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The role of competition in the integration of immigrants to the host society

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Abstract

Integration and social inclusion is essential for immigrants to become successful, contributing and active citizens (de Weerd et al, 2005) of the host society. Thus studying factors that are instrumental in acculturation carry important conclusions for integration and citizenship issues. The present study aims to investigate such factors.

This paper presents the results of an explorative pilot study. The study's main goal was to test a theoretical model and to prepare a larger study on the role competition plays in immigrant groups, in acculturation and intercultural adaptation.

Previous studies revealed the importance of competition between immigrants and the citizens of the host society in the acculturation of immigrants (Zagefka et al, 2007), in their opportunities to become accepted, contributing and active citizens (de Weerd et al, 2005) in their new society. At the same time in-group competition among immigrants is almost unexplored, just like its possible role regarding acculturation. However indirectly related studies (Grzymała-Kozłowska, 2005) and previously presented findings of the present study (Büki & Fülöp, 2012) suggest that in-group competition may play a role in acculturation. The latter suggests that different competitive patterns (Fülöp, 2009) inside the immigrant community can facilitate different acculturation strategies (Berry et al 2002). Beyond this competitive processes may be shaped by migration motives (Margolis, 2009) and by the domains of competition (Takács & Fülöp, 2013). However these issues remained almost unstudied so far.

The study had three main questions:

1. Which acculturation strategies are facilitated by constructive and by destructive competition inside the immigrant group?
2. a. What kind of migration motives appear in the immigrant communities?
2. b. Is there a relationship between these migration motives and the competitive patterns of in-group competition?
3. Do competitive patterns differ along different domains of life (e. g. work, interpersonal relationships)?

Participants of the study were Brazilian immigrants (3 men, 7 women; M(age)=36,4 years) from 7 countries, living there at least for 1 year. The future study aims to investigate Brazilian immigrants living in Hungary and Portugal. The Brazilian community in Hungary is small thus for the pilot study Brazilians living in other countries were involved. 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted online in Portuguese with them. The interviews were verbatim transcribed and content analysed along the main questions of interest.

The results showed that constructive and destructive competition inside the immigrant group may facilitate different acculturation strategies. Beyond this, that destructive in-group competition may be present in a greater extent than constructive in-group competition in immigrant communities where the economic migration motive is dominant and in competitive domains related to economic migration motives ('Material aspects of life'; 'Work and business') and to 'Interpersonal relations'.
The results contribute to citizenship research too: if consequences of destructive in-group competition prevail among immigrants in the labour market and in business this might hinder their social inclusion and successful integration to the host country on the long term.

Keywords: *immigration, competitive patterns, acculturation strategies, migration motives, context/domain specificity*
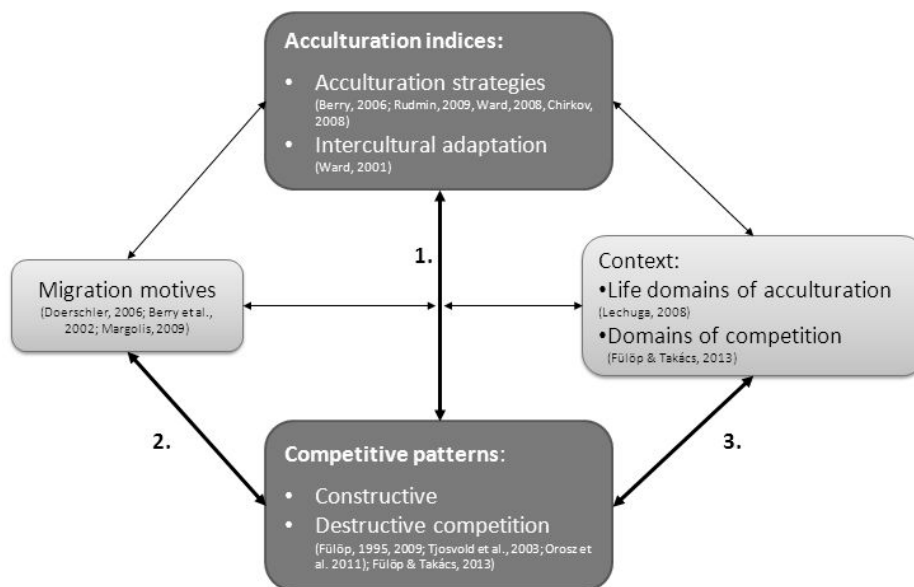
Introduction

Contemporary Europe needs societies of integration and inclusion (Issa et al, 2006). Immigrants' integration and social inclusion into a receiving society depends on their motivation and capabilities to do so and on their possibilities – to become successful, contributing and active citizens (de Weerd et al, 2005) – provided by the host society. This outcome's indicators (Pisarenko, 2006; Saxena, 2009) are interrelated with acculturation indicators. Thus studying factors that are instrumental in acculturative processes /as acculturation strategies (Berry, 2006)/ and in acculturation outcomes /as intercultural adaptation (Ward, 2001)/ carry important conclusions for integration and citizenship issues. The present study aims to investigate such factors.

