



h e t s
Haute école de travail social
Genève



MANCHESTER
1824
The University of Manchester

Final report

Cross-national analysis – Working Paper

The children of refugees in Europe: aspirations, social and economic lives, identity and transnational linkages

Alice Bloch**, Milena Chimienti*, Anne-Laure Counilh*, Shirin Hirsch**, Giovanna Tattolo***, Laurence Ossipow*, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden***

* University of Applied Sciences and Arts, Western Switzerland

** University of Manchester

*** Sciences Po, CERI, Paris

Research funded by the Swiss Network for International Studies from 2014 to 2015

To cite: Alice Bloch, Milena Chimienti, Anne-Laure Counilh, Shirin Hirsch, Giovanna Tattolo, Laurence Ossipow and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden (2015). *The children of refugees in Europe: aspirations, social and economic lives, identity and transnational linkages. Final report – working paper*. Geneva: SNIS

Introduction

Migration is one of the main social issues of the twenty-first century, affecting more than 230 million people worldwide of whom more than 10 per cent are refugees and asylum-seekers (UNHCR 2015). Refugees are at the centre of political debates and pose major questions in relation to policy, public opinion and for the research community. Whilst nation states continue to argue about refugee quotas and the arrival of spontaneous asylum-seekers, our research project that investigated how the European born children of refugees fare in their host societies is timely.

Europe is super-diverse (Vertovec 2007) and part of this diversity can be attributed to the diversity of refugee arrivals. Since the late 1960s, refugees arriving in Europe have come from different regions, ethnic groups, religious backgrounds and political affiliations and have varied pre-migration experiences (Kushner and Knox 1999). While early cohorts of refugees had been mainly white, European and Christian new refugee arrivals were from visible minorities and with different religious affiliations (Akoka 2011). The number of refugees and asylum-seekers has also increased, reaching around 20 million at the end of 2014; thus, the refugee population and its descendants represents a sizeable proportion of Europe's minority-ethnic population (UNHCR 2015). The reasons for exile also became more diverse. Increasingly refugees arriving in Europe were fleeing persecution not only on the basis of political opinion but also on the basis of other 1951 Geneva Convention criteria, namely persecution related to race, religion, nationality or membership of a social group. This is significant because the type of persecution can influence the relationship of a refugee to their country of origin, their aspirations for return and, in consequence, levels of investment and permanency (imagined or real) in the refugee receiving country as well as economic, social, cultural and political transnational linkages (Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Bloch 2008; Dahinden 2012).

Academic and policy-related research investigating the lives of refugees in Europe has focused on a number of key areas, including migration destinations, social and economic capital, employment experiences, integration indicators and outcomes, language development, aspirations for return to the country of origin and perceptions of belonging, identity and transnational and ethnic linkages (see, among others, Ager and Strang 2008; Al-Ali *et al.* 2001; Bolzman 2001; Clochard *et al.* 2004; Efiouyi-Mäder *et al.* 2001; Mahnig and Cattacin 2005; Migreurop 2012; Phillimore and Goodson 2008; Simon 2008; Wihtol de Wenden 2010; Wilding 2012). This extensive body of literature shows that refugees have, over the years, had decreasing control over their asylum destination as a consequence of border controls and a greater reliance on smugglers (Agier 2002; Koser 2005; Lavenex 2001). Moreover asylum policies within host countries have become incrementally more punitive with access to the labour-market and welfare rights limited and/or curtailed (Clochard 2007; Spencer 2008). Exclusion from the labour market on arrival in the country of asylum can result in deskilling and is one of the reasons why refugees experience disproportionate levels of unemployment and receive lower pay than others (see Bloch 2008; Cortes 2004; Gans 2009; Piguet and Ravel 2002; Wanner 2006). Whilst there has been an emphasis on integration, in some European countries, which focuses on skills acquisition, including language, there is also recognition that, as a consequence of trauma, refugees may also require other therapeutic and supportive interventions (Chimni 2004; D'Halluin 2009; Heptinstall *et al.* 2004; Jodeyr 2003; Moser *et al.* 2001).

Whilst the complexity of refugee lives and experiences is well researched, little is known about the children of refugees who have grown up in exile with parents who have differing and sometimes ambivalent relations with their national and ethnic groups, who have experienced disproportionate poverty due to their labour-market experiences and who may

well have been subjected to hostility (Spicer 2008). Academic and policy research has tended to subsume the children of refugees in research evidence on the experiences of minorities more generally rather than exploring their unique experiences that are a consequence of their refugee background (Crul and Mollenkopf 2012; Crul *et al.* 2012a; Portes and Rumbault 2001). Consequently, little is known about how the children of refugees fare within the broader analyses of ethnicity, nor about what their social, economic, cultural and transnational lives are like. What have their experiences been and what are their aspirations? In what ways, if at all, do they consider their refugee backgrounds as having impacted on their lives? What are the different experiences for groups with varying pre-migration experiences, ethnicities, social and cultural practices? The Europe-born children of refugees who arrived between the 1960s and the 1990s are now adults and this study is designed to generate an understanding of their specific situation, aspirations, social and economic lives, identity and transnational linkages.

The children of refugees in Europe: aspirations, social and economic lives, identity and transnational linkages is a collaborative cross-national project between institutions in Switzerland, France and the UK. Our research is based on 135 interviews with the adult children of refugees – 45 each in London, Paris and Geneva – from Sri Lanka (Tamils), Turkey (mostly Kurds) and Vietnam. This report presents the main findings, highlighting cross-national differences as well as intersections within and between the groups and the three host countries. We divide the findings into the following key themes explored in the study: parental background, education, employment, transnational relations/activities, identity and the refugee backgrounds shaping lives. Intertwined with these themes are experiences of racism, some comparisons with and attitudes of the parents and expressions of belonging. Before presenting the findings, the next section examines the methods and methodology.

Research Methods

The research is based on a cross-national comparison of the experiences of the Europe-born children of refugees from Sri Lanka, Turkey and Vietnam living in Geneva, London and Paris commonly termed as the second generation.

The data was collected using in-depth interviews based on a standardised topic guide, used across the three sites, to enable meaningful comparison. The main areas covered in the topic guide reflected the research aims and objectives and focused on education, educational experiences and outcomes, employment (current and previous jobs), intergenerational mobility in relation to education and employment, languages and the context of language use, transnational relations (social, economic and political), family life, social networks, community engagement, participation in faith groups, parents' social and economic lives prior to and post-migration, and reflections on identity, belonging, racism and refugee backgrounds shaping lives.

This cross-national study of the lives and experiences of the Europe-born adult children of refugees provides the opportunity to compare contrasting national contexts of immigration and integration. Whilst, in the post-WWII period, Switzerland relied on guestworkers from Southern and Eastern Europe and offered them limited rights (Mahnig and Cattacin 2005) the UK and France recruited workers from former colonial countries, granting them almost free rights of entry and settlement (Simon 2015; Weil 1995[1991]). The UK opted for a multicultural approach to integration, which was replaced by a social cohesion model at the start of the twenty-first century (Bloch, Neal and Solomos 2013; Solomos 2003). In contrast, France and Switzerland followed an assimilationist mode of inclusion of their migrant population (Mahnig and Cattacin 2005; Simon 2015; Weil 1995 [1991]).

Interviewees were located using a number of different strategies. Given the lack of a

sampling frame, the aim was to ensure that as diverse a range of experiences as possible was included. To achieve sample diversity, we used multiple starting points to snowball for interviewees. The main points of contact were varied and included community organisations, faith groups, personal contacts, local politicians, academics, websites, blogs and social networking sites. We worked closely with organisations which acted as informants and gatekeepers to other groups and contacts even when they were unable to find interviewees among their own clients/users/networks who fit the study criteria. In total, 15 organisational and individual gatekeepers were used for the London sample, 18 in Paris and 16 in Geneva (and elsewhere in Switzerland). Tables 1, 2 and 3 in the Appendix provide information about the range of access and snowballing routes for those eventually interviewed. Ultimately, these varied recruiting methods enabled us to reach the expected total of 135 in-depth interviews (45 in each country spread almost evenly across the three country of origin groups see Table 4). In the absence of a sampling frame, we have set indicative quotas to guide our sampling strategies and to allow meaningful cross-national, cross-group and within-group comparisons. By using quotes we attempted to balance the numbers of men and women interviewed and to have a range of ages to ensure that the diversity of experiences was captured (see Table 4).

Examining the experiences of the same three groups of adult children of refugees in different national contexts facilitated more robust comparisons. First, the three country of heritage groups were included because they were among the top five countries of origin of asylum-seekers to France between 1980 and 1995, while Turkey and Sri Lanka were in the top three in Switzerland and top five in the UK (www.unhcr.org/statistics/populationdatabase). Second the selection of Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Turkey enables an examination of the potential impact of different historical and colonial linkages, reasons for migration, varied ethnicities, and community formations. Thirdly these groups have been chosen to explore and compare the long-term effects of programme refugees¹ (Vietnamese refugees) with spontaneous asylum-seekers (from Sri Lanka and Turkey) who claim asylum on arrival in the country and frequently rely on community or voluntary organisations and kinship or peer-group networks for advice and assistance rather than having access to a resettlement programme as did those from Vietnam.

To analyse our data, a coding frame was jointly developed and the data from the 135 interviews entered into NVivo by each team. The coding frame is composed of 16 categories and 83 sub-categories, as well as demographic variables (age, sex, parent's country of origin, education, education of the parents, employment, etc.). The number of categories differs slightly from one country to another to reflect variation in national-contexts (for example, naturalisation for the second generation in Switzerland).

Due to migration and settlement patterns we took a flexible approach to the sample as the demographic and geographic composition of the target populations meant that it was not possible to replicate identical sub-samples between the three groups. First, we experienced difficulties in balancing the age sample between the groups and the host country due to their patterns of migration. Secondly, the fieldwork phase took much longer than anticipated. The main reasons were that the populations were quite hidden as the second generation for the most part do not actively participate in community organisations in the way their parents did as newcomers and in some cases still do. Accessing interviewees was more difficult in Geneva than in London and Paris due to the smaller numbers of the target population. In order to progress with the fieldwork, we conducted 26 interviews in the Lausanne area and 17 interviews with those born abroad (15 arrived in Switzerland before the age of four and two before the age of eight). The academic literature suggests that experiences of integration are

¹ Those with refugee status on arrival, who were included in a reception programme that offered support with integration.

largely unaffected where arrival has taken place before the beginning of primary school (Rumbaut 2004).² These differences are explored, where relevant, in the analysis where we have highlighted any variations between the sub-sample of non-Europe-born compared to their Europe-born counterparts.

