



Erasmus Mundus Master in Social Work with Families and Children

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**Parenting among Nepalese families in Lisbon and its effect
on child integration**

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Abstract

Title: Parenting among Nepalese Families in Lisbon and its effect on child integration

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The purpose of this study was to understand which parenting style presented by Baumrind (1967) of authoritative, authoritarian or permissive the Nepalese immigrants in Portugal are associated with, what values they transmit to their children and how does it affect child integration in schools. The aim was to know if migrating to a country with difference in culture and values brings changes in the way parenting is provided for Nepalese parents and the affect it has on children. This was a qualitative study among 10 participants with 5 mothers and 5 fathers who brought their children to Portugal. The parent's perception of the way they provide parenting, the transmission of values and their children's response to these provided the primary data for this study. The data was collected through in-depth individual interviews which were conducted in Nepali language with the support of semi structured questionnaires. The research found that the Nepalese parenting style could not be incorporated into a single parenting style as suggested by Baumrind as it has components of both the authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles. I also found that parenting for Nepalese immigrants in Portugal was affected by native culture, children's reactions, Portuguese laws and norms and support systems. The mothers and fathers performed different parenting roles as mothers were mostly associated with care, support and comfort whereas fathers were mostly associated with monitoring and implementation of rules.

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List of abbreviation

CBS: Central Bureau of Statistics

CNAI: Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante

CSAI: Culture Shock Adaptation Inventory

IFRC: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

INE: Instituto Nacional de Estatística

IOM: International Organization for Migration.

MIPEX: Migrant Integration Policy Index

NIDS: Nepal Institute of Development Studies

NRNA: Non Resident Nepali Association

SEF: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras

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1. Introduction

This study seeks to explore the experience of parenting among Nepalese immigrants in Portugal, the parenting styles they follow, the values and cultures they transmit and the possible influence in their children's integration. The study will focus on the perceptions of mothers and fathers regarding their parenting practices and transmission of values, why it is important for them to transmit those values and how their children are integrated in schools. Participants for this study consisted of 5 mothers and 5 fathers from 10 different families who have brought their children to Portugal from Nepal and have resided here for at least one year. The participants were selected using purposeful sampling and snow ball sampling techniques. This chapter provides the background and purpose of this study which will be followed by discussion of research approach, the proposed rationale and the significance of this research study, some of the findings from research and concluded by organization of the thesis.

1.1 Background and purpose of the study

Migration is considered an important phenomenon, evident throughout the history of mankind, playing a pivotal role in leading to the world known to us today (IFRC, 2011). According to IOM Glossary (2004, p. 41), migration is, "A process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants". There are various components associated with migration and one of the components is of parenting, especially when the parenting practices and values differ in the host country from the country of origin.

Every year thousands of people migrate to different countries for various reasons and according to the world migration report (2010) presented by IOM, there already are more than 214 million international migrants in the world. International migration has increased dramatically over the last few decades (Rashid, 2004) and out of many factors influencing migration, economic factor is one of the most prominent reason. The same can be said for the Nepalese people (the study population) as the percentage of people moving out in search of employment and better opportunities are increasing every year with the figure of around 1.2 million Nepalese migrants

moving abroad for foreign employment in between 2006-2011 (NIDS, 2010). The "Labour migration for employment report 2013/14" by Ministry of Labour and Employment of Nepal mentions that out of total population of around twenty six and a half million in 2011, around 7.3 percent of them have gone abroad which accounts to nearly two million people. Most of them moved to Malaysia or to the middle eastern countries like Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates as unskilled manual laborers (NIDS, 2010) but there have been some who have traveled to Europe mostly for work, of which Portugal is one of the preferred destination with around 2,588 legal residents according to report published by SEF on 2013. The immigrants being attracted to Portugal might be credited to the favorable immigrant integrant policies in terms of labor market mobility, family reunion, long term residence and access to nationality (MIPLEX, 2011) which has allowed the immigrants to bring their family and children to Portugal, thus promoting family reunification and facilitating the integration process which otherwise is highly improbable if not impossible and unheard of for immigrants working in middle eastern countries or in Malaysia.

The family reunification however come with a need of great deal of adjustment in part of parents as well as children within a new system, culture and environment, especially when there is huge disparity in terms of societal and culture values between the host nation and the nation of origin. For the parents, it is a different experience to their own when they were brought up themselves and style of parenting that they know or used to practice before in their home country might not be appropriate in the present context. Several literature (Kim and Ge, 2000; Shariff, 2009; Deepak, 2005; Rhee et al., 2003; Dosanjh and Ghuman, 1998; Inman et al., 2007) on Asian parent's migration to Western countries, especially in the US have shown that migrating parents from Asian countries have had difficulties in terms of adjusting to the values, culture and practices of the new society leading to conflict between them and their children. Kim and Ge (2000) even suggest that harsh disciplinary practices by Chinese parents in the US are highly associated with adolescent depressive symptoms among Chinese Americans. The parent's insistence on rigidity has often made their children susceptible to vulnerabilities connected to socialization, adjustment, education, identity crises and stress. The children are thus affected by discrepancies between culture and values practiced in home and elsewhere when they are different, which has affected their integration in the host society.

The situation mentioned above might be similar for Nepalese parents and children living in Portugal as they share similar background and values as on studies mentioned above. There have been studies on people from some of the South Asian countries (South Asian countries consists of India, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Maldives) residing in Portugal (Seabra and Mateus, 2011; Mapril, 2011; Lourenco and Cachado, 2012; Lourenco, 2011) but there are no master's or PhD thesis on Nepalese in Portugal. This lack of study on Nepalese migrant families and children in Portugal and elsewhere makes it even more important to carry out this research to have an understanding of their situation. Therefore, the purpose of this study, based on the parent's own experience, is to find out which parenting style the Nepalese parents are associated with, the gender differences in parenting, the values and culture they transmit to their children, why it is important for them to transmit those values and how it influences the children's integration in their schools.

1.2 Research approach

This was a qualitative study with 10 participants, including 5 female and 5 male who had brought their children to Portugal and have resided here for a minimum of 1 year. The primary method of data collection was individual in-depth interviews which were carried out with the assistance of semi structured questions. The interviews were carried out in Nepali language and in location and time suggested by the participants. Some other forms of data collection were observation, interviews with key contacts and secondary statistical data. The received data through in-depth interviews were transcribed and important sections were translated into English. The data were then analyzed using content analysis.

1.3 Rationale and significance of the study

The rationale for this study derives from the recent phenomenon of Nepalese migration to Portugal and the increasing number of children arriving through family reunification. The lack of study on Nepalese parenting practices across cultures and how it affects children's integration was one of the motivating factors in selecting this study as well.

This study would contribute to the growing knowledge base of parenting across cultures and provide a perspective on Nepalese parenting as it provide necessary insights on their experiences.

It would also be beneficial to people who are planning to bring their children to countries with different cultures and deepen their understanding of the situations that might arise.

Some of the findings that were observed from this research are: the parenting among Nepalese families is influenced by factors such as the native culture, Portuguese norms and laws, gender of the children, education of parents, children's stand point and the support system. The mothers and fathers display different components of parenting styles. For parents, the education system and the language is one of the most important reasons to delay the arrival of their children.

The paper is organized in six chapters: Chapter 1 constitutes of introduction which provides background and purpose of the study; chapter 2 is composed of Literature review which provides review of books, journal articles and reports about Nepalese immigration, Portuguese immigration laws, parenting practice across different cultures and its influence on immigrants and child integration, theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner's (1986) ecological systems theory and Baumrind's (1967) theory of parenting styles and conclude with the research questions; chapter 3 is focused on methodology of this research and gives information about the research strategy, sampling strategy, research design, data collection techniques, ethical considerations and limitations of the study; chapter 4 is composed of empirical field of observation and presents the analysis of secondary statistical data obtained from INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística) - the national statistic institute of Portugal, the Immigration and Borders Services - SEF, Database of Contemporary Portugal – PORDATA and the Office for Education Statistics and Planning, Ministry of Education (DGEEC, MEC), which is followed by characteristics of participants and field note and data from key informants; chapter 5 consists of analysis and findings regarding parenting styles among Nepalese families, what influences them and how it affects integration of children in school and finally chapter 6 is composed of conclusion which summarizes main findings and suggests other lines of research.

2. Literature review

2.1 The context of Nepalese emigration

2.1.1 Brief history

Nepal has enjoyed a modest history in international migration as the oldest account of international migration in terms of employment dates back to only around two hundred years in early 19th century which started with young men going to Lahore (now a city in Pakistan) to join the forces of Sikh King Ranjit Singh (Bhattarai, 2005), and, with The British East India Company starting the recruitment of the Gorkha soldiers (Nepalese soldiers as they are popularly called) in 1815 AD, more people followed. The process was further boosted with the encouragement by the British East India Company to bring their family along and establish settlements (CBS, 2014).

The first war of independence by the Indians against the British Government was in 1857 and then prime minister of Nepal had supplied 12,000 men to assist the British Government to suppress the war. The Nepalese soldiers had been able to make a name for themselves within the ranks of British troops which was evident with the recruitment of 200,000 troops for the first world war (ibid.), opening the door for many more to follow. After the Indian independence in 1947, then British East India Company took some of the Nepalese troops along with them. Nepalese further began to migrate to Malaysia, Fiji, Singapore, Hong Kong and Brunei for tenured military work with some of their families settling there as well (NIDS, 2010).

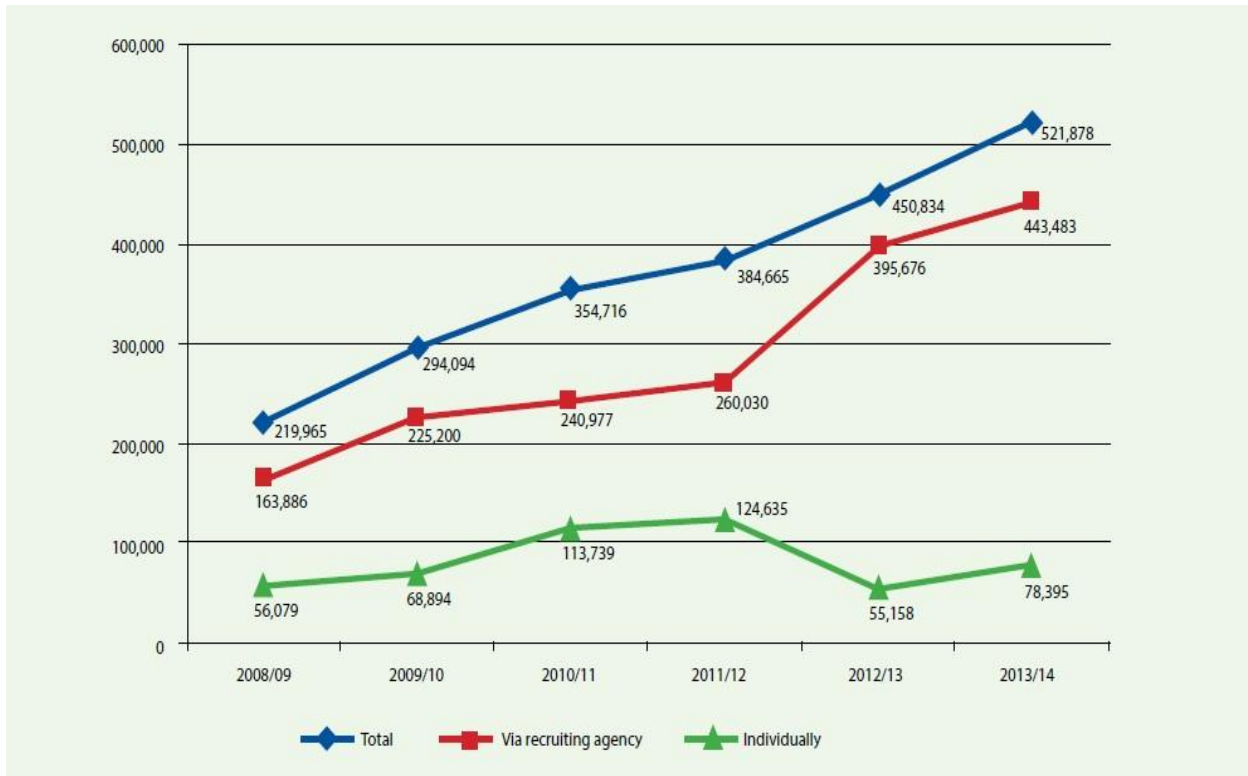
After the emigration of Nepalese people for military purpose, another wave of migration started towards Middle Eastern countries which were induced by the oil boom in early 1970's (Bhattarai, 2005). Seddon et al. (2002) mentions that it was during the latter part of 1990's that Nepalese population began to emigrate increasingly to some of the Gulf countries. The huge demand for labor in countries like Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates captivated the young Nepalese people searching for employment opportunities, especially for the rural population as they were the ones who were affected the most by the commencement of armed conflict in 1996 (Bhattarai, 2005).

2.1.2 Nepalese emigration over the last decade

The inability of the government to create enough opportunities, the willingness of people to move beyond borders to cope with financial demands and the emergence of employment agencies has further bolstered outward migration among Nepalese people. However, there are big questions regarding their level of preparedness before they migrate as 75 percent of Nepali immigrants working overseas are unskilled (NIDS, 2010). Most of the immigrant population comes from rural areas of Nepal as they comprise more than 1.6 million of the total international immigrants of around 2 million. Similarly, men make up 89 percent of the 1.6 million international migrants from rural areas in Nepal (CBS, 2012) which has led to most of the villages comprising of just women, children and elderly, leaving the country short of human resources (also women are not considered as active contributors in economic development), for a country whose main form of economy is agriculture. Migrants between the age group of 15-44 years account for more than 80 percent of the total Nepalese emigrant population (Sharma et al., 2014) which indicates that migrants are moving abroad at their most economically productive ages.

The trend of migration for the people who has taken official permission from the Ministry of Labor between the years 2008/09-2013/14 has been published in Status Report for Nepal: 2013/14 by the Department of Foreign Employment (2014) as seen in Figure 2.1. These figures highlights the harsh reality of very limited advancement in terms of creating jobs both in private and public sector with at least 30 percent of the total population underemployed (ibid.) and the trend of going abroad to work and send money back home still remains. The government encourages people to migrate as their lack of creating job opportunities and their attempt to keep the economy moving has been partly covered by the remittances received by the country. The remittance accounts for around 24 percent of total GDP, playing an important role in reduction of poverty rate down to around 25 percent in 2009 from around 42 percent in 1995-1996 and 31 percent in 2003-2004 (ibid.).

Figure 2.1: Total number of labor permit issued yearly, 2008/09 - 2013/14



Source: Department of Foreign Employment, Nepal.

NIDS (2010) mentions that more than 90 percent of the Nepalese emigrants (excluding India) are working either in Malaysia (361,464 migrants) or in the Middle East countries, with 351,544 working in Qatar, 246,488 working in Saudi Arabia and 178,535 working in United Arab Emirates. These numbers are important as it helps to understand the migration pattern among Nepalese people. Gurung (2000) provides the reasoning for the choice of destination among Nepalese migrants based on their socio-economic status which can be seen in figure 2.2.

According to Gurung (2000), "Nepalese workers opting to work in the Gulf countries are found to be less educated and less wealthy (Group D) than those heading for North America, Europe or to Far East countries" (Choice of Destination Country section, para. 2) suggesting that majority of the Nepalese working migrants do not have the educational or financial compatibility to move to other destinations other than Gulf Countries or Malaysia.

Figure 2.2: Choice of destination country by socio-economic status

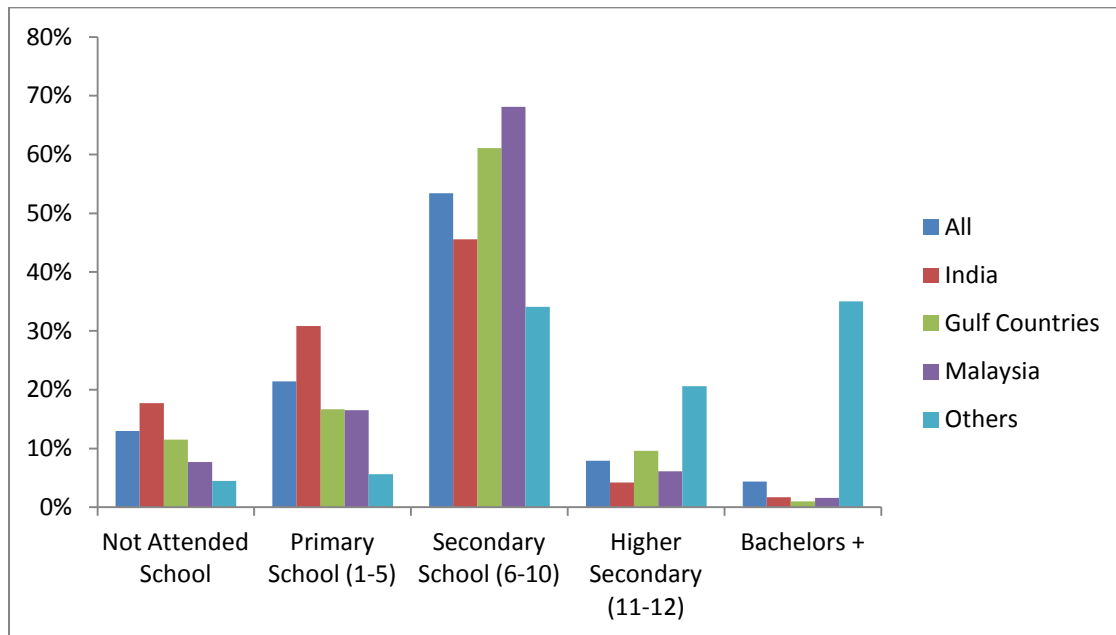
Economic Group (from richest to poorest)	Choice of Destination Country
A	Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Japan, United Kingdom, United States
B	Belgium, Germany, Switzerland
C	Guam, Malaysia, Maldives, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan
D	Gulf Countries
E	India

Source: Gurung (2000)

The figure also shows that the poor and vulnerable groups in the country are migrating to India as Nepal shares an open border with India and do not require Passport or work permit to enter the country with relatively low costs spent on travel making it the most preferred destination for them. Bhattarai (2005) in his report further illustrates that, the people who can afford up to Rs 100,000 to pay upfront for travel and fees to the employment agencies (approximately 900 Euros) migrate to Middle East and Malaysia. The migrants under category C are middle class people, who can spend around Rs 400,000 (approximately 3600 Euros) to 700,000 (approximately 6300 Euros) and are motivated to travel to other Asian countries like Japan and South Korea. The other groups are from the well up family who have the capability of spending around one million Rupees and aspire to go to America, Europe and other developed countries.

The education status of Nepalese Migrants also plays an important role in selection of destination country which is documented by World Bank Group which is represented in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Education level of migrants according to destination



Source: Work Bank Group, 2011

The figure demonstrates that the destination country is influenced by the level of education of the migrant, as migrants who have basic schooling prefer to migrate to India whereas the migrants who have completed higher secondary or bachelor's level prefer to migrate to other nations apart from India, Malaysia or Gulf countries.

As per CBS (2014) report on Nepalese census of 2011, the total number of Nepalese population in European Union countries stand at 58,882 people, of which 4,802 are children below the age of fourteen, 36,424 are men and 17,653 are women. Therefore, it can be reasoned from the above mentioned reports that the small number of Nepalese migrants living in Europe are among the most educated and financially established emigrant population of Nepal.

2.2 Portuguese commitment towards integration of immigrants

Immigrants in Portugal enjoy some of the most favorable policies designed to integrate them better in the society according to Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2011). MIPEX is one of the most extensive guides on immigrant integration which measures integration policies in 31 countries in Europe and North America in seven policy areas of labor market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long-term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination (MIPEX, 2011). These policies are measured in relation to the highest standard set in terms of providing equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities to all residents where each country is presented with a score in the above mentioned policy areas where higher score represents close proximity to the highest standard conceived from Council of Europe Conventions or European Union Directives (MIPEX, 2011). MIPEX III provides a good indication on the efforts made by 31 countries in terms of integration of migrants which then makes it possible to compare these countries, monitor their integration strategies and help in improvement of integration policies.

The MIPEX III results for Portugal are very impressive with an overall score of 79 out of 100 and is ranked 2nd amongst the 31 countries only below Sweden which has an overall score of 83 (MIPEX, 2011). The IOM (2013, p.250) understands their earnestness as it mentions, "despite the serious economic crisis, the Portuguese government has maintained a strong commitment towards immigrant integration" and speaks of the government's aim of developing measures to promote citizenship rights, inclusion and duties in the areas of education, employment, professional qualifications and housing. This suggest that immigrants in Portugal are well protected by law and are provided equal rights and opportunities as compared to other European and North American countries making it a preferable destination for immigrants to live, work and study in (MIPEX, 2011).

