

## **Chapter 2**

# **Identities of the First and Second Generation: The Role of Ethnicity**

Having set the scene and introduced the main research questions in Chap. 1, the focus now moves on to identity, which is one of the main topics analysed in this book. Following the established literature, this chapter privileges analysis of the role of ethnicity in identity construction, but concludes that, for Albanians abroad, ethnicity in the primordial sense is not intrinsic to their identification processes. This chapter, and the three that follow, starts with a theoretical and conceptual section. In this case major developments are examined in the field of identity and ethnicity, pointing to the privileged status that ethnic identity has had in the study of migrants' and their descendants' identities. A historical introduction to Albanian identity identifies key moments that have defined the country's socio-cultural and political life. These have had repercussions for the starting point, the course and the 'outcome' of migration and identification of Albanian migrants and their children.

The empirical sections that follow are based on a thematic and comparative analysis across the three sites (London, Thessaloniki and Florence) and the three main groups: the first-generation migrants (parents), the second-generation teenagers, and teachers and key informants. The chapter examines the identities of the first generation, then analyses migrant and parental identity, and perceptions and understandings of gender and religious identity, concluding with the role of ethnicity in identity processes.

The third part of the chapter focuses on the identities of the children of migrants. The most prominent dimensions emerging from the data are teenager identity and perceptions of gender—and their role in identity processes—and religious identity. Once again, the role of primordial ethnic identity was downplayed. The chapter ends by drawing some conclusions on identity and the role of ethnicity.

## **2.1 Identity and Ethnicity**

The literature on identity is characterized by various strands that are based on different epistemological and disciplinary approaches working at different levels. Indeed, one could not agree more with Gilroy (1996, pp. 224–225) who stylishly points

to 'the passage into vogue' of identity and the 'academic mess' that surrounds the concept. One of the most confusing and analytically problematic approaches has been the 'soft' constructivist version, which posits that identity is multiple, fluid and always changing, which raises questions about its operationability and usefulness as a research construct. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) in their explicit 'attack' acknowledge the importance of the developmental approach in establishing the term and at the same time 'blame' Erikson (1968) for the start of a saga of confusing terms and models that made identity an ambiguous analytical concept. They instead propose the use of three clusters of terms: identification and categorization; self-understanding and social location; and commonality, connectedness and groupness. This reorganization of the identity literature highlights the growing emphasis on the processes and agents that do the identifying, the cognitive awareness and the multiple forms and degrees of commonality and connectedness discussed under various types of collective identities. Relating identity to a shared culture and perceived common origin has been the way ethnic identity has been differentiated from other social identities (Barth 1969; Jenkins 1997; Levine 1999; Vermeulen and Govers 1994).

Wimmer (2008) notes that academic discourse on the conceptualization of ethnicity has evolved around two dichotomous terms: 'primordialism', based on the assumption that ethnic membership is acquired through birth and thus represents a 'given' characteristic of the social world; and 'instrumentalism', which posits that individuals choose between various identities according to self-interest. Nowadays, this dichotomy has been blurred and the two terms are no longer seen as mutually exclusive. Viewing the dichotomy through a cognitive lens, Brubaker et al. (2004) argue that the real difference between the primordial and the situational stance is that the former emphasizes the tendency of participants to naturalize real or imputed human differences in the ways groups are conceived, while the situational approach can explain how ethnicity takes relevance in particular contexts and everyday interactions.

The development of ethnicity from the primordial stance to the cognitive approach has been long and fragmented. It is important to note here the definition of ethnic groups by Max Weber (Roth and Wittich 1976, p. 389):

[W]e shall call 'ethnic groups' those human beings that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; thus *belief* must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely it doesn't matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists (*italics added*).

A crucial moment was the introduction into this debate of the concept of boundaries by Barth (1969), who considered ethnicity a product of a social process, attributing thus a more active role to individuals' and groups' engagement in redefining their ethnicity, by seeing ethnic identity as defined by the combination of the view one has for oneself and the views of others about one's ethnic identity. Others have followed a similar line. For instance, Alba (2005, p. 22) maintains that ethnicity 'is a distinction that individuals make in their everyday lives that shapes their actions and mental orientations towards others; and it is typically embedded in a variety of social and cultural differences between groups that give an ethnic boundary concrete

significance'. Jenkins (1997, p. 165) delineates the post-Barthian anthropological model of ethnicity based on four propositions:

- ethnicity is about cultural differentiation (bearing in mind that identity is always a dialectic between similarity and difference);
- ethnicity is concerned with culture, or shared meaning, but it is also rooted in and is the outcome of social interaction;
- ethnicity is no more fixed than the culture of which it is a component or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced;
- ethnicity is both collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification.