Literature Review

There is little literature that explores the specifics of second generation from refugee backgrounds and so our study is informed, in part by the US and European literature on second-generation migrants and ethnic minorities more generally. We take the position that the complexity of migration – the asylum-migration nexus – which highlights the mixed motives of refugee migration can make the bureaucratic dichotomy between refugees and other migrants blurred and sometimes obsolete (Simon 2008; Wihtol de Wenden 2010; Zetter 2007). Nevertheless, the premise of our research is that growing up within diasporic households and communities and, for some, within families, where trauma and loss are forever present, creates variable and particular experiences as does the insecurity of the asylum system on refugee families who can be in limbo for years waiting for a decision on their case (Achermann and Chimienti 2006; Efionayi-Mäder and Ruedin 2014; Schuster 2011; Speradotto *et al.* 2014).

Theoretical insights

Using different methodological approaches and informed by various disciplinary orientations, American research and scholarship on migrant and refugee integration and assimilation have shaped the field of research on the second generation. The influential work by Portes and Zhou (1993) and Portes and Rumbaut (1996) built on earlier sociological and anthropological studies to critique models of linear assimilation (Gordon 1964; Park and Burgess 1970 [1921]) but, instead, proposed the concept of ‘segmented assimilation’, with its greater complexity and range of different integration outcomes (Gans 1992; Rumbaut 1994; Zhou 1997). They argued that migrants may experience upward assimilation, downward assimilation or a combination of upward assimilation with biculturalism. These theoretical insights have been documented by many case studies and statistical analyses across Europe and the United States (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler 1994; Portes *et al.* 2005; Waldinger and Feliciano 2004) with a focus on education (see Louie 2006; Menjívar 2008; Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008; Schnell *et al.* 2015), family (see Glick and Hohmann-Marriott 2007; Greenman 2011; Medvedeva 2012; Nicholas *et al.* 2008; Perez 1994; Phalet and Sächönpflug 2001; Rumbaut 1997), geographical context (Jargowsky 2009) and the labour market (see Goodwin-White 2009; Herzog-Punzenberger 2003; Meurs and Pailhé 2010; Meurs *et al.* 2005; Mollenkopf and Champeny 2009; Silberman *et al.* 2007; Tucci *et al.* 2013; Worbs 2003). These three forms of assimilation correspond to the three processes of consonant, dissonant and selective acculturation. *Consonant acculturation* occurs when both children and parents assimilate into a new culture at relatively similar speeds, leaving behind their ‘old-country’ ways and language. *Dissonant acculturation* occurs when children’s adaptation to a new language and culture outstrips that of their parents. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that this process can lead to downward assimilation, as young people face racism and bifurcated labour markets without the support of their parents. *Selective acculturation* occurs when parents and children learn ‘American’ ways gradually, while remaining rooted in an ethnic

² A fact corroborated by members of the advisory group – Rosita Fibbi and Eva Mey – with expertise in the migration of guestworkers and their children in Switzerland.

community. This is an important process, especially for those who are subject to discrimination.

The perspectives on assimilation and acculturation used by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have been criticized because of their static and essentialised view of culture (Abu-Lughod 1991; Ossipow 2011), the empirical reality is that the children of migrants do not follow similar trajectories; experiences and outcomes can vary and are contingent on the segment of society into which they are being incorporated (Greenman and Xie 2008; Kroneberg 2008). In short, some may be ‘assimilated’ into a racial or ethnic minority status that entails systematic disadvantages compared with society as a whole. Using mixed methods, Kasinitz *et al.* (2009) examined the social, economic, cultural and political lives of young adults of immigrant parents from five different nationalities in New York City. Their conclusion was that second-generation immigrants fare surprisingly well with their English fluency and movement into mainstream jobs compared to those held by native-born New Yorkers. In terms of education, the second generation surpassed not only their immigrant parents, but also America-born minorities. Similarly, Alba and Waters (2011) explored the integration of second-generation migrants in the United States and Europe. They argue that variations in second-generation trajectories are affected by the interaction between immigrant-group characteristics and national and local contexts. Diversity in education, the labour market, housing and justice is determined by a complex constellation of economic, social, cultural, environmental and political factors. As a consequence, ‘integration outcomes’ differ within and between the various groups within the same national and local context.

The second generation

The first studies on the second generation appeared in the 1930s and 1940s. These studies focused on the identity of descendants of Japanese (Smith 1928) or Italian immigrants (Child 1943), relying on the earlier works of the Chicago School of Sociology and its peers (Park and Burgess 1970 [1921]); Thomas and Znaniecki 1918). Both authors questioned the acculturation and behaviour of the second generation compared to those of their parents. Thirty years later, in the general context of a rise of public interest in discrimination and racism, Chiswick (1977) addressed the question of the second generation from an economic perspective, studying their earnings and focusing on the varying effects on their integration depending on which parents were foreign-born. Despite these isolated examples, interest in the second generation became a major areas of research and scholarship in the 1990s with the studies by Portes and Zhou (1993) who, as we noted earlier, developed the concept of segmented assimilation to explain differential outcomes. This academic work led to large research programmes in the US and Europe that have contributed to the deepening of knowledge on contemporary second-generation behaviour and social life. These include:

- the Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York (ISGMNY) project (Kasinitz 2008; Kasinitz *et al.* 2002, 2004, 2009);
- the Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles (IIMMLA) project (see for instance Rumbaut 2008a, 2008b; Zhou and Lee 2007, Zhou *et al.* 2008);
- the Integration and Education Survey (TIES) in Europe, which studied the integration of the children of immigrants at school and on the labour market in cities in eight European countries (Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Crul *et al.* 2012a, 2012b).

Contemporary research on the second generation focuses on their social, educational, economic, cultural and inter-generational lives. Their integration in local neighbourhoods and communities, together with subjective and fluid understandings of belonging and identity

have been explored in the literature. Globalisation and new technology enable much greater participation in transnational activities and allow plural, diffuse and fluid identities (Portes 1992). Greater mobility in the shape of visits to the country of origin both challenges and confirms the migrant second generation's identity and results in transnational social spaces (Boccagni 2012; Faist 2013; Gardner and Mand 2012; Levitt and Waters 2002; Zeitlyn 2012). Moreover, the Internet transcends geographic distance and boundaries and offers a site through which transnational identities are shaped (McGinnis *et al.* 2007). The second generation represents a substantial number of the population in the United States and Europe. According to Rumbaut (2008a) there were 30 million US-born second-generation in 2006, of whom 17.4 million were under the age of 18 (www.migrationpolicy.org). In Europe, with countries reporting different datasets and having different laws on citizenship acquisition, it is difficult to estimate the true size of the second generation. However, a number of statistical studies have documented the profile of the second generation in Europe and the United States. On both sides of the ocean, their parents (the first generation) were labour migrants who came from rural backgrounds and had low levels of education (Crul and Mollenkopf 2012). Their parents have often struggled to integrate the labour market and have experienced higher unemployment rates than the native-born (Crul and Mollenkopf 2012; Albertini *et al.* 2011). In the United States, the first generation of new migrants was mostly Hispanic or Asian (Crul and Mollenkopf 2012) whereas, in Europe, non-European immigrants came mostly from countries on the southern and eastern borders of Europe (Turkey, Morocco, Ukraine...) and from former colonies.

Education

The variable educational outcomes between and within different groups are well documented (Bolzman *et al.* 2003; Crul and Holdaway 2009; Dustmann *et al.* 2012; Fernández-Kelly 2008; Fleischmann *et al.* 2011; Juhasz and Mey 2003; Mollenkopf and Champeny 2009; Portes and Hao 2004; Portes and MacLeod 1999; Rumbaut 2005; Zhou 2009). Class, culture and racism in schools – including stereotyping based on colonial and post-colonial discourses – are known to influence outcomes (Phoenix 2009; Warren 2005). Stereotyping can also have a positive impact. Research in the USA demonstrates how Asian (especially Vietnamese) migrant youth were stereotyped as a model minority and therefore benefited from structural and ideological advantages over other non-white minority groups; their self-esteem was reinforced by their teachers' high expectations (Conchas and Pérez 2003; Kasinitz 2008; Kim 2006; Zhou and Bankston 1998). Educational success is mostly determined by a person's parents' educational and socio-economic levels, including language skills (Bilgili *et al.* 2015; Dustmann *et al.* 2012; Feliciano 2005). To a lesser extent, cultural origin and gender also have some influence (Brinbaum *et al.* 2012; Storen and Helland 2010). These individual determinants can, however, be balanced by structural and social factors.

Cross-national research in Europe indeed identifies institutional variations within educational systems as a factor shaping educational outcomes (Crul *et al.* 2012a). Children with less-educated parents are particularly dependent on the educational system to balance this lack of capital (Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008). It is known that early access to school – and mixed schools in terms of the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of the pupils – has a positive effect on the scholastic achievements of the children (Bilgili *et al.* 2015: 15): the longer the time spent at school before selection to academic tracks, the greater the chances of high academic attainment among the children of migrants (Crul and Schneider 2009). However a correlation of educational and family policies and a positive macro-economic context are necessary in order to balance out the potential family educational deficit; however, even then, equality in the opportunities for educational mobility is not guaranteed (Crettaz

and Jacot 2014). The affective support of the parents can sometimes decrease the negative influence of the lack of educational capital in a family although it does not manage to balance it out completely (Crul and Schneider 2009; Schnell *et al.* 2015) nor does it make up for the school's lack of support (Schnell *et al.* 2015). The older siblings can also play an important role in advising and helping their younger family members at school, especially when they have reached a higher level of education (Crul and Schneider 2009).

