Charity and Justice in the Relations among Peoples and Nations
Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, Acta 13, Vatican City 2007
www.pass.va/content/dam/scienzesociali/pdf/acta13/acta13-ambrosini.pdf

BONDS ACROSS BORDERS: MIGRANT FAMILIES IN A GLOBAL WORLD

MAURIZIO AMBROSINI

It's hard denying the fact that nowadays international migrations represent one of the main factors of social change in both sending and receiving countries.

It stands to reason that by now it doesn't make sense being in favour of or against immigration, we need instead to decide the way we want to incorporate it in our society: as 'reluctant importers' (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield, 1992), namely following an attitude in which undeniable needs and unconfessable conveniences of receiving societies coexist with distrust, closure, implicit and declared resentment; or following ways more suited to receiving countries' realities (not just in respect of economic systems needs, but also taking in account family and sanitary system needs, and so on) and more future oriented, both in the programming of entry flows, and in the promotion of social integration.

In this picture, immigrant families have not been a deeply investigated issue by European sociologists, at least until the latest years,[1] while in the American tradition they received higher attention, even if remaining an underdeveloped branch, in the migration studies scenario.

Four factors seem to explain this relative lack of interest (Kofman, 2004): a) the influence of economic theory, that tends to put aside family units and the activities that occur within them because they are not easily measurable in economic terms; b) the tendency to consider migratory movements as relations between the single migrant and the State; c) the dichotomy between economic and social aspects, in a framework that puts

[1] But an exception, in the Italian debate, was represented by Scabini and Donati (1993). That insight has not been followed by a sufficient investment in the research on migrants' families.

the economic reasons first, seeing them as the ones that make people move, while the family would represent the 'social side' that comes just after, both in time and in terms of theoretical relevance; d) the handling of family migration in terms of social policy as a secondary kind of immigration, that comes after the first wave of labour migration.

It's worth noticing also the influence of ideological biases, such as the ones that tend to find in migrant families just patriarchal and oppressive traits, the ones that foresee the loss of social relevance of this institution; or, on the theoretical ground, the ones that favour the individual actor as the focus of the sociological research, against those that give prominence to the great structural social processes. In many cases, political, social and mediatic forces have driven the scientific production itself to the more troublesome and emergential aspects of migration: many more studies are financed about the women involved in the prostitution business than about mothers.

Talking about family and migration means instead asking ourselves questions about the living hopes and sufferings, about separations and reunions, about the way families tenaciously build their future day by day. On the theoretical side, it means putting at the centre an intermediate actor, the family, between the individual and the great structural processes that make migrations happen, rendering visible women and men's migratory networks and kin relationships (cf. Ambrosini, 2005).

The relationship between families and migration has a long history that I will try to depict briefly.

1) First, the choice to leave is generally mediated by the family, as the new economics of migration has shown (Lauby and Stark, 1988): it means that migration is an investment made by the family on one of its members, so that it can produce benefits for the others, in terms of remittances (that can be used as emergency stock or invested in the country of origin) and as support networks available for further migrations, etc. This entails quite ambivalent and differently evaluated aspects, such as the fact that women are, generally, the ones that are (educated to be) more responsible for family needs and welfare: so, the decision to leave for them is often a sign of persistent moral obligations and love ties. In these authors' view, women's migrations are generally more dependent on family reasons than men's migrations. Then, they are correlated to variables such as the number of siblings, the whole dimension of the family unit, the father's occupational status, and so on.

In the relationship between female migrants and families we can detect sometimes patriarchal schemes, so that the resources gained by the self-

sacrifice of the woman are used not just for the welfare of the children, but for the necessity of other family members, such as parents, husband, siblings. But the other side of this sacrifice is the fact the resources gained by the women drive a change in the family members, reciprocal positions and power balances, in terms of gender and generation. Becoming the pivots of family upper mobility and status defence, women can occupy more relevant positions, in terms of influence and negotiation capacity. Therefore, much more than stated by the *new economics of migrations*, in migrant families we can't just find cooperation and solidarity for the family unit's sake, but negotiations, conflict and struggle as well (Foner, 1997).

