INTEGRATION, POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF 100 SOUTHERN SPANISH AND 100 SICILIAN MIGRANTS IN CHARLEROI, BELGIUM.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a comparative study of two groups of migrant workers in Charleroi, Belgium: one Sicilian group from Santa Elizabetta, Agrigento, and one Spanish group from the San Roque area, Andalusia. By means of interviews carried out in the host country Belgium, questions were asked in order to ascertain various political , economic and social beliefs, held by the migrants. These were used to throw light on the various effects of migration .

It was found that those who adapt least, the Spaniards, are those who are more politically aware. The answer to this would seem to lie in the culture of the home village. The Sicilians were found to rely heavily on the extended family, which explains their sense of well being and relative ease of assimilation.

Most European countries are now faced with high unemployment and in some instances xenophobia is high. Many Governments have imposed restrictions on immigration. Besides the political reasons there are also pressing economic reasons which have called for a halt to immigration.

However, the immigrants are now a permanent fixture and the majority are unlikely to return to the donor countries. The presence of large numbers of foreign workers has become indispensable even in times of recession. For the most part in Europe immigrants live on the fringe of society, they have not been absorbed or integrated into the host country. To a large extent the initial attitudes of the immigrants coincided with those of the host countries because they saw themselves and were seen as temporary labour. But now they have become a permanent force which must be reckoned with.

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IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER AND FOR MY MOTHER.

CONTENTS

		Page No.
CHAPTER 1	PROBLEMS OF MIGRATION	1
CHAPTER 11	THE ITALIAN MIGRANT	45
CHAPTER 111	THE SPANISH MIGRANT	77
CHAPTER 1V	SICILIAN AND SPANISH MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM	103
CHAPTER V	DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CULTURAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUNDS OF SPANISH AND SICILIAN MIGRANTS	137
CHAPTER V1	FIELDWORK IN CHARLEROI	164
CHAPTER V11	ASSIMILATION AND ADAPTATION	211
CHAPTER V111	MIGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION	237
CHAPTER 1X	FUTURE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	265
CHAPTER X	CONCLUSION	279

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY i-xxxvi

CHAPTER 1.

PROBLEMS OF MIGRATION.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the relationship between European migration and European integration with particular regard to the adaptation and political participation of two groups of migrant workers from AndaluSia and Sicily, residing in Charleroi, Belgium.

Unlike long-distance migration such as that to the United States, Australia, Canada and Argentina, migration within Europe has largely been seen by the migrants as short term in order to earn as much money as possible to add to wealth or status for the eventual return to the village. However, the migrants have ended up staying much longer than anticipated and often permanently.

Another unique feature of post war European migration is that it has provided an opportunity for host Europeans to vacate 'dirty jobs and move up in the occupational hierarchy. Most recent migration elsewhere has been associated with the rapid development of capital projects (for example in Venezuela and Saudi Arabia) or of vigorous economies (for example the United States and Australia).

But in Europe, migration came about because of the need to rebuild war torn Europe, and also as a result of labour shortage created by a definite movement by the indigenous population away from what were considered to be undesirable jobs. However, Glazer (1981) has drawn attention to the fact that such jobs are not considered undesirable in America.

Some care is needed in investigating adaptation. The distinction between assimilation and adaptation which was not made in the so-called 'melting-pot' theories (see Duncan 1933, Galitzi 1927) was one of the reasons why they were criticised. A more general criticism was made by Eisenstadt (1954) - migrants may well be assimilated in terms of occupation, residence, attitudes or language but little assimilated in the important sense of being at ease in the social system and sure of what is expected of them.

Migration's role in international integration should, like increased communications, greater travel, and more tourism, bring the world closer together. Increased transactions and communications heighten knowledge about and understanding of other people, their ideas, and their problems although not necessarily with a favourable, i.e. integrative outcome. Though integration can take place system-wide it also may occur on a regional scale, such as in the United States, in attempts at European unification, and in attempts to confederate the Arab countries in the Middle East. Several ways in which migration promotes international integration have been suggested by various authors. Trade Union organisations are forced to develop policies towards migrants. The host society becomes more variegated and is forced to become more tolerant of minorities and to adopt a more pluralist view of politics. Host governments become increasingly involved in the problems of migrants and the problems of donor countries. Also donor governments become increasingly involved. Moreover return migrants carry the host country's culture back to the donor country.

This study has selected two villages San Roque (Estacion and Cruce) in Andalusia, Spain, and Santa Elizabetta, in Western Sicily, from which migrants have settled in Charleroi, Belgium. Studies of the sending regions are compared to discover the cultural values of the setting from which the migrants originated. This is later used for the purpose of understanding why the Andalusians and Sicilians are so different in their adaptation to Belgian life and in their way of behaving.

In this thesis a micro study has been carried out on two groups of migrant workers in Charleroi, Belgium. The micro study highlights particular characteristics of the two groups, relating to the behaviour, attitude change and level of integration. Chapter 1. examines the problems of migration. Chapter 11 and 111 are called respectively: 'The Italian Migrant' and 'The Spanish Migrant', these look at the background literature from Italy and Spain. Chapter 1V provides a picture of life in Belgium for the migrants in terms of legal rights and social, economic and political conditions. Chapter V investigates the cultural differences between the two donor regions. Chapter V1 is the fieldwork in Charleroi. Chapter V11 looks at the question of assimilation and adaptation of migrants. Chapter V111 considers the question of migration as a component of international integration. Chapter 1X sets out some future research avenues. Chapter X is the Conclusion.

The Movement of people.

The migration which is the subject of this thesis concerns people moving from the poor Southern countries of the Mediterranean to the richer countries of North Western Europe. The migrants have usually been compelled by conditions of relative poverty to seek their livelihood outside their own environment. This large scale movement of workers has had social, economic and political repercussions on society both in the donor countries and in the host countries. It is one of the central aims of this thesis to show that the social and political repercussions for the migrant group depend largely on its cultural background.

The movement of people, especially rural people, from land to cities, from one country to another, and from one continent to another, is an international phenomenon and not a phenomenon of modern times only. (Beijer, cited in Jackson, 1969, p.14).

The migrant considers migration as an opportunity which at a certain moment in time becomes desirable. In many cases it can be considered the consequence of a crisis or a necessity. For example Dinerman (1970) found that the decision to migrate from the central Mexican region was related to the need to repay debts incurred by a recent

expense such as a wedding or a funeral. In the initial stages of migration both countries, that is the host country and the donor country, think of the migrants as a temporary work force to benefit both the sending and the receiving countries. However, with the passage of time this migration causes problems and leads to friction. There is the question of giving permits to workers originally thought as temporary, to allow them to bring their families. When they do bring their families there is the problem of housing and education for the children. The question of social welfare and the attitudes of the indigenous population to the foreign workers are relevant. There are also the problems of discrimination, political participation and language. Migration, which was seen in the late fifties and early sixties as a miracle in the re-construction of Europe, has brought countless problems hitherto unforeseen.

Political Behaviour

The migrant becomes a member of the political system of the host country from the first day of his arrival whatever may be the reaction of that political system to his arrival. The migrant will depend on various decisions made within this system, such as his being admitted or his status. Of course the migrant is not a citizen but membership of a political system exsists in so far as migration has taken place and a direct relation to the political system of the host country has taken place

without any loss of the membership of the political system of the sending country. 'The membership has quite simply become a dual one'. (Hammar, 1978, p.6)

The Importance of Language.

Language is crucial in determining self-identity, and is most important for adjustment. Language, therefore, is an important bridge to integration. The better command of the language the more they will understand the ways of the indigenous population and the more they can fit in. This can be seen by comparing the behaviour of the first generation migrants and the second generation migrants. The younger generation which has been educated in Belgium knows French better and understands the culture better than their parents and, therefore, integrates better. In many cases in the second generation of migrants there is a problem of identity. Although a child will often be bilingual he may suffer problems of identity. He will belong neither to the new host society nor will he feel at home in the country of origin. If the migrants have decided to return home after 10-15 years in the host country and they take their teenage children with them the children may find it impossible to settle and sometimes, the greatest irony of all, end up returning to the host country of their parents but which they now regard as home.

Insufficient knowledge of language and lack of information are often self-reinforcing obstacles, and the result is that migrants are frequently deprived of their civic right

to participate in political life. 'More than ten million people, most of them young workers in factories and in service industries, are not allowed to take part in the political elections of any country. This has not only meant a reduction in the political importance of migrant workers but also of workers in general in the receiving countries of Western Europe', (Hammar, 1978, p.3). According to Hammar, when someone leaves his old country in order to live and work for a long time in another, he will immediately be in touch with the political life of the receiving country and he will consequently depend on its labour market, its housing supply, its educational system. At the same time, he will not completely cut himself off from the political life of the sending country. The unique relationship that existed between him and the political life of one single country has become complicated by migration: he has become a political dependent of two countries. The migrant may plan to stay permanently or return after a few years. The latter is usually the case. However, if he decides to stay his membership of the new country will increase in importance. This does not mean that his membership of the political system of the sending country will diminish in importance at the same rate. 'The two can exist simultaneously, they are interdependent and exist from the beginning of the migration period for a long time to come'. (Hammar 1978, p.5).

Migrant workers often do the jobs the local population do

not want. In Belgium the Italians and Poles came to work in the mines because the Belgians would not. In France the Algerians came to work in public service industries and in Britain the West Indians came to work in public transport. To a large extent the intentions of the migrant workers coincided with the attitudes held in the host countries. The migrants arrived with the intention of staying only a short time. However, the short term outlook turned out to be false. Economic expansion in the host countries necessitated more workers. Local labour abandoned badly paid undesirable jobs and these were taken over by the foreign workers. Thus, more and more jobs in agriculture, mining construction, hospitals, hotels and restaurants were done by migrants. The process of upward mobility was underway.

Effects of Migration

If the migrant has his problems so have others, e.g. relatives left behind and governments, local authorities, employers, trade union leaders and the general public in the host country. For solutions they are all dependent on each other. The question of how long the worker will stay in the foreign country, for instance, depends on his employer, who in turn must know whether he can count on foreign labour and for how long. It also depends on the government of the host country, which is only likely to renew work permits if there is still a shortage of labour. When labour in the developed countries was insufficient

for production plans, foreign workers were recruited to fill the gap. Many people viewed this as a temporary measure, but this temporary labour force grew and it is now hard to see who would replace these workers, who would do the 'dirty work' for low wages. This time the dividing line is not just betwen social classes but between ethnic groups as well, and this raises grave social problems.

Most economists agree in their views that the mass arrival of the migrants permitted a rapid and unimpeded growth of the countries in Western Europe, (see Kindleberger 1967). On the other hand according to Bohning (1977) (but Griffin (1976) advances different views) benefits to donor countries of migration are put into doubt. The outflow of people from these countries is conducive to a lack of demographic balance; it drains them of the most valuable part of the labour force (young and relatively skilled workers), reducing unemployment either marginally or not at all. The assets, from the migrants' money sent back to families in the countries of origin do not cover the losses induced by migration, (see Blumer 1970, Bohning and Maillat 1974, Power 1975).

The notion of socially undesirable jobs

Unless there is an extraordinarily severe recession many indigenous workers will choose the dole rather than do jobs that they consider to be 'beneath' them, European

workers are increasingly becoming alienated from mechanically repetitive or unsafe jobs. An expanding economy and an influx of less demanding workers has enabled them to move away and turn their back on large sectors of industrial life.

Ethnicity

The term ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological terms (see Narroll 1964) to describe a population which is: ' (a) largely self perpetuating, (b) shares fundamental cultural values, (c) makes up a field of communication and interpretation, (d) has a membership which identifies itself and is identifiable by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order'.(Barth, 1969.p.11). This ideal definition is not so far removed in content from the traditional proposition that a race = a culture = a language and that a society = a unit which rejects, discriminates against or feels different from others.

Identity

Where the issue of forging a new identity does come to the fore is with the second generation - those who either were born in the mother country but came to the host country at a young age, or were themselves born in the host country. It is for this group, growing up as they are with a hyphenated identity, that the question of their

status vis-a-vis the host country becomes particularly acute. 'The individual who through migration, education, marriage or other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another finds himself on the margin of each but a member of neither; he is a marginal man. The marginal personality is seen most clearly amongst individuals who are unwittingly initiated into two or more historic traditions, languages, political loyalties, oral codes or religions. This occurs as a result of migration'. (Stonequist 1961 p.3). There is the further point that often migrants are the least adjusted members of their own society who have already before migrating suffered disappointments and frustrations, (Eisenstadt 1954). Migration is so common in the modern world that nearly every land and city is something of a melting pot of races and nationalities. Wherever there are cultural transitions and cultural conflicts there are marginal personalities; if the cultural differences are of major importance, i.e. they include sharp contrasts of race, and if the attitudes of the host country are hostile then the problem of the immigrant is immense. However, these problems may be equally felt by a European migrant, (see Daschefsky and McNally 1976, Epstein 1978). The change from one society to another is no less acute, an Italian migrant going for the first time to Germany, Switzerland, or Belgium will feel the strangeness of the host country in the same way. However, in the majority of cases the migrant will overcome his initial wariness, since his

primary aim is to earn as much money in as short a time as possible. He will put aside, or at least try to overcome, the problems which he faces in the host country. Sometimes the immigrant will, after several years, succeed in adjusting to the new environment but rarely does he become truly integrated. It therefore follows that even the normal individual is in a mild degree a kind of multiple personality. When the standards of two or more social groups come into active contrast or conflict, the individual who is identified with both groups experiences the conflict as an acute personal difficulty or mental tension. He may be required to choose between two national loyalties, or only between two minor groups; in either case the situation is the same, the external conflict of the groups finds an echo in the mind of the individual concerned. The conflict may manifest itself in imperfect socialisation and deviance, (see Gurr 1970). A poignant example of the multiple personality of the migrant is provided by a finding by Kenny (1976) who studied Spaniards in Mexico. When the migrant is in Mexico he feels Spanish and when he is in Spain he feels Mexican. Similarly, in the two case studies reported in this thesis the migrants were called 'the Belgians' when they returned on holiday to their vilages.

In a process of socialisation a person acquires a number of identities; they are not necessarily organically connected but they are distinct and different in quality.

In many situations a person faces the problem of integrating or reconciling diverse identities that are poles apart.

Barth (1969, p.15) believes that, 'The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails that two are fundamentally "playing the same game" and this means that there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity'.

It is usual for migrants to mix with other migrants and normally they tend not to mix very much with the local community. Integration of the migrant could be facilitated in cases where he knew friends at the place of destination before migrating. A good example of this is the international migration of Italians to a particular country; they have often all come from the same village in their own country, (see Venturelli 1983). Many studies have shown that normally the migrants' closest friends are other migrants, i.e. people in similar situations who have faced similar problems to their own.

When a child is born he acquires an individual name, a surname and a group name. He will also acquire the history and the origins of the group into which he is born. 'The group's cultural past automatically endows

him, among other things, with his nationality or other condition of national, regional, or tribal affiliation, his language, religion, and value system - the inherited clusters of mores, ethics, aesthetics, and the attributes that come out of the geography or topography, of his birthplace itself, all shaping the outlook and way of life upon which the new individual enters from this first day'. (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963, p.32). The new member of the group will acquire not only the inheritance of a past but also be immersed into the sharing circumstances of the present - the various conditions that come or do not come with these legacies, i.e. the family's relative wealth or poverty, its relative position in the larger group to which it belongs, and the group's position relative to other groups in its environment - all the political-social-economic circumstances that impinge on the family and the group, with all the inward and outward effects these conditions have on the shaping of the individual's personality and the making of his life. It therefore follows that the group into which the individual is born is of paramount importance. If a man is born into a small rural community in the hills of Southern Italy or Southern Spain he stands a lesser chance, in terms of advancement than if he had been born in the industrial North. He is at a disadvantage from the start. He will, for example, receive a poorer education, if any at all, or at least a very basic education. This disadvantage will be with him, normally, for the rest of his life. There are many elements to be discovered in the

study of group identity. 'The function of group identity has to do most crucially with two key ingredients in every individual's personality and life experience: his sense of belonging and the quality of his self esteem'. (Glazer & Moynihan 1963, p.32). An individual belongs to his basic group and within this basic group he is not alone. Even though he may want to deny this identity, no one can take it away from him. Such an established and mature identity aids the eventual return for many migrants.

Where migration is of a temporary nature, i.e. from 5-10 years, this very group identity is perhaps what helps the migrant to maintain his sanity. He finds himself at first in a totally alien environment, where not only the language is incomprehensible, but also in many cases the attitudes and behaviour of the indigenous population are alien. In this new environment, the migrant clings more closely to his background, to the ethnic group of which before, perhaps, he was not even aware. This is shown by the creation of clubs, bars where the migrant can meet his 'own kind', where they can complain and joke about their 'foreign masters' and where they share a common ground. If this did not exist, then it would be more than likely that many migrants would have returned to their villages long since. In this way the migrant is conscious of a certain role in the host society and at the same time he can identify with his fellow migrant work mates.

Integration, Assimilation and Culture Conflict

There are a number of factors, which have been found to influence migrants' adjustment to the host culture: 'Migrants tend to be more adjusted and less indifferent the higher their original skill level, the older they are and the less straining the work is. Other factors influencing the migrant's satisfaction with his work and occupational activity are the perception of his superiors, in particular his foreman, the attitude his host colleagues exhibit towards him, and his satisfaction with the wage he receives'. (Bohning 1976a).

Processes of assimilation can only be stopped by a clearly stated goal to return home in a foreseen period, (see Borrie 1959). However, most migrants have no definite idea as to when they will eventually return home. ' The hypothesis that assimilation processes weaken only when parents abandon a goal for the return home, is explained by the fact that in such a situation there are genuine motives for studying the mother tongue and original culture, since schooling and professional perspectives in the country of origin become apparent to the second generation. The critical point during a migrant's residence abroad comes when he decides if his child shall be schooled in the host country or in the society of origin. If the first alternative is chosen, the probability of return diminishes and the probability that the migrant shall remain permanently abroad, and that the second generation

shall be assimilated, increases.' (Klinar, 1979, p. 1). However, according to De Montvalon (1976), the young person's aspiration to be himself while discovering a new life cannot be achieved if his family is not firmly linked to its society of origin ..... Unfortunately, membership of a strong culture does not make it any easier for the young migrant to assimilate while remaining himself, when this culture is self-enclosed and cut off from others.

In the process of integration language is without doubt one of the chief barriers, (see Taft 1966). If the migrant succeeds in learning the host society's language he can then join the host country's labour market and in this working process move away from forms of discrimination. Knowledge of the host language and the acceptance of some cultural habits give the migrants a more normal existence and life in that milieu. However, at the same time migrant workers are able to preserve their original culture via family contacts and friends, and clubs, the annual visit to the village and numerous economic and social contacts with the society of origin. The possibilities for transculturation are small; this is because contacts of the second generation within the culture of origin are weaker than those of the first generation (see Klinar 1979). Although the first generation migrants tend to maintain ties with their village and to enact the same customs, the second generation, normally, is less interested in preserving the original culture.

The interest lies in the culture of the host country. Some have gone so far as to label the second generation as a new class, (see Power 1979). Of course, the contacts of the second generation are naturally less strong with the environment of origin than the first generation, therefore there does not exist the same emotional pull and thus there is a lessened desire to return. For obvious reasons the changes within the second generation are much deeper than within the first, the friends made extend beyond the circle of the family and compatriots. The second generation is influenced by the mass media, and also the second generation visits the place of origin less and it is not tied to it by direct interests in the same way as the first generation. Because of these various factors many members of the second generation gradually become integrated into the host society, (see Dumon 1979) and at the same time alienated from the society of their parents. While the children are still young there is no direct conflict between the two generations. However, when the children grow up they may start to oppose the culture of origin of their parents. The influence of parents is weaker than various other influences of the host country. The authority of the first generation is thus automatically undermined.

The migrants, for the most part, although initially planning to stay only a short time, have ended up staying much longer than anticipated. In many cases they are poorly prepared for staying long periods of time. They

have normally an inadequate knowledge of the language, and in the case of the children they will speak one language at home and another at school. Serious difficulties may arise where neither language is learnt well. Normally migrants are less informed than others about what happens in their daily life. As Hammar (1978, p.2) stated: 'They are inactive outside their work place or their own homes. They seldom enforce political rights. They work and pay taxes but they have no guarantees that they will be allowed to stay in the receiving country, even when they have spent a rather long time there, perhaps as many as five or ten years'.

A migrant leaves his village, his country in order to change his life completely. He has decided to improve his life style and has set off into a 'new world' and will return as a changed man. His primary task, therefore, is the change of his own person in the country of destination. There are many intervening variables in the process of change such as personality and attitudinal characteristics, (see Taft 1966). As will be suggested later, there are differences between adaptation and assimilation. Also there are different types of group identity. The inter-relationship of these variables with attitudes and values derived from cultural background are the main subject of the thesis.

Adjustment to the expectation of an achievement orientated society

The question is whether the migrant has to want to learn and absorb the values and norms of an industrial society. The answer is no. It would seem then that learning in the social sphere takes place on a plane which is rather subconscious and not intended by the learner, especially in respect of the processes of socialisation and social control.

From a rural environment to an industrial environment

Industrial production is completely opposite to agricultural production or craftmanship. Industrial work is impersonal and a functional form of work. It requires adjustment to the factory atmosphere, i.e. a certain familiarity with the environment of industrial work and the rhythm of the production process, quite apart from adjustment to heat, noise and dirt. The migrant will also have other obligations, obligations to the particular piece of machinery he may be using, or he will be required to produce reliable goods, (see Berrocal,1983).Perhaps the migrant will gain some insight into the subtleties of industrial life, for example the role of trade unions. However, because foreign workers tend to be compartmentalised in different work categories and because of their differing culture, language and aims, their integration into trade unions has been slow (see Castles and Kosack 1973). Their participation in trade unions has been relatively low in all European countries except

Germany. Foreign workers have been less likely to voice labour grievances because of their perceived legally-weaker position; but they have supported indigenous labour in their strike activities, (see Kleindorfer and Kudat 1974). An important problem which has not yet been solved by the unions is that of job security for the foreign workforce. International trade unions have drawn up 'migrant workers charters' such as documents prepared by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) with which national trade unions throughout the world are affiliated. The main point is that: 'Migrant workers should have access to the same social conditions as Nationals, "as would be provided by a Migrant Workers" Charter,' (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions 1974).

The Migrant Workers' Charter claims that the employment right of migrant workers, men and women, should be equal to those of national workers. However, about three quarters of all migrant workers are initially engaged in unskilled positions, (see Power & Hardman 1976). The migrant's satisfaction with his activity depends on a number of factors - Spaniards in West Germany for instance who are satisfied with their occupational activities tend

to be more satisfied with their foremen. The longer the migrants stay in the host country the more satisfied they become. Other migrant worker studies have found that the better the adjustment to the work over a period of time the higher the output.

Return Migration

In many cases the migrant has changed faster than his place of origin, (see Cerase 1974, Kayser 1972 b, Meznaric 1978, Bohning 1976a, Baucic 1977, King 1977b, Appleyard 1964). The economic conditions of his village which often formed his decision to leave have not improved. They may even have deteriorated. 'According to his calculations, the migrant's annual return is a preparation for the final return. None of his experience so far has led him to doubt the power that will be his when he has sufficient money. He will then be nearer to fulfilling his final plan, i.e. to be his own master in the economic as well as social sense; to receive all the money which the finished job brings in; to have a shop; to run a taxi service; to start a garage; to buy land and cultivate it; to buy a tractor, to become an independent mason or tailor'. (Berger and Mohr, 1975, p.214). These are the final plans for the return. The returning migrant does not plan on working in a factory as he may have done for so many years. Even if he wanted to it would be almost

impossible as such jobs are few and far between in the country of origin'. Many returnees do not return to their village but to a town in their country of origin.

The annual return is the moment the migrant has been looking forward to the whole year. The remote village. To here, for eleven months he has sent his money. He looks forward to holding his mother or grandmother tiny and frail in his arms, for a whole month he no longer need look at the photographs. However, when he finally returns, because the village has scarcely changed since he left, there is still no livelihood for him there. He will be back where he started. Unchanging as the village is, he will never see it again as he did before he left. He is seen differently and he sees differently. However, his prestige as a returned successful migrant is considerable. The villagers now respect him as a man of different experience. He has seen and received and achieved things which they have not. For the most part the different experience that the migrant has gained abroad is not directly applicable to the village. Take, for example, the Algerian worker in Paris who has spent years assembling the same car part at a Renault factory, When he returns to his village in Algeria he is totally unsuitable for any occupation and finds himself worse off than before he left. Moreover, although the returned migrant has status within his former village, it is now only the status of an outsider, not of an insider. This is something the returned migrant has not anticipated nor

been prepared for in his annual holiday visits home. Yet some have noted (for example, Dahya 1973) that returnees contribute to their self-isolation by wearing foreign suits and keeping apart from others in the home-community. Cerase (1970) has suggested a four-stage model of return migration:- (i) the return of failure, (ii) the return of conservatism, (iii) the return of innovation and (iv) the return of retirement.

The Education of Children

The problem of language does not arise with the second generation. The children attend local schools and become almost integrated into the host society. The longer the migrant stays in the host country the more alienated the second generation migrants become from the place of origin, (see Lebon 1981, Dassetto and Bastenier 1982). As migration research has shown, assimilation processes begin to become more intensive only in the generation which has descended from first generation migrants and which has begun to be affected by higher levels of assimilation, (see Borrie 1959, Dumon 1979).

'When the generations clash on cultural grounds - (whether because of the natural process of cultural change within a society or because of the conflicting pressures generated by migration) various forms of adaptation are open to the second generation,' (Lopreato 1970 p.68). In 1943 a study of 'The second generation in conflict', was carried out by

Irvin Child, in New Haven, Connecticut. Child tried to isolate different types of individual adjustment to American culture among Italian immigrants' sons, who had either been born in the United States or who had arrived at an early age. Child found that the second generation migrant was socialised under the impact of two different and largely incompatible cultures, thereby acquiring conflicting goals, habits and attitudes (see Child 1943). Thus the second generation is totally different from the first, whether the migration has been within Europe, or to America, or Australia. It is a new generation, a generation which has been brought up in an alien environment - for example a Northern European country, totally different from the life their parents left behind - there is naturally going to be conflict. This conflict can show itself in many ways - when the time comes for parents to return, some of the children will not want to return. Their home has been in the host country, they grew up there and they will feel no affinity with the country of origin. The migrant children of school age face different problems depending on whether or not they were born and brought up in the host country. Generally these children have to face language problems. If the mother is working, the child may miss out on some of the maternal care he/she might have expected in the village. The father is often so tired from overtime that he is in no condition to share the burden of bringing up the children. The parents usually cannot help the children with their lessons because of ignorance of language and

usually a very low educational standard. There also exists, sometimes a negative attitude towards Belgian society and culture, and the negative attitude of the host country's society towards the migrant.

Housing

The weak position of the migrants in the housing market, forces the migrants into the poorest multi-occupied accommodation, (see Gentileschi,1979) which is shunned by the host population. Migrants may seek a similar area (i.e. a ghetto) for a feeling of security, (see Burton 1979, Wirth 1928,). This causes a concentration of migrant labour in one particular area. The net result is an isolation of an alien workforce - detrimental to any integration between the indigenous population and the migrant workers. From the point of view of the migrant, perhaps the segregation does not seem so grim because normally he sees his migration as a temporary measure and after work is usually too tired to think of positive socialising.

Although European Community workers have the same rights as nationals in the matter of housing, in practice their position is far from satisfactory. The number of houses at reasonable rents is far from adequate, and migrants experience considerable delay in securing public authority housing, in comparison with the indigenous population. The need to save as much as possible from their wages,

which are in any case generally comparatively low, combined with the shortage of housing at reasonable cost, too often forces the migrants to take unsatisfactory accommodation. They consequently, frequently live in shanty towns and unhealthy overcrowded ghettoes. This is one of the main obstacles to integration in the host country and causes social frictions and xenophobia. (See Evans 1983, Dignan 1981).

Social Services

Realising the ill effects of the discontentment and frustration among the migrant workers, the 'host' countries have shown increased concern for their welfare in recent years, (Council of Europe 1968). A new convention on the legal status of migrant workers was adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe in Resolutions 74/14 (1974) and Resolution 78/4 (1978) which provides protection for the following:

a) Reception;
b) Family reunion (subject to availability of suitable housing) in a host country after due authorisation and conditional upon the migrant worker having sufficient resources to meet the needs of his family;
c) Housing: (Migrant workers to have the same rights as nationals with regards to housing);

d) Training and Education: (Migrant workers and their families are entitled on the same basis as nationals to general education, vocational training, retraining and higher education; they are also to receive language instruction from the host country);

e) Equality of Treatment in respect of conditions of work, social security, social and medical assistance, protection against industrial accidents and occupational diseases, inspection of working conditions, right of access to the courts and administrative authorities and exercise of the right to organise and participation in the affairs of the workplace;

f) Return Home: (The host country to bear the expenses of the return of the migrant and his family on the ending of his contract of employment).

Economic motivation is determined by the manpower requirements of industrialised countries and the availability of labour in less developed countries. Because of the nature of European migration - i.e. sensitive to the general economic situation, - there has been a tendency to regard the mass of workers as a kind of 'reserve army' to come and go as required. However, migrant workers are not simply a 'workforce' but are also people in their own right. Although they fulfil an economic need they are also consumers, they save and send

remittances home to their villages. Some countries have wished to justify liberal policies and stress has been laid on the advantages gained by the migration of the unemployed who would otherwise consume without employment and the advantage gained from adjustment to modern living, the fostering of vocational training and the stabilisation of the balance of payments through 'remittances'. Alternatively migration often deprives the donor countries of manpower useful for their development; it impoverishes them demographically and leads to the isolation of entire villages. Migratory movements lead to the separation of families.

It has often been argued that the employment of migrant workers will not prove economically beneficial in the long term, and that additional expense would be caused by the necessary administration and social services and additional expense on housing and medical services. Migrants save most of their salary and often it is sent to the home village. Given these various factors many have put forward the idea of taking work to rural areas and have encouraged factories and companies in industrial areas to use labour saving devices. These measures might reduce social problems during times of recession and high unemployment. Some of the aforementioned theories have had some influence on policies. But the chance of these theories being put into practice depends on the general economic policy of the moment or on the weight of pressure groups.

However, these theories have often proved untenable because of the immediate interests of the two real protagonists - the employers in the host countries and the migrant workers themselves. When the migrant workers were needed not much thought was given to the long term results - however, with the advent of the economic recession there were many who then saw the migrant workers as a threat to the indigenous population and would, if they could, have repatriated the whole lot. A long term programme cannot, therefore, confine itself to the social problems caused by migration for the migrants themselves and the communities within which they settle. It must embrace the whole range of economic, regional, industrial and development policies which affect the phenomenon of migration.

Remittances

Since the primary reason why the migrant leaves his native soil is economic, the question of 'remittances' is an important one. 'A major source of potential benefit from later emigration is in the flow of remittances sent home by emigrants whilst abroad and the savings with which they may return'. (Stahl, 1982, p.872). The remittance sent by the migrant worker to his country of origin is not derived from any particular indemnity paid to him. The migrant supplies the same quantity of work as the local worker each day, receives the same salary, from which are also taken the same taxes and deductions. So the

remittance which the migrant succeeds in sending to his family is only the fruit of sacrifice, of self-denial and supplementary work which he imposes upon himself. The migrant sends home monthly as high a proportion as possible of what he earns. In many cases those in the migrant's family who remain in the village could not survive without his help. According to Young (1974, p.153) 'The most tangible effect upon society itself, however, has been through the value of migrant remittances, which in parts of the interior are the sole means of survival for those that remain'. However, it would seem the effect of these remittances on communities is only short term. Poverty is cut down and living standards rise. Characteristically the money is used to buy land, a house, a shop, or to repair and modernise property. Other compatriots invest it in education and career facilities for their children. Normally much of it is 'wasted' on consumer goods with no long term value, (see Corsini and Sonnino 1972, Dasgupta 1981, Lohrmann 1976, Rhoades 1977).

Rossi Doria (1965) commented that the hard earned savings of the migratory period are spent in unnecessary investments (cars, electric household equipment) or in traditional investment (houses and land useless for the future of these workers). 'Thus cars, televisions and cycles are often seen in poverty stricken households, denied the basic amenity of running water. In spite of an improvement in the individual family living conditions,

in reality little social mobility is derived, as the remittances are channelled into an unmodified and rigid social system'. (Young, 1974.p. 153) In short the hard earned migrants' money is squandered on material items, which do not help to solve the underlying problem. Instead of the village benefiting in the long term from the migratory cycle, the acquisition of material goods only creates a vicious circle where fellow villagers will wish to migrate in order to acquire such goods and where those who have returned, with money no longer coming in, will soon be forced to migrate again. According to Brettell (1979) in her paper on Portuguese migration to and from France emigration has become a tradition, not to emigrate means to be left behind, not just literally but culturally and materially too. The annual return involves lavish displays of wealth, more apparant, than real. The hardships abroad are seldom mentioned . As in this study, where the Sicilians and Spaniards are called the Belgians when they return to their villages, in Portugal the migrant returnees are called the French. The house, which is the symbol of success, often resembles a French suburban house. Similarly Rhoades (1977) found this in his study of Alcudia, Spain, where most migrants had gone to West Germany. There is strong German influence in the housing in the village.

However, housing available to migrant workers in the host country tends to be expensive, in poor condition, and in run down sections of the city. While it is hard to

pinpoint the exact nature of discrimination, there seems to be increasing hostility towards foreign workers in the resident population of the receiving countries. Most foreign workers tend to concentrate in the same area and their jobs tend to be in the same areas. Even when foreign workers are a small part of the population as a whole, concentration of foreign minorities in localised geographic areas gives some parts of the resident population the feeling of being displaced. For the most part the migrants are treated and considered in the host country as second class citizens. Even when there is no systematic discrimination against the migrant workers, the social mechanisms of the host country put them in an inferior position. Deprived of their traditional network of friends and relatives, they are likely to be disorientated and lonely, (see Dierkens 1969). Their jobs generally offer only narrow channels to the host country, (see Martens 1974; although Glazer 1981 dissents).

Migration in the EC

The achievement of equality of treatment for Community and non-Community workers, as well as for members of their families, in respect of living and working conditions, wages and economic rights, is an important objective of the Council Resolution of 24 January 1974, for a programme of social action. Although certain imperfections and gaps still remain, Community workers have under Community legislation adopted in their favour, acquired the right to

free movement and to equality of treatment in regard to access to employment, social security, living and working conditions (including housing), the exercise of trade union rights, the education of children, and the right to be accompanied by their families in the host country. Non-Community workers, however, do not have these rights.

Article 16 of the European Convention of Human Rights authorises High Contracting Parties to 'impose restrictions on the political activity of aliens' without being in breach of the provisions of Articles 10, 11 and 14. The exercise of civic and political rights is conditional on the acquisition of the nationality of the host country - the qualifying process varies from one Member State to another in regard to length of residence and other conditions. As regards nationals of Member States resident in another Member State, the denial of basic civic and political rights would seem to be inconsistent with the spirit of the principle of free movement of persons and with the political objectives of the Community with regard to political Union. The EC Commission considers this problem should be tackled by new policies.

Another important factor is that the migrants, because of their circumstances, are unable fully to exercise their political rights in their own country. The situation of nationals of Member States resident in other Member States is at present being examined with a view to drawing up

appropriate proposals regarding their voting rights, (Service Provincial d'Immigration et d'Accueil 1981). Many argue that apart from anything else migrants should be entitled to defend their interests as regards their living and working conditions and that representation of their interests at a local level should be established. The list of problems created by the mass movement of workers is long and dismal, (see Beijer 1969, Hammar. 1978). In Germany, recruitment of foreign workers stopped in 1973 when Chancellor Willy Brandt enforced the first notable check to the apparently ceaseless flow of migrant workers. On 5 September 1974 Reuter released an article giving the International Labour Organisation's comments on the social situation of the migrants and the people with whom they live. The tide was seen to be turning against the migrant workers, and governments were encouraged to step in with 'fresh and revolutionary' approaches to stem it. Irrational attacks and discrimination against migrants are increasing, and their very presence is being seriously questioned. The problem of foreign workers is one of the greatest social challenges facing Western Europe, where they are known as the eleventh community, of the ten nation Common Market, (see King 1974)

In 1973 in Germany the number of foreign workers had risen to 2,595,000 (mostly Turks, Yugoslavs and Italians), which was 11% of the work force. In 1976 there were still

2,039,000 in the country. By December 1978, 105,000 of Germany's 890,000 full-time unemployed were foreign workers, 30,000 of them Turks. Many have argued that as long as they remain outsiders, the presence of about 4 million Italians, Turks, and other foreigners living in ghettoes poses a threat to West German society. The general problems of ghettoes have been outlined by Burton (1979) and Enloe (1973). Burton (1979) has noted 'attempts to prevent such cultural islands within a state or to break up such communities by re-housing and re-employment policies, lead to social and personal disturbances that are serious for the individual and for society'. (p.165).

Foreign workers are recruited mainly in the capacity of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers. The receiving society would not benefit from any change in policy aimed at facilitating the promotion of migrant workers. (OECD, 1975, 1978). On the contrary the original problem, shortage of unskilled labour, would be restored and stronger competition at the higher skilled level would result, (Bernard 1976). Consequently a new lower class is being created, bringing with it all the attendant dislocations, social problems and potential dangers, (Vienna 1975).

E.C. Policies for Migrants

1. Classification of Migrants

In many of the EC countries, special offices of the Employment Service have been set up to assist the migrants in securing employment. According to the laws concerning foreign workers, it is also obligatory for such persons to register their names with the Service for that purpose. The migrants may be classified with reference to the nature of skill, level of education, or duration of stay.

2. Free Movement of Labour

Moving to find better work in another region or country is becoming more and more widely recognised nowadays as a basic human right, (see Hartley 1978, Pisoni 1974, Beever 1969). The free movement of workers is insisted on in such international agreements as the Common Market Treaty, (see Bohning and Stephen , 1971). In general non-Community workers do not enjoy the same rights as Community workers. Unlike the latter they are normally subject to the immigration laws of the receiving country, (see Bouscaren 1969). However, legal rights for migrants are most easily achieved in West Germany, (Kleindorfer 1974) and in Belgium. In these countries non-Community members enjoy Community worker privileges after a five year residence, whereas in other Community countries, the

residence period is between 10-13 years. According to Hartley (1978) to obtain a full picture of the immigration rights of Community citizens it is necessary to look at both Community law and national law. The Treaty of Rome guaranteed Freedom of movement for Community Workers within the EEC. The main provisions regarding workers are found in Article 48 EEC. 'The first paragraph of Article 48 sets out the general principle. It states "Freedom of movement for workers shall be secured within the Community by the end of the transitional period at the latest". The transitional period has long since ended and this provision can now be regarded as laying down a general right of free movement for workers within the Community. The second paragraph of Article 48 grants a right which the framers of the Treaty regarded as a necessary concomitant of the right of free movement: the right not to be discriminated against. Article 48(2) reads as follows: "Such freedom of movement shall entail the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment"' (Hartley 1978 p.89).

