

Introduction

Fouzia was born in a village in southern Morocco, the daughter of an Arab father and a Berber mother. At age 17 she married a man 10 years older than herself. He worked in Paris and left her for a year at his parents in Morocco before bringing her to France. At 19, she had her first child; now she has seven. She was never sent to school and is illiterate. As the oldest child in her family, her mother had kept her at home to help with the chores and her brothers and sisters. At her arrival in France, she did not speak a word of French. Now, 24 years later, she is taking a literacy class and says that she likes life in France and is glad to be living with her husband. She has never worked, other than occasionally babysitting some of her friends' children, but she would like to look for a part-time job after she finishes her class. Even what she considers her husband's well-paying job is not enough to support a wife and seven children in France. She wants to be able to pay for the family's annual month-long summer vacation to Morocco. Although they drive to Spain and take the boat rather than fly, the voyage is still expensive. When asked if she plans to return to Morocco, she says she will do whatever her husband wants, but that they cannot move to Morocco definitively because her children wish to remain in France. She has a permanent resident card but never asked for citizenship — "What's the point now?" she says. She is very religious. She celebrates all the holidays, does not consume pork or alcohol, and prays five times a day. She wears a veil, although she has given up the traditional djellaba (loose-fitting, long-sleeved garment) for long skirts and long-sleeved, oversized sweaters. She speaks to her children in Arabic, although some speak it better than others, and she tries to transmit her religious values to them. It is very important to her that her daughters marry Muslims, although she says her sons can marry whomever they choose. Although she loves her children, she admits that her days are very hard. She is up until midnight every night, often doing the family's ironing. At 43, she feels old and tired.

Malika is from an urban area of Tunisia. Her father is Tunisian, and her mother was born and raised in France, the child of an Italian mother and a Tunisian father. Malika grew up speaking French and was sent to a French school in Tunisia. At age 18, after passing her baccalaureate, she wanted to come to France, but her parents would not let her go. After finishing a master's degree, she came to Paris to continue her studies at the age of 22. She says that as a young woman she rejected everything Tunisian and used the excuse of studies to get away from her country and her family. In France she first worked as an au pair, and then took a series of part-time jobs to work her way through school. For years she lied to her father about her relationship with a young French man. She finally admitted to him that she wished to marry her non-Muslim boyfriend despite her fear that she would be disowned. To her great surprise, he responded that she was old enough to decide what she wanted. The relationship with the young man did not last, however. She recognizes that she has problems with relationships because she feels like she should marry a Muslim, and yet she has only dated French men. At 38 she remains single. She is not religious; she does not practice Islam and labels herself an atheist. She drinks alcohol and eats pork. Nevertheless, she has issues with clothing. As a teenager in Tunisia she was scolded for wearing miniskirts. Only recently has she felt comfortable wearing short skirts in France, and she continues to wear pants every year when she visits Tunisia for a week. She says she has few North African friends, but that if she ever has children, she would like to try to teach them some Arabic. When asked if she plans to stay in France permanently, she says that she probably will, but that she could just as easily travel to the United States or return to Tunisia. She says that she had to fight very hard to make it in France and believes that things would have been much easier for her in Tunisia. Although she received French nationality after one year, thanks to her mother's French citizenship, she suffered financially and from the coldness of the people in France. She believes now she has become cold like the French. Today she is a successful executive producer at a production house.

Deha is from Algiers, the capital of Algeria. Her father is an Algerian Muslim, her mother an Algerian Jew with Spanish origins. As a teenager she was labeled "the French one" because of her behavior and liberal attitudes. She admits she liked to provoke people by wearing short dresses, drinking alcohol, and not fasting during Ramadan. At 17, she moved out of her parents' home and began working to support herself. She went to college for two years and eventually became a reporter. She married her husband because she was already pregnant and because they

