DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT ACCORDING TO THE INITIAL APPLICATION (2010)

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C. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

C1. SCIENTIFIC CONTEXT AND MOTIVATION.

There are several key concepts that our team intends to use in this project. They include international migration, value change, civic participation, political participation, and life satisfaction. In this section we briefly refer to the existing literature and build up our main hypothesis in such a way that we prepare the next section required by the application form, which introduces the objectives. We start with a discussion about how migrants change under the impact of international migration and transnationalism, and how this contributes to changing host societies. Then, we briefly refer to the general theories that we employ for explaining value change, civic participation, political participation, and life satisfaction.

Increasing international migration in Europe, together with the transnationalisation processes and with the raising in long distance communication due to the development of ITC, have changed the impact of migration process on both home and host society (Massey et al., 1998; Portes et al., 1999; Lucassen, 2005; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Vertovec, 2009; etc.). Migrants live in the host societies, but they also stay in contact with the origin country. They bring with them values and behaviors from the sending society and learn the ones in the recipient society (see the social remittances approach - Levitt, 2001; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, n.d.).

Migrants act as transformation agents in both home and host societies, shaping and being shaped by value patterns of both. This project focuses on two dimensions of the process of values change, aiming to study how international migrants change their values at contact with the host society, respectively how their presence in the host society produces a reshaping in local values.

International migrants leave their home country to live in host societies. They bear the heritage of the social values and norms formed during primary socialization (see Inglehart's first hypothesis), and which are common in the sending society. Time spent in this society is key to the process, determining how much the average migrant's values and behaviors will depend on the ones in the home country.

The contact with the institutions of the host society contributes to value formation as well (see Gundelach, 1994, for a discussion which, trough extension, leads to such hypothesis). Re-socialization is a second important factor. No matter if low or high-skilled, migrants change part of their values and behaviors, adapting to the cultural, normative, and institutional context of the host society. Therefore, they start combining the heritage of the home society with the one they currently live in.

Three types of approaches contribute to explaining post-migration behaviors and changes. They have been elaborated in the context of studying migrant political participation, but may be extended furthermore within the (SO1) objective of the current project (see next section). *Resistance theory* assumes that the attitudes and behaviors are acquired mainly during early socialization. Therefore immigrants are reluctant to change (Sears & Valentino, 1997; Ester et al., 2006). *Exposure theory* considers that change may occur during adulthood, and the more time they spend in the new context, the immigrants learn more and more standards of the host society, no matter the initial socialization (White et al., 2008). According to *transferability theory*, the immigrants use the values and behaviors acquired in the sending society to adapt to the norms of the host society; they transfer the background from the country of origin and adapt it to fit the context in the country of destination (Simpson Bucker, 2005; White et al., 2008). The three above-approaches complementarily explain involvement in associations (Voicu & Mihai/Rusu, 2010). They may be extended and added to the specific theories explaining variation in civic participation and orientation towards modernity. We will use all of them to explain how migrants change, in which direction, and at which pace.

On the other hand, it is likely that, depending on the size of the migration flow, the immigrants start changing the host society, bringing in ways of doing and thinking from the sending societies. There are few different mechanisms that underlie the process. *Firstly*, immigrants transfer they cultural heritage to the new society. Transnationalist processes keep migrants connected to the sending society, reinforcing the values and norms they learned during primary socialization. International migrants may therefore act as agents of change in the host society. This is the case of most of the Western European societies. Particularly expats are such active agents in the Eastern European societies. *Secondly*, a large number of immigrants put the welfare system under pressure and produce changes in welfare states of the host society, which in turn may produce transformation in values and attitudes shared by the population (see Gundelach, 1994). *Thirdly*, in the host societies, reaction to migration may generate processes similar to what Ignazi (1992, 2003) called "silent counter-revolution". Native people in the host societies, particularly the more traditionalist individuals, might reinforce their values and might create an environment favorable to decreasing orientations towards tolerance, openness, and post-materialism.

As Portes (2010) noted, "despite high numbers, migration flows can leave intact and even buttress the fundamental constitutive elements of receiving societies". Its contribution is rather marginal, but, on long run, it may leave space for changes, including "some social and political transformations to accommodate diversity". Our expectations also state that societal change is at most limited, and we intend to test this hypothesis using a longitudinal approach. On the other hand, we do expect that migrants change and adapt their values to the local norms. The change is quite fast, and this is what makes marginal the societal change of the host society.