2) Secondly, we should grasp the dynamic dimension of family migration. Very few families arrive as a whole in receiving societies, and when it happens it's generally the case of the extreme poles of the migration flows' stratification: highly skilled migrants (such as managers, the professional elite of researchers, politicians, technicians, entrepreneurs) who, when they go abroad for a short period or forever, bring with them their whole nuclear family; or, in the opposite case, refugees who escape from war or disasters with their families. For all the others, the family has to face a period of separation, when the one that has the greater possibility to find a job abroad decides to leave; then comes the time of long-distance intimacy; later, the time of the reunification, either in the country of origin, or, more frequently nowadays, through the relatives' migration to the receiving country, when the first to leave has been able to gain an acceptable level of integration, in terms of income and housing. This, is the so-called 'three migrants' families' dynamic (described by Esparragoza, 2003).

The rejoined family, actually, is quite different from the one left at home years before, or the one nostalgically longed for and met during the holidays, and not just because the children have grown. Meanwhile, the migrant himself or herself has changed, as well as his or her spouse, the power relationships around and within the couple. Living together again can take the shape of a difficult path, in an environment that's new and deeply different from the one where the couple met and started its relationship, a reality in which just one spouse knows the country, the language, the institutions and their daily practices, together with the fact that part of the family support network could still have been left abroad; the social integration of children can become a further source of stress, for the recently reunited couple.

Some other factors can further complicate this framework: when the reunification process is 'role reversed', namely, when it happens with the woman coming first (cf. Lagomarsino, 2006), the husband can face serious

frustrations, risk losing his role, together with authority and power, since he can find it quite hard to insert himself in a labour market shaped by care and domestic work needs, and hegemonized by female networks.

Sometimes, family reunions are incomplete (especially in the case of widows or separated women that decide to be followed just by their children), and the reunion can take place in a family context that, meanwhile, could have welcomed or generated new members. Emigration can also represent a way for women to escape from difficult family realities: for instance, in the Philippines it is often called 'Filipino divorce'. Marriage breaks after the reunification are not uncommon, and further unions can complicate a picture in which the family is more and more – for immigrants as well – a diversified, frail and changing unity.

It's worth noting the phenomenon (quite relevant as an entry door even in the older immigration countries) of marriage migration too, not forgetting sham and forced marriages as a way of getting around immigration policies.

We should mention as well another rising (and under-researched) theme: mixed unions, as a sign of successful integration, but also as an ambivalent social process, that can take the shape of wives 'bought' from abroad (mail order brides). Some years ago in Germany around 3.000 agencies 'specialized' in importing Thailand and Eastern European brides were counted (Kofman, 1999).

3) Third, the vicissitudes of migrant families show the *gendered* and *gendering* nature of migration processes. On the one hand, they're influenced by gender relationships, on the other, they contribute to the changing of the same relationships (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). At a distance, patriarchal schemes can be altered and, in many situations, women become more autonomous and competent in the managing of money: fathers' and husbands' authority lessens, while the wives' grows. The very housework organization tends to be revised, because during separation men are sometimes forced to learn domestic chores, and women become more able to take decisions and to manage economic affairs. Among women, gendered-networks can be formed, to counterbalance husbands' power: this can also force husbands into unwanted reunions.

4) Related to this, we can grasp another dynamic dimension of family migration that's quite discussed nowadays: the problems and functioning of so-called transnational families. Families separated by migration are not new in history, since they constitute the rule rather than an exception: characters such as the Italian emigrants' 'white widows' are still in the collective memory of many sending localities.

The difference is that until it was the males who left (fathers, husbands, sons), studies didn't see a new form of family emerging, nor were they seeing any form of suffering or distress in this, except for the mentioned widows. We started talking about transnational families when adult females started migrating, leaving behind their children in the care of their mothers, sisters, daughters or, occasionally, of their husbands and also of paid caretakers, showing the formation of a sort of international chain of care (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2004).

The perception of an anomaly in this kind of family led to the identification of a new family form, and it's quite obviously related to the void that the departure of the one that is (in almost all cultures) the main caregiver – the biological mother – leaves behind. It's in relation to this absence that the discourse is growing on transnational families, their feeling of sorrow and the efforts they make to remain part of the lives of the ones left behind, showing love and interest, through frequent travel, if it's allowed by money and distances, or through letters and phone calls, as well as through the exchange of e-mails and tapes, trying to take part, even at a distance, in the main family happenings and in family decisions (see on this Parreñas, 2001; 2005).

