MIGRATING CHILDREN EXPERIENCE OF THEIR BODY: PHENOMENOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Migration for children is a very challenging period. In the article children migration is looked through the phenomenological lens and expressed through the existential of lived body. Therefore, the purpose of article is to describe the nature of child migration through the existential of the lived body. In the lived experience descriptions or anecdotes the examination of human experience is presented. In such stories lies the essence of the children migration phenomenon. The results are presented in four three sections: unmanageable fear, otherness as abnormality and dissonance of body and language.

KEYWORDS: children migration, phenomenology, lived body.

JEL CODES: I20, I21, I29.

Introduction

Migration process has been well known since the ancient times. People have been migrating in all times, in search of better living conditions and/or sources of income. All definitions of „migration“ are dominated by three major elements – space, time, and value dimensions that are related to the change of place of residence, moving elsewhere for a period of time, and the cause of migration (Rudzinskiene, Paulauskiene, 2013).

There are different types and kinds of migration. The focus of this work is international, non-coercive, legal, and voluntary migration. Based on this assumption migration in this work is defined as the legal, non-coercive, and voluntary departure of population from the country for a period of more than 12 years due to economic reasons. In the scientific literature it is defined as labor migration.

Problem In the scientific discourse the problem of migration is under active examination. Meanwhile, the aspect of family and children migration has gained popularity especially in the last decade. The effects of migration on family and child have been researched by such famous migration experts (sociologists, economists, and scholars in other fields) as D. Massey (2007), S. Castles, M. Miller (2013). About the feminization of migration and changing decision making roles in migration talked A. Favell (2008) and other wrote about the employment of children in the context of history. T. Van Naerssen, M. Van der Velde (2008) discussed it in the context of geography and ethnic studies. S. T. Mahati (2015) wrote about the vulnerability of children
in the migration process, whereas F. M. Antman (2012) and R. S. Parreno (2005) talked about transnational families and their impact on the lives of abandoned children. The impact of migration on child health was examined by C. Zimmerman, L. Kiss, M. Hossain (2011) and others. However, a qualitative research approach to child migration is at rudimentary level, particularly in Eastern Europe.

Children who emigrate together with their parents, on one hand, are a huge loss and the burden on the national level; on the other hand, in emigration they themselves encounter a variety of psychological, social, educational, and other problems. Children that leave the country are a loss of the future human capital (Migracija Lietuvoje: faktai ir skaičiai, 2011), on the other hand, children of immigrants require public investment that will allow them to integrate successfully (Migracijos politikos gairės, 2014). However, the biggest challenge the child is facing is personal. Studies have shown that children are the most vulnerable migration group from economic, social and pedagogical point of view. Meanwhile, their experiences are often under-valued and analyzed only quantitatively.

Methods and methodology. The paper applies the phenomenological research strategy that is not concerned with the interpretation of the causes of the phenomenon, but rather with the effort to describe how people experience this phenomenon (Van Manen, 2014a). This strategy was created in the nineteenth century in response to scientism, its author is considered to be E. Husserl whose ideas were continued by such scientists as M. Heidegger, J. P. Sartre, Merleau-Ponty. In its lifetime phenomenology has developed into a dozen of different directions and variations that are based on the ideas and works of various philosophers and scientists. However, the main landmark of all researchers of all directions is the diverse experience of phenomenon participants and its expression in the stories that best suits the content of this experience (Van Manen, 2007).

In the examination of phenomenological texts migration concept is rarely found, however, departures and change of country are very important elements in the phenomenology literature. Looking at the phenomenology as a philosophy and analyzing the works of its pioneers such as E. Husserl, M. Heidegger, M. Merleau-Ponty it is clear that they spoke about the connection between a human and the world with the emphasis on human dwelling in it. Meanwhile, the migration phenomenon has begun to be examined in more modern phenomenological works. A. Schutz (1976a, 1976b), O. Bollnow (1961), J. Van den Berg (1957) wrote about migration and migrant experiences. In the works of phenomologists the following migration-related events are being examined: a child’s longing for home (Winning, 1990), perception of being a foreigner (Schutz, 1976a, 1976b), home country nostalgia (Levering, 2000), home nostalgia (Van Lennep, 1987), a migrant child’s physical self-perception (Kirova, Wu, 2002). The migrant children experiences have been described by A. Winning (1990) and A. Kirova (2010) and other scientists emphasizing the importance of the child’s language importance on one’s bodily self-awareness.