There are four broad fields in which we intend to test how much migrants depend on the patterns common to their origin society, and how much comes from the norms of the host society. We deal with orientations towards modern and late-modern value orientations, with civic participation, with political participation, and with life satisfaction.

Considering the **orientations of values**, we discuss the two dimensional space defined by modernization and postmodernization (following the approaches of Giddens, 1990, 1991; Inglehart, 1990, 1997; Beck, 1992, 1994; Arts & Halman, 2003, Haagernars et al, 2003). Like de Moor (1994), Arts & Halman (2003), we assume that modernization theory needs amendments. Value change is not simply driven by technological progress and abundance, it also depends on short term changes (Inglehart, 1990, 1997, 2000), it includes not only a traditional-modern transformation, but also a modern-late modern one (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Inglehart, 1997), it might be shaped by existing institutions (Gundelach, 1994), and it might be even reversed, as a reaction to changing value patterns (Ignazi, 1992). Therefore, it is likely that the migrants will change value patterns depending on the type of contact with the host society, as well as on their initial socialization.

For the second broad area - **civic participation and social capital** – we intend to deal with participation to voluntary associations and in protest actions, following conceptualizations and instrumental approaches originated in the works of Putnam (2000), Welzel et al. (2005), Paxton (2007). We treat civic participation as manifestation of bridging social capital. The abundant existing literature provides various insights into the social capital factory, focusing on the determinants of participation. Several authors discuss about "cultures of social capital" (Putnam, 1993; Fukuyama, 1995; Pichler & Wallace, 2007). Few papers consider empirical multilevel approaches (Paxton, 2007; Meulemann, 2008; van der Meer, 2008). Others deal with immigrant involvement in civic activities (Vogel, 2009; Handy & Greenspan, 2008; Alessina & La Ferrara, 2002; de Palo et al, 2007; Lucassen & Penninx, 2009). However, to our knowledge, no study tried to conceptually develop what happens with individuals after migrating and how the social capital cultures of host and origin societies contribute to determine their behaviors. Kessler & Bloemraad (2009) analyzed the impact of immigration on different measures of social capital, in a similar manner that we intend to use (see (SO2) in the next section), but they did not control for the immigrant origin.

The **political participation** of immigrants is the third area where our project can contribute to the existing literature. In the European context, this topic has been studied extensively in a small number of countries with large migrant populations, such as France (de Wenden, 1994), the UK (Saggar, 1998), Spain (Velten, 2007) or the Netherlands (Tillie, 1998). There are also studies that discuss differences in political participation between immigrant groups from a comparative perspective (de Rooij, 2011), but they do not consider how this is influenced by the norms of participation in the countries of origin. Previous studies have also shown that immigrants' political participation is influenced by gender, education and involvement in social networks (Guarnizo et al, 2003). Migrants are rarely the target of voter mobilization drives which leads to lower turnout rates (Barreto, 2005). Our project will contribute to the current understanding of immigrants' political participation by taking into account four interrelated dimensions, from a comparative perspective: individual level factors influencing different forms of political participation, contextual factors affecting political participation, the effects of norms of political participation in the origin country

on participation in the host country, and the effects of norms of political participation in the host country on involvement on the political arena in the country of origin.

Life satisfaction is usually conceived as an indicator of subjective well-being (Diener and Suh, 1997; Christoph and Noll, 2003; Veenhoven, 2007). Top-down, bottom-up and integrated models were used to explain the interdependence between overall life satisfaction and the domain satisfaction (Diener, 1984; Heady et al., 1991; Brief et al., 1993; Schimmack et al., 2002; Leonardi et al., 2004; Rode, 2004; Mihalache, 2008; Vasile, 2010; Voicu & Pop, 2011). No matter the perspective, life satisfaction could be considered as both an outcome and an indicator of integration in the host society. There is a strong consensus in considering that life satisfaction depends not only on what one has or knows and on what one wants to have or achieve (Heady, 2008), but also on contextual variables, such as economic growth, human development, and environmental indexes (Easterlin, 1974; Bonini, 2008). In the case of migrants, the time spent in the country of destination shapes the levels of life satisfaction (Bartram, 2010). This comes from a longer process of adaptation and changing values. Life satisfaction continues to remain dependent on the development of country of origin (Semyonov & Lerenthal, 1991), or rather on the combination between the ethnic identification with the origin and the destination country (Phinney et al., 2001). According to the adaptation theory (Brickman & Campbell, 1971), one can expect that, in time, migrants will gradually change. Putting together these pieces of literature is not an easy task, but reconciliation of these different perspectives may lead to a model in which individual level life satisfaction simultaneously depends on the current context (host society) and the context of early socialization (origin society). Our goal is to clarify this dependency in the context of a broader explanation of what happens with the international migrants after they migrate, and how long they differ from the local population.

