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Innovative Practice and Research Trends in Identity, Citizenship and Education
Selected papers from the sixteenth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Academic Network

London: CiCe 2014

**edited by Peter Cunningham and Nathan Fretwell, published in London by CiCe,
ISBN 978-1-907675-21-8**

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Michalek, J. & Rostowska, T. (2014) 'Parents' labour migration: the link between adolescents' perceptions of parental attitudes and their personal identity in the area of school and occupation', in P. Cunningham & N. Fretwell (eds.) *Innovative Practice and Research Trends in Identity, Citizenship and Education*. London: CiCe, pp. 222 – 236.

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Lifelong Learning Programme

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

Acknowledgements:

This is taken from the book that is a selection of papers given at the annual CiCe Conference indicated. The CiCe Steering Group and the editor would like to thank

- All those who contributed to the Conference
- The CiCe administrative team at London Metropolitan University
- London Metropolitan University, for financial and other support for the programme, conference and publication
- The Lifelong Learning Programme and the personnel of the Education and Culture DG of the European Commission for their support and encouragement.

Parents' labour migration: the link between adolescents' perceptions of parental attitudes and their personal identity in the area of school and occupation

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Abstract

Labour migration has become typical phenomenon in Poland that generates new types of families and leads to 'temporary abandoned' children and other family members. Recent research discovered that transnational families are distinguished by specific patterns of communication or emotional climate and that parent-child separation influence on child's psychosocial functioning, especially at a young age. Few studies concern the situation of adolescents. The aim of this papers is to examine the relationship between the perception of parental attitudes and the personal identity status in the area of school and occupation among adolescents from transnational families. Participants were 152 high school youth – 76 from transnational families (selected from a group of 99 students from such families), who satisfy the conditions: only one parent migrates – the father and come from nuclear family, and 76 from a nuclear families (comparison group). The following measures were used in the study: Parental Attitudes Scale (SPR-2) (Plopa, 2005), Identity Development Scale (U-GIDS) (Polish adaptation - Rostowski, 1997), interview questionnaire to collect information about parent's migration. The results of the study showed that there are differences in perception of parental attitudes between adolescents from transnational families and from control families. Migration factor also differentiates: occurrence of personal identity statuses in the area of school and occupation – girls from transnational families more often have reached the status of identity achievement, whereas the adolescents from non-migratory families more often have reached identity diffusion. The results indicated associations between personal identity statuses and parental attitudes (mother and father separately) – especially for moratorium and identity achievement. Results can be used to promote good individual development and show the important role the family has on identity development – especially in context of parents' migration.

Keywords: *parent's migration, transnational family, personal identity, parental attitudes, adolescents*

Introduction

Migration and its accompanying phenomenon are studied in many scientific disciplines and in different cultural contexts. In Poland, a country with a long tradition of migration, the migration movements took on a new character in the year 2004, after the accession of Poland to the European Union and the opening of borders for the Polish workers (Kawczynska-Butrym, 2009). Analysis concerning economic migration increasingly includes the aspects of family life. In Europe (and especially in Eastern and Southern Europe) research on migrant families was only conducted over the two last decades, and

it mostly concerned the impact of separation due to the migration on family ties (in the USA this subject was researched before because of the scale of the issue in that geographic region) (Kofman, 2004; Raghuram, 2004). Our literature review points to a special interest of researchers in one type of family – transnational families, i.e., families that are, for some time or permanently, separated due to migration (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Dreby & Adkins, 2010; Gizicka et al, 2010).

A family that is separated due to migration is formally treated as a complete family, although due to a prolonged or frequent absence of one of the parents it holds many characteristics typical for a single-parent family. Among those, we can mention an unusual system of family and marital roles, different emotional climate, but also disrupted processes of communication and execution of tasks (Janiszewski, 1976; Kwak, 1994). Even a temporary absence of a mother or a father causes their exclusion from current family life, which manifests itself in their unfamiliarity with the family's everyday problems, their reaction patterns or the ways of meeting their family's needs (Kwak, 1994). We also find studies concerning the problems that can arise when returning to one's family – these usually concern re-entry and re-learning of both parental and marital roles (Matyjas, 2008a).

