Toward a mixed integration model based on migrants' self-perception

ALBERTO ARES
alares@comillas.edu
Universidad Pontificia Comillas (Madrid)

MERCEDES FERNÁNDEZ
mercedes@comillas.edu
Universidad Pontificia Comillas (Madrid)

Is it possible to enhance or challenge the models of integration processes based on the perceptions that migrant communities have of their own integration? The proposed Mixed Integration Model (MIM) intends to clarify and understand the processes of integration through a multi-method approach based on a classical, virtual, and multi-sited ethnographic methodology. Applying the MIM, this paper studies the lifestyles of three different communities (Ecuadorians in Madrid, Salvadorans in Boston, and Moroccans in Valladolid). The MIM identifies three migrant archetypes - deeply rooted, compulsive, and audacious - each of whom experience integration in a particular way.

Keywords: immigrant integration; transnational families; United States; Morocco; Spain

Introduction

This study stemmed from the work of one of the authors in the field of migration in various countries (The United States, Spain, India, Mexico, Albania, Peru and Ecuador, among others), which kindled in them an interest in analysing immigrants' integration processes from a multidimensional perspective. The study of classic integration models can highlight some of the dimensions of immigrants' daily lives, yet no single model satisfactorily explains the complex process whereby a migrant achieves integration in the host society.

This paper proposes a new, multidimensional analytical model of integration, the *Mixed Integration Model* (MIM), which adds new components to the classic models.

The MIM was validated empirically by using it to analyse the lives of a sample of immigrants, paying special attention to their daily activities and life styles. This research was based on 'classic' ethnography methods combined with virtual ethnography (netnography), multisited ethnography and was complemented with interviews of key informants. This process made it possible for the MIM to identify three "archetypal migrants": the migrant rooted in her culture of origin, the compulsive migrant, and the audacious migrant. Each of these archetypes was characterised by a specific distribution of behavioural traits.

Finally, similarities between the various integration processes were detected, although no two processes were exactly alike; indeed, there are as many integration processes as individuals who emigrate. The core of this research provides evidence that the MIM is a tool that evaluates different elements found in classic integration models without being limited to any one of them in particular. The MIM can, therefore, constitute a valid instrument with which to enrich understanding and analysis of the integration processes of migrants.

About integration

Concepts

The concepts used to refer to the process of adaptation of immigrants to their new environments have shifted over time and space. In the United States, the word "assimilation" is commonly used, whereas in Europe authors refer to "integration". Alternative terms include "social cohesion", "incorporation", and "inclusion", among others. Some specialists, such as Pennix and Martiniello (2006), speculate that there are as many definitions of integration as there are authors writing about the topic.

The various definitions of integration can be grouped under four classifications, depending on their main focus. The first group sees integration as a *process*, a dynamic, rather than static concept that fluctuates over time (Pennix and Martiniello, 2006; Spanish Government, 2011). For the European Union's Council of Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs of November 2004, for example, integration is «a two-way dynamic process of mutual accommodation by all

immigrants and residents of Member States that implies respect for the basic values of the European Union».

The second group of definitions stresses *social relations* (Pujadas, 1993). This concept of integration focuses on a dialectic relationship between groups and individuals, emphasizing specific differences that exist as either elements of distortion (Nagel, 2009)) or sources of diversity and enrichment (Vertovec, 2007).

The third group places the emphasis on *connection and interconnectedness*. For example, Heckmann (2006) discusses integration on two levels, referring to both inclusion into new groups within already-existing social structures and to the quality and form in which these groups connect to the new socio-economic, legal and cultural systems. These definitions examine «the extent to which the activities and functions of the various institutions complement each other».

The final group focuses on a series of variables used to *measure the degree of an individual's integration* in specific areas such as work, education, religion, civic life, etc. Definitions in this group often refer to "levels of integration", invoking civic-political or culture dimensions (Koopmans et al., 2005; Lacroix, 2013).

Models

Classic integration models are divided into two types: *assimilation* and *multicultural* models. Assimilation models (Malgesini and Giménez, 2000) hypothesise that migration flows, and interaction between the immigrant population and the receiving community produce no alterations in the values and the way of life of the receiving society. In this model the receiving country is *monocultural* and the integration is *unidirectional* (Lamphere, 2007). It is the immigrants who must integrate into the receiving culture and adapt to the new society.