C2. OBJECTIVES.

The project investigates how international migration contributes to the changing of European societies, focusing on the value patterns, civic and political participation, and life satisfaction. The main question is (SO0) if this change is leading to increasing similarities between European countries, in terms of social values, participation, and life satisfaction, creating the context for better institutional integration.

There are at least two types of assumptions that need to be tested in order to adequately answer this research question. They become subprojects within the larger project.

(SO1) The first issue to be investigated is if migrants do change behaviors and value orientations, and how.

(SO2) The second part is to see if the presence of migrants does change the host society.

There is a third interesting effect that might be considered: how the sending society changes, particularly if strong transnationalism is present, such as in the cases of Eastern European societies. It is not our goal to answer this

important question. Investigating this would be easier to be realized after finishing the current project. However, the current project will probably lead to sketching a conceptual and methodological framework for studying the respective process.

For the moment, we have chosen to focus on our three goals: (SO0), (SO1) and (SO2). (SO2) depends on the answers revealed by (SO1). If migrants do change or do not change differently may determine eventual transformations in the host and the sending societies. Direction of change observed at (SO2) leads to the answer to the main research question (SO0).

Nevertheless, migrants and societies may change under various aspects. Covering all of them is not a feasible endeavor. Our research plan is to use the above conceptual framework in four broad fields. The first is **orientations towards modernity and post-modernity**. We follow here the research stream that may be found in various forms, not necessarily completely convergent, in the works of Inkeles & Smith (1974), Inglehart (2007), Hagernaars et al. (2003), Ester et al. (2006) etc. The second area is **civic participation and social capital**. In this area we intend to deal with participation to voluntary associations and in protest actions, following conceptualizations and instrumental approaches originated in the works of Putnam (2000), Welzel et al. (2005), Paxton (2007) etc. The third area is **political participation**. Here, following the suggestions of Martiniello (2005), we focus on the complex relationship between political participation in the host country and in the origin country, and on the effects of this relationship on different forms of political participation. The fourth field of interest is **life satisfaction**, where, as we have argued in the previous section, the existing literature could be reconciled to support our explanation of simultaneous dependency of migrants to the cultures of origin and destination.

For the above indicators, we intend to investigate the effect of being immigrant, how the aggregate characteristics of the country of primary socialization do contribute to current behaviors and value orientations, and how the time spent in the country of destination leads or not to changing. Then, we focus the analysis at the aggregate level and, considering the European societies, we address (SO2). We expect to observe rather marginal changes in the host societies, at least with regard to the Western ones. A further question is if the Eastern European societies follow the same pattern. They are mainly sending countries, but started to receive increasing flows of both low skilled migrants and high skilled ones (ex-pats). We expect that, in the case of these societies, the changes induced by migration to have higher magnitude, and the migrants to adapt slower to the local culture. However, this might be different in those countries that started to become immigration countries (e.g. Poland, Czech Republic).

The novelty of our project comes from using empirical quantitative data for the study of simultaneous dependency of immigrants' values and behaviours to the culture of both origin and destination countries. In the precedent section, we have already underlined what we bring new for each of the four domains that we address. More, producing the analyses in four different fields may help us to build up a coherent unified explanation. The results are highly relevant for European societies experiencing high migration flows. They have immediate applicability in structuring the activity of those public organizations which address the needs of migrants, in terms of access to health care, social welfare, voting etc., as well as in providing information about the process to the general public.

Furthermore, the project may lead to better specifying the hypotheses about the impact of international migration and transnationalism on the values and behaviours of the Europeans from the sending societies.