So far, studies on migrant families in Poland have been mostly qualitative; often based on interviews given by members of migrant families and mainly concerned with sociological or pedagogical aspects of family functioning (see Danilewicz, 2006; Gizicka et al, 2010). Only a few studies focused on specific aspects of family migrations concerning such issues as: coherence, integration and durability of the family, family ties, or the psychological functioning of the individual members of the family system during separation caused by migration (see Danilewicz, 2006; Piekut-Burzynska, 2010; Ryan et al, 2009). It is so mostly due to the fact that the situation of migrant families is not homogeneous and depends on many factors, such as: who migrates (mother, father or both parents); the type of migration (the duration and the country of destination); the quality of life of the family before but also after the departure; the forms and the frequency of contacts during the separation or the social support provided for the family (Kofman, 2004; Tomşa, 2010). It should also be noted, that the issues concerning migration that cause changes within the family overlap other social processes related the family, such as increasing rates of divorce and separation or the emergence of reconstructed families (Bailey & Boyle, 2004).

Much attention is paid, in both international and Polish research, to the situation of children in the families that experience separation due to migration of a parent (or both parents). This concerns the rule of participation of both parents in the process of child upbringing, according to which both the mother and the father bring certain values to this process, values that differ to an extent, but that are of equal importance and moreover that both parents are jointly responsible for raising the child, and as such this process requires the presence and parental care coming from both of them (Rostowska, 1995, 2008). It can therefore be concluded, that the absence of one of the parents hinders the process of upbringing, and certainly changes it: the parent who remains at home becomes more involved, and in some cases the situation requires the involvement of other relatives, such as grandparents or older siblings (Danilewicz, 2006). The research conducted so far, focused largely on the consequences of separation from a parent on

psychosocial functioning of children, and mostly of the younger ones (Lialigene & Rupshene, 2008; Parreñas, 2001, 2008; Pottinger, 2005; Tomša, 2010).

Research shows that emotional reactions of a child to separation from a parent can take on a variety of forms, and they can be predicted by the following factors: age and sex of the child (which are related to the individual predispositions, such as: the ability to cope with changes or the sense of control the child has with regard to the parent's migration) (Pottinger, 2005), the sex of the parent who migrated (especially children separated from their mother, are in a very difficult situation in terms of psychological functioning), the duration of migration (long-term or short-term) and the form of migration (circular, seasonal, permanent) (Lialigene & Rupshene, 2008).

As we already mentioned, the literature on adolescents from migrant families is sparse. For the adolescents, during puberty, separation from a parent can intensify the difficulties arising throughout this period, when, by its very nature, the contact and the communication with the parents are already difficult. On the other hand, the older the child, the more they are treated as family members with equal rights and thanks to that they become better prepared for this change (Lialigene & Rupshene, 2008). Older children often see the positive sides of their parents' migration; they say that thanks to their parents' migration they became more independent and responsible, or that they learned to run errands and do chores, such as preparing meals (especially among girls), cleaning or paying the bills (Lialigene & Rupshene, 2008). However, the older the children, i.e., during middle school or high school, the more ambivalent their attitudes towards migration of their parents, and the more their behaviors can be characterized by increased instability and emotionality. On one hand, the adolescent tries to explain in a rational way why the parent(s) had to leave, on the other hand, s/he sees, as an almost adult, the abnormality of the existing situation (Gizicka et al, 2010).