Multicultural models were proposed as an alternative to trends towards homogenization. These models extol cultural differences. Not only do they recognise *de facto* differences, they see them as part of a social organizational model (Kymlicka, 2003; Taylor, 2010). Cultural values and the individual's identity are the two bastions that sustain multicultural models, as they foster tolerance between ethnocultural communities living within the same society (Sartori, 2001).

(Walters et al., 2007) claim that the objectives of multiculturalism have not changed since 1971, although the means of implementing them today have shifted in response to intervening demographic and political developments. Moreover, new currents within the as-

similation and multicultural paradigm have been proposed and have reinvigorated the study of integration models by focussing on parameters such as ethnicity, social networks and human capital. New theories include segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 2001) and recent multicultural trends exploring raw ethnic materials (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters, 2004; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf et al., 2008; Waters, 1999).

Indicators

There is no doubt that the integration of migrants is a complex concept that requires multidimensional analysis. Academic and international institutional circles alike have made numerous attempts to measure integration. These have all included, to a greater or lesser extent, two types of factors:

1. *Factors inherent to the subject:* These may be *personal,* the individual's perceptions, behavioural patterns, social skills, beliefs, values, etc, or *cultural,* language, communication strategies, religious beliefs and practices, concepts of time and space and ethnic identity, etc. (Giménez, 2004; Heckmann, 2006). Also inherent to the subject are factors relating to the culture of origin, Vicente (2004) adds the individual's degree of assimilation of the receiving society's beliefs, values and life style. Others, such as Heckmann, believe that the subjective aspects that gauge the individual's sense of belonging and identification with his original or new community go beyond the concept of *culture* and constitute a dimension of *identity*.

2. *Situational factors:* These include employment, access to education, and access to the wider welfare system. These socio-economic factors are related, according to Giménez, to the extent to which the individual's primary needs (health, housing, education, etc.) are met and extend, as expressed by Pennix, to a *legal dimension* that takes into account the migrant's legal status in the host country.

According to Heckmann the situational factors affecting a migrant's life can be divided into two groups. The first consists of *structural* factors, representing the acquisition of rights, and thus access to core institutions within the host society (participation in the labour market, education and occupational training, housing, access to healthcare). The second, encompasses *social* factors and refers to the "acceptance" of immigrants within «primary relationships and social networks of the host society».

A new proposal to measure integration

The Mixed Integration Model (MIM) that we present in this paper is based on the theories of consumer acculturation examined from the ethnographic perspective as developed by Peñaloza (1994) and Saldaña and Ballesteros (2011). In light of these theories and perspectives the MIM is a helpful addition to the numerous and diverse models and theories already present in the field. We will now outline the foundations and fundamental characteristics of this MIM.

Background: The Masses and Minorities, Capabilities, and Responsible Consumption Models

The MIM's theoretical background can be found in Segundo (1973), Amartya Sen (2000), Schor (2010), and Ballesteros (2010).

Segundo (1973) is based on the concept of entropy. Entropy holds that the energy in the universe is neither lost nor increased and tends to degrade. Energy that is lost (entropy) is counterbalanced with energy that is recovered (nega-entropy). In living beings, this energy is distributed in a complex way, in order to promote certain functions at the expense of others. Segundo, thus, assumes that given a limited supply of energy, the individual invests more effort in activities that, although they are more creative and costlier, produce high added value (minority behaviour) and performs mechanically those that require less effort (mainstream behaviour).

Figure 1: MIM Mainstream and Mass Behaviours
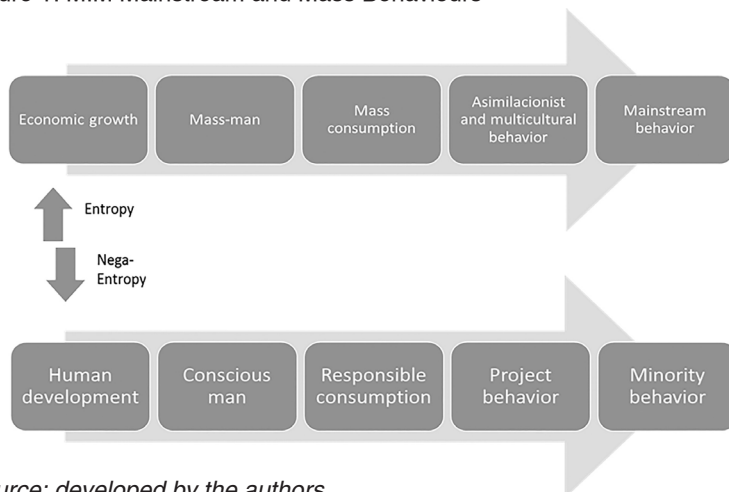
Source: developed by the authors

Sen (2000) identifies a way to integrate economic growth within a wide spectrum of means that will help individuals achieve the freedoms they have reason to value. Hence, a person's freedom would be the variable that connects these two human tendencies, 'mainstream' and "minority" behaviour.

