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CHILDREN AND PARENTS IN THE MIGRATION CONTEXT: DISSONANT OR CONSONANT TRAJECTORIES

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The article is drawn on a study of the families of migrants, having school-age children, from Central Asia. The transnational practices of migrants are closely tied to integration processes, and this is reflected in generational differences. In some families, children that, unlike their parents, go or used to go to a Russian school, try to distance themselves from their parents' generation, refuse to identify with it, and do not want to speak the native language of their parents. In some ways, these trends are a consequence of parentage practices that orient children toward the local social milieu and encourage the use of Russian. Despite the significance of transnational practices in the life of migrant families, the outcome of the study demonstrates the importance of examining the intergenerational dynamics in the incorporation process.

JEL Classification: F22.

Keywords: transnationalism, children of migrants, second generation, migrant integration, cultural orientation, identity.

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Introduction

Transnationalism is sometimes viewed as a theoretical perspective, which replaces the integration approaches, focusing on the integration/assimilation of migrants in the country of reception after resettlement. In terms of a transnational perspective, globalization changes the migratory practices and way of life of the people who are involved in the movement, migration can no longer be considered as a one-way process, which resulted in the construction of new communities, separated from the old ones if not culturally, then spatially (Levitt, Jaworsky 2007; Glick Schiller et al. 1992). Modern migration flows are now only partly regulated and controlled by immigration policy. Nation states and local environment of reception have lost their sense as one of the most significant agents of identification of citizens or newcomers (Levitt, Glick Schiller 2004). Transmigrants form new forms of identity (hybrid, plural) and belong to communities whose members live on both sides of the borders.

Despite the apparent contradiction between the approaches, much contemporary research shows that the relationship between transnational practices and incorporation is rather complex than mutually exclusive (Bradatan et al. 2010; Itzigsohn, Saucedo 2002). Transmigrants develop life strategies, which are determined by characteristics of both transnational and national spaces. Transnational contexts are very heavily interconnected with integration processes, transnational activities of children may differ from the activities of the parents in terms of intensity and content (Gowricharn 2009; Lee 2011). In each case, one or another scenario can be explained by different reasons such as the duration of stay in the destination country, the ethnic composition of the schools attended by the migrant children, parents's plans for the future, institutional barriers, individual resources and others (Haller, Landolt 2005; Wessendorf 2010). The study of family migration enables us to analyze how transnational practices and the environment influence life of the contemporary migrants, how inclusion of children in the migration process determines the future plans, which differences in language using, identification, involvement in transnational communities are formed between parents and children (Moskal 2011; Portes, Rivas 2011; Ryan, Sales 2011).

In this article, based on a study of the families of labour migrants with children living in St. Petersburg, questions related to the role of generations (the first, one-and-a-half, second) in the processes of migration and residence in the receiving country are discussed: What tendencies in the trajectories of different migrant generations exist from the integration and transnational points of view? What cultural orientation do children and parents form (which categories are used for

self-identification and identification of others, what language is used to communicate within families)? What is the role of the child in the decision-making process related to migration?

Integration and transnationalism

The assimilation approach dominated in migration studies for a long time. According to it, the optimal pattern of migrant adaptation implies gradual loss of their ethnic features from generation to generation (mother tongue, patterns of behavior, values, beliefs, phenotypic traits, orientation to the ethnic community and so on) until their complete disappearance. From this point of view, the distinctive cultural features of migrants determine their disadvantaged position in the host society. Therefore, they have to get rid of their cultural characteristics, ethnic identity and become the indistinguishable part of the majority. The American scientist Milton Gordon proposed the theory of assimilation, which for a long time was the influential theory in explaining what happens with immigrants in receiving countries. His model, which has become a classic, includes types or stages of assimilation, which enables the description of the assimilation processes in pluralistic societies such as the US and Canada. Migrants must pass the seven stages to complete assimilation. According to this model, migrants form a new identity in stage 4 and cease to be subject to discrimination and prejudice by only the 5th and 6th stage of a linear process, the main purpose of which is to complete fusion of migrant communities with a dominant group (Gordon 1964).

The reliability of the straight-line assimilation theory is supported by studies of the assimilation of migrants who arrived in the US from Europe in the late XIX - first half of XX century (1880-1920). The model explains well the experience of white immigrants of European origin, who gradually acquired a new language, educational and general cultural skills that was necessary to compete with the white "native" Americans. Studies of these migrant groups supported one of the main conclusions of Gordon that the duration of stay in the US and going through all the stages of assimilation had a positive effect on the educational and professional success of migrants.