Freedom from discrimination is without doubt a separate right from freedom of movement, the right to work in another Member State will not be worth much if there is discrimination when the migrant gets there. It seems then that EEC countries should no longer discriminate against citizens of other member states by giving priority

in employment or placement to their own nationals. They no longer need work permits, although residence permits are still required. Community workers now enjoy equal treatment in nearly all matters connected with employment, including wages, working conditions, taxation, social security, the right to send for dependents, the right to own and rent housing and the right to be elected to workers' representative bodies at places of employment.

In a way EC migrants are a privileged group when compared with other migrants. In fact most migrant workers come from outside the Community, and the overwhelming majority of migrants to Western Europe countries do not enjoy any rights of freedom of movement. They have had to face restrictions which depend not only on the labour needs of the receiving country, but also on the personal, political, and ethnic acceptability of the prospective migrants. Even when the migrants have secured entry, they normally remain second class citizens and frequently do not enjoy equal treatment in their jobs. There is no doubt that an adequate social policy, together with vigorous measures in matters of information and education would go a long way to alleviate the problems the migrants face. The lack of interest in the social problems of the migrant workers is reflected in the almost total absence of statistics concerning their social situation and problems.

3. Health

Migrant workers are particularly vulnerable to illness and disease. This is due in the initial stages to the sudden change of climate and environment. Problems are made worse by possible linguistic barriers in communication with doctors and nurses. Where medical services are inadequate for the needs of the indigenous population, they are even less capable of meeting the particular problems of migrants coming from countries of different climate and environment, hygiene and eating habits. The change makes them more vulnerable than the local population to psychological disorders, various infectious diseases and industrial accidents. Often the medical tests which the migrant undergoes on entry or on taking up employment in the host country are not sufficiently geared to the requirements of industrial health and safety. A serious difficulty is the adaptation of the migrant worker to the job and his training in accident prevention. There is at the moment insufficient information available on the seriousness and the incidence of illnesses among the migrant population - coupled with the factors which make them prone to particular illnesses and industrial accidents (see Bastenier & Dassetto, 1980).

4. Social Security

The establishment of free movement of workers implies equally the implementation of a system of co-ordinated

social security benefits. Community legislation guarantees for the most part social security protection for the migrant worker and his family comparable to that enjoyed by nationals of the host country. Nevertheless, this social security protection could and should be strengthened, in order to eliminate the disadvantages still confronting the migrant workers. It is necessary to adopt a uniform system for the payment of benefits. Regarding family allowances, the rights of migrant workers with members of family remaining in the country of origin are determined in two different ways. Depending on the Member State in which the worker is employed he will receive either the family allowance of the country of origin or the family allowance of the country of employment as if they resided there. This solution which is in force in many of the Member States would eliminate the differences in treatment arising from the residence of the members' families in the country of origin.

Conclusion

This chapter has until now explored descriptions of the causes, characteristics and political issues involved. There are, however, a number of questions which have still not been adequately answered by previous research.

1. How do migrants from different cultural backgrounds differ in their subjective experience of adapting to a new country? Although some studies have used migrants' own

accounts, or used letters from migrants, to understand the migrants' own experiences, (see Thomas and Znaniecki 1958, Cavallaro 1981), not many studies have been carried out on a comparative basis (see Zubrzycki 1964).

The question arises, however, as to whether some types of migrants are more able to adapt than others and what the subjective correlates of those differences are. Do better adapters perceive 'discrimination' differently? Do they define themselves differently? Do they 'lose' their own 'culture' in the process? What subjective values allow them to adapt more easily?

2. <u>What are the objective characteristics of those migrants who adapt more easily than others?</u>

Migration imposes a cost of alienation and loneliness which greatly diminishes for the second generation. Yet such costs cannot be seen as temporary, because migration will always be with us. While the intra-European migration of the fifties and sixties has halted, new migrations are inevitable and some would argue are necessary as Europe develops and becomes more integrated in the future. It is perhaps no coincidence that Europe has both the majority of the world's migrants, and is the world's most integrated international "region". Thus the secret of successful adapatation is an important one for future policy makers. Do certain cultural backgrounds make adaptation to new homelands easier than others? For example Baucic and Pavlakovic (1976) found Yugoslavs tend not to return home. What are the characteristics of such

cultures and are they amenable to influence by future social policy?

3. <u>What is the role of political institutions in hindering or helping adaptation?</u>

How important is the formal, political route to expression and satisfaction of grievances and demands of migrants? Do migrants adapt better by learning the political behaviour of their hosts - does it help them to 'work the system', or at least to understand the values and priorities of their new country? Do migrants need formal political channels to express grievances and demands? To the extent that political learning involves changes in values for migrants, to what extent does such a process of political learning erode traditional values brought from the country of origin?

CHAPTER II

THE ITALIAN MIGRANT

Introduction

In the majority of cases the motive for leaving Italy has been economic. Emigration from Italy has always been on a large scale. The migratory periods have differed only in terms of destination. The Italian Government was also influential in facilitating migration. Agricultural decline was also partly responsible for the rural exodus. The migrants position in the host country is necessarily one of low status at least in the initial years of migration. Chain migration is prevalent amongst Italian migrants and indeed migrants have tended to live clustered together in the host country. For Italians the family is of paramount importance and anything else is of secondary importance. The Sicilian migrants in Belgium tend to rely heavily on kinship ties and perhaps that is why they appear to adapt fairly well. For the most part they continue to live according to custom and tradition. Many of the older Sicilians came originally to work in the mines in Belgium. Now many have their pensions and are ill from years spent underground. As the mines have closed down most of the Sicilians now work in factories. There remains a feeling of injustice that nothing has been done by the Italian Government to help the migrants. The rural exodus has left many ghost villages in the South of Italy. However, most migrants hope one day to return for good but they do not know when. Perhaps never.

<u>The Motivation for leaving Italy</u>

An economic motivation is the paramount one for Italian migrants leaving their place of origin to go in search of employment and better living conditions, (see Bohning 1976a, Tapinos 1974). The desire to escape from an impoverished society (see Glasser 1977, Galtung 1971) is so strong that any anxieties about the host country are overcome. Italian migration has been on a large scale and has many unique features. 'Emigration from Italy belongs among extraordinary moments of mankind. In its chief lineaments it has no like. Through the number of men it has involved and the courses it has pursued, through its long continuance on a great scale and its role in other lands, it stands alone'. (Foerster, 1919 p.3). For Italian workers migration has been the path for improvement since the second half of the nineteenth century. Before 1900 about seven million Italians left Italy and from then until the First World War another nine million left. This was the greatest period of Italian migration prior to the post Second World War era. It was only then that Italian migration was at all comparable to the migration which took place between 1861 and 1913. With the collapse of the Fascist regime and the defeat of Italy, that is after 1945, migration was stimulated.

During these early post war years the U.S.A. welcomed many migrants as did Brazil, Argentina, Canada and Australia. (See Briani 1959, Briani 1972, Cronin 1970, Foerster 1919, Rosoli 1978, De Marco 1981, Thompson 1980.)

The migratory periods were different in terms of destinations. Before 1900 most came from the North of Italy and went to other European countries. However, this trend was reversed in the years between 1900 and the First World War. During this period the migrants came from the 'Mezzogiorno' - the South of Italy and went to non-European countries. Since the Second World War the migrants have still tended to come from the South of Italy, but they have migrated to European countries, (see Livi Bacci 1972, Bonicelli 1978). Acceptance of migration as an answer to social and economic problems has had an important influence on post war migration. Government policy also helped the migrants to leave without any difficulty. Besides the overriding economic factor, social rejection also played a part in influencing migrants to leave their traditional village environment. The decline in agricultural employment led to massive emigration from rural areas. The first cause of emigration is the accelerating transformation of Italian society from a traditional, agricultural, quasi-feudal type of social organisation to the more urban type that characterises the industrial world, (see Lopreato ,1965). The majority of migrants come from poor

rural areas with no future. They looked to the North to improve their standard of living; either to the Industrial Triangle (Turin, Genoa, Milan) within their own country or to countries such as West Germany, Switzerland, Britain (see Marin 1969) and Belgium.

The Italian Government has always had considerable influence on the extent of migration at any particular moment in time. Since the end of the nineteenth century the Government has viewed migration as a 'safety valve' against over population. Apart from the Fascist period the Italian Government openly encouraged migration, considering it to be a demographic and economic necessity. This traditional policy was revived after the First World War. The period of heaviest migration, (during the post war years), witnessed the changing migration policy of Italy, of the host country and of any other body which was directly concerned with the migrant. Such organisations included the Church, various International migration organisations and, of course, the Italian Communist Party. From this time, migration became more organised and controlled. Article 16 of the Italian Constitution gave every citizen the right to leave and return to Italy within the obligations of the law (which meant that they had to hold a valid passport). Reaction against Fascist restrictions led the way to a less rigid migration policy. The Government set up a Commission to study methods for improving the social and economic welfare of the country, paying particular attention to the 'Mezzogiorno'. The

Vanoni Plan (Scheme di sviluppo dell' occupazione a del reddito in Italia nel decennio 1955-1965)stated that the development of the Mezzogiorno required an annual migration of about 80,000 Italians in order to improve the opportunities of those who were left - giving them full employment and employing them in local industries, (which would be developed if already there, or created by the Government). Twenty years later the Mezzogiorno is still a deprived area in comparison with the rest of Italy. The idea behind the Vanoni plan was to create jobs in the South. The State wanted to increase development in the South by creating additional jobs outside agriculture and to try to eliminate the differences between North and South.

Italy's international involvements also stimulated migration. Italians began to take advantage of travel opportunities which were firstly available as citizens of a member of the O.E.C.D. - through bilateral treaties on migration concluded between Italy and her neighbours; and later as members of the EC. Article 48 of the Treaty of Rome provides free movement within the EC; this influenced the Italian Government towards deciding not to limit migration and in providing assistance to any worker who wanted to seek work abroad. Italian workers who have left their villages have been motivated by economic and social dissatisfaction; their Government has helped them to leave since the migration of large numbers from rural areas helped to reduce over-population, unemployment and

underdevelopment. The official attitude adopted by the Government enabled the migrant to leave his place of origin with relative ease but also did nothing to discourage the seeds of discontent and insecurity the migrant felt within his own country, (see Matasar 1968).

The migrant's position in the host country

Paradoxically, the dirty or unsocial nature of his work, because it is not attractive to the indigenous worker, may help the migrant's long term integration because there is no element of rivalry. On the contrary the migrant worker is looked on as a 'necessary evil' to do the 'dirty jobs' of a modern industrial society, (Power and Hardman, 1976,). The openness of the host country is of the utmost importance because it indicates the attitude of the country as a whole towards the migrant workers. There are many factors which must be taken into consideration, such as, i) control to which the migrants must submit; ii) family policy; iii) conditions of residence; iv) Social Security rights and benefits; v) vocational training, language tuition, education for migrant's children. The policy of the host country is important. An 'open' policy will attract more migrants; for example, Belgium had a policy of encouraging migrants to bring their families, whereas Switzerland and Germany have had severe policies towards dependents.

One of the important types of migration is known as 'chain migration'. 'Chain migration can be defined as: that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants'. (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964, p.82).

In 1963, Desai showed the importance of Chain Migration for Indian immigrants to Britain. He paid particular attention to the origins, the social networks and employment structure of Gujaratis living in Birmingham.

The reasons for choosing a particular country will depend on the place of origin and the tradition of migration. Particular villages have the tradition of going to particular countries and particular areas. There are many cases of 'Little Italies'.

Bedford is an example of a town at the receiving end of the migratory chain; in 1951 the first Calabrian family arrived from Buonvicino. 'The pilot family group, was the first family from Buonvicino (province) to have arrived in England in March 1951. This migrant (father) was in fact the first Calabrian to arrive in Bedford, which gave rise to the migration parent chain, during a decade, involving the transfer to an English town of many nuclear families coming from the provinces of Buonvicino and Diamante'. (Cavallaro 1981, p.221). Sant 'Angelo Muxaro in Sicily also has a tradition of migration to Bedford, (see King a 1977). According to Brown (1970) Bedford has the great virtue of allowing the migrants to live in their own way with minimal interference and British people mind their own business.

However, Palmer (1973) maintains that the closed mentality of the ghetto, the cultural impermeability, unfulfilments and social resistance, can be attributed, other than to the foreigner, also to the receiving community. Brown has maintained that there is peace between the two communities - Palmer has a somewhat different interpretation - he sees the peace as the peace of apartheid and not of integration.

There are endless examples of chain migration. In Cleveland there are large concentrations of Sicilians from Termini Imerese. In Norristown (Pennsylvania) there are numerous Sicilians from Sciacca. Bailey looks at chain migration of migrants from two Italian villages to Argentina. Tonna (1965) made a comparative study of migration to Bedford in Britain and to Peronnes-Ressaix in Belgium, but the comparison was between two different destinations. The present study, however, comprises chain migration from two different origins. (S. Spain and W. Sicily) to the same destination (Charleroi, Belgium).

Degree of Nostalgia for the Village of Origin

Normally the stronger the ties with the village the more difficult it becomes to be integrated into the host country. Italians generally are deeply attached to their family. 'The first source of power is the family. The Italian family is a stronghold in a hostile land; within its walls and among its members, the individual finds

consolation, help, advice, provisions, loans, weapons, allies and accomplices to aid him in his pursuits. No Italian who has a family is ever alone'. (Barzini 1964, p.198).

Normally in Belgium the Sicilian migrants have their families with them. This is the nuclear family and sometimes members of the extended family as well. According to Alberoni and Baglioni (1965) in the majority of cases the presence of the family promotes rather than hampers the chances of integration. Amongst married migrants migration often becomes permanent, by means of the gradual acceptance of the new country and the possibilities which it holds for the couple and their children. However, at the moment when the Italian community seems fully established, whether it be in Germany, Britain or Belgium a crisis often appears and this time it is because of the children. 'There is the original immigrant and his wife, perhaps fortyish now in their own house. They speak English with difficulty; after fifteen years, just enough to get by. Mama, who lives with them speaks next to no English'. (Brown 1970, p.90). This refers to a family in Bedford, originally from Busso in Sicily. When the parents took the children on holiday to Busso they did not like it. They thought it dirty and old fashioned. When the children are older the gulf widens between the generations. The children of the migrant workers whether they have been brought up in Britain or Belgium or any other advanced country equate

themselves with the ways of the host country. The Southern Italians had been brought up in a completely different environment and culture. According to Brown (1970, p.90): 'the world of the first generation is the static world of Southern Italy. Its intense feeling for the primacy of the family group, its religious respect for the authority of the father, its seclusion and control of unmarried women, its devotion to the Church; all have the force of permanent, unquestioned values'. The longer the children have lived in the host environment the less they have known the environment of Southern Italy and the more completely will they have become part of the host culture. This is an ironic twist to the migrant worker's success story.

Knowledge of the host country's language is most important for adjustment. Examples of migrants who share a common language with their hosts include the Irish and West Indians in Britain. However, migrants who are from Italy, Spain, Portugal and go to France, Switzerland or Belgium learn the language quicker than if they had gone to Germany, Holland or Britain. Tonna, (1965,) found that those who had gone to Belgium learned the host country's language more easily than those who had gone to Bedford. The similarity of Romance languages helped in this process. In Bedford the parents spoke Italian or in dialect; only a few husbands and only two wives who were interviewed spoke a little English. This fact created a barrier, separating them from the English world and tended

to intensify the reciprocal need and interdependence within the migrant group. In Peronnes-Ressaix the same phenomenon has been observed but to a lesser extent since in fact many migrants there spoke some French well, (see Tonna 1965).

In a study of the learning of German by Spanish and Italian workers in Heidelburg, Dittmar (1982), found that numerous workers showed no interest in improving the basis of their knowledge of German, because they intended to return soon to their country of origin. Another factor is that: 'Contacts at work are characterised by overt or latent tensions between German and foreign workers; the sort of work (e.g. assembly line production, as opposed to hotel work): and the work environment. The result is that the necessary communications during work between the ethnic groups occurs, but that most often it does not occur in "freer" situations (during work breaks or time off). Thus one of the factors fostering learning of a second language generally does not exist: personal, contact linked to a willingness to correct errors explicitly'. (Dittmar, 1982, p.127-128).

There is no way of knowing to what degree the migrant workers succeed in learning the language of the host country or how many migrants complete language courses in the host country. The fact remains that language is an important bridge to integration. For a community to be assimilated in a short time, to be absorbed into the host

society, there are many things which will change, such as language, possible food habits, leisure activities, and the education of the children.

But the better the command of the language the more they will understand the ways of the indigenous population and the more they can fit in. This can be seen by comparing the behaviour of the first generation migrants and the second generation migrants. The younger generation which has been educated in Belgium knows French better, and understands the culture better than its parents and, therefore, is more easily integrated into the host society. This means that the young have become 'less Sicilian' than their parents and the next generation will grow even further apart from those first generation migrants. The typical Sicilian attachment to the family is sometimes at odds with the Belgian way of life.

Preservation of Sicilian Identity

The typical Sicilian traits which persist in the first generation are the main obstacle to integration. The Sicilians of the first generation do not participate much in social activities with the Belgians, and their contact with the host society is limited to the working environment , long days spent in the factory. It is, therefore, not surprising that their knowledge of French, and the way of life and culture of Belgium is limited. The preservation of the Sicilian identity does have some

disadvantages, in so far as it retards the learning of the language, which is important for social and economic advancement. It can also cause friction with the indigenous population. In Belgium in particular the migrants tend to live clustered together. This helps them to retain their identity but hinders assimilation. According to Wirth, (1928), the ghetto is not only a physical fact but it is also a state of mind.

'The establishment of "ghettos" has been the result of felt security needs and more positively, a need for identity through which there can be recognition. The "ghetto" is merely the physical or living expression of one form of community, kinship groups being another'. (Burton, 1979, p.165). When the migrants arrived in Belgium many of them worked in the mines and were lodged in houses owned by the mining corporation. The migrants were obliged to take low paid jobs and were given poor quality housing in the older parts of town. It was not surprising that a sort of 'Little Sicily', with special shops and bars, grew. However, the local population do not like to see ethnic groups concentrated in one area. There is now a process of necessary adjustment to the permanent nature of most migrants: Until fairly recently many European countries regarded the large migrant labour force as unfortunate but a necessary economic expedient which would eventually be repatriated rather than assimilated into the local community. 'They are now facing up to the possibility that they have found a

permanent element in their population that will have to be integrated if not assimilated'. (Dignan, 1981, p.139).

Much has been written on assimilation, (see Lochore 1951, Borrie 1954, Freedman 1962, Duncan 1933, Hitti 1924, Borrie 1959, Bettoni 1981). According to Jackson et.al. (1969) even where the migration of whole families or even villages has occurred, the new 'world' has brought changes in the demands made upon them, changes which have in turn been reflected in the altered social relationships between members of the group. Letters written by migrants have brought to light the contrasting worlds and have shown how they gradually adapted, (see Thomas and Znaniecki 1958, and Bongiorno and Barbina 1970). The letters written by the migrants to their loved ones in the village show the emotional upheaval which has taken place by uprooting themselves. Photographs have also shown the desperation of migrants' lives (see Lucas 1977). In many cases the migrant worker would leave his wife and children in the village and only see them once a year during the annual holiday or possibly also at Christmas. This was particularly true of migrants who went to Germany and Switzerland. The migrants in Belgium do not normally have this problem since Belgium has until recently, encouraged migrants to bring their families. For several years the trend of Italian migration has shown a number of features. It is necessary to consider the situation and prospects of migrants in the immigration areas as well as the economic, institutional and political obstacles they have to face in

order to overcome the discrimination operating against them. (See Blumer 1970).

Deprivations suffered by the Migrants

There are many deprivations which the migrants suffer. For example there is separation from their families, and finding themselves alone in a culture where they are alien. In the case of young migrants, this frustration with the situation may turn to violence, (see Gurr 1977, Baglivo and Pellicciari 1970, Burton 1979). The immigrants usually live in a ghetto-type community and violence may arise in the community because of dissatisfaction with conditions. The advance in technology and industry has called for an increased demand for technical and skilled labour. This is a problem for the migrant workers because for the most part migrants are unskilled. This makes it difficult for most migrants to adapt if a special skill is required.

Discrimination on the basis of race, income, class or sex violates commonly accepted standards of social justice. Where discrimination is pervasive, the freedom of minority groups is severely restricted, as are their opportunities for achievement. Such limitations harm not only those discriminated against, but also the larger community, talents go undeveloped, potential output is lost, and markets are unnecessarily restricted. (see Schiller 1973,) Few migrants believe that they are well treated a though they will often state in interviews that they are treated well for fear of reprisals.

There remains a feeling of injustice prevalent among peasant communities that nothing is being done to help them. Many Italians who went to Belgium to work in the coal mines believed they had been sold by their government for a sack of coal. It is often a great shock for the migrant when he is confronted by a large industrial city. This shock can be experienced in his own country. For example, large cities like Milan and Turin are a far cry from the quiet villages of Southern Italy.

The Importance of the family in Southern Italian Culture

The question of integration is a serious problem in migration. There is the question of whether or not the migrant family becomes eventually integrated. Also there is the question of whether migration seriously undermines migrant family cohesion (see Alberoni and Baglioni 1965, Moss and Thompson 1958). Do migrants integrate well with their new neighbours? Will they participate in local organisations? Do the existence of family and kin relations encourage migration? (See Borrie 1959, Barzini 1964).

If a migrant has family in a particular area then he is more likely to go there, (see Fava 1980. De Marco 1983). In many cases the father migrates first and once he is settled the rest of the family will usually join him. However, the problem of whole families uprooting themselves are immense. The implications of change in schools for the children are enormous, (see Dumon 1979). For the husband, life perhaps is somewhat easier, in that his first contacts are among his workmates, but usually it is more difficult for the wife to make friends and

acquaintances. The wife becomes entirely dependent on the husband to keep in touch with the outside world. The husband will be forced to spend more of his spare time at home. In many cases the wife will begin to look back on her life in the village in the home country with nostalgia. She will miss the help with the children given by friends and relatives, see (Alberoni and Baglioni 1965).

Perhaps it is difficult for Northern Europeans to understand the strong bonds that Southern Italian people share with their families. This does not apply only to their parents or brothers and sisters, but equally applies to what may be called the extended family, that is, cousins, aunts and uncles. The family plays an important part in the lives of Italians, especially Southern Italians. In 'Beyond the Melting Pot' by Glazer and Moynihan, in the section on Italians in the United States, the village mindedness of Southern Italians was striking to American observers. When the migrants settled in the blocks in New York or in the small industrial communities around the city, they tended to congregate with others from the same province or even village. But however powerful the 'Italian village culture' (see Barzini 1964) had been in the old country, it was unable, when transferred to the United States, to sustain, the absolute power of the father and the unquestioning humility of the children.

It is hard to determine exactly how far the structure of the family influences cultural and educational standards in the second generation. What is clear is that where the family is a strong unit divorce, separation and desertion are rare, although infidelity amongst the men is high and considered normal, (see Alberoni and Baglioni 1965, Borrie 1959, Barzini 1964). When it comes to marriage the man will more often than not look for his bride from his village or a village nearby, (see Boni 1970). Similarly Stirling in his study of a Turkish village found that: 'Both as an event and as a relationship marriage is at the centre of village society'. (Stirling 1965, p.178). It is rare that a migrant will marry a local girl in the host country, although it does happen. On the other hand a girl may often marry a boy from the host country. This may be a wish to escape from the Southern dominance under which she has been brought up 'A man should treat his wife with kindness if she is good, but always firmly. Like a good weapon, she should be cared for properly; like a hat she should be kept straight; like a mule she should be given plenty of work and occasional beatings. Above all she should be kept in her place as a subordinate, for there is no peace in a house where a woman leads her husband'. (Chapman, Gower 1971, p.107).

According to Davis (1973) in his study of Pisticci, a Southern Italian town, health, wealth and virtue are the considerations which determine the suitability of a

marriage. Property is also an important factor in the marriage stakes. 'Property transactions at marriage are one of three sorts, the settlements which provide the economic foundations of the new household, and are part of the transmission of property from one generation to the next, the gifts from the friends and kin of the spouses, which are part of a loosely organised series of gift exchanges: and the traditional gifts made by the bride to members of the groom's family'. (Davis 1973, p.33).

Since the family is of such importance in Southern Italy, a marriage is not just a question of two people marrying and setting up home together, it is almost as if two immense families are marrying. It is quite normal for the young people after marriage to live with the in-laws or some other member of the family. This is considered to be quite natural, and in the same way elderly people are much better cared for than in Northern Europe. There are certainly differences between those who emigrated with the whole family and those who left Sicily individually. The strong tendency for migration to continue over time can only be explained by the unavailability of jobs in the sending area, (see Reyneri 1978). In Sicily there are many factors which have contributed to migration on a large scale, social, economic, political and environmental factors have had their influence on the volume and direction of migration streams.

The union with Italy in 1860 is often interpreted by many Sicilians as the cause of the Island's social and economic ailments. Soon after the unification the political structure of the Italian Empire was slanted heavily against Sicily. Because of the location of the Government in the North, industry was expanded there and this in turn led to a decline in the position Palermo had held as an industrial centre. 'The land tax took no account of the low productivity of Sicilian soil and the food and property taxes were a considerable burden on the islanders. Reaction to this political oppression took the form of co-operative revolt (militant cultivators associations) and the development of the notorious Mafia, whose influence became rife in all branches of the economy in the west of the island. Banditry also flourished at this time. Associated with this was the persistence of a feudal social structure. The land-owning class were overwhemingly dominant, socially, economically and hence politically. Two-thirds of the land was owned by absentee landlords. Land ownership and control were the basic components of social class. Thus, in this rigid socio-economic system, migration was a means of achieving some degree of social mobility, and an escape from the confines of such a poverty-stricken environment'. (Young 1974, p.29).

According to Vivolo (1984, p.3.) 'For centuries, the problems of agriculture in the interior of Sicily have been small, fragmented holdings, an over-reliance on the

production of wheat and absentee landlords'. After the Second World War various attempts at land reform were tried. Generally speaking, land reform was a failure. Land was either appropriated in parcels too small to be effectively utilised or it was of such poor quality as to make it agriculturally useless. Much land, distributed via the clientalistic system of local level politics, never found its way into the hands of those entitled to it. Nonetheless, the area used for the cultivation of wheat actually declined and there was some movement towards crops which could be cultivated more intensively and which required more labour. But as if in proof of the failure of the Land Reform Act of 1950, the next two decades saw a massive emigration of peasants and farm workers. A more serious problem resulting from the migratory flow is the loss of potentially productive land. An additional problem, is what Vivolo (1984) describes as a process of surburbanisation whereby formerly cultivated lands are used by migrants for the construction of new homes. However, a more serious problem is the abandonment of agriculture by those with a migratory history. Their land is generally left uncultivated or it is left to the care of their aged parents. The remittances sent back by the migrant and the savings which they bring back to Sicily permit the family to leave the land uncultivated or to limit cultivation of those crops which are used for home consumption. The abandonment of agriculture, according to studies done in the interior of Sicily by ISVI (1976, 1979) tends to be

permanent, especially for those who prior to emigration had some experience in non-agricultural work'. (Vivolo 1984, p.4).

The ageing of the agricultural workforce is a problem common throughout the Mediterranean countries where mass migration has taken place. Since migration usually occurs between the ages of 17-35, the period in which the individual is best suited for agricultural work, the areas affected by massive migration have an even greater degree of ageing amongst the agricultural workforce than the national average.

According to Vivolo (1984), the process of ageing in the zones of exodus seems to be irreversible. In his study of Mirabella, he states that; 'an entire generation of de jure residents of Mirabella is being born and raised in the industrialised cities of West Germany. Even assuming a mass return of these migrants (an unlikely event), there would still remain the problem of not only the lack of interest of the young in agriculture, but also their total lack of experience', (p.7). The same situation has occurred in Santa Elizabetta in this study, where a whole new generation has grown up in Charleroi which would be loathe to return to the village and work on the land. However, 'perhaps the greatest threat to Sicilian agriculture caused by emigration is that which has been the greatest handicap in the past, that of absentee landlords. Those who work the lands of migrants have

little incentive to improve the yields of the fields. And the return migrant, with his savings and various government pensions and subsidies no longer has an interest in agricultural work', (Vivolo 1984, p.8).

Inter-dependence of North and South Italy

The immense difference which exists between North and South Italy is instantly apparent to anyone who visits Italy, (see Levi 1959). Not only is the landscape and climate different but so are the people, customs and tradition and above all the industry. Apart from these factors, anyone who has visited Northern Italy and then gone down to the South will notice the enormous difference and will feel the mutual resentment and distrust between Northern and Southern workers. Many migrant workers working in the industrial towns of the North are regarded with a distaste which amounts to racism. (See Fofi 1970).

The economic backwardness of the South is well known compared to the advanced industrial North, (see Schiller 1973). The development underway in the South is conditioned by the existence of Northern industry which helps but at the same time hinders progress, (see Cavalli 1964, Cinanni 1971). Most new industry attracted to or directed to the Mezzogiorno by the Italian Government has been capital rather than labour intensive. However, some assistance has been given to agriculture and this has usually been helpful because it is more labour-intensive

(for example, EC help for tomatoes and olives) and it is geared to local patterns of ownership and management. (see Dean et.al 1974). Since the Second World War the government has taken a more active role in responsibility for the provision of welfare benefits, such as: pensions, sick pay, maternity and unemployment benefits. In his famous novel 'Christ stopped at Eboli', Carlo Levi remarked, 'To the peasants the state is more distant than heaven and far more of a scourge, because it is always against them. Its political tags and platforms and, indeed, the whole structure of it do not matter. The peasants do not understand them because they are couched in a different language from their own and there is no reason why they should ever care to understand them', (Levi 1959,p.58).'Even today, the state and its representatives are distrusted by the peasantry, for whom the moral community is still coterminous with their own native villages. But, despite their hostility, few can afford to ignore it, for in Southern Italy, as in most complex societies, it has come to provide a range of services and social benefits on which their economic well-being depends'. (Colclough 1969, p.20).

Unskilled migration from the Mezzogiorno

Normally migrants from the South are unskilled. (See Padbielski 1978, Reyneri 1978). Most of them come from rural districts, where they have lived in an environment which is in sharp contrast to that in the receiving urban

community. The shift of population took place during the fifties and sixties not only to the industrial cities (Turin, Milan, Genoa - the industrial triangle) but to the industrial countries of Europe. Although the Italian Government (The Vanoni Plan) started to pump millions of lira into the Mezzogiorno it still lagged far behind Northern Italy, (see Lutz 1962, Coclough 1969). There is still a sharp contrast with the sound economy of the rest of the country. In the past there were five almost equally poverty stricken areas: rural districts of Apulia, parts of Central Italy, Sicily and the mountainous districts of the alps such as Veneto, Northern Lombardy and Piedmont. Now however, these regions are no longer so isolated. The Government has had roads constructed and improved communications thus ending isolation.

<u>The relation of Italian agriculture and Italian migration</u>

The remarkable feature of Italian agriculture is the great difference between different regions. The North has a highly industrialised system of agriculture. In the South poor agricultural land covers large areas, while in Sicily rich arable land and poor farming land often lie side by side. In many districts where there has been mass exodus because of migration land has been abandoned and ghost villages are scattered throughout the countryside. In former times in Sicily the landowning class was dominant socially, economically and politically.

Land-ownership was a sign of high social status. Migration was, therefore, a means of achieving social mobility and a means of escaping from being poor and having to toil on barren soil.

According to Young (1974, p 155.), 'the rejection of a village community introduces an element of conflict into village life between potential movers and stayers. Often too, a failure of expectations placed in migration may have serious consequences for the people personally concerned. Finally the removal of these vital elements from the community reduces it to a mere lifeless collection of houses, filled with women and children, and interspersed with abandoned houses and overgrown terracing.' The consequence of migration is often neglect of the land if the whole family leaves, (see Dolci 1959), but if only the 'capo di familglia' (the head of the household) leaves, the land will be cultivated to some extent. The migrant is normally reluctant to sell his land because he sees it as security for the future. Land is then often temporarily abandoned or may possibly be cultivated by neighbours. During the period of intense migration, the fifties and early sixties, land values tended to fall. Later many migrants, having made some money abroad on return wanted to purchase land, and speculators made a lot of money by buying up land and selling it to them at an inflated price.

The development of the economy in the Mezzogiorno

The P.C.I. (the Italian Communist Party) claims that migration has damaged Italy's economy especially in the 'Mezzogiorno' it claims that this is because the Italian Government chose to obtain full employment through the route of migration. The so-called 'miracolo economico' which was intended to develop Italy's economy in order to overcome unemployment and an adverse balance of payments has, according to the P.C.I., failed. A situation resulted whereby workers were forced into migration. Apparently unemployment was to be decreased (according to the Vanoni Plan) and aid to be given to the balance of payments by a massive exportation of migrant labour. The P.C.I. while helping the migrant workers hopes to gain their votes. It encourages the migrants' discontent with their social, economic and political plight and promises to help and stand by them. It pours scorn on the D.C. (Democratic Christian Party) and implies that nothing has been done for migrant workers by their Government. The abandonment of the 'Mezzogiorno' by so many youthful migrant workers in the sixties to seek work in the Industrial North and abroad is thought by the P.C.I. and many others to have slowed down industrialisation in the South because it has created a shortage of manpower. The P.C.I. has also claimed that the Government had other reasons for encouraging migration, namely: i) to protect the bourgeois elements in the country, ii) to help the nation's balance of payments through remittances.

Migrant representation

In the initial migratory period the migrant often felt isolated in an unfriendly society where language and customs were alien to him. During the early post war years only a few Italian groups sought to help the Italian migrant workers. During the sixties the number of migrants leaving Italy rose and various groups began to take an interest in them. In particular the Italian Communist Party (P.C.I.), the Catholic Church and of course the Democratic Christian Party (D.C.) took an interest, followed later by the Italian Government. The Church through its mission and the Association of Italian Catholic Workers (A.C.L.I.) tried to help the migrant workers in a pastoral sense. However, most migrants were not particularly concerned with help offered to them by the Church. They were more concerned with material problems than spiritual ones. To the migrants the P.C.I. seemed more helpful and sympathetic than any other group; through the P.C.I. they could make their discontent politically meaningful.

The Church's activities amongst migrant workers are performed in three ways, through i) its missions, ii) through branches of A.C.L.I. iii) through the local Church. The Church competes with the P.C.I. for the migrant's support. The missions are for the religious well-being of the migrants. A.C.L.I. provides the migrants with leisure activities, social functions,

professional and training courses. The objective of A.C.L.I. is to prevent migrants from becoming too involved in a Marxist way within trade unions and to retain their Catholicism. The missions have been less successful with migrant workers in so far as they require a definite religious commitment, and the migrants are too occupied with day to day living for this. Despite the Church's full programme to aid the migrants it is hampered by competition with the P.C.I. The Church hopes to help the migrant worker through its missions by creating a sense of belonging similar to close family ties and the close relationship enjoyed previously in the village of origin. It is not interested in nurturing discontent like the P.C.I. The Catholic missions receive financial support neither from the migrants nor from the Government but depend on voluntary contributions.

Trade Union Activity among Migrants

The relationship between Belgian trade unions and Sicilian migrants is basically unfriendly. The Sicilians usually distrust the unions, this distrust does not help relations between the unions and the migrants. Normally the unions favour reduction of foreign workers but the employers are not keen because the foreign workers are less demanding and more wary of causing trouble. 'The trade unions find themselves in a dilemma. It may seem logical to oppose immigration, but once there are immigrant workers in the country, it is essential to organize them - not only in

their own interests, but also in the interests of the rest of the workers'. (Castles and Kosack 1973, p.128).

There are many reasons why the Sicilians are not keen to participate in unions. Among the most obvious are:
i) the lack of a trade union tradition amongst Italians especially from the South; ii) many migrants feel that their stay is not for long and that there is no point in participating in the unions; iii) the migrants are interested in saving as much money as possible and are not interested in contributing to a union; iv) the language barrier amongst many of the older migrants who have never really succeeded in coming to grips with the language;
v) the feeling that whatever benefits that can be obtained they will be minimal and not worth the trouble involved. Perhaps the most important factor is that Sicilians are not used to trusting organisations. They hardly trust their friends and are wary of strangers.

Some trade unions view foreign workers as a source of competition and as a factor of retardation in the modernisation process. Migrant workers seldom want to strike because they want to earn as much money as possible, in as short a time as possible, with a view to returning home (even if they never actually return). The migrant also is anxious to avoid any problems with the host country's government.

One of the most popular misconceptions in any country of immigration is that the immigrants are somehow undercutting the locals by working for lower wages. In fact unions and government take firm measures to ensure that this does not happen: instead the immigrants work in a labour vacuum, where they get the same wages a local would earn if he decided to work in these sectors . (Palmer 1974).

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the history, motives and characteristics of Italian migrants. The acceptance of migration as an answer to social and economic problems has played an important role in the post war Italian exodus. In Sicily in particular, many historical factors, such as underdevelopment, failure to implement proposed land reforms, and an inability to introduce a suitably labour-intensive regional policy, have contributed towards Sicily's continued role as a source of migrants for the more industrialised areas of Europe.

While this chapter has not dealt with Sicilian behaviour and attitudes in detail, it has begun to suggest that Sicilian migrants have a history and motives of their own, which are different from those of other national and sub-national groups. In this next chapter this theme is extended by a similar introductory chapter on Spanish migration. The theme is then deepended in the

subsequent chapter by an exploration of the values and cultures of Sicilians and Andalusians; especially with regard to comparing such values in order to predict differences between Sicilian and Spanish migrants.

CHAPTER 111

THE SPANISH MIGRANT

Introduction.

Spain has a long tradition of migration. Many thousands of migrants left the poor rural areas to go in search of a better life.The main sending areas were Andalusia, Extremadura and Galicia. In Spain the loss of many migrants from rural areas was responsible for the reduction of people working on the land.