In a globalised world, where consumption holds a prominent place in our economies and societies, *responsible consumption* plays an important role in helping people achieve the quality of life they seek and value (Schor, 1991 and 2010). Responsible consumers weigh their real needs and take into account the limitations of their environment, while compulsive consumers have serious difficulties in making mature, weighted and deliberated decisions about what to buy. From an anthropological perspective, the responsible consumption model represents a basic guide to integrate real human development into our understanding of the individual as a holistic unit (Ballesteros, 1998 and 2010). It is in this model the individual freedom and responsibility define the way a person consumes products, in contrast to models of compulsive consumption (Sandel, 1996).

*The Mixed Integration Model (MIM)*

The MIM is articulated in three different stages.

- *Stage I: Pre-integration antecedents*. This stage examines the cultural baggage the migrant brings with her as she sets out on the integration process. It contemplates six key variables (Peñaloza, 1994; Saldaña and Ballesteros, 2011): Demographic Characteristics (age, sex, nationality, religion, etc.); Background in Country of Origin (urban, rural); Ethnic Identity; Educational Level; Personal and Social Background (history, personality, life style and values); Expectations (migratory project).
- *Stage II: The integration process*. Here the MIM refers to the integration process itself, incorporating four vectors of influence (Peñaloza, 1994; Saldaña and Ballesteros, 2011):
  - Integration agents: family, friends, mass media and institutions.
  - Cultural attributes: clothing, food, celebrations, language and forms of expression, norms of conducts, etc. (Basabe, Zlobina and Páez, 2004; IOE 2010).
  - Integration tools: personal resources to respond to new realities. Assael (1999) identifies these as observation (the discovery of new realities in the host society), "word

of mouth" communication (personal contacts and the opinions of people the migrant trusts) and the influence of mass communications media.

- Other integration dimensions: legal status, employment, degree of social participation, place of residence, degree of prejudice perceived, relations with family of origin (Berry, 1990; Cachón, 2008; IOE, 2010; Pennix, 2005), religious practices (Martínez, 2007), use of information and communications technologies (ICTs) (Benítez, 2011) and acculturative stress (Achótegui, 2004 and 2006).

Figure 2: The MIM
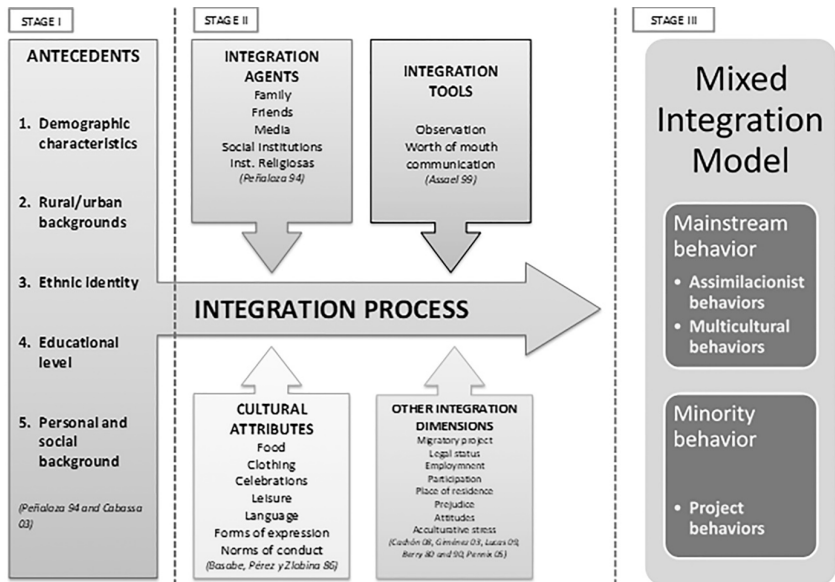
Source: developed by the authors

- *Stage III: The Mass and Minority Dialectic.* As explained above, the MIM incorporates and develops Juan Luis Segundo's Mass and Minority Dialectic (1973).
  (1) Mainstream, or "assimilationist" and "multicultural" behaviour. This comprises the first half of the dialectic: When the notions of mass or mechanical behaviour are applied to the context of emigration, two different dimensions of the

integration process emerge (Castells, 2000; Norris, 2003).