However there is no one single outcome, there are differences between members of the second generation in terms of school achievement and these can be gender and racialized. While there is inter-generational upward mobility (Albertini *et al.* 2011) it is important to consider differences that reflect individual, family and structural contexts. Intergenerational mobility needs to take into account more complex data than merely the comparison between children's educational status and that of their parents. As the labour market could be ethnically or racially segmented, the comparison between second generation and their counterparts who have native parents may be much more significant and reveal that what was seen only through intergenerational comparison as downward or upward mobility appears, in fact, as horizontal mobility (Zhou and Xiong 2005). Moreover the relatively greater success of migrants' offspring at school does not automatically guarantee the children's better integration (Thoreau and Liebig 2012).

The limited research available infers that the Europe-born children of refugees can face greater disadvantage than second-generation children with a non-refugee backgrounds (McBrien 2005). This is due to their parents' pre- and post-migration experiences. Whether prior to migrating or during the journey, experiences of trauma can result in psychological and physical scars (Burnett and Peel 2001; Davies and Webb 2000; Heptinstall *et al.* 2004; Lustig *et al.* 2004). Once in the country of refuge, lengthy bureaucratic processes and the associated uncertainty of the future, coupled with the refugees' insecure immigration status can result in stress, a greater risk of ill health and therefore a lesser capacity to engage with their children. The consequences for the latter may include poorer educational performance, economic stagnation, blocked mobility and ambiguous belonging (Suárez-Orozco *et al.* 2011; Yoshikawa 2011). Moreover, separation from kinship groups and feelings of loss can affect migrants' integration and orientation towards the country of residence (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004).

Employment

Regardless of migration histories and backgrounds, people from ethnic minority groups have higher rates of unemployment, earn less, are more frequently located in service-sector jobs and are less likely to be in managerial and professional positions than their white counterparts, in both Europe and the USA (Crul and Mollenkopf 2012; Heath and Cheung 2007). Moreover the labour market is a site of racism and discrimination (Virdee, 2009). Among the second-generation, those with the lowest educational levels are most disadvantaged in the labour market (Crul and Schneider 2009).

Refugees are more disadvantaged than others in the labour market, regardless of re-migration skills and experiences (Bloch 2008). Though their experiences are not uniform and some refugees do arrive with and/or accumulate economic capital (e.g. East African Asians in Britain, see Robinson 2003) their disadvantages can persist. The consequence of disproportionately high levels of unemployment or of low pay, even when compared to other minorities, means that refugees have fewer resources to support their children at school which can impact on educational outcomes.

Strategies for improving the different employment outcomes by ethnic group have focused on human capital deficits through skills training and education and, for refugees and

new migrants, language acquisition and/or improvement. However, racism and discrimination are present in all aspects of the labour market (Bloch *et al.* 2013; Virdee 2009). In the UK, Heath and Cheung (2007) refer to the 'ethnic penalty' as a way of expressing the intangible discrimination that, when all other things are equal, still lead to worse labour market outcomes among people from ethnic minority groups. In Switzerland, Fibbi *et al.* (2006, 2007) have shown that some members of the second generation (such as those from Turkish backgrounds) are subjected to discriminatory practices while, in France, the second generation has disproportionately high rates of unemployment (Meurs *et al.* 2006; Simon 2003) and experience discrimination that prevents access to high-status and well-paid occupations (Meurs *et al.* 2006; Silberman *et al.* 2007). Nevertheless, compared to their parents, the second generation seems to fare better in the labour market and earn higher wages (Crul *et al.* 2012a).

Transnational relations/activities

There has been a growing body of research and scholarship on transnationalism since the 1990s although relatively little is known about second generation and even less about second generation from refugee backgrounds. There are four transnational fields – social, cultural, political and economic. Research with refugees suggests that transnational activities will vary according to aspirations for return, the relationship with the nation state, transnational capacity (such as financial resources), obligations based on kinship and the closeness of kinship ties in the sending country (Al-Ali *et al.* 2001, 2002; Bloch 2008; Horst, 2008; Lindley, 2010). Migrants are thought to be more transnational than their children but the second generation can still maintain linkages that are often facilitated by their parents (Levitt, 2009).

Technological developments make transnational engagement accessible for many and enable ties in multiple geographical spaces (Portes *et al.* 1999), a concept which Glick Schiller *et al.* (1995) have labelled 'simultaneous embeddedness'. The main aspects that bind these ties are communication, remittances, political involvement and travel (Audebert and Dorai 2010; McKay 2007; King *et al.* 2011; Wessendorf 2007).

Over the past few years, social scientists have also explored relationship between transnational relations and integration (Amelina and Faist 2008; Crul *et al.* 2012a and 2012b; Dekker and Siegel 2013). Transnational activities among second generation, like the migrant generation, will depend on ideas of nationalism and nation engagement, described by Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001) as 'long distance nationalism'. For some scholars transnational links of both the first and the second generation help their integration (Portes 1992) and integration and stability allow transnational ties to continue overtime (Kasinitz 2008). Whereas for other authors these transnational ties might be a reaction to racism and stereotyping in the host country (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001). However for second generation engagement will be limited, in some instances, by language, by distance and capacity and willingness to visit the heritage country, by parental orientation, by the ties of kinship.

Literature specifically on refugees' transnational behaviour is rare (Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Al-Ali *et al.* 2001; Hammond, 2013) but those that do exist describe the political and economical aspects of the transnational ties which refugees have with their home country (Horst 2008), questioning their belonging and identity (Wilding 2012) or their integration following the same line of thoughts than for other second generation migrants (Bakker *et al.* 2014).

Identity and belonging

Second-generation migrants are often described in the literature as having fractured and fluid identities, multiple belongings and contradictory notions of home. They tend, however, to talk about their self-identity more openly than their parents do (Kasinitz *et al.* 2009). For refugees, negotiating and renegotiating the old and the new homes can also include an aspiration to return 'home' or a realisation that home as they knew it no longer exists and cannot be revisited (Gilmartin 2008; Sirriyeh 2010; Staeheli and Nagel 2006). However home is not only a physical place, and studies on transnationalism and translocalism highlight the complexities between mobility, emplacement, belonging and engagement in transnational social spaces (Al-Ali *et al.* 2001; Glick Schiller *et al.* 1992, 1995; Levitt 2009; Portes *et al.* 1999). The significance of identity and belonging varies in different contexts, particularly within the private and public domains (Crul *et al.* 2012a). States play a role in facilitating or preventing pathways to belonging through integration, settlement and citizenship policies (Gilmartin 2008; Kofman 2005; Wanner 2004). Moreover, Valentine *et al.* note that identity '...is also dependent, at least in part, on an individual's identity being recognised or accepted by a wider community...' (2009: 236). Thus identity is relational and interactive, not something developed by individuals in isolation. Experiences of inclusion, exclusion and racism shape identity. Research amongst Somali young people (aged 11 to 18) in Britain and Denmark found that Somalia occupied a significant place in their self-identity if they had personal memories of the country but was more abstract if they relied on the stories of others (Valentine *et al.* 2009). State responses to integration and the presence of community facilitated a sense of local belonging in British society rather than a strong attachment to the nation. Research in Europe has also noted how belonging is more strongly associated with the locality of residence than with the nation-state (Centlivres *et al.* 1991; Crul *et al.* 2012a).

Identity comprises a blend of personal, social and cultural self-conceptions. Cultural identity, argue Rothe *et al.* '...refers to the sense of solidarity with the ideas, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of the members of a particular cultural group' (2011: 75). Understanding the identity and belonging of the Europe-born children is therefore particularly crucial as it could prevent the development of a reactive ethnicity (Çelik 2015; Diehl and Schnell 2006; Rumbaut 2008a).

In the rest of this working paper we will present our main findings and reflect on them in relation to the existing literature. In particular we consider the specific case of the adult children of refugees and how as a second generation group they may or may not have specific experiences based on the exile backgrounds of their parents and across national contexts. We also consider the intersections between and within the three countries of heritage groups.

Findings

This part of the working paper reflects the main thematic concerns of the project and is divided into the following sections: parental background, education, employment, transnational relations/activities, identity and the ways in which refugee backgrounds shape lives. Intertwined with these themes are experiences of racism, some comparisons with and attitudes of parents and expressions of belonging. For a more in-depth view of the results in each context, please see the country reports (Bloch *et al.* 2015).

Context of Reception and Parental background

Pre-migration histories, reasons for seeking refuge and experiences in the receiving country

vary between the three countries and three groups. In France and to a lesser extent in Switzerland, refugees from Vietnam arrived in the mid-1970s and tended to be of middle-class or more affluent urban background, while those in the UK were mainly uneducated coming from rural areas and resettled from the refugee camps in Hong Kong. Due to the colonial connections between Vietnam and France, a number already spoke French and so were immediately advantaged compared to their refugee counterparts in the UK who did not speak English. On arrival in the UK, the Vietnamese were included in a refugee dispersal programme which placed them in cities, towns and even villages across the country. Many subsequently moved to London to access the already existing Chinese and Vietnamese communities. Refugees from Vietnam arrived in Europe as programme refugees and so had refugee status on arrival – avoiding the insecurity of the asylum system and refugee determination process – and they received language, cultural awareness and economic orientation classes on arrival in reception centres prior to dispersal.

Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka began to arrive in Europe in the early 1980s as a consequence of the civil war and of ethnic discrimination. In the UK, Tamils used different modes of entry including student visas, asylum-seeker applications and family reunion. Ethnic persecution and/or political activity linked to this, were the drivers for migration and the basis for asylum claims. Their pre-migration skills and education varied though, unlike their Vietnamese and Kurdish (see below) counterparts in the UK, around half were educated to degree level. Their educational levels, coupled with pre-existing social and community work in the UK and English language skills, as a consequence of colonial links, has provided this group with important social capital. Tamils in France and Switzerland were less educated than their UK counterparts and there was less pre-existing community than in the UK with its large South Asian and growing. Tamils arriving in Paris were initially from professional backgrounds while subsequent arrivals were less educated, working mainly in un- or low-skilled employment. Tamils arrived in Switzerland, for the most part, a decade later than they had in France and the UK and tended to be from non-professional and often rural backgrounds. Most settled in the German-speaking part of Switzerland although the community in the French-speaking part of the country, around Geneva and Lausanne, is well-organised.