Special mention should be given to Family Reunification Policies in Portugal, as it received highest score in MIPEX III with 91 points making it the most favorable country for immigrants who wish to bring their family in the host country. "Portugal recognizes that living in a family is a starting point for integration in society, even during the recession" (MIPEX 2011, p.161) and have very basic minimum requirements to allow family reunification and promote integration in

the society. The Portuguese immigration law 2007 ensured family reunification as a universal right for all legal residents and to qualify for family reunification, a migrant must have a valid residence permit, and can request for family reunification for their spouse and children below 18 years of age (Oliveira et.al, 2012). There are some provisions as well where family reunification is allowed for the immigrant's parents as well as children above the age of 18 provided that they are depending on the immigrant. The documents which are required to apply for family reunification includes: certified copy of family relationship, evidence of availability of housing, evidence of sufficient means to provide for family and criminal records (ibid.). Oliveira et al., (2012), in their study of family reunification being a barrier or facilitator of integration with the immigrants, presented that even though the concepts of integration were different for the migrants, they all mentioned that having their family was a precondition for integration and highlighted the positive impact of reunification in various levels of their lives. Most of the migrants felt more settled and that it has made their life easier.

Likewise, the Access to Nationality Policies in Portugal received the highest score in MIPEx III as well with 82 points, ensuring that the immigrants have the provision to become a Portuguese citizen if they wish to, given that all the requirements are met. Immigrants are granted the right to nationality through naturalization if: they have resided in Portuguese territory for at least 6 years with any type of residence permit except a short stay visa, have sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese Language, have reached adulthood or being of age according to Portuguese law and have not been found guilty of a crime punishable with a maximum prison sentence equal to or greater than three years under Portuguese law (ACIDI, N.A.). Taking these things into consideration, immigrants in Portugal are entitled to two major benefits in terms of family reunification and right to nationality which might have positive influence in their integration into the Portuguese society and their decision to migrate to Portugal.

There is room for improvement however, especially in terms of education policies as Portugal received 63 points out of 100 in MIPEx which stands at fourth along with Finland and Norway. MIPEx (2011) mentions that although all children have access to education, Portugal falls short of creating new opportunities and targeting needs of the migrant children. Nonetheless, the effort by Portugal in safe guarding the rights of immigrants are commendable, encouraging individuals

from different countries and culture to enter Portugal with provision to bring their families as well and promote integration.

2.3 Parenting practices across cultures and its influence on immigrants and their child's integration

It is generally agreed upon that there are many ways of parenting and it mostly depends on individual traits and skills, culture and values, social status and family dynamics (Selin, 2014) to name a few. The individual traits and values being talked about are largely influenced by culture (Kim and Ge, 2000) and for most cultures, the ways of parenting remains the same for many generations (Selin, 2014) as individuals believe the parental techniques handed over to them from their ancestors is the best and most acceptable way to raise a child and the one which they learned and have incorporated in their 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1993). Bornstein et al. (2011) mentions, parenting and cultures are intertwined because a major goal of parenting is to raise children to be well-functioning members of the culture into which they were born and within which they will live, which further influences the parents to stick to their cultural values when it comes to parenting.

But, migration to a different country with difference in cultural and parental ideologies will require substantial resettlement, for example: a family born and raised with the ideology of collectivism and centered around pursuing family goals will have to be modified in accordance to the new ideology of individualism centered around the fulfillment of personal goals and economic success (Ochocka and Janzen 2008; Tajima and Harachi 2010; Remennick 2014). The problem of compatibility might arise, as Pires (2002) mentions, between the ethnic identity and national identities which leads to socio-cultural incoherence which has an impact on integration. This might have a strained relationship between parents and their children if they do not readjust and reorganize and it can have significant effect on child's integration in the society. Hence, Walsh et al. (2006) mentions that it is important to study the relationship between immigrant parent and child to understand its unique nature and possible impact on the child's wellbeing.

Baumrind (1967) mentions that based on research on parenting styles and collectivism and individualism, it is observed that authoritarian parenting is generally associated with higher level

of collectivism and authoritative parenting is generally associated with higher level of individualism. Therefore, understanding the concept of collectivism or individualism might provide an understanding of parental beliefs and practices but one should use caution as individualism and collectivism can coexist within a given culture. (He, 2004)

2.3.1 Parenting in Asian culture

The parenting styles and values for parents from Asian countries are deep rooted in their culture of collectivism where people are integrated in strong and cohesive groups which protect them throughout their life in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede, 2001). Although there are many Asian countries with specific set of rules and norms of culture and parenting, there are still strong similarities between them. In a broader sense, they have features of strong kinship network and extended families with the focus of individual experience in relation to the other, which, Markus and Kitayama (1991) mentions, as being interdependent. Each member have specific set of roles and duties (for example, male as bread winner and female as home maker and care giving roles), and are expected to fulfill those roles which determines one's status in the society (ibid). Ibrahim et al. (1997) mentions that there is high regard for the elders and have a hierarchy of social structure where the views and advice from the elders are deeply valued. Some of the other characteristics include moral training, strict discipline, high value on educational achievement, gender biasness, obedience to parents and elders deciding for the child (Selin, 2014; Deepak, 2005; Marchand and d'Orey, 2008). Children are usually prepared from a very young age for their eventual adult roles where men takes care of family and parents, and women takes care of household, spouse and children (Ramu, 1977; Roland, 1988; Roopnarine and Hossain, 1992; Jambunathan and Counselman, 2002).

Wilmes and Andersen, (2014) pointed out difference in terms of freedom given to children to spend outside their home without adults in a comparative study about "Good Childhood" between children of Nepal and Germany where children in Germany enjoyed more freedom than those in Nepal. This also represents the reality of Nepalese society as children are mostly under parental supervision and are not encouraged to be a part of decision making process. Ghimire et al. (2006), in their study on individual participation in the choice of spouse mentions that majority of women experienced arranged marriage, whereas, half of the men were allowed to

have a say on whom and when they would marry which shows the gender disparity among men and women in the society. Children, especially boys, are often considered and are expected to provide security to the parents during their old age, provide economic assistance and perform death rituals (Bennett 1983; Fricke 1986) as there is belief among Nepalese people that if the death rituals are performed by son they would get a clear path to heaven, which explains the preference of a boy child and gender disparity.

Another important dimension in Nepalese child upbringing is that of significance placed on educational achievement. Barrie (2014) mentions that for Nepalese people education is a gateway for better life. The children are brought up to be competitive and achieve academic success by their family and failing to do so brings shame to not just the individual but entire family. The success of a child is considered to be a collective effort of the child and the family which fuels added pressure to the child. Seabra (2012), in her study of performance of children of Indian and Cape Verdean origin in schooling in Portugal mentions that, it was common for children from Indian origin to be around adults after school, homework is controlled, people around families were called more frequently to ask for help with difficulties in school and dialogue about school focused more on results. She expresses a possibility that maintaining strict and more direct control over compliance with school obligation might have positive effects in their school results.

The study by Barrie (2014) on Nepali student migrants in America also revealed the pressure faced by them in dealing with high expectations for the future, as they believe it is their responsibility to make up for the hard work and sacrifice made by their parents and feel burdened by the fear of not being able to live up to it. The constant reminder of the notion of "we came here for you" not just depicts the belief that the parents have on their children and the sacrifices they made as they were prepared to leave everything they have back home in Nepal in order to support him/her but also a reminder that the parents are now the responsibility of the child. In her research, the Nepalese students also talk about not being able to form their own identity as they have had to conform to the wishes and feelings of their parents (ibid.). These views are also supported by Chilman (1993; in Walsh et al., 2006) where he mentions that among Asian and Latin American families in the United States, the need for children's help with financial support due to economic strain is coupled with the cultural tradition that emphasizes family solidarity

and great importance is placed on the role of children to respect and support the family. The concept common among most of the Asian parents is that the children are supposed to sacrifice their desires for the benefit of the family (Uba, 1994) and in an event of conflict among the desires of children and parents, the desires of the child is suppressed in favor of the parent's desires.

2.3.2 Parenting in Western culture

Western culture corresponds mostly to the countries from Western Europe and other historical settlements due to immigrants from these countries such as Americas and Australasia (Jariya, 2012). These countries from the Western world have their own culture and values as well but as in Asian culture, have many similarities which they collectively term it as western culture. The Western culture have distinct features of parenting which are associated with independence, personal uniqueness, self expression and self sufficiency - more concerned towards a child's ability to build a sense of self (Wang and Leichtman, 2000). The opinion of the child is valued and they are offered choices in their daily lives and are expected to make their own choices to develop a strong sense of self which allows them to be in control of their own lives (Chang, 2007). Haan (2012, p.382) mentions that "Children in the United States were expected to confront parents and teachers through arguing and reasoning, thus taking an independent stand towards adults". The children in Western countries are often taught that they are unique and special and Markus and Kitayama (1991) in their study tried to test false uniqueness among American and Japanese students and found that American students assumed that only 30 percent of people in average would be better than themselves on various traits and abilities whereas this sense of false uniqueness was almost non evident on Japanese students. They further state that "a strong, pervasive motive for self-enhancement through taking personal credit for success, denying personal responsibility for failure, and believing oneself to be better than average may be primarily a Western Phenomenon. It is akin to being the nail that stands out" (ibid. p.245).

Marchand and d'Orey (2008) mentions that in Portugal, while raising a child, importance is given to individual autonomy, independence and self characteristics as well which is in line with other western perspective of child rearing practice as confirmed by Deepak (2005). They are concerned about providing space and privacy to their child, involve them in matters that concern

them and expect them to be able to make independent decisions as they mature (Deepak, 2005). The use of democratic discipline is promoted by the parents (Kim and Ge, 2000) and any form of corporal punishment for children is prohibited by law in most of the western countries including Portugal (GIEACPC, 2014).

2.3.3 Parenting and its effects on integration

The two approaches to parenting presented above are in contrast to each other and when parents migrate to a country with differing norms and values to what they believe as theirs, it might produce extraordinary stress on the parents as well as their children (Juffer, 1985). Kim and Ge, (2000) on their research on parenting practice and depressive behavior among Asian American migrants, have pointed out on previous studies on Asian American parents and defined them as being more controlling, stricter in discipline and more restrictive in comparison to European parents thus pointing out that even when they have been living away from home, they still prefer to raise their children with the approach which is generally used in their country of origin. There might be various reasons for it and Deepak (2005) mentions parents being fearful of picking up western culture which is considered to be inappropriate in their society as one of the main reason. He however maintains that their choices are not about adopting a new culture or retaining the old one, rather it is an "ongoing process of accepting, rejecting, modifying and reformulating cultural and social norms through constraints and possibilities presented in the process of migration" (ibid., p. 600). He also mentions that there might be other factors influencing their perceptions and values, of which, age, education and number of years stayed in a western country are some of the prominent ones.

Inman et al. (2007), in his study on Asian Indian Americans, mentions that the parents believe strongly in cultural values and communal ties and discourage dating and premarital sex and insist on having associations with the right kind of people. Both mothers and fathers indicated that it was highly important to transmit these values to their children. The parents consider the values of individualization as a loss of control, and therefore child autonomy is not encouraged (Dosanjh and Ghuman, 1998). There is also a difference in preference of acculturation preferences between the parents and the youths, with the parents emphasizing separation and the youths favoring integration (Segal, 1991; Talbani and Hansali, 2000, Shariff, 2009). They also mention

that the youths have had to behave in a different way inside and outside of their homes as their parents strongly disapprove of Western influences. Rhee et al. (2003) in their study on Asian and Caucasian American Adolescents found that it was difficult for Asian adolescents to discuss problems with their parents and voice their opinions as compared to the American adolescents which might be a cause of frustration and decrease in self esteem among them.

A study by Marchand and d'Orey (2008) on values of Portuguese/non-Portuguese mothers of kindergarten children, mothers were asked different questions which resulted in some contrasting and some similar answers. They were requested to pick three most important behavior that they want in their child and the Portuguese mother from both low socio economic background and medium high socio economic background pointed out higher preference for autonomy in their child where as mothers from Indian, Roma and African background preferred their children to behave with conformity (accept opinions without arguing; respecting their elders; respecting traditions). In other question regarding imagining their child as an adult, what kind of person they would like him/her to be, most of the mothers valued self characteristics like being kind, mature and honest as important followed with preference for personal fulfillment for Portuguese mothers whereas family fulfillment for Indian and African mothers. The study above also confirms to the views shared by earlier research where it was presented that even though parents migrate from one country to another, they hold on to their traditional values and practices when it comes to parenting practices.

Walsh et al. (2006), though have a different perspective to it as he believes that after migration, it is usually the children who are exposed to the new culture through school and schooling activities and learn the language faster and are integrated at a faster pace than their parents making it highly probable for the parents to seek help from their children thus losing out on the parental roles that they held when they were back home. In a sense, it is the children who are taking the responsibility of making the day to day life of their parent easier and taking greater responsibility of the situation which shifts the power balance and points towards role reversal in a family which might decrease the parental authority and control (Nesteruk and Marks, 2012). Remennick (2014) also mentions that parenting styles of immigrants subsequently evolve with time and depends on the extent of acculturation and the level of education of the parent and their involvement with the host society. The willingness to adapt to the culture of the host society

depends on the parent's stance regarding the host culture and how it influences their own culture and traditions and often resist what they consider to be negative influences (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001) thus, being very selective about picking out parenting norms and still having core cultural values in all aspect of parent child relation.

2.4 Theoretical framework

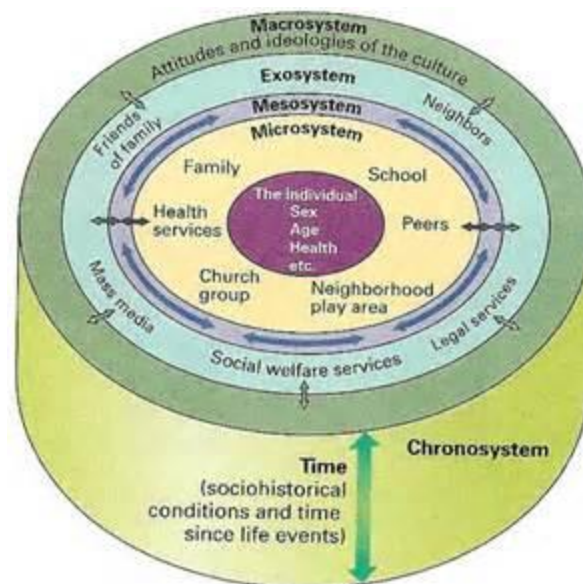
The phenomenon of world migration has been studied under various disciplines of social science with several theoretical perspectives evolving as a result, but, there is general consensus among researchers that a comprehensive migration theory does not exist as they have evolved in isolation to each other (Haas, 2008). Taking into account the various dimensions of migration such as social, cultural, economic, political, gender, demographic dimensions to name a few, Massey et al. (1993) acknowledges that one discipline alone might not be able to explain the complexities and diversity of migratory process. Hence, it is advised to cover the migration studies using an interdisciplinary approach to offer proper understanding of this process. One such dimension in migration is that of parenting among migrants as it creates a unique set of challenges to parents and children which can either lead to conflicts and differences between them in cases of not being able to cope with those challenges or find a way to handle them creating stronger familial bonds (Deepak, 2005). This study deals with Nepalese migrant parents and focuses on how they raise their children and what values they transmit in the host society and then find out how it influence their children's integration in the society. The theoretical framework for this study comprises of ecological systems theory and Baumrind theory of parenting styles.

2.4.1 Ecological systems theory

The importance of family in healthy development of a child has been well documented and Bronfenbrenner (1986) mentions that the focus of studies done before him was mainly on "intrafamilial" process of parent-child interaction i.e. the emphasis for child development was given to the relationship between parents and children. But he was critical of this approach as he reasoned that there are external factors which affects the family and needs to be taken into consideration which he calls the "extrafamilial" conditions accredited to the meso-system, exo-system and the chrono-system which he mentions, has an impact on child's development. This

led him to develop the ecological systems theory which maintains that the development of a child depends on five environmental sub systems (micro-system, meso-system, exo-system, macro-system and chrono-system) and their interaction with each other. He states that "The ecological environment is conceived as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls" (1979, p.3) showing the interconnectedness between the sub systems which is illustrated in Figure 2. This study on parental styles of immigrant parents and its influence on child integration require understanding the child's social experiences which can be achieved by studying the child's interaction with the corresponding system and its components and their interaction with each other.

Figure 2.4: Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory of child development



Source: <http://www.growingupinaustralia.gov.au/pubs/reports/krq2009/keyresearchquestions.html>

Micro-system: The micro-system constitutes the sub system closest to the child, which comprehends the relationship between the child and his/her immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The immediate environment generally includes family, peers, school and neighborhood. These are the areas or people who the child spends most of their time with in their day to day life. This is a bi-directional process where the components of the micro system can influence the behavior of the child and vice versa. For this research, the understanding of the interaction and relation between the child and the micro system represents an important part as it

will provide meaningful insights regarding the child's behavior. The focus will especially be on the parent child relationship and the impact will be studied through the child's interaction with the school, teachers, peers and other associations which the child might be a part of.

Meso-system: This system corresponds to the interaction between two or more micro-systems where the child actively participates. In this research, the interaction between parents and the school, peers and other associations will be studied.

Exo-system: The exo-system represents the social system which does not deal with the child directly, but might have indirect influence on them (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Macro-system: This system is comprised of cultural values, customs and laws (Berk, 2000) and incorporates the micro-system, meso-system and the exo-system (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). It is observed that the cultural values and customs influence the parenting practices among individuals, but, after migration, these parenting practices might be influenced by the values and customs of present nation. Therefore, it is important to understand the relationship between the macro system to the other systems, especially family and children.

Chrono-system: The chrono-system adds the dimension of time and emphasizes life transition and individual changes through time (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

The Ecological Systems Theory was used by Paat (2013), in his study of working with Immigrant Children and their Families in an attempt to understand the family mechanisms affecting immigrant children's assimilation trajectories. He argues that "immigrant families do not exist in isolation but are imbedded within a larger social structure interconnected with other social institutions and social domains" (ibid. p.955). He tries to explain the relationship between the immigrant and the sub systems of the ecological systems theory. He considers the use of theory of segmented assimilation and explains three different pathways of assimilation for the second generation of immigrants which are: upward assimilation, downward assimilation and upward mobility combined with persistent biculturalism. The upward assimilation would represent the immigrant being indistinguishable from the mainstream society over time as "they lose most of their cultural distinctiveness" (ibid. p.957). The downward assimilation is associated with social stagnation for the immigrant with them not being able to associate with the host

culture. The upward mobility with persistent biculturalism is associated with the immigrant being able to balance between the two worlds with the acquisition of linguistic skills and customs. These three dimensions are then understood in relation to microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem as Paat (2013) explains how immigrant family process takes place.

The use of the Ecological Systems Theory is highly relevant in this study as it is similar to the work envisioned by Paat (2013). I too believe that it is important to consider the child in relation to its surrounding and understand the influence that various components of the sub systems have in the child and vice versa as the interaction between the individual and the sub systems will explain the level of integration in the society. The components of systems, especially the parents, peers, teachers, school and society plays an important role along with the child itself in determining how the child adapts to a new environment and its study is highly significant.

2.4.2 Baumrind theory of parenting styles

Diana Baumrind is credited to have manifested the concept of parenting styles which has been used in many researches dealing with parenting. She presents two main elements of parenting: responsiveness (warmth or supportiveness) and control or demand (Halpenny et al., 2010). Categorizing the parents based on whether they are high or low on responsiveness and control gives rise to three different parenting styles which are: Authoritarian, Authoritative and Permissive. The Authoritarian parents are associated with high level of demand or control but low level of responsiveness, authoritative parents are associated with high level of demand and responsiveness and the permissive parents are associated with low level of control but high level of responsiveness.

Matejevic et al. (2014) mentions that authoritative parent are aware about their rights as older person, but also understands the importance of communication with the child and making conclusions together. They have certain degree of control over their child but ensure that they provide proper rational for their decisions. Baumrind (1967) further explains, the parent uses reason, power and shaping by regime and reinforcement to achieve the objectives and does not set the decision on group consensus or child's desires. The parents value the autonomous self will and disciplined conformity.

Authoritarian parents on the other hand expect complete conformity from the child. Child's behavior and attitude is shaped, evaluated and controlled in accordance with set standard of conduct formulated by a higher authority. Child's autonomy is disregarded and is assigned with household chores to infuse the respect for hard work. The parent does not believe in providing reasoning for the decisions taken on behalf of the child and the child should accept the views of the parents regarding what is right (Baumrind, 1967).

The permissive parent makes few demands for household responsibility and orderly behavior and the child is allowed to regulate their own activities whenever possible. There is always an attempt to avoid confrontation and exercise of control and does not encourages the child to obey externally defined standards (Baumrind, 1967).