As we already mentioned, only a small number of studies concerns adolescents from migrant families. It is worth noting, that it is during this period that the personal identity is being developed, and it is the time when the adolescent starts to look for answers to questions such as: 'who am I?' and 'what is important to me?' (Erikson, 1968; Marcia 1976; Meeus, 2011; Rostowski, 1997). The development of identity reaches its critical point during the adolescence, when the biological, cognitive and social changes typical for this period stimulate the young person to search for his/her own personal identity (Meeus, 1996). The main task of the growing up person is to make decisions concerning their future way of life, with regards to the school they want to attend, or in more general terms, their future education, how do they split their time between education and entertainment, the choice of their life partner, political involvement, etc. Moreover, the young person will soon have to take on the tasks of adulthood, such as finding a job, becoming a citizen, planning the marriage and starting a family (Rostowski, 1997).

Continuing the thought of Erikson (1968), a model of identity statuses based on two processes was created. The first process is *crisis, exploration*, which concerns the period of considering the alternatives or making choices and its aim is to unite the knowledge about oneself with the knowledge about the world; the second process is *commitment*, which determines the level of an individual's commitment to his/her goals, values and beliefs (Marcia, 1980). Depending on the level of adolescent's commitment and

exploration, we differentiate four identity statuses (Meeus, 1996; Marcia 1980): 1) *identity diffusions* – the lowest level of development; individuals with diffused identity could have experienced (but did not have to) an identity crisis in their past, these individuals did not define themselves in an unambiguous and consistent manner; 2) *foreclosures* – those individuals did not experience the identity crisis, they did not search for or considered any alternatives and at the same time they have strong and rigid beliefs, the source of which is frequently their identification with significant people, usually with the parents; 3) *moratoriums* – what is characteristic for individuals with this identity status is constantly experiencing crises concerning their identity i.e., active searching, studying and analyzing alternatives in order to make independent and informed choices about their own life; 4) *identity achievements* – is related to a high degree of maturity of an individual; they experienced an identity crisis and solved it through an insightful analysis of different alternatives and through making personal choices. Moreover, research results indicate that each of the statuses is associated with distinct personality characteristics, family predictors and developmental trends and that the statuses exist across cultures (Kroger, 2003; Rostowski, 2005).

In the context of the process of separation of the adolescent from the family system, the relationship between the child and the parents, both with the mother and the father, is emphasized in the subject literature, as the most important relationship during the life span (Scabini & Manzi, 2011). It is noted that the parental influence on the formation of the personal identity can be perceived in two ways: personal one – related to the impact the parents have as identification models; and educational one – related to the system of rewards and punishments (Koepke & Denissen, 2012). The child-parent relationship changes significantly during adolescence. The adolescent experiences an increased need for autonomy and independence. Culturally speaking, the adolescence period is recognized as the time of becoming independent from one's parents, and also of creating a more egalitarian relationship between the adolescent and the parents, which is about to result in a decision to lead an independent life in the future (De Goede et al, 2009).

Research results indicate that the emotional support from the parents is related to the development of achieved identity status among boys and foreclosed identity status among girls (O'Connor, 1995). Other studies suggest that adolescents who describe their parents as warm and close, usually take on their beliefs and values without much searching (Kamptner, 1988). The adolescents who perceive their parents as caring but not as overprotective also seem to get better results in the area of identity development (Mullis et al, 2009). Another dimension of the child-parent relationship is the degree to which the child is encouraged by the parent to be independent. Research results indicate that the children of parents who encourage independence and give the opportunity to look for possible alternative beliefs are more often characterized by moratorium or achieved identities, and those statuses are characterized by high tendency to search for alternatives (see Kroger, 2003; Young & Lichtenberg, 1996).

Present study

The aim of the presented study is to analyze a family system in a situation of migration separation during a particular stage of family life – a family with an adolescent. This

phase of family life is related to developmental challenges of an individual, such as the formation of personal identity, and also to the changes in the family system, such as changes in the parental practices concerning the adolescent. We analyzed the relationship between the occurrence of each of the identity statuses concerning school and occupation domain among the adolescents and the way they perceive parental attitudes in the context of a temporary absence of a parent due to migration (both the migrant parent and the parent who stayed in the country).

