is very much shaped by both the political and economic context of the country of origin and the countries of settlement of the transmigrants”* (Ibid: x). This transnational (trans-local) aspect is crucial for this study. Since it set the migrant and his/her daily lifeworlds and migratory history in the center of analysis.

On the other hand, PRIES (2010) claims that transnational phenomena are not totally new because for example during the huge migratory waves in the 19th

century from Europe to America transnational ties and relationships were already crucial (PRIES, 2010: 30). Of course increased technology of communication and transport enable a “new” dimension and degree of opportunities to maintain this ties (cf. REINPRECHT et al., 2012: 20-21). In opposition, GLICK-SCHILLER et al. (1992) claim that the new patterns of migration (i.a. maintaining ties with the locality of origin) are rather caused by mentioned prevailing global economic and social system (-order) than solely by mentioned technological development (cf. GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992: 9). PORTES (2003) supports REINPRECHT et al. (2012) that transnational phenomena are not totally new but different in its degree and patterns due to the development of technology:

“[A]lthough plenty of instances of transnationalism can be found in the history of immigration, the phenomenon has been given a big push by the advent of new technologies in transportation and telecommunications which greatly facilitate rapid communication across national borders and long distances. (...) This explains a good part, if not all, of the density and complexity achieved by contemporary immigrant transnationalism and indeed is largely responsible for its discovery as a phenomenon” (PORTES, 2003: 875).

GLICK-SCHILLER et al. (1992) underline that the transnational approach of international migration research doesn't claim to mark a new type of migrant but strives to analyse nowadays migration processes through a global perspective. This is in order to understand the differences and similarities of past and present migration processes (cf. GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992: 9 and 19).

The reality of immigrants is not solely shaped by forces embedded within the Meta-level, such as political, economical, legal or institutional factors:

Although “the development of transnational migrant experience is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism (...) [a]t the same time transmigrants reshape these contexts by their interactions and resistance” (Ibid: 5). A mean of resistance to global political and economic situations, are expressed by transmigrants – intend and unintended – in their everyday life through maintaining different racial, national and ethnic identities (cf. Ibid: 11). In this study the act of migration is rather seen as an act of individual of collectives (families) to strive for personal advantages rather than for the purpose of global resistance.

As it was already touched upon, the relatively vagueness of the concept of transnationalism could tend to be a “catch-all” approach. This could be seen as a weakness on one hand, but on the other hand transnationalism should be understood as a Meta-concept, which aims at dissolving the dichotomizing view of

"emigrant", "immigrant", "non-migrant" or "potential migrant" and thus extends the framework of analysis of a mobile world society:

"At the end of the day, each transnational field of study – whether it is focused on corporations, NGOs, religions, migrants or whatever – shares a kind of common goal: to look empirically at, and to analyze, transnational activities and social forms along with the political and economic factors that condition their creation and reproduction" (VERTOVEC, 2001: 3).

In the follows the Meta-concept of transnationalism will be specified along the particular field of analyses (Social Capital, migrant networks, family ties and Transnational Social Space).

2.2. Migration Networks, Social Capital, Motives and Decision Process

"Social networks don't just concern how people are connected: they also affect the circulation of resources, which can be defined as anything that allows an actor to group to 'control, provide or apply a sanction to another social actor: money, facilities, labor, legitimacy, group size, discretionary time, organizing experience, legal skills, even violence'" (VERTOVEC, 2001: 3).

2.2.1. Migration Networks³⁶

At a glance, the theories and concepts about migratory networks try to analyze and explain the persistence and self-reproduction of international migration processes. Social networks are crucial components of social ties and relationships and networks are woven of social relations and establish the linkages between people in the locality of origin and the locality of residence. Thus such networks tie social actors across-border together.

"[M]igrants and their descendants remain strongly influenced by their continuing ties to their home country or by social networks that stretch across national borders" (LEVITT at al., 2004: 1002).

As channels of information these cross-border networks can reduce the costs and risks of migration for potential migrants still residing in the region of origin. This category of analysis is important for this study in order to scrutinize inter alia the decision-making processes of Latin American immigrants.

"Interactions within social networks make migration easier by reducing the costs and risks of moving. The social network paves the way for establishing transnational migration network (...) Informal networks help migrants to finance their travel, to find a

³⁶ Synonymously the term "migratory networks" or "social networks" or solely "networks" are equally used in the follow.

job or accommodation. Migration networks enable migrants to cross borders, legally or illegally [sic!]" (HAUG, 2008: 588).

These networks can create a sense of belonging to places, to relationships and of multi-dimensional exchanges (transfers) between involved individuals (e.g. social, political, cultural -ideas, -norms, -values, financial transfers, journeys, etc.). This aspect is crucial to understand (intended and unintended) strategies of Latin American immigrants in Genoa to cope distance to their –mainly – family members in the country of origin.

"[T]he basic idea was, and is, that network structures provide both opportunities and constraints for social action. Network ties also function by way of channelling the flow of material and nonmaterial resources" (VERTOVEC, 2001: 7)

To sum up cross-border social networks are key for the constitution and reproduction of transnational social spaces. (cf. FAIST, 2000b, GLICK-SCHILLER et.al., 1992; PORTES, 2003; VERTOVEC, 2001; PRIES, 2010 and OROZCO, 2006).

2.2.2. Social Capital

"Social capital [is] the set of recourses inherent in social and symbolic ties" (FAIST, 2000b: 98).

Social Capital is a collective resource that is based on a mutual feeling of "belonging" and creates and reproduces itself through interpersonal relationships. Social capital is in constant flow of material or symbolic exchange and must be maintained through constant interaction. The permanent interaction can be institutionalized, established, re-produced formally or informally (through practices). Social capital is from great individual and personal importance within international migratory dynamics (cf. FAIST, 2000a; LEVITT, 1998; VERTOVEC, 2001; HAUG, 2008). In order to analyse individual migratory trajectories this analytical category also need to be considered.

Social capital is linked to particular locality and hence cannot easily transferred to other places. Human capital (education, expertise, etc. of one individual) and social networks are linked and attached to a certain place. For example, one's specific knowledge and social connections could facilitate in obtaining a job in one particular locality but not automatically in another (especially cross-border) spatial settings.

"[H]uman capital or social capital cannot easily be transferred from one place to another. Location-specific capital ties persons to particular places, referencing goods which are not available everywhere, assuring that utility would be lost or diminished if the person were to migrate to another place. The idea that a decision to leave implies the partial or complete loss of location-specific assets (...)" (HAUG, 2008: 588).

In this study the particular localities are Genoa and mainly the locality of origin in a Latin American country (inter alia Ecuador, Peru and Colombia).

2.2.3. Decision-Making Process and Motives

Location-specific social capital is key within the decision making process. As the empirical analysis will show (see 4.3), location-specific social capital mainly in the potential country of origin is key for investigated immigrants within the decision making process, in obtaining housing and work as well as to maintaining ties and within the “integration process” (e.g. migratory associations).

“Location-specific social capital at the place of destination plays a decisive role in the migration decision of potential migrants. The attractiveness of places of residence is determined by the location-specific social capital, that is, by social affiliation or relation” (HAUG, 2008: 591).

Hence, social networks and its transferred social capital are strong factors to influence migratory decisions (whether emigrate or not, destination and degree of migratory mobility):

“Migration research has established that social networks are commonly an important determinant of migration plans and the choice of destination. (...) Being embedded in social networks thus has a significant influence on migration decisions. The social and cultural context influences whether direct or indirect economic factors such as life cycle or education positively affect migration decisions. (...) Social and cultural factors determine firstly whether migration takes place; secondly in what form migration takes place, i.e. whether it is permanent or circular; thirdly the choice of destination; and fourthly migrants’ experiences in their new environment” (Ibid: 588).

In order to conceptualise the decision-making process within the influence of social ties (kinship, community, etc.), migratory social networks can be both, a pull or a push factor. HAUG (2008) lists five hypotheses:

(1) Affinity hypothesis: Social networks (i.a. relatives, friends) at the locality of origin negatively affect the migratory mobility of individuals in the locality of origin. Reasons are inter alia assumed difficulties of “integration”, investment costs, strong local kinship ties. (2) Information hypothesis: Social networks at the locality of destination are a pull factor since relatives and friends already living in the society of residence establish attractiveness for non-migrants in the country of origin due to transfer of information and social capital. (3) Facilitating hypothesis: Social networks at the locality of destination are a pull factor. Here social capital is transferred, which facilitates the adjustment to the potential locality of destination of so far non-migrants. These transfers could be for example a potential job, housing, material or financial support for the journey or support to obtain a regular legal status. (4)

Conflict hypothesis: Social networks at the locality of origin serve as a push factor. This push factors likely to enable a decision to emigrate could be conflicts within the family (divorce, domestic violence, etc.). (5) Encouraging hypothesis: Social networks at the locality of origin are a push factor. Therein the focus is again on the family bond. Families as a collective of social actors are likely to encourage certain family members to emigrate for the purpose of work. This could be due to the aspiration to increase or secure the income of the household. Hence here migration decision is caused by a collective decision regarding migration as an economical strategy (cf. HAUG, 2008: 589).

The analysis will allude that all of this five hypothesis regarding the manifold influence of social capital within the decision-making process are characteristic within the migratory trajectories of interviewed immigrants.

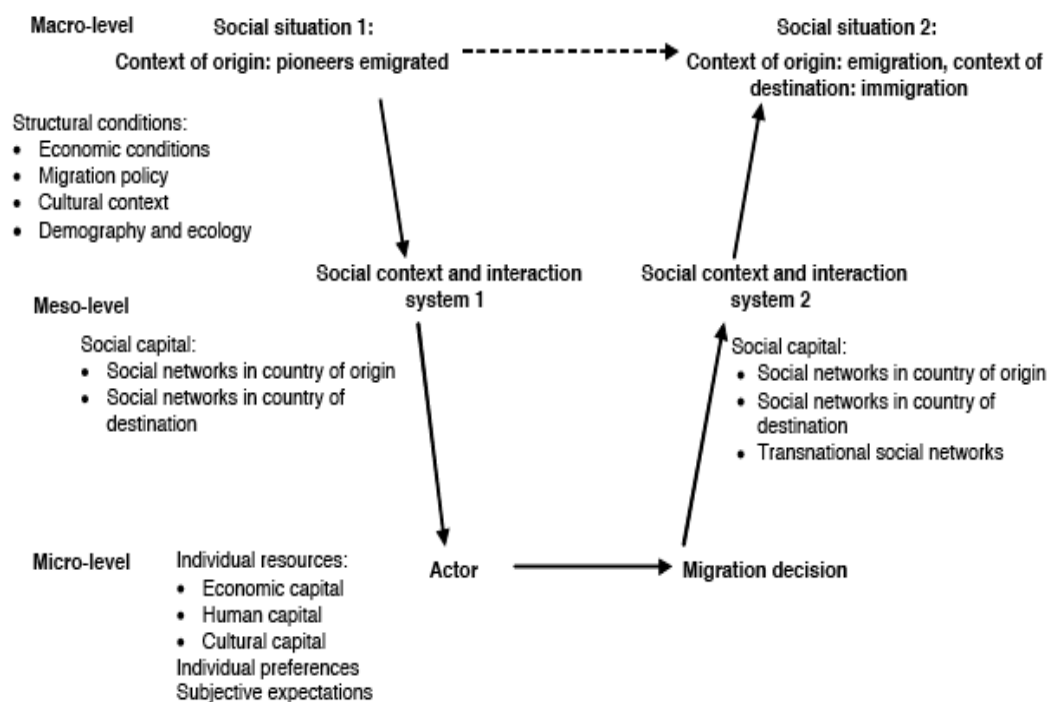


Figure 5: "Multilevel model of migration decision-making process and social networks." (Source: HAUG, 2008: 590).

The decision making model of Figure 5 schemes the interplay of rational choice theory and social capital. Therein the decision-making process takes place within the interplay of the Micro-Meso-Macro level across borders. The individual social actor (e.g. family member) represents the Micro-level and is embedded within a social context, which in turn represents the Meso-level. Both levels are embedded within the structural conditions of the Macro-level (cf. HAUG, 2008: 590-91).

Moreover, empirical data of HAUG's (2008) research on chain migration from Italy to the USA deduces three stages of chain migration: (1) pioneer migration (2) labour migration (3) family migration.

For the pioneer migrant the migratory project is relatively the most difficult. The pioneer decides the destination and establishes social networks back to the origin. The risks and costs are the highest. The pioneer migration shifts towards a labour migration when for example immigrant work encourages though the information hypothesis and the facilitating hypothesis non-migrants in the origin also to emigrate. Non-migrants become emigrants due to prospective. In case the increasing collective of immigrants decide to stay longer they most likely try to bring their families. This schematic (linear) process is understood as chain migration (cf. Ibid: 590-92).

As the analysis will depict, the immigration process of Ecuadorian citizen in Genoa could be seen in its pattern as a family based chain migration (cf. AMBROSINI et al., 2004: 93). According to QUEIROLO PALMAS (2005) Ecuadorian immigrants - as a collective - in Genoa are on the way of constructing a "colony" with a myriad of activities, functional to their daily life (economic, information, services, relationships, religion, etc.) (Cited in CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 61 and QUEIROLO PALMAS et al., 2005: 40).

2.3. Transnational Social Space and Fields

2.3.1. New Concept of Space vs. Container

The term transnational was first used in economic science. Therein the conceptualisation of a homogeneous "container" of an economic area was prevalent, to analyse incoming and outgoing capital flow (cf. PRIES, 2010:20-24).

Ludgar PRIES (2010) points out that in the last 200 to 300 years the social space and perception of individuals' daily life correlated with the geographical space, the territory of national spaces. Hence, the concepts of national social societies go along with the geographical perception of national states and thus concepts of "container" alike national societies emerged (Ibid: 19). This perspective is by far too narrow in a connected world. Therefore broader concepts of understanding international migration are needed. Especially GLICK SCHILLER et al. (1992) shifts away from traditional notions of nationalism towards a global, a kind post-national perspective. Within an „*analytic framework for transnational studies*“ the homogenous analytical

perspective of a “*national container*” claims to be replaced (. cf. GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992: 6-9).

2.3.2. Transnational Social Space Concept

Transnational perspectives on migration enables to understand the immigrant experience by revealing the numerous and different layers and sites that make up the social spaces migrants inhabit (cf. LEVITT, 2005: 1). Since the focus of this study is on the individual migratory histories and trajectories of immigrants, this concept is key for the analysis.

The concept of «Transnational Social Space» basically strives to set a perspective (analytical unit and concept) that enables to understand the interdependent influence, exchange and transfers between migrants in their social setting in the country of residence and non-migrants in the country of origin. Involved social actors are tied together across borders through ties and networks. In other words: *“In some cases, the ties between migrants and non-migrants are so strong and widespread that migration radically transforms the lives of individuals who remain at home”* (LEVITT, 2005: 2). Through social ties across-borders migrants and non-migrants (e.g. family members in the place of origin) influence mutually their daily lives throughout inter alia transfers, actives and practices they remit, such as ideas, behaviours, practices, identities, social capital, financial capital (remittances), stories, photographs, etc. (cf. Ibid). The lives of at least both societies – localities- of origin and of settlement - are brought together by cutting across national borders into a “*single social field*”, which is composed of networks, activities and their pattern of lives (cf. GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992: ix).

Since transnationalism (as such) is a Meta-concept, which is depending on the focus of analysis of transnational phenomenon – a specification needs to be defined. Therefore the concept of «Transnational Social Space» in general and in this study in particular focuses on the phenomena and patterns of changes of migrant’s social relations within space (time-spatial) caused by transnationalism - on the Meso-Macro level. Therein the repercussion and interaction between the Macro and Meso-Micro level is set into connected analyse. For example: on the Macro-level a Transnational Company is analysed, but also the social impact on the employees on different localities (Meso-Macro) around the world can also put into the context within an transnational analysis (cf. PRIES, 2010: 84-91).

People living in different social worlds located in physical places in two or more nation states which are connected through ties and interdependent. FAIST (2000a) defines the concept of transnational social space as follows:

“Transnational social spaces are combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions. Cultural, political and economic processes in transnational social spaces involve the accumulation, use and effects of various sorts of capital, their volume and convertibility: economic capital, human capital, such as educational credentials, skills and know-how, and social capital, mainly resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties” (FAIST, 2000a: 191).

Focusing on dynamic social processes of individual immigrants in this study demands an analytical perspective, which includes all influencing social fields. Thus, again a transnational perspective in this study is indispensable.

2.3.3. Transnationalism from Below

GUARNIZO and SMITH (1999) raise the question: *“what are the boundaries of transnationality?”* in their critical discussion to capture the vague *“deterritorialized”* approach of transnational studies (GUARNIZO and SMITH, 1999: 12). Therein, transnational studies are divided into *“from above”* and *“from below”*. From above captures the macroeconomic and globalization processes.

“Despite the high level of fragmentation in the literature on transnationalism, the concepts of ‘deterritorialization’ and ‘unboundedness’ have gone unquestioned” (Ibid).

«From below» rather deals with the everyday life of people in a transnational environment. With this approach biographies of transmigrants are discussed and local structural factors are considered in the context of a life cycle. Within this subdivision – from below - informal economic processes, ethnic nationalism, and grassroots movements are also explored, but need to be set into its local context. Also in the centre of the analytical focus are the daily survival strategies of migrants, their views and their feelings of belonging. Again, the individual (Micro) is in the centre of analysis, because there are the individual members of societies who constitute networks and create transnational practices:

“‘From below’ it faces the decentring ‘local’ resistances of the informal economy, ethnic nationalism, and grassroots activism. These developments are sometimes viewed in celebratory terms. For some they bring market rationality and liberalism to a disorderly world ‘from above’. For others they generate conditions conducive to the creation of new liberatory practices and spaces ‘from below’ like transnational migration and its attendant cultural hybridity” (GUARNIZO and SMITH, 1999: 12).

2.3.4. Localisation of the Transnational Social Fields

But where are these transnational social spaces are located? In this regard GUARNIZO and SMITH (1999) question on how «unboundedness»' is possible? The term unboundedness is used in the meaning of total disconnection from local structural circumstances and social rootedness. Transnational social spaces (and fields) are always rooted in certain localities though their social actors. Thus "unboundedness" needs to be seen in a rather broader sense (cf. Ibid: 12).

Therefore the scholars establish the term and concept: "*triadic connection*", which analyses the cross-border locality to locality relations as "*translocal*", in which the already migrated migrant is tied together in his locality of settlement and the locality of origin:

"Translocal relations are constituted within historically and geographically specific points of origin and migration established by transmigrants. Such relations are dynamic, mutable, and dialectical. They form a triadic connection that links transmigrants, the localities to which they migrate, and their locality of origin" (Ibid: 13).

To sum up, transnational social spaces are established social ties between social actors at least between two unequivocal cross-border localities. Of course, this ties can't be totally unattached from meta-level circumstances but still provide individual space for negotiation for involved social actors. Such ties are maintained through it's mutual containing practices and transfers:

"While transnational practices extend beyond two or more national territories, they are built within the confines of specific social, economic, and political relations which are bound together by perceived shared interests and meanings. Without such social closure, without a basic sense of shared meanings (...) it would be unthinkable for any person to try to establish any kind of relations across national territories (...)" (Ibid).

As the analysis will demonstrate, the social ties across-borders (Genoa to the locality of origin in Latin America) of the majority of interviewed immigrants are central in their daily life and hence their migratory trajectories.

2.3.5. Social Symbols, Artefacts, Practices and Transfers

Again, within a transnational social space social actors (companies, organisations, individuals such as migrants and non-migrants) act with a different degree of "institutionalisation", carrying out different practices (activities) and establish, maintain and shape relationships and ties (cf. PRIES, 2010 and FAIST, 2000a).

These cross-border phenomena, which - are locally settled in different national societies - constitute relatively permanent and tight social relationships, social

networks and social spaces (PRIES, 2010: 13). For FAIST (2000a) transnational social spaces or transnational social fields refer to sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders across multiple nation-states, ranging from little to highly institutionalized forms (e.g. whether Nestlé is the social actor or an immigrant within a family network) (cf. FAIST, 2000a: 192). For PRIES (2010) transnational social spaces are dense institutionalised linkages, which contain social practices, artefacts, and symbolic representations. They span a durable, cross-border social space at least between the country of origin and the country of arrival (PRIES, 2010: 107). This means that the everyday acting structures artefacts. Artefacts are resulting from social practices and represent symbols. Symbol systems, however induce an actual meaning to this interplay of social practices and artefacts (Ibid). Transnational practices can be communication means such as writing an email or to phone, or economical transfers such as sending money. Moreover artefacts can be means of infrastructure such as an Internet-connection, or a radio station and symbols can be cultural traditions, habits, cultural patterns deriving from one certain locality or hybrid characteristic (Ibid). Thus a clear example could be a headscarf (artefact) is worn in a certain local context in daily life (social practice) and is given a certain symbolic-meaning due to the local contextualisation.

Transnational activities are imbedded within political, structural and social context which shapes the form and degree of these activities (cf. GUARNIZO and SMITH, 1999 and PRIES, 2010). The question about the localisation of the transnational social fields are answered in different ways among scholars of transnationalism. For example GUARNIZO and SMITH (1999) argue, that transnational practices, which constitute and reproduce transnational social fields can't exist with being located in at least the sending and the receiving society:

"[T]ransnational practices, while connecting collectivities located in more than one national territory, are embodied in specific social relations established between specific people, situated in unequivocal localities, at historically determined times (...)"
(GUARNIZO and SMITH, 1999: 11).

Transnational activities can be social, cultural, economic or political. Important in this regard is the interdependent impact on social actors, their environment living in certain localities. (cf. PRIES, 2010 and GUARNIZO and SMITH, 1999). Activities can take place in just one locality, in several or within in several localities. For example social and cultural activities could be a Latin American dance course, folklore event with typical food and songs but also can be content of phone call, sending pictures mutually, sending money, exchanging ideas, or listening an Italian song in Quito that

a family member posted on Facebook; or also could be the engagement of an immigrant in a cultural or social migrant association in Genoa.

One of the most evident and tangible transnational in the migratory process activities are financial transfers between the country of settlement and the country of origin (FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA, 2010: 93). A political activity could be a participation of election on distance but also political campaigning in the country of residence can be seen as transnational activity because the scope of influence and impact spreads and impacts across national borders.

Social remittances are ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital of social actors tied across borders (cf. LEVITT, 1998). LEVITT (1998) defines three types of social remittances: (1) normative structures, (2) systems of practice and (3) social capital, but all three have to interact in order to constitute social remittances. (cf. LEVITT, 1998: 2). (1) Normative structures are values, ideas and beliefs. *“They include norms for behaviour, notions about family responsibility (...) and aspirations for social mobility. They encompass ideas about gender, race, and class identity. They also include values about how organizations should work, incorporating ideas about good government and good churches and about how politicians and clergy should behave”* (Ibid: 2-3). (2) In turn, systems of practice are clear actions, which are shaped by normative structures. They include *“how individuals delegate household tasks, the kinds of religious rituals they engage in, and how much they participate in political and civic groups (...)”* (Ibid: 3). (3) Finally, social capital is based on the latter both -values and norms- and also constitutes social remittances. Exchange of social remittances occur when social actors (migrants, non-migrants) exchange, interact physically or virtually: For example *“[W]hen migrants return to live in or visit their communities of origin; when non-migrants visit those in the receiving country; or through exchanges of letters, videos, cassettes, e-mails, and telephone calls”* (Ibid).

The degree of participation in this transnational social space is fluent and not defined. LEVITT (1998) stresses the mutual – interdependent – influence of social actors living in different localities but tied together through social ties:

“People, money, and social remittances -- or the ideas, practices, identities and social capital that migrants remit home, permeate the daily lives of those who remain behind, altering their behaviour, and transforming notions about gender relations, democracy, and what states should and should not do. Non-migrants hear enough stories, look at enough photographs, and watch enough videos of birthday parties and weddings to begin imagining their own lives elsewhere” (Ibid: 2).

This aspect of the theoretical framework is important in order to trace individual experiences and daily life situation of interviewed immigrants. For example, thus the mutual impact of communication and social interaction can be included in this analysis.

2.3.6. Transnational Family

“Transnational family is a unit with household members across borders who stay in regular contact to maintain their bonds and responsibilities” (OROZCO, 2006: 2).

The concept of transnational family is important within the theoretical framework in order to conceptualise the embeddedness of interviewed immigrants within their family setting. This is due to the given general characteristics of Latin American immigration in Genoa. The migration flow is characterised by female centred family migration, which causes a strong family network as a channel for potential and future immigration (LAGOMARSINO & TORRE 2007: 51-52).

SØRENSEN (2005) defines a family as a domestic group, which is related to each other by bonds of blood, sexual mating or legal ties.

“Within social theory, the concept of the family generally denotes a domestic group made up of individuals related to one another by bonds of blood, sexual mating or legal ties. The family is generally defined either in terms of the kinds of relations and connections encompassed by the institution (...) or in terms of its functions (e.g. regulation of socialization, sexuality, labour and consumption)” (SØRENSEN, 2005: 3).

LEVITT and GLICK-SCHILLER (2004) define transnational families *“as social reproduction taking place across borders”* (LEVITT and GLICK-SCHILLER, 2004 cited in SØRENSEN, 2005: 3).

For VERTOVEC (2004) transnational family life is the *“everyday provenance of most migrant transnationalism”* (VERTOVEC, 2004 cited in SØRENSEN, 2005: 1).

BRYCESON and VUERELA (2002) approach transnational families as *“families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, but yet hold together and create a feeling of collective welfare and unity (...). [A] familyhood across national borders”* (BRYCESON and VUERELA 2002: 3-7, cited in SØRENSEN, 2005: 3). The scholars further argue that transnational families *“have to cope with multiple national residences, identities and loyalties. Like other families, transnational families are not biological units per se, but social constructions or ‘imagined communities’. And like other families, transnational families must mediate inequality amongst their members, including differences in access to mobility, resources, various types of capital and lifestyles”* (Ibid). As elaborated above, transnational families and its

members as social actors constitute social ties (transnational social space) and are in mutual exchange of practices, activities and transfers. For example, financial transfers are an example of activities and transfers within transnational family ties (cf. OROZCO, 2006: 2).

2.4. The Concepts of Lifeworld and Migratory Trajectory

According to Alfred SCHÜTZ (1993) the everyday experienced «lifeworld» (which is taken as presupposed and inter-subjectively shared by individuals) includes the «Social Environment» and the «Social Contemporaries». Every person experiences her/his ontogenetic development, socialization and the knowledge stock necessary to orient themselves in their everyday world and to master their everyday life (SCHÜTZ, 1993 cited in PRIES et al., 2010: 161). So, the concept and term lifeworld indicates the experienced social space of individuals. The spatial and temporal immediacy is essential for the surrounding social situation and reality world (cf. Ibid: 160). Adding transnational aspects to the concept, PRIES (2010) stresses that due to the emerge of the transnational perspective on international migratory processes the lifeworld of individuals are increasingly understood as constituted and influenced across national borders. Their daily life strategies and daily life worlds are influenced not just by one locality. PRIES also utilizes the term “*Globalisation from below*”, which was introduced by SMITH and GUARNIZO (1998) (cf. PRIES, 2010: 34). Of course, in the today's global connected world, one's daily life is influenced, shaped and constituted not just by the proximate local social and cultural environment. For example, national borders do not limit the spread of norms, values, fashions and products since national states are not a social container. In contrast, a simple MTV video clip or YouTube video can spread norms and values around the globe with different impacts on individuals (cf. Ibid: 169). Thus, the Micro-sociological level of everyday action of “casual” people is addressed with the term lifeworld, as PRIES (2010) emphasises (Ibid: 33).

Within the same train of thought, the term «Migratory Trajectories» captures individual life courses of all types of migrants. There is a divergence of the understanding of the term among scholars. For example, LAPAH et al. (2013) point in their concept just on insertion process of the whole migratory process:

"Migratory Trajectory refers to the means used by immigrants in the process of their migration and insertion in their places of destination. Four types of trajectories have been identified namely: spatial, social, network and economic trajectories (...). A

migratory trajectory in itself would be shaped by social capital through social network." (LAPAH et al., 2013: 183).

IN turn, DE MIGUEL-LUKEN et al. (2009) conceive migratory trajectories as analysing *"the routes, paths, places of settlement or residence and the migration flows between towns and regions"* (DE MIGUEL-LUKEN et al., 2009: 2).

In this study, the concepts of «life world» and «migratory trajectory» consequently will be understood as the whole migratory course of individuals. Thus, it also includes the socio-cultural background of individuals, their whole biography related to their migratory project.³⁷

DE MIGUEL-LUKEN et al. (2009) stress in their study on the importance of analysing migratory trajectories in order to understand migratory strategies:

"The reconstruction of the trajectory of migrations (...) in all its complexity and without 'breaking' the chain of movements can help us to understand the migratory strategies within the territory, and the factors -family, work, accommodation- that are behind these patterns of mobility" (DE MIGUEL-LUKEN et al., 2009: 2-3).

This quote reflects exactly the analytical goal of this study, which aims at scrutinising the underlying patterns and strategies of immigrant's physical and social mobility by analysing their individual migratory trajectories. Thus, the concepts of lifeworld and migratory trajectory will be used as the main analytical unit of this research and consecutively this both terms will be used equality.

2.5. Concepts of "Integration", Identity. Towards Post-Multiculturalism

Since the analytical emphasis of this study focuses on the social actor immigrant and his/her social ties (mainly family ties, Mico-Meso-level), the process of "integration" into the society of settlement as well the multi-dimensional aspects of personal adjustment and transformation also need to be covered by the theoretical framework. The process of "integration" is manifold. Social science proofs that maintaining multidimensional ties with the country and region of origin (Transnationalism) does not impede the integration process of immigrants. This sub-chapter aims at introducing terms and discussing research done on this topic.

³⁷ For example, their family setting, life in the origin, decision-making process, motives and visions, and of course the experience of the migration itself until the daily life in the society of the country of destination. In other words, both - migratory trajectory and lifeworld - conceive the whole individual migratory experience, -process and -history.

2.5.1. Concepts of Integration: Assimilation, Inclusion, and Equality

There are several concepts on how integration is understood (mainly addressing immigrants rather than the whole diversity of a society, e.g. other marginalised groups such as handicapped individuals). The mostly still dominant conceptualisation of integration is multiculturalism, which means the side-by-side coexistence of different as "homogenous imagined cultures" in one homogenous, static society (cf. VERTOVEC, 2009: 44 et seq.)

Another definition for the term «integration» hints on the politicisation of this normative concept and its underlying intention on nation-building:

"In the broadest sense, integration means the process by which people who are relatively new to a country (i.e. whose roots do not reach deeper than two or three generations) become part of society (...) [It is also] a highly normative concept. Integration as a policy objective implies an assumption about a desirable social order, with a high degree of internal cohesion. It is part of the process of nation-building. This makes it attractive to policymakers, who aim for stability and order, but it can impede the recognition and acceptance of difference. The normative dimension of integration often remains concealed, when access to the services and institutions of a society is conceived as a procedural matter, with the public sphere acting as a neutral arbiter of universal needs" (RUDIGER and SPENCER, 2003: 5).

The concept of «assimilation» asserts that the integration process of immigrants means, "[T]heir assimilation to pre-existing, unified social order, with a homogeneous culture and set of values. Integration is perceived as a one-way process, placing the onus for change solely on migrants" (Ibid: 4). Integration needs to be seen as a complex process with consists of multi-layered practices (social, cultural, economic). There is no "one fits all path" on how integration process should look like.

"Integration is not only a reciprocal process. It also consists of complex and multi-layered practices: economic, social and cultural (...). There is no integration paradigm that generations of migrants and receiving societies could follow. Integration can take place differentially in different sectors of society" (Ibid: 6).

Since this concept of integration focuses on a one-way assimilation concept of homogenous socio-cultural background into another homogenous – container alike cultural and social setting; thus other more sophisticated concepts are needed.

The concept of «Inclusion» and «Participation» tries to overcome the difficult heritage of the concept integration. The concept doesn't not sorely addresses the inclusion of immigrants into an inhomogeneous society but rather addressing all social group and minorities. Inclusion further stresses "*democratic notions of access, agency and change*" (Ibid: 5). In contrast to assimilation, the concept of «Social Cohesion» and «Equality» base on the assumption of a pluralist society and archives

equality through social interaction of different communities. Therein multi-dimensional and various notions and conceptions of identity and belonging exist (cf. Ibid: 6). But any attempt of inclusive and participative process of integration need at its basics the principal of equality in diversity especially in the legislative manifestation. The recognition of cultural difference (norms, values, etc.) need structural / legal framework. The law needs to treat migrants and (ethnic) minorities as equals to the majority of the society. Thus: *“Any conflict that arise from a clash of values, which underpin cultural practices of different groups, can be resolved in democratic mechanisms of negotiation and reconciliation, open to all groups”* (Ibid).

The understanding of “integration” / inclusion / insertion / incooperation is a multidimensional dynamic process, in which all individuals of a society are involved striving for a comprehensive inclusion of the whole society’s diversity. The society, as a dynamic process is in constant transformation. Therefore the terms «inclusion» and «insertion»³⁸ will subsequently be used in this study.

2.5.2. Concept of Hybridity

Again, this study can not ignore the complex dynamic process of identity formation and negotiation. Therefore the concept of hybridity will be elaborated since it emerged as the most suitable concept for the analysis of the interviews. For Stuart HALL (1995) «hybridity» (hybrid identities) emerge as something new out of difference: *“[N]ot by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of “identity” which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference”* (HALL, 1995 cited in LUKE and LUKE, 1999: 231-32). For LUKE and LUKE (1999) the tipping point is the importance of the place connectedness of identity: *“As a positioning, identity is thus place-bound both conceptually and geographically. Identity and experience are constituted by and emerge within specific localized Contexts (...)”* (Ibid: 231). Most important in this regard is that that hybrid identities are not just about a mixture of two or more cultures but rather an emerge of something new out of a difference:

“[C]ultures and hybridities are a creation of something new out of difference (...). Hybridity should mean no more than that the various ways of being and thinking

³⁸ Thus, in the follows the terms “inclusion”, “integration”, “insertion” will be used equally in this elaborated meaning.

available are continuous, recognizing that segmentation is continuous and that ruptures are willed" (Ibid: 231-32).

For GLICK-SCHILLER et al. (1992) immigrants or transmigrants create *"fluid and multiple identities"*, which are grounded in both (or more) societies of origin and new settlement through their complex web of social relations across borders (cf. GLICK-SCHILLER et al., 1992: 11).

To conclude this train of thought aiming at overcoming a narrow-minded and politicised notion of "culture" and "belonging", *"(...) culture is (...) viewed as a translocal or even a transnational learning process. Fluidity and not fixity, spatiality and not locality mark this notion"* (FAIST, 2000a: 215).

Transnationalism as Key for Pluralist Societies and Identities

Steven VERTOVEC (2009) underlines that *"[M]odes of transnational participation have complex and generally positive interplays with processes of integration"* (VERTOVEC, 2009: 54). Addressing the process of «Integration» and «Inclusion» to the society of settlement, for VERTOVEC it is an overwhelming fact that, since «new immigrants» move into places, which are already inhabited by previous migrants, the integration- and interaction process of new immigrants in the first stage takes place among these immigrants and ethnic minorities groups (Ibid: 65). Therefore, to bridge the linkage again to transnationalism (its inherent social and symbolic ties and its intrinsic transfers and practices) FAIST (2000a) underpins that transnational practices are key for the emerge and reproduction of a pluralist society:

"Under propitious conditions – such as modern technologies (satellite or cable TV, instant mass communication, personal communication bridging long distances through telephone and fax, mass affordable short-term long-distance travel), liberal state policies (poly ethnic rights and anti-discrimination policies), changing emigration state policies (reaching out to migrants living abroad for remittances, investment and political support), and immigrant capacities to mobilize resources (organizational, social and human capital) – transnational syncretism of culture finds a fertile breeding ground" (FAIST, 2000a: 215-16).