Matejevic et al. (2013) used the Baumrind theory of parenting style in their study on parenting style, involvement of parents in school activities and adolescents' academic achievement. The study was conducted among 100 mothers, 100 fathers and 100 adolescents from primary school and high school in Serbia. The results showed gender discrepancy in terms of parenting style as mothers had characteristic of authoritative parenting style and fathers had characteristic of authoritarian parenting style. It also showed the lack of involvement in school life of their children by the fathers whereas mothers were highly involved resulting in better educational outcome for the child. The outcome of the research was that the authoritative parenting style was associated with higher involvement in school activities and better success of adolescent. Similar results were seen in earlier research from Glasgow et al., 1997 and Stevenson and Lee, 1990 (in O'Connor and Scott, 2007) as well. These results might not be extended to children from Asian background however as Seabra (2012) in her study on Indian and Cape Verdean migrant children and their educational outcomes found out that children from Indian origin who were controlled and had to follow strict compliance with school obligation produced better result. This result along with results from other studies on Asian migrants in US by Kim and Ge (2000) and Barrie (2014) is on the contrary to above mentioned results as Asian parenting is mostly regarded as Authoritarian but is still highly involved in the education of their child as well.

Jambunathan and Counselman (2002) in their study on parenting attitudes of Asian Indian mothers in United States also mentions that Indian parenting is generally regarded as

Authoritarian whereas European American parents are associated with Authoritative parenting. But, when comparing between Asian Indian mothers in India and US, they found that the mothers in US seemed to be having more of Authoritative parenting attitudes as they have been able to successfully adapt to the parenting culture around them and balance it with their own traditional cultural expectations. They however suggest using caution while adopting the concept of Authoritarian, Authoritative and Permissive parenting and employing it in relation to its context and gives an example that while Authoritative parenting might be good in western context, Authoritarian parenting has found to be highly appropriate in other cultural settings and using Authoritative parenting in those setting might lead to cultural and social isolation for children who are being raised in traditional economic and religious structures. In these cultural contexts, the control over the child by the parents is not because of having disregard for the child but instead it is their way of protecting their child.

Rodrigues et al. (2013), also mentions that several studies has shown the effectiveness of other parenting styles as well. For example: Steinberg et al. (1991) found that Authoritarian parenting was related among Asian-American to a highest ability to adjust and to highest academic achievement, Chao (2001), found that educational achievement on Authoritarian dominant Chinese-American adolescents were better than Authoritative ones. Garcia and Garcia (2010), found out that in Spain, adolescents from indulgent/permissive homes obtained better scores in different indicators of psychosocial adjustment such as emotional stability and positive world view than that of authoritative families. Torre et al. (2011, in Rodrigues et al., 2013) found that there was fewer level of stress among adolescent from permissive families. Different parenting styles have different effect on children depending on the cultural environment in which parent-child relationships develop (Berns, 2011; Rodrigues et al., 2013) and focusing only on a single parenting style as being the optimum could be detrimental. Therefore, this study is trying to relate the parenting styles to the interaction between the child and its ecological systems thus determining if it has any impact on child integration in a new society and is not trying to figure out if one parenting style is better than the other.

2.5 Research questions

- Which parenting style (Authoritarian, Authoritative or Permissive) are the Nepalese migrant parent associated with and what values (Asian or Western) do they transmit to their children?
- What are the factors that influenced their current parenting style and values?
- Why is it important for them to transmit those values to their children and how difficult or easy is it for them to transmit them?
- Does these parenting style and values have impact on their child's integration in school?
- What are future expectations of these parents?

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand the parenting styles adopted by Nepalese parents living in Portugal and if it has an impact on the integration of their child in the host society. This chapter describes the methodology for this research and will begin by providing information about the research strategy adopted in this study and the reason for selecting it. It then explains the sampling strategy for this study and the characteristics of research participants and will be followed by the overview of research design indicating the main steps in carrying out the research. It will then explain the methods used to collect the data followed by the framework for analysis of empirical data collected. The chapter will then discuss the ethical considerations for this study and will then state the limitations of the study and end with a summary of the chapter.

3.2 Research strategy

The research strategy for this study is qualitative as it seeks to answer questions which deal with the parent's experience with raising their children, practice of parenting styles, transfer of values and culture and its impact on child integration which as Bryman (2012) mentions is better analyzed through qualitative methods. Greater emphasis is placed on the participant's interpretation of their situation, in line with the epistemological position of 'interpretivism', which they have experienced "as the reality of their daily lives" Schutz et al. (1962: 59; in Bryman, 2012) which is associated with qualitative research methods. The qualitative research is also generally grounded in constructivist philosophical position (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008) as the social actors are in constant interaction with the social world all the time and as Bryman (2012) mentions, the actors construct their own realities and understand it through interaction ensuring they are in constant state of revision. This fits the purpose of this study as well, as the immigrant parents are in interaction with a new society and new culture and these exchanges between them determines their current reality which is better understood when it comes in the form of narratives, experiences and instances from them themselves which provides richness in data. The study is also complemented by a quantitative analysis of secondary statistical data regarding the profile of the Nepalese community in Portugal.

3.3 Sample strategy for the study

The sampling procedure for this research is purposive sampling as its strength lies in selecting cases which are rich in information from which one can learn great deal about issues which are central to the purpose of the research which helps for study in depth (Patton, 1990; in Coyne, 1997). Keeping in mind the purpose of the research and the characteristic of the participants required for the study, the individuals were approached through key contact first and later, these participants proposed other potential participants who fulfilled the criteria for the research, thus representing a snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012). The research participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- The participant should be from Nepal and living in Portugal
- The participant must have a child or children who migrated to Portugal and should be 18 years and younger.
- Both the parents and the child or children must be resident in Portugal for at least 1 year.

Nepalese parents are the study population for this research. It was defined that the child should have migrated to Portugal to ensure that it has experienced parenting, culture, tradition and values in both the countries and is able to make a distinction between these two. This is important because a child born in Portugal for Nepalese parents will have a different experience of integration to that of a migrant child and this study is only focusing on integration experience of migrating child. Both the parents and the child should have lived in Portugal for at least a year as they would have some idea about the culture, parenting practices and values of the host society by then. The sample universe for this study was Lisbon Metropolitan Area as around 79% of total Nepalese population is staying here (SEF, 2014) which makes it comparatively easier to find parents among large group of population in Lisbon than in other cities. Designated time for data collection is another factor as with time very limited to conduct the research, it was easier for me to find participants in Lisbon as I live here myself. The intended sample size for this study was 10 families and the data was collected through 5 in-depth interviews with the mother and 5 in-depth interviews with the father, each of them belonging to different families.

3.4 Overview of research design

The steps carried out to conduct this research are mentioned below:

- The first step in this research was to identify the issue of parenting, migration and child integration around the world which was carried out by review of literature about these topics.
- A research proposal was developed and presented to the supervisor in mid January 2015 and after the proposal had been accepted, further plan of actions were developed which began with further review of literature focusing on differences in parenting, culture and values between Asian countries and Western countries and migration of children and parents and their experience with integration. Theories relating to parenting styles and child integration were reviewed as well to provide a strong basis for analytical framework. The literature mainly consisted of books, scholarly articles, reports, journals, newspaper articles and dissertations and was mostly accessed through ISCTE-IUL and University of Gothenburg library while some of the articles were provided by professors from ISCTE-IUL. There were interactions with key contact, a Journalist that facilitated the access to the Nepalese community. I explained him about the research and the characteristics of the participants for the research.
- To gather statistical data regarding Nepalese population in Portugal, contact was made with INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística), the national statistic institute of Portugal and other sources such as the Immigration and Borders Services - SEF, the Database of Contemporary Portugal – PORDATA and for data regarding attendance to school the Office for Education Statistics and Planning, Ministry of Education (DGEEC, MEC).
- Interview guideline of semi structured questions was prepared and potential research participants were contacted through key contact in mid February and some of the interviews were conducted.
- Presentation of project in a seminar with experts on migration and child related issues to gather feedback on the project in beginning of March.
- Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were completed in beginning of April with 12 families through snowball sampling but only 10 interviews were recorded as 2 participants did not consent to recording the interview.

- Interaction with key contact from the High Commission for Migration - ACM (Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante), Non Resident Nepali Association - NRNA, Nepalese Consulate in Lisbon and a Nepalese who was among the first person to come to Portugal.
- Transcription of the interviews and content analysis of interview data as well as statistical analysis of secondary data.

3.5 Data collection methods

3.5.1 Primary data

The primary form of data collection was in depth interviews with the help of interview guideline with open ended semi structured questions. The use of individual in depth interviews was the preferred choice as it provides an opportunity to have direct interaction with the participants and gives the researcher the chance to clarify and ask additional questions and as Kvale (1996) mentions, enabling the researcher to try and understand the meaning from the subject's point of view, from the subject's own words. In-depth semi structured interviews are very flexible as the interviewees do not have to stick to the rigid set of questions with pre determined answers as in structured interviews to be filled up but are given the freedom to express themselves (Bryman, 2012) therefore providing data rich in content.

There were a total of 10 interviews that were recorded using recording device. There were 5 female participants and 5 male participants to ensure that both the gender was represented and cover varying experiences. The participants were from seven different areas in Lisbon, namely Rossio, Martim Moniz, Alameda, Anjos, Intendente, Alcantara and Campo Pequeno, to ensure representation of different areas and avoid clustering of samples from the same place. The language of communication for the interview was Nepali as it is the national language and the participants were familiar with it and were able to express their experience freely. It was also important to maintain flow of conversation and preserve comfort while communicating. I being a Nepali as well was an added value for this research because of the access to information I had from the participants which people from other nationality might not have had. The duration for the interview was between 1 to 2 hours and the date, time and location for the interview was

selected according to the convenience for the participants. The interview was recorded using electronic device.

The interview guideline had socio-demographic elements consisting of personal and family information followed by 6 main dimensions and supporting probe questions which were related to the research questions for this research. The first dimension was about the child reunification process and the parent's experience with it, participation in decision making and preparedness for the child before migrating. The second dimension was about the parent's relationship with the child, issues relating with discipline, rules and restrictions and how it has changed or remained the same after they came to Portugal. The third dimension was about the educational performance of the child and their relationship with teachers and peers. The fourth dimension was about culture and values between Portugal and Nepal and which of them the parents transmit to their children and the reaction from the children to it. The fifth dimension was about the support system, the Nepalese community and its influence in parenting, and the support they are receiving from institutions promoting child integration. The final dimension was about the obstacles their child faced after migration and the expectations for them and their children in the future. Similarly, a 'time budget sheet' was used for the interview as well to understand about how the parent spent a random day of a week. It was particularly useful in making a strong case of evidence to compare if what they say about themselves in the interview is similar to what they actually do.

Apart from the in-depth interviews with the research participants, data was also collected through formal and informal interviews with key contacts. The first key contact for this research was a journalist who operates a news website in Nepali language from Portugal. He has been living in Portugal for more than 4 years and was the first point of contact for me to get access to other research participants. I had informal interview with him regarding the Nepalese people in Portugal and their situation in general. My second key contact was representative from CNAI who informed me about various services operated by the organization to support immigrants and better integrate them in the Portuguese society and also mentioned about the Nepalese migrants visiting them for support. My third key contact was the president of Non Resident Nepali Association in Portugal which is the most prominent and well known organization among the

Nepalese migrants as they are providing support in solving the problems of Nepalese migrants, giving training courses and organizing cultural programs. The interview was about the situation of Nepalese families and children, difficulties they face and the support provide by the organization. My fourth key contact was representative from Nepalese Consulate in Portugal and the interview was about the services they provide and general situation of Nepalese migrants in Portugal. My fifth key contact was a person who was among the first Nepalese who came to Portugal and my informal interview with him was about the trend of migration among Nepalese people, the differences he finds in terms of education, skills and integration process from then and now. The data was also collected through observation as I noted down some of the incidents during the interviews or while participating in the programs organized by Nepalese migrants, which were relevant for the study.

3.5.2 Secondary data

The secondary statistical data for this research was collected through INE, SEF, PORDATA and the Office for Education Statistics and Planning, Ministry of Education – DGEEC, MEC. The data for Nepalese migrants were requested to INE through the data dissemination service provided by their website and was funded by ISCTE-IUL. INE provided the 2011 census data under various categories for people who had Nepalese citizenship. The data for Nepalese people was also accessed from SEF through the portal in their website and yearly reports. The data from PORDATA was accessed through their website to gain data regarding Portuguese household which was then used to compare different categories to that of Nepalese migrants in Portugal.

3.6 Data analysis

The data was analyzed using content analysis as it is a flexible method for analyzing text data where data are reduced into concepts that describes the research phenomenon (Cavanagh, 1997). The initial coding categories and sub categories were determined by Baumrind's theory of parenting styles (1967) and Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory of Child Development (1986) which is directly related to two key components of parenting styles employed by the parents and the integration of the child respectively. Further categories were developed after reading the transcriptions of responses to the questions from the interview guidelines directed towards specific research questions. These responses were highlighted and developed into codes

and similar codes were grouped together to form smaller categories. These smaller, similar and opposing categories which represent similar themes were thus combined to form a larger category. These categories and sub categories were placed in data summary tables where the responses of each of the participants were represented in boxes depending upon their response. The analytical framework for this study is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Analytical framework

Dimensions	Categories
Disciplining the child	Give Reasoning
	Use of force
	Threat/Fear
	Scolding
	Reward
Relationship with the child	Spend time with the child
	Closeness, comfort in sharing feelings
	Care, Concern and support
	Confrontation
Monitoring and decision making	Know whereabouts
Transmission of values and its importance	Parent-child interdependence
	Respect for parents and elders
	Preservation of native culture
What affects parenting	Cultural Factors
	Children's reaction
	Support system or community
Integration of the child in School	Educational performance
	Relationship with teachers
	Relationship with friends
	Language Skills

3.7 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues in social science research have been discussed through many years and there have been difference in opinion regarding what can be considered as ethically acceptable and what cannot (Bryman, 2012). Two of the most prominent philosophical approaches dominating the debate among researchers as Polonsky and Waller (2005) mentions, are i) Deontological philosophy, which believes that no harm should be done to the participants in any ways regardless of the potential benefit in the future and that the focus is on motives, principles and values of honesty, justice and respect and ii) Teleological philosophy, which focuses on the end result rather than how the end product has been achieved with the belief of ‘the end justifies the means’. Researchers believing in these philosophies have their own standpoints and considerations but special care should be taken however to avoid the occurrence of ethical dilemmas before, during and after the research and ensure that the research does not cause harm to the participants, researchers or the institution overseeing the research at any point of time (Bryman, 2012). Polonsky and Waller (2005) mention six ethical areas which are interlinked with each other and need to be considered while doing research and they are: i) voluntary participation, ii) informed consent, iii) confidentiality and anonymity, iv) potential for harm, v) communicating the results and vi) more specific ethical issues. Keeping the above mentioned ethical areas in mind, I was very cautious throughout the research process.

All the participants for my research participated in the research voluntarily and they were neither deceived nor forced to be a part of this research. During the initial communicating with the participants, before I requested them to participate in my research, I gave them a brief explanation about myself, the research I am conducting, objectives for the research and how their assistance would be of great help in creating this piece of knowledge. Participants were also informed that their identity would be kept confidential and pseudonyms would be used instead of their real names to maintain anonymity. It was important to provide these information as they have every right to know for what they have been requested to be a part of. There were individuals who agreed to participate but there were some who declined as well but I did not pressurize them or made them feel that it was obligatory for them to participate. Even during the

interviews, participants were well informed that they had the authority to refrain from answering questions they did not wish to.

Before recording the interviews, permission were sought and as a result 10 participants allowed for the interviews to be recorded whereas two participants mentioned that they did not wish their interview to be recorded hence I conformed to their wish. The recorded data and transcriptions were also stored in a safe place to ensure that they were not accessed by someone else. It was also important that the participants were not harmed in any form because of the research thus the need to maintain confidentiality. Care was also taken to understand if it was difficult for the participants to respond to the questions as after the completion of the interview I usually asked them if there was any question which they found offensive or intrusive.

There was an instance of ethical dilemma though when a participant felt emotional when she thought about her experience of being away from her children and I had to decide whether to continue with the interview or stop, as, if the interview was stopped, she would not be able to go back to complete her experience and I would miss out on vital information and if I did not stop the interview, there was possibility of the narrative taking an emotional toll on her. The situation was handled by stopping the interview for a while and offering her some water and offering her some comforting words to help her to relax after which she composed herself and was able to continue with the rest of the interview.

3.8 Difficulties and limitations of the study

Though efforts have been made to make this research as complete as possible, there have been some limitations for this study. One of the limitations was of having interview with participant whom I have known for a while. Maxwell (1996) mentions this phenomenon as participant reactivity. There is a possibility that knowing the participant personally made it a bit difficult for them to be comfortable during the interview. The responses might have been directed according to what they perceived I might be looking for and might not actually be their true opinion. I tried to make the conversation as comfortable as possible and to flow naturally which would limit the time to think too much about what might be the desired response and that the real information would emerge. Another limitation for this study is regarding the interviews where only one

parent from a family will be interviewed and that there is a possibility that their views might not be similar to the views that their spouse have. To try to overcome this limitation, I had asked the participants if their spouse had the same views as they have which has been able to cover the limitation to some extent. There is also limitation regarding translation of the interviews in English for the analysis as translation of some of their expressions might not provide the same depth and meaning as in the original language. I have tried however, my best to provide literal translations and keep their own narratives intact and meaningful.

One of the difficulty had been in getting access to data regarding Nepalese population in Portugal mostly because the total number of Nepalese population is still small and are placed under the category of 'others' by the data providers. But it was eventually solved after series of email exchanges, phone calls and bureaucratic procedures with the data providers. Another challenge as well as an opportunity has been lack of literature or previous study on Nepalese migrants in Portugal as everything had to be built from scratch but on the other hand it is a huge opportunity to be able to contribute to the knowledge base regarding the new wave of migrants from Nepal.

3.9 Summary

To summarize the chapter, qualitative strategy was used for this research as it deals with experience of parenting, values and culture which is better understood when there are narratives and stories. The study is also complemented by a quantitative analysis of secondary statistical data regarding the profile of the Nepalese community in Portugal. There were a total of 10 main samples for the research which was selected from Lisbon Metropolitan Area using purposive sampling and snow ball sampling. The data was collected using in-depth interviews, time budget and observation. There were also interviews with key contacts to get added information on Nepalese people. The data was analyzed using content analysis which was guided by Baumrind's theory of parental practice and Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory of Child Development and further categories were developed from the codes and themes that emerged from the data.

4. Empirical field of observation

The first part of this chapter deals with the analysis of statistical data regarding Nepalese immigrants in Portugal to better understand the migration pattern, population demographics, family reunification, Nepalese children in Portuguese Schools and registrations and transitions and household information. The second part of this chapter deals with interviews with key contacts from Non Nepali Resident Association (NRNA), the Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante (CNAI) and Nepalese Consulate in Lisbon. The third part of this chapter deals with the characterization of the in-depth interview participants.

4.1 Analysis of secondary statistical data

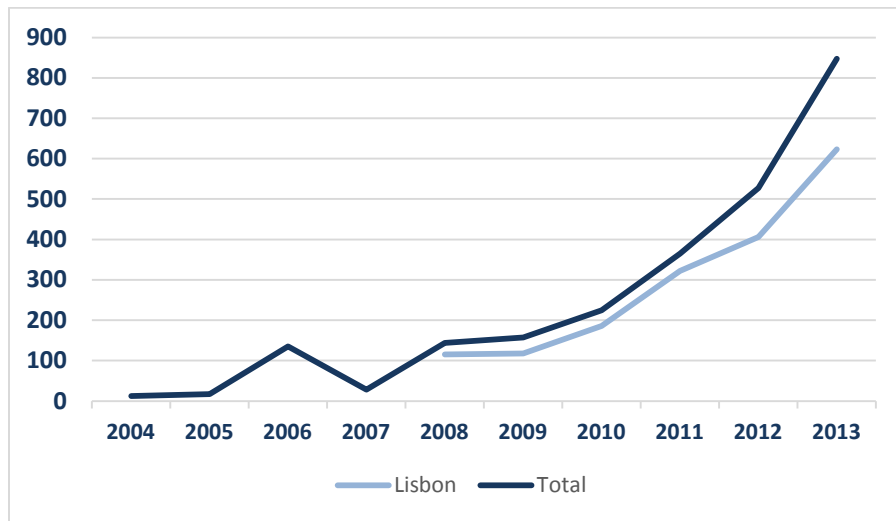
This section examines secondary statistical data for Nepalese immigrants obtained from INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística), the national statistic institute of Portugal and other sources such as the Immigration and Borders Services - SEF, Database of Contemporary Portugal – PORDATA and for data regarding attendance to school the Office for Education Statistics and Planning, Ministry of Education (DGEEC, MEC).