The first of these can be classified as "assimilationist behaviour" and refers to situations where the subject is prepared to accommodate to new circumstances. In these situations, reality compels the migrant to change, because they affect employment, language or consumer habits.

The second set of dimensions can be considered to be part of "multicultural behaviour". These touch the roots of the subject himself, his racial and ethnic identity (Baumann, 2001). These dimensions become non-negotiable, and the immigrant can only respect the position of the receiving society, expecting it will, in turn, respect his. Examples of these non-negotiable dimensions include traditional celebrations, religious practices, the consumption of certain products, ethnic apparel, and so on.

(2) Minority or "project" behaviour. This type of behaviour supports the migrant's new life plan: Here, the migrant endeavours to make sense of his day-to-day activities. In terms of social relations, this refers to establishing the social networks on which to build a new life, new citizenship or a project shared with others. This is the first step towards real transformation of the social structure (Castells, 2000).

Adopting this type of behaviour implies that the migrant possesses a series of personal attributes that enable her to take reasonable risks, while managing diversity and ambiguity. This person is, to a certain extent, able to resist peer (Baumann, 2001) and societal (Martínez, 2007) pressure along with the "cosmopolitan" pressure designed to induce consumption and the pressure exerted by mass media (Featherstone, 1990).

In any case, some actions which for one person may constitute "multicultural" behaviour, for another may represent "assimilationist" or "project" behaviour.

Methodology

The communities under study and sample selection

Three immigrant communities from three different geographical locations were chosen as the pool for our sample selection: the Salvadorian community in Boston, Massachusetts (USA) the Ecuadorian community in Madrid (Spain) and the Moroccan community in Valladolid (Spain). The criteria that led to the selection of these communities are:

- Ethnicity as a contrasting element of integration into receiving societies (Peñaloza, 1994; Saldaña and Ballesteros, 2011; Sherry, 1990).
- Previous knowledge of the three communities and their contexts of origin and destination (Berry, 1990; Marcus, 1995).
- The presentation of different integration processes in order to test and contrast the theoretical framework proposed (Gorden, 1998; Ibáñez, 1979).

Once the three communities had been selected, it was necessary to select within each of them the micro-segments that would become the sample of our study. The three communities had settled in their host societies at different times. Boston's Salvadorian community has a large second and even a third-generation population. Madrid's Ecuadorian community has a small second-generation segment over the age of 18. In Valladolid's Moroccan community, nonetheless, most of the second-generation members are still children. Consultation of secondary sources helped identify the groups within these populations that would allow us to compare the three communities[1]: First-generation migrants were chosen, along with members of Generation 1.5, which, while not born in the receiving country, is similar to the second generation in many ways.

Various studies have been conducted of the Salvadorian community in the United States, including in the Boston area, yet none of them has focused exclusively on consumer habits. While the consumer habits of both the Ecuadorian community in Madrid and the Moroccan community in Valladolid have been examined by various researchers, none of them have applied the consumer acculturation model. Finally, no comparative studies have been conducted of these three migrant communities in their respective receiving societies,

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[1] The US Census Bureau, the Spanish Institute of Statistics (INE), the Salvadorian Direction General for Statistics and the Census (DIGESTYC) and the Moroccan Census Bureau (HCP).

and none have been done from the perspective of consumer habits. These factors make our research in this field of particular interest.

Methodological Tools

Etnography was chosen as the main thrust of our research because of the access we had to the populations under study, direct interaction between the subjects and the length of the data collection time during our fieldwork (Berry, 1990; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Netnography (Kozinets, 2009 and 2012) were used to complement our research in specific contexts and areas.

A total of 43 interviews were conducted of 10 migrants and two key informants in the Ecuadorian community, 10 migrants and three key informants in the Moroccan community, and 14 migrants and four key informants in the Salvadorian community.