Kurds from Turkey were almost uniformly fleeing ethnicity-based persecution and a number had been and continued to be politically active in exile. Arriving in Europe as asylum-seekers from the early 1990s – although some arrived in the 1980s after the Turkish military coup – Kurds from Turkey tended to have low or sometimes no education at all and came largely from rural areas in the east of the country. On arrival, community organisations were crucial for their help in finding housing, providing information and assisting with asylum claims. The majority did not speak English or French prior to migration. Politics and community activism are important components of everyday life in the UK, France and Switzerland.

Our study hypothesised that the socio-economic background of the parents, their experiences on arrival in Europe – including refugee reception and resettlement policies or statutory provisions – and their subsequent integration into or separation from ethnic and wider communities would all impact on the experiences of their children. In the research interviews we asked about the parents' employment experience, language acquisition and skills, association with communities, participation in community and faith groups and transnational linkages. We found that parental experiences impacted on the lives of their children in particular in relation to the transmission of identity, community languages, aspirations and, significantly, their agency or exclusion from active participation in statutory-sector provision. Their capacity for involvement was the most evident in education, where having language skills and an understanding of education systems enabled more active

participation and a greater capacity to maximise potential opportunities. Clear examples of this were the Tamils in London or the Vietnamese in Switzerland, with their higher levels of education, better language skills (English and French respectively) and close-knit community networks. The latter in particular was vital for the exchange of information which would ensure that their children were able to access the best schools and obtain the high levels of support for learning outside of the statutory provision. These themes will be developed in further publications drawing on this fieldwork.

Education

Education, regardless of parental background, was central to the narratives of almost all of those interviewed. Their parents were usually orientated towards education, as it offered a route to the social and economic mobility that many of them had not been able to enjoy. Most were either attending university or were graduates at the time of their interview and many recalled their parents' wish for them to pursue a professional route, as that was deemed to offer security and status. Our results confirm the upward mobility between the first and second generation migrants found elsewhere (see among others Dustmann et al. 2012).³ The educational outcomes of the sub-sample of non-Europe-born compared to their Europe-born counterparts were largely the same, confirming previous literature that age of arrival has differing impact (Rumbaut 2004).

Parents supported their children through the system in different ways and with differing capacities. One area that was uniform across research sites was the impact of background and language skill on parental involvement and ability to knowledge of systems and participate in school communities and their children's education. Those with the language skills of the country of settlement and from more affluent backgrounds were better able to help with homework, pay for private and group tutoring and be actively involved in the school community: almost all those of Tamil heritage in the UK and in Switzerland had been tutored, though for some it was a real financial burden. As shown in previous studies, parents' educational background is an important factor explaining children school achievement. Those of Vietnamese origin in Geneva area and Paris and of Tamil origin in London benefited from the social and economic capital that their more-middle-class and educated backgrounds offered, going to better and often selective schools (in the UK), attending the top universities and pursuing professional studies and careers. In contrast, those of uneducated or less-educated origin, with parents in low-skilled employment, usually attended the local school with children from mixed but less-affluent backgrounds. As Rojda, a woman of Kurdish heritage in London, noted this too impacted on teacher attitudes,

It was like you are working class; you are not going to get anywhere. That was the attitude the middle-class teachers have towards the working-class student.

Those with lesser or no education and/or without language skills were more excluded, had to rely on their children to interpret in meetings with teachers and were less able to provide academic support in the home. Moreover, some parents were excluded from active participation by their long and unsocial working hours. However, this did not necessarily mean an absence of interest, and support could derive from other kin, including relatives such as uncles, aunts, grandparents or older siblings or from friends in the neighbourhood.

³ The results in Switzerland (see country reports) offer cases of social reproduction when the parents (first generation migrants) were already well educated, their children did not over performed them.

Experiences of racism were also evident but variable in context and community. Those who had been educated in diverse and multi-ethnic schools were less likely to have experienced racism than those in less-diverse schools. As highlighted in the literature, mixed schools in terms of socio-economic and cultural background of the pupils might not only decrease cases of racism but also have a positive effect on scholastic achievements of the children (Bilgili *et al.* 2015; Crul and Schneider, 2009). Geography was therefore crucial in comparing experiences in terms of cross- and intra-national contexts. Within schools, there were experiences of racist name-calling, bullying and teasing about the pupils' names and teachers and other pupils making racialised assumptions based on ethnic stereotyping. These assumptions could be advantageous as well as destructive. For instance, in the UK, stereotyping by a teacher, based on post-colonial and gendered assumptions of South Asians as hard-working and academic (e.g. Kaliban, a male of Tamil heritage from London, who said people assume South Asians are 'really academic or really good at maths'), can act to the pupils' advantage. Similarly those of Vietnamese background in Geneva felt that they benefited from racialised views of 'Asians as nerds' at school and in employment. Conversely however, teachers make negative assumptions about children of Kurdish background, assuming that their educational trajectories are similar, or should be similar, to their parents; these pupils are consequently often advised to pursue vocational rather than academic routes (e.g. Sibel, a young women of Kurdish heritage from Geneva).

Notable across all three research sites was the lack of engagement in schools with the background of those we interviewed which meant that schools failed to support the specific needs of children of refugees and their families and try to balance these inequalities: for instance support within the school system in London and Paris for English / French language support as most started school speaking community languages (in Switzerland they were offered French classes) or the provision of interpreters at parent consultation meetings. Children from refugee backgrounds were subsumed into the broader 'ethnic minority' spectrum which meant that the specific factors that might affect refugee families – such as insecurity of status, the geographic mobility that characterises dispersal, trauma and loss – were unsupported.

Employment

The literature describes employment as a site which crystallises ethnic inequalities even when education might have equalised them. Our results provide a more balanced picture in the case of children of refugees. Table 4 (in Appendix) shows that the main activity among half of those interviewed was employment, 48 per cent were students and two per cent were unemployed at the time of the interview, though a number of students were also working part-time to support their studies in all three research sites. Those working full-time were largely in skilled work and this included professional work such as teaching, banking and accountancy, IT and fund-raising for charities. The majority of our interviewees have improved their educational, professional and social situations compared to their parents' situation in the host country. Those who are working were generally satisfied with their working lives which seem commensurate with their skills and qualifications. Except for a few – who were working in family or community businesses - our interviewees were fully integrated into the wider parts of the labour market. If children of refugees manage to achieve successful professional position despite the hardship they encounter during their trajectories it is thanks to the high aspirations of the parents for them and the will of a social revenge that works as driver. The parents of Padmakavi for instance move areas to allow her to apply in a more selective school (i.e. grammar school see country reports) emphasising that she had to take opportunities in the UK which were unavailable to them in Sri Lanka.

I know my dad just really wanted me to do either Dentistry or Medicine [...] apparently it's because back in Sri Lanka they don't get a lot of opportunities to go to university, so I think that's why being a doctor there is like, the highest you can be in Sri Lanka, so I think that's why they think that. [...] They didn't go to university, like they couldn't afford to go. So, yeah, for me yeah it was a definite I was going to go to university... you had to go to university (Padmakavi).

While some did not experience overt racism, there were examples of racialised stereotyping and/or discrimination in the work place. In the following quotes, Quan, a man of Vietnamese heritage living in London, talks about assumptions at the supermarket where he had worked in the past. Similar observations about stereotyping were made by interviewees in Paris and the Geneva area.

I think in terms of, not being racist or anything like that, but my manager, she saw that I was a kind of hard-working ethics kind of person, in terms of being oriental and stuff (Quan).

Some had experienced workplace discrimination and, among Kurds in Geneva area and Paris, there was the added dimension of discrimination based on religion. Amed, a Kurdish man from Geneva who worked in a senior role in finance, describes, in the quote below, how he has constantly had to push to achieve, due to others' persecution of difference and because he came from a visible minority.

My name is Amed and it was obvious that, if my name was Mario and I came from Italy, it would be less difficult. It is just that I have to make twice the effort to achieve the same professional promotion... Today, I have a very good position, I have been promoted several times, but I still feel that I have to make more effort because my name sounds Muslim... I am a foreigner.

Looking to the future, the upward inter-generational mobility looks likely to continue. Those who are currently students are often studying for specific professions. For example, among those from a Tamil background in London, there was a bias towards medical and related professions, meaning that employment is likely to be well paid and secure, locating this cohort within the middle classes. In Switzerland, Vietnamese students would most probably enter professions such as engineering, medicine and law or hold high positions in marketing, communication and banking, as these related to their studies.

Transnational relations/activities

The literature on transnational relations and activities highlight inter-generational differences as we noted above with the migrant generation often the facilitator of ties and activities (Haikkola, 2011). Our research confirms a similar inter-generational pattern. Whilst the parents of those interviewed often socialised and worked within close-knit co-ethnic groupings and some were actively involved in community associations, the second generation were far more mixed in their social groups and networks, not only in their country of residence but in relation to their transnational associations. The connection with the country of heritage, not surprisingly, was less strong and more ambivalent among the adult children of refugees than for their parents, though this varied between and within the three countries and groups involved in the study. While nearly everyone had visited the country of origin since the initial emigration, the trips often evoked a conflictual relationship with their parents'

country of origin, often ‘feeling a foreigner in the homeland of my parents’. Alongside this, family members were often dispersed internationally, and this wider diaspora meant second generation individuals often visited family members in different countries outside the countries of origin.

In the UK, transnational relations were largely social and included visits, audio/visual communications and social media though Kurdish and Tamils had been involved in political activities. This contrasted with their parents’ generation, many of whom also had economic ties sending remittances to family members in the country of origin. In contrast, in Paris, some of those interviewed, notably those with Tamil and Kurdish backgrounds, regularly sent money to their families in the country of origin in addition to visits ‘home’. In Switzerland, some young people took part in fund-raising activities or sent remittances though this tended to be on a more *ad hoc* basis. Those born outside Europe mentioned a stronger attachment to their country of origin than their counterparts born in Switzerland; they tend to visit and communicate more often with members of the family in the country of origin. The types of transnational activity were also influenced by the reasons for migration and the extent of close family links in the country of origin. This meant that those with Vietnamese backgrounds were less connected to Vietnam itself, though they maintained contact with family in the diaspora. Long-haul international travel is expensive and so visits were also affected by their economic capacity to make the journey.