On an international level in the education sciences phenomenological research strategy was introduced and adapted by prof. M. Van Manen (1990, 2014a). This phenomenological research strategy is called hermeneutic phenomenology (1990), or the practice of phenomenology. M. Van Manen (2007) encourages phenomenologists not to philosophize about transcendent structures of E.Husserl or M. Heidegger what was typical for phenomenologists of another era, but to look for the real problems in everyday human life (Van Mannen, 2007). It means that in the works that adapt the phenomenological research strategy to focus more on “normal” real life events (Van Manen, 2014a). Practical phenomenology is attracted to such topics as “child’s insomnia experience”, the “experience of keeping child’s secrets”, “child’s name and his experience” and other at first sight irrelevant themes. The distinctness of M. Van Manen (1990) phenomenological research strategy lies in the search for lived experience descriptions (abbr. LED) or anecdotes through examination of human experience. In such stories lies the essence of the phenomenon that the researcher is looking for.

Taking into account the research subject, in the center of attention of this work are children and adults with migration experience that left one country and came to live in another while being children, regardless of their nationality, mother tongue or the host country. According to L. Adams and A. Kirova (2007) the school is the basis for socialization and acculturation of immigrant children. In the school children have a
close encounter with new culture, and it is school that eventually becomes an important part of a child’s life (Adams, Kirova, 2007). However, let’s keep in mind that the child when coming from another country also had to change schools. Such child together with the migration experience had to gain experience in changing schools. Changing schools is a very complex process and if it takes place in the context of migration is even more complicated. A school-age child that had left and changed schools encounters a number of different problems and challenges: different language, different system, culture, communication and change in parents’ working conditions, etc. In the light of this, the experiences of leaving and coming to another country of school-aged children were selected for the analysis. They were revealed through application of unstructured interviews method as the main research method. As additional research methods the following were applied: descriptions of people’s experiences (essays), personal conversations, reading of fiction and artistic literature, classic movies based on (auto) biographies, online blogs, notes, and other sources, moreover the phenomenological analysis of the literature. Through application of these methods it was sought to collect lived experience descriptions or stories.

Based on their revealed themes, stories were distinguished by their relationship with such existential as time, space and body, relationships, items (Van Manen, 2014a). M. Van Manen (1990) argues that the world is based on fundamental experiences that are faced by people around the world. These existentials are the lived time, lived space, lived body and lived relation, and lived things. This article presents the lived body aspect.

Therefore, the purpose of article is to describe the experience of child migration through the existential of the lived body. While the object of the study – children migration experiences. While main tasks are the following:

- to investigate the phenomenology of children migration;
- to describe the phenomenon of children migration through the existential of the lived body.

It is also important to emphasize that there is no conclusion at the end of the article because according to M. Van Manen (2014b) the text in the phenomenology is the main result, it cannot be summarized in the same way a poem cannot be summarized or no conclusions can follow a poem. As a result, in this article concluding remarks are presented instead of conclusion, however the title remains as conclusion.

1. Unmanageable fear

The perception of one’s body is an important theme in phenomenology. In the phenomenological tradition the body is treated as a reflection of what is happening inside. A. Kirova and M. Emme quote M. Merleau-Ponty, “The body is the living envelope of our actions” (1963: 188, cit. Kirova, Emme, 2009: 60). Based to this idea, our actions (and even thoughts) are reflected in our body. According to M. Merleau-Ponty, “the body and behavior are bearers of the meaning that is known immediately as well as reflectively by the body” (cit. Kirova, Emme, 2009: 60). The meaning of what is inside the person and what surrounds him is hidden in the body. The body always reacts (although not always directly) to what is going on around.

It is natural that after leaving own country and arriving in a new, unfamiliar environment our body reacts to change. For example, by coming to other country children (in the same way as adults) experience culture shock that often manifests itself as fear, helplessness and other feelings (Oberg, 2006). Thinking further, the feeling of fear is one of the most common reactions to unfamiliar objects. Fear may come due to a new school, making new friendships or other reasons (Minello, de Valk, 2012). In the story below, Agne tells the story of her first day in a new school experience:

The most difficult was coming to a biology class. I had to take the biology entrance exam. When I came to the class, I got a paper with tasks. Even now shivers run through my body remembering it. There were five questions and several pictures to be described. I look at the questions and from the whole task I understand just five words and even those are conjunctions. When looking at the picture, it seems I know what it means, but what really is required I had no idea. You cannot ask the teachers because the English level is so low that you cannot make even a simple sentence. I sit there and think, “Mom, help me, mom” (Agne, LED).
Upon Agne’s arrival to a new school she had to keep her knowledge assessment exam. Due to the low level of English language the exam tasks were not clear and a feeling of fear overwhelmed her.