wanted to live together, something impossible for an unmarried couple in Algeria. With the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the political problems in Algeria in the early 1990s, it became harder and harder for her husband to continue working in the French-language publishing industry. After being arrested by the military for a story she had aired, she found that other journalists were too afraid to support her. Only one spoke up for her, and he was assassinated. She got out of jail after hiring an internationally known lawyer and drawing a great deal of public attention to her case. Although she wanted to stay and help her country, friends of hers were also murdered, and she finally decided to move to France in 1995 at age 31. Because all Algerian Jews automatically had French citizenship, she was able to be naturalized thanks to her mother. However, she had difficulty obtaining papers for her husband and son and only succeeded after two years of legal battles, during which time her husband was not allowed to work. She and her husband speak French at home, and her eight-year-old son no longer speaks Arabic. They do not celebrate any Muslim holidays and instead celebrate Christmas and Easter. She notes that they still cook almost exclusively Algerian food, however. Since her arrival in France, she has been unable to break into the world of French journalism. She works sporadically through a temp agency doing office work. She also volunteers for an Algerian association in Paris and has been back to Algeria four times in three and a half years. She laughs about being called “the French one” in Algeria, and says that in France she stands out as a North African.

Fouzia, Malika, and Deha are all Maghrebin immigrants to France, and yet their lives are very different.¹ Edwige Rude-Antoine (1997:104) writes that “the paradox of immigration” is that it is “at the same time destructuring and restructuring. These families do not all live in an identical manner in the host society. They accept, reject, transform their cultural heritage” (translation mine). This book will explore some key questions about the experiences of North African female immigrants. What do they keep from the country of origin and what do they decide to embrace in the new country? How do Muslim women immigrants construct and manage their identities in the midst of a foreign culture? What challenges do these women face, and why do some cope better than others?

Primarily as a result of immigration, there are approximately 5 million Muslims in France out of a total population of around 60 million, making Islam the country’s second largest religion and France the European nation

with the highest concentration of Muslims. With a growing, visible minority population, France, like other western countries, has been grappling with questions of adaptation and integration. The public debate and eventual passage of the law banning Muslim headscarves in French schools is evidence of the weight these issues carry for France as a nation. Until recently in the United States, what immigrants took from U.S. culture and kept from their own, how they viewed their position here, whether they felt American or remained tied to an ethnic or other national identity, were largely questions for the immigrants themselves to resolve. Since September 11, 2001, however, there is increasing recognition that these questions are important for society in general. Looking at how Muslim immigrant groups are faring in another western society and getting a perspective into how these immigrants view their own lives allow us to see how the processes of incorporation and acculturation can be compromised for certain groups and that the societal context immigrants find themselves in matters.

In his book on *La nouvelle islamophobie (Islamophobia in France)*, Vincent Geisser (2003:115) argues that in the current fervor about Muslims living in western countries, security experts and media commentators who hold a monopoly on the cultural representations of Muslim immigrants have lost sight of “ordinary Muslims. . . *lived Islam* does not interest them” (translation mine). Similarly, Catherine Raissiguier (2003:3) writes that in France, the “hyper-visibility of immigrant women (especially those from the African continent) in political discourse and media representations interestingly is accompanied by a real paucity of (scholarly) knowledge about them.” Although there are several academic studies that examine the history of French immigration policies and the status of Islam in France, few researchers talk directly to first-generation North African immigrant women about their actual lived experience.² Thus, rather than beginning with structural-level questions, I chose to take a “grounded theory” approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Blumer 1969). In this book, I attempt to add to our knowledge of acculturation processes by looking for patterns of cultural choices and how these decisions affect identity. From a social psychological perspective, I seek to extend identity theory by looking at the case of immigrant women. People who are multiply marginalized (female, immigrant, and racial and religious minority) and in a situation of profound change, both social and personal, are exemplary candidates for studying identity negotiation. Several respondents’ statements complicate the idea that minority women automatically suffer more than

men. Additionally, the fact that some participants reject certain common labels highlights the need to look not only at self-identifications, but also at self-disidentifications and the consequences they have for both individuals and society.

There are potential practical ramifications of this research. In trying to understand how North African women are managing their lives in France, I examine factors that facilitate or hinder their adaptation and affect their well-being. This study looks at why some women are better than others at adapting to life in a foreign country and what can be done to help those who are struggling with acculturative stress and marginalization.