Jenkins (2004) furthermore points to the contrast between individual and collective (ethnic) identities by maintaining that the individual identity emphasizes difference whereas the latter, similarity. By considering identity 'a practical accomplishment, a process', Jenkins (2004, p. 23) maintains that both individual and collective identities use a unified model of the dialectical interplay of processes of internal and external definition, with time and space being central to both these processes.

As signalled above, ethnicity is built on two major constructs: identity and culture (Nagel 1994). Ethnic identification, however, is not a 'flat' and uniform process across contexts and groups. Jenkins (1997) maintains that culture is taken for granted until the moment when identity is problematized along the interaction across the boundaries. Barth (1969, p. 14) recognized that the features that are proclaimed as distinct are not always objectively selected, but consist of those that the main actors regard as significant. The salience of ethnic categories can vary in different socio-cultural systems; they may be 'inactive' or may pervade social life—in general or selectively in limited sectors of activity.

This view is furthermore elaborated by authors who relate ethnic identity and its performance to structure. While acknowledging these theoretical assumptions and the role of agency in identification processes, Nagel (1994, p. 155) maintains that 'the chosen ethnic identity is determined by the individual's perception of its meaning to different audiences, its salience in different social contexts, and its utility in different settings'. She further notes that ethnicity is both the product of actions undertaken by ethnic groups as they shape and reshape their self-definition and culture, and the 'outcome' of external social, economic and political processes and actors that shape and reshape ethnic categories and definitions. This view partly reflects the 'situational' stance on ethnic identity, which holds that ethnic identity is unstable over time and lifespan, with different settings 'activating' different aspects of one's possible group identities.

But what are the factors and actors that influence identity formation, and how do they combine in affecting the way that individuals and groups identify? Until recently, academic work on racial and ethnic identities has emphasized Barth's relational perspective and has considered these identities as the result of a process of self-definition, as well as of the construction of symbolic boundaries and assignment of collective identities by others (Lamont and Molnar 2002). However, most of the post-Barthian literature has overlooked the importance of external definition

and social categorization and has mostly analysed ethnicity based on internal definition and group identification. Neither Barth nor the members of the Manchester School who developed the situational approach have paid sufficient attention to the external constraints that condition ethnic identification. The main working concepts extensively used in the study of ethnic identity, such as boundaries and choices, have proved to be useful to analyse the already established ethnic categories, but they do not explain how some ethnic categories are developed and engaged in social action (Levine 1999). This has been ordinarily associated with a conceptualization of social relationships as egalitarian and conflict-free, based on equitable negotiations (Jenkins 1997).

External categorization is, however, seen as framing and conditioning the internal malleable construction of identity at an individual level, and as a means used by political entrepreneurs to affect collective identification and modify collective action (Glick Schiller 2012b). Barth (1994) proposed a multiple-level approach, which entails a combination of the interpersonal interactions at the micro level, the processes that create collectivities at a meso level, and the role of state at the macro level.

Increasingly processes of identification are associated with issues of power. Barth (1994, p. 16), in his review of academic work on ethnic boundaries, maintains that the process of the construction of a boundary is a joint work shared between members of both contrasting groups, 'though they are probably differently empowered in their ability to impose and transform the relevant idioms'. This empowerment is related to the salience of ethnicity in local settings as a result of differentiation, which results in ethnicity becoming an integral part of an individual's point of view of selfhood starting in early primary socialization. External categorization, however, features as an important factor in shaping ethnicity and the element through which power differentiations are expressed and materialized (Sökefeld 2001).