In another story, a girl whose name is also Agne, tells about the farewell moment with her grandmother.

I went to see the grandmother before leaving Lithuania. After visiting, in the hallway the whole family was kissing good-bye. I slowly came up to my grandmothers, look at her already wrinkled, but full of warmth eyes, and hold her as firm as can. In my heart I know that I will see others but her. Will I see her? I say silently to myself:
– I beg you that it would not be the last time... (Agne, LED)

The girl embraces her loved one who does not leave together with her. Her grandmother remains in one country while Agne travels with her parents to another.

These stories do not have direct clues to fear but the feeling of fear is presupposed. In both stories the fear, at first glance, appears in the girls for different reasons. In the first story Agne felt the fear of possible failure during the exam because of the low level of English. Meanwhile, in the second story another Agne felt the fear that maybe the next time she is back she will no longer be able to see and hug her grandmother. She is afraid to lose her.

However, in both stories the basis for fear is the future uncertainty. Aristotle said (Rhet., 1382, p. 20–23, cit. Šerpytyte, 2001: 46): “Fear (phobos) is a certain discomfort or confusion arising from the future imagination of evil that can destroy us or do something unpleasant to us”. According to this Aristotle’s idea the fear is based on what might happen in the future and on what something appears dangerous to the person. Thus, fear is associated with the future and what might happen there. Meanwhile, according to A. Lingis (2010) it is generally feared of the unknown. “Fear is the fear of something unknown; this is not a simple response to what clearly appears as dangerous”, writes A. Lingis (2010: 69). According to this idea of A. Lingis, a person feels fear not because something seems scary or threatening, but because one does not know what may happen. These ideas of A. Lingis and Aristotle have a common basis – a man is afraid of the future. Whereas the future will always appear to a man as something unknown and unpredictable. A man cannot predict, but can only guess what will happen in the future, i.e. in a moment after the present. Therefore, the fear of the girls is based on what they cannot know will happen in the future.

2. Otherness as abnormality

Once in the new environment (country, location, specific group) the person is labeled as a stranger that was mentioned in the previous section. The stranger is associated with a word other meaning other than their own, different from others. However, the stranger can also be associated with abnormality. In the story provided below a girl describes her lived experience of encountering different teaching upon her arrival at a new school.

The worst seemed to be team building classes. Every month all groups had to meet and perform a task that needed to be completed in a group. I remember my first team building class as if it happened yesterday. We have received materials: scissors, paper, adhesive tape, and boxes. The task was to create a structure from these items that will hold an egg and when dropped on the floor the egg would not break. We got about an hour for this task after which each team had to put the egg in the construction and throw it on the ground. The team whose egg will not break will win. Yes, I agree, it can be very a modern teaching method but at that time it looked to me as if I was in a psychiatric hospital. What did just happen here? Why do I have to do the box for the egg? (Veronika, LED)

Veronika that just came to a new school in a new country encounters a different type of teaching. The girl feels that for the others these teaching methods are acceptable but she cannot understand them. Due to this perspective although without showing a negative attitude she treats people around her as “abnormal” and “unhealthy”. Here a question arises, who is a normal and sane person and who is not? Why the perception of normal and abnormal as the basis for otherness is relevant in the context of child migration?
First of all, it is useful to analyze in more detail the concept of the word “normal”. The word normal is formed from the word norm meaning a binding rule, a provision (Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas, online access). Norms or rules are established by society and its groups. One that does not comply with the norms is considered to be “abnormal” or deviant. Norms in the same way as rules are not universal. Depending on the society, its geographic location, historical development and other factors perception of normality may be different. For example, in one country it is acceptable to kiss on the cheeks when greeting people while in others such conduct may be considered indecent.

From a political perspective norms are the basis to an orderly society. Norms guarantee order and security since the refusal of norms and societal rules may lead to chaos and mass disorder. From a small groups’ level perspective, norms and rules establish a link between the group members and distinctiveness from other groups.