Those who had made return visits to the country of their heritage, which was the majority of those interviewed, had varied and often complex feelings about their experiences. Not quite fitting in, being from but not of, being seen as foreign and rich, and being bored stuck in villages with nothing to do, were all accounts of these visits. However, others found the visits inspiring and enjoyed gaining more insight into their parents’ lives pre-migration; they also helped them to appreciate much more not only their background but also their opportunities in Europe. There was almost no aspiration for ‘return’ migration; our interviewees were well and truly rooted in Europe and this European component was often an important part of their identity formation, as the next section explores.

Identity

We find in our interviews this idea of a fluid identity described in previous research about the second generation. Understandings of identity were often complex, contextual and linked to external perceptions – that is, how others visualise you – as well as strongly influenced by refugee histories and ideas of nation, homeland and persecution. In all three countries, there was a tendency to include the country of origin within the self-descriptors of ethnicity, either as the identity or as part of a dual identity – for example: ‘I’m Tamil’ (Abi), ‘I’m Kurdish...a British citizen...but that doesn’t make me British’ (Alia), ‘I’d call myself British, but from Vietnam’ (Chi) and ‘I am French of Kurdish origin’ (Sultan). ‘Not quite fitting in’ was a feature of identities, as Ezgi, a woman of Kurdish heritage, conveys:

I’m British, I know more about British history and things than Turkish stuff. But I’m seen as a foreigner in Turkey, I’m seen as a foreigner here in some ways.

Amongst our interviewees this was expressed in different ways according to the heritage and refugee background. For Tamil and Kurds, the fact that they came from a discriminated minority shaped their perceptions of self and their desire to stress their ethnic identity. The idea of being a ‘minority within a minority’ (Kurds subsumed within the Turkish category, Tamils assumed to be Indians and Vietnamese as Chinese) related to a lack of recognition of this identity shaped their own self-identity and represent an important part of their dual

identity. This is the case of Rojda, a young woman from London who felt that her Kurdish identity was a matter of principle.

For all those people who were massacred and slaughtered, I feel like it's my duty to stand up and say 'I am Alevi, I am Kurdish and nothing will change that'.

For some, being constantly perceived as foreigners creates complex feelings, as evoked by Sultan, a man of Kurdish origins in Paris.

When I am in Kurdistan, I'm not like them. I have my French lifestyle. They see me as 'French'. And when I return here, they [French people] see me as foreign, the 'Kurd'.

For some, this means needing to prove their belonging and loyalty, as mentioned by Sibel – a woman of Kurdish origin from Geneva.

We have always to justify our identity, we have always a label, we have to endorse a label.

We also asked our interviewees about the importance of transmitting aspects for their identity to their children which was mostly hypothetical as only eight of the 135 we interviewed had children. However there were clear ways in which aspects of identity were seen as important to maintain. First, was through to partner choices – potentially continuing the tradition of arranged marriages (among some Tamils in France and in Switzerland) and having a shared Alevi background and political ideology (among some Kurds). Language was seen as important in relation to identity and intergenerational transmission and, as most adult children of refugees had themselves attended language schools, they saw this as something they would do with their children for language acquisition. However, not everyone spoke their heritage language fluently and there was a recognition that this could depend on partner choices. Finally for some religion was important as a way of transmitting ethics, values and moral frameworks. Some of our participants explained there were family expectations to marry in a co-ethnic partnership, although this certainly did not always happen within our sample.

The feeling of belonging differs not only according to the heritage and refugee background but also according to the context of reception. In France and Switzerland, the majority of refugee children we met felt respectively 'French' or 'Swiss' and thus recognised – in contrast to the situation in the UK – a form of French/Swiss 'nation-ness' (Anderson 1983). Yet they also admitted to combining elements of French culture with other references received from their family or by frequenting different networks linked to the foreign origins of their parents. In the UK, interviewees described feelings of not being 'from here' and of being a 'minority within a minority'.

Refugee backgrounds shaping lives

We wanted to know, from the perspective of the second generation, whether coming from a refugee background had shaped their lives and, if so, in what ways. Many alluded to generalities such as making them more open-minded and more tolerant and giving them a greater understanding of diversity; for others, developing an interest and passion for politics, needing to work that little bit harder to succeed for their parents' sake and making the most of

their opportunities were some of the ways in which interviewees felt that their refugee backgrounds had shaped their lives.

In a minority of cases, the impact had been more direct and specific and the interviewees experienced the causes of their parent's exile as significant in their lives. For example, a minority of Kurds and Tamils from the three research sites alluded to their political activities or active interest and engagement in 'homeland' politics. Some of the Kurds also expressed an interest in left-wing and union politics, particularly in France and Switzerland, reflecting the political orientation of their families and reasons for exile. In the following quote, Dilan – a woman living in Paris – explains the background to her political engagement.

From early childhood, my uncle [a PKK activist] taught me everything and my father too; he wanted me to be aware of everything that happens in the world. The whole family was participating weekly in activities of the associations. My father also participated in hunger strikes. All this has influenced my political involvement.

In France and Switzerland, our interviewees' refugee backgrounds also influenced their career choices and decision-making. Some young adults were pursuing medical careers specifically to be able to work in Kurdistan or in humanitarian work. A number of Kurds in France and Switzerland had relatives who had joined the Kurdish army fighting against Islamic State in Syria and were considering this future for themselves. In the three settings, those with a Tamil background were more engaged in cultural and social activities than in politics. In the UK, this included student Tamil societies orientated towards social and cultural activities and, to a lesser extent, politics – but this latter was linked to the current situation in Sri Lanka. However, these activities were seen to be important as a mechanism for maintaining attachments with their Tamil heritage and formed a central part of the interviewees' identity. Those from Vietnam, across the three research sites, were not actively engaged in politics. Nevertheless, a minority were involved in fund-raising activities and donations to schools and hospitals in Vietnam and maintained ties with the country through this work. What our research has found is that the parent's reason for exile could impact on the identity and activities of their children. In short, being from a refugee background and the nature of that background really did shape lives.

Conclusion

The research, with its focus on the experiences of the European born adult children of refugees, set out to address an increasingly important gap in the literature. First it set out to explore the specificity of the refugee and asylum background on the experiences of the European born adult children of refugees and secondly to examine the role of the reception context and statutory provision on the experiences of those growing up in refugee families. The empirical focus of the research was on education, employment, social networks, transnational activities, identity, family lives and on the ways in which refugee backgrounds – including policy - may have shaped lives. Our research found differences and similarities between the three country of origin groups and the three contexts.

Significant in the experiences of the adult children of refugees were the circumstances of exile and the pre-migration skills, and the class backgrounds of parents. Among those from Kurdish and Tamil backgrounds, the ethnic persecution experienced by interviewee's parents prior to migration could not only shape political and community engagement in the country of residence but could also influence transnational engagement, identity and ideas of home. With

regard to class backgrounds, Vietnamese in France and Switzerland and Tamils in the UK were more educated and middle class than others and the colonial linkages between France and Vietnam and the UK and Sri Lanka also provided the advantage of language skills, for some, on arrival to Europe. The social and economic capital that some refugees arrive with results in advantages for their children within education but also for some, in relation to longer term aspirations and employment and career expectations.

Refugee and asylum policy and country policies around diversity could also affect the experiences of the second generation. Dispersal, insecure immigration status and the sometimes protracted nature of the asylum determination process could impact on families and on geographical mobility. Country policies around ethnic diversity (French and Swiss assimilationist policy or British multiculturalist policy) did result in more plural expressions of identity in the UK context although this did not impact on belonging, aspirations for return or engagement in community or transnational activities.

We found important similarities across groups and contexts regarding education and employment. Significant was the upward mobility of the majority of our interviewees when compared to their parents and their success relative to others with regard to educational achievements and employment outcomes. These positive trajectories overcame the school system's lack of awareness and engagement with their backgrounds and possible additional needs, the disadvantage and poverty of some of their parents, the low levels of social and economic capital among some of the parent cohort, the insecurity associated with the asylum system and experiences of racism, discrimination in certain institutional and neighbourhood contexts.

We also found that the second generation vary in their identity and evoke complex forms of belongings. Hyphenated identities as well integration policy can challenge the ideas of the state. Indeed, the three groups had transnational relations (visits to the parents' country of origin; different forms of communication with their family), but there was almost no desire to go to live in the heritage country. The transnational ties and practices of second generation differ from the migrant generation with the former largely exempt from the responsibilities of remittances. There were also differences between the three groups in relation to the reasons for migration and the extent of close family links in the country of origin. Whilst some had mixed and sometimes ambivalent feelings about their parent's country of origin others identified more closely with the heritage country and engaged in political activities.

We conclude by emphasizing that refugee backgrounds were significant in shaping lives, in both passive and active ways. Parents were ambitious for their children educationally and professionally seeking to create stability, security and in some cases to make up for the ruptures they had experienced as a consequence of civil war, ethnic conflict, persecution and exile. Coming from a refugee background could also influence work choices, world views, tolerance and an appreciation of the opportunities and material well-being experienced compared to that of their parents and of the people in their heritage country. Moreover, political consciousness and engagement was another area where refugee backgrounds shaped lives, more strongly among those whose families were from discriminated against minorities in Turkey and Sri Lanka. For Kurds language was an important expression of the politics of identity and of the freedoms of expression that exile had brought. Among others language was a significant facet of remembering and staying connected with pasts, including the refugee past. Refugee backgrounds shaped lives in different ways and central to these differences were the reasons for exile and the on-going situation in the country of heritage.