The next significant wave of emigration to the United States began in the second half of the XX century and was caused by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. The new law opened up opportunities for moving to America for residents of non-European countries. This accounted for about 90% of all arrivals of migrants in 1980-1997 while 97% of all American immigrants were of European origin in 1880-1900 (Rumbaut, Portes 2001: 8).

The study of various non-European migrant groups demonstrated the limitation of the assimilation model to describe the mechanisms of optimal integration of migrants. The most significant research was conducted studying the migrant communities living in urban ghettos - areas with high rates of crime and unemployment. Migrants choose these areas because of the low prices to buy and rent property. Children started attending a school in the neighborhood and their environment mainly consisted of members of the migrant community and residents of the ghetto. In fact, they were isolated from other social groups. The cultural assimilation of migrants means in these cases the loss of shared norms, values of the communities and the adoption of the particular culture of the locals living in these disadvantaged areas. These processes include the formation of anti-school attitudes, a particular style of life, etc. and lead to the reproduction of poverty and crime.

In contrast, some migrant groups used the material and social resources of the community to preserve cultural isolation from the disadvantaged environment, that underlies children's educational and professional achievements. Thus, these cases illustrate the lack of positive effects of assimilation for some migrant groups, while cultural isolation is a critical factor for the future achievements for some migrant communities.

Segmented assimilation theory attempts to bridge the gap between the different approaches, integrating some of their ideas (Portes, Rumbaut 2001; Portes, Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). An indicator of successful integration, according to this theory, is intergenerational social mobility, when migrant children achieve greater educational, professional and career achievements than their parents. Most of the research conducted within the framework of this approach, study parents and children belonging to the one and a half generation (born in the country of origin of their parents, but moved to the host country in early childhood) and second generation (born in the host country) to be able to study the intergenerational dynamics (Zhou, Lee 2007).

Authors based their ideas on the fact that American society is heterogeneous and segmented and includes different social groups and classes. The migrants may be incorporated into various social communities of society, and have three possible paths of social mobility as a result: upward assimilation, downward assimilation, and upward mobility combined with biculturalism. These paths correspond to the three processes that are a consequence of the relationship between the children of migrants, their parents and ethnic communities - consonant, dissonant, and selective acculturation.

Consonant acculturation is when parents and children learn English and adopt American culture (cultural orientation of the host community), and at the same time no longer speak their native language and orient to the migrant communities. This path coincides with the central idea of the assimilation approach and implies a gradual acculturation and integration of migrants in the American middle class with positive consequences. Unlike the assimilation approach, successful outcomes are not caused by the process of assimilation, but by the social segment in which migrants are found.

In the case of dissonant acculturation, children quickly adopt the American way of life and learn English, in contrast to their parents who often dependent on their children. This path assumes acculturation and assimilation of immigrants, but to the underclass, as in the examples of migrants living in the ghetto. Migrants are secured in these social niches, the children will reproduce the poverty of their environment.

The third path describes the processes by which migrants in an unfavorable social environment have the opportunity for social mobility through the preservation of certain cultural patterns (norms, values, attitudes, institutions, practices). Selective acculturation implies maintaining the authority of parents, almost complete absence of inter-generational conflict and the bilingualism of the second generation. The researchers emphasize the positive aspects of selective acculturation and argue that this path is most favorable for the migrants who face discrimination. M. Zhou and C. Bankston III found that the Vietnamese students who kept traditional family values and have been involved in the migrant community, studied better and focused on achieving higher educational qualifications compared to local peers, studying at this school (Zhou, Bankston III 1994).

Thus the theory describes the cases in which assimilation would have a negative or positive impact, and thus it explains why migrants from the above examples have not lost their cultural traits but achieved professional success (Portes et al. 2005). The studies that started in the US found empirical evidence in Europe (Modood 2004).

Transnationalism as a new perspective of migration studies began to develop from the 90s. While integrative approaches mainly explain what happens with the migrant communities in the country of reception, transnational studies focused on migrant networks that extend across national boundaries. In some cases, transnationalism is considered as an alternative approach to the previous one, but more and more studies show how transnational and integration processes are intertwined especially from an intergenerational perspective. The intensity of transnational practices depend on the reception environment and the migrants' plans for the future (Itzigsohn,

Saucedo 2002). Moreover, transnational practices of the second generation may be different from the first generation, not only in the intensity but also in content (Lee 2011; Wessendorf 2010). In spite of the transnational activity of parents and their desire to return to their country of origin, the representatives of the second generation do not share these intentions and create a sense of affection for the place where they were born (Wessendorf 2010).