The character of the immigrants' migration motives is a crucial factor determining acculturation (e.g. economic migration motives, Doerschler, 2006; voluntariness of migration, refugees – 'migrant types', Berry et al, 2002; Maydell-Stevens et al, 2007; short-term/long-term migration, Kim, 2001; push-pull factors, Kunz, 1973; Ward et al, 2001). The nature of immigrants' social interaction processes – within their own immigrant group, with other immigrants and with the majority society members – are important factors too in acculturative processes and outcomes (e.g. Grzymała-Kozłowska, 2005; Pietka, 2009; Gold, 1994). Social interaction processes imply competitive dynamics (Fülöp, 2009) but the role of the different competitive processes in acculturation is almost unstudied (Büki & Fülöp, 2012, 2013). However, different competitive patterns (Fülöp, 1995, 2009) inside the immigrant group may play a role in acculturation strategies (Berry et al, 2002) (Büki & Fülöp, 2012, 2013) and in intercultural adaptation (Ward, 2001). According to the literature (e.g. Margolis, 2009; McGrath, 2010), it can be assumed that migration motives may shape also competitive processes beyond acculturation indicators. Additionally, research also suggests that both acculturation indicators and competitive processes may vary according to different contexts (e. g. Lechuga, 2008, Fülöp & Takács, 2013).

The present study is an explorative pilot study of a larger project that intends to study the role of competitive patterns in acculturation. Beyond this it aims to reveal the complex interplay of acculturation strategies and intercultural adaptation, competitive patterns, migration motives/goals and context specificity (*Figure 1*). The main study will be a comparative study among Brazilian immigrants living in Hungary and Portugal.

Figure 1 – Main variables and relationships investigated in the larger project

The main goal of this pilot study was to investigate certain relationships within the above main model, namely the relationship of competitive patterns with 1. acculturation strategies, 2. migration motives and 3. domains of competition (Figure 1, relationships with numbers). The full-scale analysis of the collected data (Büki & Fülöp, 2012, 2013) took into consideration both in-group competition (among Brazilian immigrants) and out-group competition (between immigrants and members of the host society and immigrants from other nations). But this paper presents only the results on competition inside the immigrant group – in the hope of calling attention to the unrevealed nature of in-group competition among immigrants.

Acculturation is the process when individuals/groups of different cultural background come into continuous first-hand contact with each other that results in changes in the original cultural patterns of one or all of the parties (Redfield et al, 1936). John Berry's framework (1980, 1997, 2001, 2006) differentiates among four acculturation strategies, based on the dimensions: (1) the heritage culture's maintenance and (2) the mainstream

or dominant culture's adoption[1]. Assimilation involves a preference for not maintaining the heritage culture and adopting the new culture. Integration refers to a preference for both maintaining one's heritage culture and adopting the new one. Separation involves a preference for maintaining one's heritage culture without adopting the new one. Marginalization is a preference for not maintaining the heritage culture and not adopting the new one. Although Berry's framework was influential in the last 40 years of acculturation research (Ward, 2008) it has been criticized from conceptual (e.g. Chirkov, 2009) and psychometric aspects (e.g. Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). One shortcoming of this framework is that the two dimensions (referred above) can be operationalized in several ways leading to controversial results (Ward, 2008; Berry & Sabatier, 2011). Additionally, research suggests that more variations can be present in real life than the proposed four strategies (e.g. Ward, 2013; Mishra et al, 1996; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008)[2]. The models' contribution to understanding acculturation is evident but future research needs also new ways of investigation (Ward, 2008). Creating alternative models exceeds the present study's possibilities. Thus using Berry's model with modifications in accordance with critiques can be still useful. Considering these, the present study interprets acculturation strategies as context specific and dynamic[3,4]. The present interpretation includes also the group level of acculturation strategies that is considered as important (Nguyen, 2012) but it is less studied (Manetti et al, 2012). It excludes the evaluation that integration is the most desirable and the most beneficial strategy (Rudmin, 2006). Additionally, it does not compound the four strategies' definitions with mental health or social outcomes (Rudmin, 2006).