3. Contextualisation of the Field of Research

“The repeated adoption of emergency measures (...) in order to control migratory movements seems to indicate that the [Italian] state mechanism is unable to deal effectively with a phenomenon that is not novel and thus should have been dealt with through ordinary legislative or other measures.”³⁹

This chapter will emphasise on the phenomenon of Latin American Immigration⁴⁰ in Genoa and its particularities such as being female coined, consistent growth and its structural commitment. Moreover the legal framework, its synthesis as well its problematic effects will be examined.

3.1. Introduction to a Quantitative Approach

3.1.1. Degree of reliance of statistical data acquisition

Before quantitative statistical data will be analysed in this study, it is indispensable to discuss its degree of reliance and credibility. BORKERT (2005) highlights the difficulties of statistical measure on immigration. As well as in other European countries statistical census data, which are collected by public authority are used in Italy to measure immigration. BORKERT emphasizes that their acquisition of data inhere structural defects (BORKERT 2005:56). Particular aspects of immigration processes are highlighted while others are underexposed due to the fact that a certain picture of immigration is transported through immigration policy with reflects (subliminal) ambitions and goals (Ibid). Therefore also other sources of quantitative data will be used in this study. The annual report on immigration in Italy⁴¹ published by the Caritas the Migrantes Foundation to draw a wider understanding on the Italian migration process.

³⁹ (Former Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, Thomas Hammarberg, quoted in FASANI 2008: 80).

⁴⁰ Subsequently the terms: immigrant, foreign citizen, foreign resident, foreign national, foreign permanent resident, foreign population or collective will be synonymic used to denote characteristics such as not holding the Italian citizenship and/or not born in Italy but permanently residing in the territory of Italy and holding a regular status (resident permit); Latin American decent resident of Genoa. Third-country national, in turn denotes Non-European Union member countries and the commonly used term in Italian language is “*cittadini extracomunitari*”.

⁴¹ “The dossier examines various aspects on the basis of a wide range of statistics: the international context; migration flows and residing people; the world of work; regional contexts; refugees and the reception system”. http://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/index_en.php (accessed on 18.03.2012)

3.1.2. European Union and Migration Policy

European Union failed so far to establish a coherent and coordinated migration policy regime system.

Around 69% of 48 million regular international immigrants in the EU (EU 27) are from third-countries. About 60% of this residents from third-countries are born outside the European continent. Since 2000 Italy and Spain has by far the highest net inflows of migrants (followed by France, Germany, Greece, Ireland and UK). Therein, labour is the main reason for migration (cf. COLLETT et MÜNZ, 2010: 5-6).

The historical aspects have had an impact on current immigration policies, not just in Europe (COLLETT et MÜNZ, 2010: 7). Immigration policy of EU member states diverges due to its particular historical migration patterns, existing migration stock and national labour markets. The historical component is marked either by historical bilateral ties with former colonies (Belgium, Netherlands, France, UK) or through temporary migration programs to recruit labour force (Austria, Germany, Switzerland) (COLLETT et MÜNZ, 2010: 7).

From the beginning migration policy was made separately by each country without profound coordination among receiving countries and neither with main sending counties (PASTORE, 2009: 56). This led to an increasing awareness of the need of intra-governmental coordination (within the EU) to overcome the shortcoming of such unilateral policies, starting in the 1980s and mainly in the 1990s (Schengen agreements). With both, the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 and the Tampere European Council in 1999 a common European migration policy⁴² was launched aiming to shift migration policy from bilateral to supranational level⁴³ (PASTORE, 2009: 57).

But ever since the EU member states have made slow process in developing a common position and - rather more important – a common, coherent migration policy. Neither the strengthened role of the EU in this filed of policy given through the

⁴² The continuation of the underlying security and control approach of the EU policy approach is evident: "They [10 principles] aim at ensuring that legal immigration contributes to EU's socio-economic development, EU countries' acts are coordinated, cooperation with non-EU countries is developed further and illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings are tackled effectively." http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/jl_0001_en.htm (accessed on 18.03.2012)

⁴³ Some programs, such European Migration Network (EMN), established in 2008; "Blue Card"; The European Council on Justice and Home Affairs launched the first five-year plan guide lining Justice and Home Affairs of EU member sates with the Amsterdam Treaty 1997. Since then, the second programme -The Hague Program, adopted in 2004 – aimed at establishing a Common European Asylum System by 2010, which has not been developed so far. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2009:155:0017:01:EN:HTML> and <http://emn.intrasoft-intl.com/html/index.html> (Both accessed on 20.03.2012).

Lisbon Treaty (2007) facilitated a coherent EU migration policy regime⁴⁴. These “stop policy” patterns of unilateral policy-making and the stigmatisation of migration⁴⁵ as a primary security issue still continues to characterize the migration policies within the EU. (PASTORE, 2009: 56).

Concluding this line a thought a quote of Saskia SASSEN is a perfect match:

„Europe’s history (...) shows the extent to which the status of the outsider – the one that does not belong to the extant community – marks the immigrant. Phenotype, religion, or ‘culture’ have never been, in fact, the most important markers (...). The actual differences in culture or religion or phenotype come to be taken as an ‘objective’ difference and hence ‘problem’” (SASSEN, 1999: XVI).

Mentioned observations proof that “zero-migration” policy is not a realistic policy goal (COLLETT et MÜNZ, 2010: 7).

3.2. Italy in Figures

First of all its important to state that – compared to “traditional immigration countries, such as UK, Germany and France” – Italy is quite a “new immigration country” but still with one of the highest annual increase of entry-flows in the EU. As it will be developed in this section: just since the early 1980’s Italy turned from an emigration- to an immigration country and in the follow its migration policy changed crucially and intensively over the last two decades.

3.2.1. From an Emigration- to an Immigration Country

The quite recent (two decades) immigration developments in Italy can be investigated without bearing the long and intensive emigration history of Italy in mind. During the “massive emigration wave” from about 1876 to 1915 it is estimated that around 14 million Italian citizens emigrated mainly to United States of America, Brazil and Argentina to find work and a better life.⁴⁶ The countries with the highest number

⁴⁴ <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSEX/EX1.htm> (accessed on 18.03.2012)

⁴⁵ Also in the light of The Hague Program, the first EU agency for external border security, «FRONTEX» was established in 2004. FRONTEX agency can’t be mentioned in this study without pointing on a profound, multi-dimensional perspective on the agency itself and rather on the underlying intentions and approaches of the EU (and its Member States). As an example, «FRONTEXIT» is a Non-Profit campaign to raise awareness of EU restrictive migration policy: “For more than a decade, an exclusively security-oriented approach has prevailed in European migration policy: restrictive visa policies, the construction of walls and fences, militarised control of land, air and sea borders by the Frontex agency, forced return to countries of origin, the subcontracting of migration control to undemocratic States in exchange for retribution. (...) The key figure in these non-entry migration policies is Frontex. [T]he agency plays an increasingly important role. The increase in its annual budget (from €19 million in 2006 to €118 million in 2011[!]), the military resources allocated to it by member states, as well as its growing autonomy are testimony to this.” <http://www.frontexit.org/en/about/frontex> Another example of an alternative source to official EU related sources is: <http://www.borderline-europe.de/?l=en> (both accessed on 6.5.2013).

⁴⁶ “Un secolo di emigrazione italiana 1876–1976” was elaborated in 1978 from Gianfranco Rosoli with data from ISTAT: <http://www.emigrati.it/Emigrazione/Esodo.asp> (accessed on 21.03.2012)

of “foreign Italians” are Argentina with 659.655, Germany⁴⁷ with 648.453, Switzerland with 533.821, France with 343.197, Brazil with 297.137, Belgium with 251.466 and USA with 199.284.⁴⁸

Italy bears the particularity strong of inner division (economic, political, socio-cultural). Before in the 1980’s immigration flow started to grow, Italy witnessed also a strong internal migration flows from the geographic south to the north, especially in the years of economic boom in the 1950s and 1960’s. This internal migration processes caused several social transformations. The situation most of these internal migrants faced decades ago (also still) is quite similar international immigrants face nowadays.

Thus Italy is a good example to underline the different faces of the phenomena of migration.

3.2.2. Key Figures of Italian Immigration

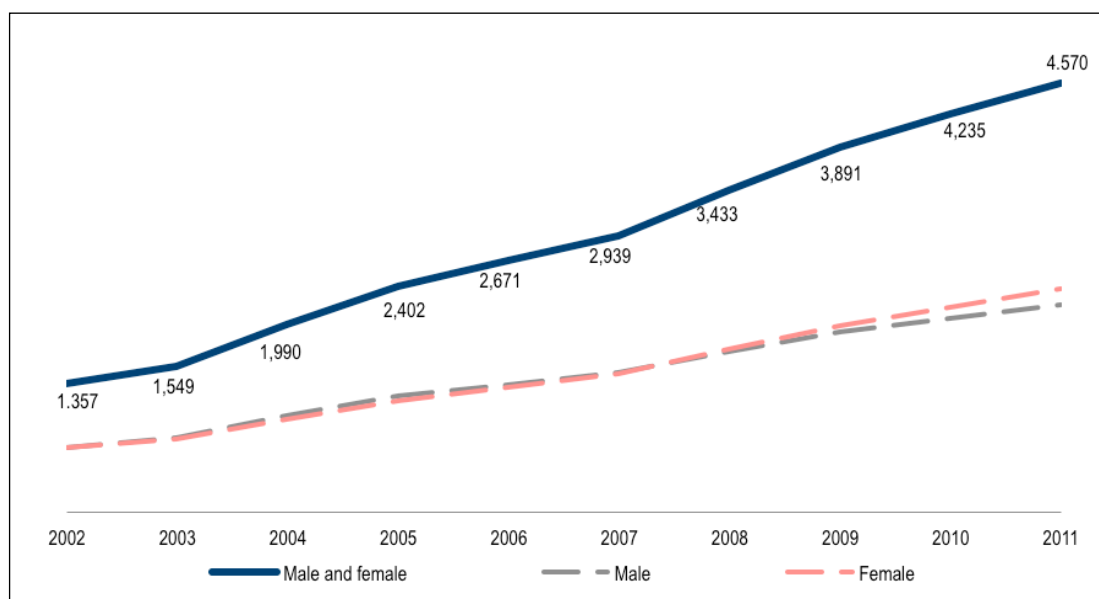


Figure 6: “Share of foreign on total population in [%].” For the period from 1.1.2002 to 1.1.2011. (Source: Figure adopted from author with Data from ISTAT 2011c).

In just a decade the number of foreign citizen in Italy increased by 4 million people. In other words, as it is shown in Figure 6, the foreign population in Italy more than tripled in even less than 10 years. Despite which statistical figures are reliable or not,

⁴⁷ See also Italian labour migration to Germany in the 1950s and 1960s: http://www.rom.diplo.de/Vertretung/rom/de/06/Patronati/patronati_seite.html (accessed on 10.7.2012)

⁴⁸ Data from the Statistical Yearbook 2009, page 89, published by the Italian foreign Ministry: www.esteri.it/MAE/Pubblicazioni/AnnuarioStatistico/Capitolo2_Annuario2009.pdf (accessed on 9.3.2012)

a clear tendency of increasing immigration towards Italy – a new immigration country – can't be denied.

According to figures from ISTAT⁴⁹ Italy had a total resident population of 60.626.442. Out of this number there are 4.570.317 foreign residents (*stranieri*)⁵⁰ which represents a rate of 7,5%. Out of this number 51,8% are female, 21,7% are minors and 2,3% elderly. The whole population growth in 2010 was 286.114 inhabitants. This is mainly due to new registration of foreigners and due to the birth of children born to foreigners in Italy (78.082 in 2010, which counts for 13,9% of all birth and increased by 1,3% to the previous year 2009). Another 40.000 minors immigrated due to family reunification to Italy in 2010. Despite the economic crisis slowed down the annual growth of immigration inflow towards Italy, it remained consistent, as particularly in the case of Ecuadorian immigration process shows (ISTAT). CARITAS/MIGRANTES Immigration Statistics Dossier 2011 estimations another 400.000 foreign citizen regularly present in Italy but not yet registered at the Register Office (*anagrafe*)⁵¹ so the whole foreign population is almost 5 million (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2011: 1). Beside that figures, it is not necessary to also mention the number of irregular (“illegal”) immigrants in Italy⁵².

As Figure 7 brings out, the share of Latin American population to the total immigrant population in Italy is quite small with 7,7% (354.186). The main group of country of origin are in the first rank the population of Peru (98.603), second Ecuador (91.625) and far less Colombia (20.571). Given to a low fertility rate for Italian women (1,29) the foreign population rejuvenate the population with a rate of 2,13 for immigrant women. The average age of the foreign population is lower than for the Italian population. The mean age of Italians is 44 years faced by 32 years of the foreign population. The proportion of “working age-population” (18-65) of foreign

⁴⁹ If not explicit stated, hereinafter ISTAT will be referred to the ISTAT data from 31.12.2010. <http://demo.istat.it/str2010/index.html> (accessed on 19.03.2012) and ISTAT (2011a)

⁵⁰ In Italian Language the term foreign citizen is denoted as „stranieri“. This concept defines citizens without an Italian citizenship. The Italian law distinguishes foreigners between EU (*comunitari*) and Non-EU citizen (*extracomunitari*) and stateless person (*apolidi*). <http://www.ismu.org/approfondimento.php?id=167> (accessed on 19.03.2012)

⁵¹ “Registration with the Anagrafe (Register Office) [of the Town Council (Comune)] is a measure enabling the mayor or his delegate to check the foreign national's habitual residence within the municipal territory (...) It is important to know that Being registered with the Anagrafe is fundamental for several administrative formalities, such as issuing a driving licence and enrolment in the Servizio Sanitario Nazionale (National Health Service).” http://img.poliziadistato.it/docs/0554_initaliainregola_English.pdf (accessed on 9.3.2012)

⁵² According to CARITAS/MIGRANTES (2010) the estimated number of irregular/undocumented immigrants (clandestini or irregolari) – is about 500.000 to 750.000 people (CARITAS/ MIGRANTES 2010:80). To demonstrate again the phenomena of politicization and instrumentalisation of immigration other sources estimate the figure with 800.000-1.000.000 irregular immigrants for the year 2010 http://www.eurispes.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2462:documento-di-presentazione-osservatorio-sulle-famiglie&catid=66&Itemid=333 (accessed on 19.3.2012)

citizen is 75,7%, which counts 10% more than the average of whole population. The group of age of 65+ of foreigner is only 2,4% faced by 20,3% of Italian citizen. To underline this picture of the aging Italian population, the group of 65+ is already exceeding in total number the group of less than 15 years of age!

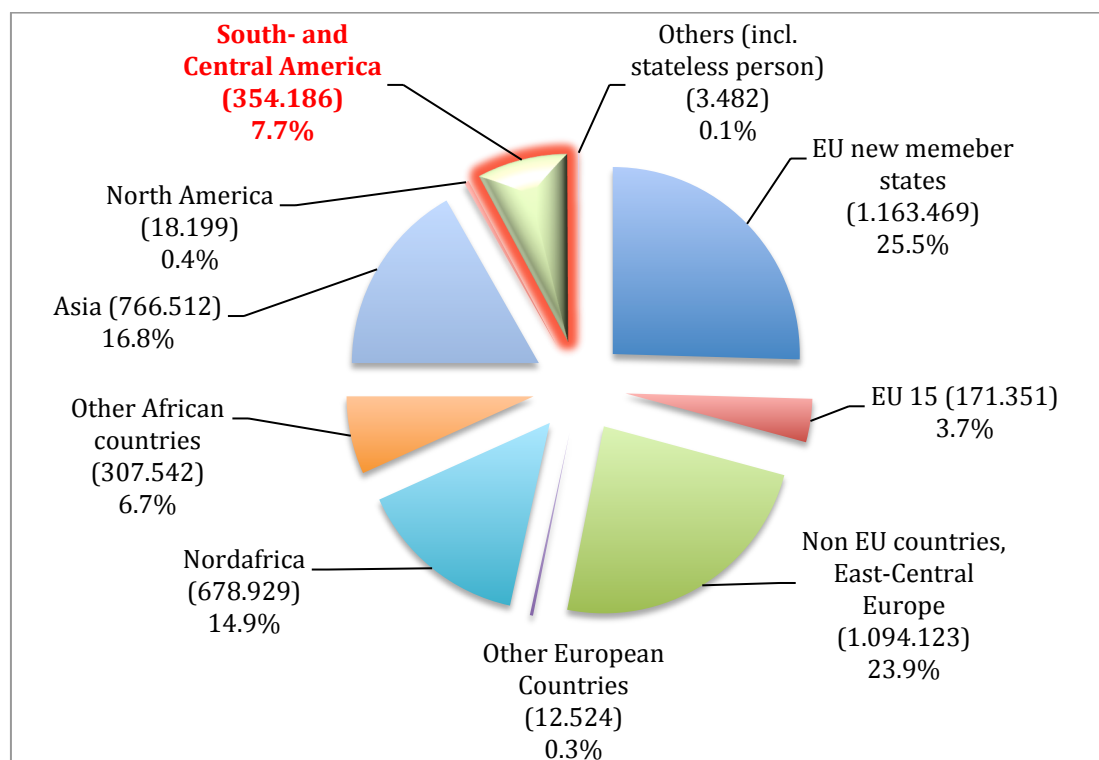


Figure 7: “Foreign residents in Italy by geographic area of nationality”. (Source: Author with data from ISTAT 2011b).

In Italy there are actually 7,9% (709.826) non-Italian citizens of total pupils (8.962.526) attending the he various levels of compulsory school, as the second-generation of immigrants⁵³. Half of stated 709.826 minors are born in Italy and hence are second-generation immigrants. But due to “*ius sanguinis*” (right of blood) they are foreigners by law without the Italian citizenship (CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2011 and ISTAT) (this issues will be elaborated in detail on p.57).

Economically Italy is divided in the two parts, the north and the south. The north of Italy is high industrialised in contrast to the economically low developed

⁵³ The mainstream term “second-generation” will alternatively be used with the – more proper – notion “new citizens” (*nuovi cittadini*). This term emphasises an including perspective on descendants from immigrated parents. Furthermore this concept is supported and used by several Italian researchers on migration processes, as well by several politicians – foremost President Napolitano - and by numerous movements striving for the change of the current citizenship legislation. As CARITAS/MIGRANTES (2011) emphasises, calling in Italy born 2nd generation as “foreigners” is far not appropriate “because they have the place of birth, residence, language, education and social system in common with Italians” (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2011: 2).

south part of Italy. The strong economic area Milan, Turin and Genoa is called industrial triangle (*triangolo industriale*). The majority of immigrants are resident in the economical stronger areas of Italy. The employment in medium-low level jobs as well affects the salary level of immigrants. The gender inequality in the labour market also can be found for immigrants. The average salary for men is 1.135€ compared to 797€ for women. The one for the low-value-added sectors like care services are even less paid with 724€ (984€ for Italians) (FONDAZIONE LEONE MORESSA 2012a: 6). The number of self-employment and entrepreneurship among foreign residents is steadily increasing (EMN 2012b: 7). Immigrants are more exposed to economic cycles. Though immigrants represent about 9% of total working population in Italy they count for 18,1% in the construction sector, which was hit the most by the “economic crisis”. Since immigrants tend to occupy employment with medium-low professional qualifications – in Italy immigrants account for one third of low-skilled workers – they are more vulnerable to economic cyclical downturns (Ibid: 3-4).

The territorial distribution of immigrants gives an uneven picture. With 35% in the North-West, 26,3% in the North-East and 25,2% in the centre are a total sum of 87% of all immigrants for the northern and central part of Italy, while in the southern area only 13,5% of the foreign population are residents. The main cities of residence of immigrants are Milan and Rome (cf. CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2011: 2).

3.2.3. Immigration to Genoa⁵⁴

Alike as Italy in general, in the 1980s Genoa started to become an international immigration destination. Before that time Italy (the same as Liguria and Genoa) was

⁵⁴ “*Genova, la superba*” means, Genoa the proud, the splendid one. This notion stems from the period of the Genoese Republic. Genoa looks back to a long, powerful but also bloody history. Maybe Genoa is best known for being the supposed birthplace of Christopher Columbus, but Genoa also was one of the major centres of trade and commerce in the middle age. From 1005 until 1815 Genoa was a small but flourishing republic with an extensive overseas empire. During the Renaissance even, Genoa was the most important maritime- and trade-power of modern Europe. Their wealth relied heavily on the gold and silver trade in Asia (China and India). The link between politics and economics and also to the influential church was characteristic and crucial for the Republic of Genoa (WINDLER et al., 2010: 38). In 1407 a group of merchants founded the powerful bank, *Banco San Giorgio*, which still exists (EPSTEIN 2002: 229). In 1528 Genoese banks gave the first loan to the Spanish empire to finance their colonial conquests (Ibid: 315ff.). Ships with silver stolen in South America were brought from Seville to Genoa with the purpose to provide capital for further ventures. The alliance with the Spanish vastly enriched Genoa's banking oligarchy. “(...) *The origins of Genoese greatness in a capitalism founded on the spoils of piracy and warfare*” (Ibid: 16). To sum up Genoa was an epicentre of mercantile capitalism, strong involved in slavery and colonization (EPSTEIN 2002: xiv and 310). Not so much remained from Genoa's “proudness”, in terms of economical and political power. In 1986 Genoa was a city in declination (especially the iron- and steel sector), thus also the economical importance of the port went into decline. The regional government tried to face this situation with economic recovery programs as well with urban planning (revivalism) and cultural and reorientation of the city towards a cultural centre and tourist destination (HILLMAN, Felicitas (2010): “I mutamenti urbanistici e sociali di Genova”. In: Ambrosini, Maurizio (Ed.) & Erminio, Deborah (Ed.) (2010): “Sesto Rapporto sull'immigrazione a Genova”. Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis. See also <http://www.italytravelescape.com/history-of-genoa.htm> and <http://www.italtrade.com/focus/genoa.htm> (Accessed on 20.05.2012).

shaped by and characteristics of immense emigration in the period between the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. From 1985 to 1995⁵⁵ Genoa was characteristic as a place rather for transit (due to the closeness to the border with France) than for permanence migration (EMN 2012b: 17). In 1981 Genoa inhabited 4.294 foreign citizens, ten years later in 1991 5.264 and in 1995 8.260 foreign residents. These figures indicate that from 1981 to 1995 it took about 15 years to double the number of foreign residents while from 1995 to 2000 the total number again doubled to 16.857 residents (cf. AMBROSINI et al. 2004: 45). In the beginning of 2011 the total documented foreign population in the region of Liguria⁵⁶ was 125.320 persons (share of 7,8% on the whole resident population), which is an increase by 9,6% to the previous year. In the most recent rapport of Immigration to Genoa, Researcher Deborah ERMINIO (2012) estimates the share of undocumented immigrants by 10%. According to this estimation there are about 136.000 foreign citizens living in Liguria (ERMINIO 2012: 32). Likewise CARITAS/MIGRANTES estimates the number of immigrants, who lost their residence permit (because of loss of occupation) residing in the province of Genoa by about 11.000 people (quoted in ERMINIO 2012: 50).

The migratory flow towards Genoa and its region has an urban character. The majority of the foreign population lives just in one out of the five provinces of Liguria, namely in the province of Genoa with 65.589 people (share of 7,4% and increase by 10,8%). To be more precise, the commune of Genoa, as the metropolitan area of the province of Genoa accounts for 50.415 foreign citizens (share of 8,3%), which represent 40,2% of the foreign population of the whole region. In other words 40,2% of the whole foreign population is distributed over 9 out of 235 municipalities.

Another particular fact of immigration to Genoa is that the distribution over the city area is quite inhomogeneous. From the early beginning of immigration flows to Genoa immigrants also settled down in the historic city centre (*centro storico*) and still many parts of the this area are associated to immigrant fellow citizens since

⁵⁵ In this period Genoa was mainly destination for immigrants from Maghreb countries.

⁵⁶ Genoa is the capital of the Region Liguria. In the first level Italy is organised by 20 regions (*regioni*). Each region is divided into provinces (province) and municipalities (*comuni*) as the smallest administrative unit. Liguria ranks 12th in total size of population with 1.617.037 inhabitants. Albeit Liguria ranks 18th out of 20 in terms of territorial extension its demographic density is the 4th highest in Italy. The region Liguria is divided into four provinces, namely Genoa, Imperia, La Spezia, Savona (ranked by population size). Liguria has 235 municipalities and nine out of them constitute the commune - respectively the city - of Genoa (*città di Genova*). Hence Genoa is at the same time the capital city of the province Genoa and of the region Liguria with 816.872 inhabitants, which ranks Genoa as the 6th biggest city in population of Italy. The urban agglomeration area, which counts 900.718 inhabitants http://www.regioni-italiane.com/genova_liguria.htm and <http://www.urbistat.it/it/classifiche/densita-demografica/regioni/italia/1/1> (accessed on 27.05.2012)

many of their residents and businesses can be found there (QUEIROLO PALMAS et al., 2005: 50). The authors LAGOMARSINO and TORRE (2007) estimated about 25% of foreign permanent citizens resident in the historic city centre (LAGOMARSINO & TORRE 2007: 43). However, due to administrative changes over the last years (requalification of the historic city centre) the rental prices in this area raised. Also due to demand of accommodation in this area prices have risen.

3.3. Genoa and the Characteristics of Latin-American Immigration

The immigration to Liguria and Genoa is characterised as structural settlement. The term structural settlement can be used because nowadays especially the Latin American collective is “structurally” committed to the labour market in the branch of in-home assistance and elder care since their first settlements, beginning in the 1990’s due to the political and economic crisis in Ecuador from 1996 onwards, what will be elaborated subsequently (cf. ERMINIO 2012: 50). In the follow, the elaborated aspects of Latin American immigration are important for analysis of the empirical data, since these aspects are –to different degree – crucial for the interviewees.

Foreign citizens from Latin American countries represent the biggest collective in the Region Liguria and in the province of Genoa, as Figure 8 clearly indicates. Out of the total foreign population in the province of Genoa 25.545 people are from Latin America, which accounts for 38,9%. The second biggest collective group is the Central-Eastern European Countries such as Albania, Ukraine with 18,7%. Third ranked is the African group (Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Senegal and Nigeria) with 15,9% (ISTAT). Thus, Latin American immigration to Italy has a metropolitan characteristic. The majority of Peruvian and Ecuadorian immigrants can be found in the cities Milan, Rome and Genoa (LAGOMARSINO 2006: 233).⁵⁷ Genoa is the only city and respectively Liguria the only region in Italy in which citizen from one Latin American country represents the biggest collective of foreign population. Peruvian citizens represent the biggest collective of Latin American immigrants in Italy. In scale of total immigration by country of origin in 2010 Ecuador

⁵⁷ Since the Ecuadorian and Peruvian citizens are the biggest Latin American collective by number (together 190.228) the metropolitan pattern of geographical residency can be adopted for the whole collective though this pattern of Dominican Republic and Colombian citizen (together 45.100) is different. Furthermore, the case of immigration from Colombia and Dominican Republic is also mainly female and its structural dedication of labour can be found in the sex industry. For instance in the historic city centre, in the narrow alleyways of the district of Maddalena the majority of the sex-workers there are predominantly from these two countries (cf. CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2011).

ranged on 13th place with about 91.000 people, Peru occupies the 12th position with 98.603 people, 60,1% are female (ISTAT). The major cities of residence for the collective of Peruvians are Milan and Rome whereas for Ecuadorian citizen also Milan inhibits the biggest collective (26.268 people), followed by Genoa (19.127) and Rome (9.079) (ISTAT, data from 31.12.2010).

Foreign population by citizenship by 31. December 2010. Province of Genoa				
Citizenship	Male	Female	Share of women	Total
Ecuador	7980	11147	58.3%	19127
Albania	4649	3698	44.3%	8347
Romania	2565	3257	55.9%	5822
Morocco	3444	1972	36.4%	5416
Peru	1274	1992	61.0%	3266
Ukraine	316	1784	85.0%	2100
China People Rep.	959	902	48.5%	1861
Sri Lanka	813	661	44.8%	1474
Senegal	1066	246	18.8%	1312
Tunisia	606	344	36.2%	950
Bangladesh	704	240	25.4%	944
India	352	467	57.0%	819
Poland	184	626	77.3%	810
Philippines	304	473	60.9%	777
Nigeria	226	514	69.5%	740
Moldova	209	525	71.5%	734
Dominican Rep.	226	401	64.0%	627
Colombia	210	388	64.9%	598
Russian Federations	78	468	85.7%	546
Chile	254	270	51.5%	524
Germany	185	285	60.6%	470
Others (125 nationalities)	3623	4702	56.5%	8325
Total	30227	35362	53.9%	65589

Figure 8: "Foreign population of Genoa by citizenship in 2010." (Source: by the author with data from ISTAT).

Ecuadorian population represents the biggest collective by nationality in the Region of Liguria and in the province of Genoa. According to this figures of ISTAT there are around 20.000 Ecuadorian out of 25.545 Latin Americans in the province of Genoa, which represents about 30% of the whole immigrant population. Thus it is not surprising that speaking of Latin American Immigration in Genoa often addresses Ecuadorian immigration. Furthermore, it is important to underline at this point is that the real number of Latin American immigrants in Genoa is questioned. According to ERMINIO (2012) at least 10% to the documented number of foreign citizen as permanent residents have to be added (ERMINIO 2012: 32). In their report,

CARITAS/MIGRANTES (2010) estimate the presence of Ecuadorian citizens in the province of Genoa about 35.000 people. As the report underlines, the minority out of this number is supposed to be documented (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 60). Also FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA (2010) states that the figures from ISTAT are underestimated (FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA 2010: 69). The actual consul of Ecuador to Genoa (Ester Cuesta Santana) states in an interview, published in the same Journal (FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA 2010) that she estimates the total number of Ecuadorian citizens by around 24.000 in the region of Liguria (which represents 20% more than documented ones) (cf. Ibid: 111).

3.3.1. The Particular Ecuadorian Case in Genoa

The particularity of immigration flows towards Genoa is the density of presence of Ecuadorian citizens, which constitutes them - by way of exception for an Italian city - the biggest group of foreign citizen in Genoa. Ecuadorian immigration process to Genoa is – since the early beginning - female coined due to their structural commitments and is as well characteristic for immigration flows within family networks. (QUEIROLO PALMAS et al., 2005: 57). 24% of the Ecuadorian collective in Italy are residing in the province of Genoa and it is by far the biggest collective of the total foreign population in this region, with a share of about 30% (followed by Albanian citizens with 12,72%) (cf. ISTAT).

The majority of Ecuadorian immigrants in Genoa are originated from the metropolitan area of the most populated city in Ecuador, Santiago de Guayaquil (AMBROSINI & QUEIROLO PALMAS 2007: 50 & LAGOMARSINO 2006: 134). Between 2000 and 2001 mainly people especially from the cost area of Ecuador, namely from Guayaquil immigrated to Spain and Italy (10% of working age population) (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 61).

Another really interesting and the same time curious aspect is of Ecuadorian immigration to Genoa is the historic connection between the cities of Genoa and Guayaquil. Although Ecuador was not undergone by a strong immigration flows from Italy in the 19th and 20th century (see section 3.2.1) most of the Italian immigrants in Ecuador resided in Guyaquil - principal commercial city on the Ecuadorian cost. The majority of mentioned Italian immigrants where merchants from Genoa, which descendants are still residing in Ecuador. LAGOMARSINO (2006) sates that: *“It is therefore a retrieved and reversed bond, even though completely causal, which unifies again this two cities”* (LAGOMARSINO 2006: 134).

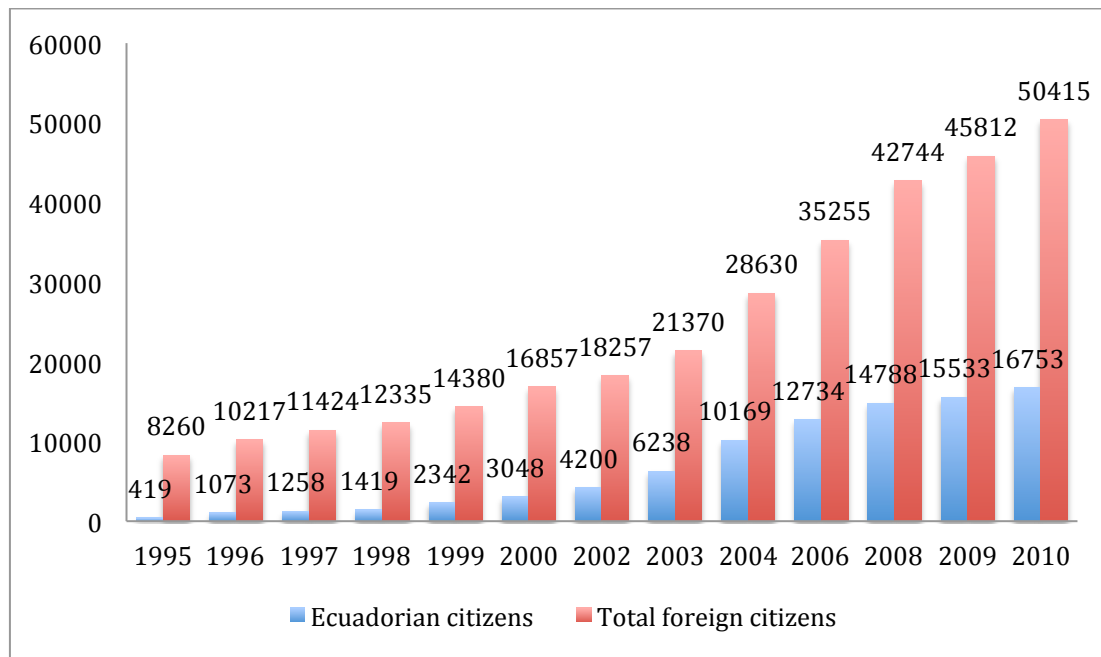


Figure 9: “15 year trend of increase of Ecuadorian citizens in relation to total foreign permanent population in the commune of Genoa from 1995 to 2010.” (Source: elaborated by the Author with data from ISTAT⁵⁸ and Data used in LAGOMARSINO et al. 2007: 42).

The Ecuadorian immigration flows towards Genoa were fast growing in the last 15 years and - despite the economic crisis – is still going on. Since the year 1999 Ecuadorian citizens constitute the biggest collective of foreign immigrants in Genoa (AMBROSINI & QUEIROLO PALMAS 2007: 49-50). Nowadays every fifth foreign citizen in the province of Genoa is Ecuadorian.

There are mainly two crucial points in time for the process of Ecuadorian immigration flows to Genoa: In the light of the economic- and social crisis⁵⁹ in Ecuador, from

⁵⁸ For the year 2002 there was no data for the commune Genoa available on ISTAT. In 2002, 4.363 Ecuadorian citizens resided in the region Liguria. According to the tendency of the ratio from the other documented years, the author estimates the number by 4.200 for the commune of Genoa in 2002.