The struggle for long-distance parenting cannot be seen as separated from the role these same mothers play in the receiving countries' informal welfare systems, the solution to many families' care needs: many children and teens in richer countries (let alone even more elders), gain benefits from the work of mothers forced to leave their children (and parents) in the country of origin. We are facing therefore an international stratification of care resources,[2] on the top of which we find the families living in the developed countries, helped by nannies, domestics and maids, and at the bottom the poorest countries' families, forced to substitute with temporary solutions the mothers gone away to take care of others' parents and children.[3]

Another consequence of the forced separation from family members can be detected in the development of the strategies through which fam-

[2] I'm elaborating on the 'stratified reproduction regime' concept proposed by Colen (1995).

[3] In the course of a trip to Ecuador in October 2005, I personally verified how the departure of parents, particularly the departure of small childen's mothers, is perceived as an emergency by the communities more touched by this phenomenon (the inner region of Sierra): the local Catholic Church (from the hierarchies to the local units) is involved in enormous efforts to assist and educate the children left at home, and it's displaying considerable efforts (without success, at least until now), to discourage further migration to the United States and to Europe.

ily members keep themselves emotionally connected despite physical separation (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002). A first strategy could be called *frontiering,* and denotes the means used by members to keep relationships alive across frontiers, in a situation of dispersal: political frontiers cease to be rigid and insurmountable obstacles, and start being spaces crossed by living relationships. The second strategy is called *relativising,* and it's related to the way individuals create, maintain or break off specific family ties. Family is forming as an 'imagined community', with shared memories and obligations, as a sense of mutual belonging, that doesn't depend on geographical proximity. In the experience of transnational families cohabitation lessens, while long-distance relationships expand, and remittances are a concrete trace of this process. Traditional roles (such as mother, father, son) as well as the more extended relationships (uncle, cousin…) are re-defined, some are surrogated, others are suppressed: while some relevant relationships are lost, others are reconstructed through fictive-kin in the new environment, and start acquiring a new relevance (as the appellative of 'tio' that is starting to be given to preeminent personalities or to benefactors). In front of the dispersal and the distance of some relatives, it starts raising the urge to explain why some are still part of the family; relationships are constantly rebuilt as well as family history and narratives.

5) In contrast with the picture generally depicted by the international literature (mainly North American), in the case of recent European migratory flows, the 'transnational phase' is just a step generally passed by families rather than a fixed and compulsory condition. Therefore, another step arrives in the migrant families' life-cycle, the reunification phase, with the offspring's insertion in the new society (with all the worries it entails), and the building of their future in the new place. As the literature has shown (cf. Ambrosini e Molina, 2004; Queirolo Palmas, 2006), second generations represent a challenge for the receiving societies: not only do they show the irreversibility of the process of immigrant population settlement, but they force the receiving society to redefine national community boundaries through citizenship granting, as well as the distribution of social benefits that membership entails, as well as the chances for social mobility. If the inclusion process doesn't work, there is the risk of the formation of underdog rancorous ethnic minorities, tempted by self-isolation and hostility, that can turn into 'downward assimilation' (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) through deviant practices and lifestyles, refusing even the scarce ways of integration that the receiving society offers them.

In these processes, immigrant families are part of the problem as well as part of the possible solutions: exposed to the loss of authority and control over their children, willing to convey to them, despite of everything, at least some of the most salient aspects of their cultural identities, they are at the same time advocating the value of education and social mobility of their children. The search for a synthesis between identitarian references and the will to take part actively in the new context, between internal cohesion and societal insertion, between the maintenance of a sense of respectability among the coethnics and the conquering of full social acceptance among the majority, it's a worthy task that's up to parents and children, well aware of the fact that one's priorities and opportunities do not always overlap with the others' hopes and ambitions. But from this point of view, immigrant families reflect and amplify the same contradictions and negotiations that take place as well in native families with teens.

The formation of new identities, well exemplified by the so-called 'hyphenated identities' (Mexican-American or Moroccan-Italian, and do on), is the natural outcome of all these processes: whether the more troublesome aspects will prevail, or, on the contrary, a process of reciprocal enrichment and cultural innovation prevails, it's a dilemma that takes shape from the very first steps of the family's settlement, that has the families at the forefront, but involves the whole institutional (economic, political, social, cultural...) framework in which they are going to fit in.