Research studies how these processes lead to the formation of cultural orientations of children and parents, and try to explain why, in some cases, children are included in transnational networks, and in other cases they distance themselves from their parents' communities. For example, A. Portes and A. Rivas described several major trends in the formation of self-identifications of various representatives of the second generation (Portes, Rivas 2011). In particular, the children of poorly educated parents, who reproduce cultural practices and stick to an authoritarian parenting style, refuse to identify themselves with the community of parents in ethnic and national terms and distance themselves from what they perceive as a parent culture. This path corresponds to the process of "dissonant acculturation". In another trend, high education of parents correlated with selective acculturation, which is reflected in the use of the hyphenated identities by the second generation (E.g., Chinese American). Education also contributes to the formation of a dual or transnational identity, so the educated youth of the second generation is more likely to incorporate a variety of elements from different cultures.

Repeated experiences of discrimination may underlie the construction of reactive ethnicity, which is shown in the use of nonhyphenated national categories such as "Mexican" or in the rejection of the US self-identification (non/hyphenated) and use of a pan-ethnic categories (for example, "Hispanic" or "Asian"). Migrants with visible phenotypic traits are more likely to face discrimination, which leads to the formation of reactive identities and the use of ethnic categories, while white children of immigrants often use nonhyphenated categories («American»).

Data and Methods

The data on which this article are based were gathered within a collective research (project № 13-03-00576 «Extracurricular and afterschool activities and integration of migrant children in St. Petersburg"), supported by the Russian Science Foundation. This paper presents the realization of one of the research objectives of the project - the study of migrant families with children, living in Russia.

Family migration is difficult to conceptualize since most individual migration strategies are realized in the context of family influence. One common view defines family migration as

participation in the migration of one, several or all of the members of the nuclear family (Kofman 2004).

The volunteer Russian language courses for migrant children was selected as a case for studying the family migration. The participation in this course enabled the author to meet with both the parents and the children, observing how they made contact. The course was free of charge, it was informal in the sense that it had no formal curriculum and requirements of the teachers. Attendance of the course was voluntary and was not controlled. Course attendees were mainly children of primary school age, but in some cases there were teenagers. Some school-age children did not attend a school at that time, and the course was the only educational program that they mastered.

The author worked on the courses as a teacher assistant of Russian language, and attended classes in that capacity during the three month study, for about once a week. Interviews with migrants were collected by the other project researcher, who also taught on these courses, but in another location (1).

Research data was collected from interviews with migrant parents whose children attended the Russian language course, two interviews with the teachers of the Russian language running this course and one interview with a student (a total of 15 interviews), as well as records of observation filled in during work on the course as a teacher assistant.

The interviews were took place in the fall of 2013. Most of the informants were migrants from Uzbekistan (9 people), three people arrived from Tajikistan and one from Kyrgyzstan. The average age of parents was 42 (range 28 to 53 years old), so all of them were born, and mostly graduated from high school in the USSR. That explains the fact that all the informants knew Russian well enough to be able to be understood, although some of them did not speak fluently. The interview lasted an average of 52 minutes. In two interviews, the children of the informants were present. The husband of the responder joined in on one interview.

Education of migrants and their employment assists in the consideration of the case in the context of the integration approach, as has been shown above, the path of integration is often determined by social positions that are occupied by migrants, as well as the resources of the family. In this sense, all of our families of migrants had few resources, none of the informants had a higher education, most parents had low-paid unskilled positions and engaged in unskilled activities, some of them worked illegally (see «Description of informants»).

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The specifics of family migration

Migrants with children are mostly people who have lived in Russia for several years but came for temporary reasons to earn money. The migration has become a family one as a result of two typical scenarios. The first one assumes that migrants had a family before their departure and after a while they started to take all or some of the family members from the sending country: *Respondent: I have already settled down in life here, all things are alright. I rent an apartment first then I brought [the family]. Interviewer: How much time passed after your arrival? In a year? R.: Two years later. I.: Okay. And then did all the sons also come later with the mother? R.: Then is yes. No, the mother came a year before. She has already been for two years here. Then, a year later, I invited the sons* (informant №1: migrant from Uzbekistan, male, 49 years old, Uzbek). This trend, which delays family reunification till migrants obtain some stability in a new country, corresponds to the examples described in the literature, in particular, strategies for the reunification of Polish migrant groups in Britain (Ryan, Sales 2011) or women from post-Soviet states who took children to St. Petersburg as soon as getting a stable job and housing (Brednikova, Weaver 2010).