⁵⁹ In the end of the 1990s Ecuador experienced a strong financial crisis affecting the majority of the population who triggered enormous emigration flows, to a degree the country haven't seen before. Ecuadorian emigration flows experienced a change in its gender characteristic, depended on the country of destination. Prior the 1990s emigration from Ecuador was mainly from the Andean region (Azuay and Cañar) and the flows were characterized by a predominant presence of men and the main destinations were the USA other Latin American countries (Venezuela and Argentina), while the migration wave mainly caused by the financial crisis in the 1990s mainly women migrate to Europe (Spain, Italy and Netherlands) beginning in 1998 (LAGOMARSINO 2006: 129 and CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 61). Due to the financial crisis in the end of the 1990's there have been serious implications on the economy and on living standards of most of the Ecuadorian population (TORRE 2008: 8). People left their country because of the lack of work opportunities with a proper salary to afford the costs of daily life. The number of people who had to live below the breadline doubled in the period from 1995 to 2000. Hence for many a dignify life was difficult to reach for many (LAGOMARSINO 2006: 89). Every 4th to 5th person of the working-age population left Ecuador in this difficult period (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 60). From 1997 until 2004 around 1 million Ecuadorian citizen left their country to emigrate mainly to the USA, Spain and Italy (LAGOMARSINO 2006: 94). Also interesting to be observed at this point is that the USA were by then for years the main destination country for Ecuadorian emigrants, not just because of the geographical closeness to Ecuador nor the strong economy but

1998 to 2000 the number of Ecuadorian population in Genoa doubled from 1.419 to 3.048 persons. It was also the time when the “traditional” Ecuadorian emigration flows to the USA decreased (from 1998 to 2000) and those towards Spain found their peak in the years 1999 and 2000. From 1998 onwards Italy became (beside Spain) the second main destination for Ecuadorian immigrants in Europe (LARGOMARSINO 2006: 93 and CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 61).

Especially in the years from 2002 to 2004 the number of documented Ecuadorian immigrants in the commune of Genoa jumped (increase of about 242%) from around 4.200 people to 10.169 (representing 35,5% of the whole foreign population), as Figure 9 depicts (also see: LARGOMARSINO 2006: 135). This phenomenon is mainly caused by the government’s “regularisation” (*Sanatorie*) of undocumented immigrants in 2002 (see *Regularization campaigns*, p. 56). In other words, this bureaucratic procedure acknowledged undocumented immigrants to regular, documented ones. In 2002, 17.862 undocumented immigrants were “regularised” just in Liguria, the majority out of that were Ecuadorian citizen (out of that 10.950 in the province of Genoa). On the other hand with the regularisation measure in 1998, 6.214 undocumented immigrants got a regular resident status and out of that the majority were Albanese citizen (at that time the biggest collective) (AMBROSINI et al., 2004: 79).

Another reason for mentioned fast growing Ecuadorean immigration process in Genoa and Italy in general was due to the facility in the modality of regular entry to Italy before the 1st of June 2003. Until this date for the entry of Ecuadorian citizen to Italy a visa was not required. Hence at that period it was possible to enter with a “tourist-status” for duration of 90 days. The entry just required some conditions such as: the possession of a return-flight: confirmation of hospitality from a hotel or from a person (Italian citizen or documented resident foreign citizen) and the disposability of financial recourses for the period of stay. The same conditions were present in Spain until august 2003 (LAGOMARSINO & TORRE, 2007: 50, 84).

Female Centred Family Migration Process

Since the majority of Ecuadorian immigration towards Genoa (Liguria) follows the pattern that the women migrate first (because of demand of the care and domestic

also because of the cultural influence on the country – the same as in all other Latin American countries (Ibid: 95). Since legislation respective immigration became more restricted in the first years of 2000’s the Ecuadorian emigration flows diverted towards Europe (cf. LARGOMARSINO et al., 2007: 19).

labour sector), and the successive following migration of family members -mainly spouses and children – (Ibid: 51-53) the term female centred family migration is proper. In the first report on immigration in Genoa from 2004, the authors conclude that in the first place one could speak about a female immigration pattern and in the second place this pattern turns into family migration characteristics. This happens due to fast reunification of family members, not only female members but also children and their spouses and on the longer run members of the extended family formation (AMBROSINI et al., 2004: 266).

Most of the female immigrants from Ecuador have a higher education, often occupied jobs in the public services (administration clerks, teachers, nurses, bank clerks) and belonged to the “social middle class” before the economic crisis in the end of the 1990’s impoverished them (LAGOMARISNO, 2006: 143 and CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2010: 61). Nevertheless, the first job female immigrants mainly find (informal or formal) are within the branch of health-care and domestic work in families (LAGOMASINO et al., 2007: 20-21). Moreover, many Ecuadorian women started to work in a family for domestic work without registration (black labour), due to the government’s regularisation procedure they could convince their employer (family) to register them to this procedure to obtain a regular resident status, they went back to their country of origin awaiting the phone call of employer for nominal invitation (QUEIROLO PALMAS et al., 2005: 39).

The Ecuadorian immigration process (in general that of Latin Americans) to Genoa bears strong family networks as channel for further immigration flows (LAGOMARSINO & TORRE, 2007: 52-53 and AMBROSINI & QUEIROLO PALMAS, 2007: 21). The authors AMBROSINI and QUEIROLO PALMAS (2007) acknowledge that the Latin American community (Ecuadorian collective in Genoa) manifests the important capacity of constructing strong migration networks within kinship (Ibid: 21). The characteristics of the Ecuadorian immigration flows are also marked by the pattern of family reunification (CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2010: 61). This tendency is also mirrors the strong family network as well due to the changes of laws in 2003 (Ibid and LAGOMARSINO, 2006: 109). In detail, the changes of legislation in 2003 caused more difficulties for immigration flows from Ecuador towards Italy (also Spain) by coming into force obligations of a visa. This has led to greater emphasis on family reunification, thereby bringing their children to Genoa (Italy) (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 61)

The immigration process of Ecuadorian citizen could be seen in its pattern as a family based chain migration⁶⁰. According to QUEIROLO PALMAS (2005), Ecuadorian immigrants as a collective in Genoa are on the way of the constructing a real and own colony with a myriad of activities, functional to their daily life (economic, information, services, relationships, religion, etc.) (Cited in CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2010: 61 and cf. QUEIROLO PALMAS et al., 2005: 40).

The pattern of female centred family migration also bears dynamics of social side effects. Since (by tendency) many Ecuadorian women, who immigrate to Genoa leave their children and spouses⁶¹ the whole family might suffer of the distance and the absence of the mother. In case of reunification of the family especially children (mainly at that time already being teenagers) face multidimensional problems of re-integration to their own nuclear family. Furthermore, the mother doesn't find enough time for the child due to intensive work. Immigrant minors also tend to face problems (not just in terms of language) at school due to discrimination and facing personal demotivation due to being downgraded from Ecuadorian- to Italian school system (AMBROSINI & QUEIROLO PALMAS, 2007: 20-21, 51-57 and RAVECCA, 2012: 62).

Ecuadorian immigration in Genoa is also characteristic for its massive presence of minors and adolescents. As already noted, Ecuadorian immigrant women try to bring first their child – rarely their husband - to Italy after certain period of “social as well as economic adaption”. The particular case of Liguria (Genoa) is that predominantly the child is already adolescent or preadolescent by arriving and thus enters the Italian education system to the level of high school⁶² (*Scuola secondaria di secondo grado*). It means that they enter directly to the very end of the high school. (RAVECCA, 2012: 82, 100). Additionally, to stress the strong presence of 2nd generation Ecuadorian immigrants in Italy it is worth to have a look on the national share. Though Ecuadorian immigrants are ranked 13th in size as a collective

⁶⁰ Also the male dominated immigration flows from Albanese citizen was preponderated (1995 – 2000) by the characteristic of family migration pattern (AMBROSINI et al., 2004: 93).

⁶¹ As LAGOMARSINO (2007) points out, most of immigrants intend to migrate for a certain time – *inter alia* -to earn and save enough money and return a few years later. But the immigration process also bears multidimensional transformations, by tendency the woman stays and tries to bring her spouse and children also to Genoa aiming to cope – *inter alia* – distance to their nuclear family (LAGOMARSINO 2007: 121).

⁶² While the presence of Ecuadorian pupils in the other school levels is around 37% the presence in level of “*Scuola secondaria di secondo grado*” is outstanding with a share of 58,21% (followed by Albanian nationals with 11,65%) of total foreign nationals (Ibid: 104). Exceptionally the early infantile nursery marks a presence of 54% in the commune of Genoa (far behind on the 2nd rank are Moroccan nationals with 7,5%) (Ibid: 113). As it will be scrutinised in the empirical analysis, another reason might also be the downgrading within the recognition process (from Ecuadorian to Italian education system).

in Italy, they are ranked 8th in terms of total numbers of pupils in Italian compulsory education system. As a result 21,3% of the total Ecuadorian population in Italy attend compulsory school.

Last but by far not least worth to call attention is the aspect of prejudices, attributes and stereotypes on Ecuadorian (Latin American) female immigrants, which facilitate privileges mainly on the labour market in Genoa (Italy) but at the same time restricts their opportunity range due to enduring cliché (AMBROSINI & QUEIROLO PALMAS 2007: 20). In other words, Latin American women as immigrants in Italy and particularly in Genoa (Ecuadorian) are attributed with a certain image, which favours their demand for domestic work and in family elderly care: available to cohabit in the family of work and thus always available; cheap labour force; closeness of Italian and Spanish language; origin from official catholic countries; attribute towards Latin Americans of “sympathy and happiness” (Ibid). Since the first settlement of female Latin American women (mainly Ecuadorian) in the 1990’s, they achieved certain attributes regarding their labour force, which in the follows established a privileged position to outperform other collectives of female immigrants also dedicated to the same niche of labour market (such as Albanese, Moroccan, Ukrainian) (AMBROSINI et al., 2004: 272-73)

Contrariwise these attributes led to a stigmatization of female immigrants. The authors of the first report on immigration in Genoa from 2004 use the term: “double discrimination” (*doppia discriminazione*) (Ibid: 23). On the one hand female immigrants face precarious conditions of employment (low-skilled jobs, cheap labour force, tendency of “illegal employment”, absence of fixed working hours lead to unpaid work overtime) and on the other hand they face manifested stigmatization of patriarchal coined “traditional” gender roles due to their occupation of female-attributed jobs of service and domestic work (Ibid: 19).

3.4. Legal Framework of Immigration in Italy

The attempt to “control” immigration by the Italian government started in the 1980’s. This was in the wake of a starting immigration regulation movement in the “traditional” European immigration countries, such as France, Great Britain and Germany as a measure to face the 1970’s oil crisis (BORKERT, 2005: 53).

Beginning in the 1980's the immigration policy had become increasingly strict⁶³ in Italy. In about fifteen years (1986-2009) Italy has already seen six regulations⁶⁴ on their immigration policy. This process of tightening measures is unique by contrast to other industrial countries (CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2010: 80 & EMN, 2012b: 15). Italian migration policy in general targets to regulate regular immigration by annual quota regulation⁶⁵ for temporal legal residence permit on one hand, to foster the "integration" of immigrants and on the other hand to combat and reduce irregular immigration (BORKERT, 2005: 55).

Regularization Campaigns

A particular phenomenon of Italian immigration policy are the so called "*sanatorie*", which are procedures to "legalize" – regularize the status of - undocumented immigrants from non EU member countries already living and working in Italy⁶⁶. These regularization-campaigns have some kind of tradition (so far seven times: 1982, 1986, 1990, 1995, 1998, 2002 and 2009) in Italy. Another factor that is crucial to this matter is that these campaigns go along with modifications on immigration legislation and seem to be well established in the Italian migration policy (BORKERT, 2005: 54,55 and EMN 2012b: 17-22). Out of three regularization campaigns (1990, 1995, 1998) 645.000 immigrants obtained a legal residence permit status while almost the same quantity (646.000) was archived by the sanatoria in 2002. Out of this number 341.000 undocumented immigrants were "regularized" through working in the sector of domestic health care (TORRE, 2008: 2). The last regularization was in 2009, which "regularized" another 230.000 domestic workers and care

⁶³ FASANI (2008) formulates his critics on restrict Italian migration legislation and policies in the country report of the EU project "CLANDESTINO": "Undocumented migration in Italy – A country report". Therein he raises critics towards the Italian government in 2008 by the Commissioner of Human Rights of the Council of Europe, Thomas Hammarberg for the "*attitude towards the management of migration – in particular, its peculiar mix of toughness and emergency-based approach*" (FASANI 2008: 80).

⁶⁴ It is a common process in the Italian legislation to name a law draft by the politicians who proposed it. To learn more about the genesis of migration legislation in Italy (Law 943/1986, *Legge Martelli* 39/1990, 489/1995, Turco/Napolitano Law 40/1998, etc.) http://www.ehow.co.uk/facts_7260534_italian-immigration-policies.html (Accessed on 02.05.2012).

⁶⁵ Due to the Turco/Napolitano Law in 1998 for the first time a quota regulation system for foreign labour force (decreto flussi) was introduced as an attempt the state to regulate immigration flows. This law still notably influences today's immigration policy (EMN 2005: 13-14). The Ministry of Interior annually releases the immigration quotas decree annually in November according to the government's assessment on the preliminary demand of third-country nationals labour force. There are both, country-based and occupation-based quota slots. So, there are actually 16 countries, which have bilateral agreements. The numbers are chosen according to the knowledge on the number of immigrants of certain country in Italy and on diplomatic relations to the "sending country" (cf. IOM 2011: 8-9).

⁶⁶ Learn more: http://www.ilrestodelcarlino.it/reggio_emilia/cronaca/2012/03/02/675451-reggio-emilia-straniero-clandestino-regolarizzazioni-truffa-stranieri-imprenditori-duemila-euro.shtml (Accessed on 22.6.2012).

attendants.⁶⁷ This is an important fact for this study, since most of the Latin American female immigrants are employed in the domestic care sector.

Italian Citizenship, the Right of Blood and Legal Limbo

The current citizenship legislation is based on “right of blood” (*ius sanguinis*). In contrast to the “right of territory” (*ius soli*) - for instant applies in Austria, France, USA and United Kingdom - is given to a child born to an Italian mother or father independent from the place of birth. Hence a child born in Italy to foreign parents don’t get the Italian citizenship. Just in “given cases” the acquisition of the citizenship by *ius soli* is possible. To take into account that every year in Italy around 100.000 children are born to foreign mothers (CARTIAS/MIGRANTES, 2011b: 2).

The current legislation provokes a legal limbo. As a result the current laws in power provoke structural social tension for immigrants and especially for their second generation (around 900.000!) born in Italy but structurally treated like foreign citizen in terms of access to education or such as exclusion⁶⁸ of more than 5% of regular residents of the population from democratic participation. Although many of them even never have been in the country of their parents origin; speak Italian as their native language, went to school in Italy and even the most important that they identify themselves as Italians they aren’t by law! Due to the legislation the second generation of immigrants cant acquire the Italian citizenship themselves before the age of 18 years. Still it’s quite a complicate bureaucratic process to obtain Italian citizenship, which does not always has a positive outcome. Voices claiming for a reform of the citizenship⁶⁹ law in Italy are increasing in order to overcome two drawbacks.⁷⁰ The on-going restricting immigration policy affects the daily life of

⁶⁷ http://www.ilrestodelcarlino.it/reggio_emilia/cronaca/2012/03/02/675451-reggio-emilia-straniero-clandestino-regolarizzazioni-truffa-stranieri-imprenditori-duemila-euro.shtml (accessed 20.6.2012)

⁶⁸ The law doesn’t treat all foreign citizen the same. It distinguishes between European Union national, Non-EU national, stateless person and political refugee. Despite a Non-EU citizen need to have lived at least 10 years in Italy an EU citizen need at least four years of residency in Italy. Stateless person and political refugees might request for citizenship after at least five years of residency http://img.poliziadistato.it/docs/0554_initaliainregola_English.pdf (accessed on 9.3.2012).

⁶⁹ According to law no. 91/1992 there are mainly two possibilities to acquire the Italian citizenship for foreign permanent residents: a) Granting by marriage with an Italian citizen (art. 5) or b) granting by residence in Italy after 10 years (for “third-country citizen”; before 1992 it was 5 years) or 5 years (for refugees or stateless person) or 4 years (EU citizens) of continuous legal residency on Italian territory, no criminal record and sufficient financial resources foreigners are allowed to request the citizenship (cf. CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 128-29).

⁷⁰ Children born in Italy to foreign parents do not have the Italian citizenship and regular immigrants do not have the right to vote and face different regulations for the access to universities and exchange programs. For instance: A 24 year old – in Italy born to immigrants from Ecuador – female student strived to obtain a scholarship within the student exchange program Erasmus, to improve her language skills and to gain experience on another university in Europe but her ambitions were rejected because she did not have the Italian citizenship. In her editors letter she wrote: “I was really demoralized and I feel like a second hand citizen”. In her letter she also mentions another similar occurrence happened to a second-generation immigrant from Ecuador, student and resident in Genoa. He won the competition for a scholarship in Switzerland but subsequently the consulate refused the entry visa with the reason of:

immigrants. On one hand the Italian economy need immigrants' labour force (cf. FONDAZIONE LEONE MORESSA, 2012a: 2) as well the ageing society need the immigrant population to rejuvenate the population but on the other hand due to the legislation immigrants' situation become peculiar: *"Due to their complete lack of rights immigrants are generally subjected to oppressive exploitation. Inhuman working schedules and conditions (...) earning just enough to cover their expenses for survival"* (EMN, 2005: 40). As it will be shown in the analysis - besides the legal status in general - the acquisition of the Italian citizenship is an important aspect for many interviewed immigrants. Beside other factors, thus the planned duration of immigration is likely to be extended.

3.5. The Public Opinion on Immigration

The public opinion is an important aspect in the immigration process as well in immigration policy. It is nothing new, that particularly the debate on migration is a very politicized and - especially - a very populist arena. Rights and extreme right parties are trying to catch votes with fear-mongering populist policy and rhetoric. It cannot be denied that such controversial public discourse⁷¹ and polemic –mainly carried through the media - induced an influence on public opinion about immigration issues. FASANI (2008) underlines this statement as follows: *"the political will to transform all the undocumented migrants in criminal offenders – and the apparent support this measure seemed to have found in the general public – probably stems from the deep-rooted and widespread conviction that there exists a strong connection between undocumented status and propensity to commit crimes"* (FASANI, 2008: 21). CARITAS/MIGRANTES (2011) underlines the link of public

"potential immigrant". In: Editors Letter in the regional daily newspaper: *Il secolo secolo xix* from 14.6.2012. In her mother tongue she wrote: *„Estaba muy desmoralizada, me sentí como un ciudadana de segunda mano“*. The movement to reform the citizenship legislation has some prominent supporters: President Giorgio Napolitano and numerous Senators. Napolitano speaks clearly for a reform of the citizenship law. <http://www.italiasonoanchio.it/> (Accessed on 8.5.2012). This reform would include the change of the citizenship legislation from *"ius sanguinis"* into an *"ius soli temperato"*. Which means that children born in Italy to foreign citizens get the Italian citizenship already after their parents stayed regularly at least five years after their birth in Italy <http://www.18-ius-soli.com/> (accessed on 3.5.2012).

⁷¹As an example that racism also appears in this breeding ground prejudices and stereotypes. On the 13th of December 2011 two Senegalese street vendors were killed by an Italian gunman, before he committed suicide. The British newspaper The Guardian passes strong criticism on Italy: *"Racism and marginalisation are not unique to Florence. Italians have found it hard to accept the fact that there are now 5 million immigrants – or 10% of the workforce – in the country. There is a strong feeling, reinforced by the haphazardness of policies on migration, asylum and 'integration', that this migration may still be temporary or transitory, that it cannot possibly transform Italian culture, politics or society in any deep sense. Italy is not Britain, France or Germany. The memory of its colonial past goes almost universally unacknowledged, or even unknown, and its fascist past is treated either as an aberration or as a more benign version, more focused on societal discipline and patriotism than on exclusion and genocide."* <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/dec/16/florence-killings-racist-italy?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487> (Accessed on 2.3.2012).

prejudices towards immigration and economic aspects: *“Half of the Italian population mistakenly believes that foreigners, typically, cost more than they produce and they do not have a positive attitude towards them”* (CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2011: 3). International critical voices towards Italian immigration policy was claimed for example by Thomas HAMMARBERG (Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe) in 2008: *“Security cannot be the only basis for immigration policy [and the legislative measures] lack human rights and humanitarian principles and may spur further xenophobia”* (quoted in MERLINO, 2009: 13).

To sum up, people’s perception on immigrants – both, as individuals and as a collective – depends on constructed attributes⁷² and prejudices besides all the structural legal measures,⁷³ which constitute the status, perception and opinion of immigrants. This opinion is not static but dynamic (cf. EMN, 2012b: 59).

⁷² Also the population in countries with higher GDP rather tend to support a more restrictive immigration entry policy but, already legally entered immigrants should find equal opportunities on the labour market as well the respondents tend to be less unwilling to have immigrants as their neighbours. Another study, conducted by “Transatlantic Trends, quoted in the IOM 2011 Report studied the opinion on migration in eight countries (Canada, USA, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Netherlands and Great Britain). Therein the discrepancy between the perceived level of immigration and the actual level in the current living state was investigated. <http://trends.gmfus.org/immigration/about/>. For more information: <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=4842> (Both accessed on 2.3.2012).

⁷³ The new-elected right-wing coalition government, led by Berlusconi (4rd time!) in May 2008, “had a significant impact on the country’s migration detention practices” as well that in the wake of the government’s adaptation of the “Security Package” (Law 125/2008) into law to tighten even more the migration legislation in Italy. This state of emergency was declared: “due to ‘persistent and extraordinary influx of non-EU citizens’ and the presence of Roma and Sinti nomadic communities” and the Security Package “aimed at facilitating expulsions, introduced a law criminalizing unauthorized presence in the country”, GDP claimed. Hence the new government tackled on one of their main pre-election campaign issues: “that Italy is facing an exceptional ‘national security emergency’, largely caused by irregular immigrants” (MERLINO 2009: 1).

4. Analysis and Presentation of Results

4.1. Categories and Structure of Analysis

The Theoretical Coding Analyse approach (according to STRAUSS and GLASER, 1998) resulted into five main categories and several sub-categories:

1. Migration motive, decision and why Genoa?
 - Motives, aspirations and triggers for migrating
 - Decision-making process. Circumstances and setting. Therefore Genoa.
 - Collective lies and diffuse impact of migratory options enabled by social Capital
 - “Viaje”. Carrying out the plan to migrate. A journey
2. Structural influences on the lifeworld
 - General institutional factors
 - Work
 - Housing
3. Translocal lifeworld
 - Transnational social space: transnational family
 - Transnational activities, practices and transfers
4. Immigrant adjustment: identity and “integration”
 - Initial phase in Genoa
 - Identity
 - Integration – inclusion – insertion into host-society
5. Multidimensional transformations of and through migration
 - Transformation of migratory vision. Perception and own experience
 - Personal transformations, in relationships and ties
 - Stay or return. Migratory mobility

A Network Diagram of the categories is presented in the Appendix (Network Diagrams of Categories, chapter 7.6).

4.2. Interviewed Individuals

Nr°	Type & Nr°	Date	Name	Sex	Age	Nationalities	Years in Genoa	Duration [h:mm]
1	IP1	04.07.2012	Carla	F	33	ECU/ITA	17	- ⁷⁴
2	IP2	12.06.2012	Maria	F	42	ECU	12	1:01:49
3	IP3	23.06.2012	Joana	F	24	ECU	9	2:00:00
4	IP4	08.03.2012	Arturo	M	50	PER	3	1:26:04
5	IP5	03.07.2012	Carlos	F	53	ECU/ITA	18	-
6	IP6	21.02.2012	Monica	F	44	COL	10	1:34:26
7	IP7	03.04.2012	Luiza	F	33	COL	10	1:03:10
8	IP8	03.05.2012	Nicolas	M	31	ARG/ITA	4	1:26:30
9	IP9	28.03.2012	Juan Carlos	M	25	ECU	< 1	-
10	IP10	21.06.2012	Melba	F	31	CHL	5	1:51:20
11	IP11	05.04.2012	Ramón	M	45	ECU	23	2:26:51
12	IP12	19.06.2012	Zoila	F	26	ECU/ITA	17	0:31:55
13	IP13 & EP1	07.05.2012	Cristina	F	61	ECU/ITA	22	0:37:44
14	EP2	05.06.2012	Fernando	M	?	PER/ITA	14	0:34:44
15	EP3	07.05.2012	Gustavo	M	?	COL/?	?	0:42:26
16	EP4	19.06.2012	Adriana	F	28	URU/ITA	24	2:11:53
17	EP5	07.05.2012	Andrea Torre	M	?	ITA	-	0:52:44

4.3. Analysis

Following the leading research question, the main categories emerged inductively and structure the analysis (See Chapters 4.4 until 4.8). Each category represents a part of the analysis, which set the 13 qualitative interviews into context with elaborated theories and literature. In the end of this Chapter the results are summarised and related to five expert interviews (Chapter 4.9).

4.4. Migration Motive, Decision and Why Genoa?

*"I think I never took the decision to migrate"*⁷⁵

This category analyses the set of motives, influencing factors on the whole decision-making process, who migrates and why. The motives why the interviewed people

⁷⁴ These three interviews were given in a written form, returned to the author by email.

⁷⁵ Taken from an interview, which was not covered in the analysis.

decided to migrate are indeed often linked to economic aspects. Economic factors are identified among others and represent in some cases not the most important influencing factors for the decision to migrate. The motives and aspirations are diverse. Schematically, emigration decision influencing factors and contexts can be formulated as internal and external:

- Internal: personal preferences, family preferences and ties
- External: structural in both, the country/region of origin and in the potential country/region of destination.

4.4.1. Motives, Aspirations And Triggers For Migration

Why migrating? Causes, Triggers and Aspirations

The socio-economic environment represents a crucial factor for people who migrate. Especially in the case of Ecuadorian immigrants, the economic factor is strongly influenced by the economical and political crisis in Ecuador from 1996 onwards. The number of people who had to live below the breadline doubled in the period from 1995 to 2000. Hence for many a dignify life was difficult to reach for many (LAGOMARSINO 2006: 89). Every 4th to 5th person of the working-age population left Ecuador in this difficult period (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 60).

These structural and surrounding factors can be considered as aspects for “pressure of emigration” in sending countries or regions, as WALL and NUNES (2005) outline: *“[A] result of a strong and continuous pressure of emigration in the sending countries, caused by low expectations regarding economical, social or political improvements, which is affecting individuals from all age groups”* (WALL & NUNES, 2005: 6).

In this empirical study, eleven out of 13 interviewed individuals (except Melba and Nicolas) mention multiple motives for their immigration, which are linked to socio - economic aspects (both, “pull-” as well as “push-factors”).

For example, Joana’s family decided to immigrate to Genoa due to the economic situation in her region and in whole Peru:

“Mainly my family came [to Genoa] because in the yeas of 1997, 1998 the economic crisis in Ecuador was really strong (...) therefore she [her mother] decided to come [to Genoa] in the end of 2000 and beginning of 2001” (Joana).

Also Monica was already around a year unemployed when she finally decided to emigrate:

"Por desempleado (...). Cuando me quitaron el trabajo en el 1999" (Monica).

Ramón emigrated to earn money to help his parents to pay back debts:

"I immigrated for economic reason. Many managed to earn money and buy a house there and go back and live better than before. My aim was to help my family since they had debts" (Ramón).

Arturo worked as a tailor in his own small business in Lima, Peru. Since the global- and national economic circumstances have changed, gradually his business was not lucrative anymore and consequently he had to close it. Before he followed his wife two years later to Genoa, he was unemployed:

"I was independent, I had my own business. I had four employees. We produced cloth for children. But the times changed and I could not even pay anymore my bills. (2s) It was like I worked for free. Like this was because of the competition with the Industrial production. We could not compete with the price anymore. Since the industry could buy the raw material much cheaper due to the quantity. All the small business broke down. (2s) So I was unemployed before I migrated" (Arturo).

In the years of the economic crisis in Ecuador, Maria earned little money as a social street worker:

"My life before the migration was really good. I worked as a social worker with children of the street and with women affected from violence for a social foundation. Since I earned very few there, the decision, my wish to migrate started there (...)" (Maria).

Violence represents another external factor related to the surrounding in a certain region or locality. For example, Monica and Luiza grew up and lived all their lives in Cali, Colombia before they had migrated to Italy. The main-motives for migration were the prevailing violence and the difficult economic situation. Both sisters has been unemployed for a year and interested to earn money abroad. Cali was and is beside Medellin one of the cities, which are the most affected by crimes and political and social unrest due to drug trade and crime:⁷⁶

"Por desempleado, y por el lado de la delincuencia q habia aca tambien la gerilla (...). [C]uando una toma de la guerrilla y un proyectil perdida mato a mi hermano. Tres meses antes que nos fuimos aca. En septiembre" (Monica).

For some interviewees particular events represent one of the main factors to finally take the decision to migrate. Sickness or the state of health of a family member were crucial motives towards the final collective decision to migrate.

⁷⁶ "Since the 1970's, Colombia has been home to some of the most violent and sophisticated drug trafficking organizations in the world. (...) Part of the downfall of the Medellin cartel was due to their main rivals in the Colombian city of Cali. (...) The Cali cartel began to attack the Medellin cartel -- particularly Pablo Escobar -- as their competition became more and more violent. (...) After the destruction of both the Cali and Medellin cartels (...) [the] situation has been disastrous for Colombia - both sides in an on-going civil war are able to reap huge profits from the drug industry which are then turned into guns for further fighting".
(<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/drugs/business/inside/colombian.html> Accessed on 24.4.2013)

For example for Carlos the main motive to emigrate was the hope to find better means to treat and cure his daughter. Carlos and his wife took after consultations of the doctors the final decision to emigrate:

“Fue compartida con mi esposa, la desesperacion y los consejos de los medicos de salir del país a buscar una buena cura para nuestra hija fue el ‘sí’ final. La decision la emprendimos por la salud de nuestra bebè” (Carlos).

Zoila arrived with her whole family (parents and her younger sister) in the age of eight years in 1995 in Genoa, as her parents had great hope to better deal with the disability and epileptic seizure of her younger sister.

“[C]ruce la frontera a los ocho años y llegue a Génova, para acabar con la discapacidad y el ataque epiléptico de mi hermana menor” (Zoila).

On the other hand, some immigrants consider the idea to migrate as an opportunity to personal development or as another option for action (on how to go on in one’s life). This option emerges often through social capital, transferred and being available through transnational family ties.

For example, in the case of Juan Carlos, an aunt lived already in Genoa and represented his opportunity to immigrate to Italy to earn money. Eye-catching in his statement is the socio-economic motive, named as the “Latin American Dream” (*“sueño de todo latino”*) to emigrate, earn money, come back, build a house and live better than before:

“[I]ngreso a trabajar como ayudante de un veterinario cosa que me encanta trabajo con él 2 años y quería entrar a estudiar veterinaria o una de sus ramas pero me convencen [una tia residente allá en Genova] de viajar por el sueño de todo latino (progresar tener su casa y vivir cómodo) y en mi caso hasta estudiar. (...) Motivo principal progresar tener mis tierras aca mi ganado y mucho mas, al viajar miedo pero decidí y lo hice. Pague con ayuda de mi mama (...)” (Juan Carlos).

Other motives are linked with the legal status as the arising possibility to emigrate for family reunification or – in the case of Nicolas – due to decent of a former Italian emigrant. He is in Genova because of his study.

Nicolas first migrated from his native village to the second largest city in Argentina, to Cordoba. After graduating from University with a Bachelor degree, he came across with the opportunity to apply for a scholarship in Italy due to his Italian decent. He applied for several universities and got accepted by the University of Genoa. He migrated with a long-term residence permit to Genoa and after one year he gained already the Italian citizenship due to his Italian family history.

The case of Melba enriches the broad range of migratory motives. Melba immigrated to Genoa (suburbs) because of Love. She had a good living standard in Lima, Peru, due to a good job after her University graduation:

"I came 5 years ago to Italy because of Love (...) I came because of my husband (...) 9 years ago we met in Chile (...) he was traveling (...) we went out but I was thinking that's it and nothing more. I had my good life (...) I am graduated (...) I had a good work, my own apartment. I liked this guy but I never thought about to abandon this, my good life for him (...) Chile is an amazing country (...) I had my life, comfortable (...) it was really difficult for me. But in the end Love prevailed, I moved to Italy" (Melba).

Also Ramón had a good life before his emigration. He decided – beside other options – to immigrate to Genoa in order to help his family to repay debts:

"I come from a family background, lets say not rich and not poor. Social middle class. (...) I had a good job. I obtained a diploma in my work. I had a good life. (...) I worked for KODAK Ecuador. (...) My family had debts on the house. The interest increased gradually. So I wanted to work abroad on a boat." (Ramón).

Social capital was in most the cases a crucial factor in the decision-making process. Different than for Juan Carlos, the social capital should be considered as a factor, which facilitates one or more already existing motives (sickness, violence, economic aspirations). The entire migration decision is positively influenced by the prospective and promise of support from already resided relatives or friends in Genoa. The social capital was embodied as a friend (in the case of Monica and Luiza), as a kinship of a friend (Maria) or one's own kinship (Joana, Arturo, Juan Carlos, Ramón, Cristina).

In the case of Carlos and Arturo, a residence permit was already issued through family reunification before they left their country of origin.

In both cases, the wife went first to Genoa. Both came to Genoa through family reunification after having acquired a legal status. Arturo's sister already arrived in 1994 in Genoa while he migrated in 2009.

"I arrived in 2009. (...) I have a sister here in Genoa who was already 15 years in Genoa, she arrived in 1994. (...) She brought us to Italy. Not only us, also my brother, his wife, and another brother. We are three brothers here and our three wives. (...) I just had to go to the Embassy in Peru. I needed my passport. I got the invitation from my sister, who lives in Genoa. So I got the Visa. So I am here due to family reunification" (Arturo).

The aspects of social capital and transnational ties have hinted already to factors and contexts in the potential receiving country. As some cases demonstrate, social capital and ties sometimes facilitate and compensate obstacles of immigration due to legal barriers. In terms of legal status, the opportunity to migrate is - in terms of legal status - also linked to temporal legislative conditions.

Before the 1st of June 2003, immigrants from Latin American countries could enter Italian territory just with tourist visas, valid for 90 days in a much easier way than afterwards. This fact of facility in the process of regular entry to Italy was accompanied by the situation that in 2002 the Italian state “regularised” undocumented immigrants (*Sanatorie*). This legislative action has represented for some degree a pull-factor for potential emigrants (cf. LAGOMARSINO, 2006: 135 and LAGOMARSINO & TORRE, 2007: 50, 84).

Maria arrived in the year 2000, together with her work colleague, who has had her sister in law in Genoa and therefore decided to immigrate to Genoa due to family reunification. The case of Maria shows, that not just kinship in the region of destination is crucial in the migratory decision. Both, Monica and Luiza immigrated to Genova due to a “friend”.

The influence of mentioned circumstances are also well reflected in the case of Joana. She arrived in Genoa the time of the regularisation campaign of irregular immigrants⁷⁷, which was just the entry regularisation laws became stricter. Since her mother was already in Genoa she entered Italy in the age of 15 with a tourist visa.