In order to frame this study, I provide some background on challenges that immigrants encounter and the factors that mediate acculturative stress, and I discuss the immigration literature and debates about assimilation. Recognizing the differences in the experiences of visible minority ethnics from previous white immigrant groups, recent theorists have nuanced our understanding of acculturation and incorporation processes, but this approach is still relatively new and needs further exploration. In addition, relatively little attention has been paid to immigrant women, and yet their experiences differ in many ways from those of immigrant men. Muslim women are a particularly misunderstood group, and interviewing them not only sheds light on the key questions of this study, but also serves to clear up common misperceptions about their status, roles in their families, and feelings about their lives. At the same time, the 45 women I interviewed are not a monolithic group. I do not seek to take away from the heterogeneity of their experiences or to make sweeping generalizations, but rather to highlight the patterns that emerge from the data (see Appendix 1 for the research methodology).³ In the next section, I provide a brief introduction to the identity issues that immigrants face to set the stage for the themes of the book.

Immigration Contexts and Processes

Immigrants face both structural and cultural challenges upon arrival in the host nation. In general, even well-educated immigrants with professions experience downward social and occupational mobility. Immigrants must adapt to a combination of new language, climate, food, customs, and laws. They experience discrimination due to their accents, dress, and other cul-

tural behaviors, as well as their resident alien status. This discrimination is only heightened when the immigrants are also a racial minority in the host country. In addition, immigrants are likely to be missing family members left behind in the country of emigration, and thus it is not only the societal structure, but also the family structure that undergoes radical changes.

Adaptation to a new country causes stress and feelings of marginalization. The mental health effects of immigration depend on a number of factors, including human capital, social support, socioeconomic status, material resources, problem-solving skills, health, positive attitude, bicultural orientation, and control over life events/choices (Kim and Berry 1986; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Early immigration researchers noted that rural, poorly educated, economically disadvantaged immigrants fare worse in terms of mental health than their urban, well-educated, middle-class counterparts. Srole et al. (1962) pointed out that the former traveled greater social distance than geographical distance in arriving in industrialized New York City at the turn of the century. They therefore had to make greater adjustments than well-off immigrants who experienced less social disparity.

Recent work by Portes and Rumbaut (1996) focuses less on social distance and more on contexts of exit and reception. The conditions under which an immigrant leaves (a chosen, well-planned exit, or a forced, last-minute escape) and the conditions upon arrival (such as community networks or isolation and discrimination) affect the psychological well-being of immigrants. Refugees, for instance, score higher on measures of acculturative stress than do other immigrants. Having coethnic friends and relatives nearby reduces levels of stress and depression, “underscoring the buffering effects of co-ethnic social support” (Portes and Rumbaut 1996:171). The political and social climate of a country helps determine the context of reception. Like earlier work, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) find that lower status immigrants feel more alienated and powerless and experience more psychological problems than those who are better educated and wealthier.

How do immigrants become a part of the host society? Do they inevitably assimilate, or are other patterns possible? The literal meaning of assimilation is “making alike,” and it originally had a biological meaning (Joppke 1998). “Assimilation refers to the adoption by the immigrant of the mannerisms, language, traditions, cultural mores, and values of the host society. Over a period of time the immigrant becomes indistinguishable from the members

of the host society” (Bhatnagar 1981:14). “Straight-line assimilation” theorists like Gordon (1964) see the process beginning with cultural adaptation and ending with “identificational assimilation” as American with no hyphenated identity (Gordon 1964; Rumbaut 1994). Structural assimilation, meaning entering into the majority group’s networks and institutions, and inter-marriage facilitate this process (Gordon 1964; Rumbaut 1994).⁴

This model, however, is based on white European immigrants to the United States in the early twentieth century. The more racially varied immigration in the second half of the century has forced theorists and government officials alike to rethink their conception of assimilation. Despite attempts by Alba and Nee (1997) to resurrect the term, it has been largely replaced by other words that carry a less negative, ethnocentric association and/or complicate the traditional pattern proposed by straight-line assimilation theorists.⁵ Visibility and discrimination often prevent modern immigrants from reaching identificational assimilation, whether they desire it or not. When lower-status groups are blocked from achieving higher status because of discrimination, they take on behaviors of the host society, but at the same time recommit to their ethnic (Mexican, Cambodian) or panethnic (Latino, Asian) identities rather than identifying assimilatively (Yinger 1981). Researchers refer to this model as segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993) or sometimes nonlinear or bumpy-line assimilation (Gans 1992). According to this perspective, contextual factors, such as discrimination or lack of it, determine identification (Portes and Zhou 1993). Segmented assimilation can be caused by visible ethnic minority status, geographic location (including percentage of coethnics), and changing labor markets (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Thus, under some conditions, straight-line assimilation will occur, and under others, ethnic identity will remain primary (Rumbaut 1994).