In according to the second scenario, the migrants acquire families in Russia or in the country of origin but with small intervals between living and working in Russia.

When I moved here, I was not married. Later it turned out, I met here, and everything has gone (informant №10: migrant from Tajikistan, female, 31 years old, Tajik).

All families are transnational in the sense that they maintain multiple family, economic and other social relations that span national borders. Family members do not just live in different countries and cities, some of them have relocated regularly - some returned to their country of origin, some moved to Russia. These movements are not always planned and can be spontaneous, caused by factors such as unexpected pregnancy, the decision taken during a brief visit to relatives and others. A migrant from Uzbekistan talks about her resettlement experience which included moving to Russia and returning to Uzbekistan and also about how her mother and children have been involved in this process at different times: *We went to Moscow after marriage. We lived there for five years. Then we went to Uzbekistan, and my mother was going to St. Petersburg when we arrived in Uzbekistan. When my mother arrived in St. Petersburg, I had just become pregnant, and I gave birth to a daughter in Uzbekistan. Then we came here* (informant 8: migrant from Uzbekistan, female, 28, Uzbek).

In large families the children often live in different countries on opposite sides of the border. The place of living does not depend on age. The youngest, middle and oldest children can live with both parents and relatives, in Russia and the country of origin more frequently with grandparents and, at some stage of migration, with their mother. Such a situation is articulated as a problem, especially in cases that are perceived as uncontrollable and involuntary. Migrants often mention that they desire to live close to relatives, but they can not take them to Russia because of material reasons, and they can not return to the domestic country because of various reasons.

About whom I said - a cousin and his wife and two children were here. And when the eldest daughter, well, she was the eldest daughter, the youngest goes to kindergarten here, and the oldest one also was there, but they were spending a lot of money, it was impossible to save it. They thought to return the eldest daughter to mom and dad, to grandmother, and now she is studying there. This situation is a problem for them because they also want to live together. The most significant problem for us is living together - this is the most important thing (informant №12: migrant from Uzbekistan, female, 29 years old, Uzbek).

Despite the fact that the transportation of children is related to high costs in terms of time and money, the decision on child transportation can be quite spontaneous. The mentioned reasons are a desire to give a good education to a child, to unite a family and the control of a child: *The children should live, I think, with their parents. I brought them here because of this. Because God knows what's going on - transitional age, I mean, they start smoking, start drinking* (informant №1: migrant from Uzbekistan, 49, male, Uzbek, arrived 3 years ago).

Many parents talk about their intention to return, but they do not even attempt to assign the exact returning time. This fact reflects the whole situation with planning the future, which is a feature of many labour migrants in Russia (Zotov 2008; Baranova 2012). The decision to return, to delay the return or to migrate depends on various factors such as working conditions, the duration of work in the country of reception, institutional constraints, social networks, economic factors, racism and others (Cieslik 2011; Efstratios et al. 2014). However, in the case of family migration, a critical influence on the planning can be exerted by the presence of children (Djajić 2008; Moskal 2011; Ryan, Sales 2011).

The influence of children can be significant regardless of which side of the border they are, but the presence of a child may be the deciding factor in planning a long stay in the host country (Moskal 2011). Our study also observed a similar trend according to parent views regarding the duration and purpose of the stay in Russia, with the possibilities that the child could receive. The fact that the child starts to attend a Russian school serves as an anchor, which blurs the prospect of

a return. A migrant whose child has just started going to the first-grade claims: *We'll be back there anyway [in Uzbekistan]. (...) All together. (...) We will return for permanent living but when the child will finish the whole school, all colleges, will become independent, her life is in the future* (informant №7: migrant from Uzbekistan, 29 years old, male, Uzbek). Respondents expressed the possibility to delay this return not only until the child will graduate from a school (in 10 years), but also in the longer term.