4.1.1 Nepalese population in Portugal

Asians from various origins have settled in Portugal from the 1980's with nearly 30,000 Portuguese of Indian ancestry arriving from Mozambique to Portugal. Since the beginning of the 21st century though other groups from Asia (China, Bangladesh, and Pakistan) have been arriving in Portugal in small numbers as well which comprises mainly of working age population (Pires, ed. 2011). Similarly, Nepalese population in Portugal started at around the same time as SEF report (2001) mentions that there were 2 Nepalese who were legal residents in Portugal in the year 2000. Since then, the population of Nepalese immigrants has been increasing steadily. The figure 4.1 demonstrates the inflow of Nepalese population between the years 2004-2013 in Portugal and in Lisbon. The data shows a sharp rise in Nepalese population in the year 2006 followed by an abrupt decline in 2007 before rising again in 2008 after which there has been a steady increase in inflow of Nepalese population in Portugal. The rise of inflow in 2008 might be

credited to change in family reunification laws in Portugal in the year 2007 (Oliveira et al., 2012). The graph for inflow of Nepalese in Lisbon shows a similar pattern to that of Portugal with slight differential between them between the years 2008 and 2011, but since 2011, there has been a steady increase in differential between Lisbon and that of entire Portugal with the inflow population being distributed to other districts as well, especially Faro which recorded inflow numbers of 91 and 122 immigrants for the year 2012 and 2013 respectively.

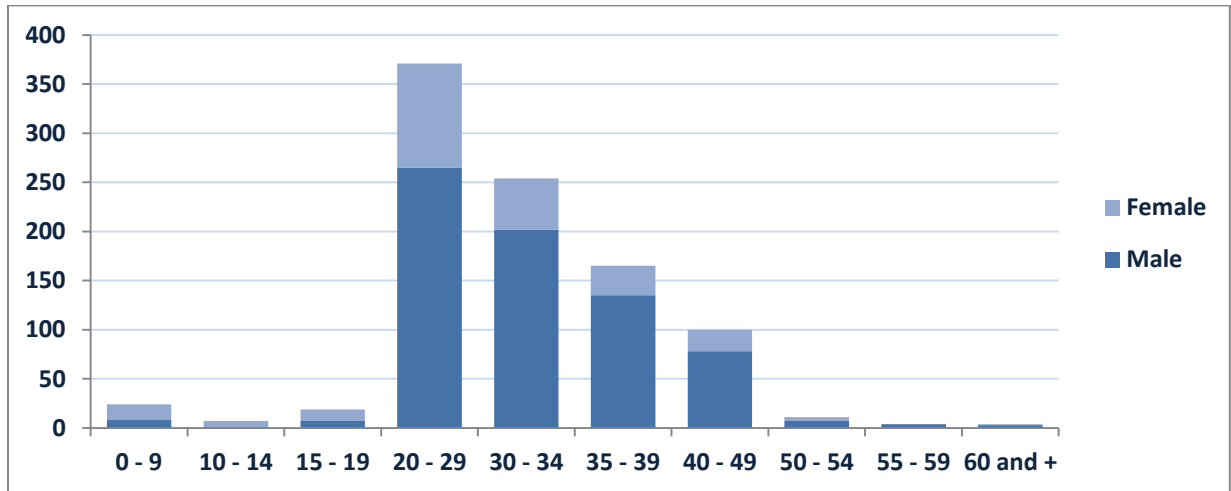
Figure: 4.1 Inflows of Nepalese, total and Lisbon (2004-2013)



Source: SEF, 2004 to 2013

The figure 4.2 demonstrates the age group of Nepalese population residing in Portugal according to Census (2011). The highest numbers of Nepalese population are in the age group 20-29 followed by age groups of 30-34 and 35-39 with very few numbers for population below the age of 19 and above the age of 50. It shows that the majority of Nepalese people in Portugal are young and in working age. The population of Nepalese immigrants below the age of 19 stands at 50 individuals who might have been born here or came through family reunification. There is disparity however, among gender of the Nepalese population as it is mostly dominated by men among all age groups apart from age groups below 19 which show that there are 50 individuals with representation of 34 female and 16 male. The total population of the Nepalese population stands at 959 individuals, with 710 people representing male and 249 people representing female defining the female to male ratio at almost 1:3.

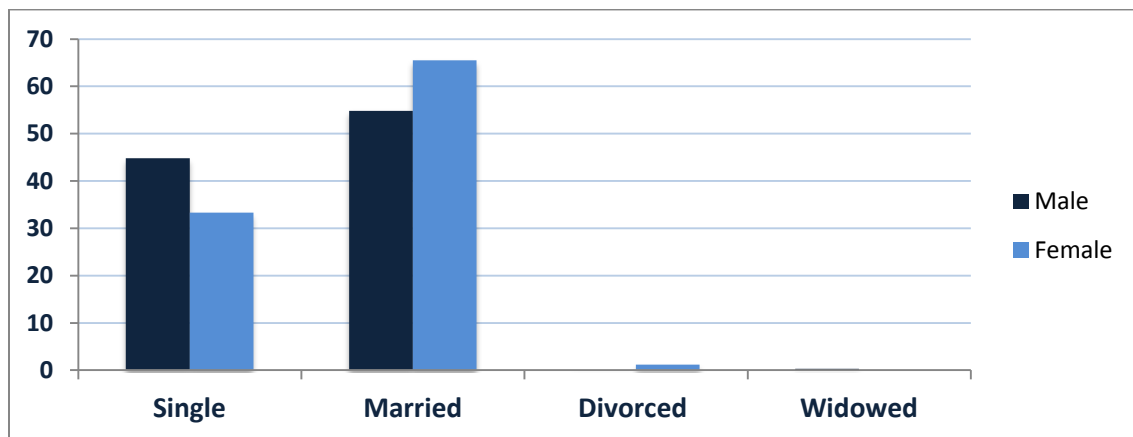
Figure 4.2: Nepalese by age group (stock)



Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

The figure 4.3 demonstrates the marital status of Nepalese population in Portugal according to sex. It is evident that there is not much difference between married and single men but there was considerable difference between married and single women as the number of single women were almost half of that of married women. The reason for this difference might be the predominance patriarchal society in Nepal, discouraging women from travelling abroad without getting married.

Figure 4.3: Marital status according to sex (2011) in percentage

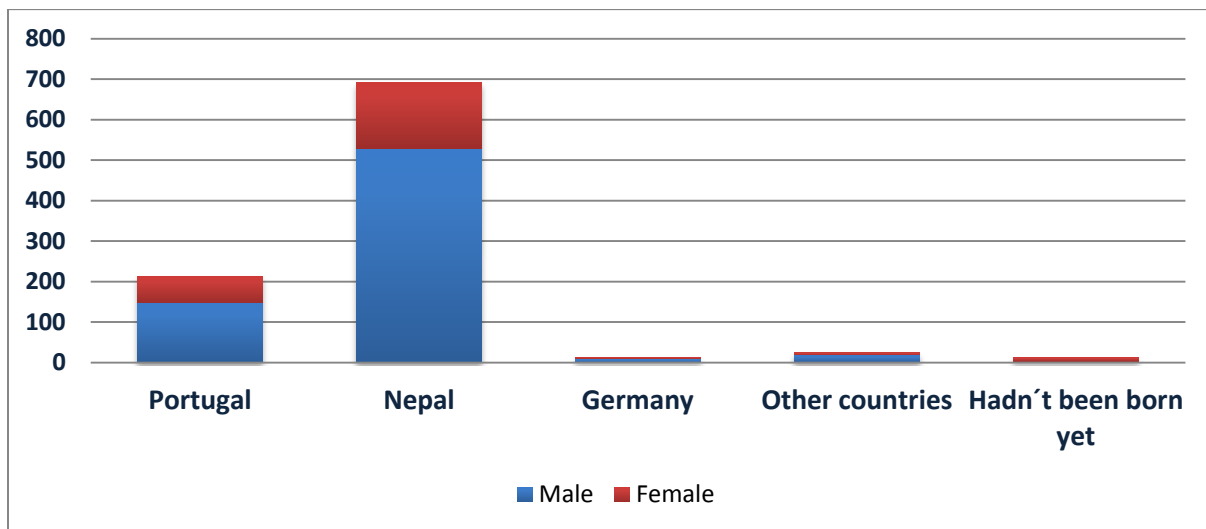


Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

4.1.2 Nepalese migration to Portugal as a recent phenomenon

The figure 4.4 demonstrates the country of residence of Nepalese migrants in Portugal on December 2005 according to sex. The Census 2011 allows analyzing immigrant's previous migratory background, as they asked individuals which country they were living in two different moments in time: 2005 and 2009. It can be seen that the number of people who were residing in Portugal in 2005 were very low compared to the number of people who were residing in Nepal which shows that after 2005, the Nepalese population has increased significantly. It also demonstrates that Nepalese migration to Portugal is a recent phenomenon as majority of the population residing in Portugal in 2011 (Census) arrived after 2005. The figure also shows that Nepalese migration to Portugal has always been dominated by men as the number of men is considerably higher in population of people living in Portugal, Nepal, Germany and other countries in 2005.

Figure 4.4: Country of residence of Nepalese on December 2005, by sex

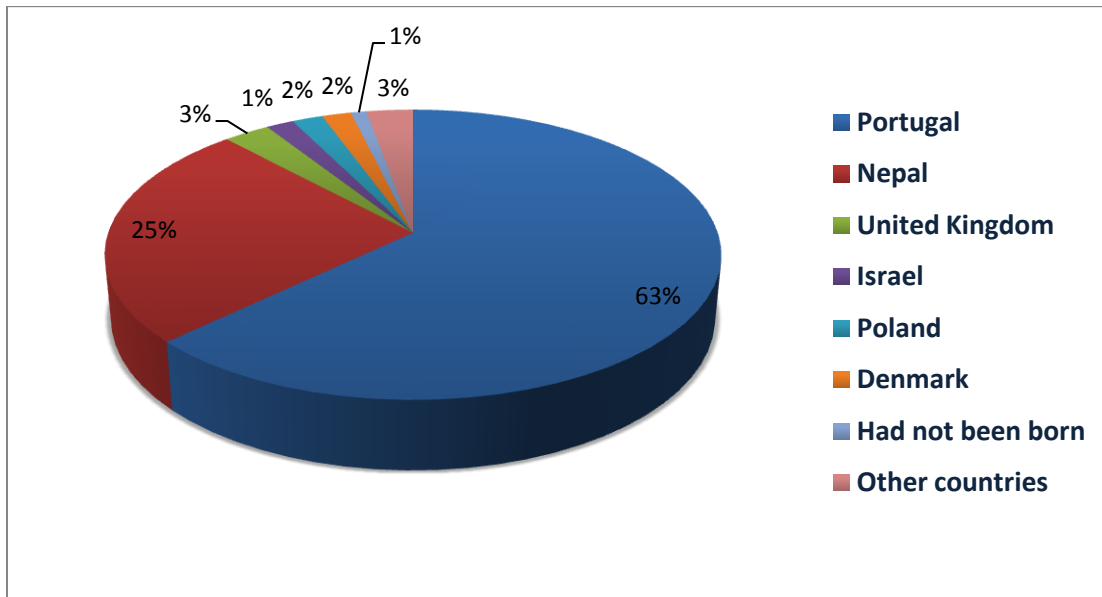


Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

The figure 4.5 presents the country of residence for Nepalese on December of 2009. Differently from what found for 2005, 63% of the total population of Nepalese in Portugal in 2011 was already residing here before 2009 and between 2009 and 2011, 25% of the total population came from Nepal which shows that there was substantial growth in number of Nepalese in Portugal

who came from Nepal in these two years. Other notable countries from which Nepalese people come to Portugal are the United Kingdom which contributes around 3% with the other 3% population coming from other countries than the ones mentioned in the figure.

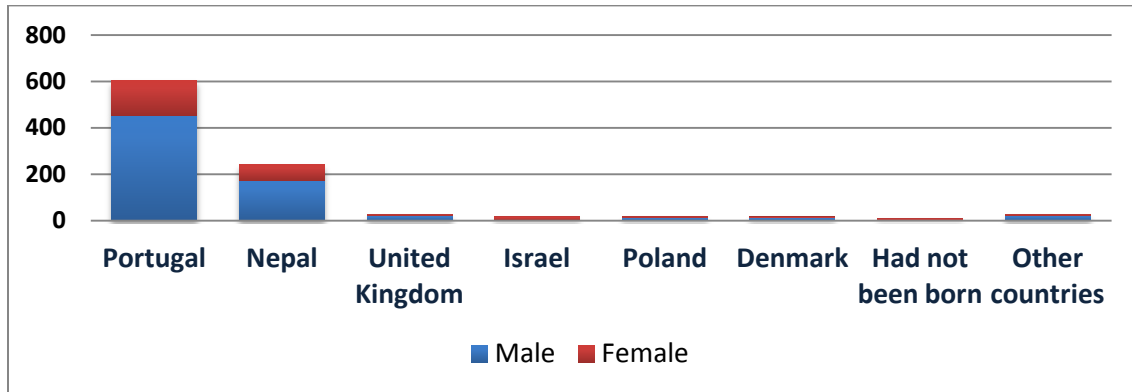
Figure 4.5: Country of residence of Nepalese on December 2009



Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

The figure 4.6 demonstrates the country of residence for Nepalese in Portugal on December, 2009 according to sex. It can be observed that the pattern of migration between 2005 and 2009 did not change much in terms of gender of the participants as it was still dominated by men in all the countries presented below apart from Israel. There already were disparity between men and women population before 2009 as Nepalese population in Portugal before 2009 consisted of more men than women, and the population arriving after 2009 followed similar pattern. This data mirrors the emigration reality of Nepal as CBS (2014) reports that of the total migrant population from Nepal, 87.6% represents men and only 12.4% represents women.

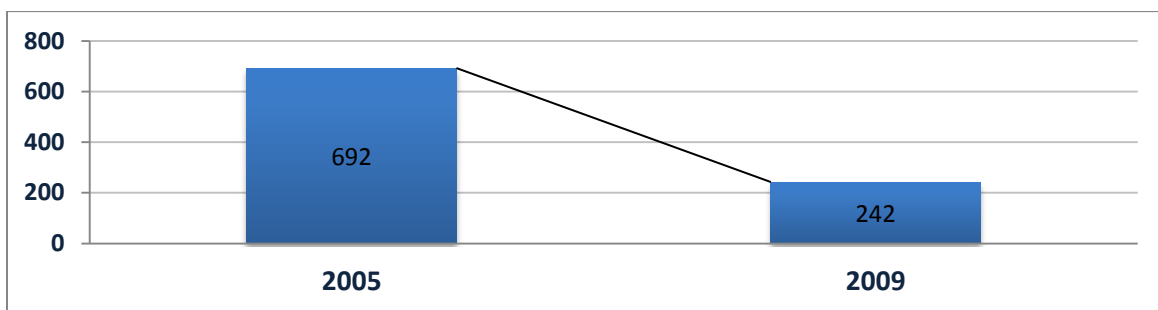
Figure 4.6: Place of residence of Nepalese on December 2009, by sex



Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

The figure 4.7 presents the number of Nepalese people residing in Portugal who were residing in Nepal on December, 2005 and 2009. The data shows that, of the total population residing in Portugal in 2011, 692 Nepalese were residing in Nepal on December 2005 while the number dropped to 242 people residing on December 2009. Therefore, between 2005 and 2009, there were 450 people who came to Portugal who were residing in Nepal. Considering the total Nepalese population in Portugal of 959 individuals, it can be seen that almost half of the total population came to Portugal between 2005 and 2009. One possible explanation for the rise in population between these years can be the adoption of new Nationality law (2006) which made it easier for migrants to acquire nationality and new Immigration laws (2007) providing the immigrants with the right to family reunification. (Oliveira, 2012)

Figure 4.7: Nepalese residing in Portugal (2011) with residence in Nepal on December 2005 and 2009

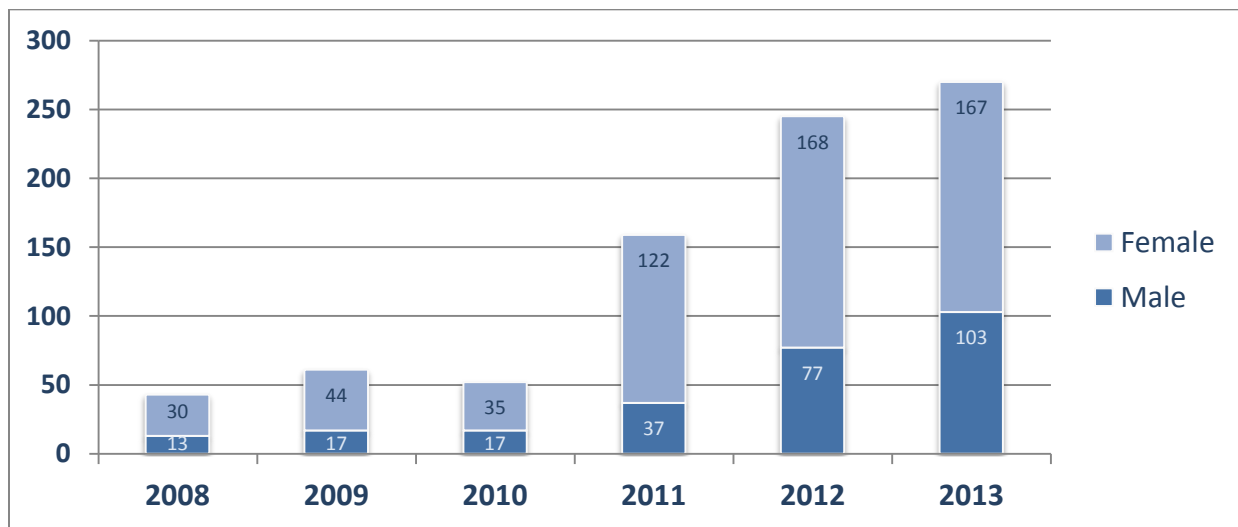


Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

4.1.3 Family reunification as contributor for inflow of Nepalese immigrants

The figure 4.8 demonstrates the stock data for family reunification between the year 2008 and 2013. It can be observed from the data that family reunification has generally been dominated by female population throughout the years between 2008 and 2013, but the recent data of 2013 indicates that the gap between female and male population coming to Portugal through family reunification is decreasing. The year 2008 shows that there were 43 people residing in Portugal who came through family reunification and now this number has increased by more than six times as the data shows that there are 270 people residing in Portugal who came through family reunification until the year 2013.

Figure 4.8: Family reunification of Nepalese - stock (2008-2013)



Source: SEF, 2008 to 2013

4.1.4 Nepalese immigrants in education systems

The table 4.1 illustrates the data for registrations and transitions/conclusions for children from various nationalities according to school level and cycle. The Nepalese students show higher number of registrations in the 1st cycle of education with 34 students registering and a good transitions/conclusions rate at around 91%. Comparing this number to the numbers from other nationalities, the transition/conclusion rate for the 1st cycle, Nepalese children are better than

other South Asian countries India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. In the 2nd cycle of education, there were 16 students who registered but the transitions/conclusions rate dropping down to around 56% depicting similar rates to students from Bangladesh and Pakistan. The 3rd cycle had 21 children registering with only 8 children through transitions/conclusions dropping the rate further down to 38% making it only better than the children from Bangladesh. The registrations for secondary education saw 9 Nepalese children of which only 3 going through transitions/conclusions dropping the conversion rate of 33%. One has to consider though that failing to get through transitions/conclusions does not always mean that the child has failed the examinations but might be the result of parents moving abroad along with the children, driving them to drop out of school. Nonetheless, based on the data, Nepalese children seems to perform better in lower levels of schooling and struggle as they get to the higher end of education. Nepalese students perform better in professional courses though with transition/conclusion rate of 100%

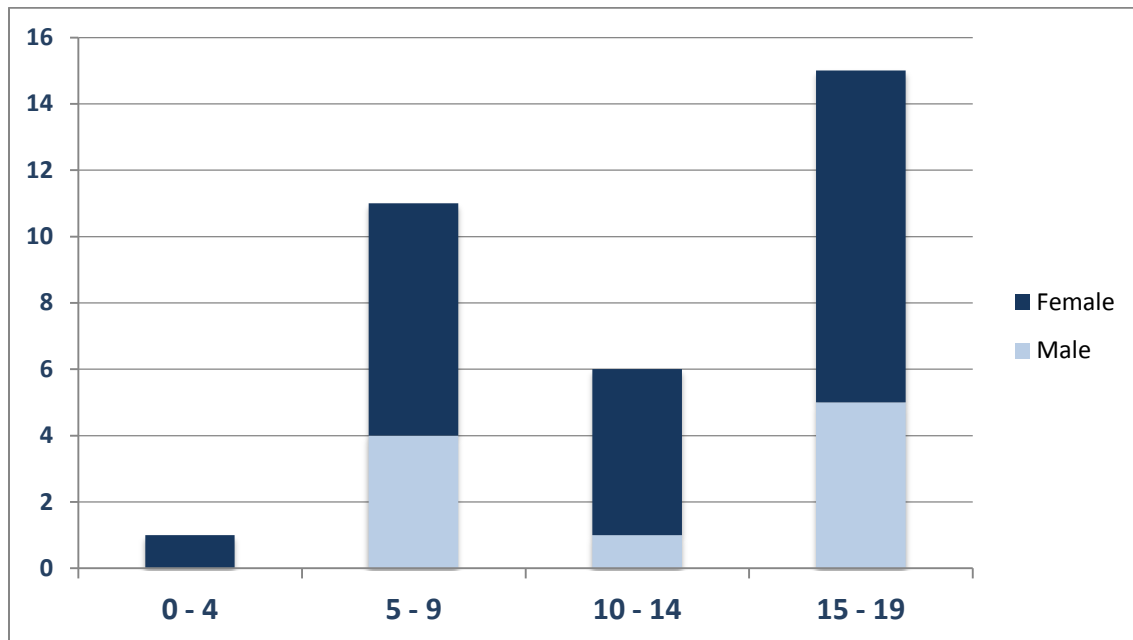
Table 4.1: Registrations and transitions/conclusions (n.º), according to school level, cycle and nationality (2012/2013)

Nationality	Basic education						Secondary education			
	1st Cycle		2nd Cycle		3rd Cycle					
	Regular education		Regular education		Regular education		Regular education		Professional courses	
	Registrations	Transitions/conclusions	Registrations	Transitions/conclusions	Registrations	Transitions/conclusions	Registrations	Transitions/conclusions	Registrations	Transitions/conclusions
Total	413461	394457	230336	201779	330947	279046	194703	152967	110750	95113
Portugal	400000	382346	221066	194594	315844	267936	187196	148087	101240	87495
China	491	460	277	235	481	351	198	134	43	38
India	156	115	64	39	101	45	38	15	20	14
Pakistan	98	70	53	30	86	43	22	7	24	20
Bangladesh	54	46	16	9	15	4	3	1	5	5
Afghanistan	22	21	15	15	19	12	45	35	14	13
Nepal	34	31	16	9	21	8	9	3	7	7

Source: DGEEC/MEC, data for the Continent

The figure 4.9 demonstrates the data for Nepalese children and young people attending school by age group. The population between age 0 and 19 is dominated by females which is also evident in the table below. Majority of school going children are between age group 15 and 19 representing 15 individuals followed by children between age group 5 and 9 representing 11 individuals. There were total of 33 individuals who were attending school of which 23 were female and 10 were male.