Research Questions

In reference to the presented theoretical assumptions, we pose the following research questions:

1. Are there differences in the occurrence of each of the identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation among the adolescents from migrant and non-migrant families, taking into account the sex of the participants?
2. What is the relationship between the perceived attitudes of the mother and the identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation among adolescents, taking into account the sex of the adolescent and the type of the family of origin?
3. What is the relationship between the perceived attitudes of the father and the identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation among adolescents, taking into account the sex of the adolescent and the type of the family of origin?

Method

Participants

The study was carried out in the secondary schools from February 2009 to October 2010. The study was carried out with the use of questionnaires. The participation was voluntary and anonymous; in case of adolescents under the age of 18 years we required a written consent from the parent for the child to take part in the study. Firstly we analyzed documentation of 3700 students, 200 of whom came from families where a parent (or both parents) migrated abroad for financial reasons; an additional criterion was the duration of the migration i.e., more than one year. Ultimately, 99 students from migrant families took part in the study, who themselves or whose parents consented to participate in the study. In order to unify the group, we selected adolescents from complete families, in which it was the father who migrated; the criterion group included 76 students (mean age $M = 17.97$, $SD = 0.78$), 46 girls and 30 boys. For the comparison group we intentionally chose 76 students, out of 150 surveyed in order to obtain tied groups (mean age: $M = 18.17$, $SD = 0.53$). The father was out of the country for an average of seven years ($SD = 5.5$), among the destinations of the migration the most common were (grouped by geographic location): Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland (about 34%); Scandinavia (30%); Spain, France, Portugal (16%) and the UK (8%).

Research materials

1.1 Utrecht – Groningen Identity Development Scale

In order to measure the identity statuses we used the Utrecht – Groningen Identity Development Scale (U-GIDS) (Meeus, 1996, Polish adaptation: Rostowski, 1997). We used the scale concerning the development of identity related to school and occupation (the method also allows for measuring the identity in the following domains: relationships with peers, ideology, school and occupation, relationship with parents). U-GIDS measures the following identity statuses: 1) *identity diffusions*; 2) *foreclosures*; 3) *moratoriums*; 4) *identity achievements* (Meeus, 1996; Rostowski, 1997).

1.2 Parental attitudes

We measured the parental attitudes with the use of Parental Attitudes Scale (SPR-2) as perceived by the adolescents (Plopa, 2005). The scale consists of two versions – for mothers and for fathers, each version consists of 45 statements concerning the behavior of parents towards the adolescents. The method measures five parental attitudes:

1) *acceptance – rejection* (this attitude consists of two extremes, a high score indicates acceptance i.e., the child is accepted by the parent the way s/he is, the relationship between the parent and the child can be described as partnership and it relies on mutual trust; a low score indicates rejection i.e., the child does not experience pleasure, satisfaction or warmth from his/her relationship with the parent); 2) *autonomy* – the child is treated by the parent like an almost adult, the parent's behaviors are flexible and they adjust to the developmental needs of the child; 3) *excessively demanding* – the child is treated by the parent in a ruthless manner, according to an inflexible upbringing model chosen by the parent; 4) *inconsequent* – the attitude of the parent towards the child changes and depends on the parent's mood; 5) *excessively protecting* – the parent treats the child like a person who requires constant protection and care (Plopa, 2005).

Acceptance and autonomy are considered to be positive attitudes. The other three attitudes: excessively protecting, excessively demanding and inconsequent, should be of low intensity (Plopa, 2005).

1.3 Socio-demographic and parent's migration variables

Moreover, we used a questionnaire to collect demographic data and to collect data on the nature of parent migration.

Results

For calculations we used SPSS 14.0 PL and STATISTICA 10 on the license of University of Gdansk.

Identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation depending on participants' sex and their family type

In order to answer research question concerning the relationships between particular identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation and coming from a migrant family we applied 2 x 2 x 4 log-linear model [family type x sex x identity statuses].

Figure 1 presents frequencies of identity statuses depending on the sex and family type while Table 1 presents results of log-linear analysis and goodness of fit obtained with an automatic choice of the best model to explain frequencies with correction for small numbers in cells ($\delta = 0.5$).