“I came in a period (...) there was a date/deadline, 1st April and I came in March so I didn’t have a Visa (...) since I was minor I came as a tourist (...). My mother started to work in care service; taking care of an aged person [geriatric] she worked as badante. I came alone (...) I was 15 (...) without Visa (...) The sanatoria came later, my mother had a the resident permit but just a short time therefore I came without documents (...) so actionably it was 2 to 1,5 years afterwards I got the permit” (Joana).

Different to Carlos and Arturo, family reunification for Joana took place in the social meaning. In Carlos’s case, family reunification was also an aspect of legal status.

The main motive for Joana was family reunification, to be again with her mother after some years of distance. In addition, the case of Joana depicts a clear pattern of a chain migration within family ties:

“[M]y aunt came in 1996, she was the first of our family (...) before it was easier to migrate to Italy [before 2003] (...) my brothers arrived successively (...) in 2005 (...) my small brother came with my dad through family reunification. (...) Before it was easier to migrate to Italy [before 2003], if you stay to long outside in Ecuador you can loose the resident permit” (Joana).

The changes of legislation in 2003 caused more difficulties for immigration flows from Ecuador towards Italy (also Spain) by visa obligations coming into force. This has led to greater emphasis on family reunification, thereby bringing their children to Genoa (Italy) CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 61)

⁷⁷ Many irregular immigrants were employed in the elderly care and service sector

A mixture of surrounding conditions (external) and personal factors (events) lead to the phenomenon of emigration due to desperation.

In most of the cases, several surrounding- and personal factors have led to the final decision including the option to migrate due to transnational ties. This can be described as a complex of factors. To various degrees, this complex of factors was accompanied by desperation. For example, the life situation changed due to the recent death of the parents in the case of Monica, Luiza, and Carla

“Cuando migre despues de la muerte de mi padre todo cambio” (Carla).

Talking about the migratory trajectory of a compatriot friend, Zoila conceives their decision to emigrate as a mix of an economic reason (mother lost her job) and due to tensions between the dad and the mother of her friend. Finally, the mother left the country without the husband but with the child. The tipping point is that Zoila deems that “at the time they did not know how to go on they decided to emigrate”:

“[T]alvez a la madre la despidieron del trabajo y el padre las abandono poco antes, entonces, al no saber como seguir adelante decidieron de migrar” (Zoila).

To conclude, Melba’s statement catches to the central point this subcategory:

“[T]here are different types of immigrants. You need a certain reason to migrate. Economically driven or for love. This is a big difference. The one who comes to work are exploited (...) they have to fight to survive, each motive, another reality. (...) Both realities are difficult, the one like the other one” (Melba).

4.4.2. Decision-making process. Therefore Genoa

Who migrates? Why Genoa?

As it is elaborated in Chapter 3.3, the typical pattern of immigration dynamics in Genoa is the female characterised migration mainly from Ecuador. This pattern is characterised by pioneer migration linked with labour migration due to the “pull-factor” of labour demand in the area of elderly health care, housemaid work and in general indoor service.

The characteristics of the interviewed individuals are quite diverse (age, sex, family status, formation, etc.). This also accounts for the trajectories of the life stories of the 13 interviewed individuals with migration background⁷⁸ already communicates.

⁷⁸ I have a problem with terms and definitions, which are too narrow and too simplified. For example, how can I name a person «immigrant», who lives already 23 years of his 43 years of age in Italy or someone who came to Italy with 8 years and is now 25 years of age? Simply, I can’t! Since language is an instrument of construction and reconstruction of social norms, values, attributes, concepts, stereotypes (cf. KAISER-COOK, Michèle (2007): “Wissenschaft Translation Kommunikation.Wien: Facultas. P. 110-11). But, in order to meet a balance of both - of readability and a basic standard of complexity and diversity – the terms « interviewee», «individuals» and even «immigrant» will subsequently be equally be used to name the interviewed people as a collective.

Genoa can be a casual destination as the example of Nicolas demonstrates:

“That it became Genoa was random, I applied for scholarship because with economic support I could not have done it, so it became Genoa. When I came to Europa, I also thought about Paris, Barcelona, Madrid, in academic or historical terms. (...) But finally I came to Genoa by casualty but it went very well” (Nicolas).

Like the elaboration above indicates, the factors resulting in the destination of emigration are various. But a strong influence on “who migrates” can be seen on social ties, which span “transnationally” across borders. Except Nicolas (because of studies and Italian decent), every single migratory trajectory of interviewed individuals is related to their transnational social ties and the inherent social capital (especially in terms of the destination Genoa).

This finding is supported by HAUG (2008): “Location-specific social capital at the place of destination plays a decisive role in the migration decision of potential migrants. The attractiveness of places of residence is determined by the location-specific social capital, that is, by social affiliation or relations” (HAUG, 2008: 591)

In her empirical study LAGOMARSINO (2007) concludes that the chosen destination (Genoa) of Latin American immigrants strongly supported by the crucial influence of the (transnational) networks and ties (family and ethnic) (cf. LAGOMARSINO et al., 2007: 74-75).

Addressing the nature of social capital, FAIST (2000) suggests that location-specific social capital can only become an available translocal asset, if migrant networks are capable to transform the local characteristic to a transnational one. In other words, to communicate and hence facilitating an availability and existence of social capital represents an important factor: “*Mass mobility proceeds only when migrant networks turn local assets into transnational ones*” (FAIST, 2000a).

SCHAPENDONK (2009) touches upon the flexibility in migratory destinations. He points out that - depending on the main motives and goals of the particular migratory project - migratory destinations can be flexible for the first immigration. The destinations can remain flexible for possible continuous migratory projects:

“[M]igration destinations are moving targets; if a place/country of residence does not meet the expectations/aspirations of a specific migrant, he/she will do their best effort to leave again. The abstract migration goals contribute to migrant’s flexibility during their journeys” (SCHAPENDONK, 2009: 303).

A totally different aspect on the destination Genoa is a historic one, reproduced through narratives over generations. The historic patterns especially of Ecuadorean and Peruvian migratory patterns towards Genoa are similar to patterns of migration from former colonies as periphery to the center (e.g. France, Great Britain, cf.

GLICK-SCHILLER, 1997, SAYAD, 2000). In the case of Genoa, the emigration of Genoa ancestors to Guayaquil (Ecuador), Lima (Peru) or Buenos Aires (Argentina) and their persisting narratives have influence the historic influence on migratory destinations. Interesting is the argument of Nicolas in this regard. In his statement he elaborated on the historical aspects, which were communicated through narratives and values (Catholic church). This has reproduced the linkage between cross-border localities, which results in the potential migratory destination (Genoa):

“There is also the historical - social aspect of the Ecuadorean migratory pattern towards Genoa especially from Guayaquil, since this is a historical harbour-city in which the culture and narrative of Genova persists (...) narratives (...) ancestors from Genova [Genovesi] have been in Buenos Aires in Argentina, Guayaquil in Ecuador, in Lima in Peru, San Francisco in the USA (...) there is a historical tradition of emigration from Genoa (...) there are connections, harbour-city to harbour-city; Genoa and Guayaquil, the tradition and influence of the catholic church on both places, the economic crises in Ecuador” (Nicolas).

GUARNIZO and SMITH (1999) also stress the importance of historical relationships and ties between certain localities across borders:

“Translocal relations are constituted within historically and geographically specific points of origin and migration established by transmigrants.” (GUARNIZO and SMITH, 1999: 13).

The pattern of the transformation from pioneer migration towards labour migration and towards family migration was depicted among interviewees. As it was elaborated, most of the interviewees migrated to Genoa due to location specific social capital embodied most likely of a family member. These – mainly female – nodal points of the migratory networks –depending of the period of immigration – can be seen as pioneer migrants. The empirical data converges with the findings of SØRENSEN (2005). Therein she alludes on the feminised patterns of Colombian and Dominican migrants in Europe. Likewise the empirical data reveals that the family migration of Latin American in Genoa is organised by gender; female-centred (cf. SØRENSEN, 2005: 3 et seq.).

As the empirical data proves this –mainly women – constitute a network facilitating labour migration. Different to the research of HAUG (2008) even the crucial transnational migration network and its transferred social capital already in the stage of labour migration of the Latin American chain migration in Genoa was characterised by kinship (cf. HAUG, 2008: 588- 92). The pattern of nowadays migration of Latin American migrants in Genoa demonstrates the stage of family migration within a chain migration. LARGOMASINO defines this pattern as *“family project”* (cf. Ibid and LAGOMARSINO, 2007: 53).

According to QUEIROLO PALMAS, Ecuadorian immigrants as a collective in Genoa is on the way of the constructing of a real colony with a myriad of activities, functional to their daily life (economic, information, services, relationships, religion, etc.) (CARITAS/MIGRANTES, 2010: 61 and cf. HAUG, 2008: 589 et seq.)

Strategies, patterns of Immigration and the role of Gender

The patterns of especially Ecuadorian emigration to Genoa depict some traces of strategies:

- Strongly linked to transnational social ties in the appearance of social capital.
- There is a sequence in the migratory pattern: Due to labour demand, women emigrate first, which strives for regular legal status.
- Whether the legal status is achieved or not, family members arrive through family reunification.

Due to mentioned patterns, the term structural settlement can be used – especially for Ecuadorian and also to some extent for Peruvian immigrants. This is due to the "structural" committing of the Latin American collective to the labour market in the branch of in-home assistance and elder care since their first settlements. This began in the 1990s due to the political and economic crisis in Ecuador from 1996 onwards, what will be elaborated subsequently (cf. ERMINIO 2012: 50).

The female gender aspect is given in the most frequent immigration pattern –as described –and can also be seen in the fact that the person, who lived already in Genoa and facilitated (social capital) the immigration in twelve out of 13 cases – is a woman. Most of the times it is an aunt, who, herself – again – immigrated to Genoa most likely through the care-sector demand in Genoa (see the chapter 3.3).

Therein the women are likely to be married and have children. Often both – the children and the husband – remain in the country of origin until the woman is long enough in Genoa to be legally and economically able to "bring" the relatives/friends to Genoa. Evident, that a change of power structure and responsibilities takes place within the family. This is due to the aspect that - since in the emigration - the woman earns the family income in contrast to the setting of origin (cf. LAGOMARSINO, 2007).

For example, this pattern matches with the case of Maria, since she took together with her husband the decision to immigrate to Genoa. She immigrated first to Genoa together with her former work colleague. Her sister in law was already in Genoa

while her husband came two years later. Their main objective was to earn money and return:

“When my husband arrived we bought a flat on debt. He arrived in 2002 after I obtained a regular job (...)” (Maria).

Likewise is the case of Arturo, who is unemployed already for two years while his wife works as elderly care nurse in a family. So she is the only one who acquires the income for both. In the case of Ramón, the decision to emigrate was his own and influenced by available options but was finally driven by female social capital:

“An aunt in Genoa told another aunt in Ecuador that I should go to Genoa to work and earn good money. The aunt and her husband had the plan to migrate to Genoa. Her husband was medical. The plan was that she goes first to Genoa, and later to bring him to make his specialization as medical here in Genoa. Well, she did not want to go alone. As I was preparing for the boat they told me to go to Genoa instead. I just asked how much they pay there: 1800\$, the same as the boat. PERFECT. For me the money was the reason. So it was a coincidence that I went to Genoa. (...) It was destiny that I met this woman here. [His wife is laughing]” (Ramón).

Influencing Factors on the Decision-Making Process

In terms of time scope and preparation of the migration-related decision-making process, differences can be stated. Some individual consider migrating over years (inter alia Monica, Luiza, Arturo and especially Nicolas) and for others in turn the final decision is taken within months (inter alia, Nicolas, Juan Carlos, Ramón).

Although Monica had considered over years to migrate, but did not in the end because of her kids. After a certain event – her friend living in Genoa visited Cali and both agreed on her plan and decision – she decided two or three months to immigrate to Genoa.

“Como 2 o 3 meses antes porque venia vacaciones a Colombia. (...) Los dos fuimos de acuerdo de la carta de invito (...)” (Monica).

Due to the Italian roots of Nicolas’s family narratives of Italy influenced already in early years of his life his conceptualization and ideas of migratory mobility:

“The idea to live and work outside of Argentina I had since I was a kid. (...) There was a strong narrative of the Italian roots in our family, which were transported over generations. (...) Nobody of my ancestors returned to Italy (...) I close an open circle given from my family history (...)” (Nicolas).

Decisions to migrate are mainly taken within the – nuclear- and extended - family bond (Carla, Maria, Joana, Carlos, Monica and Luiza, Zoila and Cristina) or single decision in case emigration is just a matter for single persons, depending on the family/marital status (Nicolas, Melba, Ramón, Juan Carlos). But as the case of Arturo shows, the women mainly took the decision because its her, who has to migrate first

in order to be able to bring other family member due to family reunification; this is due to the structural labour demand in the care and service sector:

"My wife first had the idea to migrate to Genoa. She arrived in 2007. Two years before I arrived. (...) For the family reunification she had to come first. (...)" (Arturo).

Joana's mother arrived about two years before her in Genoa and successively brought the whole family to Genoa. Also the sequence of the implementation of the migratory project can be seen. Central person is again a woman, her mother:

"My mother said come and one after the other one I will bring to Italy. She started to work in care service, taking care of a aged person she worked as care nurse" (Joana).

But in the case of Carla, she felt that she was overruled by her mother and her older daughter, who took the decision to emigrate. She also laments that it was very hard for her to leave:

"La decision de migrar la cojio mi madre junto a una hermana mayor y al ser yo menor de edad tenia que estar a todo lo que decidian por mi. (...) Me dolio mucho dejar mi tierra" (Carla).

PRIES (2010) underlines that although the majority of decisions of international migration projects seem to be individual decisions, but - from the sociological point of view - these decisions mainly emerge from a collective family-related decision making process (cf. PRIES, 2010: 40).

LAGOMARSINO (2007) postulates that the decision to immigrate is mainly taken as *"collective rational decision"*. (The rational aspect of the migratory decision will be discussed later on page 74). The initial intention is that the women immigrate temporally alone to Genoa, as demanded labour migrant. But the migration strategy is transformed by being in Genoa. The distance to the family is an aspect hard to cope with, the work is not as lucrative as expected or hoped so the in plan is then to bring the family members to Genoa. Thus LAGOMARSINO uses the term *"family project"* to describe the typical female Latin American Immigration phenomenon in Genoa (cf. LAGOMARSINO et al., 2007: 51-53).

For AMBROSINI et al. (2004) the decision is also rational due to insertion into the regional (informal) labour market in the country of destination. Hence the work demand in Genoa commits a pre-selection of gender regarding the migratory project. Since the women have to separate from the family (children, husband) a –soon as possible – family reunification is pursued after a certain amount of money is earned. But since the real socio-economic situation in Genoa for female Latina American immigrant, who are employed in the care sector, is more difficult than planned, they most likely stay longer than initially planned. Although the migratory network

(transnational social ties) just provides fragmented information, it remains the key (AMBROSINI et al., 2004: 265-66).

This category so far has shown the multidimensional interplay of contexts, which in the end led to a decision. The socio- cultural-economic context is mainly shaped by the condition of the labour market, social roles (e.g. women in social services / work), and norms as machismo.

4.4.3. Collective Lies and Migratory Options

“She said she has documents for us, she has an own house, strange things. Things that she never had (...). Everything was a lie (...)” (Luiza).

As I found some variations in the migratory trajectories of interviewed people, I came across with the following phenomenon: some initially migratory aspirations and crucial aspects for migratory decisions were attached to imagines and promises of the future migratory project and therefore induced some clashes when faced with the real situation in the region of settlement.

In his work Abdelmalek SAYAD (2000) elaborates on a model in which the dynamics of production and reproduction of emigration are strongly influenced by the mystified experience of the new place of residence of the “exile” – “*el ghorba*”. Though mystified narratives of emigrants, non-migrants likely become also emigrants driven by a “collective lie”:

“The collective misrecognition of the objective truth of emigration is maintained by the whole group: the emigrants select the information that they bring back when visiting their home village; former emigrants ‘enchant’ the memories they have kept of France; and the candidates for emigration project onto ‘France’ their most unrealistic expectations. Such symbolic collusion is the necessary mediation through which economic necessity can exercise itself and emigration perpetuate itself even when the material forces that gave rise to it turn out illusory or vanish” (SAYAD, 2000: 147).

Some elements of the SAYAD’s model of collective lies can be found in the statement of Melba. Therein the “*symbolic collusion*” is also created by the media in order to feed migratory illusions. Although, striving for better life standard cant consequently be seen as “most unrealistic expectation” but rather regarding the price to pay for the migratory endeavour.:

“Why the immigrant suffers? Why the immigrants wors black? Because they strive for a better life. The television, the crap you don’t know the things. They are arriving here and find themselves in difficulties [vienen aca y estan de mierda]” (Melba).

Overall, the same as Arturo, Juan Carlos immigrated to Genoa –beside other factors – mainly for the reason that he had the option to do so, facilitated by his aunt. Moreover, his aunt convinced him to marry for money to an Ecuadorian woman, who

had already a legal status in Genoa. After seven months he went back to Ecuador (difficulties to settle down as an immigrant and mainly due to the suffering of the distance to his family) and concluded his short migratory project with: "Through migration the family transforms egoistic, to narrative of fairy tales":

"[U]na tia residente allá en Genova (...) y le preguntó a mi tia como viajo si es difícil conseguir visa; me dice casate yo te consigo la chica te cobra 5000€ acepte. La chica con la q me case que nunca avia conocido. La familia al migrar cambia más egoísta es diferente mas cuentista bueno ese fue mi caso con la familia" (Juan Carlos).

In the case of Monica and Luiza, the supposed friend told her over ten years the best stories about living in Genoa; that she has already work for her and her sister and that she will help them to settle down in Genoa, but "*all lies*". Monica is disappointed, that Genoa, the society and the availability of not precarious work and housing is not at all as she was told by her friend:

"Ella nos dijo que vine por acá, tenia trabajo ella y que nos tenia trabajo a nosotras. Supuestamente (...) que ellos tenía todos listo y llegamos y mentiras. Ni ella tenia, ni tanto trabajo, ni papeles (...) [N]o nos habían dicho que nos ayudan en el primer mes, pero mentiras (...)" (Monica).

Since the supposed friend of her sister strongly promoted with lies that they should migrate to Genoa, Luiza did not know in the end why she really over years tried to convince them to migrate promising that she will help them especially at the beginning. But in the end the friend helped herself with exploiting them.

"But in the end it was all LIES. She said she have documents for us, she has an own house, strange things. Things that she never had. I don't know why she did that. Monica believed in this friend since they knew from childhood. Everything was a lie. [Todo era un mentira]. We believed in this person. Thought she was a person sincere (3s)" (Luiza).

Rational Decision vs. Decision out of Available Options

The migratory trajectories of Luiza and Monica also show, on how patterns of "collective lies" and decisions to migrate are not naturally rational. In other words, Luiza and her sister Monica knew already before migrating about the predictable difficulties they face in Italy.

"Of course, everybody speaks and everybody knows which work a migrant is doing here" (Luiza).

They also knew that in Spain – as Columbian citizens and due to the Colonial history and ties between these two countries – they probably would have met relatively easier conditions to settle down.⁷⁹ This hints that her desire to migrate to Spain was

⁷⁹ According the Spanish Law, nationals of inter alia a country of "Iberoamerica" are entitled after two years of regular residence to apply for the Spanish Citizenship (naturalisation). In Italy the actual law demands 10 years. Ecuadorean

hindered by the fact that there is nobody she might trust. Of, course this opinion is very likely influenced by her negative experience, since both sisters trusted a supposed friend – via whom they immigrated to Genoa – who exploited and lied to them. This example also shows that the transnational social ties - and in this case the social capital, the supposed friend represented - seem to had more influence on their decision to migrate than importance of migratory destination.

4.4.4. “Viaje⁸⁰”. Carrying out the Plan to Migrate.

“I know that we were illegal, but WE IGNORED IT. (...) Maybe a way to deal with the fear (...)” (Luiza).

For most the interviewees the journey was - although easy on the first glance (by plane) but on the other hand - often tinged with fear, uncertainty and doubts about the whole migratory plan. This phenomenon is mainly caused by the individual legal status but also depends on the sequence of the journey (if individuals travel alone (Joana, Arturo, Carlos, Juan Carlos, Nicolas, Cristina), group with other immigrants (Maria, Ramón) or as the whole core-family (Carla, Monica, Luiza, Zoila).

For example, Juan Carlos travelled alone, and –although traveling with a regular residence permit – fears and uncertainty:

“[A]l viajar miedo pero decidí y lo hice” (Juan Carlos).

Joana migrated only with a tourist visa in the age of 16 alone but in a group of other Ecuadorean emigrants. She migrated in a period when the tourist visas are well known used to travel with the purpose to migrate for longer. Thus many immigrants were caught and sent back.

“[M]y mum told my stay calm since I travelled through Amsterdam (...) the control there is really [???]. Since I was a minor there was no problem, they say you go here and you here (...) from all we travelled together 10 or maximum 15 we managed and about 300 were sent back (...) at that time the controls were really intense and strict because in the period of 1998, 1999, 2000 and 2001 the people migrated in mass, millions and millions arrived; (...) or what do think why there are 30.000 Ecuadorians just in Genova? Migrated in mass in mass, [???] when I arrived they started to strictly control (...) people migrated to Spain, to Italy to Germany (...)” (Joana).

Monica and Luiza financed their journey with savings and the dispatch of her last job, she were fired a year before emigrating. Juan Carlos used personal saving and

nationals are the fourth biggest immigrants collective by nationality; Colombians are fifth (cf. <http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Spain.pdf> accessed 15.4.2013).

⁸⁰ Means Journey in Spanish

mainly savings of her mother in order to finance his journey, and even more the fake-marriage so as to obtain a regular legal status.

Luiza traveled with her sister and the two infant daughters of her sister. The journey was well planned with supposed friends living in Spain to meet and help them. But they never met them when they arrived in Madrid. They took a night train to Genoa, without a valid document for Italy.

"I know that we were illegal, but WE IGNORED IT. Maybe a way to deal with the fear. We did not have a plan if we would have been caught. We would have returned home. When we left my mum was already dead, 2 years before [early, she was 20 when she died.] My father did not have an opinion. My other sister was positive" (Luiza).

4.5. Structural influences on the Lifeworld

"My life in Genoa was and is just working" (Carla).

There is no surprise, that the most influential factors are related to institutional conditions. The legal status strongly influences the quality of employment, as well of housing (how and where, costs) and the spatial and social mobility. This category also intends to analyse the structural influence on the constitution of the lifeworld – the daily life reality.

4.5.1. General Institutional Factors

A general hampering factor towards the process of inclusion is the defective cognition of one's rights and duties. Likewise for all citizens, defective awareness and knowledge of one's rights increase the possibility of discrimination for example in the labour market or in the provided services local institutions (cf. FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA 2010: 112).

The example of Melba underlines the latter. She was the only one of my interviewees who emphasised the importance of the knowledge of rights and duties, especially as an immigrant:

"When I arrived, I read the constitution. I can't live in a place in which I don't know the laws. The migration is [???] you need to read the laws as a immigrant (...)" (Melba).

Also important to mention in this regard are the public language courses organised by the city administration especially for immigrants. As it is touched upon in the category, "Integration – Inclusion – Insertion into Host-Society" (4.7.3) a big number of the interviewed people took advantage of such language courses (Maria, Arturo, Monica, Luiza, Juan Carlos, Melba). Moreover, the city is running several

projects addressing immigrants but as Cristina regrets, it is not enough and not coordinated enough (Structural Factors influence , 4.9.4).

Legal Status

The legal status influences the main aspects of daily life (access to work, to housing, and participation in the society and in the public life.

For example, without a regular legal status Cristina found it very difficult at the beginning period of her migratory endeavour. Further on, she laments that since her formation in her country of origin was not recognised in Italy she could never work in the profession she did the formation and exercised in Ecuador:

“(...) I arrived without documents. (...) I didn’t have a work. I could not do anything. I did not have documents I could not work the same I did in Ecuador. I could not do anything (...) I am professional, I am a pedagogue, a speech therapist but never I could and would never can work in this profession here, because there are no conventions, no bilateral contracts between Ecuador and Italy to recognize my certificates. (...) So it’s difficult to find an adequate work when your diplomas are not recognized” (Cristina).

Melba perceives a main (discriminatory) difference within the status as an immigrant influencing the individual legal status; whether an immigrant is third-country national (“*extracomunitario*”) or not makes a momentous difference:

“[T]here is a difference in Italy (...) immigrant from a third country. (...) What does ‘extracomunitario’ mean? Its us (2s) This aspect is the most difficult point in immigration for me (...) it was really difficult for me because I already knew that my University degree will not be recognized in Italy because I am a third country national. Therefore I knew, migrating to Italy means to face deprivation of my graduation and of all my professional projects” (Melba).

The legal status also strongly influences the mobility of immigrants. Not to mention the immobility of irregular immigrants – also a regular permit with normally two or five years turns invalid, if the people stay longer than one year outside of the European Union:

“[I]f you stay to long outside in Ecuador you can loose the resident permit (...)” (Joana).

4.5.2. Work

“It’s difficult to find a adequate work when your diplomas are not recognized” (Cristina).

For most the interviewees –due to limited recognition of their formation and education and due to the individual legal status – not just but mainly the first jobs were informal and casual, hence precarious! Some people manage to achieve professionally advance due to further education and formation; some not. As a consequence for several people the precarious work determines their lifeworld.

For example, in the first year of immigration work determines the life of Carla and Ramón. The consequence was, that there is no time for socialising and hence with effects on the process of inclusion and insertion into the society of settlement:

"I felt like in prison. I worked every day from 7 until 21 o'clock. It was horrible. After one year I changed the work. Therein I was a bit freer. More free time. I went running after work. The majority were women who worked permanently in the families as housemaids. Most the women were from Ecuador. Almost no males. So nobody had time to gather. The women only had rarely free time. Only Thursdays and Sundays afternoon" (Ramón).

Carla lamentably expressed, that her whole migratory life is just work. From the beginning on – she arrived with 16 and did not wanted to leave her native region – her migratory project was to work without limits in order to earn money to make her living. In other words, work organises her life:

"[E]l dinero y la sociedad se apoderaron de mi hasta que no empeze a trabajar sin horarios ningunos. (...) Mi vida en Genova fue solo y es solo trabajo (...)" (Carla).

The picture of informal, precarious work in the first years can be seen in the case of Maria. Her case demonstrates as an example for several cases the influence of structural (legislative factors) on the quality of gained work.

"The work, I just had a few hours of work of cleaning, a few hours here, some there (...) because I did not have documents (...) I came as a tourist, so a tourist visa (...) the work was totally different, I worked here with elderly [badante], wash them, iron (...) After two years I found a fix fix [fijo fijo] job" (Maria).

Carla has worked as charwoman since she got her first (informal) job. The hard – time-consuming – work is negatively affecting her health:

"[S]iempre en la limpieza de escaleras de diferentes palacios y todo me resulta muy bien solo que mi salud esta cada día abandonandome y mis fuerzas ya no son como las que tenía a 16" (Carla).

Due to the non-recognition of profession and formations (degree of education and professional qualification) immigrants are forced into underpaid lower skilled occupations. The effects are manifold, lower income, lower socio-economic mobility and thus it also affects the individual sense of feeling included and accepted in the society of residence (cf. FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA 2010: 112).

Melba perceives herself in a better situation since she has not migrated because of economic purpose. Therefore she perceives herself exploited for her labour force:

"The one who comes to work is exploited, they have to fight to survive, its another motive, another reality. Both realities are difficult. Because they don't notice what happens, what happened inside the people, [vive, vive, vive]" (Melba).

Luiza experienced that through hard work, commitment and interest in advanced training, she could archive a better standing in the labour market as an immigrant. Of

course, her additional formation was committed to the demanded branch of the labour market: elderly care service sector:

“At the beginning in Genoa I was a year without work. I had just usual jobs in cleaning. A few hours of cleaning. (...) Informal work. (...) [T]he first job I got through an Italian who was the dad of a child who played with the girls in the school. He was the only one who spoke to us. He is a nurse. The course I took lasted 1 year. In the morning I worked 8-13 than from 14-20 hours was the course. The whole day. [she laughs a lot] it was hard. (...) With this qualification I got the better job, the one I am doing still. I got a better contract. (...) With the contract they have to pay me more. I also have more holidays. (...) In the other job I worked 6 years without qualification” (Luiza).

Also Cristina worked for eight years in a casual job - low-paying job below her formation. Similar to Luiza she took courses to acquire a formation again in order to gain a higher income and satisfying work. Today she is working as an intercultural mediator with migrants, mainly teenagers in schools and prisons:

“In Quito I worked as a director of juvenile prison but had a low income. In Genoa I worked for 8 years as charwoman. I took a course to become intercultural mediator offered by the Province of Genoa (...). I don't earn so much but I am super satisfied with the income, since I am doing an honest and useful work (...). Thanks to this work as an intercultural mediator it facilitated and helped me to accept that my former profession was not recognized by working again in an similar branch” (Cristina).

Although graduated and with long work experience, Melba had to start at zero in her professional life but she is still positive within. Of course one can't generalise, but this illustrates that the lifeworld individuals experience is strongly shaped by the socio-economical background (past); the social status, social networks one has (here – local and trans-local) and thus this aspects shape the scope and freedom of action:

“Since 1,5 years I take care of ancient women with 93 years. When I got her she was really in a bad health condition. 4 hours a day I took care of her as a nurse. After 1,5 years of work she is much more better. She walks autonomously. She doesn't need any more nappies and her wounds disappeared. (...) I love her because she is my small trophy, my reward (...) It's my reward. It's my small world. Since they do not recognize my graduation” (Melba).

Education, gender and age are major determinants for the employment- and income situation of individuals. For people with a migration background the access to employment and thus the realized or potential income is also strongly influenced by the legal status. Thus the social status also depends on the birthplace.⁸¹

Another important aspect influencing the quality of work (housing and the negotiation of lifeworld in general) is the existence of social capital. Some

⁸¹ Cf. Monitoring Integratin Diversität Wien. 2009-2011. Stadt Wien, MA 17 Integration & Diversität. p91. <http://www.wien.gv.at/menschen/integration/pdf/monitor-2012.pdf> (Accessed on 27.4.2013).

interviewed people got their jobs (mostly the first one) through Social Capital (Luiza, Zoila, Monica, Juan Carlos, Ramón). It doesn't seem to be a difference between migrants and non-migrants, that relationship facilitates social and tangible transfers, as Zoila puts it to the point:

"I think that recommendations and connections for work are essential because if nobody is aware about your skills, they don't trust in you. In my case I got a job after I finished secondary school" (Zoila).

A good example for the interplay of migrant networks, further education and thus archiving a better –less precarious - work is the case of Maria. Important for her was the help of Latin American church association in Genoa to gain further education and in order to find a job:

"[Th]e church Santa Catalina was really important because there I met more people, also there was the opportunity to find work through the help of the people there (...) in the church, courses were offered for advanced training / further training (3s) for example how to care about elderly people, how to make the bed" (Maria).

In conclusion, HAUG (2008) stresses the manifold influence of social capital on migratory projects. Material needs (work, housing, etc.) could be facilitated to meet through social capital transferred through migration networks:

"Informal networks help migrants to finance their travel, to find a job or accommodation. Migration networks enable migrants to cross borders, legally or illegally" (HAUG: 588).

4.5.3. Housing

Most of the interviewed immigrants experienced mainly during the initial phase of their immigration precarious conditions regarding their accommodation due to both, structural and individual (social) conditions. Often many interviewed people live(d) together on a small living space:

"We lived with other ten Ecuadorians, we slept on the mattress on the floor (...)" (Zoila).

"The beginning in Genoa was terrible. The house - we lived in Via di Mascherano- was a disaster, it was in an unacceptable condition (...) the city was ugly [brutta] and old, I did not like it" (Cristina).

Beside the structural constraints also social ties can cause precarious housing conditions as the example of Luiza reveals. She and her sister Monica had precarious housing conditions especially in the initial period mainly due to the exploitation of the supposed friend who facilitated their immigration:

"The friend charged us everything: gas, electricity. We lived 4 in the small room. We had to pay for everything (3s) in the end we paid the half of the whole rent of the flat. There were 3 rooms. A friend (laughing). (...) A bunch of people lived there. A sister of

the friend with her son. The friend with her daughter. And also friends of her stayed there. (...) Some stayed one night and the paid her something" (Luiza).

Empirical finding presented in this study is supported by LAGOMARSINO et al. (2007). The scholars stress that the housing situation of immigrants in Genoa is by tendency quite precarious. By reason most immigrants live on little living space (cf. LAGOMARSINO et al., 2007: 43).

To address the aspect of spatial and social segregation, the locality of residence is also determined by the legal status (cf. REINPRECHT et al., 2012: 15, 24). For example, given that Zoila immigrated together with her family, in a time when only a small number of Latin American immigrants resided in Genoa, she grew up within neighbourhood, where just Italian natives lived in. Besides the other social aspect that her parents found fast a proper work and she was from the beginning surrounded by Italian school friends, she learned fast the language and was fast accepted by the surrounding. In other words, the locality and the manner of living also constitute the social class. Social class is key for insertion into the host-society (cf. LAGOMARSINO, 2007).

To buy some property could be seen as a symbol and pattern of settling down on the long term. Another reason could also be to avoid higher rents, due to the development of the real estate market. Some interviewees (Family of Zoila and Joana, Maria, Monica and Luiza) bought a flat or house on loan ("*mutuo*"), a common manner in Italian society.

"When my husband arrived, we bought a flat on debt. He arrived in 2002 after I obtained a regular job (...)" (Maria).

"After a time [2 years] Luiza obtained a regular work [through her additional trainings] and we both bought the flat on loan (...) most of all we always strive to move on here [mas que todo, siempre seguimos adelante aquí]" (Monica).

On the subject – likewise to the analytical category, work - social capital was also crucial for Juan Carlos and Arturo to find an affordable accommodation. Arturo is living in a smaller room together with his wife within a flat, which belongs to the wife of a friend (mate from language school), who are also Peruvian decent:

"When my wife arrived in Genoa she lived in the house of my sister. My sister bought a house here. (...) Then she lived with a friend. When I arrived we got this room. This flat belongs to Peruvian a woman, who is a friend of my wife. (...) They are friends since two years (...) the owner of the flat is more than ten years already here (...)" (Arturo).

The example of Arturo also accentuates the living condition of women working in the elderly care sector in Genoa. His wife works and lives for an elderly women, who is

95 years old. Therefore, only on Thursdays she only joins her husband, Arturo to sleep over in their common room. On the next day, Saturday she has to be at work at 5pm again. Furthermore she also has a second job, in which she cooks for another elderly women in the afternoons. He expresses in this statement regret that his wife as very little time:

"My wife sleeps and works in the house of the women she works as live-in housekeeper. (...) She arrives here [in their common room] at 7:15 and goes back to work at 11 o'clock, in order to work again at 12. She doesn't have much free time. She only has a day off on Saturdays (2s) until 5pm, NOTHING more. On Fridays she stops working at 7 pm and sleeps here and goes back to work on Saturday at 5pm. (3s) LITTLE TIME. She works for an old woman, who is 95 years old. (2s) There is also another old women she cooks for. (2s) She is there in the afternoons to cook for her. (2s) This is what my wife is doing (3s) she is a carer for the elderly" (Arturo).