Plans to stay in Russia are closely interconnected with the possibility of giving education to a child in Russia, but this tie appears after the child began attending a school: *We, too, came to work, we did not think we would settle here, to start, to construct, to leave. We thought that we would spend there a couple of years. Then she was born here, sent her to the kindergarten and things began to take off. There is, anyway, a little salary, it is still hard to live there and when Kolya (2) was brought here, and he began to study, we seriously thought what would happen if the children get education here, if we try. If we hold out a few more years, if we succeed, then the children can be better* (informant №2: migrant from Uzbekistan, 43, male, Uzbek, arrived 9 years ago).

These positive attitudes to receive Russian education by a child are not always consistent with the activity of the parents in this direction. Many school-age children who attended the Russian language course, did not attend a school. The reasons were such external barriers as lack of apartment registration required to enroll a child, refusal to be enrolled by the school administration without explanation of the reasons. Nevertheless, in some cases, parents take no action themselves, explaining that by the lack of time, the location of the school (the school is far away and the child has no one to accompany them), the lack of information about what to do and other factors relating to the resources of the family. They assumed that this issue will be resolved somehow in the future, but, as a result, the child could have long breaks in the education process.

Unplanned departure date and its dependence on the circumstances lead to building two parallel life strategies in case migrants have to live in one of the two countries. These strategies are more interchangeable and not supplemented by each other. The realization of the first strategy comes in opposite with the realization of the second one, at least economically. For example, a migrant from Tajikistan describes their capabilities: *I.: Are you building a house there, huh? That is, are you planning to return some time later? R.: It is necessary to buy the lot, we are constructing now. If I have a chance, if we stay here, if I can get this quota, I'll stay here with my family. If we will not manage to do this, and all was driven out, we need to build a house* (informant №9: migrant from Tajikistan, 41, female, Uzbek). Having a home is necessary in case

they have to go back to Uzbekistan, but it can be considered as an unreasonable investment of various resources if the family remains in Russia. It is notable that the transnational character of these practices is nation-specific, like material objects, which migrants buy, such as a house and a car, as well as the investments that they make. Most of these facilities and investment reflect the value system of the communities which are located on different sides of the border, for example, the presence of a house in the country of origin and the presence of any housing in the host country.

Apparently, the return of migrant families is very contextually specific. The trend, when the decision to stay in the country of reception or return depends on external circumstances and does not reflect the personal characteristics of migrants, has been noted in other studies (see, for example, Brusina 2008). It can be concluded that the articulated attitudes of the first generation to the return or settling down poorly correlate with their actual practices and behavior and it does not make it possible to predict the strategy in short-term and long-term family planning, but the presence of a child, who attends the Russian school, can affect the delay date of departure, if not after graduation from a school, then, at least until he or she becomes proficient in the Russian language to a certain extent.

Identities and self-representations

In general, we can state the variability in actualized identities that are evidenced in a wide range of categories that informants use to describe themselves and others. Transnational migration studies show that the identity of contemporary migrants may reflect multiplicity of their spatial positions, which extends over the borders of nation-states, and the belonging to different communities and cultural groups (Levitt, Glick Schiller 2004; Vertovec 2001). Transnational identities described by the identification with two different national groups (Bradatan et al. 2010). In our study, on the level of the first generation such self-representation is not observed. The main categories that use informants, refer to the ethnic/national and pan-ethnic identification (Tajiks, Uzbeks, not Russian): "*Well, when we arrived in this housing and communal services,then there were hardly any non-Russian street cleaners at all, all street cleaners were Russian*" (informant №2: migrant from Uzbekistan, 43, male, Uzbek), but they also used such categories as Muslims, migrants, emigrants, villagers, fellow countrymen (to describe themselves) and locals, St. Petersburg citizens (for a description of the others).

Traditional ethnic categories can have different meanings in different contexts and serve to describe the variety of communities and groups. A migrant from Tajikistan said that her children

were "as a Russian". It means for her features and behavior and knowledge of the Russian language, as well as compliance with certain shared normativity at least with the police: "*I .: And have they changed in any ways? Perhaps in their character? R .: Yes, the character has changed. They walk around like Russians, they are themselves as Russians. I .: What does it mean? P .: When the police are looking, they are as Russian children. They have never been stopped, have even never been asked, "Do you have any documents, no?". They have not even been asked. They walk around normally. When they came here, me and my brother helped him to study the Russian language. They have computers; they had all things, we made them, and now they communicate with people normally*" (informant №9: migrant from Tajikistan, 41, female, Uzbek). She identifies herself as follows: "*I .: Tell me, your ethnicity, are you Tajik, is it right? P .: Uzbek woman. Uzbek, Tajik - it is all the same*" (ibid).