Spain signed agreements with various European countries, thus facilitating the migratory process.

Migration to Belgium dates from 1956. Initially the migrants worked in the mines. In 1969 migration to Belgium nearly ceased, but from 1956-1969 vast numbers poured into the country.

As the Spanish'economic miracle'unfolded thousands of migrants left their villages. The Franco Régime actively encouraged migration and some migrants who had experienced intense poverty in rural areas were only too pleased to try their luck elsewhere. In Southen Spain , in particular, there was extreme poverty and extreme wealth. In rural areas , families tended to be large and there was not enough money to go round, therefore migration was seen as the only way out.

Post War Spanish Migration.

Traditionally Spain has been a country of migration. There are various possible explanations which led to the post war Spanish migration:

i) Lack of industry in suitable areas,

ii) Effects of the Stabilisation Plan 1959,

iii) The design of the Spanish Government to facilitate its entry into the Common Market.

The vast majority of migrants came from poor rural areas, from large families and where it was almost impossible to make a living from the land. They, therefore, turned to the industrial areas, some went to the large cities in their own countries, (see Brandes 1975) Madrid, (Duocastella 1970) Barcelona, and others left for Germany, Switzerland, Britain and Belgium.

Many migrant workers have said that nothing was done by their Government to help them. These people come from rural areas where there are no factories or suitable industries to employ them and they are, therefore, obliged to look for work elsewhere. There exists a definite need to create jobs in the home country. Ironically, the

Franco Government did allow a large oil refinery to be built in Andalusia at Algeciras just opposite Gibraltar, but this did not help the people of some of the poorer areas of Andalusia, i.e. Huelva and Murcia, since, as often occurs with such regional policy, the investment was of a capital-intensive nature.

The Influence of the Franco Régime

It is perhaps useful at this juncture to look briefly at the influence of the Franco Régime in Spain, (see Hills 1967, Payne 1968). The Government which came to power in 1939 after the devastation of the Civil War was destined, according to Sevilla-Guzman (1976), to develop a political system which would witness the change of Spain from a pre-industrial society (see Aceves 1971) to a 'modern one'. 'The Civil War finished officially with a communiqué signed by Franco on 1 April 1939. Some kind of a dictatorial system must have been unavoidable after such a long period of fighting', (Amodia 1977 p.21). The victors were quick to impose such a system which was to last for nearly forty years. Moreover, there was to be no compromise with the defeated. The fate which was meted out to the defeated republicans varied from prison and execution to exile, and oblivion. This was indeed a negative attitude which hoped to create the new by completely eradicating the old. 'Franco's régime tried to find legitimacy in denigrating the Second Republic and glorifying the Civil War', (Amodia 1977 p.21). According

to Gallo (1973), the Civil War was a result of the hostility which is deeply rooted in the 'agrarian question', that is, in the federal land ownership system and under-developed economy. It is a well known fact that the landed proprietors and poor peasants have never shown any mercy to each other, (see Perez-Diaz 1974). The agrarian question was an essential part of Spain's economic backwardness. It should be noted also, that anti-clericalism which gained strength from the beginning of the twentieth century can be explained in part by the fact that the Church was an important landowner, and because of this had formed in many areas close relationships with big landlords. A symbol of this is the way the massive church towered over the village as the castle had in medieval times, (see Christian 1972, Carr 1966, Gallo 1973). The Catholic Church in Spain can be regarded in retrospect as one of the staunchest supporting pillars of the edifice of Francoism. On March 31, 1939, a telegraph was sent by Pope Pius XII to General Francisco Franco which read: 'Lifting up our heart to God we give sincere thanks with your Excellency for Spain's Catholic victory'. (Thomas 1961 p.754). It would seem that the Spanish Church has attempted to justify as a 'Holy War' waged by the champions of Christian Civilisation to free Spain from the chaos of liberal democracy with its attendant evils of atheism, communism, and Freemasonry. 'The Civil War had therefore, been a "Crusade", a word that became part of the standard vocabulary of the victorious opponents of the Republic', (Cooper 1976 p.50). It is important, however, to realise that Franco's

relationship with the Church was very different from that of other Fascist leaders (that is, Mussolini and Hitler). 'However, attractive authoritarian conservative governments might seem to the Church the aggressive nationalism of these régimes was sometimes in sharp confrontation with evangelical aims. Elevation of the state above the Church - the heresy of "Statism"' - had led to two Encylicals directed at the Régimes of Mussolini and Hitler', (Cooper 1976 p.50). According to Payne, (1971), no such declaration was necessary regarding Spain. Franco was shrewd enough to tame any anti-clerical tendencies in the ranks of the Falange, (see Southworth 1976), and Church privileges, particularly in education, were established as never before.

According to Cooper (1976) the Church accepted the position of legitimising authority which was to preside over the coming decades of Francoism. The Church and State were to become so closely linked that a form of 'National Catholicism' was created. Franco had decided to stake the long term future of his dictatorship on this idealogy rather on totalitarian Falangism. 'The Spanish Church was a fighting crusading institution, and in the south particularly, where peasant poverty was most extreme and widespread, the illiterate rural masses looked on it as an instrument of oppression'. (Gallo 1973, p.22). Church attendance became almost obligatory. According to Martinez-Alier (1971) the defeated Andalusian rural

workers were forced to attend Mass in order to obtain work. Priests even visited jails in order to convert political prisoners.

'It is remarkable that there was any opposition to Franco at all. The left had been militarily defeated in a bloody three year war. Half a million survivors went into exile'. (Preston, 1976, p.129). However, many were subjected to the political terror imposed on the zones captured by the Nationalists, (see Gibson 1973). It was thus, that the burden of active opposition fell on the exiles. But the greatest single factor, according to Preston (1976) contributing to the failure of the exiled opposition was the persistence of the Civil War ideological divisions. Those in exile had little time to think of Spain. They found themselves in new countries, with a new language and the question of survival. Even if they wished to intervene in Spain, in reality they had little change. Those in South America were too far away and those in Europe were involved in the Second World War. Even in the early post war years there was little that could be done. The exiles waited and hoped, while Franco cleverly avoided involvement in the Second World War, and after the war courted Western friendship, offering bases for United States forces and markets for Western multi-nationals. Franco's policy gradually paid off, and finally the United Nations dropped its measures against Spain.

'In those small cafés in Paris or Rome where Spanish exiles met, where they retraced the past of their Republic or dreamed up its future over a glass of wine, in the Spanish bookshops of every Capital, kept by intellectuals, who had grown old with their hopes, bookshops crammed with pamphlets and leaflets and the badly printed little magazines that every opposition movement produces, wherever - in Rome or Paris or Mexico City - another Spain uprooted and unyielding, the United Nations' annulment of the measures against Madrid came as a cruel blow'. (Gallo 1973 p.201). Despairing and bitter, the Spaniards in exile knew then that they stood alone and were powerless. The United Nations had given General Franco's régime an element of respectability. 'It was the heightening of tension between East and West after 1948 and Spain's strategic geographic position which caused the United States to lead the way in the re-establishment of diplomatic and economic relations between Spain and the rest of the Western World. With ample United States backing, Spain received formal re-acceptance into the community of nations upon being granted membership to the United Nations in 1955'. (Amsden, 1972 p.50). The Spanish Government continued the strategic and political aims of the country in order to obtain political and economic advantages from the powers of the West and in particular from the United States.

Franco's success in gaining the support of the United States allowed him to become arrogant towards those lesser

members of the Atlantic Alliance, Britain and France. France and Britain had already annoyed Franco on various occasions. When Britain was not keen to admit Spain into the Atlantic Pact, the Spanish Government was furious. An article appeared in Arriba (1951) 'No government need tremble today at the passionate hostility of an English Under-Secretary of State, since there are other great nations and other parties in the world, thanks to which one can do without British friendship when that friendship is withheld', and another paper stated (La Hoja, February 1951) 'The opinion of the British Labour Party is of very little interest to the Spaniards'. It was about this time that Franco chose to press Spain's claims to Gibraltar.

The signing of the agreement with the United States accelerated the trend towards industrialisation which had begun. The Spanish middle class trusted the stability of the régime and began to invest their money in development in Spain. American capital also began to flow in. Foreign investment began to play an important part in the economic development of Spain. In 1953 at Aviles in Asturias the Empresa Nacional Siderurgica was launched with a capital of 1,400 million pesetas, 4 million from the Spanish State and the rest came from four British iron and steel groups, backed by Lloyds and Lazard Banks. As in the past, Britain was playing an important role in the Spanish economy. However, she was no longer the only country to do this. The United States had taken first

place, followed by France and Germany.

As Spanish industrialisation got under way so the rural exodus gained momentum, (see Leal et.al. 1975). The period 1951-1956 saw a speeding up of the rural exodus. The Minister of Agriculture, speaking in Madrid on 18 July 1955, stated: 'We must convince those who live in such poverty in the countryside that their condition will never improve unless a number of those who are in such a situation leave'. (Gallo, 1973, p.225). However, words alone never drove peasants from their lands. But the rise in prices together with the worsening condition of wage-earners and small-holding peasants was able to do this. The Agrarian Reform Act 1953 did nothing to change the situation. According to the government the solution to Spain's agrarian problem was for the countryside to become depopulated. Thus began the trek of the peasants northwards. Thousands of peasants from Almeria, Jaen, Castile crowded into shanty towns on the outskirts of Barcelona and Madrid. They provided cheap and docile manpower for new industry. Each year between 1951 and 1956 at least 250,000 peasants left the countryside for the cities. Many began to think of going further afield, to France or Germany, Belgium or Britain, where life was reputed to be easier and there was work for everyone. Familes began to save, a few pesetas every day and finally they had enough to leave. 'Between 1951-1956 the number of workers who settled permanently in France was multiplied tenfold. It was still only 9,000 in 1956.

By 1962 there were almost a hundred times as many as in 1950; at least 65,000, for there were many temporary workers and others who had emigrated illegally'. (Gallo, 1973, p.225).

Spain 1959-1974: the background conditions for modern Spanish migration

In 1959 Spain was opened up to foreign investment. At the same time import controls were relaxed, and Spanish industry was quickly affected by a flood of foreign competition. Further to this, more competition was introduced into the Spanish economy after a I.B.R.D. investigation in 1963, (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1963). 1959-1960 was a year of crisis for Spanish Industry, (see Esteban 1976, Anderson 1970), and consequently there was a rise in emigration. Spain at the time signed migration agreements with Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and France. In the last 25 years Spain has helped those who wanted to migrate. Many thousands of people left rural areas because the fight to make ends meet was too great and because of the lack of jobs in their areas. In the rural areas where they come from there are almost no factories and there is no suitable industry to employ the local people. They are obliged, therefore, to seek their fortune elsewhere.

Since the majority of migrants from Spain came from agricultural areas it is necessary to look at the situation of these people and what led up to their departure, (see Aceves 1971). Up until recently, and still in the South, there exists a marked difference between the classes. Spain can be divided into sectors where there is extreme poverty and extreme wealth. However, in the region of Andalusia the contrast between the wealthy landowners and the peasants is extreme. Sevilla Guzman (1976) in a study of the 'Peasantry and the Franco Régime' uses the term peasantry to mean family units of both consumption and production, whose social and economic organisation rests on the agricultural exploitation of the land. According to him, peasantry implies a dependence imposed by the unequal distribution of power. 'From this perspective, the peasantry is to the agricultural sector what the working class is to the industrial sector. They are the largest, lowest and the most intensely oppressed segments of society both in the cities and in the countryside. Both are the proletarians of society'. (Sevilla Guzman 1976, p.102). It is, therefore, not surprising that from this group so many have migrated. 'Any discussion of the sociology of rural Spain must be prefaced by the distinction between the North and the South ... It is moreover a distinction which goes back through all the written history of Spain. It follows that the social structures of the two halves of the country have shown great continuity through all the vicissitudes of time'. (Pitt-Rivers, 1963, p.19). In the North subsistence farmers live upon the land or in the farm houses united in straggling villages - but the South remains the land of the 'cortijo' and 'latifundia'.

'Ever since early times, there have been large agricultural exploitations ... After the reconquest the Christians redivided the land on an equally lavish scale.. Today the great estates subsist ... the great estate is a result of divisions made by the conquest and capitalist speculation, which lead to an organisation of agricultural work in keeping with rational principles ....' (Caro Baroja, 1954,p.38).

The bulk of the labour used on the estates is casual labour - which takes the form of groups of labourers recruited for a few days work. There is of course no security in this type of work and this is one of the reasons why many of these former agricultural labourers emigrated in search of better opportunities. The rural exodus which started to spread in the early sixties to the lower middle sectors of the peasantry, i.e. small landowners, tenants, reached enormous proportions by the end of the decade. From 1964-1970 there was a decline of the agrarian labour force amounting to nearly half a million people. A massive emigration took place to the industrial areas of Spain such as Madrid and Barcelona and to the Northern European countries such as Germany, Holland, Britain, Belgium and Sweden. In order to maintain the peasants' interest in industry it was necessary to evolve an ideological framework. 'Thus a picture of urban life as superior and more rational than the peasant way of life began to be constantly projected by the political system through the mass media which they controlled'. (Sevilla-Guzman, 1976, p.118).

Between the period 1962-1969 as a result of the policy of the Minister of Information and Tourism, (Fraga Iribarne), each village had a 'tele-club', i.e. a television in the village bar - so that even in remote areas, the villagers were exposed to the temptation of the bright lights of the city. There were, however, apart from the régime's propoganda, other factors which influenced migration, e.g:

> lack of local autonomy and a very low level of social, cultural and health facilities were a strong deterrent as regards the social development of rural communities.

The main sending areas

The main sending areas are Andalusia, Extremadura and Galicia, (see Gregory 1978, Cazorla 1980, Sanchez Lopez 1967). Andalusia can be divided into Eastern Andalusia (Almeria, Granada, Malaga, Jaen) and Western Andalusia (Cadiz, Cordoba, Huelva and Sevilla). The western section is noted for its rich agricultural lands and large estates; the eastern section for its more limited natural resources and a higher percentage of intermediate and marginal farms. In many parts of Andalusia, inland away from the bustle and tourists of the coast the land has stayed the same as it was for centuries, (see Burgos 1971). White-washed villages stand high in the hills or straddling the plains, many houses now boarded up as their owners work in factories in Germany, Belgium, or France. Andalusia has not changed much. It remains the same in

tradition, scenery, poverty and customs. Morton described his approach to Seville thus: 'The Southern slopes of the sierra led down into a fiery country where the olive trees grew out of red soil and where the Rio Tinto flowed down the hills. There were pleasant valleys, cattle in the fields, and the limewashed houses looked whiter than in any part of Spain. Then I caught

sight of Seville'. (Morton, 1955, p.154). In many rural areas life has suffered badly, because of the mass exodus of peasants, who formerly worked on the land, consequently the social structure of the village has been eroded, (see Tamames, 1965). When people migrate from a small community in large numbers, the community itself is necessarily altered, as is its relationship to the outside world. Brandes (1965) maintains that although there have been strong cultural changes in his sample from the village of Becedas, the kinship element remains strong and the community remains 'closeknit and cohesive and has maintained its position as a source of personal identity for its inhabitants', (Brandes 1975, p.181).

The question of identity is a psychological one, while the question of belonging or being a member of a particular group is sociological, (see Durkeim 1971). According to Gregory, two of the major demographic changes of this century in Andalusia have been the rapid increase in total population resulting from the continuance of a high birth rate, a steadily falling death rate and a heavy migration out of the rural areas. (Gregory, 1978, p.64).

Spanish External Migration

Historically Spanish external migration went to Latin America. The reason for this was partly language and also due to the chain migration pattern. After the Second World War the direction of migratory flow altered and thus began the great migration to the countries of Western Europe. In 1959 Spanish migration within Europe was 52% of the total Spanish migration. By 1964 it was 92% of the total. The exact volume of migration to Europe during the early 1960's is difficult to assess because the exact figures are not available. Many of the Spanish workers left clandestinely, leaving the country on tourist passports, not legally valid for work abroad. Whatever the exact figure may be, the fact remains that Europe absorbed substantial numbers of Spanish workers anywhere between 150,000 - 250,000 a year between 1959 and 1965. However, in 1965 the flow sharply decreased as a result of accelerating prosperity in the Spanish economy and of a lessening of growth in other Western European Countries.

Patterns of Migration

It is interesting to note the various patterns of

migration. Different villages/areas migrate to different regions - e.g. men from Rosal de la Frontera (on the Portuguese border) migrate mainly to Germany and in particular Frankfurt. In North West Spain Galicia is known for its high percentage of migrants. The region itself, wet, sad and often bleak but also immensely beautiful, seems to reflect the plight of the migrant, (see Dobby 1936). Orense, the most distant from La Coruña of the four provinces of Galicia, is a good example of chain migration. Orense comes from the word 'oro=gold', which is ironic considering that from this area of Orense 80% of the inhabitants have migrated. One village near Orense called Santa Marina de las Aguas Santas, had a population of 200 out of which 150 emigrated, all to Switzerland and all to Lausanne. In this village, at least, word of mouth had played a vital part in migration.

The whole of Spain was experiencing hardship during the period when the Stabilisation Plan was taking effect. However, the restrictive measures carried out under the Stabilisation Plan had caused a recession in the years 1959-1961, which coincided with the economic boom in the EC countries. Even if there had been sufficient work available at the time in Spain the daily wages in the Common Market were three or four times what could be expected at home. By working in one of these Common Market countries, for example, Germany, Belgium, France, it was possible for the migrant to gain a relatively large

sum compared to what he would have got in Spain, and in this way he could save and buy the coveted consumer goods of the industrialised society.

Spanish Emigration After 1960

Emigration to Germany before 1960 had little importance, (see Sanchez-Lopez 1969). By 1960, 179,390 foreign workers had registered in West Germany out of which only 9,454 were Spanish. From 1960 onwards Spanish emigration to Germany took on massive proportions. The total number of Spaniards who emigrated to Germany during the period 1960-1967 according to statistics reached 362,038 and represented about 45,254 a year. The West German expansion plan led to the signing of labour agreements in 1960 with Italy, Spain and Greece and with Turkey in 1961, with Morocco in 1963 and with Portugal in 1964 with the result that by the end of 1965 the total number of foreign workers in Germany was 1,216,804 of whom about 300,000 were Spaniards.

The economic and industrial development of Switzerland was less spectacular. In 1945 talks were begun between Switzerland and neighbouring countries concerning labour contracts, but it was only with Italy that any suitable agreements were reached.

Switzerland has covered her own lack of manpower (see Kayser 1971) by signing the following agreements with:

France	-	1st August 1946
Italy	-	22nd June 1948
Austria	-	1950
Germany	-	1953
Spain	-	1961

As a result of these agreements the manpower was greatly increased in Switzerland, notably with Italians. By 1963 there were 472,000 Italians working in Switzerland. It is interesting to note the different jobs which the Italians take on as opposed to the Spaniards: Italians tend to work in factories and the Spaniards on construction sites. To Switzerland, as already stated, there has been a large scale migration from Galicia.

Arrival of Spanish Migrants in Belgium

The arrival of Spanish migrants in Belgium goes back to 1956 when a large group of miners from Huelva started the migratory flow which continued to increase steadily until 1966-67 when there was a marked decline due to the economic crisis in Europe. After 1967 it did recover slowly but never again reached the level of the early sixties.

In 1968 the Spanish community in Belgium was 48,000. From that year the number continued to grow until in 1972 it reached 53,146 residents. More than half of these migrants were in Brabant. Brussels comes only second to Paris in having the largest group of Spaniards in Europe outside of Spain. The other smaller groups of Spaniards are to be found in Liege, Hainault and Amberes. The importance of the Spanish colony in Belgium is shown by the large number of schools for Spaniards.

Migration to Belgium practically stopped in 1969. But after that the Belgian Ministry of Labour decided to grant 3,566 licenses renewable yearly. These licenses were granted mainly to domestic workers and trained workers. Throughout the sixties migration from Spain continued to remain of considerable importance for Belgium. The downward trend of migration started in the last months of 1973 when several European countries began to apply a policy of restriction to the employment of migrant labour, (Ministerio de Trabajo 1977). The migrant workers outside the Community (e.g. Spanish workers) were particularly affected since they did not enjoy the 'freedom of movement' applicable only to members of the EC. This restriction, therefore, considerably influenced Spanish migration and since that date there has been considerable cutting back and very few new migrants (see Salisbury and Theberge 1976).

Spain and the Common Market

In 1962 when Spain first informally applied to join the Common Market the opposition by members of the Community was said to be based on political grounds, that is, that Spain did not have a democratic nation. The political conditions which were required by the EC were not satisfied. Among these conditions were independent labour unions, freedom of speech and assembly, and universal suffrage. It should be noted that even at that time in Spain there was not full agreement on whether to apply for entry to the EC or not. During the late fifties and early sixties the leading advocates were the Opus Dei (centre right) who favoured Spain's closer integration with Europe. Against them stood the nationalist traditionalist groups, including the Falange, who wanted to preserve Spain's 'isolation'. There were heated debates and even now Gonzalez, the Prime Minister, is playing to the public gallery by his seeming reluctance against the EC, and NATO / both issues on which public opinion leans towards leaving or at least to re-negotiation. It was on 28th July 1977 that Spain formally applied for membership of the EC, the European Coal and Steel Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community. Strangely enough the Commission was worried about Spain's strength as well as its weaknesses. The scale of Spain's agricultural exports would present strong competition to the other EC farmers. Spain has a large export trade of fruit, olive oil and wine and would be competing against France and

Italy. It is not surprising then that many EC farmers strongly oppose Spain's entry and want to see it delayed as long as possible.

There would be other competition as well, for example, textiles and motor cars. The amazing growth in labour productivity is certainly the explanation behind Spain's fast-paced economic momentum between 1960-1974. The Spanish economy changed dramatically between 1960 and 1974.

The total output of the Spanish economy in 1974 was 2.8 times greater, in real terms, than it had been 14 years erlier. Industrial production expanded nearly four times, and the output of the services sector was nearly 2.7 times greater. Agricultural production was 1.6 times greater.

In Spain the shift of many of the working population out of agriculture involved an enormous reduction of people working on the land (a decline of about 1.5 million

workers between 1960 and 1974). Because of the fast growth of the Spanish population and, therefore, the workforce, the rural-to-urban migration provided the necessary elasticity of labour supply for the labour-absorbing industrial services sectors, (see Salisbury and Theberge 1976).

Spanish Economic Miracle

It was during the sixties that the world's financial community began to talk about the 'economic miracle' of Spain. The economic boom had began in Spain in the early sixties and came to an end in about 1974. Although largely a Spanish achievement it did coincide with the general expansion of the world economy. International economic growth played a large part in Spain's economic 'take-off', particularly growth in the USA and the EC. These countries presented Spain with a ready-made market for its products, invested in business propositions in Spain, sent tourists flocking in their millions to its shores and employed much of its surplus manpower under the guise of migration. (See Wright, 1977).

In 1960 tourists began to arrive in large numbers in Spain. Many factors contributed to this influx. The increase in car ownership in Western Europe, particularly in France, the rise in standard of living, and the devaluation of the peseta. 'Spain for Europe, became a synonym for holidays', (Gallo 1973,p.271). The régime

which benefited by the spread of this image did everything it could to enhance its credibility. Roads were improved, hotels and blocks of flats sprung up all along the coasts. From 1960, tourism provided support for the government's economic policy and it brought Spain and thus the Franco régime into Europe: although the saying used to be 'Europe begins at the Pyrenees'. In 1960 a total of 6,113,255 tourists visited Spain and brought in almost 300 million dollars in foreign currency. This had been precisely the aim of Franco's policy since 1957. By the 1980's, taking year-round figures, tourists to Spain outnumbered the Spanish population.

Return

Most workers if they return will traditionally go back to where they came from - geographically and occupationally because they have little choice. They invest their money in the same way as if they had stayed and earned it there. If their savings are used up, they might go abroad again. Normally family reasons cause the eventual return of the migrants. On return, the Spanish migrant over-estimates his own employment chances in Spain. He also thinks the State owes him something because he helped to alleviate unemployment in his home village when he emigrated, and because he contributed with his remittances. All this causes problems of re-integration back in the home country. Another general problem of returning migrants is that they tend to look down on jobs which are available in their country of origin. Empirical evidence suggests that the problem is smaller for Spaniards and Italians than, for example, for Turks (see Kayser 1972 a).

In cases where family reasons predominate the migrant usually returns to his community of origin. If family reasons do not predominate, the differential economic attraction of the home areas may lead a migrant to seek work outside his community of origin, (see Bohning 1975a).

There are many cases of this. Spanish migrants who have worked in Germany for about 5-10 years will often return to Spain but settle in Barcelona or Tarragona - still continuing to return to their villages in the South every summer. Quite simply external migration has become internal migration. Many thousands of Andalusians went North to Catalonia to look for jobs, (see Filgueira 1976). Catalonia is of interest because for the Southern migrant it is almost like going to Germany or France or Belgium. The language spoken there is in fact very different from Spanish and, therefore, the linguistic difficulty adds to the problem of moving from the country to town, (see Duocastella 1970). Although the great shortage of housing does not allow newcomers to settle wherever they please, they do in fact keep to certain areas, and where they settle depends on the part of Spain from which they have come, (see Osuna 1973). In Catalonia the jobs which the migrants took were mainly on the building sites and in the factories, (see Candel 1976). When the migrant first arrives in the host country he may show an initial eagerness to learn the language. He may even attend courses but, because of work and other family pressures and because he is usually so tired after the day's work,

he will soon cease to attend the classes. Delgado (1966) found in a study of migrants in Germany that two thirds of the Spaniards took no steps to learn German, and a quarter wanted to learn it in their own way. Only 5% went to language courses.

CONCLUSION

Traditionally Spain has been a country of high migration for which there are three possible reasons: (i) lack of industry in suitable areas, (ii) the effects of the Stabilization Plan, (iii) the design of the Spanish Government to facilitate its entry into the EC.

Migrants from Andalusia have experienced, directly or indirectly, the personal and ideological effects of a long history of feudal oppression of labourers by landowners, of a long civil war, and of a period of oppressive dictatorship. Thus in many cases, there are strong political attitudes associated with the poverty and occupational insecurity which lie behind the decision to migrate. The Civil War finished officially in Spain in April 1939. In the post war years foreign investment began to play an important part in the economic development of Spain. Investors trusted the stability of the Franco Régime. As Spanish industrialisation got underway so the rural exodus gained momentum. During the late fifties and early sixties thousands left their land and villages to seek work elsewhere. 1959-1960 was a

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year of crisis for Spanish industry and consequently there was a rise in emigration.

Migration within Spain and abroad was encouraged by Franco (in contrast to Fascist policies elsewhere) as a means of rapidly modernising the country, and of gaining some kind of a foothold in the EC. It was during the sixties that the world's financial community began to talk about the 'economic miracle' of Spain. Despite the prosperity in Spain of the sixties and early seventies, and the democratic reforms which began in the mid-seventies, Spain continued to be a labour exporting nation.

CHAPTER IV

SICILIAN AND SOUTHERN SPANISH MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM

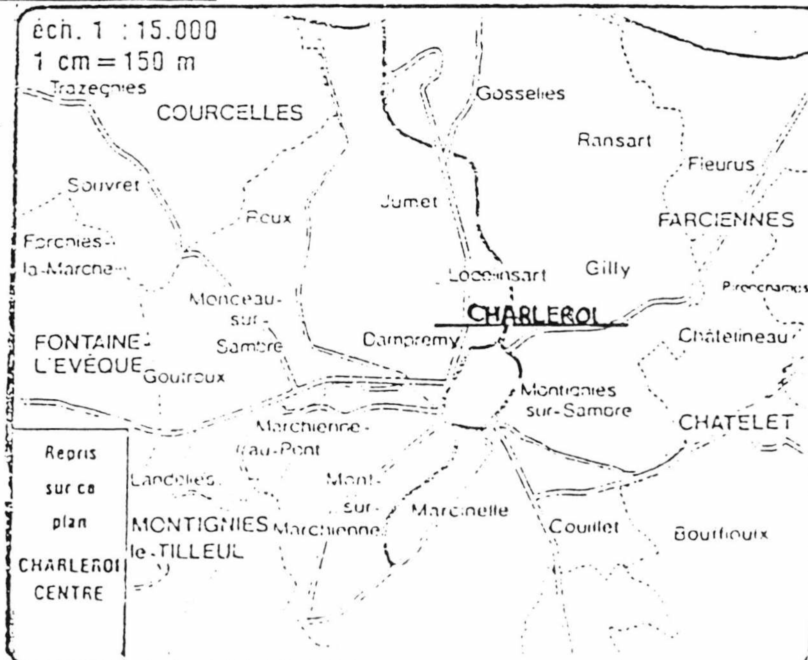
Background History.

Scarcely larger than Wales, Belgium is one of Europe's smallest countries, but one which has always occupied a central strategic position in Europe. Traditionally Belgium is famous for her Flemish textiles and mineral riches which include the coal and iron industries of Charleroi and Liege. Belgium can claim to be one of Europe's oldest industrial countries. By 1880 the first industrial area (between Liege and Charleroi) had been developed. The steel makers clustered around this area and these two towns were able to compete in the vigorous demand for industrial products of the last years of the nineteenth century. Charleroi,(see map), in Wallonia, the Southern part of Belgium, was once an important fortified town, and was named after Charles II of Spain. It is still one of the principal manufacturing centres of Belgium. Apart from its history of coal and steel producing it also has metal, glass and other industries. Since the creation of the Kingdom of Belgium in 1830 French has been the official, establishment, language. Soon after 1830 the Flemish movement became very active and was followed in 1880 by the Walloon movement. On the Flemish side the movement was mainly linguistic, and on the Walloon side, mainly cultural, and Francophile, (see Humblet 1979). However, the Walloon movement declined after the development of Belgian nationalism during the First World War, while the Flemish movement grew stronger, (see Heisler, 1977).

Map of Belgium

NORTH SEA
NETHERLANDS
Knokke
Ostende
Bruges
Turnhout
ANTWERP
EAST FLANDERS
St Niklaas
ANTWERP
Vieurne
WEST FLANDERS
Ghent
Malines
LIMBURG
Aalst
Diest
Hasselt
Ypres
Menin
Courtrai
Oudenaarde
Louvain
BRUSSELS
GERMANY
BRABANT
FRANCE
Tournai
HAINAUT
Liège
Eupen
LIEGE
Meuse
Namur
Spa
Mons
Binche
Charleroi
Malmédy
NAMUR
Dinant
Marche
La Roche
BELGIUM
N
St Hubert
Bastogne
GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG
LUXEMBOURG
Arlon
miles
km

Position of Charleroi



Brussels is the capital of Belgium. In 1830 Brussels had a population of 100,000 and it now has a population of more than a million. The status of Brussels enforces the parity of French, which is spoken in Wallonia, and Flemish. In 1963 the language frontier was definitively defined. The Flemish part of Belgium (the North primarily) accounts for 58% of the population. It is politically more homogenous and economically better located. Since 1960 however, the economic situation of Wallonia has deteriorated.

History of post-war immigrant labour in Belgium

Even prior to World War II labour was being imported into Belgium: the Italians and the Poles were the first to go and started working in the coal mines of Eastern Belgium, (see Ronchi 1953, Santoloni 1965, Murer 1983). After the war official bureaux recruited foreign labour, first for the coal mines which were the priority sector after 1945, later for other sectors such as transportation and construction sites and industries. Many of the workers coming to Belgium came spontaneously, often illegally, or were recruited by private employers until conditions were made more stringent after 1967. This was the result of public pressures as the number of foreign workers increased, and as a result of the post-1965 slowdown of economic growth in Europe.

The immigration policy followed by Belgium has always been inspired by economic motives, the essential aim being to provide the Belgian economy with the manpower needed for its development while safeguarding the legitimate rights of the national labour force, (see Tapinos 1974, Bernard 1976). After the Second World War the Belgian Government relied upon immigration to meet the needs of the coal industry. Recruitment agreements were made with Italy (1954), Greece (1957) and Spain (1958). During the post-war period Belgium adopted a fairly liberal migration policy and favoured permanent immigration and integration despite its relatively high level of population density, (see Bohning 1975a) Until 1962 most of the migrant workers occupied in the other sectors of the economy were workers who had originally come to work in the coal-mines, (see Caron 1966, Caporossi 1983). 'The Belgian manpower shortage, which was acute in 1963, had eased considerably the following year as a result of anti-inflationary pressures and continued immigration, and by June 1964, the number of unfilled job offers stood at 10,000 (compared to 15,000 the year previous)'. (Bouscaren 1969, p.86).

During the three year period 1963-1965, more work permits were issued to Spaniards than to any other nationality (22,523). These were followed by North Africans (16,261), Turks (15,804) and Greeks (5,915). The Ministry of Labour continued to pursue an active policy of immigration to help fill vacancies in coal, construction, lumber, metal working, and certain services. By 1966

certain regions and districts were heavily foreign; for instance in the commune of Saint Gilles (Brussels) 25 percent of the population was foreign (5,000 Spaniards, 2,400 Italians and 660 Greeks). (see Bouscaren 1969). By June 1965 unemployment was increasing. The provinces of Limbourg, Liege and Hainault were most affected, due to the closing of some coal mines. By the end of 1966 'stagnation had replaced the boom in Belgium'. People began to warn of a recession. 'Economic activity declined in most of Western Europe by the end of 1966 and the effect on Belgium was immediate. West Germany and the Netherlands, each with their own economic problems, traditionally take nearly half of Belgium's exports. Both were buying less by the end of the year. Some of the slowdown in domestic demand was a direct result of Government policies to keep interest rates high. The object was to reduce pressure on the economy and slow the rate of price increases'. (Bouscaren 1969, p.87). Since 1966 Belgium has been having second thoughts on immigration policy, (see Dassetto 1978). It would seem then that the annual intake of foreign workers has been very much in line with economic requirements (see Martens 1976).

There was no free immigration to Belgium after 1967. Only EC nationals, domestic workers and groups of at least 15 persons recruited by an employer in their home country were allowed to enter Belgium legally. Because

of this Belgian employers came to rely increasingly on clandestine migrants when they could not find legal immigrants or Belgians. For several years the authorities closed their eyes to the situation. By 1974, the Belgian Ministry of Justice estimated that there were 70,000 clandestine immigrants in Belgium (the social services claimed the figure was nearer 50,000) out of a total of 800,000 foreigners in Belgium.

'Early in 1967 the Executive of the Christian Association of Italian Workers (ACLI), which is not a trade union, stated that there was concern over the worsening employment situation in Belgium and Germany. It urged the Italian Government to take measures to safeguard workers abroad against abuses or discrimination arising from the reduction in numbers employed, and also to give attention to re-absorbing displaced workers on their return. This is one further indication of the feeling that the social policy of the Community is lagging behind its economic progress and that there are as yet insufficient safeguards for workers' (Beever, 1969, p.38). In Belgium there exists a special joint working party of the Belgian Christian trade union centre, the CSC, with ACLI. There is a need for positive action to solve the problem of providing vocational training for Italians in Belgium, so that they may have reasonable chances of obtaining promotion. From time to time Belgian trade unionists have called for a halt to immigration. This has been defended on the grounds that, with more limited numbers, all foreign workers would have the chance of actually working or of being treated just as Belgians would be in the case of unemployment. Belgium has also suffered from regional unemployment problems.

Immigration Law in Belgium.

Although Belgian immigration policy is based on regulations which depend essentially on the economic situation, it is nevertheless influenced by the multi-national conventions to which Belgium has acceded or which she has ratified, e.g. the International Convention (No.97) on migrant workers (ratified by the Act of 10th July 1953) adopted by the International Labour Conference, and Decision C (56) 258 of 20th December 1956 of the Council of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation on the employment of nationals of Member Countries, (see Claydon 1978).

In Belgium the control of immigration dates from 1930 and legislation in Belgium is similar to that in other immigrant countries in Europe. It has been inspired by the following principles: no foreign worker may enter Belgium to take up gainful employment without a work permit; the employment of an alien is conditional on the issue of a work permit (to the worker) and of an authorisation (to the employer); permits and authorisations are delivered only where there is no available manpower on the Belgian market to fill the vacancy; the Ministry fixes every year the conditions for the issue of work permits, after consulting the Immigration Consultative Council, which was set up in 1965 to replace the tripartite Foreign Manpower Commission in order expressly to include representatives from provinces with a large number of foreign workers. (see OECD 1971b).

There are three kinds of work permit: a permit B which can be obtained in the country of origin which is valid for one or two years and ties the holder to a specified employer and occupation,after this period, the foreigner can be issued with an 'A' permit which is issued for an unlimited period and entitles the holder to work for an employer and take any job. Since the authorities recognize the right of families to be together, the wife and children can also receive an 'A' permit as soon as the head of the family has one. (see Martens, 1982). There exists also a permit C given to artists, musicians and such like. In principle, work permits are granted only to nationals of countries with which Belgium is linked by conventions or international agreements on manpower. Belgian immigration policy has undergone great changes during the past two decades. After the Second World War, it aimed mainly at meeting the needs of the coal industry (that was the period of the battle for coal). Recruitment agreements were concluded with Italy, Greece and Spain. The gradual closing of the coal mines came about at a time when other industries such as metallurgy, construction, and the services sector needed foreign manpower. But whereas the coal industry opened recruiting centres abroad, this was not done by the other less-well organised industries.(see OECD 1971 b). As the economic cycle was favourable, the authorities were inclined to regularise the situation of aliens who had entered the country pretending they were tourists - they were allowed to work in sectors which suffered from a shortage of labour. But from 1966 the rate of growth slowed down and then the authorities decided to apply the regulations, (which were amended by Royal Order in July 1967), more strictly.

There is at the present time high unemployment, 15%, and social security is made full use of by the immigrant community. If a migrant is working in Belgium he is, in the same way as every Belgian worker, entitled to social security benefits, (see Bohning 1976 I.L.O. 1977. EC Special Issue 1983). Members of his family who are also living in Belgium are entitled to the same benefits as members of the Belgian worker's family. The rates of benefits granted under Belgian social security are regularly adjusted to changes in the cost-of-living index. Belgian social security covers the following branches:-

a) sickness and invalidity insurance

b) pension insurance (old-age and survivors' pensions)

c) insurance for accidents at work and occupational diseases

(a) Sickness and Invalidity Insurance.