In conclusion, as already elaborated the Latin American immigration to Genoa is characterised as structural settlement. This is due to their commitment to the labour market in the branch of in-home assistance and elder care since their first settlements, beginning in the 1990's (cf. ERMINIO 2012: 50). The demand of in-family care (especially elderly care) is enormous in Italy. It is estimated that there are at least 2,6 million (4,8% of the total population) living in families and require a high level of care (high maintenance) and at least 2 million people out of this are elderly. Thus, one in ten families face problems to cope this situation of care themselves (CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2011: 265). This revealed structural demand has further manifold reasons: the lack of public health care system; the high costs of private medical insurance and the lack of time of family members to take care of their elderly (AMBROSINI et al., 2004: 272).

4.6. Translocal⁸² Lifeworld

"Thanks to Facebook I am able to return to my nieces, to my sisters, to everybody" (Monica).

Continuative of the latter category (structural aspects) this analytical category aims at analysing the transnational characteristic of individual lifeworlds of the interviewees. Moreover, since Transnationalism aims at analysing migratory processes as dynamic rather than a linear, one-way process, this category strives for

⁸² "Translocal relations are constituted within historically and geographically specific points of origin and migration established by transmigrants. Such relations are dynamic, mutable, and dialectical. They form a triadic connection that links transmigrants, the localities to which they migrate, and their locality of origin" (GUARNIZO and SMITH, 1999: 13).

scrutinising the various forms of transnational lifeworlds – life reality spans over more than one locality, across-borders. Therein, the individual transnational comprehension is not always romantic – characterised by advantages; it offers opportunities but also e.g. isolation, loneliness, relative poverty, and dependences. However, again – the term trans-local is more appropriate than transnational since in most the cases it is not a question of ties between Italy – Ecuador but rather Genoa – Guayaquil or Quito.

4.6.1. Transnational Social Space: Transnational Family

The high occurrence of family reunification and its inherent female chain migration pattern was already elaborated (Chapter 3.3). Again, in the cases of Carla, Maria, Joana, Arturo, Carlos, Juan Carlos this structural (care service) triggered female pattern is evident.

All interviewees maintain - to different extend and manner - ties (mainly family) to their country of origin. For a few interviewed people their family ties spans also to other countries, mainly USA and Spain. Cristina and Juan Carlos have siblings residing for already several years in the US.

For example, the case of Maria is exemplary for a negative impact on the family relation embodied as a disruption of the ties to the children: She left Ecuador, brought after a certain timer her husband but her son, already some years without his mother, did not wanted to leave Ecuador. He is now grown up and founded his own family – in Ecuador.

LAGOMARSINO (2007) set the focus of her analysis (about the multidimensional transformation of families and the decision-making process) on the family (transnational family). These transnational families are Ecuador based (mainly in the cities of Guayaquil and Quito) and span their social field mainly across Ecuador and Italy – but some also to the USA and/or Spain. Fact is that most of the migratory decision is made within the family, whether it is the nuclear- or the extended family. (LAGOMARSINO, 2007: 95). But this doesn't automatically implicate that this decision are made in common. Fact is, the motive to migrate is rather common and collective – to strive for better welfare for all family members. Hence the event of emigration can generate and become an event of conflict and disruption of family ties (Ibid: 97). These are process of fragmentation and arrangement of the unity of the family (Ibid: 99). Furthermore, an interactive relation exists among the family and

migration: all subjects in the family tie influences each other mutually. On one hand, structure and functionality of the nuclear family influence the possibility to migrate and on the other hand the migration itself transform the family in both – in the region of origin and –destination. Therein sex, age and role within the family structure are crucial aspects and factors (Ibid: 97, 99).

The multidimensional changes on the personal level (i.a. identity) and within family bonds and ties on different localities of the transnational family are pointed out in other categories (chapters 4.4, 4.7, 4.8).

Not every family of interviewed individuals are transnational families by definition. The majority maintains dense ties containing a high degree of activities and transfers (Joana, Arturo, Nicolas, Juan Carlos, Cristina) and others have very low institutionalised ties with little up to no mutual activates (Ramón, Arturo, Luiza). Degree and density of transnational family ties can change over time as especially the two cases of Ramón and Zoila dissects. Zoila had little contact with other family members in Ecuador, travelled now and then for visits there, also because her core family lives with her in Genoa. After years this transnational behaviour within social ties changed and since 2009 the degree of interest and activities across-borders (Italy-Ecuador and Genoa – Guayaquil / Quito) became gradually dense.

The dynamic of change of transnational social ties could be seen in the trajectory of Zoila, Maria, Joana, Juan Carlos and Ramón. VERTOVEC (2001) asserts that social ties and networks are dynamic and under constant flux of reproduction, convergence and divergence.

“[S]ocial ties are not fixed (...). As well as being reproduced, networks are constantly being socially constructed and altered by their members” (Vertovec 2001:9).

SØRENSEN (2005) also touches upon the phenomenon of family disruption due to migration; she calls it the “*spatially fractured family relations*”. To be more precise, she delves into the complex causalities of a feminisation of migration patterns mainly “*pulled*” by the “*global care chain*”:

“Contrary to the transnational literature, in which migration is generally described as being successful in maintaining family allegiances through a constant circulation of family members, the recent debate on ‘global care chains’ propose that such relations are problematic, not only for marital life but also for the children left behind who may suffer from a ‘care drain’. The argument is that a growing wage gap between poor and rich countries, blocked social mobility and an increase in female-headed households in developing countries have contributed to the feminization of migration. Demand for care-taking functions has risen in developed countries” (SØRENSEN, 2005: 6).

In contrast as SØRENSEN (2005) also stresses, there is no necessity that families always end up disrupted through migration, within a female migration pattern:

"[T]hey [families] do not necessarily lead to disorganized families, spousal abandonment, divorce and emotional entanglement of the children left behind" (SØRENSEN, 2005: 11).

In the case of Joana this claim can be depicted. After 1,5 years of separation to her mother she immigrated in the age of 15 and in sequence one after the other family member migrated to Genoa through family reunification.

As it was developed in detail in the latter categories, the crucial social capital to migrate for interviewed people stems from family ties; to be more precise: from transnational family ties. Furthermore, this social capital and the one through migrant organisations (e.g. church association of the Santa Catalina Church in Genoa) located in Genoa also helped some interviewees to obtain work (formal and informal), housing and of course a regular legal status.

4.6.2. Transnational Activities, Practices and Transfers

"I keep in touch with my sisters thanks to the media and especially thanks to the social networks, which are my salvation (...)" (Carla).

Transnational / translocal activities of the interviewed people are manifold. Scholars divide the analysis of transnational activities into social, cultural-, economical- and political sphere (cf. Social Symbols, Artefacts, Practices and Transfers, 2.3.4).

One of the most frequent and intense transnational transfers is social capital - on at least both and within localities of interviewees. Most of the interviewed individuals take advantage of means of communication – many of them of social media⁸³. The intensity of the usage depends again on the factor, of which members of the family are living in distance; some individuals transfer money; some are engaged in social- and cultural migratory associations; most of them are still interested – to various degree - in political and social topics of their country of origin but are not involved in political activities which (to some degree influences their origin) but rather the lifeworld in the society of residence; and yet others visit their origin regularly (2-3-4)

⁸³ "Social media are Internet sites where people interact freely, sharing and discussing information about each other and their lives, using a multimedia mix of personal words, pictures, videos and audio (...) individuals and groups create and exchange content and engage in person-to-person conversations. They appear in many forms including blogs forums social networks (...) There are lots of well-known sites such as Facebook, LinkedIn, MySpace, Twitter, YouTube (...)." <http://www.uncp.edu/home/acurtis/Courses/ResourcesForCourses/SocialMediaWhatIsIt.html> (Accessed on 10.5.2013)

years and some did not visited their origin since they arrived in Genoa (10, 12 years); but also some manifest social activities embodied in mobility by temporally or permanently return to their origin, or to migrate to other countries (Spain) or to return to their origin in order to plan and prepare to migrate to another country (USA).

Social Activities

Most of the interviewees use several means of communication (mainly social media, Skype, email and the classic telephone) to stay in touch with their families and friends in their origin. The degree of frequency and intensity of communication also varies. Interviewees have different strategies to cope distance. Also information and news about the locality, region and country of origin are obtained through communications means such as social media.

For example, Zoila experiences distance not as a problem since her core family is present in Genoa:

“Tengo lo suficientemente cercanas [family] para no sentir mucha nostalgia de los otros” (Zoila).

The intensity of communication varies among immigrants. Most of them regularly communicate (once, twice a week or even every day and several times a day as the case of Monica reveals). Her very case demonstrates that the intensity of communication can be linked on the degree of satisfaction of one's daily life as an immigrants and the personal experience of acceptance and inclusion to the society of residence. Monica doesn't feel comfortable in Genoa. She would like to return to Colombia but her daughters and her sister Luiza did not want so. She is unhappy with her work and strongly perceives discrimination. It appears that her intensive communication pattern with her family members and friends in Colombia compensate or might console her desperation with her migratory trajectory; a strategy to face and cope daily life in Italy:

“We are always communicating, always (...) as sad as I am, my sadness goes (...) I just use the telephone and Facebook. At night I also chat with them (...) I always chat or with a friend in Cali I also always chat with her (...) Every day I am connected to the Internet to communicate with my family (...) every day I watch, every day we are chatting (...) the Internet is a great means of communication (Monica).

Interviewees mainly utilize the Internet for communication nowadays. Also depending on the age and individual attitude to technology, interviewees use to different extent means such as emails, Skype, Facebook or conventional phone calls (especially Carlos), which became cheaper over the years.

“I speak with my brothers and cousins using the telephone” (Carlos).

"My mum has 50 years and she use everything, but my dad not with my dad with telephone because with his 65 years (...)" (Joana).

For Monica Facebook is a platform for interpersonal exchange in order to stay in touch, -to share (photos, narratives, etc.). But she also uses Facebook to obtain general news and information of the region of origin to stay up-to-date what is going on within her family and friendship ties and as well in the region/country at whole. Interesting in this statement is her strong intention and wish to participate virtually in the daily life of family members and friends back in Cali.

"Facebook facilitates the contact with my people in distance. (...) Through postings, photos, everything I see what is happening there in Cali [Colombia] or what are they doing that the very MOMENT" (Monica).

The improvement of communication technology (faster, cheaper, easier) fosters also an improvement of the quality, intensity of communication and an increase of the quantity of social actors involved.

"Before I went to the internet café to buy credit in order to phone. Now with the Internet we are in better contact and with more communication. Thanks to Facebook I am able to return to my nieces, to my sisters, to" (Monica).

VERTOVEC (2004) stresses the multidimensional social impact on the Micro-Meso level of immigrants caused by improvement of communication technology (price and accessibility). VERTOVEC stresses on phone calls, but given that he published his work in 2004, thus some years before the massive success and emerge of social media (especially Facebook) one can consider the patterns towards cheap phone calls quite similar to the patterns of communication due to social media:

"Cheap telephone calls have impacted enormously and variously on many kinds of transnational communities. Whereas in previous eras migrants had to make do with exorbitantly expensive calls or slow-paced post, they are now able to communicate with their families abroad on a regular, if not day-to-day basis. This obviously has considerable impact on domestic and community life, inter-generational and gender relations, religious and other cultural practices, and local economic development in both migrant sending and migrant-receiving contexts (...)" (VERTOVEC, 2004: 220).

Most the people communicate with their core family (parents, children, siblings) but also some others maintain broad (kinship, amicable) ties.

"Through SKYPE with them, my brother my parents! With video, with everything, we see us, with everything (...)" (Melba).

As the latter underlines, cheap communication (Internet) and the intensity of communication can be seen as "social glue" for social ties in distance.

The communications allowed by cheap telephone calls serve as a kind of social glue connecting small-scale social formations across the globe" (VERTOVEC, 2004: 220).

The statement of Carla summarises all developed aspects of communication as transnational social activity among interviewed individuals:

"My contacts to Ecuador are sporadically for the simple fact that even my extended family lives here in Genova. My brothers who are married and have kids and my mother and my sisters are also living here in Italy. I keep in touch with my sisters thanks to the media and especially thanks to the social networks, which are my salvation [qué son mi salvación]. Therefore I do not anymore use the telephone so often but I rather use more the computer and the Internet" (Carla).

Another aspect of social activities is mobility. The most common form of cross-border mobility are journeys to visit temporally family members and friends residing in the country/locality of origin. Interviewed people perform to different extent journeys – as a social transnational activity visiting their family members and friends residing in the country of origin. The frequency and regularity of return journey strongly vary. A few people travel/travelled regularly (every 1- 2 years). In average every three to four years people travel but in absolute figures there are also people who never travelled back to their country of origin, since they reside in Genoa (Luiza, Arturo, Melba). For example, in five years Melba did not travel back so far on purpose in order to first get settled in Genoa before returning to her place of origin. In contrast, in ten years Luiza never returned due to work and her various trainings she attends in order to obtain better work conditions. Arturo did not has the intention to travel back in his three years in Genoa, maybe also since his wife and a high degree of family bond is residing in Genoa.

Deriving from these examples a certain pattern of mobility can be deduced: A correlation between the degrees of presence of the core family, the kind of work / economical situation (degree of precariousness) and frequency of journey to the origin (numbers of journeys) was revealed. For example, Carla and Carlos are residing for 17 and 18 years in Genoa and travelled 4 and 5 times back to their origin. On the first glance their journey – duration of residence ratio is quite similar but the most influential factor behind this similar pattern is different. Carlos's core family is present in Genoa and he has a solid job. In contrast, Carla also has her core family (mother, son, siblings) around her in Genoa, but she has a precarious job and underlines, that she never has enough time for anything because of work. As Carla lamentably underscores is that her life in Genoa is and was always just work. Since she arrived she works in casual jobs as a charwomen and she feels experience permanent time constrains:

“La familia a distancia la vivo muy bien en cuanto aquí en Genova estan todos mis queridos y amigos (...) Mama, Hijo, Hermanas, Hermanos, Sobrinas/os. (...) Mi vida en Genova fue solo y es solo trabajo (...) siempre en la limpieza de escaleras (...) Me gustaria escapar de Genova (...) donde nadie me estrese todo el tiempo” (Carla).

A variation is given in the case of Ramón. Already after two years he started to return regularly every two years for one month. But because of misuse of remitted money the family tie got disrupted and in 2005 he (and his family in Genoa) stopped to visit his origin.

Monica emphasises the lack of money as the main reason why she returned for the first time for a temporally visit to Colombia just after ten years. If she have had enough money before she would have returned within a month. Since she just works in a low paid casual job, money constrains a central:

“Yo quería volver? (...) Quería volver a la Colombia pero tampoco teníamos la plata para volvernos. Si huebra tenido la plata al mes siguiente me volviera (5s)” (Monica).

The empirical findings of DE MIGUEL-LUKEN et al. (2009) are consistent with the empirical findings of this study. In terms circular migration pattern, temporal return journeys to the locality of origin are social activities within a transnational social space. The consistency is given that return journeys among interviewees are relatively seldom and with a low frequency because of the long geographical distance to the origin, -the economic conditions in order to afford such journeys and as well due to individual legal conditions, which are likely to hamper the mobility of immigrants (limited period of residence outside of Italy or EU in order to do not loose the regular permit).

“These temporary return journeys are mainly uncommon because the country of birth is often far away and it is difficult to cross that distance, because the stays are limited to holiday periods or because the person’s legal condition acts as an obstacle to further mobility, impeding fluid frontier interchanges” (DE MIGUEL-LUKEN, 2009: 9).

Another characteristic of mobility as an activity within a transnational space is to migrate to other countries, places outside of the country of birth or to return to the country of origin. For example, Juan Carlos returned to Ecuador already after seven months for several reasons, but mainly because of the discrepancy of imagined and experienced migratory situation in Genoa and also because of nostalgia to his core family.

In contrast, the family of Joana first mainly immigrated to Genoa due to family reunification – central nodal point within this migratory social network was the aunt who already arrived in 1996 – but apparently now family members increasingly return to Ecuador (brother, father). Mentioned aunt seemingly has a high migratory

mobility, since she recently returned after 15 years in Genoa to her village of origin in order to plan to immigrate soon to the USA:

"My aunt, the majority of my family returned [?], my aunt came in 1996, she was the first of our family (...) before it was easier to migrate to Italy [before 2003]; (...) this aunt now has the visa for USA, she doesn't come back here although she has the long term resident permit, she doesn't like it here, she is still in my village but she plans to go to USA with her daughter for study; (...) my dad did not liked it here, he went back already (...) my brother stayed, finished the school and he married afterwards, he has a kid and then he went back in January 2012 (...) in April we haven been all together [in Ecuador], (...) now he is very far but he wanted it like that" (Joana).

LAGOMARSINO (2006) stresses that females are the central nodal point of the Latin American immigration process in Genoa (LAGOMARSINO, 2006: 251, 133).

Also due to his legal status and to narratives, for Nicolas to migrate from Argentina to Italy was rather a "kind of return migration" in a blurred time-concept:

"Between Argentina and Italy, we Argentineans with Italian roots, I don't know if we migrate, maybe we travel, we return, we move within a cultural space" (Nicolas).

Despite these cases demonstrated return migratory patterns, the case of Carla depicts high readiness for migratory mobility. After she had been living in Genoa for twelve years she decided to migrate to Spain striving for better work conditions. After twelve months she returned to Genoa.

Last but not least to mention is that Social capital is one of the highest developed transnational social transfers among interviewed individuals. Their mutual impact on migration, remigration and family reunification decision-making process was already elaborated in detail (cf. Chapters 4.4, 4.5, 4.7).

Cultural Activities

Some examples of transnational cultural activities refer on particular migrant associations. For example the church association Santa Catalina mainly acts locally in Genoa supporting in various ways mainly newcomer immigrants. On the other hand –likewise as ethnic associations – individual through associations reproduce and transfer values, norms and also a sense of belonging to its members and stakeholders across borders.

The personal engagement of the interviewed persons in specific associations (ethnic, gender focused, religious, cultural, etc.) varies. For example, Cristina is highly engaged. She is a high engaged in an association for Latin American women, COLIDOLAT (*Coordinamento Ligure Donne Latinoamericane*). Before she was

politically active as Vice President of the Regional Consult for Integration (*consulta regionale per integrazione*) and also was part of a political party.

Zoila is also highly engaged on topics and projects to raise light and give voice and visibility to Latin American decent residents of Genoa. After arriving in Genoa her life was characterised with intensive interactions almost just with Italian fellows. Since about three years she more then even engaged in Latin American topics and projects.

The social engagement of mainly female interviewees could also be seen as a transformation of gender role and relation; especially in the case of the female association COLIDOLAT, where Latin American decent women organise themselves to especially focus on female immigrants topics.

Carlos, as others (e.g. a interview which was not chosen for the analysis) is a member of the non-profit association “*Grappolo*”⁸⁴. This ethnic association supports immigrants (immigrants for immigrants) with advanced training, help for job acquisition as well for the purpose of cultural activities. Furthermore Carlos is also an active member of religious group, which meets periodically for Latin American mass in the church Santa Catalina de Genova⁸⁵. Besides holding weekly masses, the church also organises advanced education, especially for new immigrants in order to support them for example by preparing for demanded jobs: elderly care.

The same as Maria, Arturo is also a member of the same church association. Arturo took a course for elderly care in the church. Mentioned examples of Carlos and Arturo emphasize the statement of Maria. Therein she expresses the importance the church had for her especially in the initial phase; to learn the language, get courses in order to enhance the job opportunities:

“[Th]e church Santa Catalina was really important because there I met more people, also there was the opportunity to find work through the help of the people there, but now its less, because of a lot of work so there is no much time for help (...) in the church, courses were offered for advanced training / further training (3s) for example how to care about elderly people, how to make the bed (...) but before there were more people who helped, collaborate, it mean now are less people who collaborate;

⁸⁴“Associazioni Enti Agenzie e Comunità, Associazioni artistiche culturali e ricreative”. <http://www.misterimpresa.it/liguria/genova/genova/associazioni-artistiche-culturali-e-ricreative/224779.html> (Accessed on 14.6.2012).

⁸⁵ Two other people I interviewed were member of the Santa Catalina association - Latin American Catholic Community - the biggest Latin American church association in Genoa. The prayer is also Latin America decent. One of this two people I interviewed was for many years President of this association.

A mate/friend from the language school took me once to a weekly mass. Thus I personally could gain an inside view who this association looks like. Even more, I was introduced and had good conversations with the visitors and members. I was warmly welcomed. Hence I can reason, that this association is open to everybody and many Italians – married to Latin American decants – participated. This visit was also reflected in a participant observation protocol.

yes its the same than before but there are less people; (...) today there are less people who help, not less associations" (Maria).

Other cultural (sometimes at the same time also social- and political-) activities were dissected in the local public media. For example, there is the local well-known newspaper "*Il Secolo XIX*" which publishes every Thursday a special part written in Spanish language addressing topics and events about and from Latin American decent immigrants living in Genoa. As well there is a radio station "*Radio19 Latino*"⁸⁶, which broadcasts in both languages (Italian and Spanish) and aims at bridging "cultures" and thus to fight prevailing stereotypes. In addition, supporting the aim of facilitation of the mutual "integration/inclusion" process the radio project also aims at including Latin American associations in the content of the radio program as well as establishing a cultural, social information platform for all ethnics residing in Italy:

*"With this new project that merges music with information, Radio19 (...) wants to build a bridge between Genoa and the Latino community present in its territory, which currently employs around 40,000 people. The use of both languages (...) goes to meet a specific need, to address the trend of many families, who have lived in Genoa for years, to speak both Spanish and Italian to facilitate integration, especially among the younger generation. The radio will also build several categories of service implemented in collaboration with several Latin American organizations in the Liguria region."*⁸⁷

To conclude, VERTOVEC (2009) puts in a nutshell the real complexity of the integration process. There in he stresses, that the degree of transnational engagement can automatically deduced to a certain degree "of being integrated":

"Belonging, loyalty and sense of attachment are not parts of a zero – sum game based on a single place. That is, the 'more transnational' a person is does not automatically mean the 'less integrated' he or she is, and the 'less integrated' one is does not necessarily prompt or strengthen 'more transnational' patterns of association (Vertovec, 2009: 54).

Economic Activities

The question whether somebody transfers money back to their families or not was not central in the interviews. However some interviewees raised this topic on their own. Ramón for example transferred money over many years until he stopped to send money and even broke up with his family, since he felt that the money spoilt their relationship and transformed the core family to "*money focused egoists*":

⁸⁶ Radio19 Latino broadcasts since 20.05.201 and "it is the first radio in Italy to broadcast FM and streaming on the web - both in Spanish and Italian. (...) But Radio19 Latin music is not only the information also will have a key role in the daily programming. Eighteen news, broadcast between 7 and 20, including four in Spanish, will be managed by a team led by Peruvian journalist Domeinca Canchano, with constant updates and plenty of space devoted to news, politics, sports and Italy from South America. (...)" http://www.ilsecoloxix.it/p/cultura/2012/05/10/APZxQ5TC-bienvenida_radio_latino.shtml#axzz1wLxnUv22 (Accessed, 23.5.2012).

⁸⁷ (Ibid).

"After two years I saved money and sent it back to Ecuador. (...) After two years I went back to Ecuador for one month, to see how is the situation. But I saw that it did not get better. My family, my mother is really generous (...). But also really irresponsible. This month of holiday I could not enjoy. Because I sacrificed so much for them, they could not imagine how much I sacrificed here in Genoa. Because the people believe, as soon somebody emigrates and sends money back, that he get the money as a gift. Doesn't know that one has to work hard for it. The family thinks like that. Not only mine. Many. Because this happened to many Ecuadorians and Peruvians. I returned to Italy desperately disappointed. (3s). But when I THOUGHT of them and I STARTED AGAIN to send money to my family. Again after two years I went to Ecuador with the hope that things changed to the better. I asked my mother if they managed to repay all the debts, she soothed that the time was hard and problems with the house and so on. (...) My aim was to help my family since they had debts. Afterwards I understood that my point of view was different than the one of them." (Ramón).

The wife of Arturo got a loan to finance her migratory journey to Genoa from her sister in law, who already had been living in Genoa when she was still a non-migrant. Thus economical remittances are not solely used for investments (property such as a house), or improving the quality of life (better education, health care, better mobility, etc.) but also to finance the migration of newcomer migrants:

"The journey of my wife we paid with the money my sister lent us. With the work here she paid it back (...)" (Arturo).

Monica stresses that she could not remit money back to her family since she doesn't have money. The money she earns she spends for daily life. Again, her economic constraints due to her casual low income job are also central in terms of transnational transfers and activities:

"No puedo hacer nada porque plata no puedo mandar, por que no hay (...)" (Monica).

In conclusion, not every family is a transnational family according the definition. As already elaborated, transnational families structures are defined through transnational contacts with emotional, financial, social impacts. The definition is quite vague as the empirical examples above claim. The example of Ramón demonstrates on how social ties can be eroded due to changing balance of power / roles within the family bond. A divergence of expectations and cognition on financial recourses (at the cost of great privations for Ramón it was hard to send money, but his family gradually took this remittances for granted) resulted in a disruption of their transnational family tie.

Through transnational social networks individuals maintain social ties and also various forms of recourses and transfers are circulated:

"(...) [M]igrants and their descendants remain strongly influenced by their continuing ties to their home country or by social networks that stretch across national borders (...) Social networks don't just concern how people are connected: they also affect the circulation of resources, which can be defined as anything that allows an actor to group to 'control, provide or apply a sanction to another social actor: money, facilities, labour,

legitimacy, group size, discretionary time, organizing experience, legal skills, even violence” (VERTOVEC, 2001: 10).

To use the notion of LUKE and LUKE (2009), similar to the process of identity, transnational social space is a “creation new out of the difference”. This is simply because the interaction and activities within translocal/transnational social space has different meaning for different social actors at different phases of their lives. The quote of LEVITT (1998) expresses this train of thought:

“[S]eeing migrants and non-migrants as occupying the same social space also drives home that becoming incorporated into the United States and sustaining strong ties to one’s homeland are not at odds with each other. (...) Migrants do not trade one membership for another. Instead, they change how they direct their energy and resources in response to election campaigns, wars, economic downturns, life-cycle events, and natural disasters. By doing so, they contradict the expectation that newcomers will either fully incorporate or remain entirely transnational and suggest that most people will craft some combination of the two” (LEVITT, 1998: 2).

4.7. Immigrant Adjustment: Identity and “Integration”

“I am not Italian but I have certain Italian aspects -things I am assimilated to” (Joana).

4.7.1. Initial Phase⁸⁸ in Genoa

For most of the interviewees the initial phase in Genoa was very difficult because of various reasons. These causing factors can be classified into personal (distance, loneliness, nostalgia), structural (Language, stereotypes, other norms and values (“culture), Genoa as an anthroposphere), and institutional (laws, access to social services, work, housing).

For example, Melba was lost and alone when she arrived in Genoa. Of course she lived with her husband, he was often traveling for work and since they both live in a small village (suburbs of Genoa) the interaction with other people (immigrants) was quite limited, as especially at the beginning, the initial phase of her immigration. As well her statements hints that personal factors are sometimes linked and interconnected to the surrounding (structural factors):

“When I arrived in Italy I was at the same time really in Love but also I was really weak/unsure because I arrived alone here, without anybody (...) I came here ALONE, without family (...). [T]he change was enormous I lived in a big city, here it is a small village, big cultural change. After 3 years I started to get known of the people of this small village (...).“To come here signified an absolute change, mentality, of all (...).

⁸⁸ The question arises on what is the time scope of the “beginning”? Bearing the interviews in mind, it seems the beginning can last in some cases even years.

Little by little (3s). When I arrived I told myself to struggle forward, get used to the life here, to accommodate and struggle for a good life here (...) (Melba).

“The beginning in Genoa was terrible” (Cristina).

The difficulty at the beginning stemmed from the change of the ambience but also the change of work and living condition. A keyword: precariousness.

“I did not know anybody here. Nobody. Only the sister in law of my work my friend; (...) the life was really different because I had worked before in a office before, everything fine, with my family in Ecuador; (...) I was alone, the work was totally different, I worked here with elderly [badante], wash them, iron (...)” (Maria).

Some interviewees stated that they felt into depression caused by migration. For example Luiza was suffering on heavy depressions and lost 14 kilo of body weight.

The statement of Ramón tells a whole story. Doing so he touches upon several interesting aspects: He arrived at a time when there were only a few Latin American immigrants. Due to work he and the mainly female compatriots did not find time to gather and socialize. His expectation and imagination on how the life in Italy, the Italian society will be was shattered by the reality; almost the opposite. The structural aspects were (except the work) not the crucial factors but rather “cultural, behavioural differences”. Personal factors where as well the change of life style.

“The beginning was really bad here. Because when I arrived here in 1989 there was almost no Latin American here. Until 1991 there were only a very few. The majority were women who worked permanently in the families as house maid. Almost no males. The women only had rarely free time. So nobody had time to gather (...). Before I arrived I imagined the Italians as in the movies: One who is RELAXING, FUNNY, AND EASY TO BECOME FRIENDS. (3s) When I arrived here (2s) it was SUPER difficult to make friends (...). After three months I just wanted to leave, to return. I could not stand it anymore. (...) The work and the salary were good but it was the ambience, the surrounding. I felt like in PRISON. It was horrible (...)” (Ramón).

4.7.2. Identity

“If tomorrow they say, you are 23 years here in Genoa, either you obtain the Italian citizenship or you have to leave (3s) PERFECT, I am leaving. Otherwise I would loose my identity (...)” (Ramón).

As it was already elaborated in the Chapter 2.5 the complex dynamic negotiation and constitution process of identity and belonging is influenced by various factors – likewise to other sub-categories (Integration – Inclusion – Insertion into Host-Society, chapter 4.7.3) – with different degree to different people. Most of the interviews allude to characteristic of hybridity. Among the influencing factors are the personal legal status, other structural factors as legislation, stereotypes and other personal

factors a family residing in Genoa, duration of immigration in Genoa and experience of discrimination.

Self-Conceptions of Identity

For example, the case of Carlos demonstrates that identity can be shaped by one's legal status. He emphasizes that before he did not have the Italian citizenship he did not felt Italian but rather Ecuadorean:

"[Y]o me considero Italiano por la ciudadanía y cuando no la tenía me consideraba Ecuatoriano" (Carlos).

Also strongly influenced by the citizenship is the constitution of the identity of Ramón. He is already almost 24 years in Genoa – more than he lived before in Ecuador – he still did not obtained the Italian Citizenship, although he could for several aspects (e.g.: marriage to an Italian, duration of regular stay):

"When it's about Citizenship (...) it might facilitates me benefits, or it is a optimal thing, I don't care about that. (...) If tomorrow they say, you are 23 years here in Genova, either you obtain the Italian citizenship or you have to leave (3s) PERFECT I am leaving [perfecto me voy]. Otherwise I would loose my identity. (...) This is my own opinion, other people see it different. Especially people from South America tell me to get it. BUT I don't care. (...) In Ecuador I lived 21 years and 11 months and here in Genova almost 24 years of my life. (2s) But the more essential impact of my life was there in Ecuador [pero lo que me he marcado mi vida era alla] (...)" (Ramón).

Identity and belonging (not sorely) of immigrants are in a constant transformation. Thus hybrid identities are *"a creation of something new out of difference. (...) Hybridity should mean no more than that the various ways of being and thinking available"* (LUKE and LUKE, 1999: 231-32). Again, for Stuart HALL (1995) Hybrid identities *"are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference"* (HALL, 1995 cited in LUKE and LUKE, 1999: 231-32).

Zoila describes herself two have two identities and to be connected to both "worlds". Since she is connected to at least to localities (Guayaquil and Genoa), speaks two languages she is really proud to have two identities; Italian- Ecuadorean. She is proud of both, of her Ecuadorean origin and of her Italian present. She emphasizes again that she define herself as Italian-Ecuadorean. She stresses that since she spent most of her life in Italy her "first dress", her "first identity" is Italian. "Genoa is all" for her, her "world", her "spirit". She also stresses, that "it is an added value to speak two languages and to have two worlds to be connected to". Concluding, she

also states: "Today more than ever I feel like Italian-Ecuadorean. I am a daughter of migration and I welcome the added value".⁸⁹

But still somebody can have different opinions on different aspects of each "culture". She states "Genoa is my home, there is all I have, my life, my freedom. For my Guayaquil is the place I was born, nothing more. I am happy about my roots but I don't carry and she the Ecuadorean Culture":

"Genova es mi casa (2s) aquí lo tengo todo, mi vida y mi LIBERTAD. Para mi Guayaquil es el lugar donde yo nací y nada mas. Estoy feliz de mis raizes pero no comparto la cultura ecuatoriana" (Zoila).

This very statement reflects the train of thought of LUKE and LUKE (1999): *"The concept of hybridity, therefore, is not about (...) mixtures from two or more [cultural] source. Rather, cultures and hybridities are a creation of something new out of difference"* (LUKE and LUKE, 1999: 231-32).

The train of thought ("new out of the difference") of LUKE and LUKE (1999) can be well dissected in the self-perception of Identity of Joana. She grew up on the border to Peru and was used to daily cross the border to go to school. She experiences influences of different cultural settings and more over certain localities. Because to grow up next to Peruvian border can cause the same socialisation, same values, norms, etc. than to grow up e.g. in Quito, just because this two localities are located in the same national state. Her concept of identity is clearly hybrid:

"In my case I don't say I am Italian neither Ecuadorian because in my case since I lived close to the Peruvian border I feel like Peruvian - Ecuadorian. We even have family in Peru. Since many Peruvians come to work to Ecuador we had a Peruvian housemaid, so I ate tasty Peruvian food. So I can't say I am Ecuadorean, I grow up in Ecuador but I also have Italian influences (...) Its about making a difference its the same with the term 'extracomunitaria' (...) I don't feel foreigner, neither Italian (2s) NO, even after 10 years I don't feel like Italian, I see myself rather as a open minded person (...) I am

⁸⁹ "Me explico major (2s) mi nombre es Zoila Katiуска Bajaña Espinoza y nací en Guayaquil. (...) Estoy muy orgullosa de mis orígenes, y de ser italo-ecuatoriana. Pero parece propio que tengo dos identidades. (...) [P]erché oggi più che mai mi sento: ITALO - ECUADORIANA. Mi sento figlia della migrazione e mi rallegro del valore aggiunto. (...) Me identifico con la frase: 'Soy Italo-Ecuatoriana'. (...) porque la mayor parte de mi vida la pase' aquí y mi primera identidad, mi primer vestido es donde voy viviendo de mas tiempo!! GENOVA es mi todo (2s)mi mundo, mi alma y mi espíritu. (...) [E]s un valor agregado el poder hablar dos lenguas y tener DOS MUNDOS al cual ser LIGADA" (Zoila).

⁹⁰ The statement of Zoila is full of symbols. As already mentioned, she asked to use her real name. In an article in the well-known local Italian newspaper "Il Secolo XIX" Zoila stressed the importance of the letter "ñ" in her surname. Since she arrived in Italy her name changes since the letter does not exist in the Italian language. Also her second surname (stemming from her mother) does not appear in official documents. Thus this on "One hand small symbol" also influences her negotiation of identity: "Cuando cruce la frontera a los 8 años y llegue a Génova, me convertí en Zoila katiуска Bajana. Así la ñ tuvo que desaparecer. ¿Por qué? Porque en Italia no existe. Es así que desde hace 18 años todas las instituciones se han siempre justificado: desde que me inscribieron a la escuela, (...) dijeron que en la computadora no existe esa letra del alfabeto, y me quedé Bajana. Pero también cuando hice la solitud para la ciudadanía. Allí además de haberme quitado la ñ, desapareció también mi apellido materno, Espinoza. En cambio mis documentos ecuatorianos no han sufrido ningún cambio, y menos mal. Puede parecer un detalle, pero yo lo veo de forma diferente. Los nombres y apellidos son datos trascendentales, y reflejan los orígenes de cada uno de nosotros" (Zoila).

not Italian (...) but I have certain Italian aspects -things I assimilated to. Assimilated in the sense that I also have this culture like I have mine (2s) Assimilated in the sense of merge, mix (2s) in the sense of to adopt some certain positive aspect from Italy (2s) to merge to something different" (Joana).