Different ideas that the responder put into the description of these categories can be attributed to different types of interpretative repertoires. S. Varjonen, L. Arnold and I. Jasinskaja-Lahti conceptualize interpretative repertoires after N. Edley (2001) as 'relatively coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world'. There are three types of repertoires that are used for the construction of identities in their study: the biological repertoire - articulated ideas of ethnicity, which are based on the beliefs of the inheritance of certain features and characteristics, the repertoire of socialization, which includes references to the cultural influence and upbringing, especially in childhood and adolescence, and the repertoire of intergroup relations, which is used to highlight the role of out-group (the majority group) in the classification and identification of members of the ingroup to non/dominant group, that is the boundaries of identity can be grounded on the perceived evaluation and categorization of the members of the out-group (Varjonen et al. 2013). The responder uses a mixed type of interpretive repertoire - socialization through learning language and inter-group relations through the categorization carried out by members of the out-group - the police.

Work occupies an important place in the narratives of the informants, and employment is often explained as the reasons for the migration, the lack of free time and a typical pastime (no time, tired after work, communication with colleagues from work reminded them of work itself and so on), but identification with certain professional or class groups is found extremely rarely, and only in the context of explaining the reason to stay in Russia: "*P .: the deportation of citizens of Uzbekistan continues on a daily basis, all of us are forced to leave. (...) I .: It is clear. Do you think that it is wrong? (...) R .: We are working people. Hardworking people*" (informant 6: a migrant from Uzbekistan, 53, male, Uzbek).

Self-representation may be made by comparing and contrasting oneself with significant others. The intersectionality approach reflects the multiplicity of measurements and dynamics of subjective positions, and it determines the social categories that form a sense of identity, as well as the context in which they are articulated. Analysis of the narrative involves not only the process of studying the content of intersections (class, age, ethnicity, gender), but also which intersections become visible and in what contexts (Heyse 2010). In the latter example, the employment of a migrant legitimizes their stay in Russia, regardless of the legality of their stay. The image of migrants as people who work, who are workaholics is built to support the positive goals of their arrival and stay: «*I .: But what do you like in Russia? R .: In Russia, I like when our people are not touched. If some of our emigrants have normal documents, if they work, if they are not touched by our police, I like this. Well, Russians as well as emigrants are people. That they do not touch, they work fine. Then they will go to their family, to feed their children and build good houses*» (informant №9: migrant from Tajikistan, 41, female, Uzbek).

Thus, first-generation migrants often describe themselves in ethnic, national and religious (Muslim) categories, identify themselves with the migrant workers from other countries, contrasting and comparing with the "local", "St Petersburg citizens", "Russian". The categories used to describe themselves, do not correspond to the categories that were used by their children. So, the interviewer addressed the seven-year-old daughter of the responder: "*I .: And you consider yourself as a Russian* [in citizens term - rossiyanka]*? Are you Russian* [rossiyanka]? *R.: Are you Uzbek or Russian* [in the ethnic term - russkaya]*? Daughter of respondent: Russian* [russkaya]. *I.: Russian* [russkaya]*, seriously?*" (informant №2: migrant from Uzbekistan, 43, male, Uzbek). In this example, responders use interpretative repertoires that reflect their beliefs that ethnic and national identity is formed in the process of the experience that a person has acquired or has instead of thinking that identity is hereditary. Interpretative repertoire provides a base of shared social understanding, enables us to understand restrictions that exist in the construction of self and others (Edley 2001). The shared idea that identification may vary and is not a hereditary characteristics will give an opportunity to better understand the following similar examples.

Schoolchildren and parents' practices

Many migrants emphasize the high status of the Russian language, and they consider the mastery of Russian as one of the priorities in the general education of children. It is expected that the Russian language is the language of international communication, not only in the post-Soviet space but also all over the world: «*I think that the former Soviet Union, who lived there, Uzbekistan also can be considered as the former Soviet Union, all of us should speak the Russian*

language. I think everyone speaks the Russian language. Now everyone says that everyone speaks English. I think if you go to America, everyone knows Russian "hello" there. I think everyone doesn't speak English to such an extent as they speak Russian» (informant №8: migrant from Tajikistan, 28, female, Uzbek).

Knowledge of the Russian language is perceived as an additional resource that is in demand in many countries.

It is needed. The child will study, will work in America (informant №4: migrant from Uzbekistan, 40, female, Uzbek).