Recent research suggests (Büki & Fülöp, 2012, 2013) that acculturation strategies may be shaped by the competitive patterns (Fülöp, 2009) characterizing immigrant communities. The last decades of competition research called the attention to the *multidimensional nature of competition* (Fülöp, 1995; 2001; 2004, 2009; Tjosvold et al, 2003, 2006; Orosz et al, 2011) and identified qualitatively different competitive processes. A *competitive process* can be considered as *constructive* or *destructive* based on its harmful or beneficial effects (Fülöp, 1992; Tjosvold et al, 2003). The constructive and destructive nature of a competitive process is defined along several characteristics and dimensions. Regarding the relationship between the competitive parties these are: the openness of communication between the parties; the level of trust and respect; the conceptualization

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[1] Berry (1984, 1990, 1997) „initially proposed cultural maintenance and contact-participation as the fundamental components of acculturation; however, later researchers have introduced revisions to the original model, assessing cultural maintenance in combination with cultural adoption (see Liebkind (2001) for a discussion of these variations)" (Ward, 2013, p. 6)

[2] For example the model does not take into consideration any ethnorelativistic forms of acculturation and cultural identity. In the interpretation of Bennett and Bennett (2004) a fully integrated person is someone who can transcend the "limitations of cultures" because of his/her ethnorelativism. They call this *constructive marginality* that means that a person has not only developed a cognitive and affective perspective, and skills that enables him/her living in a pluralistic world, but he/she is also able to maintain a distance to cultural conventions in which he/she participates (Boski, 2008). It is very different from the *encapsulated marginality* when the separation from the heritage and the mainstream (or other) culture(s) is experienced as alienation – this concept can be considered very similar to Berry's marginalization concept.
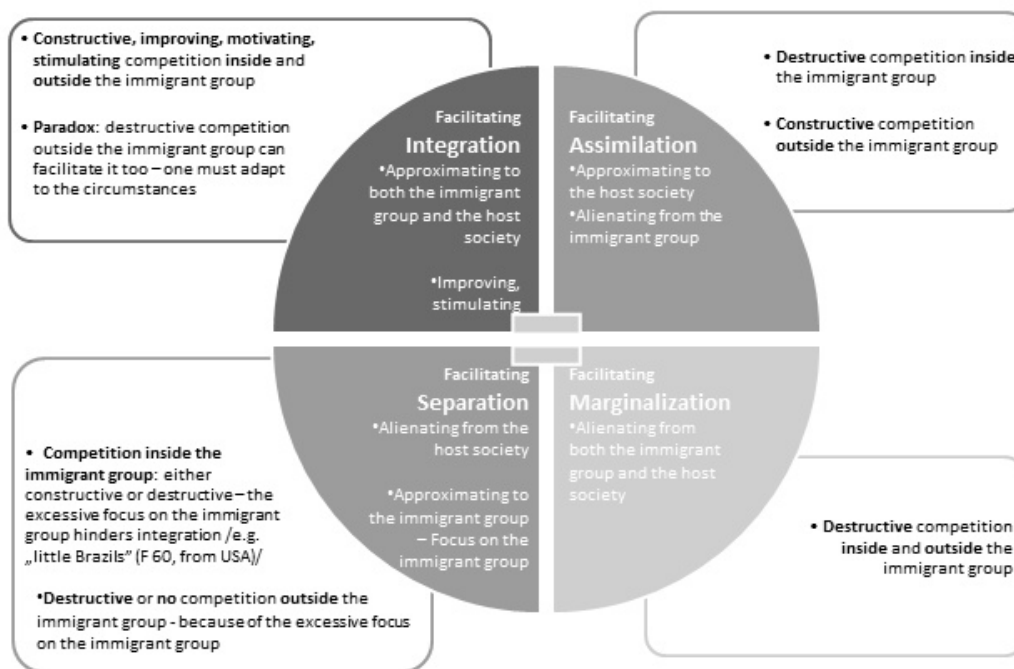
[3] Instead of considering them as static and conscious choices (Chirkov, 2009)

[4] I.e. the shift between strategies or the combination of them depends on the context and the strategies can change over time (Ward, Stuart, & Kus, 2011).

of the role of the competitive party (enemy, opponent to win over, friend, motivator, comparative other). Regarding the process of competition the attributed function of competition (motivation; improvement/growth; selection/struggle for life; goal attainment); the focus of the applied means of the competitive process (the self; the rival in a negative way; extended focus: the self and the rival in a positive way; the goal; the broader environment (group, society) in a positive way); rule keeping (keeping the explicit and implicit rules of competition; the clarity of the rules and criteria of competition, the importance of the goal of competition, the intensity of competition, the perceived amount of the resources, the equality of chances, the time-frame (short or long-term perspective) of the competitive process also contribute to the constructive versus destructive nature of the competitive relationship and process (Fülöp, 1992, 2004; 2009; Fülöp & Takács, 2013).