Appendix

Table 1: Networking and gatekeepers – Tamil interviewees

London	Geneva area	Paris
Tamil Society, Manchester University, in person and via Facebook	Personal contact of researcher	Centre d'Action Sociale Protestant (CASP), in person
Tamil Society event, Queen Mary, U. of London	Hindu Temple of Geneva and Lausanne	Maison du Tamil Eelam France in person et Facebook
Local councillor and community activist, East London	FC Blue Star Facebook	Organisation des Jeunes Tamouls de France, in person and via Facebook
Personal contact, once removed	Personal contact of advisory group member	Association Franco-Tamoul de Paris 14ème et 15ème, in person
Tamil UK Facebook	Snowballing through interviewees	INALCO Institut National de Langues et Civilisations Orientales (through Tamil professors), in person
Tamil Society, Brunel University	Tamil youth organisation	ORT (Organisation de Réhabilitation Tamoule) France, via Facebook
Snowballed through interviewees		Snowballed through interviewees
Through academic colleague		Through academic colleague

Table 2: Networking and gatekeepers – Vietnamese interviewees

London	Geneva area	Paris
Freelance Vietnamese oral-history researcher, contact through Evelyn Oldfield Foundation	Association des Vietnamiens Libres de Lausanne	Association Générale des Etudiants Vietnamiens de Paris (AGEVP), in person and via Facebook
Personal contact of researcher	Fédération pour l'Intégration des Migrants et des Migrantes (FIMM)	Cadres et dirigeants Vietnamiens en France (CDVF), in person
Snowballing through interviewees	COSUNAM (Comité Suisse-Vietnam)	Union des Etudiants Vietnamiens en France (UEVF), in person
Personal contact of researcher, once removed	Cercle Culturel Lang Viet	Union des Jeunes Vietnamiens de France (UJVF), in person and via Facebook
Cold-calling in shops and restaurants	Association Huong Viet	INALCO Institut National de Langues et Cultures Orientales (students), in person

	Association Bac Ai Suisse	Snowballing through interviewees
	Snowballing through parents of interviewees	

Table 3: Networking and gatekeepers – Turkish and Kurdish interviewees

London	Geneva area	Paris
Local Kurdish business man, community activist and former Chair of NGO	Personal contact of advisory group members	L'Assemblée Citoyenne des Originaires de Turquie (ACORT), in person and via Facebook
Through former local councillor and community activist (via Facebook)	Réseau appartenance (through translator network)	Association ELLER, in person
Through community activist and academic (former colleague)	Associations des étudiants kurdes de l'Université de Genève	Association culturelle des travailleurs immigrés de Turquie (ACTIT), in person
Personal contact of researcher	Centre Kurde pour les Droits de l'Homme	INALCO, through professors
Community organisation	Association pour le fonds Kurde Ismet Chérif Vanly	Institut Kurde de Paris, in person
Snowballing through interviewees	Rezan Zehre, Kurdish lawyer, Caritas Fribourg	Personal contact of researcher
	Association Suisse-Kurdistan, Yverdon-les-Bains	Community organisation
	Snowballing through Interviewees	Snowballing through interviewees

Table 4: Interviewees' main characteristics (base number: 135)

	London		Paris		Geneva area		Total	
<i>Parents' country of origin</i>								
Vietnam	15		15		15		45	
Sri Lanka	16		15		15		46	
Turkey (Including Kurds)	14		15		15		44	
<i>Parents' level of education</i>	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	M	F
No education	8	6	10	12	3	-	21	18
Primary	9	6	3	6	10	4	19	19
Secondary	12	17	19	12	24	25	53	47
Tertiary	8	10	13	15	6	13	28	45
Missing	8	6	-	-	2	3	10	9
<i>Parents' current or most recent job in Europe</i>	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	M	F
Unemployed	20	4	8	6	17	8	45	18
Unskilled	9	11	22	20	16	12	53	43
Skilled	15	26	15	19	9	23	39	68
Missing	1	4	-	-	3	2	4	6
<i>Gender</i>								
Male		21		23		15		59
Female		24		22		30		76
<i>Age</i>								
18–20		10		12		5		27
21–25		15		22		18		55
26 +		20		11		22		53
<i>Education</i>								
Only compulsory		1		-		-		1
Vocational		2		6		12		20
High school – ongoing		5		4		3		12
Tertiary – including ongoing		37		35		30		102
<i>Main activity</i>								
Student		20		25		20		65
Employed		23		20		24		67
Unemployed		2		-		1		3

References

- Abu-Lughod, L. (1991) 'Writing Against Culture' in Fox R. G (ed) *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, p. 137-62.
- Achermann, Christin and Milena Chimienti with the collaboration of Fabienne Stants (2006) *Migration, Prekarität und Gesundheit: Ressourcen und Risiken von vorläufig Aufgenommenen und Sans-Papiers in Genf und Zürich* SFM-Studien 41. Neuchâtel: SFM.
- Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008) 'Understanding integration: a conceptual framework', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2): 166–191.
- Agier, M. (2002) *Aux Abords du Monde, Les Réfugiés*. Paris: Payot and Rivages.
- Akoka, K. (2011) 'L'archétype rêvé du réfugié', *Plein Droit*, 90(3): 13–16.
- Al-Ali, N. and Koser, K., eds (2002) *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home*. London: Routledge.
- Al-Ali, N., Black, R. and Koser, K. (2001) 'Refugees and transnationalism: the experience of Bosnians and Eritreans in Europe', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 7(4): 615–634.
- Alba, R.D. and Waters, M.C. (2011) *The Next Generation: Immigrant Youth in a Comparative Perspective*. New York: New York University Press.
- Albertini, A., Knauth, B., Kraszewska, K., & Thorogood, D. (2011) *Migrants in Europe. A statistical portrait of the first and second generation*. Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Alitolppa-Niitamo, A. (2004) 'Somali youth in the context of schooling in metropolitan Helsinki: a framework for assessing variability in educational performance', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(1): 81–106.
- Amelina, A. and Faist, T. (2008) 'Turkish migrant associations in Germany: between host integration pressure and transnational linkages', *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 24(2): 91–120.
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Audebert, C. and Dorai, M.K. (2010) *Migration in a Globalised World: New Research Issues and Prospects*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press; Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bakker, L., Engbersen, G. and Dagevos, J. (2014) 'In exile and in touch: transnational activities of refugees in a comparative perspective', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2(3): 261–282.
- Bilgili, Ö., Huddleston, T. and Joki, A.-L. (2015) *The Dynamics between Integration Policies and Outcomes: A Synthesis of the Literature*. Barcelona: EU, CIDOB and MPG.
- Bloch, A. (2008) 'Refugees in the UK labour market: the conflict between economic integration and policy-led labour market restriction', *Journal of Social Policy*, 37(1): 21–36.
- Bloch, A., Neal, S. and Solomos, J. (2013) *Race, Multiculture and Social Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bloch, A., Chimienti, M., Counilh, A.-L., Hirsch, S., Tattolo, G, Ossipow, L, Wihtol de Wenden, C. (eds), 2015, *The children of refugees in Europe: aspirations, social and economic lives, identity and transnational linkages. Country reports*. Geneva: SNIS.
- Boccagni, P. (2012). Revisiting the 'Transnational' in Migration Studies: A Sociological Understanding. *Revue européenne Des Migrations Internationales*, 28(1), 33–50.
- Bolzmann, C. (2001) 'Politiques d'asile et trajectoires sociales des réfugiés: une exclusion programmée. Les cas de la Suisse', *Sociologie et Sociétés*, 33(2): 133–158.

- Bolzman, C. Fibbi, R., Vial, M. (2003) *Secondas-Secondos. Le processus d'intégration des jeunes adultes issus de la migration espagnole et italienne en Suisse*. Zurich: Seismo.
- Brinbaum, Y., Mogueurou, L. and Primon, J.-L. (2012) 'Les enfants d'immigrés ont des parcours scolaires différenciés selon leur origine migratoire', *Insee Références Immigrés et Descendants D'immigrés En France*, 43–49, http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/docs_ffc/ref/IMMFRA12_d_D2_scol.pdf (accessed 17 November 2015).
- Burnett, A. and Peel, M. (2001) 'Health needs of asylum seekers and refugees', *British Medical Journal*, 322(7285): 544–547.
- Çelik, Ç. (2015) "'Having a German passport will not make me German": reactive ethnicity and oppositional identity among disadvantaged male Turkish second-generation youth in Germany', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(9): 1646–1662.
- Centlivres, P., Centlivres, M., Madjard, N., Ossipow, L. (1991) *Une seconde nature. Pluralisme, naturalisation et identité en Suisse romande et au Tessin*. Lausanne : L'Age d'Homme.
- Child, I.L. (1943) *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Chimni, B.S. (2004) 'From resettlement to involuntary repatriation: towards a critical history of durable solutions to refugee problems', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 23(3): 55–73.
- Chiswick, B. (1977) 'Sons of immigrants: are they at an earnings disadvantage?', *American Economic Review*, 67(1): 376–380.
- Clochard, O. (2007) 'Les réfugiés dans le monde entre protection et illégalité', *EchoGéo*, 2: <https://echogeo.revues.org/1696> (accessed 17 November 2015).
- Clochard, O., Legoux, L. and Schor, R. (2004) 'L'asile politique en Europe depuis l'entre-deux-guerres', *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales*, 20(2): 2–3.
- Conchas, G.Q. and Pérez, C.C. (2003) 'Surfing the "model minority" wave of success: how the school context shapes distinct experiences among Vietnamese youth', *New Directions for Youth Development*, 100(1): 41–56.
- Cortes, K. (2004) 'Are refugees different from economic immigrants? Some empirical evidence on the heterogeneity of immigrant groups in the United States', *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 86(2): 465–480.
- Crettaz, E., & Jacot, C. (2014). Do Family Policies Matter for Educational Outcomes?: Patterns of educational mobility and family services in Europe. *European Societies*, 16(5), 645–665.
- Crul, M. and Holdaway, J. (2009) 'Children of immigrants in schools in New York and Amsterdam: the factors shaping attainment', *Teachers College Record*, 111(6): 1476–1507.
- Crul, M. and Mollenkopf, J.H., eds (2012) *The Changing Face of World Cities: The Second Generation in Western Europe and the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Crul, M. and Schneider, J. (2009) *The Second Generation in Europe. Education and the Transition to the Labour Market*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute – TIES Policy Brief for Stakeholders.
- Crul, M. and Vermeulen, H. (2003) 'The second generation in Europe', *International Migration Review*, 37(4): 965–986.
- Crul, M., Schneider, J. and Lelie, F. (2012a) 'European comparative study provides evidence that national context does matter in integration outcomes', *IMISCOE Publications and Policy*, September, online at: http://www.tiesproject.eu/component/option,com_docman/task,doc_download/gid,529/Itemid,142/index.html.pdf (accessed 18 November 2015).