Several interviewees expressed hybrid senses of belonging. For example the case of Melba:

"I have two routings/roots, Chilean and Italian (...)" (Melba).

Also for Carla, her identity is negotiated between her life-experience in both countries, Italy and Ecuador:

"My identity is two-folded, my blood is Latino but my life-history is ITALIAN" (Carla).

An indicator of hybrid identity also could be found by the self-perception as "citizen of the world": The statement of Carlos speaks for itself: "I am not a migrant I am a citizen of the world":

"Yo no soy migrante, soy un ciudadano del mundo" (Carlos).

"Always I feel the beating of two nations: Genoa stands for the heart and thought, but the soul is Latin, is all Ecuadorian. Always I live a mixture of flavours and colours. I live side by side with my cultural background. I perceive myself as a citizen of the WORLD" (Zoila).⁹¹

The virtual social identity strongly shapes one's own self-perception, the negotiations of identity:

"I never felt more Argentinean before I came to Italy (3s) because immediately you are set into a cultural concept, you are Argentinean (2s)" (Nicolas).

Carlos states, that when he is in Genoa he feels like Ecuadorean but when he is in Ecuador he feels like Italian:

"Cuando estoy en Genova me siento Ecuatoriano y cuando estoy en Guayaquil me siento Italiano" (Carlos).

As the examples demonstrate, the incursion into a "new" society causes processes of multidimensional personal transformations. Even one never leaves his or her country or region; the identity is always a dynamic process of human beings. The tipping point here is the different degree of transformations due to (international) migration: "As a positioning, identity is thus place-bound both conceptually and geographically. Identity and experience are constituted by and emerge within specific localized Contexts (...)" (LUKE and LUKE, 1999: 231).

⁹¹ "Da sempre in me sento battere due nazioni: Genova spicca per il cuore ed il pensiero, ma l'animo latino è tutto Ecuadoriano. Da sempre vivo un miscuglio di sapori e colori. Vivo accanto al mio bagaglio culturale. Yo me percibo como una ciudadana del MUNDO" (Zoila).

4.7.3. Integration – Inclusion – Insertion into Host-Society

"As a stranger you are only allowed to feel integrated - equal to Italians, by paying taxes" (Ramón).

Essential factors to become included in the society of new residence are linked to personal situation (duration in Genoa, presence or absence of core-family, experience of discrimination) as well as institutional (legal status) and structural aspects (language). Among Interviewees the proper knowledge of the national language is key to "integrate" in terms of society but also crucial to get a proper job and hence to make a dignified life in the region of residence.). Moreover, this sub-category analyses such factors towards its potential tending to be a facilitation or an obstacle in the process of multidimensional inclusion / integration. In addition, also projects, whether initiated by public or private actors will be addressed. For example the role of a local Radio and newspaper focusing on "Latin American content".

Personal Factors

Most crucial personal factors influencing the process of insertion into the society of residence are the duration of residence, presence of core family and of course the experience of discrimination and acceptance in the host-society.

Most the interviewed people, who describe themselves "settled" and "rooted" in Genoa are residing in Genoa already for several years (such as Joana, Carlos, Zoila, Cristina). The variation is Ramón, despite his 23 year in Genoa still perceives his life in Genoa as "temporal and transitory".

Again, crucial that interviewees "feel settled" is whether core family is present in Genoa or not as the case of Zoila demonstrates: Since her core family lives with her in Genoa she doesn't suffer from distance and nostalgia.

"[T]he closeness of the family is essential; it allows staying in contact with the reality, it's a guide, a pillar, a walking stick" (Zoila).

The majority of the interviewees have their core families in Genoa (Carla, Joana, Arturo, Carlos, Monica, Luiza, Ramón - he founded his family in Genoa, Zoila and Cristina - after 20 years her son returned to Ecuador in order to found his own family).

The main personal factor for the stabilisation of the individual migratory flow and mobility is the degree of the presence of the (core-) family in the locality of new settlement (cf. LAGOMARSINO, 2009: 100). In conjunction with the presence of the

core family a transformation of the migratory project takes place. The temporal and provisional permanence – linked to the most likely economic objective within a short-term period – shifts towards a permanent settlement with a broader time-scope; likely a quite definitive settlement which implicates some radical changes within the family relation bond. Important at this stage of analysis is the conclusion that the reunification of the family (core-family) strongly influences (depending on the social impact on the family tie, e.g. disruption) the process of settling down in the country of destination; thus on the process of integration / inclusion / participation to the receiving society (cf. Ibid and FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA 2010: 112).

Structural Factor: Language

The most influential factors were already elaborated within the category Structural influences on the Lifeworld (4.5). Here the focus should be given to language as a condition. For almost all the interviewed people, to properly know the language it is important and crucial to get a proper not precarious job, to participate in the society, to settle down. The same as Arturo, Monica, Luiza, Juan Carlos, Melba also took advantage of the language school, the Municipality of Genoa organises almost for free⁹². Therein she expresses the importance to learn the national language of the country of residence:

“[A] migrant have a major problem, the language. All immigrant need to visit with ambition [fuerza] language schools, to learn the language (...) the government needs to offer them small incentive⁹³s to come frequently to school (...)” (Melba).

Similar to Melba, Maria also took language courses. First at the private level – through a church association organised by other Latin American immigrants –and later she took a course organised by the city administration:

“At the beginning I took language classes at the Santa Caterina School, a church, but afterwards I took a course at [???], organized by the commune, the state. There I took the class to better speak the language (...)” (Maria).

Ramón shares the importance of the knowledge of a certain level of the national language. But he also appreciates to speak his native language whenever he has the opportunity to do so:

“When I meet Spanish speaking people I like to speak Spanish, contrariwise when I meet or work for Italians I speak Italian, I speak perfectly Italian (...)” (Ramón).

⁹² A student of the language school pays a symbol inscription fee of 20€ per year.

⁹³ She gave an example of a friend who immigrated to Switzerland; the government gave immigrants money for positive language course participation.

Although Zoila learnt fast the Italian language and she speaks it perfectly she estimates the capacity to speak two languages as advantage and the two languages. Furthermore the two languages are also linked to her hybrid identity:

“Si que le veo como una valorizacion (2s) es un valor agregado el poder hablar dos lenguas y tener DOS MUNDOS al cual ser LIGADA” (Zoila).

Some interviewees (Ramón, Luiza), especially who have been already for a longer time in Genoa, switched unconsciously during the interview from Spanish into Italian language or the mixed sometimes the languages.

A paradox was found. The closeness of Spanish to Italian language facilitates the communication for newcomer immigrants at the beginning but on the longer run deficits in the Italian language skills are likely to hamper the inclusion process (cf. FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA 2010: 112).

Structural Factor: Anthroposphere Genoa

The statement of Maria combines both, personal and structural aspects of difficulties in the inclusion process: On one hand the personal experienced change (place, distance, adaption) and structural embodies in work. Precarious work, since undocumented influences inter alia the time budget to socialise with others:

“Until one integrates its a bit difficult [poco difícil] (...) because it is a total change. The work, I just had a few hours of work of cleaning, a few hours here, some there because I did not have documents (...) I came as a tourist, so a tourist visa (...)” (Maria).

From the beginning on Zoila felt welcomed in Genoa thus she got warm with the living space Genoa:

“Génova desde un principio se mostró para mí como un lugar acogedor y lleno de oportunidades. Aquí realicé mis estudios desde la primaria hasta la Universidad” (Zoila).

The experience of Cristina was different to the one of Zoila:

“The city was ugly [brutta] and old, I did not like it. Until Today I improved, so I love it and even I miss it when I am out of the city on a journey”. (Cristina).

Projects and Initiatives to foster the Process of Inclusion

The role and impact of migrant associations (cultural, social, religious, etc.); some project launched by the city administration (e.g. Intercultural Mediator) in Genoa are already addressed at length in this study. Here the phenomenon of presence in the local public media should be picked up again briefly (also see chapter 4.6.2, p. 92). Therein, both the local newspaper “*Il Secolo XIX*” and the radio “*Radio19 Latino*” are aiming at bridging cultures:

*"[T]o facilitate integration, especially among the younger generation (...) to build a bridge between Genoa and the Latino community."*⁹⁴

On the national level the state Italy also launches several projects⁹⁵ aiming at fostering "Integration". But, as already touch upon (Chapter 2.5.1) the crucial question is on the definition and conceptualisation of integration in these projects.

Socio-economic projects targeting to facilitate "integration" are the most efficient acting on a local, regional level.

*"The integration of migrants falls under the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior. The country's integration programmes are coordinated through the local integration councils in Italy's 103 provinces. These local integration councils also handle cases of irregular migration"*⁹⁶

Experience of prevailing Stereotypes and Discrimination

Both, positive and negative discrimination is experienced by interviewed people. Together they strongly influence their social identity and social status and hence also their personal process of constitution and negotiation of identity. Prevailing stereotypes and prejudices influence immigrants:

"As a stranger you are only allowed to feel integrated - equal to Italians, by paying taxes. When I opened my own business, I got known of the bureaucracy here in Italy. Thereby I learned that when you have to pay taxes it is the only time when you are welcomed with open arms here in Italy; because they know you bring money" (Ramón).

"[P]eople who know me see me different (...) pictures of an South American, oh a thief, are prostitutes, are migrating to this place to marry a guy to get documents. (...) I was suffering a lot of those prejudices, because I am not a prostitute who just marries a guy just to get the residence permit (...) but the people see me like that (2s) I am NOT but they see me that way" (Melba).

Erving GOFFMAN (1963) elaborates in his famous work "Stigma". Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity" his theory of Social Stigma. He defines stigma as a reputation and attribute which has a socially discrediting effect on the person or on a group of people. The stereotype derives from the "discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity" of individuals:

"Society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories. Social settings establish the categories of persons likely to be encountered there. The routines of social intercourse in established settings allow us to deal with anticipated others without special attention or thought."

⁹⁴ http://www.ilsecoloxix.it/p/cultura/2012/05/10/APZxQ5TC-bienvenida_radio_latino.shtml#axzz1wLxnUv22 (Accessed, 23.5.2012).

⁹⁵ <http://www.ciridi.org/primo-piano/viii-rapporto-del-cnel-sugli-indici-di-integrazione-degli-immigrati-in-italia/> (Accessed on 10.11.2012).

⁹⁶ IOM (2011): Harnessing the Development Potential of Remittances: The Italy-Philippines Migration and Remittance Corridor. p.9. http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/italy_philippines_remit.pdf

When a stranger comes into our presence, then, first appearances are likely to enable us to anticipate his category and attributes (...) a virtual social identity. The category and attributes he could in fact be proved to possess will be called his actual social identity. (...) We lean on these anticipations that we have, transforming them into normative expectations, into righteously presented demands. (...) While the stranger is present before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind—in the extreme, a person who is quite thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak. He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one. Such an attribute is a stigma, especially when its discrediting effect is very extensive; sometimes it is also called a failing, a shortcoming, a handicap. It constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity" (GOFFMAN, 1963: 2-3).

"This discrepancy, when (...) apparent, spoils (...) social identity; it has the effect of cutting him off from society and from himself so that he stands a discredited person facing an unaccepting world" (Ibid: 13).

The concept of social stigma is a perfect match for Ramón's statement. Both the stigmatisation from the dominating receiving society towards foreigners and the fact that this virtual social identity effects the actual social identity:

"As a person who lives abroad, I behave better in this society abroad than in my own country. That is what I always tell Italians. Because here for example, many people throw their litter on the street, nobody say anything, as soon as I do it, people say, look at this foreigner what he is doing. It happened to me, the paper fall by accident. (...) The person did not say he, the person throw it, but rather the foreigner throw it. (...) Here as a foreigner, you do not sorely represent yourself personally, as Ramón, you also represent an Ecuadorean, a Latin American. In my country I am Ramón and basta. (...) If there is one who misbehaves its always the whole group who gets the whole attributes. The few Latin Americans who misbehave, fight, are drunk or throw bottles are very few, are 40, but only this people are visible, the other ones, the majority that behaves, are not visible because they work, are in their houses. (...) That 40 damage the whole image (...)" (Ramón).

Variation in the empirical data is key in (social) science⁹⁷! This statement presents the variation that Ramón experiences positive discrimination due to his origin. This positive discrimination strongly determines his "virtual social identity and hence his social status. Overall Nicolas is pleased with this migratory experience, his migratory trajectory although his origin conceptualizes him a status which on one hand privileges him but also presents positive discrimination:

"Given my kind of elite migration, my migratory experience is an experience with vast of possibilities (...). Of course my status as Argentinian helps me (4s). Somehow its a migration of doubts for me since I have kind of a elite migration (...) since I am also allowed to work; I have certain rights (...) Symbolically and economically I don't have the typical Latin American immigration here in Italy. (...) I witnesses positive discrimination, because of being Argentinean, people do not perceive me as a economic migrant, as people think in the case of Ecuador or Peru (...) a historical -

⁹⁷ This statement stems from a personal conversation with Nina GLCK-SCHILLER at a conference, "The Crisis, Displacements, Cities, and Migrants", 11.–12 April 2013, in Vienna.

social context enables that some prejudices are positive or negative in its function and power on the subject (...)” (Nicolas).

Another positive discrimination which in turn can bring positive aspects towards migratory destinations - besides structural reasons and social capital - could also be another historic aspect, which shapes the virtual social identity and status of immigrants; similarity of values: Value Catholic Church:

“The women-centred Latin American immigration is of course facilitated by structural - labour market and demographic demands - but also a influence is the strong influence of the catholic church, that give an advantage of Latino female immigrants in the elderly care sector compared to immigrant labour force from Eastern European countries (...) the religious aspect appear important to me in this regard” (Nicolas).

An additional aspect of positive discrimination could be found within stereotyping by gender. Latin American women are deemed to easily integrate but in contrast the integration process of Latin American men (mainly Ecuadorean origin) is seen to be difficult. This stereotype is in strong contradiction with the empirical findings. Since by tendency Latin American women is employed under precarious conditions (precarious socio-economical status) and due to the absence of the core family the process of inclusion into the society of residence is strongly hampered - as it was already elaborated at length (LAGOMARSINO 2007: 20 et seq.).

Perception of the Host-Society and Experience of Acceptance

The experience of Melba did not directly concerns “native Italians” representing the majority of the host society, but rather the diversity of immigrants as a part of the “host-society”. In a language course offered by the city administration she learned about the broad spectrum “reality of immigrants”:

“Its a language centre for immigrants here in Genova, in the centre [of the city] (...) there I was confronted with the reality of immigrants. Two groups, the one who are suffering of hunger because there were all kinds of migrants. People from everywhere, from the beach, from Arab countries, people with sad realities (...) precarious (...) so two groups, and the other group was different, me, a women from Belgium, one from Spain and from England, we were the only graduated ones (...) we were the only ones who went there because of interest. Others came because food was given (...) the school helped them (...)” (Melba).

Of this statement one could also learn or might conclude that –besides that knowledge of language is key to be empowered to fully participate in the society of residence – if basic needs are not satisfied, or structural factors are hindering (time scarcity due to hard, underpaid work), to learn the national language is under threat.

Since Zoila did not meet other compatriot children, she had to “start to mix up” well with native Italians and this was the “salvation” for her. This salvation allowed

her a "good integration". "When you do not meet compatriots, you have to learn, if you want or not". She also states the a key word for her was "scout", which might signifies that this early experience of inclusion guided her:⁹⁸

"Al no encontrar jovenes de nuestra tierra natal empezamos a mezclarnos muy bien con los atuòctonos y esto fue 'la salvacion'. Es 'la salvacion' que permite una buena integracion, cuando no te encuentras con gente de tu país te toca aprender quieras o no quieras. La palabra clave para mi tambien fue: 'scout'" (Zoila).

Similar to Zoila's case is the one of Carlos. He states that

"I always met with Italians and this helped me to integrate"(Carlos).

It's important to preceive the inclusion process on a long-term perspective:

"[S]lowly slowly I got used to the European life/culture which has good and negative aspects like everywhere (...) It's about to adapt to a situation" (Melba).

Another rather positive perception represents this statement of Ramón. In his opinion the Italian society (Genoa) has a good perception of Ecuadoreans and Latin Americans in general. As another quote of him will indicate later, he believes that Italians are not racists but have strong prejudices. This prejudices become rudimental as soon Italians get know personally of (Latin American) immigrants:

"I think that the Italian society has a good opinion of Ecuadorians. Because, if the meet them, as working for them, or caring in their houses, in the production, or women as elderly care service they know that Ecuadorians are good workers. (...) Lets say South Americans. I know many Italians who prefer to employ South American. They know that they are more motivated. Because if you work bad as a foreigner, they don find work again (...) I noticed that many Italians get along well with Ecuadorians" (Ramón).

Especially, Ramón experiences both, acceptance and rejection in the society of residence. He experiences acceptance mostly on the personal level. Italian natives who know him – whether as friends or clients of his entrepreneurship – appreciate him for his generous, sincere personality. On the other hand – rejection-, especially people who do not know him personally express him –verbally and cognitive – that he is still after 23 years "different" and sometimes not welcome in Italy, Genoa:

"They [Italians] have prejudices, as soon they meet foreigners they challenge their own prejudices. Their opinion changes (...)" (Ramón).

Mainly a mix of preferences attached to certain "cultures" / societies are expressed:

⁹⁸ Appropriate to this latter train of thought is the following experience of Zoila, which she told me during an informal conversation. Could it be that the process of inclusion of Zoila had a satisfying course for her due to the absence of experience of spatial and social segregation? "Since she grow up in a typical not immigrant district (Marasi) she had to deal from the beginning on with the Italian language and always with Italian people. On the other hand, other friends also with Ecuador decent grew up differently, and feel less connected to Italian society, she states" (Informal conversation with Zoila. Source: Observation protocol).

"There are many aspects I like of Italy, the food, and many other things, which I do not like" (Cristina).

Monica and Zoila hint to the difference of safety as women in the two societies and thus expresses that the Machismo annoys her:

"In Italy you can walk the streets as a women without having fears. Not so in Ecuador (...) [el machismo me explota]" (Zoila).

Eye-catching is this statement of Carla. Therein she stresses on one hand that she is grateful for the opportunity she had through migration to "fulfill herself". This expression is most likely dedicated to the birth of her son, since she bemoans that her life is just work and there is never time for anything. She doesn't like the "dirt" in Genoa but neither like the delinquency in Ecuador but she loves the happiness, the joie de vivre in Ecuador. She concludes, "Ecuadoreans are poor⁹⁹ but happy":

"Adoro la oportunidad que me dio de realizarme y odio lo sucia que esta siempre. De Ecuador amo la alegria y odio la delincuencia en conclusion los Ecuatorianos son pobres pero alegres" (Carla).

Monica experienced herself and though her daughters (mainly at school and during the beginning period) discrimination. This experience of discrimination seems to shape her perception of the whole Italian society. She states that although such people claim not to be racists, but in her opinion they are – "until they die".

Different to Monica, for Ramón Italians are not racist but rather prejudices are prevailing and strong until Italian individuals get know personally of immigrants:

"Here in Italy there is no racism, rather here in Italy exists prejudices. That's different. 95% of Italians are not racists. They have prejudices, as soon they meet foreigners they challenge their own prejudices. Their opinion change. The prejudices one can change, the racism not, because racism is a part of your personality. Your second skin. A racist dies as a racist" (Ramón).

For some interviews the Italian citizens living in Genoa are experienced as closed in their attitude. For example for Monica it appears that society arrogantly express that Latin America decent people are stupid:

"La gente aqui son CERRADOS, son antipaticos (..) de (cayen?) ignorante (...) tipo que viene de sud america piensan que es un idiota, que uno sabe nada" (Monica).

⁹⁹ Some concepts of poverty: "Social scientists' understanding of poverty, on the other hand, is critical of the economical idea of free choice models where individuals control their own destiny and are thus the cause of their own poverty. Rather than being interested in its measurement, sociologists generally study the reasons for poverty, such as the roles of culture, power, social structure and other factors largely out of the control of the individual. Accordingly, the multidimensional nature of poverty, in particular social aspects such as housing poor, health poor or time poor, needs to be understood" <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/poverty/> versus the narrow-minded one of <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTPA0,,contentMDK:20238991~menuPK:492138~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:430367,00.html> (Both accessed on 4.5.2013).

Likewise, Cristina states that although the society in Genoa and Italy is diverse, it's still difficult to "integrate" in Italy. One of this "various" things is linked to the legal states, as it was elaborated above:

"So we have a huge spectrum of cultural diversity but here in Italy its difficult, you can't do nothing. Because Italy is a difficult country. And Genoa is a difficult city to integrate, to [???] to do various things. (...)" (Cristina).

The empirical data is supported by CARITAS/MIGRANTES (2010). As every year they reiterate in their annual report that there is a racist climate in Italy that (besides other factors) hampers the "integration" process and *"makes it difficult for immigrants to integrate in Italy"* (cf. CARITAS/MIGRANTES 2010: 65).

Since the latter quotes represented rather positive and negative perceptions of the receiving society Italy, Genoa; Ramón's perception and identity are strongly influenced by cultural differences. Although Ramón is strongly involved in "Italian life" (wife, son was born and grew up in Italy, he longer in Italy than he lived before in Ecuador, has Italian friends; is interested in Italian history, politics, society) cultural differences (on mentality, behaviours, norms, etc.) are still stronger that he did not feel completely home in Italy, Genoa. Contrary, the time in Genoa is a "transitional, temporary period":

"I don't have any positive neither negative affection, symphony for this country (...) For example if Italy plays in soccer against any Latin American Country, I would never support Italy, always for Latin American country. (...) When I meet people from Latin America I see them as someday who is like me. We are from the same roots [como seramos del mismo arbol]. I see similarities. I feel affection. On the other hand, here I don't feel that. This one counts more for me than 1000 Italians. (...) My best friends here are three Italians. I know them since 22 / 23 years. We trust and help each other. When I was in economical needs he helped me (...). I don't have anything for the Nation Italy. Never I would [???] NEVER, never. (3s). But there are individual Italians who are [???] symphatique. On the level of the Nation no, but individuals yes. You can find any kind of people everywhere. It depends on the person (...)" (Ramón).

Stereotypes of Immigrants.

Within the self-perception and the perception of "the others", stereotypes are responded with stereotypes: Likewise to the process of stigmatising by the dominant group of a society the process of stigmatising, the process of perceiving the "other" and homogenous as different in a negative could be the same for the stigmatised group and individual. The virtual social identity drifts apart from the actual social identity (cf. GOFFMAN, 1963). Independent to the degree of hybridity of identity and duration of residence in Genoa, some interviewed people also idealise and praise

their own origin (Hubris¹⁰⁰). Therein their own origin is perceived as a container, as homogenous (cf. GOFFMAN, 1963). Hubris of one's own social position leads to a devaluation of the social environment. The 'other' is here often represented as a closed group in order to be viable to distinguish and disconnect the 'self' from the 'other'. This conception of otherness could be result into individual or are collective images of stereotypes. Such images of otherness structure our everyday perception, they are part of our immediate environment and are constituted and reproduced by media, culture, education and family (cf. LIEBHART et al. 2002: 7et seq.)

"[L]atinos might are still more linked to earth, have less stereotypes, Europeans appear more close, material, antipathetic. It's my theory. We are more emotive; the South American in general" (Melba).

Strategies of Insertion into the New Society of Residence

Like most of the interviewees the beginning period in Genoa was difficult for Melba to adapt and get used of the new society and situation of daily life. A pattern of a strategy could be in general her open-minded attitude towards the society of residence; the elderly women she takes care of and she developed a particular strategy on how to deal with the distance to her family in Chile:

"This my work compensates, the elderly improved, when I started to take care of her she could wash herself, slowly, slowly this person after two years improved; this is the fruit of my work, is my tiny cosmos [no es un castigo mas qué es una oportunidad] its not a punishment its an opportunity to meet new people, to get know of new food, habits (...)" (Melba).

The case of Zoila is a good example that the surroundings as variables are likely to shape experience thus to shape one's life world; also it demonstrates the continuum of influence of processes from the past towards the present:

With eight years she inserted to school after arriving in Genoa. She was the only pupil in her class who was not Italian. Although the beginning in Genoa was also difficult for her, she adopted fast. She states that since she was treated very well at school, and in general her experience of interaction with the new society were really positive she fast felt in love with Genoa. She also expresses that due to her different appearance compared to the majority she was the "black princess among all withes" and her "language was the curiosity at school" she was "the star who was unique". Some scholars might deduce some patterns of "positive discrimination" but to me her experience shows that such phenomenon also need to be seen in the social context

¹⁰⁰ Hubris in the meaning that the "self" is idealised and positive attributed and the "other" is attributed in opposed position. (cf. LIEBHART et al., 2002).

(school, children) but also on temporal context; 1995, a time where immigration was still minor in Genoa and thus most likely stereotypes and prejudices might also have been less omnipresent than nowadays.¹⁰¹

The case of Ramón exemplarily demonstrates a sort of hybrid pattern of settlement. He doesn't need to love all aspects about Italy or the locality or neither need to abandon his sympathy and affections to certain behaviour patterns and norms (culture) in order to be "integrated" in the Italian (regional) society!

His case further depicts on how the process of inclusion / integration / insertion to the society is a broad field and space of negotiations¹⁰²; thus the inclusion process is never a linear process (cf. Chapter, 2.5.1). For example, Ramón is aware that his acting is not only attached to him personally but also to him as a foreigner, due to his appearance. Even after 24 years in Italy he is still perceived as a foreigner, by people who do not know him. Because of his appearance:

"As a person who lives abroad, I behave better than in my own country. Because here for example, many people throw their litter on the street, nobody say anything, as soon as I do it, people say, look at this foreigner what he is doing (...) Here as a foreigner, you do not solely represent yourself personally, as Ramón, you also represent an Ecuadorean, a Latin American. In my country I am Ramón and basta." (Ramón).

In conclusion, a paradox was found: In order to properly learn the language; - to adopt, to insert, to feel accepted to participate in the society - one needs to interact. But, given the precarious –mainly- working (time constrain and low income) and housing condition the process of inclusion is strongly hindered. Again, work and housing is strongly linked to legal status.

4.8. Multidimensional Transformations of and through Migration

"Today more than ever I feel like ITALIAN-ECUADOREAN. I am a daughter of migration and I welcome the added value" (Zoila).¹⁰³

The last category analyses on how individual migratory experience of the interviewees transformed their lifeworlds.

¹⁰¹ "Mis amiguitos en la escuela me trataron super bien, como el petalo mas delicado de una rosa por tal razon es que aprendi a querer y enamorarme de Genova porque todos conmigo eran buenas. Era tratada como una nena! Yo era la princesa negra y ellos todos blancos, siempre me quisieron, creciendo el color de mi piel ya no existia. Mi lengua era la curiosidad del momento, yo era aquella star parecida a nadie" (Zoila).

¹⁰² The term means a social space in which transformations are taking place and these transformations are influenced by many stakeholders within this space.

¹⁰³ "[O]ggi più che mai mi sento: ITALO - ECUADORIANA. Mi sento figlia della migrazione e mi rallegro del valore aggiunto (...)" (Zoila). This quote is particular, because she switched into Italian language to express this thought!

4.8.1. Transformation of Migratory Vision and own Experience

Intended and factual Duration

Melba PEDONE (2003) indicates on the influence of certain images and illustration of potential countries of destination on potential countries of origin. In her work she analyses on potential influence of the image of the “American Dream”, which is symbolically and materially constructed, on potential migratory decisions of Ecuadorian nationals intending to immigrate to the USA. Also the “second choice” to migrate to Europe (mainly Spain) influences the gap between the real situation and conditions as an emigrant and the imaginary one. Therein she depicts on the discrepancy between the preliminary attributions and perceptions of the migratory aspirations, which influence migratory decisions (cf. PEDONE, 2003: 209, 213-16).

This aspect of a “*Latino dream*” or visions and aspirations for a better (economic-social) future through emigrating for a few years and returning to the region of origin to build a house or to establish a small enterprise could be – to different extend – be seen in cases of Carla, Maria, Arturo, Monica with Luiza, Juan Carlos and Ramón. Juan Carlos, for example expressed that his main motives were the “*Latin American dream*”, to have his own land and house, livestock (animals), to progress and to live a comfortable life:

“Motivo principal progresar tener mis tierras aca mi ganado y mucho mas (...) viajar por el sueño de todo latino (2s) progresar tener su casa y vivir cómodo” (Juan Carlos).

As an example for other interviews, Ramón considered working for two years abroad in order to earn money to help his parents to repay a loan:

“The same like other people, I though I go emigrate for two years, earn money and go back. My aim was to help my family since they had debts But as always in life the plans are changing [se modifican]” (Ramón).

Migration Project in General

This part aims at presenting rather positive or rather negative overall opinion on one’s own migration experience. Of course this narrow, dual assumption strongly simplifies complexity. Nevertheless, different people experience similar situations and settings differently. As well migratory trajectory are influenced by manifold factors as every life is.

As it was shown, on one hand Monica and Luiza share to high extend similar migratory biography but their migratory trajectory passed different. Luiza seems

settled in the Italian society (housing, job) and doesn't really plan to return to Colombia. Different is Monica. Of course, her responsibilities being mother of two infant daughters (although both still live together and both care about the –now-adolescent) is different and might influenced already her time-budget regarding further trainings in order to obtain a better paid, regular job. But still, their general perception of their migratory project is divergent.

The migratory experiences of Carlos, Nicolas, Ramón, Zoila and Cristina could be assumed as strongly positive.

“To speak about migration is positive, migration is positive to me. I appreciate now more than ever what migration gave us (...). Genoa for me was the place of illusions and good opportunities for our lives” (Carlos).

Rather positive respectively neutral are the migratory experiences Maria, Joana, Arturo, Luiza and Melba. They perceive their migratory project overall positive despite difficulties.

Rather negative is the migratory experience for Carla, Monica and Juan Carlos. For example, already after seven months Juan Carlos returned to Ecuador. He describes that the return itself was really hard since he had his aspirations and hopes have burst and since he disappointed especially his mother who financed him a large part of his migratory endeavour. But still he underlines that he grew personally due this experience.¹⁰⁴

SCHAPENDONK (2009) delves into the changeable nature of immigrant's projects and aspirations. The dynamic of changeable and in-progress nature indicates that migration is not a linear process. Initial plans of migration can be changed or re-defined at different stages and phases of the migratory project, the individual migratory trajectory (cf. SCHAPENDONK, 2009: 293-300). *“[The] migrant's situation in host countries is rather changeable and hence migrant's aspirations are changeable too”* (Ibid: 310-11). Thus *“Migration is not an act but a process”* (Ibid: 297).

When Zoila was in Ecuador in 2005 (age of 18) she did not like it. But when she went there again in 2009 she started to like her Ecuadorean roots. She states that as young adult she started again to be interested and later engaged in Ecuadorean –

¹⁰⁴ “[C]reo mi llagada aca un poco defraudan te para mi por mis sueños de tener regresar con algo mis tierras estudios etc, para mi mama que gasto tanto para q se diera todo esto mi al aver botado mis cosas aca para hacer cosas mejores y no averlas hacho es una sensación fea: al llegar me decidi cambiar dedicarme aca para conseguir lo que quiero aca y eso es lo q estoy haciendo esforzándome para conseguir mis cosas aca y centrarme en mi objetivo seguir con mis estudios, madure creci con ese viaje que me hizo pasar tantos malos ratos dormir como en la calle me volvió mas fuerte y me ayudo a sentirme capas de todo” (Juan Carlos).

migratory issues, in her ethnic background. She states that since her migratory life was different that the one of her compatriots friends, she did not had much contact to Latino American immigrants in Genoa unless 2009. She underlines that she is very proud of the decision of her parents to immigrate to Genoa and if it were in her hand she would do it again, "1000 times again".¹⁰⁵

4.8.2. Transformations within Relationships and Ties

Maybe the most prominent personal transformations are rooted in one's particular concept of identity, the sense of belonging and within personal relationships and social ties.

The fact that migration transforms and changes individual's personally is evident to the most of the interviewees, as for example Cristina and Joana stress:

"I changed, my ideas, of course I became a different person. (...) Of course I transformed though migration. I am not the Ecuadorian I was years ago; of course I am another person. I hope a better one [laughing]. Of course I am another person. (...) Since I am living here in Italy I can't remain the same person I was in Ecuador (...) Ecuadorians here in Genoa are not same as Ecuadorians in Ecuador" (Cristina).

"When I was in Ecuador [first time after 9,5 years residing in Italy] I missed things from Italy, by traveling though different places in Ecuador I noticed that I have kind of Italian point of view [optica italiana] (...) something different (...)" (Joana).

The most noticeable transformation process of immigrants (identity, family ties and its disruption) was already dissected in detail. But the transformation of gender roles and gender relations within the family (or groups) are also an important dynamic within the migration process, as many studies show¹⁰⁶. For example, SØRENSEN (2005) elaborates on the transformation of gender roles in the migratory process:

"Migration serves to reorient and question normative understandings of gender roles and ideologies by altering traditional roles, divisions of labour and other meaningful categories of gender and generational construction. With international migration, the task of cultural reproduction in intimate arenas such as husband-wife and parent-child relations easily becomes politicized and exposed to the 'traumas of deterritorialization as family members pool and negotiate their mutual understandings and aspirations in spatially fractured arrangements" (SØRENSEN, 2005: 11).

Exemplary for the latter is the case of Arturo: he is unemployed already for two years; his wife works as elderly care nurse in a family. So she is the only one who

¹⁰⁵ "Si dependiera de mi lo haria una Y MIL VECEZ MAS. Estoy feliz y orgullosa de la decision de mis padres aunque si al principio no la llegue a pensar de esta manera" (Zoila).

¹⁰⁶ Inter alia: DANNECKER, Petra (2009): "Migrant Visions of Development: A Gendered Approach" or WILLIS, K and YEOH, B. (eds.) (2000): "Gender and Migration".

acquires the income for both. Even more, his wife has two jobs (two elderly women she works for) and she has very little free time since she is a live-in housekeeper. Here the gender role¹⁰⁷ within the family seemed to be changed compared to their life before in Peru. His wife mainly took the decision to migrate in order to earn money to buy land and a house in Lima, Peru; she lend money for her journey from her sister in law, who already had been living in Genoa:

“My wife first had the idea to migrate to Genoa. She arrived two years before me. For the family reunification she had to come first. When I arrived I worked but now since two years I am unemployed. My wife sleeps and works in the house of the women she works as live-in housekeeper. She doesn’t has much free time. There is also another old women she also works for; she is there in the afternoons to cook for her” (Arturo).