Figure 1. Identity statuses in domain of school and occupation with taking into account the family type and participants' sex

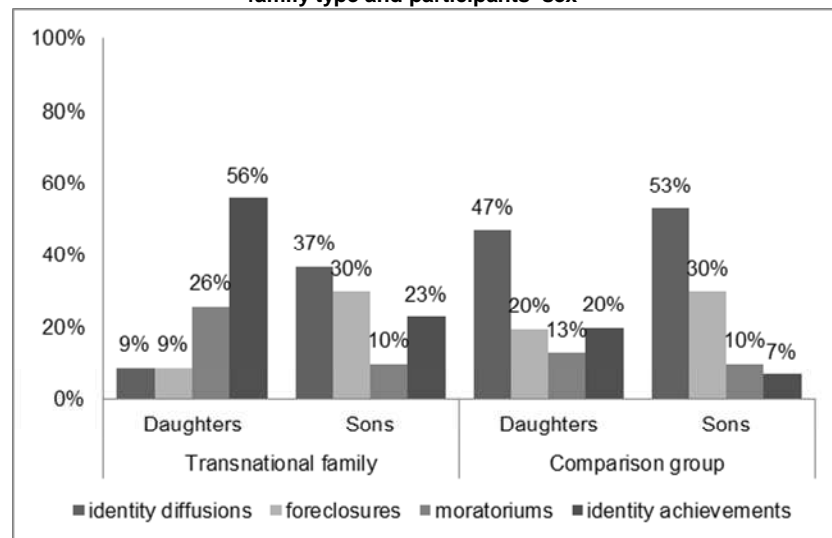


Table 1. Identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation with taking into account the family type and participants' sex

Effect	df	Partial χ^2	p	Marginal χ^2	p
Family type X Identity	3	25.316	< 0.001	23.043	< 0.001
Sex X Identity	3	17.962	< 0.001	15.689	0.001
Model parameters $\chi^2 = 5.681$ $df = 4$ $p = 0.224$					

It turns out that for school-related identity statuses the obtained frequency distributions are explained by two 2-way interactions: family type and identity as well as sex and

identity [$\chi^2(4) = 5.681, p = 0.224$]. Analysis of marginal distributions indicates that the diffused identity status characterized the adolescents from non-migrant families 2.5 times more often than those from families with a migrating father. Moratorium identity status was found two times more often among adolescents from migrant families; additionally in the same group the achieved identity was found three times more often. Analysis which took into account participants' sex indicates that moratorium identity status was found four times more often and achieved identity status was found four times more often among girls than among boys.

Identity statuses and parental attitudes with taking into account the family type and participants' sex¹

In order to verify research hypotheses related to the associations between perceived parental attitudes of mothers and fathers (analyzed separately) and the frequency of particular identity statuses while taking into account participants' sex and type of family of origin we applied logistic hierarchical regression. In the analysis we used dummy variables (1 – presence of a given status, 0 – lack of a given status). Therefore, we carried out k-1 analyses where one category (identity status) that was not included in the analysis is explained by results related to the three remaining categories.