In addition, 73 observations were made in the three communities: 40, while the researcher accompanied the sample subject while shopping and visiting family or household members; 17, during family, community and religious celebrations; 16, during the subjects' leisure time. It is at times difficult to make distinctions between the nature of the various types of observations, as there are occasions when meals, celebrations, shopping and leisure time activities occur all at once. Observations through Facebook took an average of one and a half hours a day for 365 days. A total of 862 photographs were taken, and 120 of these were selected for the purposes of this research. Approximately 80 of these snapshots corresponded to participant observation in leisure activities and celebrations; 40 were taken in the subjects' kitchen-pantries, while they were preparing ethnic food at home, during daily encounters with family members or visiting shops.

Main findings

Determining factors

Analysis of the three communities made it possible to identify 12 significant determining factors in their integration processes, when examined from the angles of consumer habits, celebrations and leisure time activities:
- The country of origin. The context in which the person grew up
- Educational level
- Gender
- Peer and family pressure (family role, expectations of the

ethnic group with respect to religious practices)
- The individual's psycho-social make-up (socialization skills, propensity or aversion to risk, etc.)
- Life plan in the receiving country (transitory or definitive, short or long term)
- Relationship with the family in the country of origin
- Legal status
- Employment situation
- Length of stay in the receiving country
- Migratory stress, or the Ulysses syndrome
- Knowledge of the official language of the receiving country

The significance of these categories emerged through the in-depth interviews, measured by the number of times the categories or subcategories were mentioned, the number of times they appeared in the photographs, the number of times they were cited by the key informants and the number of times they were mentioned in the subjects' daily lives as reflected in the observations made on Facebook. In cases that were not clear, or when the interviewer needed additional information, these categories were further explored in new interviews. This information was analysed with the ATLAS TI tool.

The archetypes detected by the MIM

The MIM makes it possible to classify subjects as one of three archetypes. After thorough analysis of the subjects' antecedents (Stage I) and of their integration processes in the three communities under study (Stage II), it emerged that the subjects fell into one of three prototypical groups: Those who were strongly rooted in their cultures of origin, those who were compulsive and showed assimilationist behaviour and those who were audacious.

The graphic icon below was developed to illustrate the results obtained with the MIM[2].

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[2] In the original MIM, each part of the body has a different color that illustrates each behavior. The colours have repeatedly been used in marketing research (Goi, 2012; Shi 2013). The head in blue represents temperance and depth in the analysis. The dress in red, a warm color, captures the attention and lends itself as removable. The legs in green, represents the roots of a tree that touch the earth and inserts into it.

• The head represents *minority behaviour, referred* to in the MIM as *project behaviour*. There is a subject's tendency to analyse reality deeply, with a certain distance.

• In our icon, the body represents the subjects' clothing. Clothing is something that grabs the viewer's attention. Therefore, the body with its clothing represent *mainstream assimilationist behaviour,* geared to achieve immediate gratification, and to 'fit in'.

• The roots of a tree provide a good metaphor for the subjects' legs in the MIM icon. These roots keep the person connected to reality, with their feet on the ground, in touch with nature. Hence the icon's legs represent *mainstream multicultural behaviour*, or the behaviour that links to the subject's ethnic identity and roots.

The confluence of the 12 variables, or most relevant categories mentioned above made it possible for the MIM to identify the three archetypal migrants described (the deeply rooted, the compulsive and the audacious individual). Each of the 12 variables is analysed from the perspective of each of the three meta-categories included in the MIM: consumer habits, leisure time activities and celebrations. Each of the three types of behaviour contemplated in the MIM, *mainstream assimilationist behaviour*, *mainstream multicultural behaviour* and *minority project behaviour*, is displayed in varying degrees depending on which of the 12 variables and which of the three meta-categories (consumer habits, leisure time activities or celebrations) the MIM examines.

The migrant archetypes proposed by the MIM are illustrated in the graph.
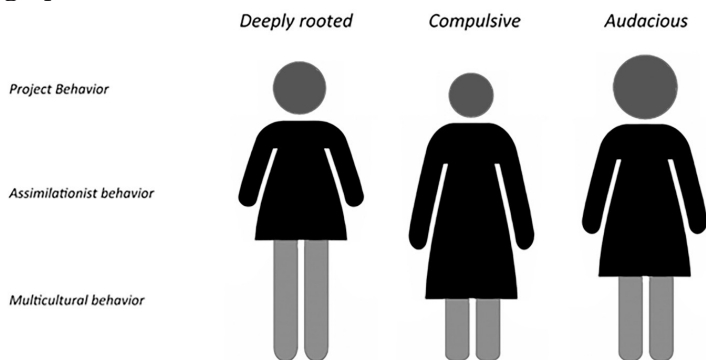
Generally speaking, no migrant corresponds exactly to any of these archetypes and, indeed, no single method of analysis makes it possible to 'capture' and 'contain' the range of facets that inform the integration process of each migrant.