Regardless of the degree of proficiency in Russian, parents communicate among themselves at home in their native language, but with children, who are studying the Russian language, try to speak in Russian: «*I.: Tell me, what language do you speak at home with his wife, with a baby? R.: We communicate with the child, try to use more Russian. I.: Communicate in Russian. But with the wife? R.: In own language*» (informant №7: migrant from Uzbekistan, 29 years old, male, Uzbek). In parents' opinion, Russian language skills are the important educational skills. They encourage the use of the Russian language at the home and outside. Communication with local peers is perceived as a productive way of learning the language: «*I really want that he communicates with Russian people, studies in Russian*» (informant №1: migrant from Uzbekistan, 49, male, Uzbek).

Thus, parents encourage the formation of cultural orientations to the host communities, but they do not have the purpose of acculturation and/or assimilation, but they have the purpose of acquiring important skills that can be useful to their children in the future, no matter what country they will live and work. I.: «*Well, what do you prefer, that she communicate with locals or with your countrymen? What is the best for you? R.: Well, here it is better to communicate with St.Petersburg locals, she will know more there*» (informant №7: migrant from Uzbekistan, 29 years old, male, Uzbek).

The parents trust classmates, teachers and the school as a whole; they also do not have opportunities to take control of the child after school. It leads to the fact that many migrant children in the elementary school attend extended day class after lessons, and some of them also attend extra-curricular programs offered by the school. For example, the daughter of a migrant from Uzbekistan started to attend Russian folk dance class because the school offers this class for children of her age.

Children get and reproduce these positive family attitudes to interact with Russians and they also want to communicate in Russian: «*I.: And are there some other things that you enjoy doing, you often do? R.: I really want to learn Russian. I.: You want to learn Russian. R.: I want to communicate with the Russian people*» (informant №13: migrant from Uzbekistan, 17, female, Uzbek).

Parents, encouraging communication with Russians and in Russian, contribute to the fact that children form cultural orientations to the host communities, which can lead to the rejection of ethnic orientations. For example, a child may refuse to speak Uzbek.

We speak in Uzbek between ourselves, sometimes in Russian. When children come from school, or work finishes, we come home, and we communicate. We communicate in Russian with our second son, he does not want to speak in Uzbek (informant №9: migrant from Tajikistan, 41, female, Uzbek).

Children construct identities that are different from their parents' identities: «*I want him to communicate with locals and with his countrymen. With them, and with them. I do not want him to have such a division: ours, not ours. But he has this division. He still wants to talk more with the Russians. He always says to me: "I am Russian, I want to be Russian*" (informant №8: migrant from Tajikistan, 28, female, Uzbek).

The integration approach allows us to describe the generational changes in the migrants' families in the use of language and identity. Despite the obvious acculturation trends, these changes can not be definitely attributed to one of the known types of acculturation (dissonant, consonant or selective) because of the eclectic intergenerational differences and specificity of the Russian case.

For A. Portes and R. Rumbaut, the types of acculturation are closely related to language skills (Portes, Rumbaut 2001: 145). Depending on how well parents are fluent in English (none, limited or fluent), and the children are fluent in the language of the parents (none, limited or fluent), they distinguish 5 types of acculturation: the three basic types (dissonant, consonant, selective) are added to the partial consonant acculturation and the partial dissonant acculturation, when the children and/or parents know the language to a limited extent.

In all our families, at least one parent knows the Russian language to a limited extent, and all the children can speak the language of their parents. The model of different types of acculturation is well tested on the second generation of adolescent age or older. Many Russian migrants of the second generation have not had time to reach adolescence as familial migration

from Central Asia began relatively recently. Children one and a half and the first generation were mostly transported to Russia not so long ago, so even if they completely stop using their native language there is not enough time for them to cease understanding it. On the other hand, the acculturation processes as described earlier, affects not only the language usage but also the cultural orientations of the whole. In our study, we see a mismatch that occurs in the self-identification of parents and children, as well as in inclusion of them in the ethnic/transnational communities. While first generation migrants are more inclined to identify with the migrants, no matter from what countries they come, than with locals, on the contrary, children can refuse to identify with the community of their parents and refuse to interact with its representatives.

Conclusion

The study of family migration can not only looks at how the life trajectories of migrants weave into transnational context, but also analyzes the intergenerational changes associated mainly with what happens with family members in the host country. Both parents and children are included in the multiple family, economic and other relations, occurring over borders of nation-states. Transnational practices are very diverse and range from distant communication to regular border crossings, in which the different members of the family may participate in living for certain periods of time on the different sides of the borders.

