# WHERE DO THEY BELONG? THE DIFFERENCES IN BETWEEN THE SO CALLED "SECOND GENERATION" OF MIGRANTS

**Denise SCHUBERT\***

*Department of Ethnomusicology, University of Music and Performing Arts, Graz, Austria

***Abstract:*** *This article shows why the wording "Second Generation of Migrants" is inappropriate when we talk about Migrant's descendants. As migrant's descendants never experienced the process of migration, we cannot treat them as a second generation and have to accept that their culture is different from their parents. According to that, this article lines out different categories of migrant's descendants. These categories are based on the contact and relationship of the children with their parents culture, with the culture of their birth country and in which of these two cultures they are accepted as members (either in one of them, both of them or nowhere). These categories also include the case when a child is seen as a Migrant's descendant even if the child is not technically one (for example in the case of adoption) and show the problem of nationality. They also bring up when a child is born in a country which is not its mothers or fathers home country. All these categories were developed after a rethinking of my 2 years of fieldwork in the Capeverdean Community in Metropolitan Lisbon. The aim of my article is to provoke a new consciousness of the diversity in between migrant's descendants, helps to rethink programs to integrate migrant's children in society and is an approach to develop advantages out of nowadays multicultural societies.*

***Keywords****: music, human migration, community, collective identity*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Since Hornbostel and Sachs, musicology developed different path in dealing with music. Thereby, the relationship between the musical protagonist and the society became more and more a central object of scientific investigation. These investigations turned into a debate about music in culture (cf. Merriam, 1960) and music as culture (Rice, 1987) which shows precisely how far away we got from analyzing just the music towards music in its context (Nettl & Bruno, 1983). This can be e.g. a certain geopolitical, cultural, local or historical moment. To see music in its various contexts, music anthropologist nowadays understands music as mutable social phenomena. One approach to comprehend musical action is to focus on individuals (Danielson, 1997) or groups (Feld, 1982). On the one hand, even by respecting their uniqueness, global conclusions can be carefully done by analyzing the works and behaviors of an individual or certain group of people (Blacking, 1973). However, it is important to give these generalized conclusions space for flexibility and diversity. On the other hand,

generalization can mislead to wrong conclusion, which in retrospection cannot always be proved by single cases. This predicament might be the reason, why children of migrants are still called the s*econd generation*. As they are also linked to migratory processes like the *first generation* it seems to be obvious that the *first* and the *second generation of migrants* share equal characteristics or at least take part of the same social or cultural group. Nevertheless, I wondered, if this obvious thought is really valid. The impact of that question comes from my fieldwork in Metropolitan Lisbon. Living in a Capeverdean Community in Portugal showed me very well the differences between the *first* and the so called *second generation of migrants*. It also turned out the diversity in between the s*econd generation*. After that empirical research in the Capeverdean Community in 2012-2013, this summer will be collected further data in the African Community of Graz in Austria. This establishes an even wider perspective on the topic and puts previous research results forward for discussion. With the help of the AFRICAN UMBRELLA ASSOCIATION STYRIA (Graz, Austria) this new fieldwork starts in summer 2016.

The following article emphasizes the importance to discuss the unequal identity of migrants and their descendants and builds the basic for the upcoming ethnomusicological research in the African Community in Styria. In conclusion, the article firstly points out the differences between the *first* and the *second generation*. Secondly, it provokes a rethinking of the diversity in between the so called s*econd generation* and shows further concerns.

## 2. COMPARING MIGRANTS IDENTITIES TOWARDS MIGRANTS DESCENDANTS IDENTITIES

An important starting point for that discussion are the reasons why people are forced or migrate voluntarily. Beginning with the geographer Ernest George Ravenstein and his seven laws of migration, push and pull factors are in the center of attention since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Ravenstein:1885). Ravenstein turns out that the migrant intention plays a meaningful role. Today it is well known that this intention includes if the migration is supposed to be temporary or permanent, the choice of and against a particular receiving country, even the choice of an internal migration or a long distance migration, as well as if it is a single choice or made by a group. Thus, migrants vanquish many crucial issues and experiences, such as adapting new behaviors, linguistic challenges and resolving administrative barriers. That shows that analyzing human migration is a very complex issue, because several causes, processes and objectives in time force individuals and groups finally to migrate. There are plenty of categories to classify these reasons, objectives and processes. Among others, they are based on geopolitical, economical, environmental, historical, religious, social and cultural motivations. However, the central turning point is to emigrate from a place of residence to immigrate to another receiving place.