Another meaning of the word “normal” is mentally healthy (human) (Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas, online access). Meanwhile, the word “ill” (sick, unhealthy) is interpreted as a person with certain health issues including body or spirit problems that do not allow or just partially allow him to participate in the life of the society. Looking from the social perspective, unhealthy person is often associated with failure to comply with the norms.

In the story Veronika sees other people as abnormal. According to Veronika, the known world and her perception of the world is normal while the foreign country is treated as abnormal. The girl sees herself in a psychiatric clinic surrounded by unhealthy people. In her thinking local children do not comply with acceptable to her norms and rules. The basis for discourse on normal and abnormal is the perception of Other and My (I) world. According to this E. Husserl’s (1991) idea a person begins to perceive himself only alongside another person. E. Husserl (1991) says, that I begin to perceive myself and my experience only through another person in the same way another person perceives himself and his experience through me. This E.Husserl’s idea can be linked to the migrant child’s perception of oneself as the other. Upon arrival to a new place he sees his visible differences from the locals. Such differences may not match the value system in the migrant’s thinking that he “brought” from the home country that is especially true immediately after arrival in the country. In this way the new world that contradicts child’s norms may seem as abnormal and sick while local children are treated as unhealthy.

3. Dissonance of Body and Language

The language barrier is one of the most analyzed topics in the literature related to migration. Many educators, linguists, as well as phenomenologists from various scientific fields have analyzed the language specificity and relevance to migration. In this paper the linguistic aspect is analyzed through bodily perception: the link between language as a communication code and a body refusing to obey. At first the language significance to a child in a new country and school will be looked at. Later the link between the language and body discussed. Below are a few stories through which this theme is developed.

We landed and came out of the airplane and everything was different: signs in another language, everyone speaks differently, entirely different advertising; you walk behind your parents and try to keep up. As if you were not just in another country but in another world. Although I knew a little bit of English but I could recognize and understand only a few words and tried to guess others from the pictures. I followed every step of my parents. (Agne, LED)

Once she stepped off the plane, Agne finds herself in a different environment than what she was used to. Otherness at first occurs within the visible and audible words. Words from another language become a proof that she has entered into another world and “lost” her own. At that time Agne is overwhelmed with fear that she might lose her parents who become mediators and interpreters between her and the new environment. As a teenager she again becomes dependent on her parents like a little kid. But what lies in the language? Why language is so relevant? How does a child experience language barrier upon arrival in a new country?
From a broader perspective the language is what connects a man with other people. This is the basis for togetherness and community. In this context, the legend of the Tower of Babel is presented as evidence. This legend appeared as yearn for common language between people. However, multilingualism has been given as a punishment for human pride and sin. The legend tells that people who saved themselves from the great flood had one language and before going into other parts of the world had decided to build the highest tower that will reach the heavens and remind everyone of their power. However, God in anger confused their languages and people not being able to understand each other began to get angry at each other and scattered all over the world without building the Tower of Babel. This biblical legend not only highlights the emergence of languages, but also demonstrates the importance of language as a support to the common work of people. Language also establishes a connection; it is the foundation for love, trust, and a common future on both individual and state level. Also, language is a way to express oneself and get to know each other. Through language people express their emotions, physical and mental state, in other words, language is a social networking tool. Language is not a concept to which we are accustomed to, but language can be regarded as a specific manner of communication in closed groups (employers, street, family, circle of friends).

Upon arrival to a group that is dominated by a distinctive language, one must know how to speak and what to say in that group. A. Lingis (2010) says that the person communicating is guided by the rational knowledge and common sense. When talking about common sense, he says “it’s like the ability to receive and send hints, signs, passwords” (Lingis, 2010: 120). When interpreting this idea of A. Lingis it is obvious that in order to be admitted to a group you need to learn to speak and understand the language used in the group. Meanwhile, looking at migration as the transition from one language group to another it becomes even more challenging. After migrant’s arrival in a country where another language is spoken, he not only has to understand, speak words that have a different meaning but also to pass on and receive information in words, which are based on different historical, cultural and social grounds. A. Kirova, L. Adams (2007) write, a new language acquisition is more than the acquisition of another linguistic code. Along with the language the child has to take over the speech tone, manner of speech and intonation. “You enter the language by taking over what they say – what others say what is said, what anyone says about food, furniture, playground. For a child, visitor, and immigrant the tales depict the environment as already articulated. They formulate the basic contour of the environment, recurring situations. […] In the speech that outlines the general contours of objects and repetitive scenes, the individual will try to use language to distinguish what is peculiar to him or her for individual appearing objects or events” (Lingis, 2010: 115–116). According to this A. Lingis idea a migrant by using a foreign language not only perceives it as already formed, unlike using his native language where he knows the historical, cultural and linguistic language past but also by using it highlights what is acceptable to him as a migrant and the group to which he has arrived.