This view is taken up by Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002), who furthermore emphasize that the anthropology of ethnic groups within modernizing or industrial nation-states tended to describe these as culturally different from the 'majority' population because of their varying historical origin, including their history of migration, rather than to see these differences as a consequence of the politicization of ethnicity in the context of nation-state building itself. The 'politicization of ethnicity' was a central part of the nation-state project to define all those populations thought not to represent the 'national culture' as racially and culturally different, which contributed to efforts to build unity and identity (Glick Schiller 2012b).<sup>1</sup> A newer conceptualization of ethnicity that followed maintains that ethnic boundaries are the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiations between actors situated in a social field and the behaviour and strategies of these actors are determined by three characteristics of a field: the institutional order, distribution of power and political networks (Wimmer 2008, p. 970).

However, Levine (1999, p. 168) maintains that too much emphasis has been put on forces of personal development and calls for more attention to be dedicated to the interaction between the mind, society and culture as main factors influencing

<sup>1</sup> As we saw in Chap. 1, this was certainly the case in Italy and Greece.

the engagement of ethnic categories. Levine's view is part of the cognitive strand in studies of ethnicity, which criticizes the tendency towards 'groupism' in conceptualizing ethnic groups, taking them as the ubiquitous and elementary constituents of social life. Rather, this movement concentrates on 'group-making' through activities of classification, categorization and identification and considers groups as collective cultural representations (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, p. 45).

The cognitive approach, with its emphasis on cultural representations and the involvement of the mind in the elaboration of ethnic categories, gained even more credit with the introduction of an interactional model of identity formation by Todd (2005, p. 433). She gave full recognition to power relations and resource distribution as two important variables in explaining identity change. However, she notes:

If we posit a slowly changing 'cultural sub-stratum' that may underlie more radical category change, we need a different model of how identity-categories function. We need to recognize not just the complex and varying meanings of these categories and their lack of fixed or foundational status, but also their social 'embeddedness' and their personal 'anchorage', which allow change or stasis to occur out of phase with other variables, and to affect them in turn (ibid.).

The new model associated the process of identity formation and change with intentionality expressed in the incorporation of new elements of meaning and value while rearranging the old, or a combination of social practices in a new way, which leads to the production of different meanings. Todd (2005) maintains that the social constraints and the cognitive schemas rooted in early infancy are thought to condition this process, while calling for identity and culture to return into the models attempting to explain socio-cultural transformation.

On the other hand, wider social and cultural institutions and principles of social differentiation are thought to be strongly related to ethnic identity. Firstly, ethnicity is considered one of many sources of identification, overlapping with some important others, among which social class and gender feature strongly (Banton 2008). Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) call not only for a distinction to be drawn between notions of ethnic identity and ethnicity, since the latter refers to a practical term expressing mobilization on the basis of ethnic ideas, but also for consideration of ethnicity's intersections with class and gender, as other prime social divisions. Furthermore, this overlapping is seen to have implications for the process of external categorization. Broader principles of social differentiation impact on the ability of certain actors to categorize others, especially on the basis of relations of power and authority (Jenkins 1997).

This is why the concept of boundaries is back to the fore in studies of identities in various disciplines, emphasizing the need to look at the intersections of multiple identities. Interestingly, the idea of boundaries related to socio-cultural differences within ethnic groups dates back to the 1960s, with Gordon (1964, p. 234) defining an ethnic group as 'a large subsociety, criss-crossed by social class, and containing its own primary groups of families, cliques and associations—its own network of organizations and institutions'. However, as Çağlar (1997) maintains, in migration studies, ethnic identities (national or religious) are treated as the most basic identities that people possess, to the exclusion of other forms of identification, with ethnicity treated as the naturalized marker of an immutable cultural differ-

ence. Recent studies on ethnic and racial boundaries are increasingly focusing on the construction of collective identities and are attempting to elaborate models that link cognitive and cultural aspects with the social processes underlying ethno-racial boundary-making (Pachucki et al. 2007).

The context-dependency of the nature of ethnic and racial boundaries is further supported by Alba (2005). He maintains that the process of defining the boundaries between immigrants and natives depends both on features of the social and institutional spheres of the host societies and on the characteristics and histories of the immigrant groups themselves. More importantly, Alba (2005) proposes the concept of 'boundary' as useful in conducting cross-country comparative research in ethnic and racial studies—which of course this study does.