¹ We carried out two-way analysis of variance with repeated measurement with multivariate analysis in (2) x 2 x 2 [attitude (mother's, father's) x sex (female, male) x family type (migration, comparison)] model. The results indicate that in general the mothers are perceived as more **accepting** among girls from both types of families and boys but only from the comparison group. Additionally, daughters from migrant families perceive their mothers as more accepting than daughters from comparison families. There is the same relationship when it comes to their perception of father's acceptance. Analyses on **autonomy** indicate that daughters from migrant families perceive mothers as providing more autonomy compared to daughters from comparison families. It is worth mentioning that in the group of sons this relationship is not statistically significant; only girls from non-migrant families perceive their mothers as providing more autonomy than fathers at the level of statistical significance. Daughters from families with a migrating father perceive their mothers as providing more autonomy compared to daughters from comparison families. There were no statistically significant differences regarding the perceived father's providing autonomy. In case of **demands** the results indicated that boys from migrant families perceive mothers as more demanding than fathers; in remaining groups this difference is not statistically significant: both the girls from migrant families and girls and boys from comparison families perceive their mothers and fathers as equally demanding. Additionally, demands of mothers from migrant families as perceived by their sons are higher than in case of daughters from these families. Analyses on the **inconsequence** indicates that among participants from migrant families sons perceive mothers as more inconsequent than fathers. In the comparison group this difference is not statistically significant. However, another difference in this group was significant: daughters from comparison families perceive fathers as more inconsequent. Additionally, sons perceive higher inconsequence of mothers in comparison with daughters. Daughters from migrant families perceive their fathers as less inconsequent than daughters from comparison families. In general, mothers are perceived as more **protective** in comparison with fathers. Moreover, sons from families with migrating father perceive their mothers as less protective in comparison with sons from comparison families.

Outcome variables were the particular identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation. Predictors entered in the first step were socio-demographic variables: participants' sex and family type, while predictors entered in the second step were psychological variables: perceived parental attitudes (acceptance, autonomy, demands, inconsequence, and protection).

1. *Mother's attitudes*

Logistic regression analysis where the outcome variable was the achieved identity status indicates that variables related to mother's parental attitudes entered in the second step increase the predictive power of the model [$\Delta\chi^2$ (after 2nd step) = 32.833, $p < 0.001$]. The entire model is statistically significant [-2LL (entire model) = 122.974, R^2 (Nagelkerke) (entire model) = 0.466, $p < 0.001$, percentage of correct classifications (entire model) = 82.2, Hosmer – Lemenshow test – $p > 0.05$). Analysis of the regression coefficients in the entire model indicates that statistically significant predictors of school-related mature identity are: family type, perceived autonomy provided by the mother and her protection. Migrant family origins increases the probability of a mature identity approximately 5 times [$B = 1.687$, $\exp(B) = 5.404$, $p = 0.001$]. Increase in perceived autonomy provided by the mother increases the probability of achieved identity status 1.2 times [$B = 0.217$, $\exp(B) = 1.242$, $p = 0.003$]. Increase in perceived mother's protection increases the probability of mature identity 1.2 times [$B = 0.191$, $\exp(B) = 1.210$, $p = 0.003$].

In case of diffused and foreclosed identity statuses, the second step with variables related to mothers' parental attitudes does not increase the predictive power of the model – $\Delta\chi^2$ (after 2nd step) in both cases is not statistically significant. Only the socio-demographic variables are sufficient predictors of the analyzed identity statuses. In case of diffused identity status the percentage of cases explained in the first step is 66.4% [-2LL(1 step) = 175.894, R^2 (Nagelkerke) (1 step) = 0.175, $p < 0.001$]. Both sex and family type are significant predictors of diffused identity in the domain of school and occupation with the probability of this status being 0.4 times higher among sons than among daughters [$B = -0.820$, $\exp(B) = 0.440$, $p = 0.027$]. The second predictor indicates that probability of diffused identity status is 0.23 times higher among adolescents from non-migrant families [$B = -1.454$, $\exp(B) = 0.234$, $p < 0.001$]. School-related foreclosed identity status is also explained by the model with two predictors: sex and family type [-2LL(1 step) = 147.195, R^2 (Nagelkerke) (1 step) = 0.067, $p < 0.05$, percentage of correct classifications (first step) = 79.6]. A statistically significant predictor of the foreclosed identity status is participants' sex with the probability of this status being 0.38 times higher among sons than among daughters [$B = -0.964$, $\exp(B) = 0.381$, $p = 0.019$].