C3. METHOD AND APPROACH.

The current project aims to exploit large-scale data-sets, such as European Values Survey and World Values Survey (for orientations towards modernity and life-satisfaction), respectively European Social Survey (for the levels of participation). Several waves of these surveys (particularly the most recent waves of EVS and WVS, but also the ESS) provide information about the country of origin for each respondent, the immigration status, the time spent at origin and destination. More, they include measures of the usual predictors of civic participation, political participation, life satisfaction, respectively value orientations towards modernity.

Merging the 2008-2009 wave of EVS and the 2010-2012 wave of WVS (for European countries) will lead to an aggregate dataset which include some 130.000 respondents, among which some 13.000 migrants. For at least two thirds of the migrants (and for all the other respondents), we will have reliable data about the levels of contextual variables in the country of origin. For producing such information, WVS and EVS are extremely useful: the 1999-2006 waves of the value surveys cover more than 100 societies, at different moments in time. For these societies there is possible to aggregate comparable indicators about the orientations of value, civic and political participation, respectively life satisfaction. Therefore one can control for the context of initial socialization of the respondents in the datasets. Nevertheless, when computing the above-mentioned aggregate indicators we have to carefully consider the moment in time when they were collected.

The general strategy of data analysis is a comparative one, including both cross-sectional and longitudinal comparisons. Cross-classified hierarchical models and multilevel structural equation models will be employed to estimate individual value orientations of European population (no matter if immigrant or not), simultaneously controlling for the characteristics of origin country and of the host country, as well as the effect of immigration process on the values and attitudes shared by the general public of host/ home society. The models will be run on the entire samples, not only for samples of immigrants; as we have already argued, for most of the migrants in the dataset, there is information available.

Aggregate indicators of population structure, migration rates, and for the two types of target variables (civic participation, respectively orientations towards modernity) will be gathered in a database which would allow investigating both (SO1) and (SO2). Longitudinal models should be employed for such data in the case of (SO2).

In order to produce the information for such analyses, we intend to combine information collected at individual level with aggregate indicators like population structure, migration rate, economic output, human development, indicators of literacy and education, political freedom retrieved from international database (Eurostat, OECD, World Bank, United Nation Development Program, Freedom House etc.).

Along with the comparative analysis, we consider the possibility to run, in the framework of (SO1) separate analyses for individual countries, particularly for Romania and Romanian immigrants. This will allow providing in depth and more concrete information to the financer (Romanian Government).

Most of the individual level data sets are already available for academic use. Both WVS, EVS, and ESS raw data can be retrieved from the websites of the respective research groups. However, there is no data collected for Romania within the 2010-2012 WVS wave. We plan to collect such data, and to include them in the international database (the members of our team are part of the respective international research network). This will allow us to focus part of the research on the case of Romania, but will also provide updated information for one of the largest group of international migrants in Europe (i.e. the Romanian immigrants). Several country specific questions will be included in the questionnaire, addressing transnationalism and allowing us to discuss its impact on the sending societies, like Romania. This will add to the discussion in (SO2) and will serve as input information in fulfilling the goals of (SO0).

C4. IMPACT, RELEVANCE, APPLICATIONS.

We have already mentioned the contributions to the current knowledge in social sciences. The project will contribute to better understanding what happens with international migrants after they migrate; how the international migration flows and transnationalism contribute to social change; which is the magnitude of this change; how it might contribute to more differentiation or more similarity between European societies.

There are immediate social consequences for structuring the activity of the public organizations dealing with immigrants and international migration, as well as for the activity of civic associations which have immigrants as target group. Moreover, the discussion around civic participation of migrants produces outcomes for the future of the voluntary sector, for assessing the capacity of migrants to voice up their needs, with immediate consequences for the political life in host societies. The analysis of political participation contributes to the same types of implications.

The increasing flows of international migration make the topic highly relevant for the European societies (and most likely for the future societies as well). High differences between migrants and local population may lead to potential social tensions, increasing heterogeneity and decreasing societal cohesion. The findings of our project may help understanding the current state and designing adequate policy measures.

In order to disseminate the results and to produce the above mentioned impact, we intend to publish at least eight papers in peer-reviewed journals, each team member contributing to at least one paper. A final volume will conclude the project. The findings will be also disseminated to the general public through the media.

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