In many references to immigrants’ interactions with members of the host society and changes in behavior today, the word *acculturation* has replaced *assimilation*. However, various writers’ reasons for using the term *acculturation* vary. Some authors simply use *acculturation* as a synonym for cultural assimilation (Yinger 1981; Portes and Rumbaut 1996); “acculturation is the first step of the adaptation process and is defined by different patterns of learning the language and culture of the host country. The final stage of this same process can be labeled assimilation” (Portes and Rumbaut 1996:247).

Yet acculturation differs from assimilation because it implies becoming competent in the ways of the host society while continuing to be identified by others as a member of a minority group — in other words assimilating culturally but not being socially and/or economically assimilated into the host country's institutions (LaFromboise et al. 1993; Gans 1999).⁶ Used this way, acculturation reads much like segmented assimilation.

For others, acculturation implies changes in the cultural patterns of either or both the immigrant group and the host society, and therefore is not necessarily unidirectional, but rather depends on the context, so that in conformist societies, acculturation equals assimilation but in those societies fostering multiculturalism, acculturation occurs on both sides (Redfield et al. 1936, cited in Berry 1986; Naidoo 1986; Phinney and Rotherman 1987). When acculturation is used to focus on the cultural maintenance that accompanies cultural change and thus prevents true assimilation, it is called *selective acculturation*. Selective acculturation occurs when learning the ways of the country of residence is combined with strong ties to the ethnic community and its norms (Portes and Rumbaut 1996).

Even if selective acculturation is a more conscious, individually controlled process, some level of acculturation is involuntary because immigrants must learn the new culture in order to survive economically (LaFromboise et al. 1993). This can lead to acculturative stress, the psychological distress and dysfunction caused by the process of acculturation (Berry and Annis 1974). Acculturation is particularly stressful when it is truly a unilateral process on the part of the minority group; the mental health of immigrants tends to be better in multicultural societies (Murphy 1973). In their psychological work on racial and ethnic minorities and biculturalism, LaFromboise et al. (1993) introduce the alternation model. The alternation model differs from assimilation and some definitions of acculturation in that it is bidirectional and does not presuppose a hierarchy between the cultures involved.⁷ In this model, individuals are biculturally competent, maintain a cultural identity, and are not forced to choose categorically between cultures; instead, they alternate back and forth between modes of behavior appropriate to the respective culture in a given situation.

In addition to immigration specialists and psychologists, cultural theorists are also interested in questions of immigrant adaptation. Swidler (1986), for instance, conceptualizes culture as a “toolkit” of “strategies of action” that people use to reach goals. Actors thus have a variety of cultural elements

from which to choose when constructing modes of action, and during unsettled periods, such as immigration, new strategies of action can arise. Swidler explicitly calls on researchers to examine “what aspects of a cultural heritage have enduring effects on action” (1986:284). Although some work has examined this question, “[r]esearch into immigration, ethnicity and identity has tended to take the experiences of immigrant and ‘second generation’ men as paradigmatic of the experiences of immigrants more generally” (Freedman and Tarr 2000:vii). “Only a few scholars have attempted to outline the dimensions of assimilation, acculturation, and cultural change for immigrant women” (Gabaccia 1989:157).

North African Women Immigrants

The process of acculturation is especially complex when dealing with cultures as disparate as Catholic France and Muslim North Africa, particularly in regard to the role of women. As Prieto (1992:186) notes, “When socially constructed ideas about gender confront a totally different environment (as happens with migration), migrant men and women may resist, change, or adapt their old beliefs to the new situation.” In this study, I explore the acculturation of North African women immigrants in France, looking at what cultural choices they make and why, and the consequences of these choices for their identities. Muslim, Maghrebini women suffer from multiple layers of oppression, as Muslims, as North Africans, as immigrants, and as women. Recent research on female immigrants builds on the work of Deborah King (1989), Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), Patricia Hill Collins (1991), and other African American feminist scholars who theorize the intersectionality of race and gender. In their work on Asians in the United States, Espiritu (1997) states that minority women are caught in a bind in which they are forced to choose to identify with only one aspect of their identity at a time, minority member or female, and Pyke and Johnson (2003:36) argue that negative images of nonwhite femininity take away minority women’s “power of self identification.” How individual women and different groups of women react to identity pressures remains a crucial question.