The concept of boundaries, however, falls short in explaining the meaning, the content and the purposes that ethnic meanings serve. Nagel (1994, p. 162) points out that ethnic boundaries help us to understand who we are, but do not explain what we are, or, as she puts it, what fills 'Barth's vessel' (see also Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, p. 4). Here the concept of culture, seen itself as fluid and negotiated, proves useful in animating and authenticating boundaries by assigning historical, ideological and symbolic systems of meaning. For this reason, both the concept of boundaries and that of identity are employed in the current research, which also pays attention to class and gender differences.

## 2.2 Introduction to Albanian Identity

The national and cultural trajectories of Albania are marked by a unique and fragmented course of development, both historically and contemporarily. The factors that shaped their features appear to be bound to Albania's geographical location and, although not exclusively, to politics operating at different levels (Morgan 2002). The process of national and cultural self-definition continues today, and the two elements—the national and the ethnic—continue to be intertwined in contemporary discourse. The cliché that represents Albania as a country between the West and the East (Winnifrith 1992) has now come under attack as the country leaves behind its immediate need for economic recovery and prepares for major political projects towards the West (Kadaré 2006).

Both its timing and the 'content' of Albanian nationalism differ significantly from those of other European and Balkan countries. Albania started its attempts at national statehood several decades later than its neighbours (Lubonja 2002). Language and folk culture were at the basis of this uprising, while the process as a whole was led by intellectuals, most of whom operated from abroad (Morgan 2002). Renaissance (*Rilindja*) is thought to be the most significant cultural and patriotic action in the history of Albania, as it responded to the historical momentum of differentiating Albanians from the Ottoman Empire, nurturing national self-consciousness. This process was unique in that internal national unification and the task of representing claims to the outside world were merged into one (Malcolm 2002, p. 71). Borrowing from the European romanticism of the nineteenth century, it was



based on typical myths of pride in uniqueness as a people. Thus the movement embodied a shift towards ethnic identification. ‘Albanianness’ was based on the link to Albania in terms of ‘blood’, language and culture, but not on religion, especially when the latter was associated with the Ottoman Empire (Morgan 2002).

Albanian nationalism is based on several important myths: of historical and geographical origin, of ethnic homogeneity and cultural purity, of permanent national struggle, and of indifference to religion. These myths appear both as historically informed and as important elements of identity that have been the basis of historical and political claims (Malcolm 2002, p. 73). Similarly, Albanian culture is ‘an original minor culture’, marked by different cultural influences due to its geographical position (Morgan 2002). Lubonja (2003, p. 3) talks about roots and layers of Albanian culture. Firstly, he points to rites and traditions based on patriarchal clan cultures enshrined in *kanun*,<sup>2</sup> on top of which is positioned a long influence of Byzantine and Ottoman culture followed by the *Rilindja* and its influence on the diminishing importance of religion. More recently, but importantly, is the culture created and imposed by 50 years of communism, influenced also by the culture of other communist allied countries, notably Russia and China. These communist cultures also drew selectively from cultural elements of the past, by, for example, excluding religion, but retaining certain institutions, such as the family.

The broad tolerance accompanying religious openness is in effect based on a general ambivalence and fragility that characterize Albanian identity (Kadaré 2005). This fragility and ambivalence is also reflected in the choice of the main institutions of Albanian culture and nationalism. The choice of Skanderbeg as a national hero represents a strategic move from religion to ethnicity and, with Skanderbeg being a Christian, a move closer to the Western world (Lubonja 2002).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, unlike the rest of the Balkans, religion had a minor role in the Albanian uprising against the Ottomans, while ethnicity, ‘blood’ and native language were more important in determining group identity (Morgan 2002). On the other hand, this loose attitude towards religion has been considered historically to be one of the main obstacles to building a strong national identity (Misha 2008). Instead, family and kin constitute the main institutions of the Albanian culture (Dingo 2007). The kin group as ‘the living microcosm of Albanian society’ and *besa*<sup>4</sup> constitute two important elements of Albanian identity, especially in reaction against social and political organizations imposed from outside (Lopasic 1992, p. 104).

While, from a nationalist perspective, the three religions—Islam, Catholic and Orthodox—were seen as dividers of Albanians, communism saw them as ‘opium of the people’ and part of the old conservative world (Lubonja 2002; Misha 2008). It should be mentioned that matters of ethnicity and identity, and related social and political allegiances, were proscribed in Albania as in many other socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe (Morgan 2002). Communism, in effect, constituted a

<sup>2</sup> Albanian Customary Law collected by Lekë Dukagjini in the fifteenth century. For details on the controversial and difficult interpretation of *kanun* in contemporary Albanian life see Schwanders-Sievers (1999), Tarifa (2008) and Young (2000).