On the following page I will bring up shortly three different examples of collective identities, by comparing different Capeverdean communities in the diaspora, to show the diversity in between the migrants. Migrants creates their own new Lifeworlds as soon as they settle down in the receiving country. Sieber draws a wide picture of the Capverdian diaspora and shows how entangled the construction of the new world is with other communities. He compares the Capeverdean community in Boston, which does not associate themselves culturally as a lusophone environment,

to the Capeverdean communities in New Bedford and Massachusetts (Sieber, 2011:132). The two last mentioned are connected with Portuguese immigrants in the U.S. and that is why they are capable to built a cultural lusophone conformance with other Portuguese speaking communities while living in the U.S. (Sieber, 2005:132). These are the first two examples to show that apparently similar migration turns out to pursue in different directions.

Besides interfering other cultures the moment of migration is also important. Before the independence from Portugal in 1975, the Capeverdean educational elite who lived in Portugal, was educated by the Portugues society and gained a strong relationship to Portuguese history and culture. Obviously, this has a fundamental influence on their own identity. After the independence Cape Verde „emphasize what is culturally unique and independent in cabo-verdianidade" (Sieber, 2011:132). Hence the independence has also a deep influence on its members. It is notable that even on the Islands were groundbreaking changes between the identity of the society before and after the independence in 1975.

Another example is obtained from Halter. She describes in her work the rejection of Capeverdeans to identify themselves as part of the African-American community in the U.S.. She speaks in particular from the settlers form the Islands Fogo and Brava around the social movements of the 1960s in the U.S. (Halter, 2008:37). During my fieldwork on the Capeverdean Islands in 2015-2016, it seemed till today not always to be clear, if the Capeverdeans consider themselves culturally more African or more European. Of cause the Creole Identity is aspirational but there is still for many Capeverdeans an open discussion of how African are they.

Referring to Sieber once again, his turning point in „Popular music and cultural identity in the Cape Verdean post-colonial diaspora" is that even by these directions all communities have a similar understanding of „cabo-verdianidade" (Sieber, 2011:132). Explaining this Capeverdeaness, Monteiro attracts attention to the Capeverdean musical environment in Lisbon (Monteiro, 2011). He provides a quantitative overview of the local music scene. His concentration on Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura during his research conveys an collective identity deeply intervened by the Islands culture. Significant is the practice of very traditional music genre, where he pays a special attention on *Batuku* from the Island Santiago, which is continual performed in Portugal (Monteiro, 2011:220).

As well known, *Batuku* is the only musical Capeverdean genre which is dominated by women. All the other musical actions are dominated by men. That is why, the presence of women in the music scene in the diaspora shows precisely the complexity of connecting two worlds. Indeed, the musical environment in Metropolitan Lisbon put the women in center of attention. Either the woman plays a special role in a traditional way as a *Batukadera* or as a feminine singer of traditional music like Mornas and Coladeras. Here are to mention Celina Pereira, Maria Alice or Ana Firmino who reached a name of recognition while singing in the diaspora.

In sum, the new Lifeworld of immigrants in the diaspora is based on the interaction between on the one hand remembering, saving and practicing one's own culture and on the other hand the permanent incoming influences of the cultural environment of the receiving country. The objective is to create a new home which results even though in creating a new identity.