Sickness and invalidity insurance covers: health benefits, cash benefits during incapacity for work caused by illness, maternity or invalidity. A miner is, under certain conditions, entitled to an invalidity pension from the seventh month of incapacity for work onwards provided that he has worked in mines for at least 10 years. As a rule, all workers in Belgium are insured. But domestic workers who do not live on the premises and work less than 24 hours a week are excluded. Benefits include:

i) retirement pension awarded to employed persons; ii) survivor's pension awarded to the worker's widow; iii) adjustment allowance, that is a simple payment to a widow who is not or who is no longer entitled to a survivor's pension; iv) supply of coal to pensioned miners, and v) holiday pay.

(b) Pensions

The qualifying conditions for pensions are:-

a) Men are entitled to an old-age pension from the age of 65 and women from the age of 60.
A person may begin to draw his pension at an earlier age (5 years at most), but in that case he does not receive the full pension, (CSER 1970).

b) Miners are entitled to an old-age pension at the age of 60 if they work at the surface or 55 if they work underground. Miners who have worked underground in coal mines for at least 25 years are entitled to an old age pension regardless of their age, (CSER 1970).

c) Seamen are entitled to a pension at the age of 60 after 168 months of service at sea.

d) A worker's widow is entitled to a survivor's pension at the age of 45. There is no age limit if she is disabled, if she has dependent children or if her husband has worked underground as a miner for at least 20 years. (EC 1976).

For a widow the survivor's pension will amount to 80% of the retirement pension the husband received or would have received. The pension is paid monthly by money order or by international money order if the recipient lives outside Belgium.

(c) Insurance for accidents.

As already stated, all employed people, including those who work less than two hours per day and domestic workers are insured. The risks covered are i) accidents at work,

and ii) accidents on the way to or from work. The accident must be reported immediately to the employer and the employer must send a report within ten days to his insurance company and to the registry of the labour court. A medical certificate should also be employed.

Benefits received for fatal accidents/non fatal accidents.

1. Fatal accidents

   Such an accident entitles the surviving dependents to:-

   a) a grant to cover funeral costs;

   b) a life pension for the spouse if not divorced or separated (30% of total earnings). Request for payment of 1/3 of the capital of this pension may be made at any time;

   c) a pension for a limited period for the children, amounting to 15% of the pensioner's total earnings, increased to 20% if both of the children's parents are dead. The overall amount may not exceed 45% or 60% respectively.

   The pensions for the children are awarded only as long as they qualify for family allowances and in any case up to the age of 18.

2. Non-fatal accidents.

   In such a case, the migrant is entitled to:

   a) an allowance for incapacity for work;

   b) refund of the costs incurred for medical treatment;

   c) travelling expenses.

Social security in Belgium is widely used by the immigrant community and 'chomage' or social security/dole is widely practised. There is now high unemployment and the additional problem of social benefits (CSER 1979) causes considerable worry for the Government.

Recruitment.

Up to 1957 recruitment for underground work in the collieries formed the bulk of the volume of immigration (74 per cent of first work permits in 1955; 61% in 1956, and 64% in 1957). After the coal crisis of 1958-61, coal mining again recruited a great many foreign workers. However, as the countries with whom recruitment agreements had been made could no longer satisfy the demand, it was necessary to call upon manpower from much remoter countries, such as Turkey and Morocco, with whom recruitment agreements were signed in 1964. At this same period, since the manpower needs of a growing economy could not be matched by the natural growth of the population of working age and by increased productivity, other branches, particularly metallurgy, construction services, textiles and chemicals had also to rely on foreign manpower. However, while the coal industry had opened recruitment centres abroad, this was less frequent in other branches. During the boom period the responsible authorities decided to regularise the position of workers who had entered the country unlawfully by authorising them to work in branches which were short of manpower. Between 1962 and 1965 the number of

immigrants' work permits for branches other than mining grew steadily, from 4,483 in 1961 to 7,895 in 1962, 14,147 in 1963, 17,207 in 1964 and 24,975 in 1965. After 1966 the slowdown in economic growth considerably eased the manpower shortages, while the closing down of coal mines and the difficulties of resettling redundant personnel led the authorities to suspend all recruitment for underground work. Since then recourse to immigration has progressively diminished. In view of the growing numbers of unemployed, and in order to prevent further immigration from hampering their normal reinstatement, the regulations have again been strictly applied. The following figures illustrate this decline in immigration: the number of immigrants' work permits issued for branches other than mining were 18,320 in 1966, 13,976 in 1967 and 8,759 in 1968, (OECD 1971, p.120).

In Belgium, the foreign worker is generally entitled to the same working conditions as Belgian nationals, these include remuneration, compensation for dismissal and the same social security benefits. Moreover, social security conventions have been concluded with most of the countries from whence they came, (see I.L.O. 1977). Foreign workers also have access, like the Belgian workers, to the AVT courses provided by the National Employment Office.

Furthermore, since the possibility of workers being joined by their families is the essential condition of happy social adjustment, measures have been taken to encourage the reunion of families and their common adjustment. Thus, the regulations for the issue of work permits provide for certain relaxations in favour of workers joined by their families. The Belgian State further provides assistance with the travelling expenses of an immigrant worker's family, amounting to 100 per cent for nations of EC countries and 50 per cent for other nationals. In the matter of housing, EC nationals, and miners of any nationality have access to low cost housing, both for renting and for purchase, on the same terms as Belgian nationals, and may also be entitled to outright grants or low interest loans. For this purpose the National Housing Corporation has built 380 dwellings, divided among the Provinces of Hainault, Liege and Limbourg, reserved solely for immigrant families. Finally, reception centres have been created at Province level to co-ordinate the activities and initiative of private welfare organisations to encourage the adaption of immigrants.(see OECD 1971b).

Discrimination Among Migrants

The social position of the immigrant is the status which has been ascribed to him. It is linked to his race, nationality and membership in a different culture. Immigrants are tolerated by the host society in their appropriate levels in the social hierarchy only as long as the general economic conditions do not deteriorate, and during economic crises prejudice grows and particular immigrant minorities become scapegoats, charged with taking away from indigenous population bread, housing and hospital beds.

Although the dismissal of immigrant workers, or even their expulsion, does not necessarily increase the availability of jobs (in France, for example during 1979, the number of employed immigrants was reduced by 150,000 yet at the same time the number of work opportunities dropped by 290,000) the mechanism of selecting a scapegoat has little to do with rational thinking. Freedom from discrimination is, logically, a separate right from freedom of movement. However, it is clear that functionally it is closely linked to the right of free movement: the right to work in other Member States is worth little if it entails discrimination.

The mechanism of prejudice was analysed by many sociologists and social psychologists, (see Adorno et.al. 1950, Kramer 1949, Eysenck 1962). In general they agree

that what lies at the foundation of the phenomenon is the feeling of anxiety. This functions in the same way as frustration, thus evoking animosity and aggression. The economic crisis, inducing unemployment and uncertainty about the future plus increased downward mobility leads to greater numbers of the dissatisfied, the anxious. The anxiety developing in those people results in a strengthening of ethnic prejudice, which leads, via rationalisation and the displacement mechanism, to directing the animosity at the ethnic minority, which becomes a scapegoat.

Antagonism against Migrants

Analysing the sources and patterns of aggression in the social structure of the western world Talcott Parsons (1937) observes that foreigners can constitute a particularly convenient object of aggression; those emotional reasons, which would not be addressed towards one's own group without hurting its solidarity, may be manifested against them quite naturally.

In all the Western European countries where migrant workers are employed, the inflow of migrants has aroused antagonism from substantial segments of the population, which, in turn, has generated both defence of immigration from those who see it as an economic necessity, and attacks from others who view it as exploitation of the immigrant workers. In all the host countries hostility

to the immigrant has been exacerbated by the worsening economic situation over the past few years, (see Campanelli and Delcourt 1967). However, reaction to the post war immigration of workers built up gradually. At first numbers of immigrants were small and most of the population could ignore their presence. Governments and employers welcomed them. The immigrants relieved labour shortages in important areas of national economies. As long as most of them were single men, often living in accommodation provided by their employers, opposition to immigration was limited. In surveys carried out to measure hostility towards immigrants the working class have been found to be far more hostile to immigrants than middle class respondents. 'The working class has a strong traditional hostility towards immigration, which in the past has often undermined workers' conditions and weakened their organization. In contemporary Europe, there is a strong fear of competition from immigrants, sometimes this turns into an irrational hatred, of the immigrant workers themselves'. (Castles and Kosack 1973, p.175). This hostility to immigrants has been expressed in various ways. On a number of occasions there have been outbreaks of violence against immigrants. However, Belgium is relatively non-violent, compared with France and Switzerland, (see Nardiello 1980). Less dramatic incidents of racial discrimination are common. For example in Belgium during the oil crisis in 1973 shops in many communities refused to sell bottled gas to North Africans telling them that the crisis was their fault as

Arabs. (See Power and Hardman, 1976). There are also endless examples from all the host countries concerning houses, immigrants being told a flat or house has been let when it has not, or outright refusals to rent to immigrants. Another common feature in most of the countries is official racism. That is that administrators fail to tell immigrants of their rights or to look at all the favourable aspects of their case for some form of benefits, unemployment compensation or social security. There are many cases of the police ignoring basic civil rights in cases where migrants are involved.

On the political side the reflection of growing anti-immigrant reactions (see Martens 1974) was first the growth of extreme organisations or political parties through which opposition to the immigrants was either the only or the main issue. Also there are pro-immigrant organisations, but the members of these are predominatly middle class. They tend to have liberal or leftist political views and they cannot agree on whether immigration should be halted altogether or whether some form of immigration should be allowed to continue. They press for improved conditions for the migrants already in the receiving countries. In Belgium, they have succeeded in getting some form of amnesty for illegal immigrants in the country. It is important to consider that in all the receiving countries the problems of the children of immigrants (see Dumon 1979, Toniolo 1964, Dassetto and Bastenier 1982, Lebon 1981) are of growing importance.

Groups all press for more rights for the immigrants - the right to become established, or permanently resident, to change jobs and locality, to bring their families and to have greater political rights. Demonstrations are also organised and they try to generate publicity about specific cases of racism, or discrimination or injustice against immigrants.

The overall impact has probably been to moderate government policies which might otherwise have become more restrictive towards immigrants in the face of anti-immigrant pressures. In individual cases, they have certainly succeeded in stopping blatant injustices. The social work and information services they provide help many individual migrants, particularly in Belgium and Germany, where there is little state supported social work for immigrants. An important role in improving immigrant conditions for political action, has been played not surprisingly by individual politicians who have taken positions in support of the immigrant workers' needs and rights. In Belgium an outstanding example is Ernest Gline, who as a burgomeister set up one of the first consultative committees in his commune Courcelles. When he was Minister of Labour in a Socialist cabinet in 1971 he submitted to Parliament the proposal to permit the franchise for communal elections for citizens of the EC. Since then the debate has extended to suggestions that all migrant workers resident for more than a set period should be able to vote in communal elections.

The relationship between the local population and the migrant worker

To many local workers, the immigrants appear inferior and discrimination against them seems justified. At the same time, they are a threat to wages and conditions and are competitors for housing and other social facilities. This impression of immigrants is far from being unrealistic: they are indeed recruited by the employers, who hope that this expansion of the labour supply will put a downward pressure on wages. But instead of recognising this and using working class solidarity to defeat the strategy, many local workers blame the immigrants themselves and react with hostility towards them. Such reactions often show social prejudice (the blacks are dirty, the Italians come to live off the unemployment benefit). Immigrant workers are usually employed in occupations rejected by the indigenous workers. In a situation of full employment, the nationals of the country have taken advantage of the situation by moving into better-paying, more pleasant jobs, usually in the white-collar or skilled sectors, (see Bohning 1976)[a]. The migrants have been left in the jobs deserted by others, (see Kleindorfer and Kudat 1974). Immigrant workers tend to be heavily concentrated in certain industries or occupations such as building, engineering, textiles and clothing, catering, domestic service. These are the sectors which have either the lowest pay or the worst working conditions.

Public resentment directed against the Italians and other foreign workers is not the product of any one incident, but is rather a collection of small and large irritations accumulated over the years. These aggregate irritations now include almost all social and economic problems facing the Belgians. It is impossible to determine accurately the relative importance of any single issue in seeking the cause of the Belgian public's resentment toward the migrants. The most frequently mentioned sources of Belgian discontent, however, appear to be: economic over-expansion which has led to inflation and higher living costs; the great size of the foreign labour force and the consequent fear that the nation is too dependent upon it; the shortage of lodgings, classrooms and hospital facilities (see Bastenier and Dassetto 1980); linguistic and religious differences; and governmental financial problems such as the collection of inadequate taxes from the foreigners and the need to provide them with social security and other welfare benefits (see Feld 1979).

In the minds of the Belgians as well as in fact, economic over-expansion and the size of the foreign labour force are related very closely. Foreign workers make up a large part of the population of Belgium, especially in the economically active sector. This potential problem has been aggravated by the small size of the country and the unequal distribution of the foreign workforce. Grave social problems can only be avoided by taking timely and appropriate measures to bring about the economic and cultural assimilation of workers who are staying permanently or for a long period. Unless they are encouraged to adopt the language, way of life and mental attitudes of their adopted land and to share in the rights and duties of the native citizens, they are in danger of becoming displaced persons for the rest of their lives (see Kuin 1966).

Family Policy

It has been suggested that being joined by his family helps the migrant adapt (see Meyer 1975). One important thing is that Belgium has always authorised the families

of migrant workers to instal themselves in Belgium; it has even encouraged them to do so. From 1960 onwards Belgium adopted a very fair policy to family migration (See Braeckman 1973). In the early years of migration migrants were encouraged to bring their families. The Government wanted 'young blood' because it was felt that the Belgian population was becoming too old.

However, many things have changed in Belgium in the last few years. 'Belgium, with high unemployment and a large immigrant population - 9% of the total, including a sizeable number from North Africa - is taking another look, and a narrower one, at its generous provision for family reunion.' (Economist 1983). The new Belgian family policy is that the wife and children can join the father but after that no further dependents can join them.

Vocational Training

Belgium possesses many training schools and technical schools, where classes are held both during the day and in the evenings. They are open to all, both to Belgians and to foreigners, provided that the pupils can prove that their general education is adequate. The teaching in these schools is usually of a high standard and covers a number of years. The main handicap felt by migrant workers is that usually they do not have enough time to follow the courses nor do they have a sufficiently high level of education. Their knowledge of the language is also often

inadequate. Another form of vocational training bore the inappropriate name of 'readaptation professionnelle' and was organised by the National Employment Office. This form of teaching was reserved exclusively for persons thrown out of employment through no fault of their own who received compensation. This teaching was of two kinds: individual teaching (with the guarantee of a contract with an employer) and collective teaching (organised in centres by the National Employment Office). Some of the unemployed persons in receipt of compensation could thus be placed in a training school of the classical type. In every case they received remuneration. With regard to the apprentices training in the so-called 're-training centres', they received their unemployment benefit plus a certain amount per hour. Their travelling expenses were also paid, and after their apprenticeship they could claim a premium (varying in amount) to enable them to purchase some of the equipment they needed in order to practise the trade that they had learnt. (See Caron. 1966).

The great mistake about this system of 'vocational re-training' was that it was only available to unemployed persons who were receiving compensation. In fact, it only benefited the least stable workers, who were consequently the least apt, and often the least competent, for an apprenticeship. This form of teaching was open to foreign workers, but with certain limitations. For many years it

was suggested that this form of vocational teaching should be open to all workers, whether unemployed or not. It was not until the 14th January 1961, that legislation was passed dealing with economic expansion, social progress and financial recovery, including measures which opened up these re-training schools to workers in employments. In such cases, the vocational training consists either of re-adaptation or of improving their skills in the occupations in which the workers are already engaged, or else of apprenticeship in a different occupation. This training is open to unemployed persons aged 21 or more who have been working in Belgium for at least 2 years during the 3 years before they apply for admission to the training school. For young workers between 18 and 21 years of age, the conditions for admission are still more favourable.
The teaching may be given in centres organised by the National Employment Office. Other centres may be opened, especially with the help of industrial concerns, groups of such concerns, public authorities, or public or private associations. In the case of the latter, certain guarantees have been required, especially in regard to the organisation, the syllabus, the duration of the courses, and their financing. The standard of the courses must be at least equivalent to the standard of the courses given in the centres set up by the National Employment Office. Other guarantees are also insisted upon, to ensure that the training may be given under the best conditions, and that the requests of the workers are taken into consideration.
In certain cases the vocational training may be preceded by a period in an observation centre, where applicants are selected. These centres are open only to unemployed persons in receipt of compensation, priority being given to

young persons and miners who have lost their jobs owing to the closing of the coal mines, and unemployed persons who are difficult to re-train owing to prolonged inactivity or some physical handicap. (see Kuin, 1966.)

The Italian migrant community in Belgium

By 1920 Belgium had allowed 149,677 foreigners to enter, out of which 3,723 were Italians (see Marcantonio 1978). Ten years later, the number of foreigners in Belgium was estimated as 319,230 out of which 33,491 were Italians. On the eve of the Second World War the total number of immigrants went up to 340,000 out of which 37,134 were of Italian nationality. At this time the coal industry was the principal mainstay of the immigrants. The post war years called for more workers and from 1947-1961 Belgium experienced an influx of 116,000 Italian workers. The 1947 census shows that 7% of paid employees were foreigners. These employees were recruited through agencies abroad. However, after having completed their contracts within the coal industry many of the employees turned to less hazardous jobs (see Sartori 1962) in the metal, steel and textile industries. From 1950 - 1954 there was considerable instability in the work market and it was about this time that the problem of unemployment began to appear. Belgian nationals did not want to work in the mines. 'Belgian labour transferred out of the coal mines of the Borinage and the Dutch border, leaving these low-grade positions, and housing in the area, to Italian and Turkish immigrants.' (Kindleberger 1967 p.76). In 1970, 256,000 migrant workers were distributed as follows: 2.6%

in coal mining, 34.5% in manufacturing industry, 8.4% in construction, 0.2% in transport, 14.5% in services, (see Martens 1976). In 1977 there were 369,840 of which 119,000 (32%) were Italians (Sopemi 1979, p.31). Of these 19,000 (16% of Italian workers) were unemployed. By 1980, there were 90,500 Italian workers (see Bohning 1983). The coal mines recruited many Italian workers. In the mines there have always been more Italians (see Toniolo 1964) than Spaniards. The Italian migrants to the mines (such as that at Charleroi) began to come in large numbers after 1945. Directly they were mainly Southern Italians and Sicilians. Then, after 1950, the majority of Italians came from Northern Italy, from such areas as Udine and Brescia (see Briani 1972). However, in 1956 there was a fall in the number of miners. This was partly due to the catastrophe of the Bois du Gazier at Marcinelle on the 8th August 1956. This drama caused the deaths of 286 miners of which 136 were Italian. This tragedy caused the Italian Government to change its policy of recruiting workers for the Belgian mines.

Italian immigrants can be found throughout Belgium. The vast majority are to be found in a few provinces but, in the last few years as the mines have closed, more and more Italians who formerly worked in the Charleroi district have moved to Brussels. Amongst those Italian migrants who have returned to Italy - the majority are miners who have been pensioned off from the mines, which have now been closed The group of immigrants who will be examined in this study work mainly in factories. In 1973 the Italian population in Belgium was 267,000 (see Marcantonio 1978). Of these 50% lived in Hainault, and 25% in Charleroi.

Charleroi

Charleroi situated in Wallonia is a sprawling industrial town. Belgium has a long history of industrialization. After Britain, Belgium was the first country to undertake an industrial revolution. 'Her economy was dominated by the classic heavy industries located in the Sambre-Meuse basin on the Liège-Namur-Charleroi-Mons axis: coal, iron and steel, metallurgy, chemicals, glass and textiles.' (Fitzmaurice, 1983, p.3.) However these industries are now in heavy decline with consequent heavy job losses. The coal mines have now shut and slag heaps reach to the dull skyline witness of former activity. The migrants still live cheek by jowl, down dingy streets in identical houses. They no longer work in the mines but in the factories.

The Italian tradition.

In 1984 there were 427,218 Italians in Wallonia. (see Spia 1984). Before the Second World War there was already a trend of Polish and Italian immigration, as Belgian workers moved out of the pits to find other jobs. (see Clemens 1953). 'After the war, Italian migrations increased, to be followed by migrations of Spanish workers, then Greeks. Since 1963 there has been a significant immigration of Turks and Moroccans (Belgium has bilateral treaties with both Turkey and Morocco)'. (see Bouscaren 1969 p. 82).

The immigrants have grown accustomed to their new earning power and status and in many cases remained in Belgium - changing their jobs from mining to factory work. In 1975 there were 27,000 skilled Italian workers in Belgium, 35,000 unskilled Italian workers, 33,000 Italian pensioners and 16,000 Italian workers on social security. (see Marcantonio 1978). There were also 71,000 Italian students older than 16 - showing the significance of the second generation Italian community in Belgium.

However, since 1974 more Italians have left than have arrived in Belgium, (Marcantonio 1978, p. 33). Originally at the 'Charbonages du Gouffre-Chatelineau' Charleroi there were 4 wells - Nos. 7-8-9-10. The mine I visited is called the Roton, at Farciennes situated on the outskirts of Charleroi. In the South of Belgium numerous mines were shut from 1950 onwards In 1980 at the Roton mine, Farciennes, there were 120 Italians, 150 Spaniards, 440 Turks, 260 Moroccans, 40 Algerians, 30 Greeks. (Chef du Service administratif, Roton-Farciennes, Easter 1981). Many of the Italians and Spanish I spoke to said that they worked in the mines because of the high wages and because of the high pensions they would receive. The Roton mine at Farciennes finally closed on the 30th. September 1984.

The Spanish Migrant Community in Belgium

In 1977 out of a total of 369,840 migrant workers in Belgium, 27,600 (7.5%) were Spaniards. Of these, 4,000 (14.5%) were unemployed, (see Sopemi 1979). By 1980 there were 32,000 Spanish workers (see Bohning 1983). In Chatelineau (see map of Charleroi) there is a whole housing estate which is called the 'Barrio Andaluz' i.e. the Andalusian district.

Many of the immigrants who worked in the mines have now moved into industries or have been given their pension. Many have gone back to Spain and some have remained in the area while their children work in nearby factories. One Spanish migrant, a man about 55, who had worked in a mine near Charleroi (now closed) and who returned to Spain to Jabugo (province of Huelva, S. Spain) in April 1981, has a full pension - at the present time about 50,000 pts. a month because he was suffering from silicosis. According to Belgian Government rules he can no longer work. However, he now has a thriving business plus his monthly Belgian pension. According to the Spanish consulate representative in Charleroi who knew this man and family, he had also bought a small house in Monçeau-sur-Sambre during his 15 years in Belgium and afterwards sold it at a huge profit. The only slight cloud on this successful story of 'the return of the migrant' is that his two eldest sons have remained, now working in factories and married to Belgian wives. His two younger sons work in the Bar in Spain, but prefer to speak French and find it difficult to adapt to the local customs.

When the Belgian Government decided to close the mines, it was thought that the immigrants would return to Spain/Italy. Instead they preferred to remain in Belgium and find new jobs in factories. Most of the Spanish immigrants I spoke to had managed to save enough to buy houses back home, also to have a fairly high standard of living. However, they had not for the most part succeeded in integrating into the local community, although the children of the immigrants had. An example of what tends to occur is that migrants from one particular area will live in a particular part of town, for example, the Barrio Andaluz in Chatelineau, Charleroi. The immigrants talk continually of going home one day; however, they rarely do except for holidays or when they retire. After years of living in the host country the immigrants become displaced persons. The overall concept of the migrant worker remains that of the 'marginal man' one who neither fits in in the village nor the host country - neither one, nor the other. 'And after a number of years when you go home for a short holiday you suspect that you no longer belong there either. Who are you then?' (Times Literary Supplement, 1973).

Contemporary Belgian Policy towards Immigration.

Belgium has announced a three-year austerity plan, going beyond the levels of public-sector cutbacks recently established in Holland and Denmark. 'The country has lurched in a decade from being richer than West Germany to a state of near bankruptcy. The unemployment rate at 15%, is one of the worst in Europe. So is the national debt, running at 12.8% of gross national product compared with the EEC average of 5%. All but a handful of the Belgian municipalities are insolvent.' (The Sunday Times, 18th March, 1984).

Migrants represent some 8 percent of the Belgian workforce, although in some industries such as coal mining the proportions reach 50 percent. This is in line with most other European countries. What is different about Belgium is that it is already, notwithstanding the migrant issue, an ethnically-divided nation. Wide regional powers have been granted to the two ethnic groups of Dutch and Walloons.

Yet the Centre-Right government of Mr. Wilfrid Martens, elected in December 1981, has had to preside over a widening gulf between the two groups, a gulf made worse by

a national unemployment rate now standing at 15 percent. The latest crisis is over the Government's intention to stop subsidising the inefficient steel industries of Liege and Charleroi, interpreted by many as a policy of industrial devastation for Wallonia. Wilfrid Martens is seeking to impose his austerity package until 1986. Immigrants are tolerated by the host society as long as the general economic conditions do not deteriorate but during economic crises prejudice grows. Foreign labour has become a disproportionately large portion of the Belgian population.

Recently the Belgian Secretary of State for Health, Mr. Aerts, has confirmed that the Government plans to introduce an experimental, voluntary repatriation scheme this year that will be able to offer 50,000fr (£625) each to up to 150 migrant workers to help them return to their countries of origin. In addition to this sum, which will essentially cover travel costs, relocation allowances of 10,000fr (£125) per adult and 5000fr (£62.50) per child will also be on offer to help with rehousing and the like in the country of destination. The broad aim of the plan is to reduce the country's rising unemployment levels. (see European Industrial Relations Review March 1984).

Martens plans to halve the public-sector deficit by the end of 1986. To achieve this he is reducing the total wage bill in the public sector by 3.5% and slashing social security benefits. Unemployed school-leavers, for example, will not be entitled to claim benefit for 200 days, instead of the present 150.

Martens claims that a ruthless approach is indispensible. 'Without rapid and vigorous action, confidence would disappear. Then would come the bankruptcy of the social security systems, and the poorest would be the first victims of this.' (Sunday Times, 18th March, 1984).
Critics maintain that government measures have done little to ease unemployment and may aggravate it. Martens himself admits that his measures, by reducing demand, may cause a further 40,000 job losses, but claims he has few options. Given this prospect, the lot of the migrant workers, now in Belgium seems a grim one.

CHAPTER V

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUNDS OF SOUTHERN SPANISH AND SICILIAN MIGRANTS

The earlier chapters have outlined the general character of Italian and Spanish migration and the general character of Belgium as a host country. The present chapter seeks to identify cultural differences between the villages of San Roque (Estacion and Cruce), S. Spain and Santa Elizabetta, Sicily.

The influence on migration of the migrant's cultural background is an important determinant of his ability to adapt and attain fulfilment in his new home. Often this is illuminated by detailed studies of assimilation. Yet research has so far ignored the question of differential ability to adapt of different cultural or national groups.

The Village of San Roque, (Estacion and Cruce)

Estacion de San Roque literally means the San Roque Station. Several dusty streets and straggling houses which have grown up around the Station. San Roque, the town, is not far away. It is quite common in Sicily and in Southern Spain to find the Station with a cluster of houses around it forming a small village and the town/village proper some kilometers away. Most of the migrants interviewed in the study; came from Estacion de San Roque and/or the Cruce (Crossroads), the others came from San Roque proper.

San Roque is situated close to Gibraltar. The legend goes that San Roque was founded in 1704 when the British captured Gibraltar in that year. The Spanish population left Gibraltar and settled in the neighbouring countryside. Philip V of Spain commiserated with his unhappy subjects from the municipality of Gibraltar who had been exiled by the British to San Roque and expressed his belief in the early recapture of Gibraltar. The Charter of Ferdinand and Isabella for Gibraltar and the archives which had been saved by a priest were preserved there. According to Sir Joshua Hassan, Chief Minister of Gibraltar, it was on such a fragile foundation that Spain decided to build its case and enforce its claim to Gibraltar at the United Nations in 1964. Sir Joshua Hassan claimed at the discussion on Gibraltar by the UN Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration of Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples in 1964, that the tale of Gibraltar in exile in San Roque was only a legend, and certainly not a valid consideration to be taken into account by a Committee which was charged with the responsibility of recommending measures which would affect the lives and future of the Gibraltarians. The inhabitants of San Roque believe that they are the true descendants of those who were expelled from Gibraltar in 1704. The Mayor of San Roque speaking at the UN in 1964 stated: What we want, what we demand, is above all that this absurd, monstrous and artificial division of The Gibraltar zone should not continue. (see UN Special Committee of 24, 1964).

Spain has persistently reiterated her claim to Gibraltar. It appears in retrospect that Anglo-Spanish relations have deteriorated since the Queen's visit to Gibraltar in 1954. The visit was said to have incensed General Franco and to have sparked off anti-British sentiments and demonstrations. Certain problems arose at this time, notably a Spanish refusal to issue new workers' permits to Spaniards seeking work in Gibraltar. Many of the inhabitants of San Roque and Estacion de San Roque used to walk through the customs post at La Linea to work in Gibraltar in the dock yards and on building sites. However, the Spanish Government decided to show that communication between Gibraltar and the Spanish Campo had been an 'act of grace' on their part. By the Treaty of Utrecht signed in 1713 any communication between the land frontier between Gibraltar and the adjacent territory was forbidden. According to the Spanish Government the police and control post at La Linea was no more than a concession to make life bearable for the British garrison. The Spanish Government believed that confronted with Britain's refusal to comply with the UN resolutions she had every right to withdraw certain facilities which in the course of time had been allowed to the civil and military population of Gibraltar.

The Spaniards who started a war of nerves and attrition shortly after the consensus of the UN Decolonisation Committee in October 1964 proceeded on 6th May 1966, to close the frontier to all persons except Spanish nationals entering Gibraltar to work daily and civilian residents of Gibraltar wishing to apply for special passes. From then on restrictions were intensified. In August of that year the Spanish female work force were suddenly withdrawn. 3,000 daily workers found themselves suddenly restricted by Spain from entering, out of work and on small unemployment allowances. As life became more difficult many of the Spanish workers who had formerly worked in Gibraltar found themselves without jobs and decided to emigrate. Some went to Germany, others to France and many to Belgium. They had formerly boosted their incomes with contraband between Gibraltar and Spain. Women also had resource to contraband in order to counteract extreme poverty.

'The Civil War has left many such people widows of men who died on the wrong side and who consequently have no pension, who have a few children or an aged parent to keep. They circulate over all Andalusia, specialising, though not uniquely, in black-market items and contraband from Gibraltar, carrying things in baskets beneath their black shawls from places where they cost less to places where they can be sold for more, "buscando la vida" ("seeking a living")' (Pitt Rivers 1961, p. 58)

On 15th October 1964 the Spanish Cabinet agreed to set up a Committee for the Study of the Economic and Social Development of the Campo de Gibraltar. The Campo de Gibraltar is the area stretching around the bay to Algeciras, and which includes San Roque. According to a study by Maxwell Stamp and Iberplan in 1976, the measures were designed to lift the area and its inhabitants from their state of economic depression by activating the whole of the physical and human resources of the Campo de Gibraltar. It has often been pointed out that economic measures have coincided with political measures that the Spanish Government adopted in 1966 towards Gibraltar. The coincidence has led to the description of the Plan for the Compo de Gibraltar as a regional-action programme based essentially on political considerations. A large oil refinery was built near Algeciras, but interestingly enough one of the migrants from San Roque said that he had been unable to obtain a job there before he left for Belgium, and that many of the jobs were filled by Northerners. Of course, this may be that the Northern workers were more skilled; but then the whole object of the development in the Campo de Gibraltar is defeated - if even then, the inhabitants have to seek work abroad.

In 1969 the Spanish frontier was closed permanently with Gibraltar. The Spaniards could no longer go to the Rock to work and the only way out for Gibraltarians was by air or sea. For sixteen years the Gibraltarians lived under siege conditions. However, on the 4th of February, 1985 the green Spanish gates were swung open, thus ending the blockade. Time will tell what the long term effect will be on Spain and Gibraltar.

In San Roque (Estacion and Cruce) all the migrants owned their own house and some of them had a little land. Many of the houses had been built with the money they had sent from Belgium. The houses of the migrants, of 'Los Belgas' as the local people call them were all very similar inside. Sparkling new kitchens, used only in July, during the annual holiday and beautiful bathrooms. The migrant insists on showing his house with great pride, after all it is the witness of his hard work and of his enforced absence from his village. Pride in material goods is the same as in Sicily as is the hospitality.

Pitt Rivers examines Andalusian hospitality. 'Yet how do people behave towards outsiders? The stranger, as in Ancient Greece where he was protected by Zeus, enjoys a special status. It is a duty to assist him, for the reputation of the pueblo is felt to be at stake in his eyes. The visitor of wealth or standing is treated with great courtesy and hospitality. He is probably invited to a glass of wine in the casino, the club. People inquire what brings him and put themselves at his disposal. This standard of hospitality is a very noble feature of the Spanish people, yet its analysis would not be complete if one were not to point out that it is also a means whereby the community defends itself against outside interference. For a guest is a person who, while he must be entertained and cherished, is dependent upon the goodwill of his hosts. He has no rights and he can make no demands. On the other hand, the good name of the pueblo is his protection. For

the sake of that, the members of the community prevent one another from taking advantage of him'. (Pitt Rivers 1961, p.27).

Traditionally Andalusia is an area of large agricultural estates on the low lands. The agricultural land of Andalusia has largely been held in Latifundia, ever since Roman Times. Such large estates are the result of a feudal system of land ownership dating back many centuries, which Franco did nothing, and post 1975 democracy has done little to change. On these large estates the agricultural labourers were completely dependent upon the landowner, since he was the sole employer. The traditional form of employer-employee relationship was typically that of day-labour, the least secure form of employment. Vast expanses cultivated by short term town labour for a single master is common, according to Pitt Rivers (1961) not only to Baetica (the old name for Andalusia), La Mancha and Castile, but to much of Italy as well. However, this type of landholding is typical only of the plains and it is rarely found among the mountains (see Carrion 1932). The soil of the Sierra tends to be poorer than that of the plain and more difficult to cultivate. In the vicinity of San Roque there are numerous small holdings known as 'parcelas' and another type of agricultural property is the 'huerta' or small irrigated farm. Normally, as in the case of other small farms, the 'huerta' is a family concern. There exists also a large number of plots of land, where the land is usually of poor quality.

Traditionally in Andalusia the division of wealth is far from equal. The landowners of the large estates of the plains received considerable rents while the poor labourers scrape along trying to make ends meet. Many rural workers travelled long distances to get work in order to feed large families. Because of the traditionally high birth rate, Andalusia has been one of the areas where natural increase in the population has been high. Families with at least 5 children and more are common. There has always been too high a population for the arid land to support, and so unemployment has been the lot for many, and migration that of many others.

According to Brenan (1960) descending the Guadalquivir Valley past Cordoba to Seville and Cadiz the number of large estates increases. 'They account for about 41% of the total area of the province of Cordoba, 50% of that of Seville and 58% of that of Cadiz. In three of the 'partidos' or administrative districts of the province of Cadiz the large estates occupy 77%, 84% and 96% of the total area. And what is more significant, the large estates occupy the best land'. (Brenan, 1960, p.116).

San Roque is not too far from the dry, agricultural areas of the large estates, and many of the migrants' fathers may have travelled long distances to work on the land. Even some of the migrants, in the late fifties remember going to work as day labourers on the large estates. It is common knowledge that rich families often held property in several

provinces, sometimes under different names. Brenan recalls that, 'in 1930 there were over 200,000 labourers unemployed in Andalusia during the greater part of the year and after 1930 this figure increased rapidly. During the ploughing and the harvest, which occupied several months, the labourers would leave their families and sleep at the large "cortijos", which would often be some ten or twenty miles away from the village'. (Brenan 1960, p.121). The landowners have always been socially distant from the labouring classes and have oppressed them with low pay for long hours of backbreaking work (see Martinez-Alier 1971). When share-cropping or tenancies have been allowed, there is always the threat of imminent eviction (see Gallo 1973). In such a situation the lot of the poor and labouring class has been a common one for many and has created a fraternal feeling of solidarity.

Andalusian workmen, given the opportunity, are the hardest working and most skilled manual labourers in Spain. 'After all they are many of them the descendents of the "industrious Moors"... But when so many of their comrades are unemployed, it becomes a point of honour with them to do as little work as possible. And they are also well aware of the manner of which they are exploited. In these towns the atmosphere of hatred between classes - of tenant for landlord, of landless proletariat for everyone who employes him - has to be seen to be believed'. (Brenan 1960, p.122). Whenever such groups have risen in revolt

in the past they have expressed themselves in the abstract ideology of fraternalistic values. The Spanish word which expresses this is 'union'. The underlying mechanism of union is that agricultural labourers who undercut the pay of others would be penalised by the social sanctions of their fellow labourers. The feeling of resentment, together with the labourers' notion of a better arrangement of their lives, is expressed in the word 'reparto' which is a demand for the division of the large estates and the consequent re-distribution of wealth. Such resentment has persisted for centuries. Periodic uprisings were cruelly put down by the landowning classes. The cruel reprisals meted out by Franco against the labouring class were only the last of many such examples, which served to fix the static, feudal nature of the lot of the landless labourers.

Labourers are thus traditionally afraid of involvement in politics but also disapprove of involvement as revealing a lack of prudence. There is a distrust of dissidents, of 'men with ideas', the local term for politically active labourers. When the oppression has been too much, this distrust has been relaxed. Labourers have had a history of being periodically enthusiastically active in politics, (see Martinez-Alier 1977). But generally there is fear and disapproval. Thus Amodia (1977) has written about the proverbial individualism of the Spaniards, and that Spaniards have shown a great weakness when it comes to organising themselves into units or groups, so that Franco was quick to exploit this national weakness to justify imposing an authoritarian system.

Even before Franco through the tension between the potentially subversive notions of 'union' and 'reparto' on the one hand, and fear and disapproval of politics on the other had resolved itself in an authoritarian form. The Spanish word 'cumplir' expresses this: it means to fulfil the obligation to do one's job with the required degree of diligence.

The notion of 'cumplir' sits uncomfortably with the economic relationship between employer and employee. In the Andalusian estates piece-work is widely used as an incentive to work, and fear of dismissal is commonly believed to have similar effects. There is no feudal feeling of respect or affection for the landowner to make labourers work hard. Thus the idea of cumplir, or working diligently, is strange and cannot be explained in the modern economic context. The notion can only be explained in terms of authoritarianism. The labourers, often living in a 'cortijo' or dormitory village owned by the estate, seeing no possibility of change in the oppression of their lives (emigration was always chosen by the most dissident few (see Gregory 1978, Martinez-Alier 1971) intepreted the present state of affairs as one of supremecy of the dominant hated class. The labourers thus impose a type of self-discipline on themselves, and adopt appropriate cultural values for survival. Fatalism about their situation means they can preserve self-respect and dignity, 'Traditionally, and to some extent still, villagers have been instilled with what may be termed a fatalistic

attitude a posture of resignation that is evident in a number of the more common village sayings.