6) A great amount of the literature about immigrant families has swung back and forth between the two poles of the unlucky histories of 'social disorganization', and the longing for idealized family traditions (Rumbaut, 1997). Immigrant families have been seen as, on the one hand, very cohesive unities, still carrying normative values and 'traditional' social practices, such as clear gender role division, the children's devotion to their parents, sacrifice to the family's interests to the detriment of personal achievement; on the other hand, as victims of a process of disintegration and loss of authority that happens in the clash with the Western world and its values. More accurate analyses have tried to examine the dynamics of the match between traditional practices and lifestyles and the new ones learned in the foreign context, that quite often take place in the family, leading to a variety of outcomes, that deeply diversify migrant families' way of life. In this sense, the family is a place in which a dynamic interaction between culture, structure and agency, between social, cultural and personal interpretations is taking place, hand in hand with an active cultural elaboration.

Structural bonds and conditions in which the family fits contribute to shape the way family structures adapt, relationships change, the roles of the subjects are redefined, their orientations to the wider society are revised. They tend, e.g., to make the shift to more nuclear units probable (to the detriment of extended families), lowering the number of children per couple.

On the other side, the cultural codes that the migrant families bring with them can still have a persistent influence on family orientations, roles and behaviours (Foner, 1997): for instance, the rate of endogamy (the marriages that take place within the same ethnic group), remains generally quite high, even in the second generation, and through this kind of unions families can better preserve religious and cultural identities.

Three insights, in the more recent studies, tend to question conventional visions of migrant families. The first leads us to reflect upon the fact that the concept of family that is generally used to analyse immigrant experiences is a model that receiving countries have elaborated upon their experiences: generally, it's the nuclear family that is used as a parameter, instead of more extensive units that are typical of other cultures and regions. Therefore, when we talk about the immigrant family, about its reorganizing efforts and troubles, we start with a definition suited to the visions and institutional frameworks of the receiving countries. A second point is the greater caution that we should have when we tend to link immigrant families with traditional values and organizations, with respect to which receiving countries should represent 'modernity', a modernity that needs acculturation and adaptation. The reality is that 'modern' behaviours and relationships,[4] claims for emancipation and refusal of the traditional order are taking place in the country of origin as well, where we can face (to a greater or lessen extent) a growth of separations and divorces, children born out of wedlock, cohabitations *more uxorio*, and so on. Third, the idea of women always sacrificed in the migration process has been questioned (cf. Bayley and Boyle, 2004), women who always face a regress in their living conditions, in their autonomy and job opportunities. It's quite often the opposite that happens: women are able to find a better occupation than men, in many developed countries, and this of course has an effect upon family and gender relations.

[4] When we call them modern, we are simply referring to the fact that these changes took place at first in the more developed countries, this of course doesn't imply any value judgement.

Immigrants are not passive agents, but they actively redefine their family lifestyle: within the family, each member tries to influence the power distribution trying to serve his or her own interests. The very reference to 'traditional values' can represent a way to reinvent the past to give sense to the presence and find a solution to current dilemmas, as Yanagisako (1985) has shown in her study about Japanese immigration in America. In this sense, immigrants' paths have been compared to a 'tightrope', when they challenge some traditional family rules, while at the same time trying to keep others alive (Foner, 1997: 962).

Therefore, several studies have shown that the idea of a cohesive, strictly organized family represents an idealized picture: some migration flows, such as the ones from the Caribbean, are characterized by high rates of single mothers who are, single-handedly, in charge of working, caring and providing an education for their children. The latter are generally left at home in the care of other relatives and then, after several years of separation, are reunited abroad with their mothers: these long separations and subsequent reunions can become a serious source of stress in intergenerational relationships (Waters, 1997).

In other migration flows, such as the ones from South-East Asia and Vietnam, the father is missing because he lost his life in one of the wars that spread through the country for years. Refugee families generally arrive in the receiving countries already broken and scattered, so that they have to face complicated processes of reunion. Therefore, the process starts from the traditional family in the country of origin, pushes through uprootings and breaks, and ends with reconstitution in the new country: in the case of the families from Vietnam, when they try to adapt to the new country keeping some features from the past alive, they seem to be successful, and the family plays a pivotal role in influencing the youngsters' adaptation to the American society, not allowing them to forget their roots and the standards prescribed by the family tradition. This happens of course even because these families don't live in a void, but they deeply depend upon their ethnic community: the community, linking families to each other, provides them with formal and informal cooperation devices, and helps them to transform traditions and aspirations in concrete means of social control, as well as in a system of benefits for the younger generation (Zhou and Bankston, 1998: 92).