Figure 4.9: Nepalese attending school by age group (children and young people)



Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

The table 4.2 illustrates the level of education Nepalese immigrants are attending or the highest level that they have attended. The highest percentage of completion of education for Nepalese people was upper secondary education which accounted for almost 46%. Other highest representation was from students who were studying or had completed university degree accounting for almost 12%. What needs to be noted is that people who had completed or were attending education levels of upper secondary or higher accounted for almost 77% which suggests that most of the Nepalese populations residing in Portugal are educated.

Table 4.2: Level of education currently attending or highest level attended by Nepalese immigrants (even if not complete)

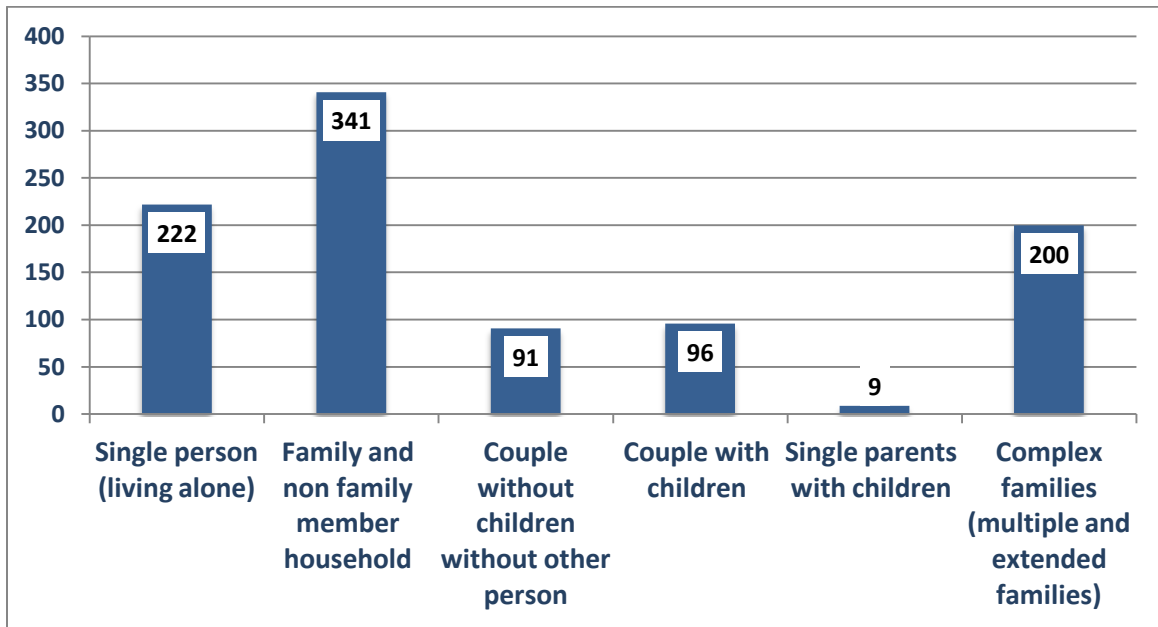
	N	% of total	Male %	Female %
Total	959	100	74.0	26.0
Without any education level	60	6.3	63.3	36.7
Pré-primary education	3	0.3	33.3	66.7
1st cycle of primary education	41	4.3	61.0	39.0
2nd cycle of primary education	27	2.8	55.6	44.4
Lower secondary education	95	9.9	69.5	30.5
Upper secondary education	438	45.7	73.3	26.7
Post-secondary education	45	4.7	86.7	13.3
Tertiary education - bachelor degree	97	10.1	88.7	11.3
Tertiary education - university degree	111	11.6	78.4	21.6
Tertiary education - master degree	36	3.8	77.8	22.2
Tertiary education - doctorate degree	6	0.6	66.7	33.3

Source: INE, Census 2011 (by nationality)

4.1.5 Household information of Nepalese immigrants

The figure 4.10 demonstrates the number of Nepalese in households according to family structure. Most of the Nepalese population (341) lived in family and non family member household and further population (200) living in complex families household which shows that most of the Nepalese population residing in Portugal are sharing their residence with other members which accounts for around 56% of total Nepalese population. The data shows the collectivistic characteristic for the Nepalese population. Comparing this data to the household data for Portuguese population, there is stark difference as Portuguese population sharing their household only accounts for 10.3% according to PORDATA. The reason for this might be that the Nepalese people are used to living together as extended family household are still very common in Nepal. The single person household represented another category with second highest numbers with 222 individuals which accounted for around 23% of the total population.

Figure 4.10: Number of Nepalese immigrants in households according to family structure (2011)



Source: INE, Census 2011 (nationality)

4.2 Field note and data from key informants

The data on Nepalese immigrants in Portugal was also obtained from key informants from various institutions who have been working closely with the Nepalese migrants and a Nepalese individual who was among the first Nepalese to have entered Portugal. The institutions that have been working with Nepalese migrants are:

4.2.1 President of Non Resident Nepali Association Portugal (NRNA Portugal)

The interview with the president of Non Resident Nepali Association Portugal was related to the services they provide, some of the problems and difficulties faced by the Nepalese migrants and the situation of Nepalese migrants in general. The association was established in 2006 citing the need of providing service to Nepalese migrants who were facing difficulties. When asked about the number of Nepalese population in Portugal, he mentioned that they have estimated the population at around 11 thousand and when informed about the official data from SEF which was 2588 till the year 2013, he reasoned that the number must have been higher because they had

collected data about Nepalese people from CNAI couple of years back and were informed that it was around 3700. He also said that another reason for the low number of Nepalese provided by SEF might be because there are many Nepalese who are not legal but are in the process of being legalized.

The president mentioned that they used to provide Portuguese language classes because it was the first step towards finding a job. They also used to provide skill development programs specifically related to sushi training, Indian food training and housekeeping training as most of the Nepalese who come here are not trained for these kinds of job. But this year they have not been able to provide any such trainings or language courses because they have been occupied with providing support in replacing hand written passport with machine readable passports as they have to be replaced by November 2015. Another reason for discontinuation is because of overwhelming number of people who wish to join these courses which made it difficult for them to organize these courses. He said that they received around 25-30 people every day who seek support and apart from the support for passports, they came there to gather information, mostly related to family reunification. Other service they provide were counseling and resolving disputes among Nepalese migrants. Some of the disputes brought by the Nepalese migrants to the association is related to lending and borrowing of money, house rent, break in relationship, business partnerships etc.

Even though the association is not authorized to make legal decisions, he mentions that Nepalese migrants mostly agree to the decisions made by them. So, they say that they have had to play the role of judiciary as well. The process for applying for service includes a written application addressing it to the president of the association. He says that in the future they are planning to arrange some programs relating to children as the population of Nepalese children is increasing substantially. They plan to provide classes related to Nepali language and culture to ensure that the cultural identity is preserved in the next generation as well. He also mentioned that there were around 30 small Nepalese organizations based on ethnicity, political affiliation, districts and interest groups. The president also mentioned that they were collaborating with CNAI and the immigrant association Solidariedade Imigrante.

4.2.2 Representative from the Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante - CNAI

Interaction with the representative with CNAI provided information about the services which were available to the immigrants in Portugal. The representative mentioned that CNAI was established in 2004 by the High Commission for Migration and have 3 main offices in cities of Lisbon, Porto and Faro. All the services provided by the institution are free of cost and that they have provided service to more than 5 million immigrants. The services they provide includes: providing support with legal services, family reunification, information about health services including booking appointments, language translation services, employment support, housing support and social support. He mentioned that there were Nepalese migrants who came for support as well but unfortunately they did not have data regarding how many Nepalese received those services as they did not had the system to monitor services provided based on nationality. They had staffs that can speak multiple languages but did not have someone who could speak Nepali. He also mentioned that Nepalese migration to Portugal was a recent migration and there were many people who were not applying for the Portuguese passport as well.

4.2.3 Representative from Nepalese consulate

The interaction with the representative from the Nepalese consulate provided information about the services they offer to the Nepalese and some of the problems faced by them in Portugal. He mentioned that the Nepalese consulate in Lisbon established 1 year ago, but they already had a Nepalese consulate in Portugal in Porto which was established 4 years ago. Since the majority of Nepalese people were living in Lisbon, it was difficult for them to travel to Porto to access the service provided by the Nepalese consulate therefore they established it in Lisbon. Nepalese consulate mostly provides service of verification and translation of documents to Portuguese as the rule in Portugal requires all the documents to be presented in Portuguese for legal procedures. He mentioned that in general, the situation of Nepalese population is good, with most of them arriving here for employment purpose and to acquire documents which would allow them to stay in Europe. He says that of all the Nepalese who come here, only around 5% are working in high skilled job and recently, the trend for recruitment of agricultural workers has ensured that most Nepalese are working in agriculture.

Regarding parenting and transmission of values among Nepalese parents, he says that from his understanding, it depends on what age the child comes to Portugal. For the children who come to Portugal at a very early age, they follow Portuguese culture and it is difficult to transmit Nepalese values to them, but for children who come a bit later than that, try to mingle a bit with the Portuguese society, but come here after they are a bit bigger, it is difficult for them to learn the language or perform well in school. Regarding the future of Nepalese migrants, he mentions that those people who have established well economically, they are the ones who are thinking about staying back in Portugal but the ones who are struggling to save money, they are the ones who would leave to other European countries after they get their Portuguese passports.

4.3 Characterization of participants

4.3.1 Socio-demographic characteristics

The primary method of data collection for this study was in-depth interviews and there were 10 participants who were interviewed. The table 4.3 demonstrates the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants who were interviewed. There were 5 female participants and 5 male participants to ensure that both the genders were represented and their perspectives covered. The age of the participants ranged from 32 years to 41 years. For confidentiality reasons the real names and specific address of these participants are not presented in the table, but they are residents of 7 different areas in Lisbon, namely, Rossio, Martim Moniz, Alameda, Anjos, Intendente, Alcantara and Campo Pequeno to ensure geographical diversity.

Regarding the labor market situation, most of the participants (8 of 10) had full time work with 3 participants working as a restaurant employee, 3 participants self employed and 2 participants business owner. Two of the participants (both female) are working part time. The majority of the participants (9 of 10) had some degree of education with 5 participants completing tertiary education, 3 participants completing secondary education and 1 participant completing primary education. 1 participant mentioned that she did not receive formal education. This information can also be related to what Gurung (2000) had mentioned that Nepalese immigrants who migrate to Europe and other developed countries are generally well educated.

Concerning the main reasons to migrate, the majority of female participants (4 of 5) came to Portugal through family reunification and one participant mentioned that she came to Portugal for economic reasons and to be able to bring her children to Portugal. There were diversity of reasons for the male participants as 2 participants mentioned they came to Portugal for Economic reasons (to look for employment opportunities), 1 participant came here to start a business, 1 participant came here because of lack of stability and security in Nepal and 1 participant came here searching for option to stay in Europe. With respect to the duration of stay, all of the participants had stayed here for more than 1 and half year, where the shortest duration of stay was 1 year and 9 months and the longest duration was 12 years.

Table 4.3: Socio-demographic characteristics of participants

SN	Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Occupation	Level of Education	Reason for Migration	Duration of stay in Portugal
1.	Gita	41	F	Part time worker	No formal education	Family reunification	2 years
2.	Ritu	37	F	Self employed	Tertiary	Family reunification	3 years
3.	Savitri	34	F	Part time	Secondary	Family reunification	1 yr 9 months
4.	Suntali	36	F	Self employed	Primary	Economic reason and future of children	5 years
5.	Nirmala	32	F	Self employed	Tertiary	Family Reunification	3 years
6.	Ram	40	M	Restaurant employee	Tertiary	Economic reason	6 Years
7.	Shyam	35	M	Business owner	Secondary	Business	12 years
8.	Rupak	36	M	Restaurant employee	Secondary	Economic reason	7 years
9.	Subodh	37	M	Restaurant employee	Tertiary	Lack of stability and security	6 years
10.	Prasanna	39	M	Business owner	Tertiary	Searching for option to stay in Europe	7 years

4.3.2 Family and household information

The table 4.4 shows that almost all the participants belonged to a family of 4 members whereas 1 participant belonged to a family of 3 members, with both families consisting of heterosexual couples and their children. The combined total of children for the participants in Portugal was 18, with one participant mentioning that her daughter was in Nepal. From the 18 children, 3 were born in Portugal and 15 came to Portugal through family reunification. The age of the children among the participants ranged from 6 months to 18 years and 13 of those children went to school. Among the school going children, the youngest was 4 years of age and the eldest was 17 years of age and the level of schooling ranged from kindergarten to secondary level of school. Most of the participants (6 of 10) were living in 3 family household, 3 participants were living in single family household and 1 participant were living in 2 family household. The household pattern for most of the participants shows characteristics of a collectivistic society. For the children the number of years they have been residing in Portugal ranged from 1 year to 7 years.

Table 4.4: Family and household information of participants

SN	Pseudonym	Family Members	Children	Age of Children	Gender of Children	Children go to School	Level in School	Number of families living together in household	Number of years Spouse came to Portugal	Number of years Children came to Portugal
1.	Gita	4	2	18 years, and 14 years	Both Male	No (elder left school and younger just arrived)	Not available	2 Families	5 years	3 years, and 1 week
2.	Ritu	4	2	14 years, and 4 years	Female and Male	Yes	3rd Cycle and Kindergarten	3 families	8years	3 years
3.	Savitri	4	2 (1 in Nepal)	11 years (In Nepal), and 6 years	Female and Male	Yes	Kindergarten	3 families	3 years	1 year 9 months
4.	Suntali	4	2	17 years, and 14 years	Both Male	Yes	Secondary and 3rd Cycle	Single Household	1 year	1 year
5.	Nirmala	4	2	8 years, and 2 months	Both Male	Yes	1st Cycle	Single Household	5 years	2 years
6.	Ram	4	2	10 years, and 6 months	Both Female	Yes (Elder goes to school)	1st Cycle	3 families	1 year 8 months	1 year 8 months, One born here
7.	Shyam	4	2	12 years, and 10 years	Both Female	Yes	2nd Cycle and 1st Cycle	Single household	7 years	7 years
8.	Rupak	4	2	13 years, and 1 year	Both Male	1 goes to school	2nd Cycle	3 Families	4 years	1 year 6 months, One born here
9.	Subodh	3	1	8 Years	Female	Yes	1st Cycle	3 families	6 years	1 year
10.	Prasanna	4	2	15 years and 5 years	Female and Male	Yes	3rd Cycle and Kindergarten	3 families	2 years	2 years

5. Analysis and interpretation of data

The purpose of this study was to understand the parenting styles adopted by Nepalese parents living in Portugal and if it has an impact on the integration of their children in the school. This chapter presents the findings and analysis of data obtained from 10 in-depth individual interviews with 5 fathers and 5 mothers from 10 different families, interaction with children, observation during these interviews and time budget of the participants which helps to understand what they normally do in a working day of a week. The analysis of data are as follows:

5.1 Immigration patterns among Nepalese families

5.1.1 Who comes first and why?

The migration of Nepalese families in Lisbon seems to have a distinctive pattern as for most of the participants it was the men (husband) who came to Portugal first. It was only for one participant for whom both the husband and wife came together and for one participant it was the woman (wife) who came first. All the participants came to Portugal between the age of 30 and 40. Emigration for Nepal has mostly been a male dominated phenomenon as they comprise of almost 88% of the total emigrant population of Nepal (CBS, 2014) and the numbers for Nepalese immigrant population in Portugal mirrors the domination of men as well with the inflow of Nepalese in Portugal for the year 2013 (SEF, 2014) indicating 611 men in comparison to 236 women. Most of the male participants mentioned that Portugal was not their first arrival destination (for most of them, their first arrival destination was Holland) when they left Nepal with some even residing in multiple European countries before coming to Portugal. Only one participant mentioned that he came directly from Nepal to Portugal but had travelled to other European countries for few years and returned back.

On a direct question requesting for the information on their reason for migration, most of the male participants mentioned that they came to Portugal for economic reasons and for better employment opportunities but on informal conversations, responded that the ease in obtaining an European passport and the favorable family reunion policies had been crucial for them to opt for

Portugal as their preferred destination. The responses were similar for the female participants as well when asked about why their husband travelled to Portugal. The only female participant who had arrived before her husband did not come to Portugal directly as well but from a different country and she mentioned that the motivation behind her coming to Portugal was her desire to bring her children and husband to Portugal.

5.1.2 Family reunification options, motivation for reunification and its implications

For all the participants, the duration of family reunification process ranged from 1 year to 5 years and it consisted of either mother and children coming together to Portugal, mother coming earlier with children following later, children coming earlier and mother following later and father and children who come together to Portugal. While the concerns regarding mother coming through family reunification were very few, the children's position in this process induced some concern. They mentioned that some of the things they needed to consider before bringing their children were: whether or not they have the economical subsistence to be able to provide for the entire family, whether the western values would have an effect on their children and the most important for most was whether the children would be able to achieve the educational expectation that the parents have of their children.

Some of the participants mentioned that even though they brought their children to Portugal, they did not want to bring them here as they perceived that the level of education provided in Nepal was better than in Portugal and bringing their children here would jeopardize not just their education but their entire career. Even after having such concerns though, they brought their children to Portugal but some of the parents were rethinking their decision as one participant mentioned: "After I brought her here, the education was not as I wanted, I knew about that. I was thinking about returning my child and admitting her to the same school. After she came here she didn't wanted to part, she didn't wanted to go. If she was willing we would have sent her." (Subodh, Male, 37 years) Another participant shared similar feelings as he mentioned: "I had problem with education for my daughter. I had thought about sending her back. But, according to laws, you cannot move out of a country for more than 6 months, it can cause trouble so I dropped the idea." (Ram, Male, 40) The concerns are not just limited to education though, as parents are

also worried about the children not learning about Nepalese culture and values, especially the younger ones. A participant mentions: "For my daughter it will not be a problem, but for small one it might be. It might be a problem to preserve the culture. If he doesn't understand the language, songs, movies, he will not have that cultural attachment. There is a difference between one who spends some time in Nepal and them. For them it will be loose as they won't understand the music. If he doesn't do anything associated with Nepal then he will certainly find other things that interest him. So it might be difficult to make him understand about Nepalese culture." Prasanna (Male, 39 years) The three participants mentioned above have all got master's degree and seems to have high ambitions for their children. In the same time they are also aware about the complexities of migration and how factors such as children's reluctance, Portuguese laws and child's age can be a factor in how parents react and adjust their parenting.

Though the parents want their children to spend some time in Nepal and learn the Nepalese culture, values and language, there are some discrepancies regarding the age at which to bring their children. Most of the parents mention that the best time to bring their children to Portugal is when they are very young, at around 6-10 years of age, as they believe that they would adapt better to the Portuguese environment and learn the language faster than when they are brought when older. But, in doing so, they might risk their children not spending enough time in Nepal to be able to relate to the culture, values and language that their parents consider to be embedded in their blood. And there are some who believe that children should be brought when they are older and already have an understanding about the values and culture of Nepal as well as have the educational base from which to continue to develop. But, in doing so, they might risk the possibility of children not being able to adjust to the host society completely as they are more inclined towards the culture and values of the native country and might find it difficult to adapt to the new culture, values and language. There is no denying that every child is different and their personal attributes plays an important role in determining how well he fares in integrating in the society, but as Fokkema and Haas (2011) mentions, age is an important factor in integration of individual in a new society as the younger a person is, better the chances of integration.