<sup>3</sup> Skanderbeg signifies unity and glory as he fought against the Ottoman invasion of Albania in the fifteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> *Besa* means keeping the given word under any kind of conditions and being loyal.

paradox in terms of its impact on Albanian identity. Being represented as a saviour from the evils of the past and a starting point for construction of a new world and new people, it retained a great deal of the nationalist mythology, since this held an important place in the collective memory of Albanians (Lubonja 2002). However, when it came to the meaning of state and nation, communism had a strongly negative effect. Communism's overall ideology paid little attention to the concepts of state and institution. Instead, it taught the Albanian people to save all their devotion and respect for the communist party (Kadaré 2005).

The new communist state, nevertheless, built much of its legitimacy on national mythology and the creation of a new homogeneous national culture as an important part of its modernizing project, with folklore its main source. There was a symbiosis of national-communist ideology with national mythology, with the 'glorious' past marked by four major moments: the Illyrian battles, the time of Skanderbeg, the Albanian renaissance and the partisan war. Its two main heroes were Skanderbeg and Enver Hoxha (Lubonja 2002, p. 95). In the meantime, communist ideology was preached as the only culture and the bearer of all truths, although its basis rested upon 'frozen moral and ideological truths', non-challengeable from the intellectual and political elite. The everyday rites and traditions of *kanun* and religion were radically transformed, although the clan and honour (*besa*) proved resistant to these changes (Lubonja 2003, p. 6). The cultural changes were also strongly associated with shifts in the communist orientation of Albania. After the break with the Soviet Union in the 1960s, the communist regime introduced a politics of isolationism. This stance supported a selective Albanian state-sponsored patriotism, with only certain elements of Albanian culture being granted legitimacy, while religion, historical consciousness and ethnic customs were controlled or completely suppressed (Morgan 2002).

More importantly, communism had an impact on identity and national belongingness. Communist ideology imposed on the people became the main instrument of repression used by the communist party, while the masses increasingly believed in a virtual reality made up of the new myths of the communist era (Lubonja 2002). On the other hand, communism's disregard for the state and its institutions gave rise to a weakening of national belongingness, as the communist state focused its devotion towards the Soviet Union as the real fatherland (Kadaré 2005). By the mid-1980s, however, ethnicity was reappearing as an important category of belongingness, while the idea of the unity of workers of the world and the idealism of achieving communism were weakening, together with the regime's legitimacy (Morgan 2002).

Nevertheless, the long period of isolation and the ensuing collapse of communism caused a major identity crisis, which was especially evident during the 1990s. With the withdrawal of the national-communist myths and symbols, Albanians lost their past and found themselves unprepared for the future in a world that was changing rapidly, whilst simultaneously discovering the distorted perception they had of themselves and their history during communism (Misha 2008). Albania's nationalist ideology was distorted more by communism than those of the other post-communist countries in the Balkans. In the absence of a strong collective identity,



Albanians in the 1990s returned to the fragmented social organization and action based on individual clans trying to survive (Lubonja 2002). The period of communism, like in other ex-communist countries, was seen as a historical accident (Misha 2008). Soon another myth was created: that of the West, which appeared both as a promised land, where everyone could freely choose to go and start a new life, and as a saviour, as the place where one aspires for freedom and democracy (Lubonja 2004). It also represented an element of continuity with Albania's pre-Ottoman past and an opportunity for Christianity to re-establish itself as Albanians' original faith (Lubonja 2002).

More generally, the post-communist period was characterized by a simultaneous 'chaos and crisis' in terms of moral and cultural values (Lubonja 2003). Once communism collapsed, the new Albanian state sought a balance between the continuous aspects of its history and the universal elements that inevitably were incorporated in Albania (Lako 2009). This was part of a contradiction that many ex-communist countries experienced: the demand to return to the traditional and national values abused by communism and, on the other hand, integration at a global level and re-connection with other countries and cultures. At a more micro level, the impact of communism was evident in the 'standard individual', since communism aimed to create a unique homogeneous culture. Nevertheless, the Albanian culture at the end of communism was a mixture of three main ingredients, which were incorporated in different dosages: the patriarchal and traditional, the national, and the communist (Lubonja 2003).