Before the text goes through the arguments of the differences between the first and the *second generation* it might be helpful to understand why children from immigrants are considered as the *second generation*. Therefore it might be helpful to draw a comparison. The taxonomy *second generation* in technology e.g. signifies a newer version of a prototype, while they both share the same basics. Albeit, the newer generation is a more sophisticated version of the previous model like the sequence of generations of Smartphones or Cars. In that case we are talking about a development of a product line. To think now about the *second generation of migrants* it seems very inapplicable to get migrants and their descendants into one line. Firstly, there is no such thing like a prototype. Migration is an action, motivated by certain circumstances. Whatever makes people to move from one place to another there is no way to repeat the same process. There can be similar other migration because of comparable historical, geographical, financial or political analogies. Secondly, children of migrants cannot be seen in the same line as their parents, because they neither experienced the process of making the decision to migrate, nor did they proceed the action of migration. Indeed, they live with the consequences of their parents decision to migrate from one place to another but differently from their parents social intercourse. While migrants are building a new home and identity and pursue processes to integrate themselves somehow in the society of the

receiving country, their children get already born in their parents created new Lifeworlds. Tabel 1 encounters the main elements of Lifeworlds, constituted by the parents, and unfolds various kinds of worlds.

As said, the *first* and even though the *second generation* struggle with the consequences of the decision to migrate. However we have to admit that they do it out of two dissimilar positions. The *first generation* faces these issues as an active migrant, while the *second generation* is a non-migrant but linked to processes of migration. Before there will be explored the *second generation of migrants*, it is reasonable to get an overview of how many different types of the *second generation* of migrants exist.

Mainly known are children from migrants, whose parents come from the same country or at least the same cultural background. In a modern globalized world this is not the only frame. For my theoretical approach I decide to include three societies in which children from migrants can participate by nature. The Table 1 heads two options for each of these three pathways. Either the child is informed about the culture or it is not informed. That means, letter **A** stands for the child who knows the cultural background of its father. This is the case, when the child has direct contact to the community where the father is coming from. This can be by regular visits, learning specific behaviors, a particular language and so on. Letter **B** signifies that the child is not informed about its fathers cultural background and has no direct contact. Letter **C** and **D** are corresponding to that model, regarding the mothers origin and letter **E** and **F** for the child's country of birth.

Table 1. Migrants Descendants Lifeworlds

|  | Culture is known | Culture is unknown | Integrated in Society | Not integrated in Society |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fathers Origin | A | B | 1 | 2 |
| Mothers Origin | C | D | 3 | 4 |
| Country of Birth | E | F | 5 | 6 |
| | | | | |
| Combination | $2^3 = 8$ | | $2^3 = 8$ | |
| Total | $2^3 \times 2^3 = 64$ Possibilities | | | |

Now these opportunities of knowing or not knowing the parents cultural background can be combined. For example **ACE** stands for a child which knows the cultural origin of its father and even though of its mother plus its own country of

birth. In comparison **ADE** means that the child knows well the cultural origin of the father, not from the mother but again from its country of birth. All in all this concludes eight combinations of knowing and not knowing the cultural background of its parents and its own country of birth.

The child also can be seen as a part of the society of the fathers origin, of the mothers and of its own country of birth. Here we also keep the same logical structure as in the left part of the table. Either the child is integrated in the society of the fathers origin (**1**) or it is not (**2**). Here we have also eight different combinations of being a part or not of the fathers, and mothers' society of origin and its own country of birth. Putting the two half of the table together, we find out 64 possibilities from which we have to withdraw impossible combinations.

Table 2. Impossible Descendants Lifeworlds

| Exception, all combination of: | B —— 1 | 4 x 4 = 16 |
| | D —— 2 | 4 x4 = 16 |
| | F —— 5 | 4 x4 = 16 |
| | | <u>48</u> |
| **Total** | **64 – 48 = <u>16</u>** | |

Evidently, a child cannot be a part of the society of his father's origin, when it does not have any contact. The same issue rules for the mothers society and the country of birth. They are coded by all combinations with **B** and **1** (e.g. **B**C**E1**35), **D** and **2**, **F** and **5**. These impossible combinations constitute 48 of 64. That means, the theoretical approach exposes at least 16 possibilities of how to be a child of migrants in respect of knowing the parents cultural background and being linked to their societies and also claims the relationship in the society of its country of birth.