Family migration is certainly a particular type of migration since the presence of children influences the life trajectories of migrants, their national and transnational strategies. Coming temporarily to work, migrants, whose children are beginning to attend Russian school, attribute their stay in Russia with the opportunity of giving them an education. The plans for the future depend on a large number of circumstances that are difficult to predict. It leads to developing two parallel life strategies in case they have to live in the future in one of the two countries. These strategies have the nation specificity, and they are not always well arranged with each other in economic and strategic terms.

Transnational practices of migrants complicatedly interconnect with the integration processes that are displayed in intergenerational dynamics. In some families, the children, who attend or used to attend a Russian school, refuse to use the mother tongue of parents, to distance themselves from members of their community and identify with it, unlike their parents. Apparently, we can state the trend, which in the case of children of the one and a half and the second generation, attending Russian schools, corresponds to the patterns of the partial consonant acculturation as well as the partial dissonant acculturation. In part, these trends are the result of

parents' practices, orienting children to the local environment, and strongly encourages the use of the Russian language, communication with local counterparts, as well as staying longer in school after lessons. The Russian school, in turn, does not practice bicultural upbringing and is not aimed at the maintenance of ethnic practices and the formation of bilingualism. The shared parents interpretative repertoires, whereby belonging to ethnic and national groups is not a hereditary characteristic but an acquired characteristic, can also contribute to this process.

On the other hand, a transnational style of life of migrants and the fact that their plans are dependent on unforeseen circumstances and spontaneous decisions can not be considered as acculturation processes occurring steadily. In addition, the Russian-speaking migrants from Central Asia can be attributed to "visible minorities" (Alessandro et al. 2012), which along with the specifics of civil education realized by Russian schools (Voronkov, Karpenko, 2008) increase the likelihood of facing discrimination and prejudices by the time they reach adolescence. In the case of weak bonds within the community of migrants, it can lead to the process of distancing from the communities, which are perceived as local and different in a cultural sense.

Notes

1. Help with data collection was given by Svyatoslav Polyakov, a graduate student of the Department of Sociology of the HSE - St. Petersburg, a member of the project.

2. The author has changed the name for the purpose of anonymisation, but the informant calls both his children "Russian" names, so he does not use official "ethnic" names. In another interview, an informant said that she is called Masha here which is a modification of her official name, and she likes it.

Description of informants

Informant 1: Migrant from Uzbekistan, 49, male, Uzbek, arrived 3 years ago, vocational education, a foreman at a project site, has three children; Informant 2: migrant from Uzbekistan, 43, male, Uzbek, arrived 9 years ago, vocational education and incomplete higher education, is engaged in repair of apartments, private orders, has three children; Informant 3: migrant from Uzbekistan, 43, male, Uzbek, arrived 8 years ago, secondary education, a cleaner in a train, has two children; Informant 4: Migrant from Uzbekistan, 40, female, Uzbek, arrived 6 years ago, vocational education, a cook in a cafe, has three children; Informant 5: Migrant from Uzbekistan, 39, female, Uzbek, vocational education, helps her husband at work, has two children; Informant 6: the husband of informant 5, a migrant from Uzbekistan, 53, male, Uzbek, vocational education,

a driver and a deputy chief of production; Informant 7: migrant from Uzbekistan, 29 years old, male, Uzbek, arrived 9 years ago, secondary education (9 grades), a bus driver, his wife' daughter; Informant 8: Migrant from Tajikistan, 28, female, Uzbek, arrived 8 years ago, vocational education, does not work, once a week cleans apartments, has two children; Informant 9: migrant from Tajikistan, 41, female, Uzbek, arrived five years ago, incomplete higher education, works as a cleaner in a cleaning company, has four children; Informant 10: migrant from Tajikistan, 31, female, Tajik, arrived 11 years ago, secondary education (9 grades), a nanny as a part-time job, has one child; Informant 11: migrants from Kyrgyzstan, 43 years, male, Kyrgyz, arrived five years ago, vocational education, a street cleaner at a restaurant, has five children; Informant 12: migrant from Uzbekistan, 29, female, Uzbek, arrived three years ago, vocational education, a hairdresser, is divorced, has two children; Informant 13: migrant from Uzbekistan, 17, female, Uzbek, arrived three years ago, attend a school in St. Petersburg, has a brother and a sister).

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