While the initial stage of post-communism was characterized by a 'competition' between the regimes and styles of the pre-communist era and the Western ones, together with a dose of nostalgia for communism (De Waal 2005; Schwandner-Sievers 2004), there has since been a growing maturity, with discourse moving towards national identification (Frashëri 2007; Kadaré 2005, 2006). The myths of the West and of nationalism remain strong today; and there is a new awareness and confidence, not least as a result of a sense of betrayal and disillusionment that has made Albanians sceptical.

Migration is strongly related to these transformations and appears at times to be both the consequence and the cause of 'crisis' and renewed confidence. The articulated superiority of being Albanian goes hand in hand with escape from and denial of Albania for a better life elsewhere (Lubonja 2002). Misha (2008) refers to the overcrowded 'Partizani' ship<sup>5</sup> as an important symbol of Albanians' first confrontations with the outside world, and suggests that these confrontations caused a serious crisis of self-confidence. This was part of a process of devaluation of the main social and cultural institutions, which rested on the basis of community life and in turn caused the social fragmentation which characterized Albanian society during the transition period.

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<sup>5</sup> The 'Partizani' was one of the ships that Albanian migrants occupied and travelled to Italy on in 1991. It symbolically represents the migration of Albanians after the fall of communism. It is also found in secondary-school books in Italy on contemporary Europe and modern transformations of Italy.

On the other hand, negative Western representations of Albania and in turn Albanian migrants' own perceptions of identity and their strategies of integration have impacted 'Albanianism at work' (Hall 1999). These representations seem to have over-emphasized the importance of *kanun* and simplistically explained Albanians' violence and victimhood as a 'natural' cultural predisposition. Although hiding Albanian identity was noticed also in earlier migrations (Blumi 2003), these representations are probably at the roots of Albanian migrants' mimicry and self-denial (Schwandner-Sievers 2004, p. 126).

## 2.3 The First Generation

### 2.3.1 Migrant Identity

Studies on identities of Albanian migrants are rare, and comparative studies and those on the identities of the children of migrants are almost non-existent. Studies on Albanian migration have focused mainly on the migration process, issues of regularization and integration in the labour market (see the reviews by King 2003; Vullnetari 2007).

Among various identity traits that the Albanian immigrants perceive and experience, their migrant identity is very strong and has 'blurred' distinctions based on class.<sup>6</sup> The act of migration is now recollected with fascination but also with a more mature reflection on the historical and personal conditions at the root of the act (see also Vehbiu and Devole 2010). In general, reflections on identity were more common among migrants interviewed in Florence than in the other two sites and more common among the highly skilled or highly educated migrants. On the other hand, the search for an identity was an initial unconscious push for migrating (Mai 2002), although this is often recognized only after many years of staying abroad. The quote of Lela (female, 37, Florence) below shows how the act of migration has marked her life history, representing an undefined identity search unacknowledged at the time.

In the beginning there isn't any push... I didn't have any objectives like I am going to do this or that. I wanted to just go, that's it! I didn't come here with a plan; when I arrived in Italy I was nineteen years old with two children. I couldn't really think of any project for the future... But everyone was leaving so I thought I should try too... I wanted to go! I wasn't thinking of anything else.... I don't think people had clear ideas in those times. Albania was... I don't know how it was in those times [in the early 1990s]. A huge mess.

The first migrants encountered a sympathetic reception, both in Greece and in Italy, due to the limited knowledge of Albania apart from its history of harsh dictatorship. However, this lack of knowledge was also alienating and disempowering for the migrants, and it was then followed by a negative image of Albania and Albanians which emerged in the years to come. Some migrants' narratives indicate that their

<sup>6</sup> Migrant identity is treated for the first generation only since this was hardly relevant for the teenagers. In fact, many teenagers explicitly rejected the migrant label.

<http://www.springer.com/978-3-319-13023-1>

Migrating and Settling in a Mobile World  
Albanian Migrants and Their Children in Europe  
Vathi, Z.

2015, XI, 216 p. 8 illus., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-13023-1