Now as this is much theorized, it might be more convincing to show some case example. To stay in line it will be exposed cases from the Capeverdean diaspora. Many children belong to the typ ACE135. Both, mother and father, come from the Capeverdean Islands. It is even not unusual that they come from the same Island. Their child, who is born in a foreign country, is well informed about its parents cultural background. As the child is attending a school and is a integrated member of the society of its birth country, it is also well informed of that culture. The child speaks Capeverdian Creole as good as Portuguese or English, regarding to the national language of its birth country, knows the history of Cape Verde

more or less well like the history of its birth country and has different peer groups in both societies. A lot of famous musicians are belonging to that group. e.g. Lura Criola (Portugal), Maria de Barros (Senegal) or Tony Fonseca (Holland). They were born in different Capeverdean diaspora at different times, but are strongly connected to the Capeverdean music scene. Also young Batukaderas in Metropolitain Lisbon, who do not all have been to Cape Verde are continuing the musical tradition of their mothers.

Nevertheless, there are a lot of kindred cases. Belonging to that, the migrants' child is technical in a position where it could be strongly connected to his parents' culture as she previous examples presents. As a consequence of a normal generation conflict, the child can have problems to identify itself with his parents' background. It happens e.g. when the society of the parents home country changes intensively. That can be in case of civil war, (in)dependence, changing religious policy and so on. The child has to distinguish between its own experiences with the parents society of origin, and the input by its parents, who were educated by a community which does not exist in that way anymore. To say it in other words, the parents' society of origin has changed so much, that their child has no opportunity to connect to this old live, to whom the parents are still linked. However it can connect to contemporary society of his parents' home country and its alignment. At this juncture, I want to pay attention to an actual case, which influences radically the European media and also current elections. At the moment Europa is confronted with a high increment of refugees, who left their home country because of war. In few years from now Europe has to deal with thousands of children from refugees, who will built their own identity in a lot of different countries in Europe. So they will see their parents' country of origin, e.g. Syria, in a different way than their parents remember Syria before they had to decide to emigrate. Besides that, as the refugees are spread to whole Europe, their descendants will grow up under different social, political and economical circumstances, which also influences the descendants identity. The question we cannot answer by now is in which direction they are going to establish their identity. We just can say for sure that it will be different form their parents.

Even in the same family, two children born in their parents' diaspora can develop two different identities. Regarding to the migration point, the circumstances in which the children where born, can be totally different and influence the children's

collective identity. For example children of Capeverdeans who grew up in the U.S. e.g. in 1960s (social movements and Black Power) differentiates them from children who grew up around 1975 (Capeverdean independence from Portugal), in the 1990s (globalization) and nowadays after 2000 (digital World).

Another strong distinction between the migrants and their descendants, besides the general generation conflict, is simply the fact of having and not having passed migration. Passing migration is such a decisive turning point in human lives, that after that we barely can put the identity of migrants and their descendants in one line.

As previously said, migrants children create an identity apart from their parents. Connected to their peer group within their Lifeworld, created by their parents which can include descendants from other immigrants too, it also can be that the new identity is more linked to the cultural background of descendants from other immigrants. For example a child from Mozambican immigrants in Loures, who is surrounded by children from other nations like Angola, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau adepts also habits of the other kid's parents and creates with its peer group a new identity under the umbrella of their divers parents worlds. There are already plenty of studies about music from the descendants of migrants. Producing hip hop and rap in the Capeverdean diaspora is phenomena to which some researchers already are dedicated. These two musical genre have always been a symbol of musical social critique. It helps to express anger, frustration, concerns, describes the Lifeworld of the protagonists. Now this seems to be an ideal musical path to go through the process of understanding ones own community and social life, as well as it helps to process the creation of a new identity (Martins, 2009:255-256). Batalha writes in this context from a new pan-African identity and that

> "[...] youths born in Portugal to Cape Verdean parents are classified by the white mainstream as 'jovens de origem africana' (youths of African origin). […]. Because they are perceived as 'Africans', their integration is difficult; reciprocally, because they see in their skin colour [sic!] a reason for rejection, they tend to interpret their relation to the mainstream in terms of race, which in turn pushes them to develop an oppositional, 'African' identity" (Batalha, 2008: 64).