Muslim women suffer from particularly weighty historical representations and derogatory images. Westerners typically view Muslim women as the ultimate “other” because they are of a different nationality, race, and religion,

and because they are female. During the past two centuries, Muslims and non-Muslims both have manipulated images of Muslim women and deprived the women themselves of voice. Recently, some researchers have acknowledged that all Muslims are not alike. Often they look to regional and religious differences, but continue to ignore gender. Others recognize the importance of studying women, but fall into the trap of confusing Muslims from different national and socioeconomic origins.⁸

Writers often portray women as being affected by society and not the other way around. Although colonizers viewed Arab women as holding back their men by hanging onto traditional ways, they also clung to the somewhat contradictory, yet practically universally held “false notion that the world of Islam is a world created by men for men rather than the joint creation of men and women” (Mahdi, foreword to Fernea and Bezirgan 1978:xi). Because women were rarely seen and seemingly ill-treated, most westerners assumed that they had no control or power in shaping their own societies. “Ignorance of the real condition of women . . . stems partly from the general attitude which, until very recently, regarded the roles that women assume as being unimportant, or at best marginal, to an understanding of the working of the social order under study” (Rassam in UNESCO 1984:1–2).

Given that women did not count, they did not need to be studied. Research on Arab women did not really begin in earnest until the 1960s (Altorki and El-Sohl 1988), and until the 1990s, research on immigrants focused primarily on men.⁹ According to Freedman and Tarr (2000:2), “Whilst they make up very nearly half of the populations of immigrant origin in France, within dominant representations women of immigrant origin are more often than not either ignored or represented in stereotyped categories.” They continue, “Given the way in which the dominant culture excludes, marginalizes or stereotypes immigrant women and their daughters, it is important to find a way of narrating and visualizing their own attitudes and experiences” (6).¹⁰ North-African and sub-Saharan immigrant women and their daughters are generating attention in France, but almost always around controversial and stereotypical issues that are sensationalized such as clitoral excision, polygamy, and veiling, issues that serve to further exoticize them. Rarely are the more mundane and constant issues they face, such as discrimination at work or which language to speak to their children, studied. The recent interest by government officials and the French public in the integration of the second generation has led to a surge in recent studies

looking at girls born in France, but the first generation remains seriously neglected.¹¹

This is pressing because women's situation differs in significant ways from that of their male counterparts and leads to several key questions: How do female immigrants deal with challenges that fall disproportionately on them, in particular combining child care (without the aid of relatives left behind) and paid labor? What are the effects of women's work and strategies in the host country on the balance of power in the home (Foner 1986; Kibria 1994)? Is work a means to independence for immigrant women or another form of exploitation (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Espiritu 1997)? What other new roles, besides paid labor, do immigrant women assume in their families and communities (Andezian 1986; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994)? Do women immigrants benefit as much and in the same ways as men from ethnic resources and social networks (Zhou and Logan 1989; Hagan 1998)? Can patriarchal values be good for women (Fernandez-Kelly and Garcia 1990)? How can traditional and modern values coexist in the lives of female immigrants (Naidoo 1986; Bhachu 1986; Kibria 1994)? And finally, because women are viewed as the primary socialization agents for children, where do they fall on the line of preserving culture or integrating children into the new society (Deutsch 1987; Kibria 1994; Karakasidou 1996)?

Kibria (1994:248) notes that immigrant women have been viewed in two different lights, either as "barriers to assimilation" because of their determination to cling to traditional ways, or alternatively, as "vehicles of integration into dominant society" (citing Deutsch 1987:719–20). Graham-Brown (1988:17–18) notes that because Arab women are seen as the guardians of culture and are thus "portrayed as the repository of traditional ways and values," colonists and nationalists fought each other in an effort to control them and further their group's interest until the Arab countries gained independence. These depictions of Maghrebin women — as simultaneously "keepers of 'traditions'" and as an integrating/assimilating force," particularly for the latter in the case of girls born in France — remain prevalent today (Raissiguier 1999:451).¹² The headscarf controversy is a telling contemporary example of how various societal groups continue to use women in battles over culture and identity and how Muslim women in particular bear the brunt of fears about the "other."¹³ The 2004 law banning the headscarf in French schools is a symbolic solution to the problems of violence and integration of Muslim immigrants in France, and, importantly, it is enacted on women's bodies.