5.2 Responsiveness and demand: the parenting style among Nepalese migrants

The responsiveness and demand paradigm is associated with Baumrind's (1967) theory of parenting style and provides an indication on whether the parent is Authoritative, Authoritarian or Permissive on the basis of how high or low on responsiveness and demand a parent is to his/her child. The three parameters used in this study to determine whether a parent is high or low in responsiveness and demand were methods of disciplining a child, relationship with the child and monitoring and decision making. The synthesis of the parent's response regarding these three parameters is provided in Table 5.1, Table 5.2 and Table 5.3. Table 5.4 gives an indication of the parent's standpoint on the sub categories of these parameters. The sub categories for the first two parameters indicated that all the parents gave reasoning, showed concern and support especially by the mothers. The other sub categories had significant numbers of parents sharing their experiences of closeness and sharing of feelings and spending time with children as well and it was again the mothers who mentioned that they were closer to their child and spent more time with them. These characteristics among parents, as Baumrind (1967) mentions are high on responsiveness. Similarly, the third parameter of monitoring and decision making indicated that almost all the parents (mostly fathers) monitored their child's performance in school, and set rules which had to be followed by them. These characteristics are high on control according to Baumrind (1967). The finding from this study also shows that the Nepalese parents are highly concerned about their children and support them, but, also make sure that they are guided by some rules which are explained to them, mostly through reasoning. All of these elements were evident in a participant's experience as he says: "Today I saw a guy. He was with 4 other children. They were very young, might be of age 15 to 17. They were smoking something and I showed this to my child and I explained it to him that this is the reason why you should not let children go out too often." (Rupak, Male, 36 years)

The pattern that is evident from the findings is that mothers were the ones who were associated with care giving, supporting and spending time with their children (responsiveness) where as fathers were associated with setting rules and monitoring of children (demand). Baumrind (1967) mentions that the paradigm of high responsiveness and demand is affiliated with authoritative

parenting where parents use reasoning and understands the importance of communication with the child as well as have certain degree of control but ensure that their children are provided with the rationale behind the decision that they have taken. This might suggest that the Nepalese parents collectively practice the authoritative style of parenting.

This finding is in contrast to several literatures (Kim and Ge, 2000; Deepak, 2005; Inman et al., 2007; Rhee et al. 2003) which mentions that Asian parenting generally depicts characteristics which are more inclined towards the authoritarian parenting style of showing more control and less responsiveness. One possible reason for this difference might be what Remennick (2014) mentions as evolving of parents with time which depends on extent of acculturation and level of education and their involvement with the host society. If we take a closer look at the socio-demographic characterization of the participants, it is evident that half of the participants have completed tertiary education, some participants have completed secondary education, with one who has completed primary level education and one without formal education. It can be considered that most of these participants have good level of education, which might have had an effect on their parenting style as they are aware about the possible negative consequences of use of disciplinary methods which are high on scolding, threat and physical punishment; again, a method which is mostly associated among Asian parenting (Jambunathan and Counselman, 2002).

In their study of Asian Indian mothers in United States, Jambunathan and Counselman (2002) found similar results as they mentioned that the mothers who were living in the United States were found to have more authoritative parenting attitude in comparison to the ones living in India. The possible explanation they provide is that the change might have been brought about by the influence of majority culture in the United States as the practice of authoritarian style of parenting might have resulted in various problems for the children. Haan (2012) however mentions that it is better to understand the interaction between practices brought along, and the ones encountered in the new country, to better comprehend the current practices. This interaction for the Nepalese parents might correspond to various other factors, including the laws and norms of the host country, the reaction from the child to these practices and the support system to name a few which will be dealt in detail in the following section of 'transmission of values: is it easy?'

Table 5.0: Analytical dimensions and categories emerging from the interviews

Dimensions	Categories
Disciplining the child	Give reasoning
	Use bit of force
	Threat/Fear
	Scolding
	Reward
Relationship with the child	Spend time with the child
	Closeness, comfort in sharing feelings
	Care, concern and support
	Confrontation
Monitoring and decision making	Set rules
	Know whereabouts
	About school
Transmission of values and its importance	Parent-child interdependence
	Respect for parents and elders
	Management of western influence
	Education in highest regard
	Preservation of native culture
What affects parenting in Portugal	Cultural factors
	Portuguese laws and norms
	Children's reaction
	Support system or community
Integration of the child in School	Educational performance
	Relationship with teachers
	Relationship with Friends
	Portuguese Language Skills
Hopes and aspirations for the future	Respectful career
	Stability/Good future
	Educational Achievement
	Arrange something for the children and go back to Nepal

Table 5.1: Methods of disciplining the child

Pseudonym	Give Reasoning	Use of a bit of force	Threat/Fear	Scolding	Reward
Gita	"They don't make any mistakes, but if they do I will try to make them understand"				
Ritu	"We tell them you should not be doing unnecessary things... if you do good everything will be good. Believe in good"	I used to raise my hand a bit, even here during our early days ... but now she has grown up and she says if you raise your hand on me without my mistake, it's not right.	"Sometimes we have to show them fear as well, we have to show fear if it is really necessary. But, as much as we can we try to make them understand"	"It depends, we have to scold sometimes as well"	"Sometimes we need to give rewards. Like if you do this I will give this. Generally it is used in education"
Savitri	"If he does any wrong, we tell him politely ... if we tell him properly he understands, for children"				"We give rewards to the children as well if they behave well"
Suntali	"If there is anything to tell them, we tell them it would have been good if they did it this way"			"We have to scold sometimes as well. If there isn't a bit of friendly fighting, a bit of tussle between the members of the household, then the family wouldn't operate."	
Nirmala	"Try to make him understand"	"There might be instances where you need to slap"		" There might be instances when you need to scold as well"	"Give rewards, let him watch TV, use computer"
Ram	"She grew up in Nepali culture ... we tell her what can be done and what can not"				
Shyam	" Small children can be advised by telling them what is right and what is wrong"	"There is no point beating a child"			
Rupak	"I teach him positively. Like, how it can be done"		"When it doesn't work, we have to see who he fears most"		
Subodh	"Children already know what they can do and what they cannot, here they have it practical, they understand about discipline"	"Now, there is no situation in which you have to scold your child or to beat your child"		"Before, I knew the law and all but I used to scold her. I don't know maybe because of culture or something"	
Prasanna	"The way we show, the perception will be accordingly is what we try to make her understand"				

Table 5.2: Relationship with the child

Pseudonym	Spend time with the child	Closeness, comfort in sharing feelings	Concern and support	Confrontation
Gita		" I talk to my children, they share their feelings with me"		
Ritu	"After work, I spend most of my time with the children"	" I have good relationship with my daughter, she is comfortable with me while sharing her feelings"	"Even though she goes out, she lets us know where she is going. We have given her mobile phone, so we tell her to inform us about where she is"	"She talks about rights. She says, if I am not doing anything wrong you have to admit that everything that the parents says is not always right"
Savitri	"I spend much time with him, after his school finishes at 3 30, his father drops him to school, I go to pick him up"	"I feel I have a good relationship with my child. He is more closer to me than his father"	"The most important concern I have for him is his studies, when I see the state of his education, i dont feel good. He hasnt been taught A B C D till now, when they will teach when they will learn?"	
Suntali		"My children talks to me about what is happening in schools and outside"	"I want to show a way to my children. You can walk in this way"	
Nirmala	"I spend a lot of time with my son. When he is not in school, he is with me most of the time"	"My son is very comfortable in speaking to me. Because I behave with him like a friend rather than a mother... He tells me everything"	"I wish my son does not smoke cigarette and drink alcohol"	
Ram	"Working here in Portugal, you can't give time to children"	"There must be some openness, there must be friendly relationship, but with daughters there must be some kind of limitations as well"	"I won't tell my daughter to be a doctor, engineer or a pilot. I want her to follow her interests"	
Shyam	"I spend around 2 hours a day with them during weekdays and in weekends they are with me full time"	"For us, I am like a friend to them, like, them being girls they prefer to be with me than their mother, they prefer to walk with me, go out with me"	"I go to the meetings in the school and talk to the teachers every 3 months"	
Rupak	"Most of the time is spent on working here but when I have days off, I spend it with my children and my family"		" when a child gets to the age of 12,13,14,15 it is the time to guide them"	
Subodh	"It is difficult to spend time with children here because of work. But I try to spend as much time as possible"	"Now she doesn't want to leave us. We have developed that love now"	"I ordered books from Nepal for classes 3,4 and 5 ... I taught her these in home"	
Prasanna	"They have two days off in a week. So I spend time with them"	"I speak to my children. They are open about themselves with me"	"We support our children"	

Table 5.3: Monitoring and decision making

Pseudonym	Set rules	Know whereabouts	About School
Gita	"Children can do what they want to. There is nothing we can do"		"My older son left school because he found it very difficult"
Ritu	"We have not sit down together and told her like these are the rules. But we casually speak about it and she knows what is allowed and what is not"	"Even though she goes out, she lets us know where she is going"	"We visit their school regularly. More than me it is my husband who interacts with the teachers has he is more comfortable with the language"
Savitri	"We tell him what he can do and what he cannot do. But we do not give too much attention to it at the moment. He is too small for it right now"	"He is with me most of the time"	"I went to speak to the teacher about his education"
Suntali	"In our family I am a bit liberal but their father is bit strict in this matter"	"The children inform me where they are going and I know their friends"	"I go to visit the school. I don't understand everything they say but I ask them to write it down if it is important and I come back home and either translate or ask someone about it"
Nirmala	"I wish my son does not smoke cigarette and drink alcohol. Here people do that. I tell him this and I tell him we hope you don't do this"	"He does not go out with his friends. He is still small"	"I visit the school. I try my best. I send my husband as well"
Ram	"There must be some limitation ... We should not let negative culture come in, if they bring cultures other than that, it doesn't matter, there should not be over openness... freedom should not be damaging"	"If she is going to her friend's home, we ask her where she is going and then we call her later and tell her to return"	"I go to the school to speak with her teachers but it is difficult for me as well. They speak in Portuguese and I don't follow everything that they say"
Shyam	"Most of the decisions, we discuss and I decide ... basic rules and regulations we don't sit and discuss but most are just spoken rules ... We have differences about wearing clothes sometimes, but once we tell them, they understand"	"They are still small to be going out at the moment. But if they are taken out by the school they go with their friends"	"I go to the meetings in the school and talk to the teachers every 3 months"
Rupak	"We don't have like set rules and regulations but we tell our son what he should do and what he should not do"	"If the parents don't open their eyes, it's going to be difficult ... most important thing is the company that your children have"	"I went to my son's school to talk to the teacher regarding his studies"
Subodh	"Freedom does not mean you are allowed to do anything you want to do. It does not mean that you can stick your cheeks together and kiss in the street. This is not allowed in our culture and it is not acceptable"	"My daughter only goes out with friends when something is organized by the school or when there are birthday parties"	"I go to visit the school regularly to know the progress made by my daughter"
Prasanna	"About the dressing culture here ... Don't eat this, don't drink this ... we have to speak to her ... we have to set some limitations"	"She goes out often with her friends. She has friends from many different countries but mostly she is out with Nepalese friends"	"I go to the school. They give good comments about our daughter"

Table 5.4: Synthesis of parent's standpoint on sub categories

Methods of disciplining the child

Give Reasoning	Use of a bit of force	Threat/Fear	Scolding	Reward
Gita				
Ritu	Ritu	Ritu	Ritu	Ritu
Savitri				Savitri
Suntali			Suntali	
Nirmala	Nirmala		Nirmala	Nirmala
Ram				
Shyam				
Rupak		Rupak		
Subodh	Subodh		Subodh	
Prasanna				
10	3/10	2/10	4/10	3/10

Relationship with the child

Spend time with the child	Closeness, comfort in sharing feelings	Concern and support	Confrontation
	Gita		
Ritu	Ritu	Ritu	Ritu
Savitri	Savitri	Savitri	
	Suntali	Suntali	
Nirmala	Nirmala	Nirmala	
		Ram	
Shyam	Shyam	Shyam	
		Rupak	
	Subodh	Subodh	
Prasanna	Prasanna	Prasanna	
5/10	8/10	9/10	1/10

Monitoring and decision making

Set rules	Know whereabouts	About School
Ritu	Ritu	Ritu
Savitri		Savitri
Suntali	Suntali	Suntali
Nirmala		Nirmala
Ram	Ram	Ram
Shyam		Shyam
Rupak	Rupak	Rupak
Subodh	Subodh	Subodh
Prasanna	Prasanna	Prasanna
9/10	6/10	9/10

Another possible explanation for the Nepalese parents practicing authoritative parenting style might be the number of years they have been residing in Portugal. Apart from two participants, majority of them have been living here for more than five years and the other two participants have been living here for at least three years. Another factor which might affect parenting styles is the parents' interaction with the host society. All of the participants in this study are employed in some form or other which makes it likely for them to come in contact with the Portuguese community and for the participants who have lived here for five years, it is even more probable to have access to the Portuguese people. Ochocka and Janzen's (2008) study on the immigrant families living in Canada for three years and less showed that their parenting had went through some degree of change due to various contributing factors including Canadian laws, their children's behavior, interaction with the society and the change in power relations between children and the parents. These reasons seem probable for the Nepalese parents living in Portugal as well.

But, there were other characteristics in terms of values that most of the Nepalese parents transmit to their children, of parent-child interdependence and respect which is related to the collectivistic culture of Asian societies (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Baumrind, (1967) mentions that authoritative parenting style is generally associated with individualistic culture and authoritarian parenting style is generally related with collectivistic culture. But, the collectivistic nature of Nepalese parents in this study might not really comprehend to being authoritarian as it was evident that the parents had very high levels of care, warmth and responsiveness which are not associated with authoritarian parenting style. Some of the Nepalese parents also mentioned that they monitor their children and enforce some strict rules which their children had to follow but they mention that they do it for the betterment of their children. The strict rules were credited to the use of cigarette and alcohol, display of affection in street, cohabitation and appropriate dressing. Gorman (1998) in her study of immigrant Chinese mothers in US raises similar concerns about assigning a specific parenting style as she mentions that the restrictions placed by the Chinese mothers is not for the reasons leading to conformity and dominance, but rather due to their care and protection. It might be assumed that the concerns for Nepalese parents are similar as well because they display characteristics which are relevant to both the authoritative style and the authoritarian style and does not fit exactly under a single parenting style proposed

in Baumrind's theory of parenting styles as they might not completely satisfy the parenting styles of Nepalese parents.

5.3 The gender differences: do mothers and fathers have different parenting styles?

The findings emerged in this study depicted gender differences in parenting styles between the mothers and the fathers as there were some differences in parenting between them. The first difference was between the management of distance between the two parents. It was evident that it was more difficult for mothers to manage the distance with their children than the fathers and for two of the participants, it was the reason they brought their children to Portugal even though they initially did not want to. Rupak (Male, 36 years) mentions: "I was away from my child for around 6-7 years, but my wife came here 3 years after I came here. My wife and my son were separated for around 3 years. For me it wasn't that difficult to be away because I had left them a long time back, but for her it was difficult. Because in Kathmandu only they two used to live together. And then I called her first. I feel sometimes that I had done great sin. It was difficult for her. She was restless so I had to bring him here." The child was around 11 and a half years old when he came to Portugal which means that the mother had to leave her child at a very young age of around 8 or 9 years which might have made the mother concerned about her child a bit more as she might have thought that the child had been deprived of love and affection. In an informal conversation to Nirmala's (Female, 32 years) husband, he mentioned that he had only thought about bringing his wife to Portugal and left his son behind in Nepal as he was worried that bringing him here would hamper his studies. But after his wife came here leaving her son of 5 years back in Nepal, it was very difficult for her to handle separation and had to bring his son to Portugal within 1 and half years of the mother's arrival. In both of these cases, the fathers were prepared to leave their children behind as they wanted their children to study in Nepal, but they were compelled to bring their children here because of the mother's insistence.

It was also seen that it was generally mothers who used rewards as a method of discipline. In this study, most of the female participants mentioned that they used reward as an alternative method of disciplining as compared to none from the fathers but at the same time, more mothers than

fathers were also seen to use scolding. One possible reason for this might be that fathers are generally regarded as an authoritative figure in Asian culture and are feared by the children which prevent the children from misbehaving in front of the father thus avoiding scolding. Whereas, mothers are considered to be the primary caregivers and children feel more comfort in sharing their feelings with their mothers and spend more time with them (Jambunathan and Counselman, 2010), also what is shown from the findings from this study. It was also seen that the parenting practice for mothers were more likely to change due to the children's reaction than the fathers which might also be explained due to the mother being more sensitive towards the need of her child and also as the children share more of their feelings with the mothers, they are likely to know what the child really wants. Also while comparing the future aspirations, all the female participants mentioned that they want to arrange something for their children, show them the way and then return back to Nepal while only two male participants mentioned such aspirations. It shows that the mothers are more sensitive towards their children and demonstrate more care and concern than the fathers.

The fathers were different than the mothers in regards to monitoring of their children though as they mentioned that they keep track of the whereabouts of their children as it was important for them to know where their children were and protect them from any potential harm. The female participants also mentioned that while most of the decisions on setting of rules and regulations were taken collectively, it was the fathers who were stricter on its implementation and the reason for this may be because fathers are responsible for disciplining their children and regulating the children's behavior (Shariff, 2009). The gender difference not just related to the parents though, as there were gender and age discrepancies among children as well as it was observed from the interviews that the rule about use of cigarette and alcohol was mostly addressed by parents who had son and the rules regarding display of affection and dressing was mostly addressed by parents who had daughters and it was also observed that these rules were mostly mentioned by parents who had children who were older than 12 years of age.

5.4 The values of respect for elders and parents and educational attainment: is it easy to transmit?

The participants indicated that respect for elders and parents and educational attainment were two of the most important values that they wanted their children to incorporate. Other important values included preservation of native culture, management of western influence and parent-child interdependence. These values mentioned by the participants, most probably demonstrate the embedment and deep rootedness of Asian values in the Nepalese parents as well. Maiter and George (2003) mentions that obedience to parental rules and respect are some of the values which are attributed to the South Asian societies and it might hold the truth for the participants in this study as well.

For the Nepalese parents in this study, it was important to instill a sense of respect among their children which they presume is lacking in the western culture. CAC&F (2001) in their report on Asian American families and the child welfare system mentions similar viewpoint among Asian families in the US as they might view American parenting style too permissive and American children as too disrespectful. For most of the participants, they wanted to teach their children their responsibility towards their parents. A participant mentions: "Here the children don't respect their parents. They are too individualistic and they do what they wish to do without the regard of what the parents want. Children leave their parents when they are 18 years. I know of a culture here called 'casamento apartamento' which means before you get married you need to get an apartment and leave your parents home. The woman tells if you want to marry you should leave parents home. In our society we don't leave our parents. When you marry your wife, she comes to your home and she has to love and respect your parents as you do. This is the culture that we have" (Subodh, Male, 37 years) The reference he gives of the child leaving the parents after marriage is uncommon in Nepalese culture as children are expected to take care of their parents even after marriage (Jennings et al., 2012). In this regard, the Nepalese parents might be fearful of their children learning from the western culture and leaving them as some participants give reference to elderly Portuguese men and women who they see alone in the streets or in their apartments. It was observed that when referring to Portuguese culture, the participants used other

terms such as European and Western interchangeably whereas while referring to their own culture they mentioned Nepali culture, South Asian culture and Asian culture.

Another factor that might affect the transmission of values is the change in power relation between parent and their children. A participant mentions: "Our daughter knows more than us, she is better than her father. She teaches her father, she reads her letters. And if we take our daughter to SEF, we feel relieved. Even in hospital, our daughter deals with it, we don't have to speak, so I don't have to be involved" (Ritu, Female, 37 years) The child is 14 years old and seems competent and better integrated into the society than their parents. The child has been here for just 3 years, but has already been able to speak better Portuguese than the father who has been residing in Portugal for more than 8 years. What might also be observed is that the parents rely on their daughter to ensure they do not have trouble in communication with the Portuguese system which changes the balance in power as it is not just the child who has to depend on their parents but the parents are depending on their child as well as also suggested by Walsh et al., (2006). It can also be seen that the child mentioned in this statement is the same child who has confrontation with the parents and talk about her rights when parents try to enforce disciplinary measures. It might be suggested that the integration of the child in the system has enabled her to be in a better position to negotiate with her parents and the parents in return has had to accept what they consider as Portuguese norm of providing autonomy to children which they might not have accepted if they were in the position to dominate.