Migrants deeply rooted in their culture of origin. Deeply rooted migrants are people who tend to identify very closely with their ethnicity and cling to their original cultural traditions. The pictorial representation of these migrants is of a person whose legs are disproportionately long and whose bodies are smaller than normal, showing that they tend to exhibit more multicultural than assimilationist behaviour. These people do not work very hard to promote their new life plan in the new country. However, for some people originally placed as this prototype, the severe cultural shock between the receiving culture and their own, and the fact that their children perform badly in school sometimes lead them to rethink their identities and their life plan projects. They become able to invest more effort and energy into their future and in managing new life situations. For this reason, the head of the deeply rooted migrant is depicted as medium sized.

Compulsive Migrants. Because they share many behavioural straits, an analogy has been drawn between the compulsive migrant and the compulsive consumer. Both act before they have carefully weighed their decisions. Because most of what compulsive migrants do can be classed as mainstream assimilationist behaviour, they are represented in our drawing by a figure with an exaggeratedly large body and short legs, reflecting how little they engage in mainstream multicultural behaviour. The drawing shows them with small heads, because their behaviour does not reinforce any particular life plan associated with their migration project. They simply respond to the stimulation received in the receiving country. Indeed, in these individuals the influences of the host country are so strong that they have displaced the traditions of the country of origin.

Audacious Migrants. The audacious migrant shows bravery and audacity when facing the future. She has a reasonable capacity to take on risk and works towards fulfilling a major life project in her new country, at least in the medium term. The picture of the audacious migrant shows someone better able to align assimilationist and multicultural tendencies, when compared to the pictures of the other two migrant archetypes. This person has been able to strike a balance between her ethnic and national origin and the newly acquired culture of her host country. She works hard towards fulfilling her life project in her new setting, and that is why we have given her the biggest head of the three prototypes.

An overview of the three communities under study analysed through the MIM

Table 1 summarises the basic variables as analysed in the Mixed Integration Model for each of the migrant archetypes described above. Table 2 describes the behaviour of each of the archetypes in the three situations examined by the MIM: consumer habits, leisure time and celebrations.

Table 1: Manifestations of the Basic Integration Variables in the MIM Categories.

Integration Variables	Deeply Rooted	Compulsive	Audacious
Employment	Precarious	Stable, with an effort to improve	Stable, quality employment, with an effort to improve
Educational Level	Low	With an effort to improve	Higher level, with an effort to improve
Social and Family Pressure	Strong influence of family or community The subjects' children tend to fail due to generational change and difficulties in managing "new times"	Lower social and family pressure The subjects show assimilationist behaviour and encourage it in their children	The subjects feel free of social and family pressure The subjects encourage cultural diversity and better education for their children
The Subject's Psycho-Social Makeup	Withdrawn, few social skills	Some social skills and risk-taking capacity	Fully capable of taking risk and managing diversity
Life Project in Host Country	Initial stages, fluctuating, vague	At least a mid-term project	Mid and long-term projects
Relations with Family of Origin (Transnational Family)	Strong, receives a lot of help	A solid relationship	Solid, importance of transnational links
Legal Status	Unstable	Relatively stable	Stable/ naturalization

Length of Time in Host Country	Short	Prolonged	Prolonged
Migratory Stress	High	Medium	Low
Knowledge of Official Language of Host Country	Low	Adequate/High	Above average/ bilingual
Country of Origin	Rural setting	Urban setting	Rural and urban settings

Source: Developed by the authors.