But not just hip hop and rap offers an opportunity to create a new world. The musician Sara Taveres was raised by a Portuguese. Later on she started a new path. She is an example of how children from migrants can get access to their parents' worlds in their later life. The reason in the first place could be that the parents do not want to confront their child with their own cultural background. Another reason is that the child gets to know its biological parents later in its life because it was raised by others, who are not part of their parents Lifeworld. Getting back to our example, Tavares career shows how she became more and more influenced by also the Capeverdean music. Her Album *Balancê* is a climax where she mixes Portuguese with Cape Verdean and other musics. Her mixture is a new trait and can be seen as a musical example of World Music[1]. The most obvious feature of her music is the language where she combines Portuguese and Capeverdean Creole with English. An example is "One love" with the letters "You know I need you, I can't live without you, não há ninguém como tu. Ka tem ninguem cima bo" (Tavares, 2005). Besides the language it is also interested to analyse further musical characteristics, in particular the instrumentation she uses in live concerts. That shows us that descendants from immigrants can stick to one category like **ACE135** or they change from one category like **BDE245** to **ACE135** by choice and possibility to get to know their parents culture. That brings us to the question if we concern children like them also as descants of migrants, because they were not educated by migrants and miss some essential phases in their lifes, what children from migrants have to pass.

Last but not least, I point out the nationality. The nationality of descendants is a bureaucratic factor which distinguishes one child of an immigrant from another, who was born in another country. The reason why their parents migrated and also the time can be similar but nevertheless the kids have two unlike nationalities. We have to think about that a nationality is not just a paper. It defines rights and duties to a community. How does a child of immigrants gets into one by law? To say it in simple words, either the child receives the nationality of its birth country by the right of *ius soli* (e.g. Brasil), its parents nationality by *ius sanguini* (e.g. France) or there is an option model (e.g. Germany) like double nationality or choosing one (Conrad and Kocka, 2001:94).

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[1] The term World Music is very controversial. In that case it means basically that World Music combines varies musics from different Lifeworlds. By including, connecting and mixing them, the musicians create a new style in between, which is Worldmusic in that frame.

## 3. CONCLUSIONS

As seen, the world of descendants of migrants is very complex. Influenced by time, cultural diversity, access points and politics the children from migrants develop various path of collective identity. These models cause to alter nowadays structures. Social debates about integration and segregation appeal people's emotions and influences thereby, recently notable in the last two years in Europe, political decisions. Lately the elections in Austria and few states of Germany show precisely the communities awareness and concerns of receiving immigrants. That will not just stay for by that. In few years from now, the immigrants children will be active in the process of changing society. We have to be prepared in which direction cultural differences forms society. That leads to acceptance of diversity, rethinking in educational institutions and structures, challenges and advantages of a multicultural society. We also have to be aware of the *Andorra effect*. While working with the AFRICAN UMBRELLA ASSOCIATION STYRIA in Austria during the last three years, I recognized that many children from African Immigrants are defined by their parents. Max Fisch "Andorra" (Frisch, 1960) is a literal work about being seen and treated as someone just because of one single characteristic. His play is about prejudice against a boy who is considered as Jewish in an anti-Semic society until his father reveals the truth that the boy is actually not Jewish. But during the whole time the society expects several behaviour and dedicates all his life to being Jewish until even the boy considers himself as Jewish and relates all his life this false identity. The Andorra effect, named after this play, signifies how people influence irreversible the character of another person. In our case of descendants of migrants it could be that a individual might probably feel like a stranger just because of being treated as an migrant (e.g. casa of adoption or raise by someone else but its family). Even if migration was never experienced this linked the individual to a communities identity which is not suppose to be its, unless the individual creates a new collective identity with others in the same situation. For the society it means to see children from migrants not as strangers in society but as they are as active members of worldwide societies.

All in all gives an overview about the complexity of this topic. Firstly, the Lifeworlds of migrants creates divers social backgrounds for their descants. Secondly because of various reasons, children are well connected – not connected – or changing their connection to their parents identity and the relationship to their parents culture of origin. That provokes an even more heterogeneous group as the connotation *second generation* implies. Newer studies have the duty to analyze precisely the various schemata of the culture of descendants of migrants to distinguish them from their parents and also in between. This last thought is maybe the most important task. Many branches like media, social networks, educational systems, professional groups need to know the advantages and disadvantages of the large group of descendants of migrants.

The AFRICAN UMBRELLA ASSOCIATION STYRIA is a social Austrian organization which is dedicated to work with children from African immigrants. With the help of that organisation, ground breaking studies starts to motivate a new field of research.

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