In a migration context, it is crucial how competition patterns among immigrants can be beneficial or harmful. I.e. facilitating acculturation strategies adaptive in the context and the immigrants' development or not. Studies investigating social interactions inside immigrant communities suggest that these questions are worth for studying. Still, compared to individual/group level competition between immigrants and host society members (e. g. Zagefka et al, 2007), in-group competition among immigrants is almost unexplored just like its role in acculturation strategies. We can infer this relationship only from indirectly related studies (e. g. Grzymała-Kozłowska, 2005; McGrath, 2010, Margolis, 1994, 2009; Pietka, 2009) and from previously presented findings related to the present study (Büki & Fülöp, 2012, 2013). The latter suggests that different competitive patterns may facilitate different acculturation strategies (*Figure 2*). The importance of these patterns resides in the fact if they facilitate or hinder immigrants' approximation to their immigrant group and to the host society. This relationship seems to be interrelated with the competitive pattern outside the immigrant group (with majority members or with other immigrant groups' members) too. Thus e.g. constructive competition inside and outside the immigrant group may facilitate integration, because it approximates the immigrant(s) to both the immigrant group and the host society. Following the same logic destructive competition inside and outside the immigrant group may facilitate marginalization. Separation might be facilitated by any competitive pattern in in-group competition because it brings the focus on the immigrant group and by this it alienates from the host society. And it may be facilitated by destructive competition outside the immigrant group. Assimilation may be facilitated by destructive competition inside the immigrant group and by constructive competition with host society members.

Figure 2 - Possible relationship of competitive patterns with acculturation strategies (Büki & Fülöp, 2012, 2013)

- Constructive, improving, motivating, stimulating competition **inside** and **outside** the immigrant group

- **Paradox**: destructive competition outside the immigrant group can facilitate it too – one must adapt to the circumstances

Facilitating
Integration
•Approximating to both the immigrant group and the host society

•Improving, stimulating

Facilitating
Assimilation
•Approximating to the host society
•Alienating from the immigrant group

- **Destructive** competition inside the immigrant group

- **Constructive** competition **outside** the immigrant group

- **Competition inside the immigrant group**: either constructive or destructive – the excessive focus on the immigrant group hinders integration /e.g. „little Brazils" (F 60, from USA)/

•**Destructive** or no competition **outside** the immigrant group - because of the excessive focus on the immigrant group

Facilitating
Separation
•Alienating from the host society

•Approximating to the immigrant group – Focus on the immigrant group

Facilitating
Marginalization
•Alienating from both the immigrant group and the host society

- **Destructive** competition **inside** and **outside** the immigrant group

Considering the assumptions of the model presented in Figure 2 the present study intended to reveal (Figure 1, relationship 1.):

1. Which acculturation strategies are facilitated by constructive and by destructive competition inside the immigrant group (in-group competition)? Are these relationships in accordance with the relationships regarding in-group competition presented in Figure 2?

In a migration context it is crucial too how *migration motives* shape acculturation processes and outcomes (e.g. Maydell-Stevens et al, 2007; Udahemuka & Pernice, 2010; Porter, 2006). Several divisions of migration motives emphasize an economic/financial category. Research suggests that primarily economic migration can impede integration (Doerschler, 2006; Martinovic, Tubergen, & Maas, 2009). Additionally, that destructive social phenomena within the immigrant in-group, including competition (Margolis, 1994, 2009; Padilla, 2006; McGrath, 2010; Tapias & Escandell, 2011) are more prevalent in life domains related to economic migration motives (e.g labour market competition, competition for material resources). These findings follow the same "logic": if immigrants arrive to a country only for gaining money and then returning to the home country they may be less motivated to make efforts for integrating themselves either to the host society, or to their own immigrant group. Thus economic migration motives may shape in-group social processes among immigrants – presumably competitive patterns as well. So the present study intended to reveal:

2. a. What kind of migration motives appear in the immigrant communities?

2. b. Is there a relationship between these migration motives and the competitive patterns of in-group competition (Figure 1, relationship 2.)?

According to research, competitive patterns seem to have context specific characteristics (Fülöp & Takács, 2013), so the third main question was:

3. Do competitive patterns differ along different domains of competition (e. g. work, interpersonal relationships)? (Figure 1, relationship 3.)?