Table 2: Classification of Basic Integration Viables by MIM categories and archetypes.

|	**Deeply Rooted**	**Compulsive**	**Audacious**
Consumer Habits	**Food and Clothing**: Holds on to traditions of country of origin **Use of ICTs**: Underaverage, with difficulty in gaining access and adquiring skills	**Food**: Accommodates new types of foods, particularly if they are convenient **Clothing**: Follows fashion **Use of ICTs**: Particularly dependent on the social networks	**Food and Clothing**: Places value on traditions, but incorporates new elements from host culture **Use of ICTs**: Considers access to information critical
Celebrations	Small circle of relationships, centered around family and fellow-countrymen	While continuing to value own cultural traditions, gradually shifts away from them	Values richness of own cultural celebrations and shares them with other communities
Leisure Time	Centered around preserving traditions of country of origin	Linked to tastes and fashions and to consuming products and activities related to ICTs	Centered around family and community support activities

Source: Developed by the authors.

It is not easy to compare three communities and their receiving societies that are as diverse as those included in this study. Each of the communities of origin has very marked features, and the receiving societies, in turn, are all located in very different places. In fact, this is one of the main reasons the MIM was used to analyse the lives of the first-generation migrants in our sample.

The Moroccan community in Valladolid presents the highest percentage of migrants whom the MIM classified as deeply rooted (60%). A possible explanation may be that this is the youngest migrant community of the three, and it may need a longer process to adapt to the language and the largely Christian world view of the receiving society. The Salvadorian community in Boston is the second largest in terms of migrants who still feel rooted in their culture of origin (45%). This percentage is high for a young community. However, Boston's Salvadorian community is one that feels that it needs to reinforce its ethnicity because of the public policies and legal precariousness it has encountered in the receiving community. These features of the new community are such that a high percentage of Salvadorian migrants remain rooted in their society of origin, live with the Spanish language and are less able to interact in the public arena. The Ecuadorian community in Madrid presents the smallest percentage of migrants rooted in their culture of origin (40%). This figure highlights, nonetheless, that there are still many members of this community who can be classified as "deeply rooted".

The MIM found that the highest number of "compulsive" migrants reside in Madrid's Ecuadorian community (45%), followed by the Salvadorians in Boston (40%). Since the Ecuadorian community is one of the largest among migrants in Madrid, it has adapted broadly to its receiving city and has developed better social networks than other collectives. Other factors that have conditioned compulsive adaptation behaviour in this group have been that its members speak the language of the receiving society, and entry into Spain was easy initially, making it easier to gain legal stability than in the other two communities examined here. These factors all contribute to the compulsive adaptation behaviour displayed by a high percentage in this group. The Moroccan community in Valladolid shows the lowest number of members with compulsive integration behaviour (30%). This cohort requires a longer assimilation process because, among other reasons, their language is very different and their culture clashes with that of the receiving community.

Graph 1: Percentages of Archetypes in Each Community.
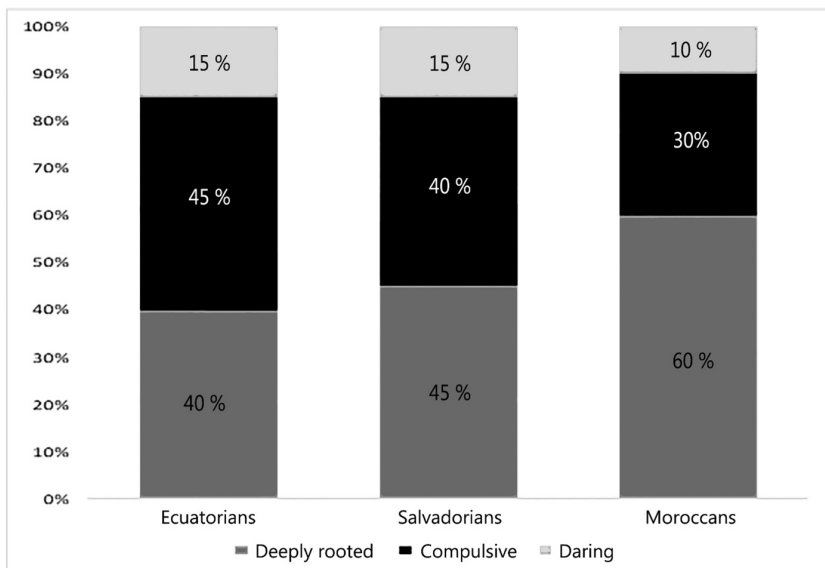
Migrants presenting "audacious" integration behaviour accounted for approximately 15% of both the Ecuadorian and Salvadorian communities. There are fewer people classified in this group than migrants considered to be "deeply rooted" or "compulsive", with the latter two groups displaying manifestations of "mainstream", rather than "minority" behaviour patterns. Following Segundo (1973), there will always be fewer people with "minority behaviour", although this does not imply that minority behaviour is less important. Indeed, both mass and minority behaviour co-exist and complement each other as part of an individual's developmental process. Behaviour patterns that support a migrant's life project reinforce and help form a critical and holistic world view (Sen, 2000). In the three communities examined here there are, decidedly, people who fit into the archetype of someone capable of calculating risks and working towards future betterment, at least in the medium term. These people tend to provide support for their families at home, and participate actively in transforming society. The Salvadorians in Boston and the Ecuadorians in Madrid are further along in their integration pro-