Such as: Casamiento y mortaja
del cielo baja.
Marriage and shroud are
down from above.
El nombre propone
y Dios dispone.
Man proposes God disposes.

(An example from Brandes' Castilian village)

In other words, man has little control over his universe, God is the ultimate source of authority over action and events, and an individual cannot assume personal responsibility for the direction of his own life'. (Brandes 1975, p.191). Despite the fatalism there are suppressed hopes of political change, expressed in the notion of 'colectividad', the preferred co-operative type of farming which would occur after a successful uprising against the large estates. Self-preservation is expressed in the perceived sameness of fear and prudence, and in the suspicion of strangers as spies, (see Martinez-Alier, 1971).

After the death of Franco in 1975 - some democratic reforms were made, and more villagers owned land. But the political outlook of the Andalusian migrants in Charleroi was formed long before. The great majority had migrated before the cut-back in migration to Belgium, and their outlook was formed in the village where their elders' memories of the past were still vivid.

Perhaps two other aspects of the migrants' political culture came from the Franco era. Francoism cleverly embodied Militarism, Catholicism, Falangism, Capitalism, Monarchism, and the Opus Dei. It outlawed Regionalism, Marxism, Socialism, Communism and Christian Democrats. The political scene was thus simplified and perhaps strengthened the simplistic nature of labourers' political attitudes. Thus labourers' political views are one-dimensional.

The Village of Santa Elizabetta, Sicily

Santa Elizabetta is situated about half an hour's drive from Agrigento in Western Sicily. Agrigento has had four names. The modern name, the Arabic name (Girgenti) and the Roman name (Agrigentum) derive from the original Greek name Akgras. The colony was founded in 581 BC. Agrigento is famous for its group of ancient Greek temples, built in the 5th century BC. Santa Elizabetta is high in the hills and can be reached along narrow winding roads. On the outskirts of the village new houses and buildings still under construction perch precariously on the hillside; signs of remittances from the migrants in Belgium.

The village itself boasts a central square where the men gather in the bars, talk, play cards and while away their time. Most of these men will have spent time in Belgium. Some of them are retired miners, others (in Summer) back on holiday. The exception was the owner of the bar who had

worked for 15 years in Birmingham selling ice cream. He said that he had liked England so much but finally he wanted to come home so he drove his ice cream van back to Sicily and it is parked proudly by his house complete with 'Mind that Child' on the back. The bar owner was very useful in introducing me to migrants on holiday and to retired migrants who had formerly worked in the mines in Belgium, and before that in the sulphur mine near Agrigento, opened in 1820 and 1,800 metres below sea level. When this mine closed many went to work in the Belgian Coal mines. Now old before their time and suffering from silicosis, too weak to work their small plot of land, they sit in the piazza with their men friends while their women stay at home.

The return to the village for the annual holiday is the great event of the year. For the Sicilian migrants there is a special train which arrives in Sicily the 2nd or 3rd of July. Crammed full of migrants tired after their long journey. As soon as they arrive at the station there is a rush to get out. On the platform are friends and relatives anxiously waiting for them. They pass out their battered suitcases, tied-up with string, those same suitcases which left the village in search of a better life years before. The Sicilian heat is suffocating, the migrants get off the train, embrace their relatives and they all get into waiting cars to drive to the village for one month before they return to the factories in Belgium. A kind of game is enacted by the migrants on their homecoming. They make out that life in Belgium is wonderful, even if it is not, that they are doing very well. They come loaded with presents. In the same way the villagers treat them very well, giving them a special welcome as befitting their role of successful migrants.

This whole 'carry-on' belies the true picture of emigration. But nobody would dream of saying that they were not happy that life was difficult etc... Honour and outward appearance is very important. Everyone is nice, everything is marvellous. When they return to Belgium at the end of the month they in turn leave with presents. Oil, wine, homemade cakes, fruit, symbols of what they are leaving behind. The picture of the village remains in their memory, the whole year while they are in Belgium.

In order to understand the Sicilians it is necessary to perceive the great difference which exists between North and South in Italy. Throughout history Sicilians have lived under the double regime of a remote foreign power and a local oligarchy of feudal lords, (see Boissevain 1966, Blok 1966). It was due to the inability of foreign powers to control effectively the island, especially the isolated interior parts, which led to the development of the Mafia. There is much speculation on the exact extent of the Mafia sectorally and regionally. The important early studies agree, however, that it was and is strongest in these three areas: i) the latifundia zone of the central part of the island, (see Blok 1969a), ii) the irrigated fruit growing zone around Palermo, and iii) the sulphur-mining areas stretching from Agrigento to Caltanisetta, (see Blok 1969b). According to King 'It is impossible to date even approximately the origin of the Mafia. Although its roots may lie buried in the 15th and 16th centuries, when Spanish rule was too incapable of reaching areas of the island outside the immediate orbit of the main towns, it is not a medieval institution. Its greatest period of glory lies after 1890', (King 1975, p.22).

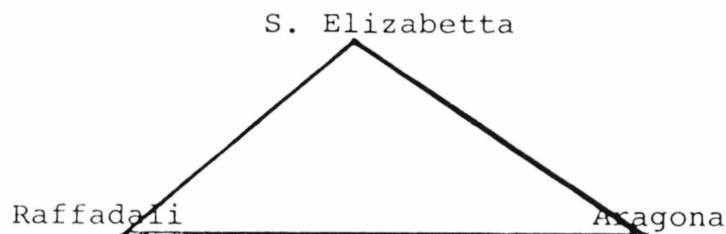
In spite of the mystery surrounding the exact origins of the Mafia, King maintains that three particular aspects of the evolution of Sicily are responsible for the Mafia's growth:-

i) the island's constant domination by foreign power

ii) the persistence of the latifundia structure into modern times, (see Schneider and Schneider 1976), and

iii) the ecological conditions of physical environment, settlement and communication patterns.

The village chosen for this study is situated up in the mountains about half an hour from Agrigento. To get to this village you can either pass through Aragona or Raffadali, a well known Mafia stronghold, where in 1981 there were 13 recorded murders.



The above area was recently described as a Mafia triangle. It is even present in Santa Elizabetta, for example one of the young men of the village had disappeared; after some time has passed, his father tried to find out what had happened to him - he was later found riddled with bullets. The Mafia do not like questions or interference of any

kind, (see Falzone 1978). The two other sons that remained were so frightened that they carried a gun everywhere they went. They were finally arrested (by the police) for being unlawfully armed. No one, even if they had seen something, would speak because it would be putting their own life in jeopardy. When you are in a small village such as Santa Elizabetta and you look around you it is almost impossible to believe that there are such strong undercurrents in the lives of these people, who would seem to live a quiet, peaceful peasant existence.

According to King: 'It is interesting to reflect on the role of Sicilian emigration on the development of the Mafia. Emigration chiefly to the United States, was of great importance in the late 19th century and early 20th century'. (King 1975, p.30). Many of the emigrants themselves are 'Mafiosi' - Mafia members who were in trouble with the police. By the 1880's Mafia colonies had sprung up in most American large cities. Also by the early 20th century there was already some feedback from the U.S. with the more ruthless methods of racketeering, gambling and gang warfare being introduced into Sicily. Although Facism did much to eliminate the Mafia, the roots of the Mafia remained. 'The Mafia was not just a group of individuals, it was a way of life', (King 1975, p.31). According to Carlyle, 'The Mafia may perhaps be described as a company of blackmailers, whose activities enable otherwise respectable citizens to evade payment of their taxes, induce farmers to make payments for the protection

of their cattle against theft, or in serious cases arrange kidnapping of rich people or their dependants', (Carlyle 1962, p.112). In recent years the Mafia has changed its character, becoming more involved in big business. There is convincing evidence that the construction industry is now in the hands of the Mafia, not only in Palermo, Agrigento and the towns of Western Sicily, but also in Turin and Milan, where emigrant Sicilians provide the vast majority of the labour. Whereas peasants were once the most common Mafia murder victims, now construction workers are . (Pantaleone 1966, p, 159). Also 'The Sicilian-American families of Cosa-Nostra run the American side of the drug-trafficing business, but its centre is Sicily .... Since its origins in the neglected Sicilian countryside, when it supplemented an inneffectual local administration, the Mafia has stood for the status quo. Today even the local police acknowledge that the Mafia could not have prospered without political support' (De Zulueta 1983, p.23). According to Blok (1974) the central characteristic of 'mafia' is the private use of unlicensed violence as a means of control in the public arena. 'In Sicily, administration and politics were and still are closely intertwined and certainly much less autonomous than in some contemporary industrial nation-states. To obtain access to State resources, one had to "please" the persons who administered them. In local idiom these services were granted "for friendship" and as "favours". The mayor is reported to have denied certificates for passports to peasant activists who wanted to emigrate to the United

States. Old Age Pensions were paid by the postmaster after he had "seen" (received) substantial shares of almonds, grapes, or olives, according to the season in which peasants called at his office', (Blok 1974, p.199).

Pantaleone (1966) in his epic book on the Mafia pointed out that over the period 1946-64, concerning distribution of direct loans from the Banco di Sicilia (when the administration of the bank was controlled by Mafiosi employees) that the towns and villages receiving the highest proportion of finance were the settlements which were widely known to be Mafia strongholds - and which in turn, naturally, had supplied the largest proportion of the bank's employees. On the list of these strongholds come Agrigento and Raffadali - both in close proximity to Santa Elizabetta.

In 1962 the national and regional parliaments agreed to set up the Anti-Mafia Commission to investigate the Mafia and suggest ways of eliminating it. However, when the report of the Anti-Mafia Commission was finally published, after long delays, in 1972, it brought no surprises. Much evidence was shown but the more controversial parts were withheld.

King (1975) believes that Sicily really needs a fundamental programme of social redemption to destroy the myth of the Mafia's indestructability. The Mafia will not be destroyed as long as the law of 'omerta' survives, as it

still does. There is little doubt that the Mafia is still one of the chief obstacles to Sicily's progress. The Mafia is an integral part of Sicily and the life of the Sicilians. 'The "Mafiosi" depend very much on personal relations with a local clientele - their "home farm" - so to speak - whose growth takes time. Their power domains are locally phrased, and it is precisely their control over a distinct locality that enables them to influence higher levels of society as power brokers', (Blok, 1974, p.226).

The modern Mafia is a curious blend of old and new. However, one common factor remains, every major member of the group is linked to the others by a close web of family ties. The Mafia trusts only blood ties. Throughout the whole of the south of Italy, the most important social group, almost the only one of real importance, is the family. Banfield (1958) called this value 'amoral familism'. When villagers meet friends, it is in the café, where you do not need to commit yourself. Inviting someone to your own home is to make him part of the family. In such cases the friend becomes a 'blood-brother', a pseudo cousin or uncle, a 'godfather'. 'Godparenthood in Southern Italy was perhaps as important as the rural Spanish 'Compadrazgo'. (see MacDonald 1964, p. 87). The importance of family and kinship affects all social classes in Sicily. Aristocrats in Sicily used to, and still do, address and treat servants as if they were family dependents, (see Fofi 1964).

Latifundi owners treated their tenants and labourers as family dependents. Thus even that other, non-family, relationship of the island, the patron-client relationship, is merged with family feelings. Talking of another, though similar, Italian village, Maraspini (1968) comments on the absence of any form of grouping among the peasants going beyond the family. Whenever and wherever there has been open defiance of the central government and organised rebellion, the leadership invariably came from the gentry. Banfield (1958, p.85) comments on the 'inability of villagers to act together for their common good ...' a way of life he called 'amoral familism' in which people 'maximise the material, short term advantage of the nuclear family, and assume that all others do likewise'. Galtung has commented on the low level of political mobilisation, and suggested: 'the Topdogs interact with each other and with underdogs (but to a lesser extent) but not (or much, much less) the underdogs with the underdogs.' (Galtung, 1971, p.244).

The thing that divides the family off from the rest of the village is the strength of roles and values within it. The father is pre-eminent as rule-maker and provider Moreover there is no ideology of change - intellectual curiosity and originality amongst children are often ridiculed or suppressed, (see Glazer and Moynihan 1963). The mother is protector of the mores and customs of the family, and her value largely comes from this activity.

Sexual honour, 'onore' is jealously guarded, older female family members chaperoning unmarried young women everywhere. The independence and individualism of the family in the village setting associated with 'amicizia' (friendship), has a reciprocal, exchange-type meaning. Chapman Gower (1971) has suggested that 'the reciprocal obligations of friendship were one of the important factors in the pseudo-organisation of the Mafia', (p.123). The cultural value of peasant shrewdness and suspicion, or astuteness is 'furberia'. In addition also the concept of friendship is strictly contained and limited - friendship: 'amicizia' is a word which implies relative distance and coolness compared with other family relationships. (see Cronin 1970).'Friendship was the critical relation which defined networks of exchange in Western Sicily.' (Schneider and Schneider, 1976, p.102.).

The strength of the family unit is shown by the way it has survived the migration process. In the United States, family honour and the protection of the women of the family was adapted to the new situation of female employment and the factory. Firstly Southern Italian women avoided domestic work because this threatened the chastity of the young unmarried women. Secondly wives and daughters chaperoned each other. Thirdly women chose industries where they did not work with men. Fourthly kinship reciprocity continued, as a means of getting jobs, skills, and better pay. Lastly, parental authority was used as a form of sub-management whereby young girls were put to work under the supervision of their mothers, or aunts, (see MacDonald and MacDonald 1964). Also in those

situations where a family member was temporarily alone, as in the case of newly arriving migrants, the people who acted as intermediaries, arranging lodgings and jobs, the 'padroni', the 'godfathers', took the place of the traditional family kinship system, (see Fofi 1964). Such people had only temporary importance, they were not family members, they had only passing usefulness, and they played the same role as the unrespected 'mastros', or foremen for the gentry, back in the home village (see Verga 1970). Such 'padroni' played a more specialised and exploitative role than godfathers in the home village.

Thus this lack of organisation outside the extended family is crucial to understanding the Sicilian migrant. 'Corporate organisations are still inconceivable in the whole of Southern Italy except when forced on communities by the centralized State' MacDonald and MacDonald 1964 p.88). The government has consequently found it very difficult to set up co-operatives in the course of policies redistributing land since 1945.

Banfield (1958) in his study of Montegrano in Southern Italy commented that when an interviewer explained to a young teacher that a 'public spirited' person is one who acts for the welfare of the whole community rather than for himself alone, the teacher said 'No one in town is animated by a desire to do good for all the population. Even if sometimes there is someone apparently animated by this desire, in reality he is interested in his own welfare and

he does his own business', (Banfield 1958, p.18).

Sicily was, until relatively recently, under the weak domination of foreign powers. For example, between 1450 and 1640 it was ruled by the weak and inefficiently administered Spanish Empire. Even the 1860 unification of Italy was interpreted by many Sicilians as the beginning of yet another era of foreign domination, as land taxed from Sicily helped develop Northern industries to the detriment of Palermo. This history helps explain the very small relevance of government and politics to Sicilians. Thus political dissidence or resistance has not had anything tangible to subvert. Dissidents in the past have not become political or ideological dissidents. Instead they have become outlaws and bandits (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964). Because of the low regard for government, such outlaws have been condoned by the poorer class. This has given rise to the Southern Italian phenomenon of 'omerta' or the complicity of villagers who protected the bandit, and who identified with the bandit rather than with the law.

Banfield states: 'In a society of amoral familism, the law will be disregarded when there is no reason to fear punishment. Therefore individuals will not enter into agreements which depend upon legal processes for their enforcement unless it is likely that the law will be

enforced and unless the cost of securing enforcement will not be so great as to make the undertaking unprofitable', (Banfield 1958, p.92).

The low respect of the law is again shown by the phenomenon of family feuds, in which the traditional atomism of Sicilian society is expressed in family disputes often surviving over several generations. Such disputes rarely emerge into litigation, so that violence remains as the only easy remedy.

In former times the land-tenure system in Sicily was dominated by the 'latifondi', or large estates, which produced grain for export. The exporting of the grain was in the hands of entrepreneurs, who controlled the grain for only a short time before it was shipped away. Their activity was a speculative one. Their assets were mainly contacts who gave them information about prices and where grain was available. These 'broker capitalists' (Schneider and Schneider 1976) were thus only interested in short-term speculative investments. Schneider and Schneider (1976) have used the weakening of foreign control of the island during the nineteenth century, which meant that the latifondi became increasingly threatened by bandits, to explain the landowners' resorting to entrepreneurs who specialised in violence to protect their property. These entrepreneurs, the 'Mafiosi', had enterprises which were based on extortion. They also developed an organisational and ideological apparatus aimed

at influencing the police and judiciary. They also developed a political shield provided first by the 'civile' bosses, (mayors, etc.) and then by party politicians.

In Sicily, as in Southern Italy as a whole, the attitude of the lower classes to employers and landowners has traditionally been affectionate and deferential. It has always been easier to stir up hatred of the northerner and the foreigner than it has been to make the peasant realise that his own landlord, though personally charming, is politically speaking, his most dangerous adversary, (see Maraspini 1968). The landlord and the priest were and still are the traditional sources of de facto authority. The dualism of aristocracy and church in peoples' affections is shown by the name for the Bourbon Royalist Army - the 'Sanfedisti', or 'Holy Faith'. For these reasons peasants have traditionally identified themselves with the local aristocracy and with the continuation of the largely feudal way of life that this represents. Twice in history the peasants have fought on the side of the local aristocracy - against Napoleon and during the Risorgimento, and both times the aim was to preserve the status quo. Banfield (1958) in his study of a Southern Italian town, attributed this desire to preserve the status quo to the fact that most people owned at least a small plot of land - the Italian rules of equal inheritence have caused this - landless peasants were much more likely to hold subversive political views.

Conclusion

The most important values of the Sicilian are those associated with the extended family. The role of the father as centre of authority, the mother as emotional centre, and the other generations and quasi-members who are brought in from outside are seen by the Sicilian as his mainstay and protection against the potentially hostile environment.

On the other hand the most important values for the Spaniard are social and political. They relate to an intensely class - and conflict - ridden past, to strong values of solidarity, self-discipline in the face of oppression, and competence in work.

Thus the Sicilian has a cultural environment which he can take with him on migration. The Spaniard on the other hand, cannot take his village, the stage on which his most important values are expressed, with him. This difference between Sicilians and Spaniards will be investigated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

Field Work in Charleroi

This study focusses on the settlement of two groups of migrant workers in Charleroi, Belgium. The method of research was to interview a group of Sicilian migrants from Santa Elizabetta, Sicily and a group of Spanish migrants from the San Roque area, Spain. The interviews were carried out between 1979-1981. A qualitative approach was used in order to explore the topic in detail and the interviews were used to ascertain the importance of chain migration, integration, speed in learning French, thoughts of return, discrimination etc....

Various hypotheses suggested themselves through examination of the literature on migration, while others suggested themselves on the basis of the pilot interviews. Eight hypotheses are listed below and relate to the data obtained during the interviews. Inevitably, simple hypotheses of this sort are merely the tip of the iceberg and they are themselves to be explained by recourse to the culture and situation of the two groups.

HYPOTHESES

(i) More Sicilians than Spaniards are part of chain migration.

(ii) Sicilians integrate better than Spaniards in Belgium.

(iii) Spaniards are more political than Sicilians.

(iv) Greater ease of assimilation is associated with faster learning of French.

(v) Thoughts of return depend on length of stay.

(vi) Migrants accompanied by their family tend to live according to their customs.

(vii) Spaniards are bigger consumers of conspicuous consumption goods.

(viii) More Sicilians than Spaniards believe that they are discriminated against.

HYPOTHESIS I

More Sicilians than Spaniards are part of chain migration.

The literature of social networks in the migration process is extensive, (MacDonald 1964, Simic 1973).

The main argument would seem to be that the 'kinship network' is used extensively in the period of initial migration. How important are kinship ties amongst migrants when they are in the host country? Residential proximity helps maintain ties. What functions are in fact provided by kinship or ethnic ties? In a sense the "community spirit' is developed already, because the villagers knew each other in the place of origin, before departure for Belgium. Life in Belgium is thus a continuation of village life. In the case of the Sicilians the reliance upon the extended family becomes of paramount importance (see Cronin 1970) for similar findings amongst Sicilians in Australia. The question arises however, whether this 'group unity' is established amongst Sicilian/Spanish migrants who do not originate from the same village? How important for example is length of residence in Belgium in relation to participation active/passive within the kinship group? Does the initial dependence on family ties change with the passage of time?

In general, more Sicilians than Spaniards are part of family related chain migration.

Perhaps the greater chain migration among Sicilians explains the fact that only 59% of young Sicilians (compared with 78% of young Spaniards) bothered to arrange a job before migrating to Belgium. Many expatriate

communities from Sicilian villages have grown up and flourished in various parts of the world. For example, emigrants from Ravanusa have settled in Lyons and Metz. Families from Sant'Angelo Muxaro work in the brick factories of Bedford and families from Santa Elizabetta (see this study) have settled in Charleroi, Belgium. The advantage of Chain migration is that the isolation factor is almost completely removed.

For Sicilians the extended family acts as a 'decompression chamber' the sense of anomie and alienation is lessened because the migrant has taken his village with him and can thus adjust at his own pace and, in the end, more thoroughly. More Sicilians (97%) had their families with them than Spaniards (85%). This may have been either a cause or a consequence of greater ease of assimilation.

Sicilian migration has involved the extended family while Spanish migration has usually involved only the nuclear family. Only 35% of unmarried Spanish migrants were with some other member of their family (brother or cousin usually) while 88% of unmarried Sicilians were with some other member of their family. Similarly, only 35% of unmarried Spanish migrants said that a member of their family had migrated before them while this proportion was 84% for Sicilians.

The attitude to wives remains old fashioned and many migrants expect their wives to stay at home, look after the children and tend to the family's needs as countless generations have done before them. A Spanish migrant, aged 53 said: 'I would not want my wife to go out to work'. This is also a question of the traditional machismo, that the man should be the provider and the woman should look after the children and the home! Similarly, a Spanish migrant aged 49: 'My wife does not work outside the home. She does do some dressmaking sometimes but she has enough to do looking after the family and preparing our meals'. This suggests that loneliness and culture-shock of wives contributes to lack of adjustment of Spaniards.

On the other hand, Belgian women are used to being freer and the Spaniards and Sicilians are used to the village "machismo" and believe themselves to be superior to their wives. For example: A Spanish man aged 29 stated that: 'My wife is from the same village. I think many men choose their wives from the village. You know where you are then'.

Sicilian Woman Aged 33

'I got married when I was 18. I have never worked outside the home. My husband would not like it. I look after him and the children. Although we live in Belgium, my life has not changed much, like my mother and grandmother'.

Whereas the Sicilian wives have companionship, help and understanding within the kinship network, the Spanish wives are much lonelier and more isolated. This perhaps is accentuated by the fact that for the Sicilian man the family is the bulwark and anchor of his existence, while for the Spanish man social and political values are much more important 100% of Sicilian long stay migrants' wives are housewives. This proportion is only 90% for Spanish wives. In Belgium the Sicilian wives do not normally go out to work they stay at home and look after the house, prepare traditional meals and act very much as they would have done in their villages. However, for the Spaniards, the situation is somewhat different in so far as the Spaniards are not so family orientated, at least this is what was found in Charleroi, they remember the village nostalgically and the wives do not assimilate as well as the Sicilian wives. For Sicilians the family is a more stable reference group than the village.

See examples below:

<u>Sicilian Woman Aged 40</u>

'I have three children, 15, 13 and 8. I am happy here with my husband and children. My sister lives next door with her husband'.

Families tend to live side-by-side, relying on each other.

<u>Sicilian Woman aged 45</u>

'In my road, most of the families are Sicilian. We all know each other. If we need anything, a neighbour is at hand to help. Our children grow-up together. The Belgians are not so friendly amongst themselves. Everyone to their own'

Spanish Woman Aged 45.

We have been in Belgium for 20 years, I still miss the village and hope that we will soon be able to return permanently. I have three children . One son is married here to a Belgian girl. She is nice but I would have prefered him to marry a girl from the village. We have bought a house in the village and we go back every Summer. My husband works in the factory and I do cleaning in private houses three times a week.

Spanish Woman Aged 36

I met my husband in the village when he came back on holidays. We have been married 16 years. I am not unhappy in Belgium but I can never get used to the climate. One day when we have enough money we will go home.

While roughly the same proportion of long stay Sicilians as short stay Sicilians feel better in Belgium than in their home village (the proportions are 65% and 70% respectively), more long stay Spaniards feel better in the village than short stay Spaniards

Sicilian Aged 34

'I believe that it is bad to emigrate. Whatever the history of a particular migrant, the overall belief is that migration should not be necessary.'

Sicilian Aged 25

'Sicily will never change, my father and grandfather had the same problems as I have had.'

HYPOTHESIS 11

Sicilians integrate better than Spaniards in Belgium.

Much has been written about the value of the family for Italians, (see Barzini 1964, Cronin 1970, Chapman Gower 1971). For Sicilians the family is very important in the migration processs. More so than for the Spaniards, who are more village orientated. The background culture is important in understanding the behaviour of the migrants in Belgium. (See Chapter V)

Ease of Assimilation

In general Sicilians settle down in Belgium better than Spaniards. For example one Sicilian, a thirty-five year old man stated:

> My brother left first and then he found a job and sent for the rest of the family. We came here in 1963, at the beginning it was difficult, but now we have a nice house and most of our friends are Sicilians.

The vast majority of migrants leave their village for economic reasons (72% Spanish, 74% Sicilian) rather than adventure (6% Spanish, 7% Sicilian) or other reasons. There is a relationship between age and reason for leaving. More than a chance number of the younger (45-) age group have adventure reasons.

Very high proportions (100% of Spaniards, 99% of Sicilians) think the years spent abroad have been useful. Identical proportions say their standard of living has improved.

More of the Sicilian group claim to get on well with their Belgian workmates, compared with the Spanish group. Since the Sicilians seem to be more integrated, more settled in their family life, they are more contented.

An indicator of the lack of assimilation of Spaniards (or inversely the continuing importance which their village holds for them) is the fact that a majority (56%) of all Spaniards send money home while a majority (59%) of all Sicilians do not; young Spaniards and Sicilians a majority (57% and 54%) of both sub groups do not send money home, and thus are similar in their remittance behaviour. The interesting sub group is migrants older than 40. A majority (66%) of older Spaniards send money home, while a majority (71%) of older Sicilians do not: evidence of a lack of assimilation among older Spaniards. It is also related to lack of strong ties with the home Sicilians village, and the bringing of extended family members from Sicily to Belgium. This pattern is echoed in the keeping of bank deposits in the donor country. More Spaniards (64%) than Sicilians (50%) keep a bank deposit in their home country. While younger Spaniards and younger Sicilians are similar in their behaviour (43% and 44% keep deposits in donor country), older migrants vary considerably. More older Spaniards (77%) than older Sicilians (47%) keep bank deposits in their home country:

30% of Spaniards say they have still not adapted after 16 years compared with 22% of Sicilians. Spanish poor adapters send more money home. More Spaniards continue to live according to their village customs, and the Spaniards' most important values are social and political. These cannot remain unchanged in the new country. Therefore, the resulting stronger sense of culture shock for Spaniards causes a lower level of successful adaptation.

Another factor more older Sicilians own a house in Belgium. This is once again evidence of relatively greater Sicilian assimilation into Belgian society.

Spaniard Aged 48

'Emigration is a way of breaking-up a family - people go to earn a living, they do not necessarily like it there, they should stay in the village.'

The migrants from poor rural communities see migration as a means of survival. Some feel that they are obliged to emigrate:

Spaniard Aged 35

'I believe that if there was enough work in the village, no one would have had to emigrate and life would have been better.'

Spaniard Aged 49

'It was impossible to remain in the village, because there was no work there. Perhaps it is a question of destiny. When I first came to Belgium, there were so many problems, everything was different, I had to find a house, the climate was terrible. I cannot read, I had no education. It is different for my children.'

Few Sicilians (Young and Old) change their ideas

There exists a fundamental belief that they should not have had to emigrate. A belief that is strengthened by the idea that the Italian Government has done little to help them. Indeed, this is true also for the Spaniards who seem to think that the Belgian Government has been more helpful. A majority (65%) of long stay Sicilians know about Belgian government welfare benefits, while only a minority (45%) of long stay Spaniards do.

Sicilian Aged 44

'I go home every summer. I have to like it here. My eldest son is married to a Belgian girl'. It was found that the Sicilians seem, at least to be better assimilated than the Spaniards. Where intermarriage has taken place, but this normally amongst second generation migrants, there would seem to be a greater degree of assimilation.

Spaniard Aged 44, said: 'I have been in Belgium since 1963. I work in the glass factory. I believe that the Belgium authorities treat us "comme ci comme ça". ' Sicilians adopt a more positive view to migration. A Sicilian Aged 28 said: 'Emigration is good, if it is a solution to the work problem.' Another, Sicilian Aged 36, said: 'Emigration is good because it improves your standard of living.'

Girl (Sicilian) Aged 24

'My father went to Belgium after the war. Afterwards my mother and my sister and I followed. Every year we go on holidays to Sicily I feel Sicilian and in Belgium I feel Belgian.'

For Spaniards the family hinders adaptation. It seems that the Siclians adapt better than the Spaniards.

HYPOTHESIS 111

Spaniards are more political than Sicilians

Sicilians in particular seem to be uninterested in politics, they have a strong tradition of distrusting authority. Spaniards on the other hand are more authoritarian. The answer to this lies in the culture of the home village. (See Chapter V).

Spaniards who left for economic reasons are more likely to be union members (53%) than is the case of Sicilians (23%).

A Sicilian aged 47 stated: 'I take no interest in politics because I feel that these things are too difficult for me to understand'.

A Sicilian aged 50 holds a similar view: 'Since I have been in Belgium I have forgotten everything which concerns politics and unions. When I return to Sicily perhaps it will be different'.

A Sicilian aged 40 states: 'I am not interested in politics in Belgium,

A Sicilian aged 44 adds: 'I go from my home to the factory and from the factory to my home. I have no time for politics'.

The extended family is the anchor which allows Sicilians to accept the new host society. Sicilians do not have a formalised code of social or political behaviour - they act on the practical, non-political level. However, there is evidence that Sicilians, the better adapters, perceive a greater degree of discrimination in Belgium, than the Spaniards. It may be that the Spaniards feel that by taking an active role and being more interested in politics they can in some way share an equal role with the Belgians.

Being interested in politics and taking political events seriously are, not surprisingly, seen as synonymous by nearly all respondents. 100% of the Spaniards see them as the same, 80% of Sicilians. Indeed this pattern of greater uni-dimensionality of Spanish attitudes is seen in other questions. 100% of Spaniards who took political events seriously also believed it necessary to belong to a trade union: only 80% of Sicilians did. 96% of Spaniards who take political events seriously believed the trade union could help people with their problems: only 70% of Sicilians did.

Sicilians are less interested in politics and less unionised. The Sicilians do not believe trade unions important and fewer Sicilians participate in strikes. The Sicilians also receive less social benefits from Government.

Many Sicilians do not believe in the value of trade unions. This distrust of unions may be partly attributed to the Sicilian mentality and partly because they believe they will eventually return to Sicily and therefore see participation in a foreign union as unnecessary. Sicilians are sceptical of any help from Government agencies, they do not trust authorities. 58% of Spaniards believe it necessary to belong to a union, compared with 18% of Sicilians. Thus Spaniards, are more authoritarian and more pro-union. However, because foreign workers tend to be compartmentalized in different work categories and because of their different culture, language and aims, their integration into unions tends to be slow and difficult.

In Charleroi, some of the Sicilians, because Italy is a member of the Common Market, feel that they are in some way superior to other migrants, such as Turks or Spaniards. Sometimes employers will try and play on this. In Belgium groups working with immigrants believe that all the sending countries except, perhaps, Italy, keep a watch on the political activities of their citizens, both through their consulates and with agents in the immigrant community. The Italians are probably the best organised group of migrants in Europe.

Migrants rarely criticise their employers. Lack of criticism of employer may be a reflection of low political awareness. Despite the migrants' generally low level of political awareness, they are able to distinguish between their Government's lack of helpfulness and the helpfulness of the Belgian Government. Perhaps most ominous for future policy towards immigrant groups is the fact that of the poorer adapters (the Spaniards), it is the younger migrants who are becoming more politicised than their elders. The older Spaniards are perhaps resigned to the status quo, but the young want change.

A Spaniard aged 39 states: 'I came to Belgium in 1963. I work in the Caterpiller factory. I am a member of the union'.

However, the migration process is not without its problems. There are the problems of discrimination and boredom. For many migrants, the extreme boredom encountered in many factory jobs is a necessary sacrifice in order to obtain economic stability. But many migrants are resigned to their fate. A Spaniard aged 41 says:

'I work in a glass factory in order to earn enough money to be able one day, to return to the village. I believe that it is necessary to belong to a union. However, I feel that the unions could do more for migrant workers'.

Added to this, there is the belief by some migrants that the unions are somewhat racist and only pay lip service to the migrants wishes. It would seem that in general Sicilians are less interested in politics due to their background and on the whole the Spaniards tend to be more political. Although both groups share the belief that not enough is being done for them.

HYPOTHESIS 1V

Greater ease of assimilation is associated with faster learning of French.

Without doubt language is an important bridge to integration. (See Chapter I, p.7). None of the migrants had any knowledge of French before leaving. If the migrant was over 25 years, it took him at least a year to have a simple understanding and to be able to say a few simple sentences. However, the children of the migrants picked-up French very quickly at school and in the company of other children. For women it was more difficult, because many of them according to custom, were housebound and did not come into contact with the local people. 52% of Sicilians learn the language within 6 months while 44% of Spaniards do so. Spanish migrants without their families learn French quicker than ones with their families. This is not so for Sicilians. However, more young Spaniards than young Sicilians find language a problem. The majority of old migrants find language a problem.

A Spaniard aged 50, stated that on arrival in Belgium customs were not a problem because at home we continue to follow our own customs. Language was, however, a big problem: 'I still don't speak French well. My children are fluent in French and Spanish. They go to Spanish classes after school'.

Although the migrant will pick-up the language to a certain extent, he will never really learn it well unless he has been to classes and learnt the basic grammar. A Spaniard aged 42 says: 'I came here in 1962. I speak French. I have a Belgian girl friend. I have bought a house in Belgium'. Another Spanish migrant says: 'I speak French and Spanish, I have Belgian and Spanish friends. I am married to a Belgian girl'. For the young, it is much easier to learn the language. They mix more with the Belgians and go to school in the host country. Sometimes the young migrant will know the host country's language better than his own. For example this Spaniard aged 23 said: 'I suppose I have learnt another language. I can write French but not Spanish. I am neither Spanish nor Belgian'. A Sicilian aged 43 said: 'When I first arrived I did not know any French, things were very hard then. Time passed, my family was able to join me. I have learned some French and now I feel more settled'. Doubtless the incentive to learn French depends on length of stay.

The first generation migrants seldom learn the language of the host country satisfactorily. If they do learn some, it becomes a strange sort of mixture of both languages. Indeed there are migrants who have been many years in the host country and have only a smattering of the host language. They rely on their children or friends if they need to express themselves, in French, otherwise they speak their own language.

There are other indicators of greater ease of assimilation of the Sicilians. Of the two groups it is the Spaniards who think more of returning home and think back nostalgically to the village. The Sicilians do not have the same need to harp back continuously to the village arena because they have brought, what is most important to them, with them, i.e. the family and extended family. Spaniards on the other hand in order to achieve the psychological ease associated with families have to continue to adopt their customs and traditions of the village in order to live successfully in an alien environment.

The greater ease of assimilation among Sicilians is reflected in a faster rate of learning French. It would seem that where the intention to remain is strong the language of the host country is more easily learned. Similarly, there is no incentive to learn when the migrant believes that he will not be staying in the host country for long. On the other hand, if the migrant is alone he is forced to learn the language more quickly than if he is surrounded by his family.

It would seem then, the hypothesis 'greater ease of assimilation is associated with faster learning of French' is probable since knowledge of the host country's language gives the migrant a greater opportunity to assimilate.

The difference in the home culture of the two groups and the threat to this culture posed to the new environment can be seen in other ways reflecting the level of assimilation. For example Spaniards are more likely to join a trade union. Spanish migrants with families think of returning home more than Spanish migrants without families. Spanish migrants without families learn French quicker than Spanish migrants with families. Spanish migrants without families change ideas in Belgium more than Spanish migrants with families.

Sicilians seem to be less interested in politics than Spaniards. In Sicily there is less a tradition of strong Government than Spaniards have at home. Politically, then, as in Sicily, the Sicilians act pragmatically and feel no threat because for them family values are more important. However, for the Spaniards, the challenge to their values is more direct and thus there is a greater case of culture shock. It seems that Spaniards are more political because they have attitudes which are more authoritarian, based on traditions and background. (See Chapter V).

What is clear from this research is that the background has had an important influence on the behaviour and characteristics of the migrants in Belgium. Two groups of Mediterranean migrants have shown some unusual dissimilarities in the same situation, and while it is always difficult to hypothesize, the fact remains that the cultural background of these two groups is particularly relevant to the degree of assimilation which they have achieved in Charleroi.

HYPOTHESIS V

Thoughts of return depend on length of stay

At the beginning of the migratory period the migrant thinks constantly of the return: he misses his village, his friends, his family. However, as time passes and he becomes settled he may be joined by his family or he may already have brought his family with him and he concentrates on making as much money as possible in order eventually to return to the village. 76% of all migrants often think of returning. The figure is much higher for older migrants and there is no country of origin difference. But again when you consider younger migrants there is a dramatic change, the majority (65%) of young Spaniards often think of returning to the village, while the majority (56%) of young Sicilians do not.

If the migrant has left most of his family in his village, he dreams incessantly of returning. If however, as is usual in Belgium, he has most of his family with him, he is content to return only once a year in July for his annual holiday. This annual return is much looked forward to and indeed in many cases is the one objective which keeps the migrants working at tedious jobs throughout the year.

The following are some examples of what some migrants think about 'the return':

Sicilian aged 37

'I could return to Sicily but the situation there has not changed much since I left 15 years ago. There is no security. Life is hard in Sicily, I shall stay here until I have earned enough money'.