With regard to the importance of language to a child, as he grows and develops he constantly comes to new groups where internal language may be different from the one that he is used to using at home. The first unique language group is school. However, the language used within the school is not significantly different from the usual language of the child. Completely different situation if the school is in another country and the language used is not familiar to a child. As A. Kirova, L. Adams (2007) write, new language can help children learn how to best become what they can be in a new country. Meanwhile without the language

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2 Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. As people moved eastward, they found a plain in Shinar and settled there. They said to each other, “Come, let’s make bricks and bake them thoroughly”. They used brick instead of stone, and tar for mortar. Then they said, “Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens so that we may make a name for ourselves; otherwise we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth”. But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. The Lord said, “If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other”. So the Lord scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. That is why it was called Babel – because there the Lord confused the language of the whole world. From there the Lord scattered them over the face of the whole earth (Bible gateway, see online access).
children not just remain helpless and vulnerable, but often “separated”. Such isolation can manifest itself as separation from local friends as well as from themselves, from their body.

As M. Kirova, M. Emme (2008: 61) write, “this experience brings immigrant children’s awareness of their bodies to a conscious level as they encounter the impossibility of trusting the outcomes of their otherwise familiar actions”.

Migration experience makes children feel their body on a subconscious level and because of a perception that it can no longer rely on the normal activities. In other words, because of migration it may not trust the body to conduct the routine things that were not even thought about it. Emphasis is on speaking as an action that is done unconsciously by people. This is reflected in the following history:

I was called names, bullied for the accent. I wanted to respond to the locals, especially to girls, but somehow I could not. I am a calm person, but I had a hard time when I wanted to respond during the conflict I could not do that, because I could not just find English words for the words in my head (Veronika, LED).

Veronika struggling to speak English is facing the lack of control over her own body. Girl’s body as if refused to express what is in her mind. A similar example gives A. Kirova, C. Adams (2007: 255): “I was like I could not control what was going to come out of my mouth. It was in my head, I could hear the appropriate sounds but when I opened my mouth, the sounds were very different from the ones I thought they would be. I was really embarrassed and didn’t want to talk at all. It was like I couldn’t trust myself anymore. I felt stupid. Sometimes it was very difficult for me to find the word I needed, so I would replace it with another English or Bulgarian word. Nobody seemed to make sense of what I was trying to say so they just ignored me or even worse, laughed at me. It was lonely, you know.”

As A. Mickunas (2014: 178) argues when a child is speaking he does not think about the language itself, but about the things that language opens. In this case, the language is not noticeable (Mickunas, 2014). Meanwhile, when migrating and changing schools, the child gets into a completely different language that he does not know or knows a little. “At school language becomes relevant when a student can not address the living world, or any other area because of a lack of language. In this case, the language appears as “fact” with its own requirements which must be met if a student understands how language works grammatically, syntactically and within the meaning of the words” (Mickunas, 2014: 179). In this context language becomes important because of its obscurity to a child. He who wishes to enter into a new society must not only understand the coded meaning of the words, but also understand how the language “works”. A double obstacle arises since the child has to learn the rules of language, to understand and convey the meaning of words as well as “control” the body which refuses to obey him.

Conclusions

Migration is a very challenging process, both for parents and children. However due their vulnerability children experience of migration could be more challenging. Looking through the phenomenological perspective, children experiences are seen important and not less valuable than experiences of grownups, even not considering that usually children are not playing the main role in the migration decision making process. Whereas phenomenomenological perspective gives a deeper understanding of children migration experiences.

The phenomenological view of the experiences showed, that children in migration usually experience unmanageable fear, which does not depends on children will. Moreover, children feel themselves as abnormal in the new country and through such abnormality otherness among receiving and sending countries is shown. And moreover, as one of the most important issue – language barrier is shown, where children with lack of new the language knowledge might experience the dissonance of their body and language.
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