The present study

Sample

As already mentioned, the present study is a pilot study of a larger project comparing Brazilian immigrants in two EU countries. The relevance of the chosen design and sample resides in several facts. The dynamics of in-group and intergroup competition, social support and acculturation can be very different depending on the immigrant group's size, the migration motives/goals and the acculturation possibilities in the given country e.g. local language, migration policy, receptiveness of the host society etc. To measure these differences, Brazilian immigrants living in Hungary and in Portugal will be involved to the full-scale project. Brazilian immigrants compose the largest immigrant community in Portugal (111.445 legalized Brazilians, Estrela et al, 2011), while the Brazilian immigrant group in Hungary is very small (ca. 300[5]). Additionally, the migration motives and time perspective of the goals[6] of Brazilians migrating to the two countries can be very different. Regarding acculturation possibilities: 1. Brazilians communicate in their mother tongue in Portugal, in Hungary a totally different language from Portuguese, the Hungarian is used; 2. Portugal is considered as a country providing an environment that facilitates social inclusion and integration while Hungary provides this to a lesser extent (MIPEX, 2011). Beyond this the importance of studying Brazilian immigration to EU countries is supported by the significant waves of Brazilian emigration of the last 20 years and the growing international interest in this issue in migration research. The Brazilian community in Hungary is small therefore for the pilot study Brazilian immigrants living in other countries were involved[7]. 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Portuguese, online[8]. The participants (3 men, 7 women; M(age)=36,4 years) were from 7 countries[9] living there at least for 1 year (in average for 4,9 years).

Methods

The interview structure consisted of six thematic units (revealing the main variables investigated in the present study): 1. Migration circumstances, motives and goals; 2. Psychological adaptation; 3. Sociocultural adaptation; 4. Acculturation strategies; 5.

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[5] Data provided by the Office of Immigration and Nationality of Hungary, 2012
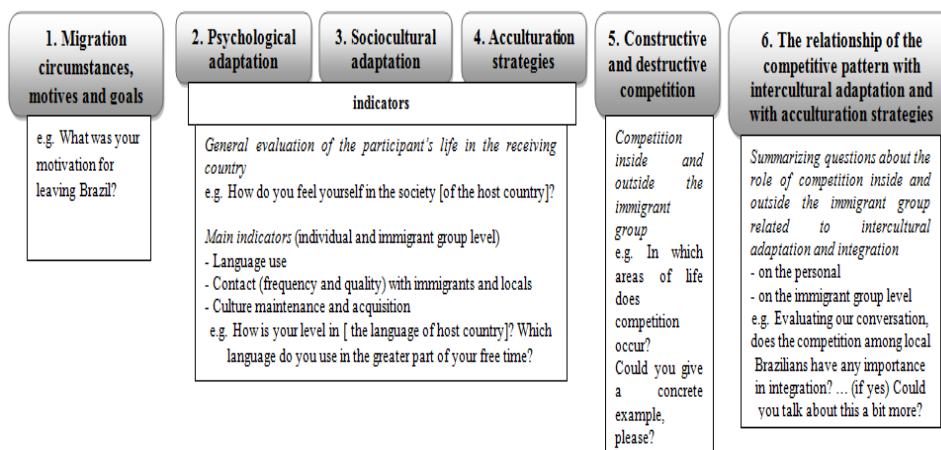
[6] short-term / long-term

[7] Participants could register to participate by completing an online questionnaire.

[8] The interviews were conducted using Skype. Before the procedure the interview questions were revised by a native speaker of Portuguese and a bilingual speaker of Portuguese and Hungarian.

[9] Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, USA, Thailand and New Zealand.

Constructive and destructive competition; 6. The relationship of the competitive pattern with intercultural adaptation and with acculturation strategies (*Figure 3*).

Figure 3 – Examples of questions of the interview

The interviews were literally transcribed and content analysed in Atlas.ti 6.2. The full-scale analysis used more codes – here only codes related to the present paper will be presented.

Acculturation strategies were coded in the individual and in the group level. This was necessary because only 4 of the participants recalled competitive situations from their own life, the rest of them recalled situations only from others' life from the local community (code name: Story origin: own life/from others' life). Thus the group level was also used to reveal relationship between acculturation strategies and competitive situations. The acculturation strategies were categorized according to the following categories:

Table 2 – Categorization of individual and group level acculturation strategies (Berry et al, 2002; Lieber et al, 2001)

Categories	Values
Language use	local/maternal/both/none
Relationship maintenance	with locals/immigrants/both/none
Cultural maintenance/adoption	only maintenance/only adoption/both/none

The participants were asked to recall competitive situations during the interview (Unit 5 in Figure 3). Here only situations inside the immigrant group are in focus. These situations first were labelled as constructive or destructive. The *competitive situations* were categorized as constructive or destructive by the following dimensions and distinct cate-

gories in *Table 3* and by evaluating the overall outcome of the situation (from beneficial to harmful). Altogether 15 stories were analysed[10].

Table 3 – Dimensions and distinct categories (Fülöp, 1995, 2008, 2009, 2013; Fülöp & Takács, 2013) of categorizing competitive patterns

	Dimensions	Categories
1. The relationship between the parties		
Communication	open – blocked	
Level of trust	trust – distrust	
Conceptualization of the competitive party		friend; opponent to win over; comparative other; motivator; enemy
2. The process of competition		
Function of competition		motivation; improvement/growth; selection/struggle for life; goal attainment
The orientations/focus the applied means of the competitive process		the self (e.g. self-improvement); the rival in a negative way (e.g. eliminating the other); extended focus: the self and the rival in a positive way; the goal (e.g. motivating each other); the broader environment (group, society) in a positive way
3. Rule keeping		
keeping the explicit and implicit rules of competition		both of the parties are keeping the rules; at least one of them is breaking the rules
fairness of the rules	fair – unfair	

Each competitive situation was categorized also according to its *relationship with acculturation strategies* (the competitive situation facilitates integration/assimilation/separation/marginalization).