The Consul of the Ecuadorean Consulate in Genoa, Ester CUESTA SANTANA stressed in a interview published in the regular magazine of Casa America (2010) that despite the distance to the core family the immigrant Latin American women (mother) get the main responsibility – due her migration – for a major part of the income of the household. She is the one who improves the whole socio-economic situation of the transnational family bond (cf. CUESTA SANTANA in (FONDAZIONE CASA AMERICA 2010: 112).

As the cases of Ramón and Juan Carlos have already demonstrated, “*collective lies*”, fraudulence and exploitation within family ties or friendships can cause serious disgruntlements and even disruption of such ties (especially in the case of Ramón).

4.8.3. Stay or Return or Further. Migratory Mobility

“I have no more reason to stay in a country where people do not get angry because of unemployment and the increasing costs of living, but for football matches” (Cristina).

Some aspects and examples of migratory mobility of interviewed people were already analyses at length (Chapter, 4.6.2). Therein besides temporal visits in the region of origin, further migrations to other countries or return migratory mobility took place. People who rather want to stay in Genoa are Maria, Luiza and depending on the socio-economic situation Ramón also plans to stay in Genoa on the middle term. Some want to return immediately (Monica), some would like to return but do not see opportunities (Carla) and some plan to return sometime in the future – also

¹⁰⁷ In an interview - which was not chosen for the analysis - a Peruvian man, who is also unemployed, stated that it is quite difficult for him to deal with the situation that only his wife earns money for both and he cant contribute to their income. He was used to work as an engineer back in Peru. So he was accustomed that he - at least - contributes to the family income. But, so its is different in Genoa: he is just working now and then in informal, casual jobs since the labour market in Genoa for male is totally different than for female immigrants.

depending on economic factors (Arturo) and some are overall satisfied with present situation but desire to return one day (Ramón, Melba).

For example, Monica is disappointed of her migration project most like because it was derived from lies.

“Just lies! Any work to survive, but not to save money (...) you earn and spend. Nothing remains. Therefore I want to go back” (Monica).

Cristina – although settled in the Italian society and holding the Italian citizenship and satisfied with her life in Genoa – starts to consider to might return for several reasons, but the most since her son definitely returned to Ecuador with his family. Among them are the prevailing economic (crisis) and structural conditions,

“The situation changed. My son is now 32 years old and after 20 years in Genova he went back to Ecuador forever. The last few years the people became more racists and the political and public atmosphere through the news in Television have exalted the hatred of foreigners. They don’t find work, the taxes are high but the state doesn’t help. My family in Ecuador lives in a good economic condition, but paradoxically I became a poor immigrant (...) I have no more reason to stay in a country where people do not get angry because of unemployment and the increasing costs of living, but for football matches” (Cristina).

Although Ramón is strongly involved in “Italian life”, he perceives his life in Genoa as “transitional” and as a “temporary period”:

“The life doesn’t end here. (...) Here this place is a temporal place, a place of transition [un lugar transitorio, temporal]” (Ramón).

And yet others (Zoila and Nicolas) do not perceive their migratory project definitive but rather flexible. Therein, their perspective of mobility doesn’t obeys to political borders. One could claim a transnational, translocal attitude within. Similar to others, the question whether to stay or return for Zoila is first: not just an “either-or” question and second: a question opportunities (studies and job in the light of economic crisis in Europe) and options.

4.9. Summary and Discussion of the Results. Conclusion

4.9.1. Summary and Discussion of the Results

The aim of this study was to set the focus of research on migratory processes on the Macro-level. In this analytical level it was possible to investigate the individual concepts of lifeworlds of Latin American immigrants in Genoa. In the follow, the main empirical findings of each elaborated category will be set into context with both, the leading research question and with the points of view of the five expert interviews. Doing so, a thesis for each category will be deduced from the empirical data. Consequently the thesis will be supported by the conclusion of the empirical findings. Finally, the expert interviews add additional perspectives on the subject.

4.9.2. Expert Interviews

As it has been already elaborated (Chapter 1.3.1) people interviewed about their lifeworld and thus their own point of view on their reality just can be seen as “*internal experts*” on their own subjective experience (LUCKMAN, 1979 cited in FROSCHAUER et al., 2005: 36). Except Mr Andrea Torre, the four other interviewees presented in this point of the analysis can be seen at the same time as experts of their personal experience as Latin-American immigrant but also as expert due to their profession dealing with related issues (intercultural mediator, Leader of a migratory association or even as a municipal politician). Thus, in this Chapter the concept “expert” is used to stress the subject-specific expertise of individuals.

Out of eight expert interviews, five were chosen for these concluding analyses in order to enable –besides theories and qualitative and quantitative data from literature – another perspective on the empirical data. As already noted, except for Mr Andrea Torre, the identities of the four other experts are anonymised.

Cristina

Personally she was already introduced at length. Besides her experiential expertise on migratory issues – due to both, her 13 years of work as cultural mediator (schools, prisons, within families) and her 7 years of engagement within the female

association, "COLIDOLAT"¹⁰⁸, Cristina entails a large scope of experience and expertise. At a glance, the association aims at giving a voice to female Latin American "immigrants". Their work focuses on cultural events (inter alia: linked to typical food, dance, poesy in order to reproduce cultural roots and to build bridges to the "dominant Italian "culture"), social and educative initiatives to improve the daily life of female immigrants.

Fernando

Since 1998 he lives with his Family in Genoa. Already in 1999 he joined the "*Latin American Catholic Community*" in Genoa and therein he held a high office for several years. Among others he founded the "*Casa de la Cultura Peruana Genova*"¹⁰⁹, as a cultural platform, which emerged out of 15 small associations. This platform is well establish, hold a high reputation not just among immigrants and collaborates in projects together with the Peruvian Consulate of Genoa. Since 5 years he is engaged in local politics and was a candidate for his district in the municipal elections in 2012.

Gustavo

Gustavo's origin is Colombia (Cali). He is a psychologist and also works as an "intercultural mediator" in Genoa. He is self-employed but is involved in several projects within schools in the whole province of Genoa.

Adriana

She emigrated in the age of four years with her parents from Uruguay, Montevideo to Genoa. Her grandfather escaped after the Second World War as former fascist of Mussolini Italy to Argentina. Her father in turn migrated as a political refugee to Uruguay in the 1970's. Her parents are both medicals. She holds as Master on Sociology. She is in her PhD studies at the University of Genoa and focuses on undocumented immigrants from Senegal, who are informally working as street vendors.

Andrea Torre

He is the only "Italy-born/socialised" expert. Since 1990 he is engaged in issues related to migration. Since its establishment in 2003 Mr Torre is the director of the

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.colidolat.org/> Accessed on 3.3.2013

¹⁰⁹ www.deperu.com/peruanos/peruanos-italia Accessed on 3.3.2013

"Centro Studi Medi. Migrazioni nel Mediterraneo". He is professionally involved in social research, connected to migration issues in Genoa and Italy. Therein he focused on Latin American decent migratory processes. He published several books and is a well-known academic expert on migratory processes in Genoa. The same as other Non-profit associations (e.g. Casa America), Centro Studi Medi faces serious financial difficulties.

4.9.3. Motive, Decision and Why Genoa

(a) Social Capital located in Genoa enabled, facilitated, and enhanced immigration to Genoa. This Social Capital is mainly embodied by family ties (b) and the decision to emigrate was mainly taken within the core family. (c) Most of the individuals immigrated alone within a family reunification sequence¹¹⁰.

(a) Despite motives are various (economic, violence, sickness of a family member, study, love, etc.) the most crucial influence on the decision-making process was given by the presence of relatives in Genoa. In seven cases (Joana, Arturo, Carlos, Juan Carlos, Ramón, Cristina, Zoila) the social ties were based on kinship - the core family (mainly aunts, mother, parents). In three cases (Monica, Luiza, Maria) the social ties, which enable the crucial Social Capital for the migration decision were friends, former workmates or schoolmates. The two other cases represent the variation of this analytical category: Melba married an Italian and immigrated therefore to Genoa. Nicolas did not have any direct Social Capital in Genoa. Although, crucial in Nicolas's case is his decent, which enabled him a solid legal status and the opportunity of the scholarship to study in Genoa. Eye catching was to learn about the historical – narrative driven migratory linkage from cities as Guayaquil or Lima, from where the most numerous migratory flows are deriving towards Genoa. Also the role of the Catholic Church in these regards is fascinating of the time-spatial linkage of localities that still determine migratory routes. (b) The decision to migrate was mainly taken within the core family not only in the country of origin, Since already residing family members (mainly female) in Genoa enabled and strongly influenced the migration decision, the whole transnational family was involved in the decision process. (c) In six cases (Joana, Arturo, Carlos, Juan Carlos, Ramón, Cristina) the person immigrated alone within a sequence of family

¹¹⁰ The mother arrives first; as soon as her situation is stable she facilitates the immigration of other family members (e.g. children, husband, siblings).

reunification. A variation arises by setting the aspects Social Capital (in Genoa) into relation with the supposed narratives of Genoa as a “closed city” and “a city of elderly”: Assuming that such narratives exists, why people still migrate to this place? Overall it seems that the migratory option and opportunity that Social Capital located in Genoa provide counts more than narratives regarding individual migration decisions.

Experts’ Perspective

Andrea Torre indicates that the Latin American immigration process is stable and that the main migratory motive is still economical. The structural labour demand is given through the demographic characteristic and institutionally (lack of social state). All experts stress on the particular characteristic of female-centred chain-migration of Latin American immigrants in Genoa.

4.9.4. Structural Factors influence Lifeworlds

The structural factors (as legislation) mainly determine the lifeworlds of immigrants residing in Genoa.

The basic needs of daily life are strongly influenced by the legal status (work, housing, and access to public services). Discriminations on the individual, public and by the level of authorities also influence lifeworlds of immigrants.

Experts’ Perspective

Cristina hints on the precarious work condition immigrants face by tendency as the main reason of low social status. Again, the work available and the housing conditions are linked to the legislation (non recognition of formation and irregular legal status). :

“Others work from the morning 7 until 7/8 in the evening and came back in the night or are living in the house of the elderlies they take care of. So they only have free time on Thursdays afternoon and Sundays. (...) The flats are often small like a prison. Genoa is an old city [ciudad vieja]. There is no space, no green areas, therefore the life here is totally different” (Cristina).

As a measure to face precarious conditions of average Latin American immigrants Cristina stresses that there are three basics, which immigrant newcomers would need from the beginning on. These three elements are structural:

“There are three basic elements a migrant needs at the beginning. 1) Adequate housing (casa) 2) Documents (papeles) 3) work (trabajo)” (Cristina).

Fernando affirms that structural discrimination is prevailing within public authorities dealing with immigrants (the prefecture administer on a municipal level migration issues). There is a high tendency that immigrants are not treated with respect and that also in this bodies prejudices are omnipresent as well as long waiting times:

“The institutional framework, such as legal status and discrimination expressed in the treatment of public authorities DOES NOT ALLOW A NORMAL LIFE” (Adriana).

Andrea Torre regrets that due to a discrepancy of understanding of the real needs of immigrants by the political authorities (Italy, Liguria, Genoa) the indispensable need to invest more money in projects in order to foster inclusion is neglected. In the contrary, as the legislative changes in the last decade indicates. Due to this strict legislation the precarization of immigrations is altered. Andre Torre argues *“institutional political populism is prevailing in Italy”*. Another weak point of the present migratory legislation in Italy is the unsteady regularisation campaigns (*“sanatorie”*), as Adriana stresses.

“Many irregular migrants were betrayed from their employer since the regularisation process costs approx. 1000€ and the migrants has to pay first to the employer in other that he/she registers the person at the authority. But some employer took the money without registration. This national Italian trend is less present in Genoa since live-in housekeepers [badante] by tendency less face this betrayal due to social interaction while living in the same building. The main problem is that there are very few trials since irregular migrants do not have rights, THEY DO NOT EXIST” (Adriana).

Adriana asserts that many Italians benefit from the precarious situation of immigrants, though cheap labour, high rents for low standard of housing.

“For example the authorities rarely control the illicit contracts. It happens that several people live within small accommodations but still each is charged with 200€” (Adriana).

Adriana again addresses housing: Since irregular immigrants by law are not allowed to obtain a contract for a regular rent, irregular immigrants are likely dependant on overpriced accommodation. She gives another shocking example:

“Many Italian benefit from the precarious situation of irregular immigrants. For example, sex workers in the district of Maddalena¹¹¹ have to pay for a small room 600€ per week” (Adriana).

On the other hand, Andrea Torre stresses that different to Milan, immigrants in Genoa started in the earlier stages to settle down in the historic city centre since by tendency the accommodations there are desolate and relatively cheap. Therefore the degree of geographical segregation and ghettoization is quite low in Genoa.

¹¹¹ Maddalena is located in the narrow *“vicoli”* (paths) in the old city centre. Along this narrow streets sex workers rent small rooms for their *“business”* since *“Prostitution”* in the public is prohibited in Italy. Sex workers are present at daytime in the area of Maddalena. Learn more: <http://genova.mentelocale.it/36771-genova-accoltellata-alla-maddalena-una-manifestazione-guarda-le-foto/> (Accessed on 14.5.2012).

As it will be elaborate in within Multidimensional Transformation (4.9.7) the state Italy and the city of Genoa are doing some efforts but its not coordinated and consistent enough. Political will is absence: *“Pretending to have your eyes closed, does NOT work”* (Gustavo).

4.9.5. Transnational Lifeworld

Not every family of Latin American immigrants in Genoa is transnationally characterised. Transnational social ties and it's inherent transfers and activities vary over time. Migrant networks (Social Capital) facilitate further migration flow within kinship but such ties and networks might also transfer a blurred image of a potential migratory destination. Transnational social activities such as communication are present and regular but social activities such as temporal visits are less common in frequency. Furthermore the first temporal return is likely to take place just after several years, mainly due to money constrains.

Analysing some Latin American migrant associations reveals that people who gather in ethnic groups do this because of ethnicity (cultural aspects, Peruvian, Ecuadorean), religion, or to struggle for same interest (women's demands). But the people who are involved for example within COLIDOLAT are by tendency higher educated and already longer residing in Genoa since many immigrants in lower income jobs are to busy to participate (on higher degree of involvement)¹¹².

Experts' Perspective

All four Latin America decent experts are engaged in social, political, cultural work – mainly associations – striving to improve the daily immigrants lives and to help to transform Italy to a more inclusive, diverse society.

Cristina and Gustavo are proud that their associations have a good reputation in the public. This associations have threefold aims and tasks – a bridge to the society of residence; a platform to gather and reproduce cultural and social practices (food, dance, poesy, folklore); but also a platform to empower immigrants in order to articulate and create positive visibility as a part of the whole diverse, dynamic society.

¹¹² Source: Observation Protocol of in total three visits of the weekly group meetings of COLIDOLAT. I had the honour to participate their meeting being the only men.

4.9.6. Immigrant Adjustment

The presence of the core family and the duration of immigration positively- and the institutional, structural framework negatively (i.a. legal status, precarious work, prevailing Stereotypes) influence the constitution of identity and hence the process of inclusion into the society of residence. Thus, the initial phase of immigration is experienced as difficult and Genoa is perceived as a place, where it is difficult to “integrate” also because of “cultural differences”.

The individual process of insertion and inclusion into the inhomogeneous Italian society is mainly depended on the legal status, the presence of the core family, duration, the kind of work (precarious jobs such as in house elderly care or charwoman are likely to result in time / economic restrictions) and on the housing conditions. Further, hampering factors towards the incooperation process are non-recognition of formation resulting in underpaid low skilled (irregular) work leading to a limited socio-economic mobility; defective cognition of personal rights and also the language, since at the beginning the closeness of Spanish towards Italian facilitates but on the long run, even smaller deficits on language skills can impede the process of inclusion. Identities are constituted in different manners, but still a hybrid characteristic is most likely among the interviewees. Paradox, that the legal status by tendency hampers the process of inclusion into the society due its multidimensional influences on the social status of an immigrant (work, housing, reputation and stereotypes, etc.).

Insertion to the host-society is experienced as difficult. This is due to cultural and structural differences. The process of insertion is hindered by prevailing stereotypes and prejudices in the host society against national- or ethnic immigrant collectives. Genoa as living environment is experienced as a closed city just for elderly persons, which doesn't offer enough space. Thus Genoa is perceived as a place, where it is difficult to “integrate” due to claimed “cultural differences”. Interviewees deduce “cultural differences” as a crucial factor hampering their inclusion process. But I assert that it is rather the whole set of factors that leads to such experiences of exclusion and marginalisation of Latin American immigrants which in turn tend to cause defensive demeanours. This defensive behaviours could appear as stereotypes that the imagined “supposed homogenous Italian culture is negatively attributed” and the “supposed homogenous Latin American culture is positively attributed” (Hubris). Overall, inclusion is a question of social class / participation and

social mobility rather than a cultural one. In most the cases there exist still strong ties to the country / region / culture / values of origin. In most cases the person wants to return to the origin sooner or later.

In conclusion, a paradox was found: In order to properly learn the language; - to adopt, to insert, to feel accepted to participate in the society - one needs to interact. But, given the precarious - mainly - working (time constrain and low income) and housing condition the process of inclusion is strongly hindered. Again, work and housing is strongly depended on the individual legal status as an immigrant.

Experts' Perspective

"Concept of inclusion is better than integration" (Cristina).

The experts mainly focus on the structural, legislative dimension addressing immigrant's multidimensional adjustment. For example, as Adriana argues, inclusion in Italy / Genoa is rather a question of social class and social status than of cultural differences:

"Integration is not a question of cultural differences but rather a question of social class" (Adriana).

For example, a proper knowledge of the official language also depends on the environment, in which somebody is living. Hence it's a question of segregation, and social status. This example hints on the case of Zoila, who "perfectly" learned the Italian language and resided from her arrival on in a not segregated district in Genova. Andrea Torre supports that argument and moreover stresses that the legislation needs to promote social mobility towards the social middle class in order to foster the process of inclusion into the dominating society:

"The advantages of immigrants need to be fostered and supported. For example, the advantage of bilingualism. This is exactly the concept of inclusion: Through the socio-economic promotion and mobility immigrants become member of the social middle class. Hence they are rather included than assimilated. Because not the one who is assimilated is consequently integrated/included. Therefore the law has to be changed that people who are born in Italy should get the Italian citizenship" (Andrea Torre).

Addressing the initiatives of the city administration of Genoa, Gustavo regrets that many projects and initiatives miss the target: *"The DYNAMICS of the integration process are not taken into account"*. For example the cultural mediator programm fails in his opinion because pedagogical methods are in use, which are not reflecting cultural and ethnic diveristy. Although immigrants are involded actively in this program (e.g. Cristina, Gustavo) they are not taken for serious and their public

reputaion is quite negative, regrets Gustavo. Likewise, Cristina laments that: *“In recent years, funding for intercultural projects has been cut”*.

Andrea Torre points out that a comprehensive and sustainable “integration policy” is key for a stable pluralist society. Moreover, this “integration policy” needs to more intensively launch and support social projects and programs. *“Otherwise it is a real problem for our future”*. Although the migratory processes of each country and even region and location is different and particular politics can learn from good practices of other countries, especially Italy, being a relatively young immigration country.

“But we are loosing time, crucial time. The debate and public discourse on migration is a populist manipulation of the media. It is populism when the majority of immigrants are regular residing in Genoa. Due to the restrict legislation some – although residing regularly – loose their regular legal status” (Andrea Torre).

Thus, for all experts the main obstacles for the inclusion process are located within the institutional level: the legislation. For example, Fernando deems *“the Italian legislation is racist and xenophobic”*.

Fernando states that restrictive laws, stemming from the Berlusconi Governments can’t be withdrawn in short term by the new governments. Andrea Torre touches upon of the issue of the second generation, who is mainly affected by the present regularisation of naturalisation. Children of parents who are not holding the Italian citizenship are born as foreigner. Although by tendency they never have been or doesn’t have strong identification with the origin of their parents, and they spent their whole socialisation in Italy they are not Italian citizens.

“This, the legal status as being still a foreigner influences the constitution of the identity of the second generation” (Andrea Torre).

4.9.7. Multidimensional Transformation

To different degree migration changes and transforms individuals, bonds (families), their relationships, gender-roles and -relations. Plans and aspirations are also transformed. Most the people want to return, some immediately and some in far future.

Most people stayed in the end much longer in Genoa than planned because situations and conditions (origin and destination) also changed over time and through migration. Most of the people intended to emigrate for a certain short time but due various factors (i.a. children, work, further education, flat on debit, striving for Italian citizenship) the duration and migratory vision changed. The female pattern of Latin American immigration most likely causes transformations of gender roles within the family. Because of particular structural factors (labour market demand) it is most

likely that female Latin American immigrants are the central nodal point in the whole migratory process. On the socio-economic sphere, the women are responsible for the income; has to take decisions influencing the whole (transnational) family and she has in some cases to overtake the fathers' role within the family.

Experts' Perspective

For Gustavo the disruption of the families, caused by migration has several dimensions, which are strongly influenced by –structural factors. He tells about his professional experience dealing with mainly Ecuadorean families:

“Due to migration the family transforms into social problems because the social organisation and structure within the family is disordered” (Gustavo).

Since the mother leaves the children, they grow up - *“sin control”* - without clear authority. In the absence of the mother the children are mainly raised by female members of the family (aunt, grandmother) in the country of origin. When the children – then teenagers – after years arrive in Italy due to family reunification, they are - *“dos veces abandonados”* – two times abandoned. The first abandonment takes place when the mother leaves and the second time, when the mother –due to work – do not find enough time for the complex reintegration / reunification of the family. A serious disruption of the family bond -*“choque”, “disorientación familiar”, fractura de la relación”* - is the consequence.

“As a consequence “The children are double Abandoned: when the mother leaves them in the country of origin and when the children arrive here and woman has no time. The adolescent doesn't know the mother and the mother doesn't know anymore the own child. I work in a school, and this is our problem, our drama that these teenagers do not recognize their mother. They have difficulties to integrate in the schools and also in the own family. They are ‘double abandoned’” (Cristina).

Andrea Torre argues that the average duration until mothers are able to being their offspring are five to eight years. The adolescents are in the age of 13, 14 years. Some of them travel to Genoa, thinking that they just temporarily visit the mother. But in turn, the find themselves in the obligation to stay in Genoa with the mother. As Gustavo, also Cristina outlines that as a consequence many teenagers return to their Origin; mainly females.

“Many teenagers go back. They are disaffected; (...) In recent time, mainly girls here do not find their way around and go back to the region of origin. You do not feel so comfortable here as the boys. They miss the special el modo de la vida”, the family in Ecuador, the place” (Cristina).

This multidimensional transformation process is compounded with the surrounding factors as Gustavo goes on. The living space Genoa is completely different (less

public space, different structure). The teenage newcomers find by tendency multifaceted obstructive factors: the change; lost motivation due to demotion, sometimes three grades; resulting problems in learning the language; all this factors also influence the performance at school.

"In school there are almost no contact person. (...) The education sector is very bad in Italy. (...)" (Cristina).

Andrea Torre also elaborates on the problems and difficulties the teenagers face in the schools. The inclusion into the school is also difficult. Some problems arises regarding the language. As an effect of non-inclusion into school teenagers are likely to face problems to find a job after school. Gustavo expresses her visions on how the process of family reunification could be prepared:

"They simply need to provide information as it is made in Germany and USA. There it is MANDATORY to have an interview, coaching, a family orientation before oen can bring his/her family. But its not done in Italy, because of financial reasons. It would be more sustainable. How does a person in jail save costs? Pretending to have the eyes closed, does NOT work" (Gustavo).

Andrea Torre elaborates on the phenomenon of family reunification. He asserts that especially in the period of 2000 to 2007, 2008 extensively mainly adolescents from 12 years upwards were brought to Genoa. This happened due to legislative changes. In the 2002 the law was changes (Bossi-Fini sanatorie, in 2002) and many at that time irregular immigrants –mainly women working as live-in housekeepers were regularised. Being a regular immigrant one is enabled to bring family members. Also the huge number can be explained by the thesis that before the new strict law gets into force the relatively advantage to bring family members was utilized.

4.9.8. Conclusion

This final Chapter answers explicitly the leading research question with the empirical findings, derived through this study. The analysis of individual migratory trajectories of the interviewed Latin American immigrants concludes that:

Migratory lifeworlds are negotiated among their individual migratory biography, the experience of the structural surroundings and contexts (legislation, socio-economic, public opinion, stereotypes etc.). Migratory biography is strongly influenced by social capital transferred within transnational social ties. Within this cross-border (translocal) networks and ties women are the nodal points as the pattern of female-centered family migration in Genoa reveals.

Migratory lifeworlds are structured by intended and unintended dynamic strategies (set of aspirations, visions, motives, etc.). Migration is not a linear process. Aspirations, visions are in constant flux as migration transforms multidimensional the person itself, relationships and ties. The migratory lifeworlds are diverse, individual. Every migratory lifeworld is an individual trajectory. There is no regularity in migration trajectories. Crucial is the context between the individual experiences of socio-economic-political-framework. The structural framework is interdependent with the personal biography, but as this empirical study depicts, intended and unintended strategies to realize one life evolve within a field of negotiations. Again, especially institutional factors strongly determine lifeworlds and its underlying strategies BUT there is still a negotiable space of action – being a social actor, being a PROTAGONIST of one's own life.

The lifeworlds are translocally (transnationally) shaped to a varying degree. Although some transfers and activities within transnational family ties are little, individual lifeworld can still be transnationally constituted (hybrid identity, cultural patterns, etc.). Furthermore the theoretical criteria, transnational activities and practices are shown: (1) Socially: communication, family reunification, social capital, transnational community, and organisations; (2) Culturally: engagement in migrant associations, food, TV, festivals, folklore, tradition, religion, and language; (3) Economically: remittances, support through transnational (family) networks, remigration.

Finally, the aim of this research was to depict underlying –intended and unintended – migratory strategies by analysing the constitution of individual lifeworlds/trajectories – the interplay of biography, experience and structural environment. DE MIGUEL-LUKEN et al. (2009) support this approach, of focusing on the Micro-Meso-level in order to reconstruct immigrants' migratory trajectories aiming at better understanding underlying strategies and patterns:

“The reconstruction of the trajectory of migrations (...) can help us to understand the migratory strategies within the territory, and the factors -family, work, accommodation- that are behind these patterns of mobility” (DE MIGUEL-LUKEN et al., 2009: 2-3).

5. Reflection and Outlook

Reflection as a Researcher

Likewise, some other brilliant studies on the Micro-Meso-level as the mentioned above (i.a. AMBROSINI et al., 2007; LAGOMARSINO, 2007 and 2006; TORRE, 2008; QUEIROLO PALMAS, 2007) the focus of this study additionally stressed the diversity of migratory trajectories, biographies and socio-economic background. Likewise, some other brilliant studies as the mentioned above just focused on very few aspects of analysis (transnational family or aspects of discriminations, etc.). Therefore this study also aimed at filling the gap of a broader and more comprehensive perspective¹¹³ of analysis of the lifeworlds of Latin American immigrants in Genoa.

Also important to mention is the normative and limited aspect of research. As the author of this study I am aware of my personal situation as privileged “white male” grown up and socialised in the “Global North”. This is why the approach of being “objective in research” can never be seen as a absolute dogma but rather as an approach (cf. FROSCHAUER, 2005). Thus, another individual with different socio-economic background might found different conclusions of this research.

Keeping the latter train of thought in mind, the amicable relationships to most of my interviewees made my empirical research easier, more interesting and – I am sure – had an substantial influence on the quality of the empirical data. I tried to act at eye level with my interviewees. The interviews were quite long, which has ambiguous impacts. First, it's a huge advantage for the quality of the data, as more private and delicate topics were raised later on in the interview. In this regard, also the interview guide was designed in that way. Second, it was a disadvantage in terms of the amount of work. The postscripts of the interviews, the transcription process, the coding and analyse of the data became enormous. The importance of trust through amicable relationship to the interviewed people; the importance of being clear what the research intends and what not and overall to always maintain the dignity of the interviewed person is key¹¹⁴.

¹¹³ Bearing the whole genesis of migratory project in mind. Inter alia: life before migratory plans in the locality of origin, the decision making process, the journey, the initial phase, discriminative experience as well experiences of inclusion and experience of daily life as an immigrant.

¹¹⁴ The importance of this - also my personal - demands are reflected in a statement, given at the end of an interview. Therein an interviewed individual reflects on his/her experience with interviews: *“The problem with interviews is that one doesn't know well the [interviewed] person. Just questions are raised. There is the problem with the interpretation, empathy (...) In some books, publications, interviews are often differently understood, than it*

An Outlook

Given the feminised particularity of the Latin American immigration patterns in Genoa, a further focus could be set on gender as an analytical unit: Further study can and should be done on the multidimensional and manifold transformation of gender relations within the female-centered Latin American immigration pattern in Genoa. Likewise, the analytical category gender could be in the centre of further research in the light of migratory mobility. For example, this could be done analysing return migration and its impact on transformation of the gender role within the family, the whole community (Meso-level, e.g. A village) or even on the Meta-level, nationally.

Since the analysis taken in this paper focused on the personal experience dimension of the whole individual migratory process a further study to analyse the transformative and negotiating processes on identity as well on the whole inclusion process could be conducted on the basis of the findings of this study.

what migrants meant. Seems that people from outside unsatisfactorily add empathy to understand the inside. Interviews, statements are used differently than it was intended"

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7.2. Zusammenfassung in Deutsch

Nicht nur wegen der globalen Finanzkrise oder der Europäischen Schuldenkrise, stellt der öffentliche Diskurs innerhalb der EU, Migration als Problem dar. Dieses konstruierte, negative Bild von Migrationsprozessen wird durch eine zunehmend strikte und ausgrenzende Politik begleitet und hat bereits den Mittelbau der Gesellschaften erreicht. Wie sollte diesem etablierten Diskurs begegnet werden?

Diese empirische Diplomarbeit versucht mittels einer nunacirten und umfassenden Perspektive auf konkrete Migrationsprozesse diesem Diskurs entgegen zu treten. Um das zu erreichen, wird das abstrakte und komplexe Phänomen der Migration in Form von konkreten Lebensrealitäten von ImmigrantInnen analysiert und dargestellt.

Diese Arbeit gibt einen sozial-wissenschaftlichen, empirischen Einblick in 13 unterschiedliche Lebensrealitäten von lateinamerikanischen ImmigrantInnen, welche als soziale Akteure in Genua, Italien leben. Neben der Aufgabe Vorurteile aufzubrechen ist es die Stärke dieser Arbeit auf der Akteursperspetive (Mikro-Meso Ebene) Handlungsspielräume von ImmigrantInnen aufzuzeigen, welche sich durch die subjektiven Erfahrungen von Migration – also unter anderem von strukturellen (sozio-ökonomischen und politischen) und persönlichen Einflussfaktoren ergeben.

Durch einen transnationalen Ansatz wird die Individualität von Migration durch individuelle Verlaufsbahnen von Migrationsprojekten herausgearbeitet. Der theoretische Rahmen erlaubt eine weitreichende Analyse, welche zeitliche und räumliche Einflussfaktoren über Nationalgrenzen hinweg - in zumindest zwei partikularen Lokalitäten- erstrecken. Weiters setzten Theorien des Transnationalismus das Phänomen Migration, welches an konkreten geographischen Lokalitäten stattfinden in eine ökonomisch globalisierte, wechselwirkende- und mobile Umgebung. Dabei werden Aanalysekategorien, wie Migrationsnetzwerke oder soziale Bindungen ganzheitlich erfasst und deren Rolle in dem Aushandlungsprozess von individuellen Lebensrealitäten in der Immigrationgesellschaft nachgezeichnet. Dadurch können auch komplexe Verläufe der Identitätsveränderungsprozesse in einem weiteren Kotext verstanden werden.

Schließlich zeigt diese Arbeit empirisch auf dass Migration kein linearer, einheitlicher Prozess ist sondern vielmehr, dass strukturelle Faktoren den größten Einfluss auf die Aushandlung von Lebensrealitäten üben, jedoch durch die individuelle Erfahrung und Wahrnehmung dieser Faktoren verschiedene Handlungsspielräume ausverhandelt werden.

7.3. Migration Trajectories of Interviewees

This sub-chapter aims at enabling a more comprehensive outline of the different individual migration biographies of the interviewed individuals. Therein 13 different migratory life histories will be presented in order to give an overview and at the same time an insight view of the diversity of migratory realities. Diversity and variation is the strength of this selection of 13 interviews: The scope of age varies between 23 and 62 years of age. Eight respondents are female and five are male. Seven interview-partners are of Ecuadorean origin; in each case two are originally from Peru and Colombia and at a time one is originally from Chile and Argentina; the duration of migratory stay varies from seven months up to 24 years; the age by arrival varies from eight years up to 48 years; as well as the legal status very from irregular up to Italian citizenship; variation is given from arriving alone or with the whole family; from being one of the first Latin American immigrants in 1989 or to arrive recently in 2011. The biographies are diverse as life is diverse.

Carla

Sex and Age:	Female, 33
Marital Status:	Single mother with 1 son
Origin:	Ecuador, Guayaquil
Duration in Genoa:	17 years (1995)
Legal status:	Italian Citizenship
Current Profession:	Casual jobs as charwomen

After her dad died she came in the age of 16 years in 1995 to Genoa together with her mother and siblings. Her mother and an older sister took the decision, since she was the youngest. She did not wanted to leave, she stopped school in Ecuador and the beginning in Genoa was very difficult for her, resulting in tensions in the family and since she lost the motivation for school she abandoned the school in Genoa. Since then, work dominates her life, in which she is striving for a better future mainly for her son. Given that she works a lot she feels under time constraints in a city in which she never got warm. For about three to four years she migrated to Spain for work and came back one year ago. Eventually she would like to go back to Ecuador in far future. In 17 years she visited Ecuador four times, which is probably also linked to intensive work and hence lack of time. Due to her own experience of not having been able to study at university – what she regrets - education is crucial for her to live in dignity and self-determined. Most of her family members now also live in Genoa hence she modestly communicates to stay in contact with other family members in Ecuador manly through social media.

Overall, her migration project seems to be a compromise, seems she doesn't really like her situation but nonetheless is striving for better life for her son. Central in her lifeworld seems to be her son and daily life is determined by hard low skilled work due to absence of higher education.

Maria

Sex and Age:	Female, 42
Marital Status:	Married (separated)
Origin:	Ecuador, Quito
Duration in Genoa:	12 years (2000)
Legal status:	EC long term permit (for 5 years)
Education:	Social Worker, Street Worker
Current Profession:	Social Worker

She came in 2000 to Genoa together with her workmate, since they decided to migrate both together and a motive was the low income in this profession. She migrated in a time when in Ecuador a strong economic crisis was prevalent. The friend had already a sister in law living in Genoa. She left her son (11 years at that time) and husband in Ecuador. As they planned previously, the husband came in 2002 to Genoa but her son never wanted to come. Instead he grew up with his aunt and grandmother. Since she arrived without documents she started to work in the informal sector, in casual jobs (as cleaning) and as an informal elderly care nurse (*badante*). After two years she got a formal job and got a regular residence permit. She worked hard to send money back to her family. Due to the lack of time and the general change the beginning in Genoa was difficult for her. She lived in a room together with five other migrants in a room her friend organised her. With her husband they bought a house in Genoa on loan (*mutuo*). In 2009 she separated from her husband since he betrayed her and the house was sold in 2010. After almost a year back in Quito she decided to go back to Genoa alone. Nonetheless, she is satisfied again and more personally mature through her migratory life history and she tends to stay in Genoa, also since her son is adult and his own life and her parents already died. Overall, her biography shows the perspective of a mother who left her family (child) for migration. Her family life somehow broke in and might through her migration but there also could be seen some tendencies of self-determination and might emancipation from social role models.