Sicilian aged 40

'I hope that in the future the situation will change in Sicily and then I can go back to my village with my family'.

The major concern of most migrants is to be able to save enough money to be able to return to the village to start a business. See examples below:

Sicilian Aged 58

'I have been here for 20 years. Every year we return to the village by car. When I have enough money I will go back and set-up a small business.'

Sicilian Aged 45

'After several years of sacrifice, I managed to save enough to buy a small business in Sicily. I shall return permanently next year'.

Spaniard Aged 34

'I work in a factory. I am pleased that I came to Belgium. But eventually I want to return. I do not really like it here'.

Spaniard Aged 54

'I think that it is bad that there is no work in the village. I go home every year on holiday.'

Sicilian

'I was born in Santa Elizabetta in 1940. I had four brothers and three sisters. Sicilian families are usually large. I studied up to 111 elementare. When I was 17, I went to work in Milan with my brother. I stayed there for a few years, but I did not like it. After a time, I decided to return to the village. When I was 22, I went to Belgium. I knew some families and friends who had gone there from our village. I got married when I was 28 to a Sicilian girl I met in the village one Summer when I was back on holiday. Now we are settled in Belgium, we have a house and three children. I work in a factory. I hope one day to return to the village.'

A Spanish migrant aged 49 said: 'I miss the village a lot. We have our house there and I miss the life. Of course when I left there was no work. My children speak Spanish and French. We go home every Summer. I go to the bar every day, meet my friends chat, play cards. My wife also prefers the village, she doesn't like Belgium. We feel like foreigners here'.

For Spanish migrants, being accompanied by their family in Belgium is associated with often thinking of returning to the village. For the Sicilians this is not so.

However, not all the migrants intend to return to their village. A few wish to remain permanently in Belgium. Age has a lot to do with different attitudes. Old people find it more difficult to adjust than younger people. For example:

A Sicilian aged 38 says: 'I am Sicilian, proud of my origin, but I do not want to return to my village because there is no work there'. And a Spaniard aged 18 says: 'My mother and father met in Barcelona, then they came to Belgium in 1958. I believe that all forms of migration are a sacrifice and I have no wish to return to Andalusia'.

A Spaniard aged 43 stated: 'I came to Belgium in 1964. I am not married. All my friends are from the village. I go to the Spanish bar every night. My mother is at home in the village and she wants me to return and to get married. I send my mother money every month. But, I have been here too long and I feel it is too late to go back. I am settled here now. I have a sister who is in Germany with her family'.

For Spaniards, length of stay does not depend on amount of money sent home. For Sicilians: both short and long stay Sicilian migrants tend not to send money home (only 41% altogether send money home), and while this rises slightly from 39% for short stay to 46% for long stay migrants,

It would have been expected that the better adapters (the Sicilians) with their much greater proportion of retired migrants (25% compared with 5% of Spanish migrants) would have intended to stay longer. However, this is an area about which migrants are obviously ambivalent (witness the high proportion of 'don't knows') and reluctance finally to decide.

Intention to stay longer in Belgium

	S. Spanish		Sicilians	
	Stayed 4 years	Stayed less than 4 yrs.	Stayed 4 years	Stayed less than 4 yrs.
Don't know	0%	96%	0%	95%
1-3 years	0%	4%	0%	5%
4-10 years	77%	0%	62%	0%
More than 10 years	23%	0%	38%	0%

Sicilians and Spaniards are remarkably similiar in their intentions for staying in Belgium.

Although the first generation migrants normally want to return at some stage to the village, some of the younger migrants have no wish to return at all. For them the village is a symbol of the past. For the older migrant a high degree of adaptation does not mean that he has no wish to return. Both groups plan to return one day. However, the difference between the Spaniards and the Sicilians is that in general the Sicilians are the better adapters because for them the family must stick together in order to face the host society and to preserve the customs and traditions of the donor country.

Sometimes the final return is no more than a dream, and the longer the migrant stays the less likely he is to return. According to Berger and Mohr (1975), the final return is mythic . It gives meaning to what might otherwise be meaningless. It is larger than life.

It would seem then that thoughts of return do depend on length of stay. The 'thoughts' simply undergo a change with the passage of time. In the beginning most migrants are homesick and would like to return immediately. The wives, probably more than the husbands because they are most isolated. And if the husband is alone he misses his family. As the years go by the migrant likes his new earning power and what it can buy and he keeps putting off the return because he never feels he has earned enough. Another factor is that the children are being educated in Belgium and the migrant does not want to disrupt their education. Very high proportions (90% of Spaniards, 89% of Sicilians) think Belgian schools are better than the schools at home.

When the children leave school, and marry the mother does not want to leave because of grandchildren. If the children arrived in Belgium at an early age, they are probably more Belgian than Sicilian/Spanish and do not want to return to the village where they feel like foreigners, and indeed are called by the villagers 'the Belgians'.

A Sicilian Girl Aged 20 states: 'My father left Sicily after the war to be a miner. Now that he has retired he wants to return to Sicily. My mother is not very keen because my elder sister is married and settled here with small children. I am not sure what I want to do. I have lived here all my life in Belgium and Sicily seems a long way away. However, I will have to do what my father says as he is head of the family'.

Hypothesis V 1

Migrants accompanied by their family tend to live according to their customs.

The family is the most important concept for Sicilians. A strong friendship outside the family is rare - when a boy marries he takes on his wife's family as well as his own. (See Davis 1973, Stirling 1965.)

The migrants continue to rely heavily on their customs and traditions, at least in the first generation

79% of migrants continue to live according to the customs of their village.

However, proportionately more Spaniards continue to live according to their customs than do Sicilians. There is no difference for the older group: the greater majority (93% and 96%) of both old Spaniards and old Sicilians continue to live according to the customs of their village

When it comes to the younger group (under 40) there is a dramatic change; the majority (73%) of young Spaniards continue to respect village customs, while the majority (63%) of young Sicilians do not, The young second generation migrant, especially the male is under enormous stress. The girls are easier to control, in so far as traditionally they have been more chaperoned by their families and have to stay in the home. The boy finds that he has to spend most of his time playing in the streets and this then becomes his point of reference The attitude to women, honour and traditional roles remain the same. For example the attitude of father towards daughter.

A Sicilian Aged 55

'I have two daughters and three sons. My eldest daughter is married. The youngest works as a hairdresser. She is 18. When she finishes work, she must come straight home. If she is late I begin to worry. When she comes in, she has to tell me why she is late. and what she has been doing. With girls it is important to keep them under control. Boys are different. If she gets engaged, then her fiancé can come to the house and have coffee or watch television, but there is no question of her going to the cinema with him. If she goes out, her mother goes with her or maybe she goes out with her cousins.'

Usually the daughters obey the father unquestioningly, but sometimes there are exceptions:

Woman (Sicilian) Aged 35

'At home my father is very kind but he is always the boss. After my father received his pension he wanted to return to Sicily. My mother did not want to return, but he made her. I decided to stay in Belgium, much against their wishes.'

Sicilian Girl Aged 28

'I am not married, but I live with my boy friend, we have one child. My father was a miner. He had 11 children. My mother died aged 42. My father has now returned permanently to Sicily. My father was very dominant, he used to beat us sometimes.'

This girl does not like what she calls 'the hypocrisy and gossiping' of Sicily. It has become another world for her. This girl considers herself more Belgian than Sicilian. Indeed, she has begun to act more like a Northern European than a Sicilian woman.

Certainly for first generation migrants their mentality has remained the same as when they left the village. They expect the same allegiance from their children as they would have expected in the village. The father is the head of the household. 'A man must be a good father to his family. Within his means he must see his daughters well married and his sons securely employed. He must command the respect of the family and ensure that they meet the minimal obligations of their familial roles. Above all, he must promote and defend the chastity of the women in his family. At least until recently, male members of the west Sicilian family considered themselves responsible for their women's virtue and women's comportment was an important yardstick by which the family honour was measured, as well as an important symbol which proclaimed its honour.' (Schneider 1976, p.89).

Sicilians have stronger extended family and more independence from political institutions. (See Davis, 1973, Schneider 1976). The members of a family are responsible for each other's behaviour and welfare. 'It is in the home that a child learns to conform to the essential standards of behaviour.' (Gower Chapman 1975, p.73).

Normally the Sicilian girl is taught how to be a good home maker and how she should behave. In Charleroi, the girls are also closely watched and they usually marry young, hopefully to a fellow villager or possibly from a distant village. At least for Sicilians, honour of the family is very important and therefore the women of the family must be protected at all times. A Sicilian Girl aged 24 said 'I have been married for two years to a Sicilian boy I met here. His parents also come from Santa Elizabetta. My parents were very happy about our marriage.'

In the same way, the Spanish migrants are protective of their womenfolk and expect them to be what they term as 'formal' which really means not doing anything which would give rise to scandal or gossip. A Spaniard aged 49 said: 'Sometimes I go to the Spanish Café where I see my friends. On Sundays my wife comes and talks to the other wives. I go to the local football club, I don't play anymore but I like to see a match and we have 'fiestas', especially at New Year.' It was found that if a migrant had visited a bar frequently in the village, he would normally continue to visit a similar place in Charleroi. However, in the case of Spanish and Italian migrants, they tended to frequent bars run by their own nationality.

A Spaniard Aged 28 said:

'Whan I first came to Belgium I used to go out a lot and I had a good time. But when I decided to marry I chose a Spanish girl because we have the same mentality.' Mentality is a crucial concept amongst Southern Mediterranean migrants. Very rarely do they marry Belgians and if they do the marriage has untold difficulties. Sometimes a migrant will marry a Belgian girl, but that can create problems because of the difference in mentality. For example - A Spaniard Aged 18 says: ' I have a brother aged 25 who is married to a Flemish girl, he is not happy. Now that he has moved to the Flemish part of Belgium he drives every day 65km to go to the Spanish bar in Gilly to see his friends'. The migrants tend to prefer the company of fellow villagers or fellow nationals with whom they feel more at ease.

Adaptation is relative, because the migrants continue to live according to their customs. This is borne out by a Sicilian Aged 47 who states: 'Yes we continue to live according to the customs of the village. We like to eat the same sort of food and we bring our children up as we would have done in the village but it is difficult as life here is freer for the young'. Similarly, in matters of religion, most migrants are Catholic, but they tend to leave religious matters to the wives. A Spaniard Aged 55 said: 'I am Catholic. I don't go to Church except on an important occasion such as a baptism or wedding or funeral. My wife goes quite a lot. But I suppose it is more for women'.

It would seem apparent that migrants continue to maintain their customs, particularly when accompanied by their families. The lone migrant may change temporarily but will quickly revert to tradition on marriage.

This is particularly true of Sicilians where tradition and customs play a large part in their day to day life. They tend to eat the same food as they would have done in the village. They make their own wine. They keep an eye on their daughters and do not allow them the same freedom as Belgian girls. This sometimes causes problems within the second generation. There is, nevertheless, evidence that some immigrant children feel tied to a value system of their 'place of origin'. While many are still too young to put into words their dissatisfaction, it is still possible to sense that this is an important area of behaviour which one day may assume serious proportions.
The first generation migrants have different attitudes towards migration. For example:

Sicilian Aged 40

'I am quite content working in the factory.'

Sicilian Aged 36

'Nobody likes emigration, but it is necessary.'

Spaniard Aged 39

'We go to earn money, there is no work in the village.'

Spaniard Aged 42

'I believe that migration is for improvement.'

Sicilian Aged 46

'Emigration is necessary because there is no work in the village.'

Spaniard Aged 32

'Migrants are the most unfortunate of all Spanish people because they have to live outside their country.'

HYPOTHESIS V11

Spaniards are greater consumers of conspicuous consumption goods

In general Spaniards are more concerned with acquiring conspicuous consumption goods than the Sicilians. For the Spanish migrant the outward appearance and trappings of success is all important. The Spaniards seem to have a greater attachment to their village and talk more of the eventual return. They see their stay in Belgium 'as a necessary evil' in order to acquire coveted goods and to save as much money as possible ... A Spaniard aged 33 states: 'I could return and find work but not good pay. I shall stay in Belgium until I have earned enough money and then I shall go back to the village'. Another Spaniard aged 48 states: 'I want eventually to return to Spain and buy a bar in the village, but for this I need to save a lot of money'.

Another Spaniard aged 41, is pleased with his time in Belgium: 'I work in the factory. I have bought a flat in Seville. The standard of living is good here in Belgium. Good conditions. If I had my time over again, I would emigrate again'. The measure of satisfaction would seem to be if the migrant is satisfied with the money he is earning, and if he believes the sacrifice he is making is worthwhile. A Spaniard aged 48 states: 'I came here in 1963. I go back to the village every 2 years, because I want to save as much money as possible. Life here is different but I have no complaints'.

It seems then that Spaniards are somewhat more materialistic than Sicilians in their desire to acquire consumer goods. The great majority (98% of Spaniards, 78% of Sicilians) own a car. One migrant returning from his annual holiday in the village in Spain, told me that because he did not own a large new car, the other villagers thought that he had not been successful. The larger the car and better the house the more the migrant is believed to have been successful abroad. However empty life is and however hard it is in the host country, it is of the utmost importance for the migrant not to let his relations and friends in his village realize this. Hence, the need of outward trappings - symbols of success. Many of the Spanish migrants make their annual trip home by car, anxious to show off their car.

It would seem that the initial hiccups are soon forgotten as the migrant's purchasing power increases. A Spaniard aged 40, has now forgotten the problems he had: 'There were problems at the beginning, but now things are better. I have bought a house in the village and I have a nice car. My children are studying. I was not able to study'. However, some never forget, a Spaniard, aged 50: 'I have bought a house in the village. I have a colour television and a nice car. Yes my life style has certainly improved, but I have made many sacrifices'. Another, fellow villager states: 'We go home every year by car to the village. We look forward to it so much. We take presents. When we are in the village they call us "the Belgians"'.

In many cases migration was a necessity for survival. A Sicilian aged 42 said: 'I was a farmer in Sicily but with that job I only had enough work for about 10 days a month. We would not survive like that and so we came to Belgium.'

A Sicilian Aged 28 said: 'My father came here three years before the family, then he sent money and the whole family came. My sister is married and lives nearby and I work as a carpenter.'

<u>Sicilian Aged 47</u>

'In the village there is no industry, no work, otherwise I would have stayed there'.

<u>Spaniard Aged 56</u>

'I have done what I set out to do. I could never have done that had I stayed in the village'.

Migrants who had been in Belgium for more than ten years had acquired nearly all these items. Car/Land/House/TV.

The great majority (92% Spaniards, 70% Sicilians) own a TV. Within the Spanish group there was a noticeable pride in having been able to buy certain items.

However, the Sicilian group was more concerned with the family than the necessity of showing off material acquisitions. It follows then that the hypothesis: Spaniards are bigger consumers of conspicuous consumer goods would seem to be valid. Because material possessions assume such importance in the lives of immigrant workers, if they had acquired most of the above, they automatically assumed their life style had improved, but one of the problems of returning migrants, is that they return to their village with innumerable material goods, but with no skills and cannot re-integrate into the local community

HYPOTHESIS V111

More Sicilians than Spaniards believe that they are discriminated against

The Question Of Discrimination ... Perceived Or Real

In Belgium, the MRAX, a movement against xenophobia, has conducted campaigns against both specific examples of anti-immigrant racism and generalised popular and administrative xenophobia. Many of the workers coming to Belgium came spontaneously or were recruited by private employers until conditions were made more stringent after 1967. This was the result of public pressures as the numbers of foreign workers increased. But since employers still wanted cheap foreign workers and were willing to hire them, a flow of illegal migrants developed early in Belgium.

More Sicilians than Spaniards believe they are discriminated against. A Sicilian Aged 51 said: 'In 1956 I left my village to come to Belgium. I signed a contract to work five years in the mine. The work was terrible. We had to work like dogs'. Many migrants go to their own bars where there is no noticeable discrimination.

Cultural Associations and Clubs

There exist certain associations for Italians and Spaniards - circles where families can go etc. (Football club, cafe's, dominos, film clubs). Life in Belgium for the migrants is not so distinct from that which they had in the village. Because the migrants tend to live in "Ghettos" and because they continue to live within the family and frequent people that they would have frequented in the village.

A Spaniard Aged 42 said: 'The Belgians are okay, but sometimes you find the attitude that we are taking their jobs'.

Length of stay does not influence the extent to which Sicilians or Spanish migrants believe they are discriminated against at work. The same proportions say they are discriminated against at work for migrants of 4 or more years standing as for less than 4 years standing.

48% of Spanish migrants thought that they were discriminated against at work compared to 57% Sicilians. 2% of Spanish migrants thought that they were discriminated against in bars compared to 5% of Sicilians. 13% of Spanish migrants thought that they were discrinated against in shops compared to 19% of Sicilians. 23% of Spanish migrants thought that they were discriminated against in other places compared to 46% of Sicilians.

It is in times of recession that the finger is pointed at the foreign worker. A migrant worker needs as much protection as an indigenous worker, but often he gets far less. Foreign workers are less likely to voice their grievances, because of their weaker position and because they do not want to cause any trouble. However, they are prepared to support indigenous labour in any strike activities. It would seem then that although the Sicilians have stronger extended family and more independence from political institutions, they are more aware of their migratory status and of being discriminated against.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has looked at various hypotheses and has sought to compare the Sicilian migrants and the Spanish migrants in Charleroi, Belgium. Various differences were found and these can be explained by the culture of the home village (see Chapter V). It was observed that for Sicilians the family is a more stable reference group than the village. Migrants with their family continue to respect village customs. As was seen in Hypothesis 1., Sicilians have a strong tradition of chain migration. Spanish migrants from San Roque are part of Chain Migration too. There are several brothers and their families and acquaintances. But there is not the same reliance on the kinship ties. The Spanish migrant seems to be more independent than the Sicilian migrant. Chain Migration is the most natural means by which a migration stream can develop for those migrants who are not innovators.

A group of Sicilians coming from a similar Mediterranean background to the Spaniards seem to integrate better in Belgium. This finding is unusual because the initial patterns of migration are similar, although more "chain migration" seems to be prevalent amongst the Sicilian group. One of the important aspects of this study is the extent of social ties (social networks) amongst individual nuclear families. Any transfer from one environment to another is thwart with difficulties. The move from a rural environment to an urban one is profound. In addition to their separation from their former way of life

the migrants are often socially and culturaly unsuited to the Belgian way of life. This is particularly true of Southern Italians/Sicilians and Southern Spaniards. Friction is created between the different cultural backgrounds. The migrants tend to band together and live a self-made ghetto type existence which tends to alienate them from the Belgians.

The migrants find themselves living in a sort of ghetto, which perhaps becomes in some way, a substitute for the village, but without having the positive characteristics of the village. There is little doubt that the old atmosphere of the village surrounded by friends and relations, generated a feeling of belonging and stability. In some way the Sicilian group have maintained this stability by their greater reliance on kinship ties. The Spaniards have not the same reliance on family, but look backwards to the village as the point of orientation. This would explain their lack of adjustment. See Hypothesis 11.

Zubrzycki found in his study of migrants in Australia that: 'The difficulties and tension of the process of adjustment are also aggravated because the immigrant must not only acquire new patterns of behaviour, but must also re-arrange his old hierarchy of needs and activities, and re-define his conception of himself and his social status. The process, which is in any case difficult, is rendered still more difficult in the cases when the migrants come from predominantly peasant societies based on the "traditional" familiar scale of values. The members of the family tend to react differently because of their

different roles in the new society. The husband is influenced by his work situation, the wife by the home environment and the children in the school. Such influences can cause members of the family to pull in different directions'. (Zubrzycki 1966, p.66).

A family of migrants can live happily in a host country doing their job and going through their daily routine without becoming integrated in the true sense, as Stoller (1966) would define it, become truly part of the whole.

As with most ethnic groups the friends that migrants make are usually amongst their own people or possibly similar migrants from similar Mediterranean areas. However, normally migrants prefer to be with migrants coming from the same area that they have if not the same village.

Immersed in a culture different from the one in which they were raised, when they are unable to choose between them, they may be faced with a culture shock. They remain uncomfortable living on the edge of differing cultures, but part of neither (see Stonequist 1951, Stoller 1966).

One of the notable results of emigration is that the emigrant neither fits into the new environment nor does he feel at ease in his old environment. In general Sicilans are better adaptors. They claim to get on better with the Belgians, although they are more conscious of discrimination, see Hypothesis V11.

According to Hypothesis V. of the two groups it is the Spaniards who maintain dreams of home and who place excessive influence emphasis upon the maintenance of village culture.

According to Hypothesis V1 the Sicilians do not have the same need to rely on the village becuase in a way for them the family is everything and this more than compensates for being absent from the village. To a great extent they have brought the village with them. The Spaniards do not share the same psychological strength gained from heavy reliance on the extended family.that the Sicilians have. They are therefore forced subconsciously into a different role. For example they become more interested in politics, see Hypothesis 111.

As was seen in Hypothesis V11, the Spaniards are greater consumers of conspicuous consumption goods. The Spaniards are more concerned with their outward image. This fits well into the pattern being established here. The Sicilian migrant has his status and ease within the extended family. on the other hand the Spaniard more externally directed needs outward signs of his status.

TWO EXAMPLES OF CASE STUDIES

(1) A Spanish Migrant

I remember the exact time, day and year I left my village, 5th July, 1961. I went to Cadiz and there I boarded a train for Belgium. It was so hot, the station was dusty and I drank some mineral water. I remember thinking when will I see my village again. I was 20 years old and I had never been away from home before, I remember thinking it was some kind of adventure. There seemed to be thousands of others boarding the trains. They had suitcases tied up with string and parcels of food from their villages. I was going to work in the mine, I had a contract and my Uncle was already working there. I was to live with him until I found lodgings. Everything in Belgium seemed different, I didn't understand a word of french and I was homesick, but I couldn't go back, I had my pride. The years have gone by and I am still here. I used to go from work to home and from home to work. Now I go to the Spanish Cafe in the evenings where I meet my friends. We play dominos, have a beer and a chat. Sometimes one of the boy s sings 'flamenco'. We have a Spanish Club, and there is football every weekend. We have 'fiestas' on special occasions. At New Year we hire a hall and have a grand Christmas dance. All the men bring their girl friends or wives and the children come. Everyone looks forward to it.

I work in the Caterpiller factory, it is not hard work like the mine was. I am a member of the union. I believe that it is necessary to belong to the union but I feel that the union could do more to help us foreigners. I have been here 20 years. My mother died recently and I went back to Spain before she died. She always wanted me to get married and return to Spain but I have been here too long. My home is here now. All my friends are here. What would I do in the village after so long. I have my house there where my mother was living and it is mine now, perhaps when I am old I shall go home to die in my village.

In a way I wish I had married, but it is too late now. Who would want an old bachelor like me? But I am not lonely I have my friends and I am only at home to eat and sleep. I have a sister in Germany, married there with children. She comes to visit me sometimes. I believe that nobody should have to emigrate, to leave their village to go far away in search of work, it shouldn't be necessary. I believe that the Spanish Government should have done something to help us. When the frontier with Gibraltar was open we used to go there and do odd jobs. There was also the contraband. Franco did build the large refinery and tried to develop the 'campo de Gibraltar' but it came too late and also the jobs were scarce. The Belgian Government is more helpful than the Spanish Government. We receive various benefits and the education and medical services are much better in Belgium. I miss the village but then I have my friends here. I

speak French, but not well. When I go to the village they call me 'the Belgian' and here I am 'the foreigner' it is strange. I suppose I am neither one thing nor the other.

(2) A Sicilian Migrant.

I was born in Santa Elizabetta in 1939. I had eight brothers and sisters. My father died when I was ten and my mother looked after us as best she could. My elder brother went to Belgium in 1958, he got a job in the mine and then two more brothers and myself followed. It all seems a long time ago now - twenty years. My brothers are married and I am married. One of my brothers is married to a Belgian woman, they have a cafe and seem happy, they have two children. My younger brother Stefano is married to an Italian girl from Udine and they have two small children. They live next door to my other brother who is married to a girl from Monteaperto, which is a village close to Santa Elizabetta. Next door to her, is her brother who is married to an English girl who he met in Oxford where he worked in a car factory for ten years. I don't understand these English girls they don't have the same kind of sense of family duty as we have. Imagine she went home to England at Christmas to see her mother and left her husband alone for Christmas and New Year. I myself am married to a woman from Santa Elizabetta and we have four children. One is an

apprentice builder, the others are still at school. The schools are very good in Belgium. The education is free but you have to pay for the books. My wife does not work she has enough to do looking after the house and cooking. She is quite happy, and then there is always someone of the family dropping in for a chat and coffee. My wife's sister is also in Belgium and she lives quite close in Gilly, so all the family is close together which is as it should be. My mother still lives in Santa Elizabetta but she comes to visit once a year, either at Easter or New Year. In July we go to Sicily for our annual holiday. It is good to be back in the village again, it always seems the same. I love the sun and that is the one thing I miss most when I am in Belgium. Here it is always grey and cold. But of course there are compensations because in the village there is not enough work for everybody and twenty years ago we were very poor and the only solution to our problems was to emigrate. At the same time it was terrible because the change was like from night to day, but you get used to anything. I think the worst thing was the first time I went down the mine. My brothers were working in the mine but nevertheless it was an experience I shall never forget. When I first came to Belgium, I wasn't married and I used to go out with friends and pick up girls, but when I wanted to get married I wanted to marry a Sicilian girl. They are more serious. One Summer when I was at home, my mother introduced me to a neighbour's daughter. She was very beautiful and we got engaged. The next year we were married and then I brought her with me to Belgium.

In the village there is a strong tradition of migration to Belgium. This depends on the village. In Sant'Angelo Muxaro which is up the hill from Santa Elizabetta the villagers have a tradition of going to Bedford in Britain. I can speak French but not very well even after all these years. My children speak fluent French and at home we speak Sicilian. My son wants to be a builder. I have three daughters, this is more of a problem, I hope they will all marry good Sicilian boys. They have grown up here and they don't want to go back to the village to live, they like to go for holidays but not for good. I have my house there and I hope one day to go back permanently but not yet. In Sicily I also have a small piece of land but it is only good for vegetables, but I like to go and work on the land when I am on holiday. I left the mine and now I work in a glass factory. There are other Sicilians working there. I suppose I came to Belgium because my brother had gone there and we knew other people there. I would not have liked to go without having some family there to help me. Family is very important, you can trust family, you can't trust your friends to the same extent. We are a very close family. We often meet in each others houses for meals, the children play with their cousins and we all mix in together. My mother misses us and would like us to go back to the village but she understands that there is not sufficient work there. Anyway she has my two sisters who are married there. In the village everyone knows everyone and here all the Sicilians from Santa Elizabetta and the Agrigento area

know each other. We are like one large family, which is as it should be. I don't take much interest in politics because I don't really understand them. I mind my own business. The Belgians are not bad, we have had to work hard for what we have but if I had my time over again I would do the same.

APPENDIX

A group of Sicilian migrants from Santa Elizabetta, Sicily and a group of Spanish migrants from the San Roque area, Spain.

i) Summer 1979 - First visit to Spanish village - Pilot work.

ii) Christmas 1979 - First visit to Charleroi, Belgium - Pilot work.

iii) Summer 1980 - Second visit to Spanish village.

iv) Christmas 1980 - First visit to Sicilian village - Pilot work.

v) Easter 1981 - Second visit to Charleroi, Belgium.

vi) Summer 1981 - Second visit to Santa Elizabetta, Sicily.

In dealing with the two groups, the sample of respondents consisted of 100 Sicilians and 100 Spaniards. The "capofamiglia", the head of the household was normally interviewed - which means therefore that the sample consists mainly of males. Therefore, in this study the family is the sampling unit represented by the head of the household. The reason for this is that in traditional societies it is difficult to obtain interviews with anyone other than the head of the family without causing suspicion or anxiety.

i) In some cases the migrants had moved.

ii) If the husband was away when I called the wife did not want to let me in.

iii) Sometimes the children (second generation migrants) were antagonistic and aggresive.

iv) In some cases I was told that they were just not interested in answering questions.

However, in the majority of cases the Sicilian and Spanish hospitality showed through and I was welcomed into their homes - offered food and drink and made welcome. Only a few refused to be interviewed:- five Sicilians and three Spaniards. The Spaniards were mainly young and did not see the point of being interviewed. Where this happened I replaced them by other interviewees. I conducted the interviews myself and the translations are mine.

CHAPTER VII

ASSIMILATION AND ADAPTATION

Introduction

Defining assimilation and adaptation is not without its dangers. Lieberson (1963) suggested that good indicators of assimilation are residential segregation, occupations, inter-marriage, citizenship, and ability to speak the indigenous language. Yet an immigrant group which, without exception among its members, managed to secure the best jobs and housing would do badly on two of his indicators (residential and occupational segregation) and yet would probably be assimilating successfully.

Smith (1959), suggests the following indicators of assimilation: change in appearance and diet; change of name; occupational mobility; change in marriage customs; intermarriage; change (fall) in birth rate; fewer gesticulations; and adoption of indigenous crime patterns. Sherman (1961) adds educational progress and acculturation at school, and acculturation via leisure pursuits (e.g. cinema and television). Petersen (1961) adds the decline of the immigrant press as an index of the use of the foreign language, and the rate of naturalisation (which he admits is an ambiguous indicator and may reflect unquestioning authoritarianism and fear of return rather than assimilation). It follows then that definitions of

assimilation and adaptation are extremely complex.

Also, as Price (1969) notes, in the case of 'niche' occupations (e.g. concentration of the Californian Chinese into restaurants, market gardens, and laundries), 'lack of assimilation' in the occupational area may be the pre condition of declining prejudice and discrimination, and of increasing acceptance into the social groups of the receiving population, i.e. of assimilation in other areas.

Galitzi (1927), has suggested several types of assimilation. Economic and technical assimilation, she suggested, is only an outward adjustment to the general modes of living. Cultural assimilation includes the acquisition of new cultural traits. Finally, ethnic assimilation, the most profound type, is a biological amalgamation involving inter-marriage. Spengler (1956) used this classification for his study of assimilation.

Another approach to assimilation has been temporal. For example Benyei (1960) suggests the sequence runs through three stages. First there is 'resettlement', finding a job and accommodation. Next there is

're-establishment', the acquisition of more permanent accommodation. Lastly there is integration, identification with the host culture, and naturalisation. Another type of sequential approach has been economic. A four stage theory has been suggested; firstly there is the stage when industrial demand for labour brings in aliens who enter the lower economic classes, threaten the core culture, and experience prejudice, discrimination, and mild xenophobia. State 2 is where social unrest and an economic down-turn leads to restrictions on in-migration. Stage 3 is where there is an upswing in the economy, together with reduced xenophobia as aliens already settled become better integrated into the host society, and where restrictions on immigration are reduced. Stage 4 is a revival of xenophobia, associated with another downturn, but in a less violent form due to society being more pluralistic and self-confident (see Borrie 1959, Price 1969). However, according to Price (1969) this system, although it explains prejudice, discrimination and deviant behaviour arising from unemployment, does not explain cultural forces such as religion, language or the family.

Another type of sequence is provided by the approach of Rex and Moore (1967). They studied Irish, West Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Sparkbrook, Birmingham, U.K. Stage one is where the migrant is cut off from effective contact with his home culture but not yet involved in the system of social norms and interaction of the country to

which he has emigrated, i.e. anomie. Stage 2 is when the migrant still lacks a contractual tie with the host society but has built up a primary community amongst his fellow-immigrants. Stage 3 is the incorporation of the immigrant into the society as a legal citizen, i.e. living in the colony but accepting the formal rights of the host society. Stage 4 is accepting the social rights of a citizen, and accepting certain social norms governing relations with strangers. Stage 5 is abandonment of the colony except for reasons of retrospective sentiment, (see Price 1969).

Another type of sequence is based upon the generations. An example is the three-generation sequence of Duncan (1933), Galitzi (1927) and Hitti (1924). In the first generation only a small minority assimilate completely, while the majority adopt only some indigenous economic and social customs and intermix and intermarry little, instead forming ethnic groups and institutions to preserve much of the old-world culture. This stage is essential for immigrant security as too rapid or forceful assimilation causes loss of security, madness, suicide, alcoholism and delinquency amongst children, (see Eisenstadt and Ben David 1956). The second generation preserves the parental culture at home but acquires the host culture at school and work, so acquiring a dual culture and a mixed set of values. There is more intermixture and intermarriage, especially by those reacting against parents who exert too much pressure on their children to

preserve the old-world culture and freely intermixes and intermarries. The process of assimilation to the core culture is then complete.

However, some observers have noticed a 'resurgence of national spirit' in late generations, in which there is an increased desire to create ethnic and cultural societies. (See Hansen 1938, Handlin 1952, Appel 1961, 1960, Dexter 1962). However, it is possible to argue little from such Societies.

But further evidence from Price (1963) is suggestive. He found that the continuation of heavy chain migration in later generations so strengthened ethnic group solidarity that it forced earlier immigrants out of primary group relationships they had developed with families from other ethnic groups. In one case, the Kytheran Greeks of Sydney, intermarriage came down from 42% to 10%. However, Vlachos (1968) - found in his study of Greeks in the United States, that by the third generation there was a mixture of donor and host countries' culture. In the early stages of migration, migrants tend to intermarry. It is also usual for migrants to intermarry with someone from the same village or at least the same region. De Marco found in his study of Boston's Italian North End that:

'adjoining provinces had the highest intermarriage rate. Consequently, the "combination" of Avellino-Benevento, and Naples-Caserta, all in Campania, appeared far more often than Salerno-Caserta, both at opposite extremes within the region. In the region of Sicily, Messina-Palermo and Catania-Siracusa were most common. These

"combinations" were attributable to the strong sense of village and provincial loyalty which would be more willing to accept a "foreigner" (straniero) from a nearby community than one from a greater distance.' (De Marco, 1981 p.42)

De Marco found in the North End marriage records how significant Italian provincial loyalties were in Boston. The records show that the Italians in Boston consistently preferred marriage with individuals from their own province or region. They normally tried to marry individuals from a place as close to their 'old world village' as possible. According to De Marco;'Italian marriages in the North End secured the perpetuation of "la via vecchia" in much the same manner as their housing patterns. The importance of "la famiglia," with its intricate network of relationships, was again asserted through the remarkable cohesion of the Italian subcultural community.' (De Marco, 1981 p.44)

Juliani (1983) found in his study of Italians from Tuscany in the United States that intermarriage was encouraged and that 'the ethnic community provides an important setting for maintaining the strength of the Tuscan family identity. The Tuscan homogeneity of other families, the ethnic establishments and friendship networks, nearby employment, and the traditions, customs and symbols of the neighbourhood provide a social and political milieu which fosters and perpetuates the culture of the Tuscan-American family.' (Juliani 1983, p.79).

The question of whether, over time, immigrant groups eventually completely merge with the host society has been carefully studied by Glazer and Moynihan (1963) in their history of ethnic groups in New York. They found that there was a transformation of the old ethnic groups and organisations into Americanised 'interest groups' ministering to the social and political needs of members and distinguished by colour and religion, by attitudes to sex, birth control, education and politics, and sometimes by occupation and residence (e.g. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Italians). They suggested that there would eventually be a gradual disappearance of ethnic groups into divisions of colour and religion (Protestant, Catholic and Jew) as the Germans had already disappeared into the White Anglo-Saxon Group. But they envisaged Negroes, WASPs, and others, as at least three separate future groups within American Society. Thus they argued against a melting pot in which complete assimilation takes place. (see Price, 1969).

According to Vlachos (1968) the difficulties of describing exactly the properties of assimilation have made many writers prefer to talk about 'adjustment' to a culture thus leaving the term assimilation for a more intimate acquaintance with the host culture. Bernard, (1950) distinguishes between the concepts of adjustment and accommodation.

'Adjustment...is simply a process by which the immigrant comes to accept the basic customs, standards and institutions of his new society. Adjustment, as we are using the term, differs from accommodation and assimilation. Accommodation denotes a relationship between the immigrant group and the larger community in which overt conflict is avoided. Assimilation implies the complete taking over by the immigrant group of the language and customs of the dominant group. Adjustment... is concerned primarily with the process by which the immigrant becomes a desirable member of the community. The three processes, adjustment, accommodation, and assimilation occur to a large degree simultaneously, but they are not identical and should not be confused.' (Bernard, 1950 p.99)

De Fleur and Cho (1957) have defined assimilation as a learning process and as the series of changes in behaviour patterns of the individuals, and presumably the structure of the personality, which result from the adoption of, resistance to new ways of life. Cultural assimilation is a process of progressive adjustments whereby an immigrant little by little becomes adapted to the physical and socio-cultural environment of the country of his adoption. This definition was put forward at the Assembly of International Union for the Scientific Study of Population in 1949 in Geneva under Unesco's auspices to study the question of the cultural assimilation of

immigrants. According to Neiva and Diegues (1959), in the process of transculturation the immigrant learns, accepts and performs the universal roles. From the remaining roles, he remains free to choose those which suit him best or in which he can measure up to what society wants of him. Therefore, it follows that provided the immigrant meets the requirement of the receiving society regarding his role there is no objection to the group to which he belongs preserving its separate identity as part of a pluralistic social structure.

Whether or not assimilation is fast or slow depends on various factors. Eisenstadt suggests the variables of 'absorption' of immigrants are:-

(1) the nature of the initial crisis in the country of origin which gave rise to the social feeling of inadequacy and the motivation for immigration;
(2) social structure of the immigration process, the formation of groups, etc.;
(3) the exact process of institutionalization in the new country;
(4) the opportunity structure of the new country, the institutional demands and their compatibility with the immigrants;
(5) the pluralistic structure of a specific community and the particular allocation of roles;
(6) development of disintegrative factors. (Eisenstadt, 1954 p.256)

However, Schermerhon introduces the following variables in the process of assimilation:

(1) position, which often overlaps with status;

(2) divergence in culture patterns, i.e. divergence from the predominant American culture:

(3) socio-economic status;

(4) high sex ratio, which most often results in intermarriage;

(5) dispersion of the group and its small numerical strength;

(6) urbanization, which results in mass culture and therefore greater acceptance of the culture standards of the larger society;

(7) the particular ecological organization of the receiving area. (Schermerhon, 1949, p.456)

Reid (1955) has suggested that social pliability of migrants is important. Mendes da Costa (1966) suggests that similarity of laws between donor and host countries aids assimilation. Zubrzycki (1966) also suggests that the type of family arrangement helps or hinders migrant assimilation. Chain migration, endogomous marriage, and the existence of godparents are all influential in preserving migrant identity and hindering assimilation. (Zubrzycki 1966).