cesses, helped by indicators in their backgrounds that make them better able to set up social networks and participate more fully in civic society. The members of the Moroccan community have had less time to complete their integration process. Moreover, they are less skilled at networking. These two factors explain why the MIM only classified 10% of this population was classified as "audacious".

Each immigrant, in all events, will encounter elements that he can accept and assimilate without too much difficulty (assimilationist behaviour), while there will be others where the preservation of ethnicity will be non-negotiable (multicultural behaviour). Cases have also been observed where the same element becomes a differentiating factor, and spurs decision making and the incorporation of new trends without the individual's needing to sacrifice the genuinely ethnic and enriching features of her tradition (project behaviour). Different attitudes can co-exist and will allow a person to belong to various groups, with varying views, and different behaviour patterns.

Conclusions and possibilities for future research

The main objective of this study was to provide a body of evidence with which to analyse the integration process of migrants in various communities from the perception of the migrants themselves. Our research examined the sample's behaviour, habits and daily lives in order to cull in-depth information about their life styles that could be used to complement, enrich and even challenge understanding of the integration process.

The methodological framework we designed generated the data that was analysed and interpreted to understand the integration process of migrant populations, and to compare the three communities examined. Triangulation based on ethnographic observation was the methodological approach that proved to be particularly suited to the objectives of the study.

Our findings lead to four main conclusions:
- The results of our research indicate that the MIM developed for this study can deepen understanding of the immigrant integration into the receiving society.
- The MIM pinpointed three archetypical migrants: the *deeply rooted migrant,* the *compulsive migrant* and the *audacious migrant*. Each of these archetypes experiences integration in a different way.

- The MIM highlighted three types of behaviour that condition the life plan of the migrant: mainstream assimilationist behaviour (MAB), mainstream multicultural behaviour (MMB) and minority behaviour that support the individual's migration project (MPB).
- None of the classic integration models alone can bring the full integration picture into focus, nor can they give a holistic view of the multidimensional and open process that constitutes the integration of migrants into their host societies.

In this study, we assayed a tool to deepen understanding of the integration process of first-generation migrants. During the data collection phase, our research generated a lot of information about a range of aspects relevant to the process. While of great interest, aspects that were not germane to our main objectives have not been fully developed. Below we present some lines of research suggested by the MIM that would be fruitful to pursue in the future.

- The *first* of these is a longitudinal study based on re-examining our sample with the same methodology at future points. This would allow us to fill in information about some of the variables included in the MIM, such as the reaction of the subjects to the incorporation of new family members, a change in legal residence, a job change or promotion, etc. Examining these factors over time would give us insight into the evolution of the integration process, and would highlight how the process is unique to each individual and how it changes.
- *Second*, the field research undertaken for this study has examined the integration process by analysing all the relevant variables that influence it, seen through the life style changes of individuals who have emigrated. However, it would be useful to expand the findings of the MIM by looking at other dimensions that affect the integration process: socio-economic, legal or cultural dimensions. Likewise, it would also be very interesting to perform this type of analysis including not only people who migrate but people from the host society.
- *Third*, it would be interesting to apply our study's methodology to societies of origin and receiving societies in other geographical locations. This would help reinforce the MIM's external validity, expand its scope as a multisited ethnography tool and advance understanding not only of the integration process itself, but of the MIM and the archetypal migrants that it proposes.

- *Fourth*, in this study the MIM proposed the profiles of archetypal migrants based on a series of variables considered to be relevant to the integration process. Nevertheless, the MIM does not incorporate a quantitative measurement scale to provide, to the extent possible, a broader and more holistic overview of the model and, hence, of integration processes themselves. Further research into this area would be of interest.