All the participants in this study had a common perception regarding Portuguese young adults; that they leave their parents after they are 18 years of age but the data provided by Eurostat shows that in the year 2013, the total population of young adult aged between 18 and 34 who were living with their parents was 60.6%. A participant shares his fear, especially for his younger son of one year as he says: "The older son knows about this. But for the younger one, we need to teach him. We need to teach him the language. In case he doesn't learn, we have to send him to Nepal to teach him. If we don't send him to Nepal to learn these things, he will not look after us later." (Rupak, Male, 36 years) The difficulty though, as the participants mention, might be the laws in Portugal which allows for the child to decide what they want to do after they are 18 years of age. Some parents have given in to this thought as they say that all they can do is to try to

make them understand these values, but not force it to them by any means, and hope that their children would not leave them when they grow up. The participants also mention the importance of preserving cultural identity and the preference they give to follow Nepalese festivals over Portuguese festivals. Shyam (Male, 35 years) mentions: "We prioritize Nepali Culture. My daughters have other friends who celebrate Christmas, it's ok if they celebrate with them, but when we have Dashain and Tihar (two of the biggest festivals in Hindu religion), we involve the children and we give priority to our culture".

Another important value for the Nepalese parents is of educational achievement. All the participants mentioned that they regard education very highly and wish that their children perform very well in their schools, a value also confirmed by Shariff (2009) on her study on South Asian Americans. For the parents, providing education for the students entails good future, job security and skilled human resource which curtail the struggles that the parents had to go through. The problem that arises though is from the Portuguese education system. There were few participants who were satisfied with the education provided by the Portuguese schools while some participants even consider moving abroad to a different country in the future citing this very reason, coupled with the problem of language, in favor of better educational opportunity for their children. The dissatisfaction they have is mostly related to the reluctance by the teachers from the schools to give extra activities or homework, leading to ample time of freedom for the children. The concept that the parent's have is that their children are not used to this kind of freedom and if they are given too much of free time, they might get involved in something that might be wrong. One participant mentions:

It is better if children are kept busy rather than free. If the children are left free, if they are not busy, there is chance that they will be spoiled. If they are busy, if teachers concentrate a bit on this, a bit of work, like you should do this. It's ok if you don't give homework, but just to make them busy, give them drawings, learn this and this for general knowledge, learn this and this. Like, it will not work if we say it. It has to be said by the teachers. (Shyam, Male, 35 years)

Though the parents stated their dissatisfaction with Portuguese education system, they said that they liked the way their children were taught in schools because of the practicality involved with it. The parents compared the education between Portugal and Nepal and mentioned that the children would benefit more from the knowledge they receive from Portugal but they would rather have their children study in Nepal because of the language differential and possible obstacles that they fear might arise, leading to some of these parents to consider sending their children back to Nepal again. The parents also seemed to be in a dilemma regarding whether to allow their children to study in Nepal or to bring them to Portugal, keeping in mind the educational expectations that they have for their children and how the Portuguese education would prepare their children for the future. Similar findings were also found by Ochocka and Janzen (2008) in their study of immigrant parenting in Canada.

Most of the parents also stated that their children were no longer interested in studies as they are not pressured by the teachers and that they would not put effort in studying if told by the parents alone. But, interaction with a child who is studying in 11th year of secondary education revealed that even though his parents consider him as not showing interest in his studies, it is because he already has learnt these things when he was in Nepal studying in 7th and 8th standard. So, he says, he does not find any point in spending much time studying the same thing again. Even though this experience cannot be generalized to the entire population of Nepalese children studying in Portugal, it may provide reasoning on why some of the children might not be spending much time studying as per the expectations of their parents.

5.5 Parents influence in the integration of child in school

The integration of children in school for this study was measured through four dimensions: educational performance, relationship with teachers, relationship with friends and language proficiency and assessing the influence the parents had in these dimensions might provide a better understanding of the integration of child in the school.

All the participants from this study mentioned that it was important to provide education to their children and apart from one participant, the children of all other participants went to school. One

participant mentioned that her child had dropped schooling because of the problem of language he faced while studying. As discussed earlier, Nepalese parents give high priority to educational attainment and it could be seen from the interviews that they try to get involved in their children's education as per their ability. But, for most of the parents, their involvement turns out to be limited, even when they want to, because of the lack of competence in Portuguese. Regarding a question about helping her daughter in studies, a participant mentions: "The difficulty of language applies for me as well. I can speak well but I don't completely understand what is written and end up in trouble." (Ram, Male, 40 years) Parents can have influence on language proficiency of the child as well. Some participants mentioned that even though they want their children to speak good Portuguese, they would rather speak Nepali in their homes as they want to preserve their own language as well. They say that the children will learn to speak Portuguese and learn western values outside from home. Some parents mentioned that they have plans to move abroad to some other countries and therefore have not been forcing their children to work hard on their Portuguese language or on their education as they will have to adapt to a new language once they move.

Most of the participants are also worried about the free time their children get, as the participants mentions that in Nepal these children used to get lots of homework and all of their time would be occupied completing those as if not submitted on time, they would face repercussions. Most of these parents have put their concern to the teachers as well, but they mention that the culture here is not of putting a burden on children's shoulders by giving them homework or some extra activities. These have led to parents trying to find their own ways in making their children study, one of which is tuition. One participant mentioned that she has arranged a tuition teacher for her child who helps him with Portuguese as well as English and with other subjects. She says that the tuition has been of great help as her son has improved a lot from before. Another participant mentioned that he ordered books from Nepal, which is in English to teach his daughter because it is difficult for him to read Portuguese. Even though the books from these two countries might not be similar, it seems that he wants her daughter to be occupied and instill the habit of learning regularly.

Another factor which might impact the educational performance of the children might be the employment sector of the parents. Parents are role models for their children (Wiese and Freund, 2011) and they look up to them for inspiration. The interviews with some participants revealed that their children did not respond well when they were told to study, and their argument was related to the parents own educational qualification and their employment sector in Portugal. Half of the participants in this study had a graduate degree and were working in well reputed job positions in Nepal which included working as high school teacher, in a bank, in a government office, in a Non Government Organization and as a nurse. But here in Portugal, they have not been able to find a job in line with their educational qualifications as they have been working in restaurants, small business and grocery stores. They mention that they have not been able to make use of their education and their qualifications as they are of no value in Portugal. They also mention that the Master's degree obtained in Nepal does not correspond to the Portuguese degree which prevents them from entering in the job market. This seems to have created a negative image among the children as one of the parents (Ritu, Female, 37 years) mentioned that when she told her daughter to study, she responded by telling her that even after getting a graduate degree, she was not able to create a better future for her so what was the point of getting higher education. Parents not being able to be a role model might therefore affect children's educational performance.

Parents might also influence the relationship between the children and their friends. Most of the parents mentioned that their children had very good relationship with Nepalese friends but only some children had very good relationship with friends from Portugal, South Asia or other nationalities. Most of these parents mentioned that their children had limited contact outside of school with friends from countries other than Nepal. Even though the parents mentioned that they are not putting their children under any sort of restrictions, only few children were allowed to go out as most of the parents mentioned that their children of age 12 years and younger were too small to be going out. Some participants mentioned the need to monitor their children's friends as well and keep track of where their child is going. Rupak, Male, 36 years mentions: "I casually talk to his friends. I ask him where he lives and who is his father". He also mentions that he sometimes need to limit his child's freedom citing the frequent encounter he has with kids

who he considers to be spoilt as they are smoking and drinking. He says that he does not want these kids to influence his child.

The parents mentioned that they visit the school of their children as well to interact with the teachers to know how their children were performing in school. Most of them put their concern regarding homework and encourage teachers to put a bit of pressure towards Nepalese children but the parents mentioned that the teachers do not agree with their request. It seems possible that the parents do not have much influence in the relationship between the teacher and their children.

Therefore, it is evident that parents play an important role in integration of a child as it has influence on the dimensions of integration. This chapter presented the analysis and interpretation of the findings obtained with 10 in-depth interviews with a purpose of understanding the parenting styles adopted by Nepalese parents and what kind of impact it has on child integration in school.

5.6 Nepalese parents in Portugal in relation to Baumrind's parenting styles

5.6.1 Methods of disciplining used by Nepalese parents

'Reasoning' was mentioned by all the participants for this study as the primary method to discipline the children. Savitri (Female, 34 years) described her experience of disciplining the child as: "If he does wrong, we tell him politely you should not do that, and try to make him understand. What happens is if we scold him, he becomes more stubborn, so if we tell him properly, he understands. For children, if you tell them properly he would do as you say, but if you beat him, he wouldn't." Another participant shared similar views: "There is no point in using physical punishment for children. Small children can be advised by telling them what is right and what is wrong, what can be done and what cannot, if you tell these things, they would understand." (Shyam, Male, 35 years)

There were some participants however, who indicated that reasoning was only one of their options as they used scolding or reward as additional method if they deemed necessary. In this regard Suntali (Female, 36 years) said: "We try to make them understand. We tell them it would have been good if they did it this way. But we have to scold sometimes as well. If there isn't a bit of friendly fighting, a bit of tussle between the members of the household, then the family wouldn't operate." It is also interesting to observe from the summary table that the participants who use reasoning and scolding are also the same participants who use reward as another option. Ritu (Female, 37 years) says: "Sometimes we need to give rewards. Like, if you do this I will give this. Generally, it is used in education. Even she says it herself, If I get very good in this, you have to give me this and we say ok. So, it's mostly in education."

There were few participants who used fear as an alternative. Rupak (Male, 36 years) says: "Normally I teach him positively. Like, how it can be done. But, you have to look forward as well. When it doesn't work, we have to see who he fears most. Like we still have grandmother in our home, he is fearful of grandmother, we teach it that way. Or when I am not at home, his mother shows fear about me. She says, I will tell to daddy."

There was one participant who said that she uses a bit of force sometimes along with other methods of disciplining but did not specify on which conditions she would use force. Nirmala (Female, 32 years) says: "I try to make him understand, give rewards, let him watch TV, use computer. To maintain discipline, we need to convince him as well. You cannot just push the child hard. But there might be instances when you need to scold as well, you cannot always keep loving all the time. There might be instances where you need to slap." There were two participants who said that they used to use a bit of force, even after they were in Portugal, but now have changed their behavior. One of them recalls: "In Nepal, I used to raise my hand a bit. Even here during our early days I used to. To show some fear. But now she has grown up and she says if you raise your hand on me without my mistake, it's not right." (Ritu, Female, 37 years)

5.6.2 The relationship between a parent and a child

The indication that the parents use reasoning as a primary form of instilling discipline in their children might account for a good parent child relationship. This can be seen from the second finding as all the participants described that they cared for their children and supported them. A participant expressed her feelings that she has about her children: "After one becomes a mother and leave children back home and move abroad. The feeling can only be understood by that person. When you leave an animal that lives with you, you feel the pain. But imagine leaving a piece of your own heart back home, how difficult it must be." (Suntali, Female, 36 years) A participant recalls an incident about a father's concern towards his son when he left for school:

One day what happened was, I told him to go. After that he didn't even pick up his phone. After he reaches his class he used to pick up his phone before. I had started to get crazy. It hadn't been too long that he came. It had only been 15-20 days. I used to go regularly with him. I thought now he could go there so I let him go. He used to pick up after he reached school before. That day he didn't receive the call. After he didn't receive the call it was very difficult. I was scared that something might have happened. And I ran towards school. After I reached school I had peace. Now for a year I haven't had to go. Now he can go and come back by himself."
(Rupak, Male, 36 years)

Similar display of care and concern was observed during the interview with Ritu (Female, 37 years) as she was waiting for her daughter to arrive home from school. She mentioned that usually her daughter returns home at around 7 PM but on that day it was close to 8 PM and she had not returned yet and she did not receive her calls when Ritu called her. Time and again when during the interview her daughter was mentioned, it seemed that it had triggered her consciousness about her daughter not having returned home and she reached out to her cell phone to call her. Another participant remembers his concern, though different from the experience mentioned above, regarding her daughter's education and how he tried to support her.

My daughter used to have bag full of books, here she has one and that too they keep it in school, one copy, that too in school and come home with empty bags. If we want to teach her there are no books. Then I ordered books from Nepal for classes 3,4 and 5 for English, Science, Nepali because we have to make sure she does not forget Nepali as well and Math. Then I taught her these in home. But she wouldn't concentrate. (Subodh, Male, 37 years)

The concerns that most of the participants mentioned were regarding child's education and cultural identity which will be further discussed in findings of transmission of values category. The majority of participants also indicated that their children were close to them and were comfortable in sharing their feelings. One of the participants says:

My son is very comfortable in speaking to me. Because I behave with him like a friend rather than a mother. Taking him out and all. Even in the future, I have plans of being more of a friend to him. Maybe that is why he tells me everything. He says he has a girlfriend in school. Girls like him so much. He says I have this many girlfriend and says they kissed him in his hand. He doesn't hide anything. (Nirmala, Female, 32 years)

The majority of participants also indicated that they spend time with their children. Prasanna (Male, 39 years) says: "I spend time with my children. They usually have longer hours in school than in Nepal but they don't have same routine so it is a bit difficult to arrange. But they have two days off in a week. So I spend time with them. Also, they come visit me here (his shop)." There were other participants though who cited their work timing as hindrance for them not being able to spend time with their child and it is not that they don't want to spend time with them. Ram (Male, 40 years) mentions: "Working here in Portugal, you can't give time to children. I come home in the afternoon tired, and then you run in the evening for work again, therefore it is a bit difficult." After he shared his time budget of one normal working day, it was evident that he was at his work most of the time as he left his home early in the morning and had a break of 3 hour and a half in the afternoon between 3:30 PM to 7PM after which he had to leave for work again and he was not able to provide enough time for his daughters.

One participant, though indicating that she has good relationship with the child, mentioned that there is confrontation between her and her daughter sometimes. Ritu (Female, 37 years) says: "I have seen changes in my daughter after we came here. Children try to seek more freedom here. They feel that rather than them having to do what parents tell them to, parents should do what children want to. And talk more about child rights. It's good to talk about rights, but it is important to understand, rights to what extent. Things that they find right might be wrong for us."

5.6.3 Monitoring and decision making, the parent's influence and child's participation

The overwhelming majority of participants mentioned that it was important for them to know how their children are performing in their school and visited the school regularly to discuss their progress with their teachers. Savitri (Female, 34 years) talks about her experience of visiting her child's school: "My son has already forgotten how to write A B C D (English Alphabets). In Nepal he used to know all of these. I went to the school to speak with his teacher. They wouldn't say anything. They say right now they are only focusing on speaking. I don't know when they will teach, when he will learn to write and read". Another participant had similar concerns as well and he expressed: "I went to my son's school to talk to the teacher regarding his studies. I told them our children are habituated. We need to be forced a bit to study. I requested them to force them a little to study. But no! They wouldn't force the child here." (Rupak, Male, 36 years) Sunti (Female, 36 years) expresses her experience of visiting school for information about her child: "The school arranges meeting with teacher. I go there. They say he doesn't know the language properly so it is a problem. They say he has to learn a bit more. Apart from that there is no other complaints regarding him."

The overwhelming majority of participants had also mentioned that they set rules about what the children are not expected to do, some of which had been decided by the parents themselves where as some were decided on mutual agreement. Regarding setting of rules and how they decide, a participant mentions:

About the dressing culture here. It is very open. We tell her you should not be doing this. Like, we, the way we show, the perception will be accordingly is what we try to make her understand. Maybe this is not a problem among Europeans. Don't eat this, don't drink this. Regarding drinks, we have to speak to her. The way you show, that is how you will be perceived. So, we have set some limitations. But she will raise her concern and try to think we can do more than that. So, in this tussle we try to reach a conclusion.
(Prasanna, Male, 39 years)

Some of the participants indicated that they try to know the whereabouts of their children. Ram (Male, 40 years) says: "If she is going to her friend's home, we ask her where she is going and then we call her later and tell her to return." Similar views were also expressed by Ritu (Female, 37 years): "Even though she goes out, she lets us know where she is going. We have given her mobile phone, so we tell her to inform us about where she is." The observation during the interview suggested otherwise though, as it seemed that the participant did not have the information about where her daughter was as her daughter had not returned from the school for more than an hour from the usual time she returns home and she was worried about it. For another participant, it was important to know the whereabouts of his child and the friends he has and monitor him as he says: "There are many Nepalese children who are in bad company. If the parents don't open their eyes, it's going to be difficult. There are many good families whose children are spoilt. Therefore, the most important thing is the company that your children have. It does not take much time for a child to get spoilt. They can get spoilt in a day." (Rupak, Male, 36 years)

5.7 From parents to their children, the values transmitted

5.7.1 Nepalese values to be incorporated

Importance of education was one of the most important values that the participants wanted to transmit to their children. Ram (Male, 40 years) says: "Vidya Dhanam Sarva Dhana Pradhanam" (Education is the only wealth which is primary wealth to all wealth). Anywhere in the world you go, the way knowledge is worshipped, wealth can never be. That is confirmed." This view was

also backed by Shyam (Male, 35 years) as he mentioned: "Education is very important. If you don't have education you don't have anything". These views were commonly expressed by most of the participants and possibly show the significance of education in their children's lives.

All the participants also mentioned that it was important for them to instill respect towards elders and parents as a value in their children. One of the participants mentions: "I teach good things from Nepal. I tell her that she needs to respect everyone. I tell her even after you are 18 you have to stay together. This is our culture." (Subodh, Male, 37 years) Another participant indicates: "Our culture, our values is appreciated all over the world. We help each other out. We respect our parents; support them and other family members economically, emotionally etc. These are things that we need to teach. Even the western countries acknowledge that Asian values are good and they should adopt that as well. Here they are too individualistic." (Prasanna, Male, 39 years)

Majority of the participants also mentioned preservation of native culture and language as being very important for them. Nirmala (Female, 32 years) says: "Our elder son, he already knows Nepali but even for our younger son we will teach him Nepali. If needed, we will find a teacher to come home to teach Nepali but we will make him a Nepalese. What will we do by making him a Westerner?" Another participant had similar feelings as she mentions: "We speak Nepali at home. We want them to know Nepali language. If we speak Portuguese at home, they may forget Nepali completely and that is what we fear. We tell our daughter and son to write and read Nepali ... When someone asks, do you know your language? And if they say they don't, that would be the saddest part." (Ritu, Female, 37 years) One of the participant mentions: "We must not forget our culture by any means because if we lose our culture, we lose ourselves." (Ram, Male, 40 years)

5.7.2 Management of western influence

Some participants also mentioned that it was important for them that their child avoided western influence, especially in terms of alcohol, smoking and drug use and of having girlfriend and boyfriend and their display of affection in streets. Ram (Male, 40 years) says: "We should not let negative culture come in. If they bring cultures other than that, it doesn't matter. There should not

be over openness. There has to be limitation. In Nepal, if there is anything going on between girlfriend and boyfriend it isn't showed outside. But, here they are hugging and kissing openly. They have their rights and freedom, yes, we should not restrict their rights and freedom, but it should not be damaging." Similar views were also shared by another participant: "The children should be given freedom, but freedom does not mean you are allowed to do anything you want to do. It does not mean that you can stick your cheeks together and kiss in the street. This is not allowed in our culture and it is not acceptable." (Subodh, Male, 37 years)

Another participant talks about what they perceive as a western influence of smoking and drinking and she mentions: "I wish my son does not smoke cigarette and drink alcohol. Here people do that. I tell him this and I tell him we hope you don't do this. No one smokes or drinks in our family. No one from my family, no one from my husband's family. No one is there who does this. So, hopefully he will not do it as well." (Nirmala, Female, 32 years) Another participant mentions: "We can't stop her from doing what she wants. Let's say, 90 % Europeans might drink alcohol, 70-80% people smokes cigarette. After she is 18, all we can say is don't do it. Even if we scold her or not we could not stop her regardless of that we don't want her to." (Prasanna, Male, 39 years) He also mentions about negative culture of cohabitation as he says: "Europeans, they have culture of living together before marriage. We don't have that kind of culture and we don't promote that kind of behavior." (Prasanna, Male, 39 years)

Another value of importance that the majority of participants mentioned was of parent-child interdependence. Most of them mentioned that they wanted their children to understand their responsibility towards their parents. Most of them also mentioned that they were worried their children might leave them after they are 18 years of age. Two of the participant mentions:

It's important to teach children about our culture. If we don't, after they are 18, they would say bye bye and leave and then for us the life is over. We don't have that culture. Parents have hope from their sons and daughters. Like, Westerners don't have such kind of expectations but in ours we say now we look after them and later they will look after us. Here they say bye bye after they reach 18. They come to visit them only when the parents are dead. We have to teach them about our

culture. That is a big thing ... The older son knows about this. But for the younger one, we need to teach him. We need to teach him the language. In case he doesn't learn, we have to send him to Nepal to teach him. If we don't send him to Nepal to learn these things, he will not look after us later. (Rupak, Male, 36 years)

I want them to learn about Nepalese culture and values. There are benefits to that. Like, when you are small you have to love the elders. You have to do good. After 18 years of age, here they get separated. Because of that, the relationship between children and their parents are broken. You can see in the streets, old people are walking in the street. Single life is very dangerous here. After reaching 18 years they go different places, no one cares, even for children, they don't think their parents are suffering. Here they say they live single life. And the government takes care of elders. And no one knows even when they are dead. Police comes and pick them up. What kind of culture is this? Because of that, our culture, that we should take care of our parents, yes it is not good to be dependent, but even though it is not good, it brings good result, for elders, even though they are old their children take care of them, the relationship is very strong. (Ritu, Female, 37 years)

But, there were some participants who had other views. Shyam (Male, 35 years) says: "It's normal for children to leave their parents here and it's natural. My children will leave as well. I had left my parents as well, but the thing is that they will return back as well." Nirmala (Female, 32 years) shared similar views as well: "We like our own culture. Respect everyone and all. But even we have not taken it wholeheartedly. Yes, we send some amount of money to our family in Nepal. That is a kind of help as well but still it is not like we are taking their responsibility. Even for our son, we will tell him about it but we will not force him to look after us."