The intention to stay may aid assimilation, however very little is known on this dimension. 'It may well be that the majority of those who enter, with no intention to settle, eventually end up settling.' (Kritz,Keely,Tomasi. p xxvii).

A detailed classification of assimilation dimensions is the necessary reaction to the discovery that assimilation is not unitary. Gordon's (1964) classification is worthy of note. His assimilation variables are as follows:-

Assimilation Variables

Sub-process or condition	Type or stage of assimilation
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society.	Cultural
Large-scale entrance into host society's primary groups (cliques, clubs, etc.)	Structural
Large-scale intermarriage.	Marital
Development of sense of people - hood based on host society.	Identification
Absence of prejudice.	Attitude
Absence of discrimination.	Behaviour
Absence of value or power conflict.	Civic

Gordon suggests that cultural assimilation is likely to be the first type of assimilation, and it may be the only one over a long period of time. Once cultural assimilation (assimilation into the primary groups of the host country) has occurred, then marital assimilation will inevitably follow, prejudice and discrimination will decline, and civic assimilation will eventually take place. Thus Gordon's theory elaborates Eisenstadt's notion of the extent to which the host society is prepared to accept cultural pluralism.

Assimilation, Adaptation and Political Attitudes.

In general migrants are not very political: 'they are people whom politics has already failed: their apathy runs deep.' (Davies, 1966 p.114). Eisenstadt(1954, p.6).describes this lack of interest as 'the shrinking of the self image', associated with the contraction of social contacts and roles involved in migration.

However, it is possible to suggest some factors which influence migrant political participation. Davies (1966) suggests some factors which reduce migrants' entry into politics in Australia: prosperity, jobs and social services, a lack of administrative spoils and of powers at the local government level. Zubrzycki (1964) stated: 'In Australia I am not interested in politics, union or other organizations..... over here it is too quiet and even I have lost interest.' (p.202).

Systematic studies of migrant politics concentrated on internal politics (election of representatives to internal councils within the migrant group) or on migrant participation in discussions about the politics of the homeland. For example, Petrolias (1959) examined the various migrant groups' political activities in Melbourne, Australia. The Greek and the Jewish communities were the only ones where much political activity took place. The Italian community was as active but only in a social and

religious way. English, German and Dutch groups were much less community-minded, being solitary migrants anyway. White Russians and Croats enjoyed nostalgic politics, but in a much less intense way than Jews and Greeks. Unfortunately, Petrolias did not investigate the reasons why some groups were more political than others.

There is little information out side the United States concerning migrants'. political participation. In the United States, high political participation by immigrant groups in their own neighbourhoods has brought about a distinctive ethos into American politics. However, this does not mean that the migrants are more easily assimilated in the United States than elsewhere.

'The notion of integrated social systems is not one that can readily be applied to a modern industrial society comprising very many different interest groups, cultural groups, ideological groups, class groups and others that have their own values and attitudes to society.'
(Burton, 1979, p.53). Some American political scientists have described the tenacity of ethnic groups even in a country which stresses individual mobility and functional interest groups. It would seem possible that a group may be 'Americanized' and yet remain an identifiable sub-group with boundaries of social interaction and individual perception based on ethnic identity. According to Enloe (1973) 'sometimes the survival of ethnic groups can be traced to the subtle but enduring obstacles put up by the rest of society'. (p.18).

In Europe, the degree of receptivity toward socio-political participation of migrants was stimulated by two main factors: 'the massive presence of immigrants (23% of the total population of Luxembourg, 12% in Switzerland, 10% in Belgium, etc.); and the structural stability of the immigrants'. (Tomasi, 1983, p.323). It has become unacceptable that much of the population is deprived political participation on the basis of its nationality. Democratic countries must now consider whether permanent integration of the migrant work force into the economy without human rights and basic political rights is compatible with the ideals of justice, equality and fraternity they profess (see Lagarde 1978). The restrictions on migration in 1973-1974 were deceptive. Although many migrants returned to their villages, many others remaining in the donor countries were joined by their families. It is a fact that the host countries now have a larger body of migrants owing to family reunions and children born in the receiving countries. It would seem then that: 'the complex interaction of nationality, citizenship and migration works in such a way that the migrants are not fully participating in the society of their legal membership nor in the security of actual residence and work.' (Tomasi, 1983, p.323).

The acquisition of citizenship is necessary if a migrant worker is to be able to fully exercise his human rights in the host countries. However, the majority of migrant workers, although a productive part of the community are still without their rights as part of such a community. However, a significant step was taken by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1977 with the signing of the European Convention on the Juridical status of Migrant Workers (Comité de Ministres du Conseil de l'Europe, 1977).
'Noteworthy is article 28 which recognizes the free exercise of the right to organize since free initiative and collective action are essential conditions for the gradual integration of foreign workers and the assumption of responsibility by them for the defense of their own interests.' (Tomasi, 1983, p.326).

The right to join a trade union is fundamental, representation in trade unions provides for some rights, e.g: being elected as workers' delegate inside a company or as a workers' spokesman in labour conflicts. However, functions exercised by trade unions for migrant workers in the different host countries present amazing discrepancies. In general, the participation of migrants in trade union activities is recognized, but is slow. This is evident in the small number of immigrants among trade union activists.

In Belgium about 70% of employees belong to trade unions, mostly those affiliated to the ACV - CSC (the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions), and the ABVV - FGIB (The Belgium General Federation of Labour). (see I.L.R. vol.123, No. 3 1984).

According to Tomasi (1983), political participation includes political representation, consultation and participation. However, the granting of political rights to migrant workers causes immense problems. The migrants belong to two countries and assuming that migrant workers are temporary co-citizens, host countries are tempted to ignore their political condition. The issue of migrants political participation is considered at both national and local levels. On a national level, full political rights do not exist for migrant workers in any country, except perhaps in Britain due to Commonwealth citizenship. 'In all countries political rights are linked to citizenship, creating a great hiatus between the social and political rights of migrants. In fact, Art.16 of the European Convention of Human Rights authorizes member countries "to impose restrictions on the political activity of aliens." and that is not judged as being in contradiction to the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Convention.' (Tomasi, 1983, p.330).

At the local level, the debate on the participation of migrants in municipal life was begun in the 1960s by the

Council of Europe and the European Community. Belgium started the experiment of Consultative Municipal Councils in 1968.They are set up by local authorities at the discretion of those local authorities. They are only consultative, so no legislative change of the Belgian Constitution has been involved. 27 local authorities had set up such councils by 1983.

'The procedure envisaged for the first Council was the appointment of members by a municipal board and then, at the time of the Councils renewal, by election from all immigrants resident in the town. The elections that took place in Liège in 1973 provide much information on migrant characteristics and cleavages: the electoral body was heterogeneous; the immigrant participation was about 45 percent, with an underrepresentation of smaller nationalities and a more active involvement of Italian and Spanish workers; and the same political divisions existing in the countries of origin were reflected in the voting patterns. The authority of the Councils, which is very diversified with regard to the daily immigrant problems, remains consultative and limited to local interests: information, school, culture, leisure, housing. health and social assistance.' (Tomasi, 1983, p.331).

While the above introduction to the assimilation of migrants has general validity, few researchers point to the importance of unique features, such as the cultural background of the migrant. Indeed, Bernard (1950) goes so far as to say that American experience indicates that the speed or degree of integration has little to do with national origins, suggesting instead that assimilation is related to social status, education and income levels. However, Borrie (1959) disagrees; 'thus if Italians are considered capable of speedy integration in Brazil or Venezuela but difficult to integrate in Australia and the United States of America, the difference is to be explained more in terms of the depth and variety of adjustments which have to be made at the cultural level than in the fact that the immigrants are Italian Nationals.' (see Borrie, 1959 p.100).

The Sicilians have adapted easier than the Spaniards and yet the Spaniards are more 'political' - in terms of union membership, interest in politics, considering it necessary to join a trade union, participation in strikes, and receiving Belgian welfare benefits. If the Sicilians are not apathetic and passive due to alienation or anomie and their greater relative adaptation to Belgian society suggests not, their cultural background offers a plausible alternative explanation.

For the Spaniards, relatively low adaptation levels may be influencing against political participation, but cultural values of authoritarianism, desire for change, interest in collective action, and positive feelings toward trade unions are far more powerful variables determining their political attitudes and behaviour. For the Sicilians their cultural values of independence of political institutions, self-reliance within the family, lack of respect for government and law, and individualism, are powerful variables determining their relatively low political awareness and participation.

The complex relationship between assimilation and participation is corroborated by Vlachos (1968), in a study of Greek migrants in the United States. He found that despite the existence of many Greek organisations in the U.S., participation or non-participation in ethnic organisations did not necessarily denote high or low participation. Assimilation sometimes depended upon the goals of the Greek organisations (organisations to find jobs for Greeks helped assimilation; organisations to preserve cultural identity hindered assimilation). Also, non-participation in Greek organisations did not automatically mean an increase of participation in American voluntary organisations, nor was the latter related to assimilation.

The ability of Sicilians to 'adapt', and yet to live apart, from the host community has been suggested by several observers. Menegolli (1970) writes of Sicilians' ability to 'strongly maintain their mentality', and relationship of emotional and mental detachment from the host society. The capacity for adaptation was not accompanied by a corresponding capacity to integrate... on the other hand (they) remained faithful to their own noise and emotional individualism. Similarly, the inability of Sicilians to understand the social structure or mentality of Belgians has been noted by CSER (1979).

The effect of employers preferring non-political and non-unionised workers may discriminate in favour (and aid the adaptation) of those migrants who participate least. This interesting speculation is suggested by Slater's (1979) finding that employers in Germany preferred the non-unionised and 'docile' Turks to the Italian's and Spaniards.

Another observation is a warning that 'living apart' on a small island within the host community may not mean that the occupants of the enclave have reached high enough levels of satisfaction to want to remain. While the Sicilians in Charleroi undoubtedly have, Watson (1977) for example, found that the background culture and established pattern of return migration (though weakening over time) led to almost certain return home to Hong Kong from Britain, despite the fact that a relatively secure and prosperous enclave of Hong Kong Chinese are established in Britain.

Both Sicilians and Southern Spaniards lived with fellow villagers in Charleroi. There were no differences between the two groups in type of work, housing conditions, difficulty of obtaining work permits, marriage or any of the many factors which could explain the higher satisfaction of the Sicilians. The main difference is the greater number of extended families among Sicilians. This is expressed in two ways. Sicilians have more family-related chain migration than Spaniards. And there are more Sicilians who have family members with them. This would seem to be the cause of the greater

satisfaction of Sicilians. The Sicilian family is self-sufficient enough to survive in another culture and fulfil its function as a decompression chamber for migrants' frustrations. Further evidence of this is shown by the significance of the family in Sicilian culture (see Chapter V).

The family did not have the same effect for Spaniards. Those who had their wives with them were less adjusted to live in the host country than lone migrants (see Frijda, (1961), also found this in a large group of Dutch expatriates living overseas). Spaniards also were slower to learn French if they were accompanied by their wives. Also being with their wives meant that they were more likely to think of returning to the village. The family for Spaniards thus seems to hinder adaptation, by reminding them of the village. The pre-eminence of the village to Spaniards is shown by the fact that they are more likely to continue its customs in Belgium than are Sicilians.

Even the majority of young Spaniards continue to follow the village customs in Belgium, and often think of returning to the village. To Spaniards, the village is the most important reference group (see Runciman 1966).

Two factors are important - for Sicilians, the ability to have their families with them, for Spaniards, political adaptation was linked to their authoritarianism. It has been said that the Sicilians are high on adaptation (satisfaction) but low on political assimilation (merging with host political culture) while Spaniards are low on adaptation and high on political assimilation.

Firstly, Spaniards change their ideas (on family, behaviour, customs, politics, work, and their village) more than Sicilians. Yet on closer inspection this seems to be because of Spaniards' lack of stability of values (the village is the anchor, and that is 'too far away to provide them with stability). Sicilians on the other hand are protected by their major reference group, the family (see Chapter V). Thus this greater change of ideas by Spaniards (especially short-staying ones) is not assimilation. It could be described more as loss of identity through culture-shock. Secondly, Sicilians do demonstrate an ability to learn the ways of Belgian society.

Although Spaniards can be said to be more 'assimilated' in their political behaviour, the background culture as a determinant of their political behaviour suggests that such assimilation is superficial and will wear off with time. This is borne out by the fact that young Spanish first generation migrants are more 'political' than older Spanish first generation migrants.

Another finding tends to question whether or not migrants perceive prejudice and discrimination accurately. In fact the finding suggests that the more adapted group (the Sicilians) were more sensitive to discrimination (this did not decline with length of stay). Thus those who adapt and put down roots, are more sensitive to discrimination: (see also Taft 1966 for a similar finding). This has major implications for policy makers. It is therefore not the poorly-adapted migrants who will complain of discrimination but the well-adapted.

One final point about adaptation and assimilation again brings out the differences between Sicilians and Southern Spaniards. This concerns family-related (kinship) chain migration. Sicilians who are part of such a chain adapted less well than those not part of a chain, However for Spaniards, the chain migration effect is of an altogether different kind. Spaniards who are part of family-related chain migration tend to change their ideas less while in Belgium. The fact that change in ideas is not reduced for Spaniards accompanied by wives again demonstrates the superiority of village over family, as a reference group for Spaniards.

CONCLUSION

Although the migrant has moved from one environment to another, he will normally remain attached to his place of origin and culture. The reason for his migration was because he felt that if he remained he could not be provided with what he needed for himself and his family.

Eisenstadt (1954) divided the migratory process into three stages, (i) the motivation to migrate, (ii) the social structure of the actual migratory process, (iii) the absorption of the migrants within the social and cultural framework. If the migrant's initial attraction to a new country is only economic, this will hinder his adaptation. If his whole attention is focussed on the economic factor, as is usually the case, then he will cling to his original society and cultural values.

According to Eisenstadt: '..the process of absorption, from the point of view of the individual immigrant's behaviours, entails the learning of new roles, the transformation of primary group values and the extension of participation beyond the primary group in the main spheres of the social system. Only in so far as these processes are successfully coped with are the immigrant's concept of himself and his status and his hierarchy of values re-formed into a coherent system, enabling him to become once more a fully-functioning member of society.' (Eisenstadt, 1954. p. 9)

However, the process is not always easy. Just as the migrant has a certain image of the host country, so the host country has a certain image of the migrant. The question, when does the migrant become fully absorbed in the host country is a difficult one to answer. Eisenstadt has put forward three theories: (a) acculturation, (b) satisfactory and integral personal adjustment of the immigrants; and (c) complete dispersion of the immigrants as a group within the main institutional spheres of the absorbing societies. The assumption underlying all three indices would seem to be that unless the migrant stands out in the new society as possessing a separate identity, then the more fully will he be merged into it and the more he will be absorbed. In this comparative study the better adapters to life in Belgium seem to be the Sicilians. Poor adaptation would seem to be associated with continuing to cling to village customs. Spaniards, therefore, find it harder to adjust than Sicilians.

CHAPTER VIII

MIGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION

Trade and Government links are important aspects of international integration. Can migration also be considered in this light? If it can, then what effect does the retention of cultural identity by the migrants have upon such integration? What are the contributions of return migrants, remittances and the emergence of problems and policies associated with migration, upon international migration?

Migration has often influenced relations between states. For example France and Algeria have a treaty agreement which establishes special immigration levels for Algerians in return for access to Algerian oil. Some Governments even use migration to advance their own political goals. In the Middle East, for example, conservative oil rich states encourage temporary migrants from Pakistan or Bangladesh to avoid dependence on migrant workers from countries where Moslem fundamentalism is strong. Donor countries have also used political ties to their own advantage. This has been the case of former colonies of France, Britain and Holland from where large numbers have migrated to the mother country. Governments can also use migration as a means of reducing internal tensions. For example in 1983, an estimated one million migrant workers Ghanians were 'sent home' from Nigeria, because of economic and political problems there.

After the Second World War it was decided that full employment and prosperity worldwide were necessary to avoid another large international conflict. An objective of maintaining full employment was included in the United Nations Charter and many international organisations - The International Labour Organisation, the World Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund - were developed to cope with the problem. The return to free trade led to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Other evidence of this 'constructive' approach was the formation of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

According to Burton 'Integration is acclaimed as a forward-looking goal for societies at all levels, one that is expected of thoughtful and progressive peoples.' (Burton, 1979,p.163) One of the most insightful suggestions that Deutsch et.al (1966) made is that truly integrated communities may not necessarily be those that declared they were integrated by means of a formal agreement. Rather, using concepts of communications theory, Deutsch contended that those nations that retain high and consistent levels of communications and transactions with each other may be more integrated than those that have signed agreements. As Deutsch (1964) puts it 'Transaction flows first establish mutual relevance of actions', (p.67).

Whenever integration decreases a sense of participation and control in member countries, the long term prospect for such integration is bleak. Disintegration, leading to antagonisms and greater isolation, is likely to be the result. It is only necessary to look at the history of integration attempts in South East Asia, the Middle East, Eastern and Western Africa, and Latin America to come to this conclusion.

So too, within states. The idea of integration of ethnic communities of different race, religion, and language is widely considered to be a desirable goal and one that should be promoted by government and by legislation. There are, however, differing views on the extent to which integration within states should be forced. Some take a "melting pot" approach, advising that ethnic minorities which fight to preserve their identity are "backward". Others argue that ethnic minority group identity is of great psychological value (see Enloe 1973.)

The concept of ethnicity is in itself a complex one. Although the ethnic characteristics of an individual are generally regarded as ascribed, they are by no means static or unchanging attributes. Ethnicity is a dynamic concept which is responsible to changing situations. This is particularly evident when there is culture as contact through migration. Ethnic boundaries persist despite the fact that some people move from one ethnic group to another and undergo a change of ethnic identity, (see, Barth, 1969).

The consequence for policy of whether integration within states is pursued is far-reaching. It touches on the handling of minorities, such as blacks in a predominantly white society and Catholics in a Protestant-dominated society, allowing members of a community the opportunity to live in the same location, while having equal work and development opportunities in the wider society. It touches on the handling of community conflict, seeking solutions that are based on identity needs instead of on the goal of integration only. It touches on the invention of constitutional devices that enable decision making at local levels, perhaps within a wider federal system, (see Burton 1979). Certainly, forcing integration, by dispersing populations, by providing the one educational system, by discouraging cultural differences is liable to be as self-defeating within a country as it is on the international scale.

According to Burton, 'Protest behaviour - legal, antisocial and in all forms emerges as the symptom of a significant gap between human needs and expectations, on the one hand and opportunities within the institutional structure for satisfying these on the other. It is a symptom of this gap because the deviant or antisocial act need bear little relationship to the structural situation that led to it: the actor, an individual or a group - may not know what changes are possible or required. He merely seeks fulfilment in the conditions as they are perceived. "Deviance" - to use the traditional term - is merely a

warning that a gap is being experienced between personal or group need fulfilment and that which seems possible. In some cases the lack of fulfilment may be due to a lack of awareness of options open and the lack of information, requiring a minor institutional alteration; in others it will be due to circumstances outside the immediate control even of authorities, e.g.: unemployment, lack of resources, inadequate educational opportunities, class and race prejudice.' (Burton, 1979, p.208).

Unsatisfied group status aspirations and the resistance of higher status groups to those aspirations are often given as causes of collective violence. Deutsch (1967), has, in this regard, argued for a flexible definition of status in order to avoid violent resentments. Gurr, however, has suggested that 'only one group can occupy the top of a status hierarchy.' (Gurr, 1970, p.141).

Modern International Relations Theory

One of the earliest theories of this type, national attribute theory, sought to show that the geographical location, climatic conditions, and the availability of natural resources were all crucial variables for understanding international behaviour. Sawyer (1967) found that size, wealth and politics to be of value. Russett (1967) suggested economic development, communism, intensive agriculture, size, and 'Catholic culture', to be of use. Rummel (1969) isolated seven different attributes: economic development, size, politics, Catholic culture, density, foreign conflict, and domestic conflict. (See Sullivan 1976).

There has been some empirical support for these theories. For example Vincent et.al. (1973) found that measures of high power were associated with measures of high conflict, and that high economic development was associated with high co-operative behaviour. Similarly Skrein (1969) found that in nineteen Commonwealth countries, those that were developed had a high ratio of co-operative to non-co-operative behaviour. However, Haas (1965) found that urbanised and wealthy countries showed slightly higher conflict, while Skrein (1969) showed that politically developed systems have a higher co-operative to un-co-operative ratio in their foreign affairs. But Vincent (1968),(1971), and Todd (1971) found that highly developed states could be characterised as 'negative', 'oppositional', 'non-progressive', or 'status-quo oriented'. Alker (1965) reiterated Vincent's findings; more developed countries were less likely to vote for issues of a supranational nature, which Alker defined as 'a commitment to use and be bound by political institutions transcending the nation state'.

According to Taylor (1983), the two major theories of gradualist integration among States are: (i) Functionalism and (2) neofunctionalism.

'The approach of the Neofunctionalists involved the attempt to use the analogy of national government in interpreting the existing structure and process of European institutions and in suggesting possible ways of furthering integration: it looked to national

governmental institutions and methods of control as a model for understanding and strengthening the powers of the central institutions of the Communities. The other which might be termed a Functionalist approach, in the style of the older Functionalists (such as Mitrany), distinguished between the desirable end-situation and the methods of achieving it, between the conditions of the stable state which should result from integration, and the requirements of the strategy for achieving those conditions.' (Taylor, 1983. p. 2)

For the Neofunctionalists and the Federalists the European Communities was seen as an emerging bi-polarity of power and authority. There is the Commission and the slowly diminishing power of National Governments. The European Court protects the supremacy of Community law over National Law in Integrated areas. An important part of the integration process was the transfer of decision-making powers from the national governments to the European Institutions. These institutions which the national governments cannot satisfy in order to attract the support of the ordinary citizen.

However, the Functionalists' view of society is, to support this definition of sovereignty, a consensus view, it breaks down when nations conflict with, each other. On the other hand, the Neofunctionalists' legalistic approach allows them to focus on the necessity for international agreement about the rules of conflict - the international constitution required for managing conflict. Thus

Neofunctionalism meets more the heterogeneity of interests and political pluralism of the EC as it is today. This is clear when the following definition of the Neofunctionalist view of international integration is considered: 'the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities towards a new centre, where institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states'. (Haas 1958, p. 16.)

Thus while Functionalists see integration in terms of consensus-building, Neofunctionalists see integration as the management of competing interests. For Neofunctionalists therefore, the only consensus possible is about procedure, and thus their major concern is with types of decision-making, such as finding the common denominator, splitting the difference, and stressing common interests and postponing disagreements (see Haas 1964). Haas, a Neofunctionalist, has suggested that the second and third types are most effective.

'The Functionalist thesis was not originally related to the question of international regional integration, unless in opposition to it.' (Harrison, 1974, p. 27) This is explicitly stated by Mitrany: the Functional approach seeks by linking authority to a specific activity to break away from the traditional link between authority and a definite territory. (see Mitrany, 1966.).

Despite Mitrany's Functionalist views on European union and his concern for international rather than regional community building, the traditional Functionalist argument has been thought relevant to regional integration theory. However, 'the Functionalist approach is essentially non-political. It avoids situations of conflict to concentrate upon common need that are evident and upon making frontiers meaningless through the continuous development of common activities and interests across them'. Mitrany defines a community as the sum of the functions carried out by its members. The building of a world community should just be an extension of the loyalties of individuals.

The I.L.O. is one such organisation. Migrant workers are a priority group for the I.L.O. Millions more cross national boundaries, and sometimes from one continent to another, in search of work and a better life, and do so at considerable social risk. A migrant worker needs quite as much protection as an indigenous worker, but often he gets far less. The I.L.O., by calling attention to migrant workers' needs and by co-operating with governments, employers and workers in developing schemes for their protection, tries to ensure that migrants and their families get a fair deal.

The movement of workers from one country to another has been a constant phenomenon of the post war years. However, a great number of migrants do not enter the host

country with the objective of achieving integration. 'Their dream is not integration in our society, but a higher status of their own.' (Kayser, 1971, p.201). The basic problem of temporary migrants is to adapt temporarily, to a community where they see themselves in transit. They will not try to assimilate (at least in the initial stages of migration). The problem arises in so far as, neither the donor country nor the host country and not least the migrants themselves saw their temporary migration gradually becoming permanent.

'Isolation, in other words non integration, both occupational and social is one of the dominant characteristics of the migrant workers' situation.' (Kayser, 1971, p.204). This was true in the early years, and in some cases still is, but where the migrant has his family and extended family (for example, the Sicilians in Charleroi) he is less likely to perceive this loneliness and consequently assimilates better.

Mitrany hoped that all men could work together and in doing so share a sense of community. It's aim, was that national differences should be overcome, ideally there should be no bosses and no employees - a kind of equality. Certainly this Voltarian concept of a worker's Eldorado, where all is prosperity, peace and harmony would seem, to be at the very least far fetched. The actual situation, is that migrant workers, all present persistent problems to many nations. 'On the political and economic level

international migration poses serious problems for international relations between states.' (Kritz and Keely 1984, p.xxix).

'Mitrany rejected the purely Federalist approach and urged that people should stop dreaming of a federal world state, of world order imposed by the adoption of a constitution. He suggested functionalism as a more practical solution. His idea was that a growing part of modern government was essentially technical in nature, and that technical aspects could often be separated from the more sensitive political ones. Rising international interdependence would make international co-operation on technical matters both valuable and relatively painless, and effective, authoritative international institutions would emerge to co-ordinate these activities. As they proved their worth, and as interdependence grew, reliance on still more of these institutions would gradually spread, and slowly a transfer of sovereignty from national to international institutions would come about'. (Morgan, 1977, p.215). This would according to Mitrany, (1966) overlay political divisions with a spreading web of international activities and agencies, in which and through which the interests and life of all the nations would be gradually integrated.

The changes necessary in integration are described by the concept of 'spill-over'. 'Spill-over was the process whereby successful integration in an area of lesser

importance would lead to a series of further integrative measures in linked areas so that the process becomes increasingly involved with issues of greater political importance'. (see Taylor, 1983) Related to this is the process known as 'engrenage'. Most politicians tend to make incremental policies and decisions. They tend to have no overall plan and respond to immediate problems. They are thus vulnerable to prointegration premises which are generated within their national administrations.

For the Neofunctionalists, it was the 'institutionalized pattern' which was significant. The movement of workers, created by necessity, should ideally work towards an integrated state but not a community. Functionalists on the other hand, will regard migration in terms of whether there is popular support for integrated solutions for migration policies. Such support is from the industrial lobby, in favour of easier migration flows, in prosperous times, and in times of high unemployment, conservative or 'threatened' groups are in favour of restrictions or repatriation.

Integration between EC member countries

The question of whether integration is a single, simple process or a much more complex, multidimensional one remains open. The immense quantity of research on integration in Europe - where the vast majority of

attention has been focused - further illustrates the problems. There is general agreement that integration increased in Europe after World War II. The formation of supra-national organisations such as the European Coal and Steel Community and Euratom, and the European Economic Community, are the most obvious evidence of the greater integration. 'Yet a somewhat revisionist description of European integration has set in with evidence later compiled, especially by Deutsch and his colleagues, which showed that trade in Europe had reached "the highest level of structural integration it had ever reached" in the 1957-58 period.' (Sullivan, 1976, p.216). (However, the decline here was only over the period 1958-66). Deutsch also studied elite newspapers and found that interest in an Atlantic Alliance decreased in French, German, and British and remained high only in the New York Times. Similarly Alker and Puchala (1968) reported that 'the period of all-western European partnership is over ... There has been as much economic disintegration in Europe since 1951 as there has been integration.' (p.315).

Caporaso and Pelowski (1971) took a different approach. Regarding types of integration, they suggest 'system linkages' as an alternative to supranational organisations. Their measure of poor integration is given by the indifference of the behaviour of other political and economic structures to changes within the system. They investigated the effect of three potentially strong

changes within Europe: the formation of the EC in January 1958; the adoption of the first agricultural 'package' in June 1965 and the Luxembourg Compromise in January 1966. They found that the three quasi-experimental changes had few effects on other components of the system. But as they point out, 'there is another way to view integration - in terms of the growth and development of structures and functions at a new level. In these terms, the EC (as a positive growth system) is rapidly integrating. Almost without exception, all the variables we dealt with are and have been rapidly increasing'(Caporaso & Pelowski,1971,p.432). Indicators such as W.Germany's exports to the EC and the number of political decisions and regulations adopted by the EC have become greater.

Inglehart (1967) argued that there is a potential movement toward integration. He argued that current mass opinion is not relevant. Rather European youths' perceptions of a United Europe should be analysed. His data showed that youths were consistently higher than adults in their favouring unification. (This may be because pro-integration attitudes decline as people get older).

Fischer (1969) goes further by trying to find the weak part of Deutsch's theory. Deutsch has suggested that social assimilation takes place first, and this then leads to political assimilation. Deutsch has found only that

social assimilation had declined between 1958 and 1966. Fischer was able to show that political assimilation had actually increased over the same period, thus questioning Deutsch's theory of two-stage integration. He was able to show that the number of decisions taken by EC, ECSC, and EURATOM increased over this period.

Another criticism of Deutsch's evidence is the argument that Deutsch is only interested in the conditions for peaceful co-existence of states rather than their close integration. Institutions are not as important as patterns of communication, transaction and mutual responsiveness, which predispose states to peaceful settlements of conflicts of interests. Deutsch defined integration in terms of the extent of trade, movement of population, cultural exchange, political consultation, media consumption and volume of mail between countries as well as cultural compatibility.

According to Taylor, 'mass attitudes among European people towards integration and towards each other showed some degree of increase in mutual sympathy and interdependence. There was however little evidence to suggest that there had been any movement towards a European nation; the European peoples were still very much intact and the bases of a new sovereignty had not emerged.' (Taylor, 1983 p.56).

Migration and International Integration

Despite the contradictions, especially theoretical and methodological, in the International Integration literature, there is agreement that legitimised transactions help integration. In the social and economic spheres, tourism and student exchanges, trade, inter-company agreements, and migration can be included.

Migration is rather different however in that, on top of its transactional quality (the communication involved in finding out about jobs and rights, and in physically moving) it has an effect of creating a permanent or semi-permanent sub-group within the society of another country. The migrant group becomes conscious of its identity, more so than if it had stayed in the country of origin, for example, the Irish in Britain, the Italians in New York, the Indians in Southall. The migrant in exile becomes, for example, more Spanish than the Spanish, more Sicilian than Sicilian, more Irish than the Irish. In an attempt to preserve his roots he clings to his culture, traditions and customs. Hence the variety of clubs and associations. In Charleroi it is possible to find Spanish bars where Flamenco is sung with as much fervour as any place in Seville, perhaps more. In London you will find clubs in Kilburn and Camden Town where Irish music and Irish dancing takes place. Clinging to the past, the customs of the 'old country' is an essential part of the migratory pattern. If the migrant cannot physically return to the

'old country' he will cultivate what Kenny (1976) calls 'institutionalised nostalgia'. Expatriate associations and clubs help to keep this nostalgia alive, by organising elaborate programmes and innumerable fiestas. These ties with the past are an essential part of the migrant's adaptation to the new life in the host country. This is the way in which he is able to establish and maintain a stable relationship with the new environment. Within the ghetto the clubs, churches and other groups the migrant can achieve his aspirations; made up mainly of migrants who have gone before him, they offer nostalgic gratifications and associations with compatriots. (see Brody 1970).

The process of migration necessarily involves changes in attitudes, behaviour and relationships between the migrants and the host country. Attention must be paid to the influence of the donor country, the host country and the migrant and his family. The point of no return comes when the migrants' children marry in the host country and have their own children. It is then that the migrant group has become an integral part of the host community and must be considered as such, with the attendant dependence. Several ways in which migration contributes towards integration suggest themselves.

1. <u>Trade union organisations are forced to develop policies towards migrants.</u> In Europe the unions have generally favoured migration so long as it does not

threaten jobs of the indigenous workers. This has forced the unions in times of recession, to attempt to find alternatives to migration (especially in the seventies) and to add to the international organisations (or national organisations with international views) expressing concern for the 'migrant problem'. It could be suggested that this, in turn, leads to interest by the host country in the problems of the donor country.

2. <u>The effect upon the host country.</u>

How do specific patterns of immigration and assimilation affect social stability, levels of conflict and cultural innovation in the host country? What is the effect (as in the EC) of assuming migration will be temporary when in large part it turns out to be permanent. Under what conditions do ethnic programmes (e.g. bilingualism in schools) foster assimilation or separatism? Kritz, Keely, and Tomasi (1983, P xxviii) comment that 'Relatively little is known about the conditions for stability in pluralistic democracies, or the implications of immigration for maintaining stability or fostering change'.

3. <u>Host governments become increasingly involved</u> in the problems of migrants and the problems of donor countries. Host governments have become involved at times of labour shortage in publicising work, pay and conditions to potential migrants. In the case of Australia, the

government actually assisted the passage of migrants. (See Appleyard 1964).

Secondly, host governments then become involved with the problems of the migrant as a member of the host society. Questions of granting work permits and citizenship, granting admittance to the system of welfare and housing rights, and protecting the migrant from prejudice and discrimination, all take up increasing quantities of government resources the more migrants there are and the longer they remain as an 'unassimilated' section of society. In liberal societies this inevitably involves increasing knowledge by the host government of the culture and language of the migrants. In many instances with individual migrants there will be a need for discussion between host and donor governments.

The third type of preoccupation which host countries have, concerns the thorny problem of encouraging repatriation. In Britain, Enoch Powell is well-known for advocating repatriation. In France also, where 4½ million immigrant workers, who work an average 12 hours a day, 7 days a week and earn half the wage of the average Frenchman, racism has become an official policy. Recently there was a swing towards Le Pen's National Front Party. Le Pen advocates wide scale repatriation. He has just published a book. 'Les Français d'aboard' - (the French first), he talks about migrants as if they all Arabs and Africans.

Some 2 million migrants registered, come from Europe, Le Pen has had some success, because of the high unemployment in France.

However, there is a generation of immigrant's children with the right to vote and the problem will not go away. European governments are openly encouraging repatriation. In countries such as France where such schemes have been attempted there is a need for government to acquaint itself with the economic and political conditions of donor countries in order to be able to predict the likely effect of, for example, offering a sum of money to returnees, (see Economist 1983). 'European countries until recently have regarded immigrants as a somewhat unfortunate and temporary economic expedient, to be repatriated progressively and ultimately rather than assimilated. They are now facing up to the possibility that they have acquired a permanent element in their population that will have to be integrated if not assimilated,' (Dignan 1981, p.139). At such times of economic recession like the present one, host governments are particularly pressed to understand all the facts about migrants and the conditions which cause them to migrate and which deter their return home. Unemployment is having its effect on prejudice and discrimination, and tensions are becoming high.

Thus for example the OECD (1978) investigated six strategies related to migrants: 1. a more productive use of workers' remittances, 2. a closer co-ordination between

employment services in sending and receiving countries, 3. programmes for selective return migration, 4. the transfer of productive capacity from receiving to sending countries, 5. regional development as an alternative to emigration, and 6. classifying donor countries as 'development assistance countries' - a kind of internationalisation of regional policy. The result of such policies is to bring member countries closer together.

4. Donor governments also become increasingly involved, the greater the migrant flow and duration. Host governments and donor governments tend to go through a series of attitudes and policies towards migration. In the early stage they may approve of it in that it eases unemployment in the home village or town, or that it adds to the donor country's Balance of Payments credits through remittances. (The present flows are roughly £800 million to Italy and £400 million to Spain from Belgium (CSER 1979). In fact, both the Italian and Spanish governments actively encouraged outmigration in the past (see Chapter II and III). Obviously in order to help migrants and inform them, donor governments must learn about potential host countries and the likely problems such countries might pose to migrants. This is the beginning of a gradual widening of awareness by the donor government, of conditions in the host country.

After the initial phase of migration, donor governments or other institutions may become involved in providing facilities for migrants in the host country. Both the Italian and Spanish governments are actively involved in this in Belgium as is the Catholic Church (See Chapters II and III). Thus political co-operation is gradually increased in this way.

The last stage of such a process is for donor governments to adopt a policy of disapproval towards migration, and for them to state the problems and side-effects of outmigration on the donor region, - outflow of ambitious young workers, brain drain, demographic imbalance, inflation induced by remittances used for consumption rather than investment, and the like. In Europe this has coincided with worsening economic conditions (and this has brought a convergence of opinion between host and donor governments). Yugoslavia, for example has become increasingly worried by the effects of outmigration - witness the law in 1974 making it difficult for workers in various categories, especially technicians required for the country's economy to take employment abroad. Turkey still encourages emigration. But, according to Abadan-Unat (1976), even if the notion of economic inter-dependence remains unchallenged it seems self-evident that sending countries with development plans, including Turkey, will have to search for new forms of inter-dependence which will satisfy the need for additional markets for unskilled labour while enabling them to retain

their quota of skilled workers. Tapinos (1982) suggests 'it would also be interesting to determine if the attempt by European countries to close their borders favours the emergence of new patterns of migration, for example towards the countries of the Gulf'. (p.356).

Thus the coincidence of policies by both host and donor countries discouraging migration, and the occurrence of a major world recession, means that integration in terms of pooling knowledge and policies, is even more necessary. Host governments are only too aware of the disastrous effects of inducing large scale return migration, particularly in Greece, Turkey, Morocco and Algeria, on the donor countries and on the migrants themselves.

Although it can be said that any restrictions may discourage integration, the common thinking and pooling of knowledge between countries involved in migration is a new, post-1973 phenomenon. As Tapinos (1982) points out 'The free circulation of workers agreed to by countries belonging to the EC now serves as an important factor in considering the admission of new member States,' (p.355). An advance in political integration but a regression in social and economic integration? However at least donor and host governments are talking to each other. The donor governments are trying to get some concessions from the host countries in order to accelerate their economic development, thereby reducing the wish to migrate. There is the beginning of a new 'North-South' - type of dialogue:

'Analysts attentive to the uprooting that all migration provokes, argue in favour of the mobility of capital and a transfer of technology and enterprises to developing countries. Actually, all economic growth implies spatial and sectorial mobility, and the labour qualifications required according to the precepts of the new international economic order lead necessarily to higher internal mobility,' (Tapinos 1982, p.355). For the migrant worker, the choice is not merely to move or stay, but whether to move within his own country or go abroad. Internal migration is not always preferred to external migration.

5. Return-migrants carry the host country's culture back to the donor country. Between 1971 and 1976 the number of migrant workers in the EC fell from 10.6 to 7.5 million (just over one third of the world total) representing a return migration of 3 million workers in the five year period (Brandt Commission 1980).