Identity Negotiation

Immigrants have three distinct identities: immigrant, ethnic, and national/host country. But these three are complicated by status and/or visibility of their ethnic immigrant group in the country, by religion, by race, and by gender. The influence and interplay of each of these identities differs given the specific context. Clearly, the identity issues faced by a white, male, Catholic Italian immigrant to France will not be the same as for an Arab, female, Muslim Moroccan immigrant. North African women immigrants can rarely hide their “stigma” (Goffman 1963); even if they do not wear traditional Maghrebin dress or have regional tattoos, the majority of Arab and Berber women are identifiable by their hair type and/or skin color. The fact that North Africans are a visible minority means that other people are likely to treat them according to one aspect of their identity at the expense of others.

Maghrebin women in France are low status in terms of gender, ethnicity, and immigrant status. This poses problems because individuals need to feel positively about both their personal and group identities (Tajfel 1981; Snow and Anderson 1987; Swann et al. 1987). Consequently, members of low status groups are likely to engage in “identity work,” attempting “to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept” (Snow and Anderson 1987:1348). Because people want consistency between how they see themselves and how they think others view them, stress results when comments or behavior by others do not match an individual’s own conception of his or her identity (Burke 1991).

In this book, I examine Maghrebin women’s self-perceptions, including whether or not they have changed over time. I also ask how immigrant women believe they are viewed by others (meta-perceptions) in order to explore any tension between self- and meta-perceptions (Lalonde et al. 1992). My findings complicate Burke’s (1991) original identity-control model by revealing that the level of stress experienced in the long term depends on women’s ability to confront misperceptions, but not necessarily on the success of those confrontations. I therefore challenge the notion that misperceptions must be corrected in order to mitigate stress. Finally, I highlight not only positive identity claims but also self-disidentifications as the latter are a particularly important form of reactive identity work (McCall

2003). Learning how participants creatively manage identities in various contexts to feel positively about themselves, including by resisting certain labels that seem self-evident and nonnegotiable, not only informs our understanding of the interactions between the self and society, but also has important implications for immigrant adaptation.

Plan of the Book

In order to situate the context in which the participants live and construct their present selves, Chapter 1 provides some background and history on French–North African relations and Maghrebin immigration to France and details the participants’ characteristics. Chapter 2 analyzes the way that gender conditions North African women’s lives growing up in the Maghreb, immigrating, and adapting in France. It examines the responsibilities and restraints placed on North African women and how these gender norms often change in France as immigrants take on new roles and renegotiate family relations. Although westerners frequently view North Africa as a bastion of patriarchal values, Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian women compare and contrast sexism in both the Maghreb and in France. They also highlight interesting differences between their experiences as women and those of male Muslim immigrants.

Immigrants are confronted with multiple models of behavior in the host country, and Chapter 3 explores the cultural choices that they make in terms of values and comportments including cooking, dress, language use, and religious practices. Structural constraints on religious practices result in transformations of women’s beliefs about what it means to be Muslim in France. This chapter also focuses on boundary work, what women prefer and dislike in the Maghreb and in France, and how they feel about their own acculturation and that of others. Chapter 4 discusses identity negotiation: how North African women construct their self-concepts and respond to the perceptions of others, what labels they accept or reject, and their situated identities in relation to other groups: nonemigrants from the Maghreb, the French, Arab/Berbers, and members of the second generation.

Chapter 5 describes the structural problems and relational problems that Maghrebin immigrants face in France. These include finding suitable apart-

ments and jobs, negotiating the bureaucracies that deal with immigrants, living with language difficulties, and combating social isolation. The last chapter, Chapter 6, looks toward the future, concentrating on women's relationships to their children. Many women who planned to return to North Africa upon their own and/or their husband's retirement find that returning to the Maghreb would mean leaving their adult children behind in France. They struggle with the question of how to raise second-generation children to be successful in France yet maintain certain cultural traditions. This frequently leads to interesting, and often promising, compromises.