A summary of those three analyses indicates that in case of moratorium identity status the assumed model is statistically significant [-2LL (entire model) = 114.394, R^2 (Nagelkerke) (entire model) = 0.194, $p < 0.05$, percentage of correct classifications (entire model) = 81.6, Hosmer – Lemenshow test – $p > 0.05$]. The first step is not statistically significant but any addition of psychological variables causes the model to become statistically significant [$\Delta\chi^2$ (after 2nd step) = 13.742, $p < 0.05$]. After adding

perceived mother's parental attitudes the participants' sex became a statistically significant predictor of moratorium and the probability of this status is 3.5 times higher among girls than among boys [$B = 1.247$, $\exp(B) = 3.481$, $p = 0.038$]. Perceived autonomy provided by the mother was also statistically significant: with one unit decrease in perceived autonomy provided by the mother the probability of moratorium identity increased 0.82 times [$B = -0.198$, $\exp(B) = 0.821$, $p = 0.009$].

2. *Father's attitudes*

The results of the analyses carried out to predict identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation assumed in the model based on father's attitudes indicate that the model is statistically significant for predicting achieved identity status [-2LL (entire model) = 148.568, R^2 (Nagelkerke) (entire model) = 0.289, $p < 0.001$, percentage of correct classifications (entire model) = 75.7, Hosmer – Lemenshow test – $p > 0.05$]. Whereas the first step with entered participants' sex and family type is statistically significant [$\Delta\chi^2$ (after 1st step) = 27.104, $p < 0.001$], the second step does not increase the predictive power of the model [$\Delta\chi^2$ (after 2nd step) = 7.239, $p > 0.05$]. The only significant predictors in the entire model are participants' sex and family type: the probability of school-related achieved identity status is 4.4 times higher among girls than among boys [$B = 1.476$, $\exp(B) = 4.376$, $p = 0.002$] and migrant family origin increases the probability of mature identity 7 times [$B = 1.983$, $\exp(B) = 7.267$, $p < 0.001$].

In case of predicting diffused identity status the model does not fit the data [Hosmer – Lemenshow test (entire model) $\chi^2(8) = 18.805$, $p = 0.016$]; only the first step with socio-demographic variables is statistically significant and fits the data. Similarly, in case of foreclosed identity status, the entire assumed model is not statistically significant [-2LL (entire model) = 140.133, R^2 (Nagelkerke) (entire model) = 0.135, $p > 0.05$] and only the first step with socio-demographic variables is statistically significant [$\Delta\chi^2$ (after 1st step) = 6.576, $p < 0.05$] (see paragraph 1.1.).

A summary of these three analyses indicates that assumed model is statistically significant for predicting diffused identity status [-2LL (entire model) = 113.496, R^2 (Nagelkerke) (entire model) = 0.203, $p < 0.01$, percentage of correct classifications (entire model) = 84.9, Hosmer – Lemenshow test – $p > 0.05$]. Whereas the first step is not statistically significant [$\Delta\chi^2$ (after 1st step) = 4.457, $p > 0.05$], adding father's parental attitudes makes the model statistically significant [$\Delta\chi^2$ (after 2nd step) = 1.641, $p < 0.05$]. Again, the significant predictors are the perceived father's acceptance and autonomy. With the increase of perceived father's acceptance the probability of moratorium increases [$B = 0.186$, $\exp(B) = 1.205$, $p = 0.002$]. With the decrease of perceived father's autonomy the probability of this status increases [$B = -0.192$, $\exp(B) = -0.826$, $p = 0.008$].

Discussion

Personal identity in the school and occupation area is important for functioning in the adulthood. It seems important to identify the determinants of the identity development in