Each situation was categorized also according to the *life domain* in which it occurred: 'Integration/Adaptation to the new society' 'Work and business'; 'Material resources'; 'Interpersonal relationships'; 'Physical appearance' (category descriptions in *Table 4*).

Table 4 – Competition domains and their descriptions

The competition domains	The category describes in-group competition:
'Integration/Adaptation to the new society' (I/A)	in e.g. learning the local language, learning adaptive sociocultural skills
'Work and business' (W and B)	in the labour market, in the workplace or between/among entrepreneurs
'Material resources' (MR)	in having more material resources e.g. car, apartment, clothes than other Brazilians
'Interpersonal relationships' (IR)	For mates and friends among Brazilians

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[10] There were altogether 17 competitive situations mentioned by the 10 respondents regarding in-group competition among immigrants. 2 of the 17 situations could not be classified neither as constructive nor as destructive. These stories were left out from further analysis.

'Physical appearance' (PA)	in becoming more attractive than other Brazilian women[11]

Also *migration motives* were coded in the individual and in the group level as well, for the same reason as in the case of acculturation strategies (for motive types see *Table 5* in Results section).

Results

The full-scale analysis of the present study took into consideration also out-group competition, but the present paper focuses only on results related to competition inside the immigrant group.

Table 5 presents the 10 interviews and the 15 stories related to them characterized by the main acculturation-, competition-, motivation- and domain-related code categories. The explanation of the abbreviations appears in the footnotes. 10 destructive and 5 constructive competitive situations could be identified while analyzing the stories.

Table 5 – The 10 interviews and the 15 stories analysed based on the main acculturation, competition, motivation and domain-related categories

Story number	Acculturation strategy (individual level) [12]	Acculturation strategy (group level) [13]	Migration motive (individual level)	Migration motive (group level)	Story origin	Domain of competition [14]	Competitive pattern [15]	Relationship of the competitive pattern with acculturation strategies
Interview 1								
1	A	S (culture, relationships) + I (language use)	Personal growth, professional growth, interest in other cultures	Various motives[16]	from others' life	W and B	DC	Facilitates S: the focus is on the in-group[17] / It can facilitate A: alienating from the in-group
2						MR	DC	Facilitates S: the focus is on the in-group

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[11] This category appeared solely among Brazilian women.
[12] A=Assimilation, I=Integration, S=Separation, M=Marginalization
[13] A=Assimilation, I=Integration, S=Separation, M=Marginalization
[14] For the abbreviations see Table 4.
[15] DC=Destructive competition, CC=Constructive competition
[16] e.g. personal, familial, professional improvement, economic
[17] =immigrant group

Story number Acculturation strategy (individual level) [18]	Acculturation strategy (group level) [19]	Migration motive (individual level)	Migration motive (group level)	Story origin	Domain of competition [20]	Competitive pattern [21]	Relationship of the competitive pattern with acculturation strategies
3						IR	DC	Facilitates S: focus on the in-group + makes difficult relating oneself to the host society
Interview 2								
4	I (language use, culture) + S (Relationships) ("partial integration")	I	Studying, resting, interest in other cultures	Various motives	own	I/A	CC	Facilitates I: Approximating both to the in-group and to the host society
5							CC	
Interview 3								
6	I	I	Liked the local life/culture and stayed	Various motives	from others' life	PA	CC	no relationship
Story number	**Acculturation strategy** (individual level) [18]	**Acculturation strategy** (group level) [19]	**Migration motive** (individual level)	**Migration motive** (group level)	**Story origin**	**Domain of competition** [20]	**Competitive pattern** [21]	**Relationship of the competitive pattern with acculturation strategies**
Interview 4								
7	A	S ("Little Brasil")	Looking for better conditions for the family	Economic motive	from others' life	I/A	DC	Facilitates S: the focus is on the in-group + makes more difficult the integration to the host society
								Facilitates A: alienating from the in-group
Interview 5								

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[18] A=Assimilation, I=Integration, S=Separation, M=Marginalization
[19] A=Assimilation, I=Integration, S=Separation, M=Marginalization
[20] For the abbreviations see Table 4.
[21] DC=Destructive competition, CC=Constructive competition