7) The link between families, cultural identities and religious institutions is another salient aspect of the processes through which the migrants try to forge a system of meanings and to find a way for themselves and their

children. Already in the first migrations to North America scholars noted how the aggregation around religious institutions was for Catholic families a way to preserve their languages and cultural traditions, while they were trying to adapt to an obscure and often hostile environment. For the children, Catholic schools were an educational system that constituted an alternative to the discrimination they were facing outside, especially in the Protestant public schools. Churches represented, therefore, not just a place of worship, but places where people could socialize, by the forming of associations and informal groups, and through educational and spare-time activities, welfare benefits and mutual aid associations. They provided as well the chance to take on leadership roles and experience civic participation, not accessible in the surrounding society. To quote a classic text on the matter 'The Church was the first defence line behind which immigrants could organize and through which they could preserve their group identity' (Warner and Srole, 1945: 160).

In other words, as noted already by Thomas and Znaniecki (1968) [1918-20] in their study about Polish immigration to America, churches and religious associations (educational, recreative, mutualistic...) represented for years a clearing house that allowed immigrants to adapt to the new context without losing their roots and immigrant networks. This role has revealed long lasting – maybe more than the same authors could expect – and capable of passing from one generation to another.

Nowadays history repeats, even through the establishment of new religions such as the oriental ones: they tend to take on organizational features similar to the Christian ones, with stable ministers, weekly appointments, educational and recreational activities, especially aimed at youth and children: for the families, they represent a place to meet and find help for their educational and care burdens, being able to mediate traditional arrangements to the new context.

'We're better Hindus here', claims the title of a study about religion and ethnicity among immigrant Indians in the United States (Kurien, 2002). Most of the people interviewed assert that they've become more religious after their arrival, since there they started to reflect seriously for the first time on the meaning of their religious identity, which they could take for granted in the country of origin. Apart from that, while traditional Hindu religious activity is not generally practiced as a group except for festivities, one of the main reasons for the development of these kinds of religious groups, for the ones who never had similar experiences before, is the need for community support.

More generally, in intergenerational relationships the issue of cultural reproduction comes out, especially when children start being enrolled in school. In this sense, religion acts as a vehicle for the transmission of the most salient aspects of their cultural heritage, providing children reasons that can explain to them the meaning of their difference, offering them answers, with the help of the ministers, for the difficult questions that the same children ask their parents (Warner, 2000).

The phenomenon of the conversions to Christian churches, widespread among Asian immigrants in the United States, is a sign of the faith's power of attraction for families who try to redefine their identities in a new environment that's sometimes opaque and difficult to accept.

This appears to happen less easily in a secularized context such as the European one, in which quite often the loss of religious practices by the migrants (especially by second generations), is seen as a positive fact, a display of successful assimilation (cf. Tribalat, 1995). Fears and anxieties that result from the settlement of Islamic minorities can fuel these trends, obscuring the positive contribution that religious belonging can bring to the process of integration of migrants and their children.

8) Therefore, we can reflect upon another relevant issue: the role played by the family in the immigrants' integration process, a relationship between them and the host society that I tend to see as an active and positive interaction, based on principles of equal treatment and on the reciprocal opening of both parts (Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati, 2000).

We're facing here a contradiction that's reflected in the related public policies: at a sociological level, the changing composition of migration flows from singles (especially if males) to families represents a normalizing factor for the immigrant population, that in turn reassures the native population; at the political level instead, family reunification is granted only when the immigrant can prove his or her integration (showing adequate income and housing).

A condition that should be favoured, since it's seen as a retaining wall against undesirable, dangerous and anomic behaviours, is instead made difficult to obtain, because of the priority given to other things, such as the State budget, because of the fear of the arrival of inactive members.[5]

[5] I owe this consideration to Paola Bonizzoni, a PhD student engaged in a dissertation about transnational families.

Thereby, we're facing a remarkable political-philosophic dilemma: shouldn't poor immigrants be granted the right to live with their families? This is accordingly reflected in public policies: should immigrant families be seen as a burden to avoid, or an investment to promote, in so far as they contribute to social integration?

I will end with this final consideration: whether immigrants become part of our society as a means of development or as a marginal and stigmatized parcel of it will greatly depend upon the way we're welcoming their families, upon the way we're going to relate to them.

BIBLIOGRPHY

Ambrosini, M. 2005, *Sociologia delle migrazioni*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Ambrosini, M. and Molina, S. (a cura di) 2004, *Seconde generazioni. Un'introduzione al futuro dell'immigrazione in Italia*, Torino, Edizioni della Fondazione Agnelli.

Bayley, A. and Boyle, P. 2004, Family-related migration: a critical review of European studies, in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 30, n. 2 (March), pp. 243-262.