this area. The obtained results indicate that in general it is the girls that more often achieve mature identity and more often these girls come from migrant families. Diffused identity status was more often characteristic among adolescents from non-migrant families. Perhaps in migrant families there is more emphasis put on choosing school, studies and further career both among boys and girls due to the fact that work-, career- and material goods-related values are supposedly more promoted in these families. We suppose that in these families career-related values are promoted in order to avoid the necessity to migrate in the next generations and to choose a path that ensures the job in the country. It is worth to refer here to the declared migration plans among adolescents – it turns out that adolescents from migrant families display ambivalence when it comes to the migration plans, while their peers (whose parents do not migrate) more often declare the will to remain in the country (based on the responses to question about adolescents' migration plans) (see Danilewicz, 2006). In this area some sex differences emerged: it turns out that in this area girls achieve higher statuses faster or they seek it actively while boys display lower maturity in this area (they are more often characterized with diffused and foreclosed identity statuses which means that they accept what is promoted by significant people in their lives without exploring on their own) (Meeus & Deković, 1995; Rostowski, 2005). Boys from non-migrant families more often demonstrate diffused identity. Perhaps for sons in migrant families the model of a father who provides for his family, who is capable of sacrifice and decides to move abroad is the positive one in this area (Danilewicz, 2006; Janiszewski, 1976).

Empirical data allows us to conclude that mature identity is more often found among girls and among adolescents from migrant families as well as that the experience of the separation can foster quicker maturity (Danilewicz, 2006; Janiszewski, 1976). Mother's parental attitudes are important for the development of mature identity, where mothers who provide more autonomy foster the development of mature identity. It is also related to coming from migrant family (where mothers are perceived as those who give more autonomy and at the same time provide more protection than mothers from comparison families) (see Benson & Elder, 2011; Mullis et al, 2009).

In case of moratorium, perceived mother's parental attitudes are important. In particular, limiting the provided autonomy fosters an identity crisis which is consistent with research results indicating that limiting independence during adolescence fosters identity crisis (Meeus, 1996; Rostowski, 2005). It is, however, more often observed among girls (where mothers' autonomy among daughters from non-migrant families was lower than among girls from migrant families).

For the foreclosed and diffused identity statuses in the domain of school and occupation the attitudes of mothers are not of such importance. Additionally it seems that father's attitudes towards school and occupation are of lesser importance than mother's attitudes. Identity crisis is affected by the fathers mostly through acceptance and low provided autonomy (similarly as it is in the case of mothers). It might be related to the fact that mothers are actually more active in the lives of the adolescents when it comes to their children's education and everyday school-related problems (Benson et al, 1992; Updegraff et al, 2001).

In the school and occupation domain the perceived father's parental attitudes were important for moratorium identity regardless of the participants' sex and their family of origin: most of all, high perceived acceptance and low father's autonomy fostered identity crisis. The remaining school-related identity statuses i.e., diffused, foreclosed and achieved were related only to socio-demographic variables.

Families where the father is the one to migrate and where the children are taken care of only by the mother have a slightly different way of functioning during separation. It seems that father's leave does not disrupt the family functioning as much as a mother's leave, which is partially due to the different ways of coping with stress among men and women but also to the specificity of roles that they have in the family system (Gizicka et al, 2010; Trask, 2010). Unfortunately, due to the methodological constraints it was not possible in the present study to carry out quantitative comparisons between adolescents from above mentioned types of migrant families (i.e., types based on the structure and the sex of migrating parent). In this context it seems justified to carry out further similar studies. The issue of labor migration has become visibly salient in recent years in Poland and concerns not only just fathers or just mothers but often both parents.

It also seems that analyses of both family and non-family determinants of identity development are important in order to support the development of mature identity among adolescents where the lack of mature identity in the late adolescence is a cause for concern. However, it also seems valid to support the adolescents when they deal with the challenges of adulthood and search for their own place in the present reality that is particularly challenging for young generation (Harwas-Napierała, 2010).

Practical implications of the obtained results can mostly concern the focus on advantages of families for which migration can be a possibility to cope with economic challenges. The obtained results can indicate different potential consequences of the separation from fathers for daughters and for sons. On the other hand, it seems important to emphasize these consequences that cause disruptions in the family relations and the disintegration of families in the situation of migration.

Acknowledgments

The first author was supported by the fellowship from the European Social Fund as part of the project 'Educators for the elite – integrated training program for PhD students, post-docs and professors as academic teachers at the University of Gdansk' within the framework of Human Capital Operational Programme, Action 4.1.1, Improving the quality of educational offer of tertiary education institutions. This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the funder cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.



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