Story number	Acculturation strategy (individual level) [22]	Acculturation strategy (group level) [23]	Migration motive (individual level)	Migration motive (group level)	Story origin	Domain of competition [24]	Competitive pattern [25]	Relationship of the competitive pattern with acculturation strategies
8	A	S – majority of the Brazilians + A – minority	Political	Economic motive	from others' life	W and B	DC	Facilitates S: the focus goes on the in-group + makes more difficult the integration to the host society
								Facilitates A: alienating from the in-group
Interview 6								
9	M	S	Her partner/spouse	Various motives	from others' life	W and B	DC	Facilitates S : the focus goes on the in-group
								Facilitates M: alienating from the in-group
Interview 7								
10	I (language use, relationships) + A (culture)	S – majority of the Brazilians + I – small minority	Her partner/spouse; Professional growth	Economic motive	from others' life	W and B	CC	Facilitates I or S - Approximating to the in-group
11					own	W and B	DC	Facilitates A – alienates from the in-group
Interview 8								
12	A + S (from S to the direction of A in all fields)	S	Learning English	Economic motive	own	W and B	CC	Facilitates S: focus on the in-group
13					own	W and B	DC	Facilitates S: the focus goes on the in-group
								Facilitates A: alienating from the in-

[22] A=Assimilation, I=Integration, S=Separation, M=Marginalization
[23] A=Assimilation, I=Integration, S=Separation, M=Marginalization
[24] For the abbreviations see Table 4.
[25] DC=Destructive competition, CC=Constructive competition

586

								group
Interview 9								
14	A	I (language use, culture) + S (relationships)	His partner/spouse	Various motives	from others' life	MR	DC	Facilitates S: the focus is on the in-group / Facilitates A: alienating from the in-group
Interview 10								
15	M + I (ambivalence in every category)	S	Studying	Economic motive	own	W and B	DC	facilitates S: the focus is on the in-group / And it can facilitate M: alienating from the in-group

Because only 4 participants mentioned own life stories, the group level acculturation strategy and migration motive categories were used during the analysis.

1. The relationship between the acculturation strategies (group level) and competitive patterns

Table 5 shows that constructive competition inside the immigrant group seems to facilitate Integration by approximating both to the in-group and to the host society ($N_{(stories)}=2$ e.g. Interview 2/ Story 4) or Separation by bringing the focus on the in-group/approximating to the in-group ($N_{(stories)}=2$ e.g. Interview 8/ Story 12). These are in accordance with the relationships introduced in Figure 2.
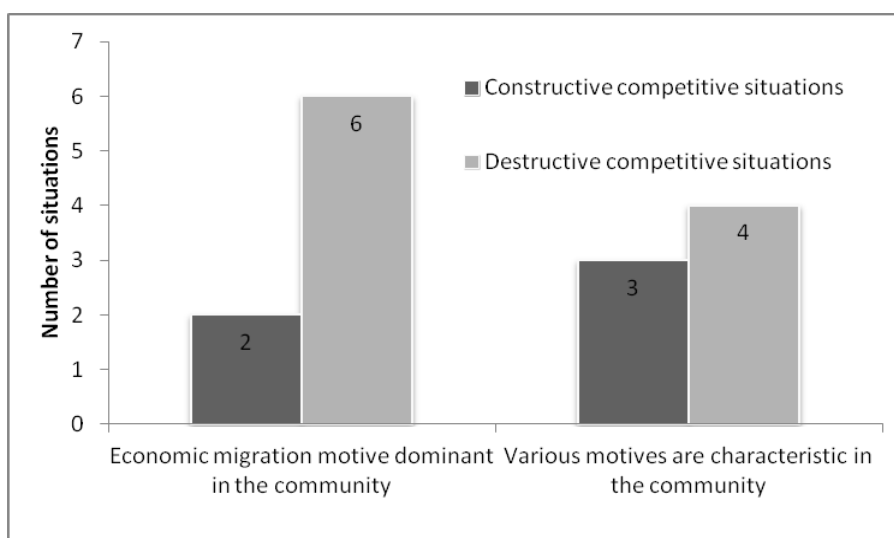
At the same time destructive competition inside the immigrant group seems to facilitate Separation by bringing the focus on the in-group/approximating to the in-group/ making more difficult the integration to the host society ($N_{(stories)}=9$ e.g. Interview 1/ Story 3) Assimilation ($N_{(stories)}=6$ e.g. Interview 9/ Story 14) or Marginalization ($N_{(stories)}=2$ Interview 10/ Story 15). These are in accordance with the relationships introduced in Figure 2.

In the case of both competitive patterns it can be observed that one competitive situation may facilitate more acculturation strategies at the same time (e.g. constructive competition: Interview 7/ Story 10; destructive competition: Interview 1/ Story 1).

2. Migration motives (group level) and their relationship with competitive patterns

a. Economic migration motive (group level) emerged as a main motive in the immigrant community in half (5/10) of the interviews (Table 5). In the other half various parallel motives were characteristic in the local community e.g. personal, family related, professional and economic.