Joana

Sex and Age:	Female, 24
Marital Status:	Single
Origin:	Ecuador, Region Guayaquil (Country-side)
Duration in Genoa:	9 years (2003)

Legal status:	EC long term permit (for 5 years)
Education:	Secondary School
Current Profession:	Student and helps in Mother's shop

She was 15 when she arrived in 2003 1,5 years after her mother migrated to Genoa without documents (Tourist Visa). A central figure in the family network is her aunt, who arrived in 1995. First she brought her mother in 2001 to Genoa. Her dad and a brother came in 2005 through family reunification. The aunt also helped other members of the family to come to Genoa (uncle, his wife, cousins). Main motives are the economic crisis in that years in Ecuador caused that her mother lost her job and a might faced pessimistic economic reality in the crisis. For herself, a motive was also de distance to her mother that she went earlier than planned to Genoa. Her family had a good life before the crisis and she went to a private school. The first 2 years she went school without documents and she lost a year in school due to not recognition. She experienced several incidents of discrimination (also racist). In her transnational family, migration seems to be usual option. For instance her aunt went to USA to bring her daughter to study there and her brother, who came in 2005, finished his education in Genoa, married and went back to Ecuador in 2012. Also her dad went back to Ecuador since he could not get warm with the place Genoa. Overall, the economic crisis in Ecuador its impacts and the strong transnational family ties (network) seem to be crucial in her migration trajectory. Joana's migration biography demonstrates the perspective of a daughter who was left behind by her mother to work as elderly care nurse (*badante*) in Genoa.

Arturo

Sex and Age:	Male, 50
Marital Status:	Married
Origin:	Peru, Lima
Duration in Genoa:	3 years (2009)
Legal status:	Residence Card for 2 years
Education:	Tailor
Current Profession:	Unemployed

Arturo's sister already arrived in 1994 in Genoa. Through family reunification first his wife in 2007 and then he in 2009 arrived in Genoa. Since also two brothers (arrived in 2002 and 2011) with their families are living in Genoa, he has a strong family

network living in Genoa. Arturo worked his whole life as a tailor and had his own business in Lima. Due to global economic trends his business was not lucrative any more and he had to close his business. He married his wife in Peru in 2006, a year before she left for Genoa. His wife works as an elderly care nurse in a family, meaning that just from Friday afternoon to Saturday afternoon she leaves work. Both are living in a smaller room, which they get for a modest price from other Peruvian Migrants. Both plan to not stay longer than five years in Genoa to save enough money in order to buy land and build their own house back in Peru.

Arturo's migration biography demonstrates the perspective of a husband of a woman, who is working as elderly care nurse living in the family she works for. Since he is unemployed he depends on her income.

Carlos

Sex and Age:	Male, 53
Marital Status:	Married and three daughters
Origin:	Ecuador, Guayaquil, Laurel
Duration in Genoa:	18 years (1994)
Legal status:	Italian Citizenship
Education:	Secondary School
Current Profession:	-

He came to Genoa in 1994 when his wife was already in Genoa. Their motive was mainly the health problems of one of their daughters (baby at that time) in the hope to get adequate treatment in the foreign. Due to desperation and the consultations of the doctors finally let the whole family (him and his wife) decide to migrate. The fact that his wife was already in Genoa made the arrival period easier for him and the whole family. He is also engaged in migration networks such as the Latin American church group and in a social migratory association. Carlos's migration biography from perspective of a family father is characterized by the importance of closeness of the core family constituting his migration trajectory as positive perceived. In his biography migration – as a family decision - gave hope and an option to face the sickness of his daughter

Monica

Sex and Age:	Female, 44
Marital Status:	Divorced and two daughters (18 and 13)
Origin:	Colombia, Cali
Duration in Genoa:	Approx. 10 years (2001)
Legal status:	EC long term permit
Education:	Secretary
Current Profession:	Casual jobs as charwoman

She arrived in the end of 2001 with a tourist visa for Spain – which she got through an invitation letter from some friend living in Spain for some money - with her sister Luiza (22) and her two daughters (9 and 3) in Madrid. After years of attempts to convince her to migrate to Genoa she finally decided with her sister to do so after a few month earlier her brother was killed by a bullet during a guerrilla attack and both were unemployed. A friend from childhood who migrated to Genova already 15 years suggested over ten years to Monica to migrate to Genoa, since she could help by acquiring housing and work. Although failing to meet two supposed friends to help them traveling without documents through some cities in Spain Genova by train they did it on their own. The beginning in Genoa was really difficult and both suffered from depressions. They lived in a small over-charged, not properly heated room, situated in an overcrowded flat with several other migrants; an accommodation the supposed friend offered her. It took about 9 months until all four were regularly registered migrants due to her sister's first formal job. In the meanwhile the older daughter could attend school even without documents at that time. A few weeks after their arrival Monica got an informal job though this mentioned friend, which she is still performing until today (cleaning service for an elderly Italian citizen). In 2011 (almost ten years afterwards) she managed the first time to travel back to Colombia with her daughters for 3 months. She did not wanted to go back to Genoa but her daughters wanted to go back. Ever since she is struggling to cope melancholia and depressions also through intensive communication through social media with relatives and friends in her place of origin. Also some aspects of discrimination – especially Colombian citizen face stereotypes attributed to prostitution and drug trafficking in Genoa - support her wish to go back to Cali. Monica's migration biography shows the trajectory of a person who never felt home in the new place of settlement but who is still striving for a better future for her children. Somehow she considered over ten years to choose the suggested option to migrate to Genoa, but there was never "the right time". The killing of her brother was might sad key event that finally triggered the decision. Within the decision making process, it was never contested that she will not migrate without her daughters. At the same time her sister –although witnessed the same and similar incidents – experiences her migratory biography in a different way and thus finds another scope of options within her migratory lifeworld.

Luiza

Sex and Age:	Female, 33
Marital Status:	Single
Origin:	Colombia, Cali
Duration in Genoa:	Approx. 10 years (2001)
Legal status:	EC long term permit
Education:	University degree in Accounting
Current Profession:	Staff elderly care nurse

A year after she finished her studies in Colombia and still without a job she decided with her sister Monica to migrate to Genoa in the age of 22. The same as her sister she suffered at the beginning on depression whereby she lost massively weight. As she knew before, only a part of her studies were recognised. After almost two years of casual jobs she got a formal one and started a vocational training to become a staff elderly care nurse. She also cached up the secondary school diploma and started already the first year at university the same studies she did already in Colombia. As she worked hard to obtain a good employment and since both bought a flat on loan - in which they are living - she apparently tend to stay in Genoa. During her more than 10 years in Genova she never found the time and money to travel back to Colombia. This year, in 2013 they are enabled to apply for the Italian Citizenship. In the light of her sisters migration trajectory Luiza seems to also have suffered hard but she still keeps struggling for her “new life” in Genoa with the result that she apparently do not intend to return to Colombia due to what she already archived in her migratory life (job) and obligations, such as a flat bought on loan. Could also be likely that her low communication to family ties in the origin; zero visits in 10 years; and that she did not emphasised experience of discrimination in the same intensive manner as her sister are linked to her decision to stay in Genoa. Despite, both sisters would have the possibility to live in the house of another brother who died in 2011.

Nicolas

Sex and Age:	Male, 31
Marital Status:	Single
Origin:	Argentina, Cordoba, (Josita)
Duration in Genoa:	Approx. 4 years (2008)
Legal status:	Italian Citizenship
Education:	Master in Political Science and Cultural Studies
Current Profession:	PhD Student

Due to his Italian decent – his great-grandfather immigrated from Italy to Argentina – he got the Italian citizenship within a year after his arrival in Genoa. For his Bachelor Studies he already migrated from his native village Josito to Cordoba within Argentina. He got a scholarship for Master Studies in Italy, which he started in 2008. For his PhD studies he moved to Barcelona Spain. During his almost four years living abroad he went one time back to Argentina for one month (2009) because of family celebrations. Nicolas’s migration trajectory is characterised by its particular setting of migratory options. Since he is Italian decent he could relatively easy obtain a regular legal status in Italy. Since he got the scholarship for the University of Genoa he went to Genoa.

Juan Carlos

Sex and Age:	Male, 25
Marital Status:	Married
Origin:	Ecuador, Quito
Duration in Genoa:	7 months (2011)
Legal status:	EC long term permit through family reunification
Education:	Secondary School and 3 year of Law Study
Current Profession:	Occasional jobs

He arrived in Genoa in 2011. He migrated through his aunt, who lived already approx. 12 to 15 years in Genoa. She proposed him to marry a woman in Genoa, who was already a regular migrant in order to obtain a legal status through family reunification. For money, which utilized from savings and also with the help of his mother he was able to afford the price of the fake marriage. In total he just stayed 7 months in Genoa. During this time he never met the woman he married. After his 7 months he just planned to go back to Quito for some three weeks, but he stayed until now. Also he is flexible in his migratory plans since he finds other options such as a sister in the USA or – as he is doing now – he works in Quito in an office for a friend. His migration trajectory can be seen as becoming a migrant through opportunity. Though social capital – an aunt lived already in Genoa and wanted him to come to Genoa – he found another option in his life. At a moment in his life when I stopped a law study after 2 years, found more interest in veterinary after working 2 years as assistance in a medical practice he decided to try the option to migrate in order to earn in short time some money to come back after some time aiming at begging the study of veterinary medicine. So his intention was to try, an experiment if it works, as driven by curiosity and as done since the opportunity was there. Overall, central in his trajectory is on one hand his open and flexible approach, as let's try since there is nothing to lose and on the other hand that a main goal is to start the study of veterinary medicine. His biography also demonstrates that migrant networks and ties not just evoke positive affects to all people involved but also could transfer lies and illusions. His case also hints how family relationship could be changed through migration. To return was not easy for him since his mother financially helped him to find a better future in Europe. But in this difficult period of returning he realised that "his better future" he might obtain in the place of origin. Although his migratory experience was negative and disappointing he is convinced he learned important aspects for his life and that he emerged stronger.

Melba

Sex and Age:	Female, 31
Marital Status:	Married
Origin:	Chile, Santiago de Chile

Duration in Genoa:	5 years (2007)
Legal status:	EC long term permit through family reunification
Education:	University degree in Nursing and Health Science
Current Profession:	Occasional jobs, Elderly care

Melba never intended to abandon her life in Lima and to leave her country for longer period. She worked in an international company in Lima, had a good income and high standard of life. Nine years ago she met her future husband, an Italian citizen who was traveling at that time. As their relationship developed she did three journeys as a tourist to Italy but she did not really wanted to leave her life in Chile, neither her future husband in Italy. Finally she took the decision to leave Chile “forever” to start a new life in Italy – being aware of deprivation of her University degree and of all her professional projects. She took time for this decision and she struggles for this, her decision. After living her whole life in a big city – Lima - in Italy they now live a bit outside of Genoa in a smaller Village. It took her some three years to get “integrated” into the local society. Since 1.5 years she is taking care of an elderly woman. In five years she did not returned to Chile since she preliminary decided to not visit her family before she is settled in the new country of residence.

Melba’s migration biography is characterised by a person who never thought to migrate and abandon her “good life”, but for love she consciously and well planned did migrate and pursues her “migratory project”. Furthermore, she perceives herself in a somehow privileged or “different group” of immigrant since her situation is easier due to her different motive of migration (“for the purpose of work one is exploited”) and because of her socio-economic background (graduated).

Ramón

Sex and Age:	Male, 45
Marital Status:	Married, 1 son (15)
Origin:	Ecuador, Manabí (Countryside)
Duration in Genoa:	23 years (1989)
Legal status:	EC long term permit
Education:	Craftsman (Electrician)
Actual Profession:	Entrepreneur of a small scale enterprise

Ramón did not plan to migrate to Genoa. In the age of 18 years he worked for KODAK Ecuador and considered to work for some years abroad in order to earn money helping his parents to repay a loan on the house. Nonetheless his parents were entrepreneurs and had a good standard of life. He already applied to work for some time on an Ecuadorian ship, when an aunt, who already lived in Genoa, convinced him to earn at least the same money in Genoa. His decision was independent but still strongly influenced by family ties: Another aunt, also living in Ecuador at that time, decided with her husband to immigrate to Genoa, in order that

he can specialize his formation as doctor (medico). Given the labour market in Genova at that time (also today) she planed to emigrate first and to bring him to Genoa later on. However, the aunt did not want to emigrate alone thus she also tried to persuade her nephew. The final decision he took since his aunt in Genoa assured him that he could earn the same money in Genoa. When he arrived in 1989 in Genoa he had already his work permit, the job contract and an accommodation. The time he arrived approximately less then 100 Latin American immigrants were residing in Genoa. He planed to stay around two years. Already after three months he wanted to return since he did not get warm with the city and due to intensive work, apart from his aunt he did not established any social contacts. After he stabilised his life situation in Genoa after one year, started to send money back to his family. Until 2005 he travelled every second year for at least 1 month to his native place. In 2005 he abandoned the ties to his family since he discovered, that his own family financially exploited him. Since eight years he is self-employed and runs a small building services engineering company. Since 17 years he is married to an Italian woman and their son is 15 years old. He never wanted the Italian citizenship since in his opinion due to his experience he “will be always perceived as foreigner” and – although settled in the Italian society and satisfied with his life in Genoa – he will always remain Ecuadorian. A citizenship is not like a “piece of clothing” one can take off. Ramón’s migration biography allows the insight of a pioneer migrant who originally expected to stay temporally for labour purposes. His trajectory also depicts on how transnational family ties can be distorted and changed through migration. Also notable is his concept of identity related to citizenship. Furthermore interesting in his migratory trajectory is the fact that although living already almost 24 years in Genoa; being settled in the Italian society (eco-socially), culturally he never felt home in Genoa. Thus he perceives his migratory project in Genoa still as “temporally and transitory”.

Zoila Katiuska Bajaña Espinoza

Sex and Age:	Female, 25
Marital Status:	Single
Origin:	Ecuador, Guayaquil
Duration in Genoa:	17 years (1995)
Legal status:	Italian Citizenship
Education:	University degree in Jurisprudence
Actual Profession:	Freelance Photographer

Zoila arrived with her whole core family in the age of 8 years in 1995 in Genoa mainly since her parents had great hope to better deal with the disability and epileptic seizure of her younger sister. Her family went to Genoa since an aunt already lived there. The initial stage in Genoa was difficult for her and she refused to learn Italian language in the school. Her mother worked as an elderly care nurse and her dad as a mason. Not until she started her studies at University she began to get

involved in activities dealing with Ecuadorian immigrants. Now she is engaged in several projects and initiatives aiming at improving the life realities of migrants and bridging the rich ethnic diversity in Genoa. Zoila's migration trajectory stresses the importance of the very circumstances and contexts; in which migratory projects take place. In other words the context of time –one of the first Ecuadorian immigrants; the context of housing and social environment – she grew up mainly in interaction with Italian natives (school, neighbourhood) and in the context of "social class" through her parents, as well the structural circumstances were different to nowadays. Besides this surrounding factors, the influence and variety of individuals – or families' or groups' ambitions and creativity to constitute their individual migratory lifeworlds should not be underestimated. Before 2009 her life was mainly shaped by "Italian compatriots", but since 2009 she is more and more is diligent and ambitious engagement on topics and projects to raise light and give voice and visibility to Latin American decent residents of Genoa (1st, 2nd Generation of immigrants).

Cristina

Sex and Age:	Female, 62
Marital Status:	Married, 2 son and several grand children
Origin:	Ecuador, Quito
Duration in Genoa:	22 years (1990)
Legal status:	Italian Citizenship
Education:	3 diplomas in Educational Therapy, Speech Therapy and as Kindergarten teacher
Actual Profession:	Intercultural Mediator

Cristina went to Genoa in 1990 without documents to join her husband who already worked as a musician in Genoa and also her younger brother had been already in Genoa. In Ecuador she hold a leading pedagogical position in a juvenile prison. This education was not recognised in Genoa so she worked the first 8 years as charwoman. Consequently she took courses facilitated by the Province of Genoa to become intercultural mediator. She intended to stay in Italy but since one son left Genoa after 20 years to build his life in Ecuador and the political, social and economic reality in economic crisis is becoming increasingly tensed in Italy, Genoa, she is not sure anymore to stay in Genoa. Cristina's trajectory is particular since she presents both, her own particular biography and an "expert perspective" given to her professional and voluntary engagement as Leader of a female migrant association and her work as intercultural mediator.

7.4. Interview Guide

La biografía suya!

Cuento de la historia de SU migración/vida.

I) Introducción

Como la inmigración latina es relativamente reciente en Genova y Liguria me parece que **todavía hay mucho desconocimiento** por el uno u otro lado. Por lo tanto, con esta investigación quiero contribuir a la comprensión / entendimiento sobre la vida/la situación de los inmigrantes de América Latina en Genova. Por lo tanto **el objetivo** de esta investigación es comprender las biografías individuales de la migración a Genova. Entender procesos de la migración individual por “los ojos” de las personas entrevistados. En otras palabras trato de **aprender**, las circunstancias polifacéticas que determinan/influyen **la vida cotidiana**, las esperanzas antes de migrar, las actividades, experiencias, como era el proceso de la decisión para migrar, la separación de la familia, etc.

Este estudio se encuentra en el marco del: **estudio cualitativo de la investigación de procesos sociales**. Soy un estudiante de la Universita di Viena (Austria) de la facultad: “International Development Studies” (que es una Ciencia Transdisciplinaria que investiga los fenómenos y procesos globales del “desarrollo” social/económico/político/cultural/etc.).

El título de la tesis de licenciatura es:

"Cristoforo Colombo legado. Los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Génova: Concepción/Mundo de la vida (Lebenswelt) entre la experiencia de la migración y el espacio social transnacional".

Ud. va a **quedar anónim@**! No voy a utilizar su nombre real en ninguna parte!

Para mantener el flujo de su cuento/narrativo solo **pregunto corto y Ud. dejo de hablar**.

II) Guía de la entrevista – biografía personal [semi-narrativo]

1.) La vida antes de la migración: *[tema]*

¿Cómo era su vida antes de migrar? *[pregunta principal]*

(Trabajo, Estudio, ¿Donde vivió (casa)? ¿Con quien?) [lista de palabras clave]

2.) La decisión de migrar:

¿Cómo era la decisión de migrar?

(¿Quien le di la idea/propuso/consulta? ¿Fue solo o con alguien?, ¿Tenía hij@s/espos@ en este tiempo?, ¿A quién ya conocía aquí antes de venir? Motivos, Esperanza, Miedos, ¿Porque Genova?, ¿Cómo Ud. pagó el viaje/el comienzo en Genova? ¿Cuánto tiempo Ud. quiso quedar se in Genova?)

3.) La nueva vida en Genova:

a) El comienzo:

¿Cómo era el comienzo de su nueva vida aquí en Genova?

(El viaje? Quien organizo el viaje? Quien le ayudó en el comienzo aquí in Genova? Donde vivió? ¿Como era su “status legal”?, ¿L@s hij@as en la secuela?, ¿Aprender la lengua Italiana?)

b.) El primero trabajo:

¿Cómo Ud. encontró su primero trabajo aquí?

(¿Quién le ayudó? Como era la búsqueda?, ¿Diferencia/discrepancia entre su profesión y el trabajo que hizo? ¿Condiciones del trabajo, problemas? ¿ Cuantas personas alimentó con esto dinero?)

4.) La vida transnacional / translocal

a) Familia en la distancia. La familia transnacional.

¿Cómo Ud. vive la familia en la distancia?

(¿Cuales miembros de la familia quedaron en el origen?, ¿Hubo una reunificación en su familia aquí en Genova?, ¿Cómo era?, ¿Cómo Uds. superaron el proceso de la transformación de la familia?
¿Cuáles responsabilidades todavía tiene Ud. en la familia en el origen?

b) Mantener el enlace:

¿Con quien y como Ud. esta en contacto en tu origen?

(¿Que medio usa de mantener el contacto (Skype, Facebook, teléfono, correo electrónico, cartas, etc.?, ¿Con quien?, Con que frecuencia?, ¿Qué es el contenido?, **¿Qué influencia causa la comunicación a su vida cotidiana?**, ¿Cuántas veces Ud. regresó a su origen en total/que intervalo?,)

c.) Amistades, asociaciones en Italia:

¿En cuales asociaciones Ud. esta comprometido?

(Además de la COLIDOLAT, (como religioso, deportivo, cultural, etc.), ¿ Ud. tiene mucho contacto con gente de su país/América Latina/otr@s inmigrantes/Italian@s?

¿Qué medios usa Ud. para informarse de su origen y de Italia (periódicos, Internet, web-radio, TV, etc.)

5.) Cambios/transformaciones por la migración:

¿Cómo su vida se cambió por la migración?

(¿Las amistades, la familia?, ¿como su papel en la familia transnacional se cambió?

6.) Experiencia, opinión:

a) **¿Cuáles cosas Ud. le gusta más y cuales menos aquí en Italia que en su origen?**

(La escuela? Tiempo libre? La naturaleza? La gente? La música? Comida?), ¿Qué piensan l@s Italian@s del colectivo de l@s Latino American@s?, ¿Cuáles cosas el estado Italia debería mejorar?
¿Acerca la identidad, Ud. se siente mas Italian@ o a su origen o híbrido o “nuevo”?

b.) **¿Le pasó cualquier forma de discriminación?**

(¿De que forma? Como te sentiste? Que hiciste?, ¿Alguien le ayudó?, ¿Como esto cambio su actitud/percepción?)

7.) **¿Le quiere quedarse aquí o regresar?**

(Ud. tiene un “plan”/deseo de cuanto tiempo quiere quedarse/regresar?, ¿Si regresa que hará?)

8.) **¿Ud. quiere añadir algo mas?**

(Hay temas/sucesos/cosa importantes para Ud. que no le pregunté?)

III) Informaciones demográficos:

Edad	
Lugar de origen / nacimiento	
Educación y formación	
Profesión actual	
Nacionalidad/Ciudadanía	
¿Cuál es su actual estatus legal?	
¿Duración de la estancia en total aquí en Genova?	
¿Ud. tiene hij@s?	
¿Cuáles miembros de la familia viven en Genova y donde l@s otr@s?	
¿Cuántas viajes Ud. hubo en total al origen?	

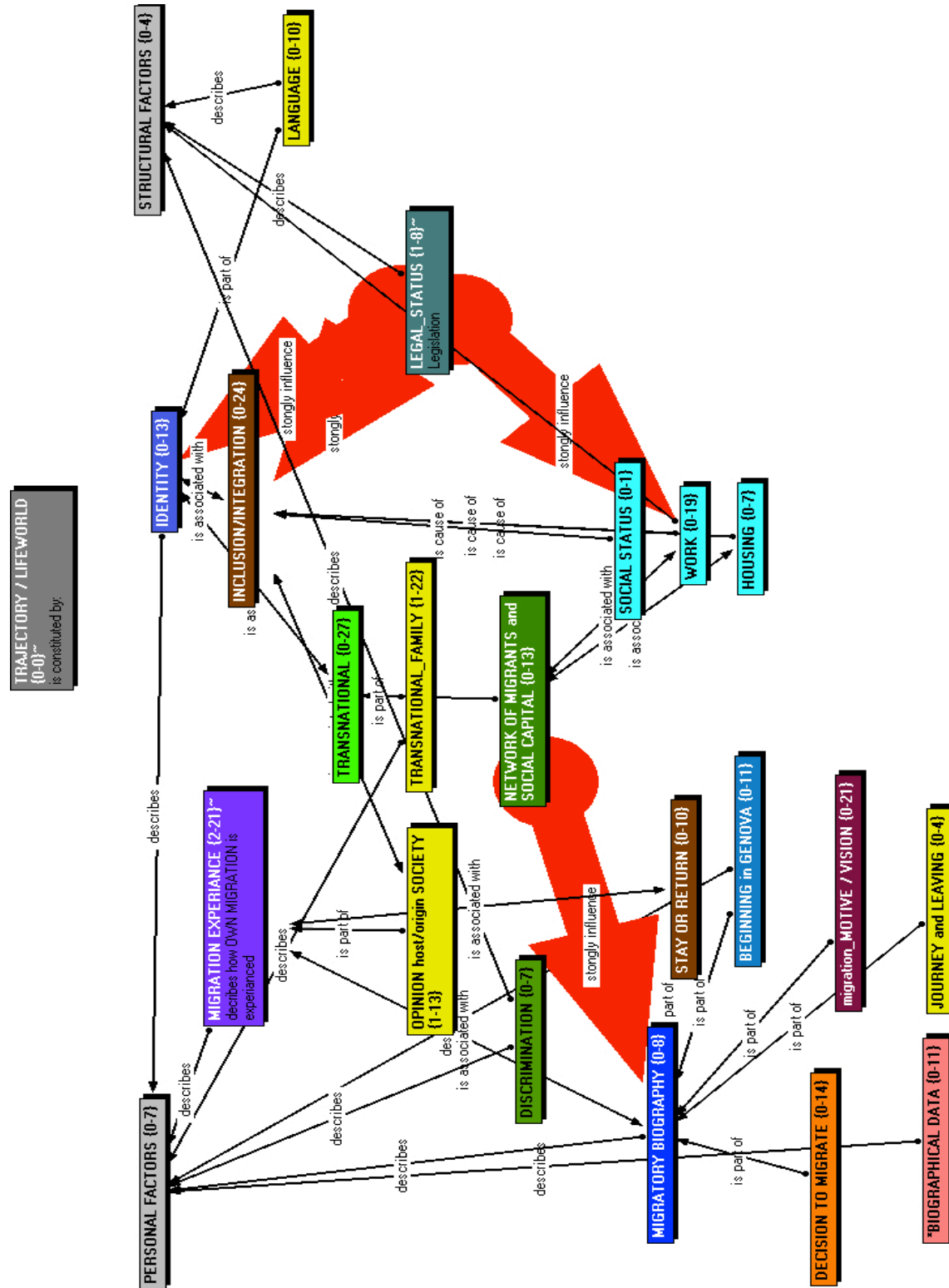
MUCHÍSIMAS GRACIAS!!!!

7.5. Transcription Paradigm¹¹⁵

- Gedanken- Wort- und Satzabbrüche
- , kurzes Absetzen
- . Absenken der Stimme/ Abschluss einer Ausführung . Interpunktion wird zu Gunsten der Lesbarkeit geglättet, d.h. bei kurzem Senken der Stimme oder uneindeutiger Betonung, wird eher ein Punkt als ein Komma gesetzt.
- ? fragend
- WOHNUNG Besonders betonte Wörter oder Äußerungen werden durch Großschreibung gekennzeichnet
- (.) kurze Pause (0-1 sec)
- (..) mittlere Pause (1-2 sec)
- (...) lange Pause (2-3 sec)
- (4s) Signifikante Pause (Zeit in Sekunden)
- (5s, Strassenlärm ist zu hören) Signifikante Pause mit Angabe der Nebengeräusche bzw. Ursachen
- 'komm her' Zitate im Gespräch
- (lacht) Paraverbale Informationen, weitere relevante Informationen
- (anders?) unsicheres, jedoch wiedererkennendes Verständnis eines bzw. Mehrere Wörter
- (anders??) sehr schwer bist gar nicht verständlich. Starke Vermutung.
- [???] Wortgruppe oder Satz, der aufgrund der unklaren Verständlichkeit nicht in den Text übernommen werden konnte
- [...] nebensächliche Gesprächsteile, die nicht in den Text übernommen wurden
- [Wh.] Gesprächsinhalt, der aufgrund einer bereits gemachten Wiederholung nicht mehr in den Text aufgenommen wurde
- [..., Ursache] Text ausgelassen vom Autor; die Ursache des Auslassens –sofern anderer Natur – wird angegeben
- [Kommentar] Kommentare, Ergänzungen, Übersetzung ins Deutsche des Autors bei der Transkription
- // Gleichzeitige Rede von Personen. zB. A: //ich bin der Meinung, dass// //B: das will ich nicht wissen//
- WP Weitere Person, welche sich während dem Gespräch in das Interview einbringt

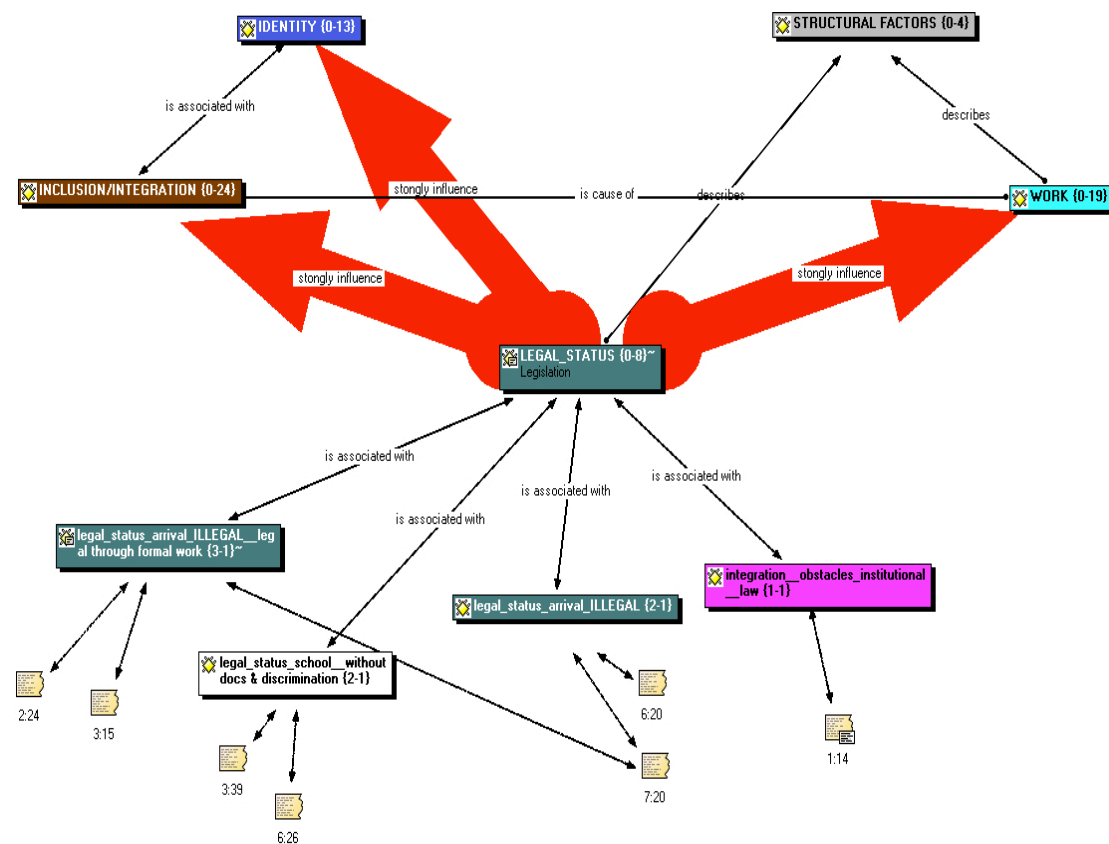
¹¹⁵ The Transcript paradigm was developed in the native language of the author.

7.6. Network Diagrams of Categories¹¹⁶

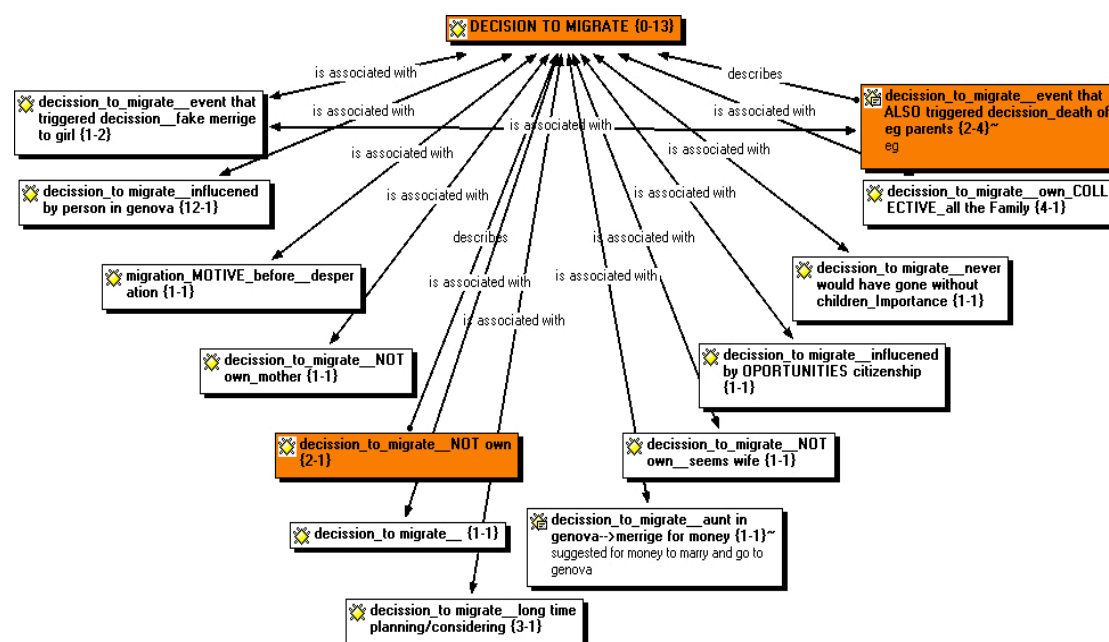


¹¹⁶ Elaborated with Atlas.ti 6.2

Network View of the Sub-Category, Legal Status



Codes belonging to the Sub-Category, Decision to Migrate



7.7. Curriculum Vitae

Personal	Martin Kaltenbacher Währinger Gürtel 168/3 1090 Vienna e-mail: Martin.Kaltenbacher@gmail.com Born in Villach, Austria February 17, 1982 Knowledge and level of languages: German: Native Englisch: Fluent Spansich: Fluent French: Beginner Italian: Intermediate	
Education	Mag. Development Studies at University of Vienna, Austria	<i>2007-2013</i>
	Erasmus Program in Finland (2 Semester) at the University of Tampere (UTA) Faculty of Political Science, International Relations and Sociology. Focus on Peace and Conflict Studies; Aspects of Development referring on political-, social-, environmental-, education and health system issues; Political Science, Russian Studies	<i>9/2009-6/2010</i>
	Bachelor Program of Political Economy (2 Semester) at University of Vienna	<i>2008-2009</i>
	College of Electrical Engineering (HTL) HTLBA-Mössingerstrasse, Klagenfurt, Austria Night school for employed students <i>Graduation: A-Level</i>	<i>2002-2006</i>
	Vocational School for Power Engineering and Industrial Electronics Villach, Austria <i>Graduation: Journeyman's certificate</i>	<i>1997-2001</i>
Professional experience	Trainee at the European Union Delegation (EEAS) to the OSCE Vienna, Austria	<i>9/2012-3/2013</i>
	Voluntary project work Self-organized Volunteer-ship in Puerto Cabezas, RAAN, Nicaragua	<i>12/2006-8/2007</i>
	Electrician and Technical Service Engineer Inter alia for Honeywell, 9020 Klagenfurt, Austria	<i>2001-2006</i>
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7.8. Statutory Declaration

I declare that I have authored this thesis independently, that I have not used other than the declared sources / resources and that I have explicitly marked all material which has been quoted either literally or by content from the used sources.

KALTENBACHER, MARTIN

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Date

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Signature