Return migration has grown considerably in recent years. The reason for this is the current high employment in Europe, some repatriation schemes and sometimes a genuine wish by the migrants to return to their roots.

Return migration does not concern this [illegible] thesis, since the two groups have remained in Belgium, except for some family members who have returned to the villages. There has however, been considerable work

done in recent years on return migration, e.g. Baucic, on the return of Yugoslav workers, Cerase studies Italian migrants returning from the U.S.A. Return migrants, invariably had problems, as the village has often changed more quickly than has the migrants' of the village. Children of migrants have problems with the language and the whole family will often experience an identity crisis. As when they arrived in the host country, they experienced a cultural shock, so on return they experience a similar culture shock in reverse.

According to a recent Spanish Emigration Institute survey 48% of Spanish returnees desire an industrial job, compared to 27% wanting service sector employment and 16% wanting to work in agriculture. (see King 1978). However the problems of re-adjustment after a period of more than 5 years spent in the host country are immense. The migrant remembers the village as he left it; but values erode even in the village and with the advent of television even the most backward village has had its eyes opened to a new society, (see Glasser 1977). The memory of the migrant is 'like a clock which has stopped when he left, he has frozen time', (see Kenny 1976). The returned migrant will be frustrated by the unchanging aspects of village life while the changed aspects outrage him, (King 1978, Kenny 1976).

Why do migrants return? Many become disillusioned with migration, some feel the pull of the village and friends

and relatives left behind, others want to invest in a small business with the money they have saved in the host country. Some come back after retirement and live off their pension. 'The causes of any migration constitute a combination of push and pull factors. The first group consists of factors in the migrant's own society that, by undermining his opportunities for improvement, discourage him from staying there. The pull factors are those conditions in the receiving society that lure the migrant by sustaining his desire for self-improvement', (Lopreato, 1970, p.33). Similarly, motives for the return movement can be explained by push and pull factors. According to King, (1978), 'the main pushes to return are expulsion from the country of immigration as a result of laws restricting length of stay; inadequate housing; difficulty of occupational improvement and the strangeness of the physical and social environment (climate, food, language, customs). The main pulls are the prospect of satisfactory employment back home, desire to rejoin the family; the plan to invest accumulated savings in a house or business; or anticipation of retirement in the surroundings of the migrant's birthplace and "native air". ' (King 1978, p.13).

Return migration occurred on a large scale in Europe after the policies to stop recruitment were applied in 1973/4. But there are still large numbers who will probably stay permanently. Measures of encouraging such migrants to return home will probably have little success in the future, for example: repatriation schemes.

The local culture of donor regions may be eroded in a number of ways. Return migrants offer a new code of behaviour to local youths and children. They generally have slightly higher education and skills. Local youths and children are increasingly influenced by TV and the media and education, and returning migrants are another, more tangible sign of the fact that village norms and lifestyle are not the only one available.

CONCLUSION

Migration is of considerable significance for international integration. Especially within the EC, where migration is of immense importance. If carefully controlled, migration is a potential source of international understanding and integration.

Migration can be seen as part of a process, which can later involve greater integration between host and donor countries. Firstly, trade unions increasingly find themselves caught up in the problems of migrants and adopt a generally ambivalent policy towards them. Secondly the host society becomes more pluralistic. Thirdly the host government's involvement steadily increases, as does, fourthly, that of the donor country's government. Fifthly, return migrants carry the host culture back to

the donor region. Thus in these five ways individuals, public organisations, and governments both in the host and donor country learn more about each other and may move toward greater integration.

In 1972 Bohning provided a framework of four stages which showed the changing attitude of the migrant worker and the slow integration of the migrant and his family into the host country's culture. Firstly, the young male migrant goes alone for a short period. Secondly, the short periods develop into longer stays. Thirdly, he is joined by his wife and children and fourthly the intention to return diminishes and yet another migrant and family decides to stay and the process of integration has begun.

CHAPTER IX

FUTURE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

One of the interesting aspects of the interviews (Chapter VI) was that it is not nationality but cultural values which influence migrants' adjustment.

1. Is culture always more important than nationality in understanding ease of adjustment?

Family-orientation (Sicilians) versus Village-orientation (Spaniards) was found to be one dimension causing differences in adjustment. But are there others?

2. Is culture always more important than other background variables in understanding political participation of migrants?

The Spanish values of collectivity/village-orientation/authoritarianism/demand for change/trade-unionism were found to explain high political participation among Southern Spaniards. The Sicilian values of independence from outside institutions/suspicion of strangers/disbelief

in lawful change/deference to employers were found to explain low political participation of Sicilians. The interesting question arises as to whether important cultural differences exist between other similar groups which can also explain differences in political participation.

3. What is the effect of the desire to return.

The thought of returning home formed a barrier to the adaptation of many migrants, especially the Southern Spaniards. It provided the goal to aim for, even if never realized. It was related to problems in learning French and other problems of adaptation.

4. Why is chain migration related to poorer adaptation?

Is it due to the fact that chain migration occurs where the circle of friends and acquaintances is larger, allowing the development of, or reversion to, the village way of life in the host society? MacDonald cites the example where chain migration is thrown aside, where the migrant assimilates 'Chain migration based on a hometown society of the Southern Italian type necessarily runs the risk of leaving some prospective emigrants out on a limb. A potential sponsor abroad may desert his family, friends and clients when he assimilates to his host society, or when the frequent conflicts in this kind of society rupture bonds.' (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964, p.91).

5. <u>The proposed model of why Spanish values change more than Sicilian values, in Belgium could be examined more.</u>

The model is that the extended family is the anchor which allows Sicilians to accept the new host society. Sicilians do not have a formalised code of social or political behaviour. They act on the practical, non-political level. Southern Spaniards' most important values are social and political. These cannot remain unchanged in the new country. The resulting stronger sense of culture shock for Spaniards causes a lower level of successful adaptation.

6. <u>Is unidimensionality of values always a liability to migrants?</u>

Unidimensional values are easier to discredit. They may be challenged in the process of culture shock more easily than for migrants with complex and multi-dimensional values.

7. <u>Is independence from political institutions always an adaptive influence?</u>

Immigrant policies may emphasise the development of institutions to help migrants. Yet it may be that independence is more important than participation as a survival device.

8. Why is the family a more stable reference group than the village? (See Chapter VI).
Is this because the village cannot be brought with them? Do migrants experience more challenges and culture-shocks at the social and political level (i.e. the village level) than at the personal level (i.e. the family level)?

9. Are assimilation (merging with host society) and adaptation (satisfaction) independent?
The following classification was found useful:

Sicilians	Assimilate	Adapt
Spaniards	Assimilate	Do not Adapt

Are the two dimensions really independent and therefore useful?

10. Do migrants lose their identity (defined in Table, as assimilating/not adapting)
Assimilation, if it involves widespread change of values (as it did for Spaniards) may lead to disintegration of values if adaptation (i.e. satisfaction) is not high.

Some interesting ideas also emerged in the consideration of the relationship of migration and international integration.

i) Do indicators of integration over migration within an international region vary unidimensionally with indicators of integration over other matters?

Do partners in regions become constructive (or restrictive) about migration at the same time as they start to develop common approaches to tourism, or transport, or banking? There is a plausible case for saying that migration is a 'lead' variable. For example, the crisis on migration emerged in the EC in 1973, on Britain's membership in 1976, and on the common Agricultural Policy in 1979, and on the budget in 1981. This may mean that labour movements within the EC has been one of the more fragile consensi of the Community and thus the first one to be questioned in times of difficulty.

ii) How much of the host country's culture is taken back by return migrants and does this increase international integration?

It could be that the answer to this question is influenced by how much return migrants think that return home means failure. For example, Cronin (1970) has mentioned how early return migrants from Australia to Sicily are called 'quitters' by the migrants who remain, while those who leave after several years (say 15)

especially if it is to set up in business in Sicily, are regarded with approval for they obviously overcame the early hard times and profited from the overall emigration experience in Australia. If it means failure they may well wish to leave their discredited past, and all the 'modern' or 'urbanised' or 'industrial' attitudes associated with the host country, behind them. On the other hand, sometimes the economic situation in the host country worsens while that in the donor country improves. Such was the case between 1945 and 1975 in the situation vis-a-vis Spain (donor country) and Belgium (host country). Such a situation may take away the element of failure from return migration.

One of the problems associated with the migrant's return is the fact that while he had a job in the host country and enjoyed relative success, on return he may find that any skills acquired in the host country are to no avail.

The interesting policy question is what elements of policy could be used by the donor country to maximise the utility of information which return migrants possess? Policies for encouraging return migrants to set up their own businesses come readily to mind. But would such policies

best be directed at potential return migrants still living in the host country? Whatever the answers to these questions, it would seem that such ideas are positive in that they accept the inevitability of migration (rather than merely saying it is 'bad') while attempting to use the potential of return migrants as the carriers of international integration between advanced and less advanced countries.

One important distinction on this theme is between migrants working in factories and those working in the service sector. Because factories and modern manufacturing tend to be at the large scale, it is difficult for migrants to translate skills and information learned in the factories of the host country to a new enterprise in the donor country. On the other hand, service workers (because service sector firms are usually small) can easily see the relevance of their work in providing them with business skills for the future. Normally the Mediterranean migrant is more interested in the social advancement in his place of origin than in the host country. He is interested more in financial accumulation than with occupational progress. According to Del Campo (1974), behaviour in the host coun try (integration, consumption, savings, training) is conditioned by reference groups which lie outside the host society.

Whether or not migrants bring back innovatory ideas very much depends upon the stage of return migration they are in, and how such returning is seen by those in the home community. Out of Cerase's four stage model (the return of failure, the return of conservatism, the return of innovation and the return of retirement), there are according to Tapinos (1974), only two types which are more or less unequivocal: the return due to failure which takes place only in a short period after emigration and the return of retirement.

Certainly the question of how return migration is managed by governments is a topical one. Training of the returnee, and a co-operative attitude by host and donor countries, are regarded by many as a basic requirement here. Entzinger (1978) has suggested that besides using returnees positively as 'change agents', there should be some internationally agreed system whereby host governments in future compensate donor countries for their migrants, and that there should be an attempt to improve wages and conditions in donor countries in order to cut down the need to migrate from the donor region.

The bringing back of new attitudes to the homeland has been commented on by many studies of return migration. For example, Gilkey (1967) found that Southern Italians returning from America no longer respected the hereditary landed gentry of the island. But this can be counter productive: Lopreato (1967) noted that such returnees were often despised as the 'Fessi Americani' (American fools).

Palmer (1980), similarly, noted that non-migrants in the Italian village he studied, refused to sell land or property to returnees, who were forced to live nearby but outside the village.

Kenny (1976) describes the problems felt by returning migrants from Mexico to Spain. Contrary to expectation, returnees soon get nostalgic for Mexico. Even after ten years the problems of personal re-adjustment are great. Returnees are bored by the surfeit of enforced leisure after a lifetime of hard work. Their memory is selective; the village is remembered for what it was, not what it is. The returnee is outraged if the place has changed, but also frustrated if it is the same. (see King, 1983.)

Another aspect of the effect of return migration in transmitting back values from the host country to the donor country is that returnees often are disappointed on their 'final' return home and then re-emigrate, (Lowenthal 1972, Trebous, 1970, and Gulliver 1955) also found that returnees did not tend to be innovative. In contrast to this is the evidence of Lebon and Falchi (1980) of the 200 co-operative factories in Turkey, financed by Turkish migrants returning from Germany. Oberai and Singh (1982) tell a similar story as does Lee and Kim (1981), found in their Korean study that returnees are often eager to do something positive on their return home, although the indifference of the rural local authorities and other residents often stifled such initiative. McArthur (1979) has argued for the need to differentiate between economic and social innovation. Often effective economic innovation occurs when returnees conform socially on their return. Stark's (1967) point (based on Greek, Turkish and Italian data) is that the essential innovatory character of the return migrant is that he wants independence and not factory work. Government policies aiming to encourage returnees to set up their own businesses should recognise

this fact. Trebous (1970) and Useem (1955) and Van Gendt (1977) also, have argued that there are great advantages to be gained by government help in re-integrating the returnee.

iii) Does co-operation between donor and host countries of a political kind lead to economic co-operation?

In order to help with return migration when a boom has finished, a host country may be prepared to co-operate economically with the donor country as a condition that the donor country received such migrants back again. The determinants of whether under such circumstances a host country helps a donor country may include the relative wealth of the host country, the existence of other political ties between the two countries, whether or not other political advantages accrue from economic aid, the current levels of migration, and the degree of reluctance of migrants to return. Perhaps, research on such determinants would help to illuminate the contribution which migration makes to processes of international integration. Certainly it is not sufficient merely to declaim the present lack of co-operation. An example is Widgrens (1982) criticism that 'the measures undertaken so far in order to tackle these problems - of utmost importance in the shaping of future Europe - have been very limited in scope and do not set out from firmly based action programmes. Measures undertaken could in this way be characterised as failures,' (p.30). More constructively, Birks and Sinclair (1979) have suggested in

writing of the Middle East, that 'it would hardly seem to be just recompense for the capital-poor states that in consequence of their role as labour-suppliers to the capital-rich states they should experience first labour shortages and an excess of foreign exchange, then labour surpluses concurrent with a balance of payments crisis. Amelioration of the more violent fluctuations of the Middle East labour market could be accomplished if manpower policies were devised on a regional basis, which took both the needs of the capital-poor and capital-rich states into account.' (p.96)

Another type of co-operation between donor and host country has been motivated by a wish to substitute capital and trade flows instead of labour flows. Such policies attempt to prevent outward migration rather than smooth the return of the migrant. There seems to be little research available which is directed at demonstrating the worth or otherwise of such a policy. One example of such a policy (a failure though) is the Mexican Border Industries Programme extended to the whole of Mexico in 1972 by the Mexican and US governments. Another is the Vanoni Plan of the Mezzogiorno. Why did they fail and how could they be improved?

iv) The role of migration in the modernisation and industrialisation of donor countries.

Standing (1979, 1981 a) has developed an unusual and provocative theory of migration as an agent of modernisation and industrialisation (see also Lutz 1962). It is worth elaborating his thesis in order to contrast it with the more common view (for example Schiller 1973), that migration damages the economy of donor regions. His theory is more political in its view of change. He outlines a number of roles which migration plays: (1) the negative one of accelerating the decay of feudal relations, (2) in contributing to the development of class differentiation in donor areas, (3) in contributing to the relative and absolute growth of wage employment in donor areas, (4) in increasing the social division of labour, (5) in concentrating groups of workers with similar skills and part-skills, (6) in stimulating the development of capitalism through its effects on the aspirations and habits of workers and their families, (7) in creating an industrial labour reserve capable of eventually playing a part in industrialisation within the donor region.

Two implications of these ideas present themselves. Firstly, when it is said that migration leads to international integration, is this causal relationship a direct one, or by means of creating modern development and industrialisation (thus eventually leading to a more 'modern' or co-operative view of international integration by donor governments). This latter possibility suggests that integration results from migration-created modernisation and not directly from migration itself, (see Hume 1973). Secondly, to what extent do measures to prevent (exploitation of migrants deter host countries from solving their growth problems in a labour intensive way, lead to eventual dependence on other, more capital--intensive, means? Growth can come about without massive in-migration - the example of post-war Japan is evidence of this (but OECD 1975, p.16-18 and Bohning 1976a disagree).

A more conventional view of aid for donor regions is summarised by Bohning (1977) who puts forward policy alternatives, and their associated arguments and politics, for compensating countries of origin for the outmigration of their people.

v). Is it in the host country's interest for migrants to integrate or not?

Dassetto (1978) has asked this question. Undoubtedly the less integrated the migrant, the easier he finds it to return. Often there is a fear by the host country that

greater integration will lead eventually to greater political participation although this has been found not always to be the case.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

This last chapter will discuss the findings on the adaptation and political attitudes of Sicilian and Spanish Migrants in Charleroi with reference to other international studies of minority groups.

(a) Factors which contribute towards adaptation

i) The institution of the extended family

Eisenstadt (1954), in his investigation of the causes of successful adjustment of Jews in Israel, stated that the family was the fundamental source of stability and help. An example of this is the Italian family (see Cronin 1970 Barzini 1964) and the London Greek Cypriot family (Constantinides 1977). Certainly, where migrants have travelled without their family, as for example the early migration of Italians to Australia (see Price 1969), the rate of return migration has been very high. This evidence suggests therefore that West German Turks will return in large numbers to Turkey, since 82% of them are married and only 33% of them have their wives with them (see Nikolinakos 1978). The stresses of such a life are great.

Studies of Yugoslav migrants to West Germany, found much higher incidences of divorce and illness among wives left behind than existed in the Yugoslav female population generally. (see Baucic,1971).

The existence of an extended family (discovered to be important in understanding differences between Sicilians and Spaniards above) has been particularly studied in the institution of godparenthood. 'Compadrazgo' (Spain), 'Compari' (Sicily), 'Kumstro' (Yugoslavia), 'Koumbari' (Greece), are all instances of the important position godparents hold. The Spanish and Yugoslav variants however, imply a status or power difference, and the institution cannot for this reason be transplanted to the new community since prestigious godparents will tend to be those who do not need to migrate. Godparents were, however, found to be an important part of the extended family of Greeks in the USA, and a reason why they adapted so successfully (see Vlachos 1968). Muslim Mirpuri Pakistanis of Bradford also give great importance to their extended families and kinship system which regulates and structures relationships. 'The biradari, (brother-hood) is an endogamous group whose members claim descent in the paternal line from a common male ancestor, but in certain contexts the word is used to refer to individuals or groups with whom there is a "brotherly" and hence loyal relationship. "Biridari"' elders are respected and have power to ensure the cohesion of the group by reprimanding deviants and so maintaining the prestige (izzat) of the group.' (Khan 1977. p. 61.)

The study in Charleroi showed that for Sicilians at least, the extended family is the primary institution, while the village is only of secondary importance. Outside the extended family, relations of friendship are exchange - rather than affection - orientated. The large proportion of Sicilians in Charleroi accompanied by kinsmen is understandable. The extended family for Sicilians is a source of protection from a potentially hostile world and is thus a great help in aiding the Sicilians to adapt to life in Charleroi.

Much of what has been said about the extended family for Sicilians can be repeated about the village for the Andalusians. It would seem that the primary social values for Andalusians are self-respect and dignity. This is not so different from the concept of 'onore' - honour of the family in Sicily and other Mediterranean lands. Spanish studies refer less to the importance of kinship than do those on Sicily and more to social and political relationships within the village (see Martinez Alier, 1971. Davis (1977, p.222) comments that the Sicilian evidence suggests strong kinship bonds there. He refers to the high incidence of kinship anecdotes by Boissevain (1966 a, and 1966b) and Blok (1974) both writing about Sicily. 'The first source of power is the family, the Italian family is the stronghold in a hostile land; within its walls and among its members the individual finds consolation, help, advice, provisions, loans, weapons, allies and accomplices to aid him in his pursuits. No Italian who has a family is ever alone,' (Barzini, 1964 p.198).

Pitt Rivers, in discussing the nuclear family in his Andalusian village states: 'Within a community which knows no other principle of grouping, and where other relationships tend to be unstable and kinship ties are weak, the strength of the family stands out in solitary relief.' (1961,p.103).However, for the Andalusians the extended family (compared with the nuclear family) does not hold the same importance as for Sicilians. 'The lack of mutual rights and obligations outside the elementary (nuclear) family, the lack even of occasions on which the unity of the extended family is expressed, for cousins are not bound to be asked and are not always asked to weddings, makes of kinship a faculative rather than a firm bond. It is an excellent basis for friendship, but it is not in itself an important element in the structure of this society'. (Pitt Rivers, 1961 p. 106). The evidence from Pitt Rivers (1961) on Andalusia is much more of the maintenance of a man's honour (by honouring patrons in order to obtain favours and by conforming to the village norm) as an overriding value; 'there are degrees of deference paid according to the relative status in the pueblo', (Pitt Rivers 1961. p.54). Whatever the ideals of honour may be, they involve recognition of different ranks of hierarchy, from the landowners to the peasants. Pitt Rivers suggests that through the system of patronage the will of the State is adapted to the social structure of the pueblo - and getting an influential man to be one's 'compadre' was the best way of obtaining influence.

The village for the Spaniards is much more the centre of their life in Andalusia than for the Sicilians in Sicily. Therefore, deprived of this reference group and opportunity for continuing its identity the Andalusian migrant is somewhat disorientated, while for the Sicilian, there is no conflict because the extended family performs the same function in Belgium as it did in Sicily.

Many more Sicilians than Spaniards had members of the extended family with them in Charleroi. The evidence would seem to be that the migrants from the area of San Roque have continued to maintain their strong commitment to return to the village; their continuance to observe the village customs has been stronger than the Sicilians, and their more frequent thoughts of returning home all bear witness to the pull from the home village.

ii) Loss of respect for the village

Ballard and Ballard (1977) found that Sikhs in Britain have gradually found the British context to be the chief arena for displaying material worth, or 'izzat' (prestige of the group). Another aspect of this aspect of adaptation is the degree of latent respect for town life among the village peoples. To the extent to which this exists, such a latent respect may be released on migration (and may also of course be a cause of migration).

Stirling (1965) in his study of the Turkish village, states that, 'Loyalty to the superiority of one's own village did not prevent the existence of a rough hierarchy of prestige among the villages of the area... Perhaps the most commonly expressed part of ideas, or rather those which command most general assent, are "medeni" (civilised) on the one hand, and "kaba", (coarse), or 'vaksi' (wild) on the other.' (Stirling, 1965, p. 34).

The two groups in Charleroi displayed important differences in degree of respect shown for their village. Sicilians tended to rely more on the family while Spaniards seemed more nostalgic for the village. It was found that Spaniards tended to spend more money on conspicuous consumption than Sicilians. This together with Spaniards' lesser family oriented-ness suggests the hypothesis that the village is the arena for Spaniards' continuing to display their material honour (status, worth) while such a function of the village lessens over time for the Sicilians.

iii) The economic prosperity of the home country

An unexplored aspect of the Sicilian and Spanish differences found above is the extent to which the greater relative improvement in the Spanish economy until the mid seventies may have been an inducement for the Spaniards to return. However, evidence is difficult to come by as regards levels of prosperity between Sicily and Andalusia. The time period over which to calculate differences, which region to compare, and whether or not migrants actually perceive these differences are all difficult to establish.

iv) The migrants' drive for economic independence.

Examples of successfully assimilated migrant groups for whom economic independence played a large part are the Sikhs in Britain (Ballard and Ballard 1977), Emilians (Palmer 1974), and Greek Cypriots (Constantinides 1977) in London. However, comparisons of the success of Jamaican businessmen in New York (Foner 1977) with the obvious lack of independence of British Jamaicans suggests that the long-standing existence of an ethnic clientele is a necessary pre-requisite for business success. The success of Hong Kong Chinese restaurants in Britain, (see Watson, 1977) together with the non-assimilation and high rate of return of this group suggest that 'assimilation' has many different definitions and implications.

However, the groups studied in Charleroi were manual workers rather than entrepreneurs and differences on this dimension would have been difficult to find, or irrelevant.

v) Instrumental attitudes to work

Some evidence was found among Spaniards that instrumental attitudes to work are mal-adaptive. If the host country is only a place to earn as much money as possible before return, very little of an attempt will be made to become assimilated.

vi) Factionalism and Internal Conflict

Vlachos (1968) points to internal conflict and disagreements between Greeks in America as one reason why they did not close ranks and remain as isolated as possible from the American host society, thus aiding their rapid assimilation.

Similarly Stirling (1965) discussed extensively the question of feuds and quarrels in Turkey. 'When two persons quarrel they are said to be 'kus' ' (Stirling, 1965. p. 248). The primary function of lineage groups is defense in quarrels.

Comparing the Sicilian and Spanish literature, the feud seems much more endemic and virulent among Sicilians.

vii) Unbalanced Sex - Ratios

These are given as one of the reasons why the American Greeks have rapidly become assimilated. 'The demographic analysis of the flow of immigration and the composition of the Greek stock in the U.S. have indicated that the unbalanced sex ratio of early immigration and the concentration in urban centres were factors facilitating assimilation, because on the one hand of mobility due to the lack of regular households, and on the other of the exposure to the highly modernized and assimilationistic environment of the cities.'
(Vlachos, 1968.p. 186). In contrast both the London Greek Cypriots (Constantinides 1977) and the London Turkish Cypriots (Ladbury 1977) have balanced sex ratios, which has helped them to preserve their ethnic identity. Both the Sicilians and Spaniards in Charleroi had balanced sex ratios and differences in adaptation cannot be ascribed to this variable.

viii) Independence of immigrant community from donor village

This should properly be regarded as a variable dependent upon other aspects of adaptation. Whether the village remains the prime avenue for investment, saving, women, eventual retirement home, and aid will depend upon the

extent of adaptation - this was certainly the reason for the Sicilian - Spanish differences noted above - and has been noted, for example, in a study of West Indians in London (Foner 1977). The London Turkish Cypriots (Ladbury 1977) and Greek Cypriots (Constantinides 1977) and Emilians in London (Palmer 1974) depended upon their home village. Such comments must be put alongside the relative importance for such migrants of family versus village - Constantinides (1977) states that, 'although people judge each other according to strict moral and economic criteria' (p.297) the family remains of paramount importance.

ix) Acceptance of the status quo

The 'docile' Turks are preferred by W. German employers and thus are more easily assimilated (economically at least.) Some evidence exists among the two groups in Charleroi that a desire for change. (Spaniards) is maladaptive compared with acceptance of the status quo (Sicilian).

The overall concept of the migrant worker remains that of the 'marginal man', who fits in neither in the village nor in the host country; a migrant lives simultaneously in two sets of social universes, with two corresponding sets of reference groups. Exceptions apart he sees himself as better off than his national equals, the peasants he left at home in the village, and worse off than the local people who 'ought' to be his peers - the local unskilled

or skilled workers. His decision to leave is connected with a desire to improve his lot; to live up to his sense of self-dignity by being able to send money back home to a hard-pressed family; to save up for a flat or a house on his return; to show everyone that he can free himself from local oppression and succeed. 'The achievement of these aims in turn requires submission and subordination to the rules of the game he finds in another society, where he is certainly in many senses, over-exploited, marginalised and discriminated against. In this connection, however, there is a set of responses which have often been ignored by both sides of the argument and yet which protect and encapsulate the migrant against too much indignity, thus reinforcing his patterns of conformity: the development of a community culture along ethnic lines in the areas where he settles': (Giner, 1978 p. 116). Much work has been carried out since Znaniecki's (1918) classic on the Polish immigrants, but studies have tended to ignore the cultural aspect in the migratory process. (See Chapter V for cultural values of Sicilians and Southern Spaniards).

They see themselves as Belgians but they are not seen as such. These children of the post war migration are bicultural; they belong neither in Belgium nor in the village of origin. Their expectations are high but will they become reality or will they be lost to discrimination, prejudice and policies?

(b) Factors which encourage political participation

The following investigation of cultural differences between the backgrounds of Sicilians and Spaniards will attempt to explain why Spaniards in Charleroi show higher political interest and participation and are more politically authoritarian.

(i) Political Solidarity

The agriculture of the area around San Roque is not characterized by peasant small holdings nor by the very large latfundia typical of the Andalusian lowlands. (Possibly most of the agricultural wealth is controlled by a few landowners). The area around San Roque, produces mainly grain and cork. Also some land is used for grazing cattle.

The traditional form of employer-employee relationship in Andalusia has until recent land reforms been that of casual day labour, the least secure form of employment. The landowners have always been socially distant from the labouring classes and have oppressed them with low pay for long hours of back breaking work. However, changes in 'latifundismo' can now be expected from migration and the introduction of new labour saving technologies. As a result it seems likely that the thorny problem of 'latifundismo' may now disappear painlessly from Spanish politics, (see Martinez Alier 1971). Similarly, 'Social relations between landowners and agricultural labourers in Southern Spain during the last two hundred years have been masked by much conflict, and this conflict has been structured in a variety of ways. '(Corbin 1974 p. 170). The lot of the poor and labouring class has been a common one for many and has created a feeling of solidarity. In Sicily on the other hand there seems to be a total lack of organization outside the extended family suggesting that Sicilians display less political solidarity than Spaniards.

ii) Political Authoritarianism

Andalusian labourers are used to self discipline and adopt cultural values for survival. Fatalism about their situation means that they can preserve their self respect and dignity. Sicilians on the other hand have a very different attitude. The Government in Rome showed little

interest in Sicily and thus the law was not respected - hence the intervention of the Mafia. The Sicilian police and judiciary are largely corrupt. Thus Government and politics have been largely irrelevant to Sicilians. In the past Sicilian dissidents have not become political or ideological dissidents; instead they have become outlaws and bandits secretly aided or at least condoned by the peasants.

Because of the weakness of village sanctions in Sicily the low respect for the law and the connection of revenge as a duty with family honour, feuds between extended families rarely emerge into litigation and thus often violence is the only remedy. It would seem therefore that Spaniards display greater political authoritarianism than Sicilians.

iii) Complexity of public attitudes

In Spain the ideology of Francoism embodied Catholicism, Falangism, Capitalism, Monarchism and Militarism and the Opus Dei. It outlawed Marxism, Socialism, Communism and Christian Democrats. The political scene was thus simplified and this perhaps strengthened the simplistic nature of the labourers' political attitudes. Also Spanish politics were seen as ideological. An example of this is Cortes, the Socialist mayor of Mijas during the second Republic, who when Mijas was captured by Franco's forces, fled and joined the Republican Army. After the

war he returned to Mijas and went into hiding for 30 years finally coming out in 1969 after an amnesty declared by the Government.

Cortes stated:- 'Since I came out of hiding, I've talked to plenty of young people because I've wanted to make friends with everyone. And the first thing that struck me was that they know absolutely nothing about anything except amusing themselves. They don't think ahout other things, about Government, the nation or even the village. They stand staring at me with their mouths open when I talk to them, as though I were something extraordinary out of the past .... They are completely ignorant and de-politicized.' (cited in Corbin 1974 p. 198)

iv) Class Consciousness

The Spanish Civil War, very much a conflict between the feudal landowning classes and the new industrial class (and thus between rural and industrial regions) saw the victory of reactionary land owning interests and thus the continuance of the status quo in Spain into the early seventies. Because of this class division the popular demand for change remained throughout Franco's period in power. Trade unions (largely in industrial areas) continued to exist. Moreover, the severity of government repression forced the Communist Party (PCE) into an attempted peaceful agreement with Franco (see Gallo 1973) and thus the Party ceased to be the main vehicle and the

puppet trade unions, which Franco created, - were ignored by the great majority of industrial workers. While many Communists worked within the illegal trade union movement, it was the idea of trade unionism rather than Communism which gained popularity. These illegal trade unions or 'Workers Commissions' emerged after 1960 in many different forms, (for example the AS, ASO, USO, STV, FOC) and entered candidates in syndical elections. Also the demand for change was always present in the form of strikes (for example in 1958, 1962, 1963, 1967) and riots (for example in 1967) and expressed itself always in a call for working class solidarity. All these events of the Franco era could not have been unknown to the migrants or their parents.

In Sicily on the other hand, as in Southern Italy as a whole, the attitude of the lower classes to employers and landowners has traditionally been affectionate and deferential. 'Any hostility to the landowning nobility automatically became hostility to the whole society, since the structure of society was a feudal one, where King, Church and landlord formed a monolithic block' (Maraspini, 1968, p. 261). Peasants have traditionally identified themselves with the local aristocracy and with the continuation of the largely feudal way of life that this represents. Twice in history the peasants have fought on the side of the local aristocracy and both times the aim was to preserve the status quo. The creation of the Kingdom of Italy in the mid-nineteenth century was

disliked by Sicilians. The land tax levied by the Government was too high for the often poor soil that the peasants tilled. Government help was given to industry in the North of Italy to the detriment of Sicilian industry in Palermo. The coming of Fascism to Italy was consequently seen as irrelevant by the majority of Sicilians, and Mussolini's policy of preventing outmigration from Italy was subsequently unpopularly received in Sicily. Thus local independence and preservation of identity status quo have been issues of far more importance for Sicilians than matters of class conflict.

The social and political assimilation of migrants in the EC and prospects for the future

Recently a new drive by the European Trades Union Confederation (ETUC) was launched to persuade European Governments to adopt a co-ordinated strategy for job creation and economic growth. In a preamble to its policy document, the ETUC warns that continued failure of governments and the EC's European Council to take action on the issue means a further marked rise in unemployment, already up from 2.5m a decade ago to 19m across Europe today. If present trends and policies are allowed to continue the total number of people looking for work will continue to grow and be well in excess of 25m by 1990 To tackle the crisis, the document calls for: 'Increases on public expenditure across Europe of at least 1 per cent of GNP.

The introduction of a 35-hour working week.
Further development of job creation programmes, but with a greater emphasis on new technology, research and development and joint European industrial initiatives in new areas such as bio-technology.
The maintenance of workers' purchasing power.
The co-ordination of employment and recovery policies on an international basis.' (Financial Times, 5th April 1984).

The extent to which such demands can work in the absence of forces in Europe favouring economic and political modernisation and the presence of sometimes overwhelming American and Japanese competition is a matter which is still open to question.

In France, until the early seventies there was a tradition of leaving the door ajar to migrants from France's old colonies, but this liberalism applied to rights of entry, not of permanent residence. However, recently, France announced drastic new steps to keep out further immigrant workers. And the government is also to start expelling immediately those living in the country illegally. The moves mark an end to the Leftist government's 'Open Door' policy introduced after it swept to power in May 1981. There are 4,500,000 foreigners living in France. Five years ago the government offered each immigrant worker £1,000 and a free ticket home, but only 58,000 took advantage of it.

Britain, however has a long history of racial prejudice, in which the colour of the skin is the dominant variable. Despite Britain's relative openness on the question of granting citizenship to members of former colonies which joined the Commonwealth this has not overcome racial prejudice at home. Moreover, since Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of blood' speech in 1968, British immigration policy has become increasingly pre-occupied with race. Enoch Powell advocated a major re-emigration or repatriation of immigrants as essential. However, in the United States and Australia race is no longer used as a criterion in their immigration policies. The most rapidly growing immigrant groups in the U.S.A. are now Filipinos, Chinese, Indians and Koreans. In Europe the low level of assimilation of immigrant workers is like a potential time bomb. Prejudice and discrimination occur, where there are large groups of migrant workers. According to Giner (1978), assimilation is an important but essentially marginal, phenomenon within the entire social process of post-Second World War migration in Europe.

During the post war period, there was an urgent need to rebuild war torn Europe. Consequently, many thousands of migrant workers were attracted to the industrial areas of Northern Europe. Through the fifties, sixties and up until 1973 when the first brake was put on immigration by Willy Brandt in West Germany, the influx of migrant workers continued. They came to fill the 'dirty' jobs the indigenous population would not do. The creation of a new

prosperous Europe and the rapid integration of the economies and politics of Western Europe was paralleled, therefore, by a great influx and mixing of peoples. International integration and international migration were thus operating simultaneously.

Europe is now, increasingly, a multi-ethnic society. Europeans cling to their heritage of language, culture and traditions and racial ancestry. The concepts, therefore, of how migrants see themselves and how they are seen and how they are assimilated into European society is related to the question of European integration. One of the main findings of this study, that those who adapt least (Spaniards) are in this case those who participate most in politics (compared with Sicilians) is therefore of interest. Another finding is the important role of the extended family for Sicilians in the adaptation of migrants to the host country. This is of direct policy relevance to immigration policy since many European countries exercise controls on entry of families. The overwhelming majority of migrants never planned to stay permanently in the host countries, but over the years the time horizons tend to become more and more hazy until eventually, without conscious planning, the migrant families end up staying permanently and the once temporary migrants have become permanent members of the host society.

Now that the period of European post war economic expansion has ended, and large groups of migrants remain in the industrial areas of Europe, it is clear that encouragement of return migration will have an effect only on a handful of migrants. Despite high unemployment many migrant workers will remain in the host countries, because they have become used to the life there, and because their children may have married there and because for most conditions are better there than in their home villages.

In Charleroi the Sicilians have settled close together and the Spaniards also tend to live near to each other. They have retained their customs and traditions, and particularly with the Sicilians, have drawn strength from the 'extended family'. Some see their migration as temporary, although for the majority it has become permanent. Many keep the idea of returning home to the village alive but with the passage of time very few have gone back. The second generation has grown up with a new concept of what they want and believe in.

It goes without saying that it is during times of recession and high unemployment that xenophobia is high. The indigenous population claim that the migrant workers are taking their jobs; the jobs which they willingly left in former affluent years.

The presence of 850,000 migrants (in a total population of 10 million) form a prominent force to be reckoned with in the social-economic and political system of Belgium. This is particularly so because migrant workers are heavily concentrated in specific urban and regional spheres. 'In any event, with a minority group that exceeds 8% of the total population, the future of Belgian society will largely depend on the way in which multi-racial and multi-cultural society is built'. (Martens, 1982, p. 59) Recently strikes and demonstrations have been widespread in Belgium, especially in the southern French speaking part of Wallonia. The strikes were a protest against the austerity package introduced in March 1984 by Wilfried Martens' government coalition of Christian Democrats and Liberals, which called for wage restrains and reduction in Social Security benefits, and cuts in education.

The presence of large numbers of migrants in Belgium is constant and will not disappear. There exist immense cultural and linguistic differences even among the migrants themselves. The migrants are located at the bottom of the social scale (see Martens 1982) and any social mobility is prevented by racism and discrimination.

Added to these problems, Belgium has the highest unemployment in Europe. 'The Belgian Government will next year have to finance a public-sector deficit of nearly B,Frs. 500bn (£6.5bn) it disclosed yesterday when it disclosed its 1985 budget.' (Financial Times, August 1. 1984.) The Government proposes to do this by increasing its revenues by tightening tax allowances given to companies and by cutting back on subsidies to social security funds. Many indigenous workers are beginning to see the migrant workers in a different light. Governments are warned about the rising social costs of accommodating and integrating foreign workers. The foreign status of the majority of migrants prevents them from full participation in the social life of the host countries. It would seem that the migrant lives in two different worlds, with two different reference groups unable to relate fully to either group. What seemed an easy solution to the post war expansion plan has become an uneasy problem. Second generation migrants in particular, brought up in the host country are beginning to question their position. Many migrants have returned to their villages, but many more are likely to remain in the host country. The question is whether they will continue to live and work on the fringe society or will they eventually become integrated?

APPENDIX

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