- Crul, M., Schneider, J. and Lelie, F. (2012b) *The European Second Generation Compared: Does the Integration Context Matter?* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- D'Halluin, E. (2009) 'La santé mentale des demandeurs d'asile', *Hommes et Migrations*, 1282: 66–75.
- Dahinden, J. (2012) 'Transnational belonging, non-ethnic forms of identification and diverse mobilities: rethinking migrant integration?', in Messer, M., Schroeder, R. and Wodak, R. (eds) *Migration: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Vienna: Springer, pp. 117–128.
- Davies, M. and Webb, E. (2000) 'Promoting the psychological well-being of refugee children', *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 5(4): 541–554.
- Dekker, B. and Siegel, M. (2013) *Transnationalism and Integration: Complements or Substitutes?* Maastricht: University of Maastricht Graduate School of Governance, UNU-MERIT Working Paper.
- Diehl, C. and Schnell, R. (2006) "'Reactive ethnicity" or "assimilation"? Statements, arguments, and first empirical evidence for labor migrants in Germany', *International Migration Review*, 40(4): 786–816.
- Dustmann, C., Frattini, T. and Lanzara, G. (2012) 'Educational achievement of second generation immigrants: an international comparison', *Economic Policy*, 27(69): 78–119.
- Efionayi-Mäder, D., Chimienti, M., Dahinden, J. and Piguet, E. (2001) *Asyldestination Europa. Eine Geographie der Asylbewegungen*. Zurich: Seismo.
- Efionayi-Mäder, D. and Ruedin, D. (2014). *Aufenthaltsverläufe vorläufig Aufgenommener in der Schweiz - Datenanalyse im Auftrag der Eidgenössischen Kommission für Migrationsfragen*. Neuchâtel: SFM.
- Faist, T., Fauser, M., & Reisenauer, E. (2013). *Transnational migration*.
- Feliciano, C. (2005). Does Selective Migration Matter? Explaining Ethnic Disparities in Educational Attainment among Immigrants' Children. *International Migration Review*, 39(4), 841–871.
- Fernández-Kelly, M.P. (2008) 'The back pocket map: social class and cultural capital as transferable assets in the advancement of second-generation immigrants', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620: 116–137.
- Fernández-Kelly, M.P. and Schauffler, R. (1994) 'Divided fates: immigrant children in a restructured US economy', *International Migration Review*, 28(4): 662–689.
- Fibbi, R., Lerch, M. and Wanner, P. (2006) 'Unemployment and discrimination against youth of immigrant origin in Switzerland: when the name makes the difference', *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 7(3): 351–366.
- Fibbi, R., Lerch, M. and Wanner, P. (2007) 'Naturalisation and socio-economic characteristics of youth of immigrant descent in Switzerland', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7): 1121–1144.
- Fleischmann, F., Phalet, K., Neels, K. and Deboosere, P. (2011) 'Contextualizing ethnic educational inequality: the role of stability and quality of neighborhoods and ethnic density in second-generation attainment', *International Migration Review*, 45(2): 386–425.
- Gans, H.J. (1992) 'Second-generation decline: scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15(2): 173–192.
- Gans, H.J. (2009) 'First generation decline: downward mobility among refugees and immigrants', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(9): 1658–1670.
- Gardner, K. and Mand, K. (2012) "'My away is here": place, emplacement and mobility amongst British Bengali children', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(6): 969–986.
- Gilmartin, M. (2008) 'Migration, identity and belonging', *Geography Compass*, 2(6): 1837–

- 1852.
- Glick, J.E. and Hohmann-Marriott, B. (2007) 'Academic performance of young children in immigrant families: the significance of race, ethnicity, and national origins', *International Migration Review*, 41(2): 371–402.
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1992) 'Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration', *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, (645): 1–24.
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1995) 'From immigrant to transmigrant: theorizing transnational migration', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1): 48–63.
- Glick Schiller, N., Fouron, G. E. (2001) *Woke Up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home*. Duke: Duke University Press
- Goodwin-White, J. (2009) 'Emerging contexts of second-generation labour markets in the United States', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(7): 1105–1128.
- Gordon, M. (1964) *Assimilation in American Life. The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Greenman, E. (2011) 'Assimilation choices among immigrant families: does school context matter? School context and assimilation', *International Migration Review*, 45(1): 29–67.
- Greenman, E. and Xie, Y. (2008) 'Is assimilation theory dead? The effect of assimilation on adolescent well-being', *Social Science Research*, 37(1): 109–137.
- Haikkola, L. (2011) 'Making connections: second-generation children and the transnational field of relations', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(8): 1201–1217.
- Hammond, L. (2013) 'Somali transnationalism, activism and integration in the UK: mutually supporting strategies', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6) : 1001–1017.
- Heath, A.F. and Cheung, S.Y. (2007) *Unequal Chances: Ethnic Minorities in Western Labour Markets*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heptinstall, E., Sethna, V. and Taylor, E. (2004) 'PTSD and depression in refugee children', *European Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 13(6): 373–380.
- Herzog-Punzenberger, B. (2003) 'Ethnic segmentation in school and labor market – 40 year legacy of Austrian guestworker policy', *International Migration Review*, 37(4): 1120–1144.
- Horst, C. (2008) 'The transnational political engagements of refugees: remittances sending practices among Somalis in Norway', *Conflict, Security and Development*, 8(3): 317–339.
- Jargowsky, P.A. (2009) 'Immigrants and neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty: assimilation or stagnation?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(7): 1129–1151.
- Jodeyr, S. (2003) 'Where do I belong? The experience of second generation Iranian immigrants and refugees', *Psychodynamic Practice: Individuals, Groups and Organisations*, 9(2): 205–214.
- Juhász, A. and Mey, E. (2003) "'Desintegration" oder "gelungene Integration" der Zweiten Generation?', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift Für Soziologie*, 29(1): 115–139.
- Kasinitz, P. (2008) 'Becoming American, becoming minority, getting ahead: the role of racial and ethnic status in the upward mobility of the children of immigrants', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620: 253–269.
- Kasinitz, P., Mollenkopf, J. and Waters, M.C. (2002) 'Becoming American/becoming New Yorkers: immigrant incorporation in a majority minority city', *International Migration Review*, 36(4): 1020–1036.
- Kasinitz, P., Mollenkopf, J.H. and Waters, M.C. (2004) *Becoming New Yorkers*.

- Ethnographies of the New Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kasinitz, P., Mollenkopf, J.H., Waters, M.C. and Holdaway, J. (2009) *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kim, D.Y. (2006) 'Stepping-stone to intergenerational mobility? The springboard, safety net, or mobility trap functions of Korean immigrant entrepreneurship for the second generation', *International Migration Review*, 40(4): 927–962.
- King, R., Christou, A. and Ahrens, J. (2011) "'Diverse mobilities": second-generation Greek-Germans engage with the homeland as children and as adults', *Mobilities*, 6(4): 483–501.
- Kofman, E. (2005) 'Figures of the cosmopolitan: privileged nationals and national outsiders', *Innovation*, 18(1): 83–97.
- Koser, K. (2005) *Irregular Migration, State Security and Human Security*. Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration.
- Kroneberg, C. (2008) 'Ethnic communities and school performance among the new second generation in the United States: testing the theory of segmented assimilation', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620(1): 138–160.
- Kunz, E.F. (1981) 'Exile and resettlement: refugee theory', *International Migration Review*, 15(1/2): 42–51.
- Kushner, T. and Knox, K. (1999) *Refugees in the Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives during the 20th Century*. London: Frank Cass.
- Lavenex, S. (2001) *The Europeanisation of Refugee Policies: Between Human Rights and Internal Security*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Levitt, P. (2009) 'Roots and routes: understanding the lives of the second generation transnationally', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(7): 1225–1242.
- Levitt, P., & Waters, M. C. (Eds.). (2002). *The changing face of home : the transnational lives of the second generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Retrieved from http://opac.rero.ch/get_bib_record.cgi?db=ne&rero_id=R004601622
- Lindley, A. (2010) *The Early Morning Phonecall: Somali Refugees' Remittances*. United States : Berghahn Books.
- Louie, V. (2006) 'Second-generation pessimism and optimism: how Chinese and Dominicans understand education and mobility through ethnic and transnational orientations', *International Migration Review*, 40(3): 537–572.
- Lustig S.L., Kia-Keating, M., Grant Knight, W., Geltman, P., Ellis, H., Kinzie, J.D., Keane, T. and Saxe, G.N. (2004) 'Review of child and adolescent refugee mental health', *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 43(1): 24–36.
- Mahnig, H. and Cattacin, S. (2005) *Histoire de la Politique de Migration, d'Asile et d'Intégration en Suisse Depuis 1948*. Zurich: Seismo.
- McBrien, J.L. (2005) 'Educational needs and barriers for refugee students in the United States: a review of the literature', *Review of Educational Research*, 75(3): 329–364.
- McGinnis, T., Goodstein-Stolzenberg, A. and Costa Salianni, E. (2007) "'indnpride": online spaces of transnational youth as sites of creative and sophisticated literacy and identity work', *Linguistics and Education*, 18(3–4): 283–304.
- Mckay, D. (2007) "'Sending dollars shows feeling": emotions and economies in Filipino migration', *Mobilities*, 2(2): 175–194.
- Medvedeva, M. (2012) 'Negotiating languages in immigrant families', *International Migration Review*, 46(2): 517–545.
- Menjívar, C. (2008) 'Educational hopes, documented dreams: Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants' legality and educational prospects', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620(1): 177–193.
- Meurs, D. and Pailhé, A. (2010) 'Position sur le marché du travail des descendants directs