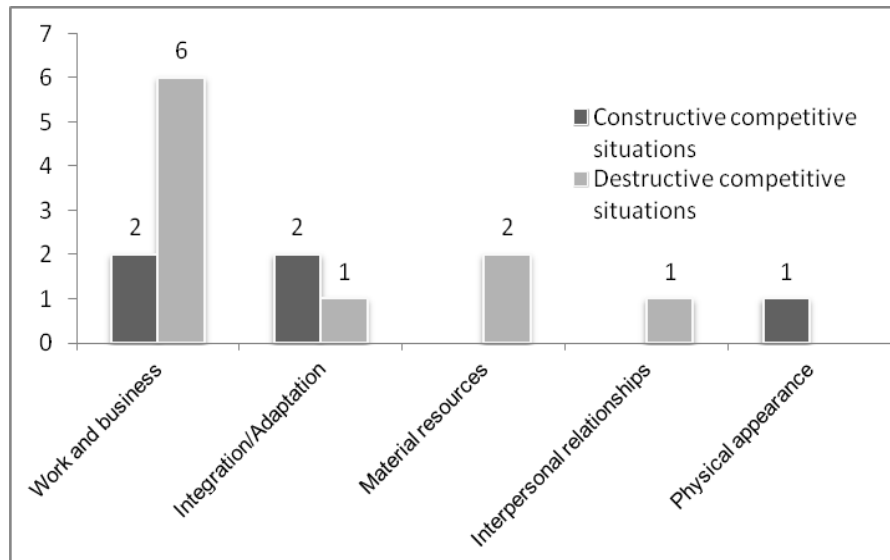**Figure 5 - Migration motive dominant in the community**

b. *Figure 5* shows the proportion of the destructive and constructive competitive situations in the two different migration motive contexts. In both contexts destructive competitive situations seemed to be more characteristic than constructive ones. However there is an important difference between the two contexts. In those immigrant community contexts where economic migration motive was dominant there was a greater difference in the prevalence of destructive and constructive competition than in the contexts where various parallel motives were present in the community.

3. Competitive domains and their relationship with competitive patterns

Figure 6 shows how the prevalence of constructive/destructive competitive situations differed across competitive domains. Altogether: destructive competitive situations were more characteristic than constructive ones in the domains of 'Work and business', 'Material resources' and 'Interpersonal relationships'. In 'Integration/Adaptation to the host society' and 'Physical appearance' constructive competition seemed to be more characteristic.

Figure 6

The law number of interviews and stories does not allow making more profound conclusions about these differences.

Conclusion

The results altogether suggest that the three relationships examined in the present study are worth for studying in a larger project. Three sub-models can be set up according to the results that will be studied more in-depth, in larger samples in Portugal and in Hungary.

1. Constructive in-group competition may facilitate integration; destructive may facilitate assimilation and marginalization. Separation may be facilitated by any competitive pattern in in-group competition because it brings the focus on the immigrant group and by this it alienates from the host society.

2. Destructive competition may be more characteristic than constructive competition in contexts where economic migration motive is dominant than in contexts where various parallel motives are characteristic.

3. Destructive competitive situations may be present in a greater extent than constructive ones in competitive domains related to economic migration motives ('Material aspects of life'; 'Work and business') and to 'Interpersonal relations'.

According to these preliminary results destructive competition may shape how immigrants manage to become successful and contributing citizens of a new country. The predominance of destructive in-group competition characterizes the immigrant contexts where economic migration motive is dominant and it characterizes the competitive do-

main of Work and business. If the harmful consequences of destructive in-group competition prevail among immigrants in the labour market and in business – in domains where immigrants can contribute the most to the host country – this might hinder their social inclusion and successful integration to the host country on the long term. Focusing on each other and only on economic goals immigrants might become less motivated for caring about becoming contributing and integrated citizens because this issue will be out of the focus of their main goals. Thus destructive in-group competition might imply harmful effects on the macro-economic-societal level as well on the long term, especially in times of economic crises when destructive competition may take even more intensive forms.

However to confirm these ideas properly, much more studies and larger sample sizes are needed using various methods. Beyond the small sample size (and the law number of the stories), the different host countries of the participants are limitations of the present study. Additionally, competition outside the immigrant community is also a crucial factor in the comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under question (for results including out-group competition see Büki & Fülöp, 2012, 2013).

Despite its limitations, this pilot study serves as an important basis for the larger cross-cultural project presented briefly. If the future results will support the preliminary findings, it may be worth taking into consideration competitive patterns inside the immigrant group both in research and in applied areas related to acculturation and immigration. Thus the present and future findings might be interesting also for citizenship education in multicultural context.

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