Booth, A., Crouter, A.C. and Landale, N.S. (eds.) 1997, *Immigration and the family: research and policy on U.S. immigrants*, Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bryceson, D. and Vuorela, U. (eds.) 2002, *The transnational family. New European frontiers and global networks*, Oxford-New York, Berg.

Colen, S. 1995, Like a mother to them: stratified reproduction and West Indian childcare workers in New York, in Ginsburg F.D. and Rapp R. (eds.), *Conceiving the new world order*, Berkerley, University of California Press, pp. 78-102.

Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati, 2000, *Primo rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino (a cura di G. Zincone).

Cornelius W.A., Martin P.L. and Hollifield J.F. 1994, *Controlling immigration. A global perspective*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Ehrenreich, B. and Hochschild, A.R. (a cura di) 2004, *Donne globali. Tate, colf e badanti*, trad. it. Milano, Feltrinelli.

Esparragoza E. 2003, Guayaquil... Italia, in Fravega, E. e Queirolo L. (a cura di), *Classi meticce. Giovani, studenti, insegnanti nelle scuole delle migrazioni*, Roma, Carocci, pp. 86-90.

Foner, N. 1997, The immigrant family: cultural legacies and cultural change, in *International Migration Review*, vol. 31, n. 4, 1997, pp. 961-974.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. 1992, Overcoming patriarchal constraints: the reconstruction of gender relations among Mexican immigrant women and men, in *Gender and Society*, vol. 6, n. 3, pp. 393-415.

Kofman, E. 1999, Female 'birds of passage' a decade later: gender and immigration in the European Union, in *International Migration Review*, vol. XXXIII, n. 2, pp. 269-299.

2004, Family- related migration: a critical review of European studies, in *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, vol. 30, n. 2 (March), pp. 243-262.

Kurien, P. 2002, *'We are better Hindus here': religion and ethnicity among Indian Americans,* in Min and Kim (2002), pp. 99-120.

Lagomarsino, F. 2006, *Esodi ed approdi di genere. Famiglie transnazionali e nuove migrazioni dall'Ecuador*, Milano, FrancoAngeli-Fondazione Ismu.

Lauby, J. and Stark, O. 1988, Individual migration as a family strategy: young women in the Philippines, in *Population Studies*, n. 42, pp. 473-486.

Min P.G. and Kim J.H. (eds.) 2002, *Religions in Asian America. Building faith communities,* Walnut Creek, Altamira.

Parreñas, R.S. 2001, *Servants of globalization. Women, migration, and domestic work*, Stanford (Cal.), Stanford University Press.

2005, *Children of global migrations. Transnational families and gendered woes*, Stanford (Cal.), Stanford University Press.

Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R.G. 2001, *Legacies. The story of the immigrant second generation*, Berkeley-New York. University of California Press- Russel Sage Foundation.

Queirolo Palmas L., 2006, *Prove di seconde generazioni. Giovani di origine immigrata tra scuole e spazi urbani*, Milano, FrancoAngeli.

Queirolo Palmas L., Torre A.T., 2005, *Il fantasma delle bande. Genova e i Latinos*, Genova, Fratelli Frilli.

Rumbaut, R. 1997, *Ties that bind: immigration and immigrant families in the United States*, in Booth, Crouter, Landale, cit., pp. 3-46.

Scabini, E. and Donati P., (eds.) 1993, *La famiglia in una società multietnica*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero.

Thomas, W.I. and Znaniecki, F. 1968, *Il contadino polacco in Europa e in America,* trad. it. Ed. di Comunità, Milano (ed. originale: 1918-20).

Tribalat, M. 1995, *Faire France. Une grande enquête sur les immigrés et leurs enfants,* Ed. La Découverte, Paris.

Yanagisako, S. 1985, *Transforming the past: tradition and kinship among Japanese Americans*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Warner, R.S. 2000, The new immigrant religion: an update and appraisal, in *Epicenter*, vol. 5, n. 2 (Spring), pp. 1-7.

Warner W.L. and Srole, L. 1945, *The social system of American ethnic groups,* New Haven (Conn.), Yale University Press.

Waters, M. 1997, *Immigrant family at risk: factors that undermine chances for success*, in Booth, Crouter, Landale, cit., pp. 79-87.

Zhou, M. and Bankston, C.L. 1998, *Growing up American: the adaptation of Vietnamese adolescents in the United States*, New York, Russel Sage Foundation.