- d'immigrés en France: les femmes doublement désavantagées?', *Economie et Statistique*, 431(1): 129–151.
- Meurs, D., Pailhé, A. and Simon, P. (2005) 'Immigrés et enfants d'immigrés sur le marché du travail', in *Lefèvre Cécile, Filhon Alexandra (dir.), Histoires de familles, histoires familiales : les résultats de l'enquête Famille de 1999* (Vol. 156, pp. 461–482). Paris: INED.
- Meurs, D., Pailhé, A. and Simon, P. (2006) 'The persistence of intergenerational inequalities linked to immigration: labour market outcomes for immigrants and their descendants in France', *Populations*, 61(5–6): 654–682.
- Migreurop (2012) *Atlas des Migrants en Europe. Géographie Critique des Politiques Migratoires*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Mollenkopf, J. and Champeny, A. (2009) 'The neighbourhood context for second-generation education and labour market outcomes in New York', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(7): 1181–1199.
- Moser, C., Nyfeler, D. and Verwey, M., eds (2001) *Traumatisierungen von Flüchtlingen und Asylsuchenden. Einfluss des Politischen, Sozialen und Medizinischen Kontextes*. Zurich: Seismo.
- Nicholas, T., Stepick, A. and Stepick, C.D. (2008) "'Here's your diploma, Mom!': family obligation and multiple pathways to success", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620(1): 237–252.
- Ossipow, L. (2011) 'De la culture à la citoyenneté: réflexion sur trois recherches ethnologiques menées en en contexte helvétique', in Lavanchy A., Dervin F., Gajardo A. (ed), *Pour une interculturalité renouvelée ?* Paris : l'Harmattan, p. 90-118.
- Park, R.E. and Burgess, E.W. (1970 [1921]) *Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Including an Index to Basic Sociological Concepts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Perez, L. (1994) 'The household structure of second-generation children: an exploratory study of extended family arrangements', *International Migration Review*, 28(4): 736–747.
- Phalet, K. and Schönplugg, U. (2001) 'Intergenerational transmission in Turkish immigrant families: parental collectivism, achievement values and gender differences', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32(4): 489–504.
- Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. (2008) *New Migrants in the UK: Education, Training and Employment*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.
- Phoenix, A. (2009) 'De-colonising practices: negotiating narratives from racialised and gendered experiences of education', *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 12(1): 101–114.
- Piguet, E. and Ravel, J.-H. (2002) *Les Demandeurs d'Asile sur le Marché du Travail Suisse 1996–2000*. Neuchâtel: Swiss Forum for Migration Studies, Research Report No. 19.
- Portes, A. (1992) *Globalization from Below: The Rise of Transnational Communities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Portes, A. and Fernández-Kelly, P. (2008) 'No margin for error: educational and occupational achievement among disadvantaged children of immigrants', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620(1): 12–36.
- Portes, A., Fernández-Kelly, P. and Haller, W. (2005) 'Segmented assimilation on the ground: the new second generation in early adulthood', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(6): 1000–1040.
- Portes, A., Guarnizao, L., and Landolt, P. (1999) The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 217–237.
- Portes, A. and Hao, L. (2004) 'The schooling of children of immigrants: contextual effects on the educational attainment of the second generation', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 101(33): 11920–11927.

- Portes, A. and MacLeod, D. (1999) 'Educating the second generation: determinants of academic achievement among children of immigrants in the United States', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25(3): 373–396.
- Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R. (1996) *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R. (2001) *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, A. and Zhou, M. (1993) 'The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530(1): 74–96.
- Robinson, V. (2003) 'Marching into the middle classes? The long-term resettlement of East African Asians in the UK', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 6(3): 230–247.
- Rothe, E.M., Pumariega, A.J. and Sabagh, D. (2011) 'Identity and acculturation in immigrant and second generation adolescents', *Adolescent Psychiatry*, 1(1): 72–81.
- Rumbaut, R.G. (1994) 'The crucible within: ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants', *International Migration Review*, 28(4): 748–794.
- Rumbaut, R.G. (1997) *Ties That Bind: Immigration and Immigrant Families*. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, SSRN Scholarly Paper No. ID 1888727.
- Rumbaut, R. G. (2004). Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1160–1205.
- Rumbaut, R.G. (2005) 'Turning points in the transition to adulthood: determinants of educational attainment, incarceration, and early childbearing among children of immigrants', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(6): 1041–1086.
- Rumbaut, R.G. (2008a) 'Reaping what you sew: immigration, youth and reactive ethnicity', *Applied Developmental Science*, 22(2): 1–6.
- Rumbaut, R.G. (2008b) 'The Coming of the Second Generation: Immigration and Ethnic Mobility in Southern California', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620 (1): 196–236.
- Schnell, P., Fibbi, R., Crul, M. and Montero-Sieburth, M. (2015) 'Family involvement and educational success of the children of immigrants in Europe: comparative perspectives', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 3(14), <http://www.comparativemigrationstudies.com/content/pdf/s40878-015-0009-4.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2015).
- Schuster, L. (2011) 'Turning refugees into 'illegal migrants': Afghan asylum seekers in Europe', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(8), 1392–1407.
- Silberman, R., Alba, R. and Fournier, I. (2007) 'Segmented assimilation in France? Discrimination in the labour market against the second generation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(1): 1–27.
- Simon, G. (2008) *La Planète Migratoire dans la Mondialisation*. Paris: Armand Colin. Française.
- Simon, G. (2015) *Dictionnaire des Migrations Internationales. Approche Géohistorique*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Simon, P. (2003) 'France and the unknown second generation: preliminary results on social mobility', *International Migration Review*, 37(4): 1091–1119.
- Sirriyeh, A. (2010) 'Home journeys: im/mobilities in young refugee and asylum-seeking women's negotiations of home', *Childhood*, 17(2): 213–227.
- Smith, W.C. (1928) 'Changing traits of second generation Orientals in America', *American Journal of Sociology*, 33(6): 922–929.

- Solomos, J. (2003) *Race and Racism in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (3rd edition).
- Spencer, M. (2008) *States of Injustice: A Guide to Human Rights and Civil Liberties in the European Union*. London: Pluto Press.
- Spadarotto, Claudio *et al.* (2014) *Erwerbsbeteiligung von anerkannten Flüchtlingen und vorläufig Aufgenommenen auf dem Schweizer Arbeitsmarkt*. Zürich Basel: KeK CdC und B.S.S.
- Spicer, N. (2008) 'Places of exclusion and inclusion: asylum-seeker and refugee experiences of neighbourhoods in the UK', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(3): 491–510.
- Staeheli, L. and Nagel, C. (2006) 'Topographies of home and citizenship: Arab-American activists in the United States', *Environment and Planning A*, 38(9): 1599–1614.
- Storen, L.A. and Helland, H. (2010) 'Ethnicity differences in the completion rates of upper secondary education: how do the effects of gender and social background variables interplay?', *European Sociological Review*, 26(5): 585–601.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Bang, H.J. and Kim, H.Y. (2011) "'I felt like my heart was staying behind": psychological implications of family separations and reunifications for immigrant youth', *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 26(2): 222–257.
- Thomas, W.I. and Znaniecki, F. (1918) *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group*. Boston: Badger.
- Thoreau, C. and Liebig, T. (2012) *Setting In: OECD Indicators of Immigrant Integration*. Paris: OECD.
- Tucci, I., Jossin, A., Keller, C. and Groh-Samberg, O. (2013) 'L'entrée sur le marché du travail des descendants d'immigrés: une analyse comparée France–Allemagne', *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 54(3): 567–596.
- UNHCR (2015) *Global Trends. Forced Displacement in 2014*. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- Valentine, G., Sporton, D. and Nielsen, K.B. (2009) 'Identities and belonging: a study of Somali refugee and asylum seekers living in the UK and Denmark', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27(2): 234–250.
- Vertovec, S. (2007) 'Super-diversity and its implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6): 1024–1054.
- Virdee, S. (2009) 'The continuing significance of "race": racism, antiracist politics and labour markets', in Bloch, A. and Solomos, J. (eds) *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 62–92.
- Waldinger, R. and Feliciano, C. (2004) 'Will the new second generation experience "downward assimilation"? Segmented assimilation re-assessed', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(3): 376–402.
- Wanner, P. (2004) *Migration et Intégration: Populations Etrangères en Suisse*. Neuchâtel: Office Fédéral de la Statistique.
- Wanner, P. (2006) *Intégration des Personnes Arrivées en Suisse dans le Cadre de l'Asile. Un Déficit Avéré sur le Marché du Travail*. Geneva: Laboratoire de Démographie et d'Etudes Familiales de l'Université de Genève.
- Warren, S. (2005) 'Resilience and refusal: African-Caribbean young men's agency, school exclusions, and school-based mentoring programmes', *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 8(3): 243–259.
- Weil, P. (1995 [1991]) *La France et ses Etrangers: L'Aventure d'une Politique de L'Immigration de 1938 à Nos Jours*. Paris: Gallimard-Folio.
- Wessendorf, S. (2007) "'Roots migrants": transnationalism and "return" among second-generation Italians in Switzerland', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7):

1083–1102.

- Wihtol de Wenden, C. (2010) *La Question Migratoire au XXIème Siècle. Migrants, Réfugiés et Relations Internationales*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Wilding, R. (2012) 'Mediating culture in transnational spaces: an example of young people from refugee backgrounds', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 26(3): 501–511.
- Worbs, S. (2003) 'The second generation in Germany: Between school and labor market', *International Migration Review*, 37(4): 1011–1038.
- Yoshikawa, H. (2011) *Immigrants Raising Citizens: Undocumented Parents and their Young Children*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zeitlyn, B. (2012) 'Maintaining transnational social fields: the role of visits to Bangladesh for British Bangladeshi children', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(6): 953–968.
- Zetter, R. (2007) 'More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalisation', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(2): 72-192.
- Zhou, M. (1997) 'Segmented assimilation: issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation', *International Migration Review*, 31(4): 975–1008.
- Zhou, M. (2009) 'How neighbourhoods matter for immigrant children: the formation of educational resources in Chinatown, Koreatown and Pico Union, Los Angeles', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(7): 1153–1179.
- Zhou, M. and Bankston, C. (1998) *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States*. New York : Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zhou, M. and Lee, J. (2007) 'Becoming Ethnic or Becoming American? Reflecting on the Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility and Assimilation among the New Second Generation', *Du Bois Review*, 4 (1): 189-205.
- Zhou, Min, Lee, J., Vallejo, J. A., Tafoya-Estrada, R. and Xiong, Y. S. (2008) 'Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility among the New Second Generation in Los Angeles.', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620 (1): 37-61.
- Zhou, M. and Xiong, Y.S. (2005) 'The multifaceted American experiences of the children of Asian immigrants: lessons for segmented assimilation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(6): 1119–1152.