5.8 Influence on parenting: the micro, meso and macro environments

The factors influencing parenting can be understood in terms of micro, meso and macro environments where micro environment represents the immediate system that interacts with the

parents which induce change in parenting patterns, meso environment represents the interaction between two or more micro systems and the macro environment represents the wider system which incorporates the micro system and the meso system.

5.8.1 Children's reaction to parenting and the gender difference: the micro environment influencing parenting

Some of the participants mentioned that their parenting is affected by their children's reaction to their parenting practices. One of the participant mentions the difficulty in dealing with her daughter as she says:

Generally speaking, it used to be easier in Nepal. To transmit to Nepalese children. It's not easy here because they have started to understand many things. And there are many things that have been influenced by friends from here therefore she talks about freedom. She says parents are not always right. She says, if I am not doing anything wrong, you have to admit that everything that the parents say is not always right. What we say can also be right. What the child is saying should be listened to by the parents as well. It should not always be from the parents. Giving birth does not mean that children should do everything that the parents say. (Ritu, Female, 37 years)

Another participant mentions the changes brought about by his child's reluctance in studies.

In Nepal, from long time back, we had constructed a habit. We studied there. What I know of a difference between here and there is that, in Nepal we used to have homework and all and used to be busy. Here, it is not like that. He comes home, throws his bag. The bag remains like that until he goes to school tomorrow. I ask him - Do you have homework today son? He says no. A day later I ask him again. He says no. I ask another day. He says no. This is the situation. The school does not give homework and the children don't want to study extra materials. (Rupak, Male, 36 years)

It was evident that gender of the parents played an important role in parenting practice as well. Mothers were likely to provide more care and support to the children than their fathers and they were more comfortable to share their feelings with their mothers. The fathers though were likely to monitor their children and implement strict rules and regulations. Gender of children was of importance as well as parents were more likely to implement rules regarding wearing of certain dress and public display of affection if they had a daughter and if they had a son, the rules was most likely to be regarding use of alcohol and smoking.

5.8.2 The support system and the community: the meso environment influencing parenting

Some participants also mentioned that their support system and their community had some effect on their parenting. Shyam (Male, 35 years) says: "I have got sisters here. If my children have holidays, I send them over to my sisters. They have to learn about Nepali people's discipline. To let them know about Nepalese festivals we send them over and they stay there together. A participant mentions taking the Nepalese society as a reference to make her daughter understand about the dressing culture deemed inappropriate. Prasanna (Male, 39 years) says: "We tell her there is a community with different culture other than the Portuguese culture. There are many Nepalese here in Portugal and it is with them who we deal with everyday. The way we present ourselves, the way we will be perceived. We tell her what is acceptable in the Nepalese society and what is not. She has mostly got Nepalese friends outside school so she learns about it from there as well. She tries to compare between both cultures." Another participant mentions her experience of how the society might view them depending on how they perform their parental role: "I will feel good if he does as we say because if he doesn't, it wouldn't look good when others look at us because that is how we move forward." (Savitri, Female, 34 years)

5.8.3 Culture and laws and norms as the macro environments influencing parenting

For all the participants, culture played an important role in performing their parental roles. Two of the participants mentioned about the difference in parent child relationship that they found different between two cultures which affects their parenting. They say:

Here after they give birth, they give the child a separate bed. They don't sleep together. Our mother used to take us in her lap and make us sleep. I remember that so I have love for my mother. Here it is not like that. They say they love their parents and if asked how? They say when they are ill I go to visit them in the hospital, take fruits and go. Here mothers stop feeding their children breast milk after 3 months because they feel this will degrade the mother's health. So they don't feel the intimacy and love towards their mothers. For us, we remember all of these so we love our parents. This is what we need to teach our children as well. (Subodh, Male, 37 years)

It doesn't matter in which part of the world our child is, we don't say you have to earn yourself and study. We will support them ourselves if they don't receive scholarship, we support them. It is the same for all the guardians. If they want to study, they will get to study. In European countries, I have met many people who said they will only study after they earn enough to support their studies. Even with people from good family background. They say their father is doctor, lawyer, engineer but even their children; they have to earn themselves to study. That means the parents tell their children that after 18 you should earn yourself and study. Children are staying in their parent's home and they are paying rent. We don't have that. We support our children. (Prasanna, Male, 39 years)

Majority of the participants also mentioned that their parenting practices were also influenced by Portuguese laws and norms. Gita (Female, 41 years) says: "If my children say that after 18 they want to live a separate life, there is nothing we can do. The law here does not allow us to do anything, if they try to live by themselves we will allow them to. According to the law we can't raise our hands on them, we can't do anything. If we try to control them, the police would come to our homes". Another participant mentions:

They have become Portuguese already. The government can arrange part time work if they wish to after they are 18 years of age. They call it social work but they can

earn some extra expenses from that. It helps them to socialize and become independent. Here people study as well as work. They are earning themselves, so there is nothing to say to them, for example, I am self employed. My parents don't force me to do anything. Because everything I do, I decide myself. It is the same for them as well. (Shyam, Male, 35 years)

5.9 Integration of Nepalese children in Portuguese school

5.9.1 The children's educational performance and expectation of parents

Most of the participants mentioned that their children performed well in their school; out of which 2 of the participants mentioned the educational performance was very good. Ritu (Female, 37 years) says: "My daughter performs very well in school. She is first in everything. She says she is taken as an example in her school. Like she is not behind in anything. She is also the monitor in her school and teachers say she is doing very well and I think she was also top in class." But she also adds that it is still not up to what they believe their daughter is capable of. She says:

She is good but still it is not up to our expectation. We used to study till 12-1 at night, we used to have so much of homework, we had to remember so many things. But here it is not like that. She says mummy, the system in which you studied was different and this system is different ... I tell her to read some extra books, but she doesn't. That is the problem. She says 'you have learned so much but what have you done? You are working on a restaurant, you are working in the kitchen, so even if you study what do you do with it? Have you lived a different life?' We are worried that she will not take her education seriously. (Ritu, Female, 37 years)

There were four participants who indicated that the educational performance of their daughter is good. One of the participants shares his experience:

One day there was a meeting in school. I told her (daughter) I wanted to see the math book. The books are kept in their own drawer. She brought the book. I saw it

and 90 % of the book had been completed, things which had not even been taught in class. The teacher themselves say 'I haven't taught this and she has done it already how can you say your daughter is weak.' And I was telling them she was weak. The teacher would tell me, 'your daughter is not weak; she has done things I have not even taught. She knows everything, if she didn't know how to do it she would have asked me. Why do you say your daughter is weak?'" (Subodh, Male, 37 years)

But as with other parents, it seemed that even he was not satisfied with the progress of his daughter's education. He mentions:

In Nepal, teachers tell the children to memorize one page and come. Here it is not like that. Here they don't need to concentrate too hard to study. They just have one book and they keep the books at school, they keep the copies at school, why do you keep it at school? I can teach her at home and I told them at school. They said no, children should not be burdened with education at home so we keep everything here. (Subodh, Male, 37 years)

5.9.2 The children's relationship with the teachers

Majority of participants indicated that the relationship between their children and the teacher was either very good or good. Most of them also mentioned that the teachers were more like a friend to their children and were comfortable with them. Nirmala (Female, 32 years) mentions: "His relationship with the teacher is very good. Actually, even in Nepal he was like this. I used to visit his school and the principal used to tell me 'everyone is scared of me. But your son comes to my office, says may I come in sir? And then sits in the sofa and speaks with me' He is the same here as well. He talks to his teachers like they are his friends. He jokes around, does fun stuffs and speaks a lot to them." Subodh (Male, 37 years) shares similar feelings as he mentions: "The teachers here are like friends. Here they don't have a concept of instilling fear in students. It is completely different from Nepal. Here they say that teacher and students should be friends. The children can share everything with them." Interaction with Suntali's (Female, 36 years) elder son shed some more light on the teacher student relationship as he shared his experience from his

class. He said that the relationship between teacher and student here is a bit weird for him as it is completely different from Nepal. He said, "In Nepal, teachers controlled students but here students control the teachers". He mentioned that he found lack of respect for teachers by the Portuguese students but he himself is still continuing his ideology of how teachers should be respected and still requested for permission before entering or exiting the class or using the toilet and says that his relationship with his teacher is good.

5.9.3 The children's relationship with friends in and out of school

In regard to relationship with friends, the participants mentioned friends from different countries which could be grouped into four categories: Portuguese, Nepalese, South Asians and Other Nationalities. Half of the participants mentioned that their children only had satisfactory relationship with the Portuguese friends as they spent time with them only during school hours and didn't go out with them often whereas there were some participants who indicated that their children had very good relationship with Portuguese friends and only one participant mentioned that his son has good relationship with Portuguese friends. In contrast majority of participants mentioned that their children had very good relationship with Nepali friends and other participants mentioning they have good relationship. Majority of participants also mentioned that their children had friends from South Asian countries other than Nepal of which had satisfactory relationship, another had good relationship and one participant mentioning that his son had very good relationship with friends from South Asia. Majority of participants also mentioned that their children had friends from some other countries apart from the ones mentioned above but all of them mentioned that the relationship is only satisfactory.

One of the participants mentioned the relationship his daughter had with her friends. He says:

She has friends in school. Outside school she mostly has Nepalese friends but in school it's like in Portugal; friends from various countries and backgrounds: South Asians, Chinese, Ukrainian, from East Europe. It's a public school, so there are friends from many countries ... She mostly goes out with Nepalese friends but she has one or two very close Portuguese friends as well. She brings them home. They

come to our place, eat with us. They like our food. She goes to their place as well.
(Prasanna, Male, 39 years)

Another participant mentions that her daughter's relationship with Portuguese friends is very good now but it was not the same when she first came to Portugal. She shares her experience: "It was very difficult for my daughter in the beginning. After we came here, people did not want to speak to us initially. She tried to speak to friends but they didn't respond and she tried to come close to them but she couldn't. They didn't help. When she asked for something, they didn't give. She used to say, mummy do you know how difficult it is. We can imagine how difficult it must have been for her." Ritu (Female, 37 years) I also interacted with a participant's (Ram, Male, 40 years) daughter and she shared her experience with her friends. She said that though she has some Portuguese friends in her class she is not very close with them. I asked her why she felt so and she replied that she remembers her friends from Nepal and how they were so helpful. She further added that her friends here are not helpful and that she finds it boring.

Another participant explains her elder son's closeness to Nepalese friends. She says: "In his class he has 5-6 Nepalese. He mostly spends time with them." (Suntali, Female, 36 years) In further interaction with her son, he mentioned that it is not that he does not have Portuguese friends or that he doesn't want to spend time with them but that his Portuguese friends don't come to class. He says that they come there only once or twice in a month so he doesn't get the opportunity to know them better. So, most of the time he meets friends from Nepal, some (3) he knew from before and some (2) he got to know after he came here and they usually meet in a park in Alcantara.

A participant explained his son's relationship with his friends as:

Since he does not know the language very well, he doesn't have many friends from Portugal. He meets other Nepalese students and Indian and Bengali students. Even though they come from different levels, language class is taught together and he got in contact with them. They make programs to go out, on weekends, gathering, playing games. It is common for kids ... He speaks in Hindi in his sleep while he is

dreaming as he has Indian friends. And we laugh watching him. (Rupak, Male, 36 years)

5.9.4 Children's command of Portuguese language

A majority of participants mentioned that their children had satisfactory Portuguese language skill with only few participants mentioning that their children speak very good Portuguese and the remaining participants mentioning that they speak good Portuguese. A participant shares her daughter's Portuguese speaking ability

People tell me your daughter looks like Portuguese, even while speaking, she speaks like Portuguese, and people say your daughter is very talented and tell her if you work, you can get a job as a receptionist. She is just 14 years; she has got good height, so maybe people think she is older than that. She copies Portuguese tone and speaks like them. Her pronunciation is so similar ... Our daughter knows more than us. She is better than her father. She teaches her father and she reads his letters. And if we take our daughter to SEF, we feel relieved. Even in hospital, our daughter deals with it, we don't have to speak. So, I don't have to be involved. (Ritu, Female, 37 years)

Another participant mentions about her son's Portuguese and her expectation from him:

My son is still learning Portuguese but he does not put in much effort. He doesn't show much interest. He says he will learn it bit by bit. He will learn as he speaks with people. He is like that. What I would want from him is that he becomes fluent in Portuguese and when I have to go to Portuguese office, I can take him along with me so that I will not have to take anyone else. Therefore I wish he learns Portuguese soon. (Suntalii, Female, 36 years)

Another participant mentioned that he was actually surprised to see the progress his son had made in Portuguese. He says: "I went to his school yesterday. There were three of us: me, my

son and the professor. He speaks well now. He doesn't have much problem with language. I was surprised myself. I didn't feel like he could speak this much. And I don't feel like I had forced him to and I don't think he studied much as well. But I saw he wasn't weak." (Rupak, Male, 36 years)

5.10 Future aspirations for the children

5.10.1 Excellence in education

For all the participants, they wanted their children to have excelled in education in the future. Prasanna (Male, 39 years) mentions: "It is very important to be educated. If you are not educated, what kind of manpower are you going to be? Yes, it is true that in Europe anyone can earn, and no profession is big or small, but in our eyes, the profession which is related to education is referred to as highly skilled and respectable job. So, it is important to be educated." Another participant mentions that their future depends on their choice of educational preference for their children. Nirmala (Female, 32 years) mentions: "In the future after we get our passport in 2 years we have planned to go to UK for the future of our son. For me this country is very good. The environment and all. But for the sake of our children's future we plan to go to English speaking country... In the end, the plan is to go back to Nepal. We hope that if we educate our son in Europe, it will be good for him."

5.10.2 'Arrange something' for the children

For most of the participants, they wanted to create a way for their children or arrange something for them and return back to Nepal. Gita (Female, 41 years) mentions: "We have not thought what we will do in the future but we will try to arrange something for our children and we will return to Nepal. I wish that in the future our children are good. They have to do good. I hope the younger one studies well even though the elder left his studies." Suntali (Female, 36 years) indicates: "My plan was to bring my children and husband here. I completed my wish. I brought them here. I want to show a way to my children. You can walk in this way. You can walk in this way for my two sons. We, my husband and I will go back to Nepal and settle. I want my children to be independent economically and see them getting married and then we will return home."

5.10.3 Stability and secure future

Most of the participants also mentioned that they want their children's future to be good and stable. Ram (Male, 40 years) mentions: "I want my daughter to do good in studies, but if that does not happen, I wish she gets a professional job. Like, she is interested in photography so if not in education, we will give priority to that. We will try to move her forward with that. We have this expectation from her." Another participant mentions: "I hope he does good in the future. Yes, education is important but if he wants to; he is good in playing football, there is opportunity there as well. We want him to study but we will not force him to be a doctor or an engineer. If his interest is in football we will support him in that. (Rupak, Male, 36 years)

5.10.4 A hope of reputed career

For some participants, they have hope that their children pursue a reputed career but it might be a reason for confrontation. She says:

Regarding the future, I think it should be on mutual understanding between us and our children. We wish her to select a good field, any field she chooses, for example modeling. We want her to be the best in whatever she may be. But, for me, even though she might or might not want it, we still want our children to be doctor, pilot, engineer. We don't want her to be a dancer or a singer. Singer is even ok, or a model. Our soul doesn't want that. That is why we tell her to be this. But she has got a child like brain. She says 'people recognize Rekha Thapa (Actress) or Doctor Urmila who operates in Ganga Lal? (hospital)'. Now what do we say, doctor is a doctor. More people recognize Rekha Thapa doesn't mean that she commands more respect than Dr Urmila. She asks who is better, Rekha Thapa or Dr. Urmila. She is just a child, she doesn't understand. (Ritu, Female, 37 years)

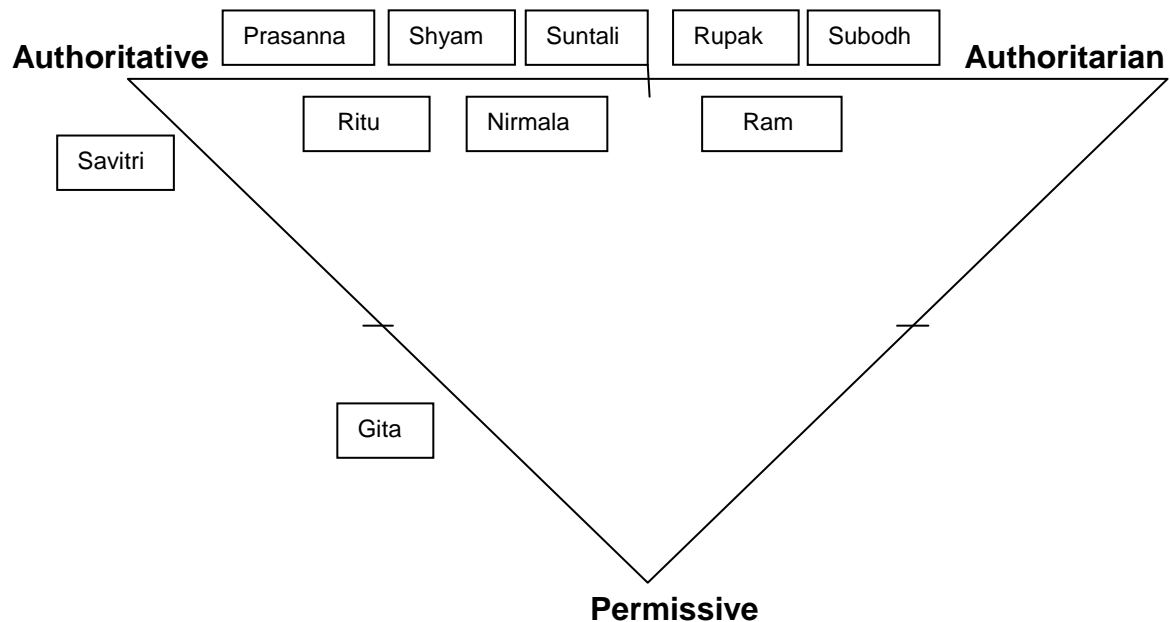
This chapter presented analysis and findings of data obtained from 10 in-depth interviews, observation during interviews and informal interaction with the children of the participants for this study on parenting styles adopted by Nepalese parents living in Portugal and its effect on child integration in their schools.

6. Conclusion

The profile of Nepalese immigrants in Portugal was mostly represented by individuals between the ages of 20 and 39 which constitute around 82% of the total population. The INE census data (2011) established the total population of Nepalese immigrants at 959 individuals with 710 representing male and 249 representing female. Among the total immigrant population, 50 individuals were children, represented by 34 females and 16 males. Nepalese immigration in Portugal is a recent phenomenon as more than 72% of the total Nepalese population in Portugal in 2011 stated that they were in Nepal in 2005. So, most of the migration to Portugal started after 2005. The family reunification data for Nepalese immigrants shows a gradual increase as well with a total of 270 individuals residing in Portugal (SEF, 2013) in 2013 having been arrived through family reunification in comparison to the total of 245 individuals a year before (SEF, 2012). Nepalese children are part of the education system as well, as the data provided by Office for Education Statistics and Planning, Ministry of Education (DGEEC, MEC) for the year 2012/13 demonstrated that there were combined total of 87 children who had registered for basic level education and secondary level education which shows a significant rise when compared to the INE census data (2011) where only 33 children were enrolled in schools.

The purpose of this study was to understand the parenting styles adopted by Nepalese parents living in Portugal, the values they transmit to their children and if it has an impact on the integration of the children in their schools. The findings from the research was that the parenting style theory by Baumrind (1967) did not fully correspond to the Nepalese parenting practice as it incorporated characteristics of both the authoritative model and the authoritarian model. The parents were caring, supportive and provided reasoning to their child which were the characteristics of authoritative parenting, but at the same time they instilled values of parent-child interdependence and set rules which they wanted their children to conform to which mostly represented authoritarian parenting. The projection of parenting style of each participant is illustrated in Figure 6.1. But the parents insisted that their controlling behavior towards their children for few aspects were not to demonstrate power or authority, rather due to the love and concern that they have towards their children.

Figure 6.1: Projection of participants in relation to parenting styles



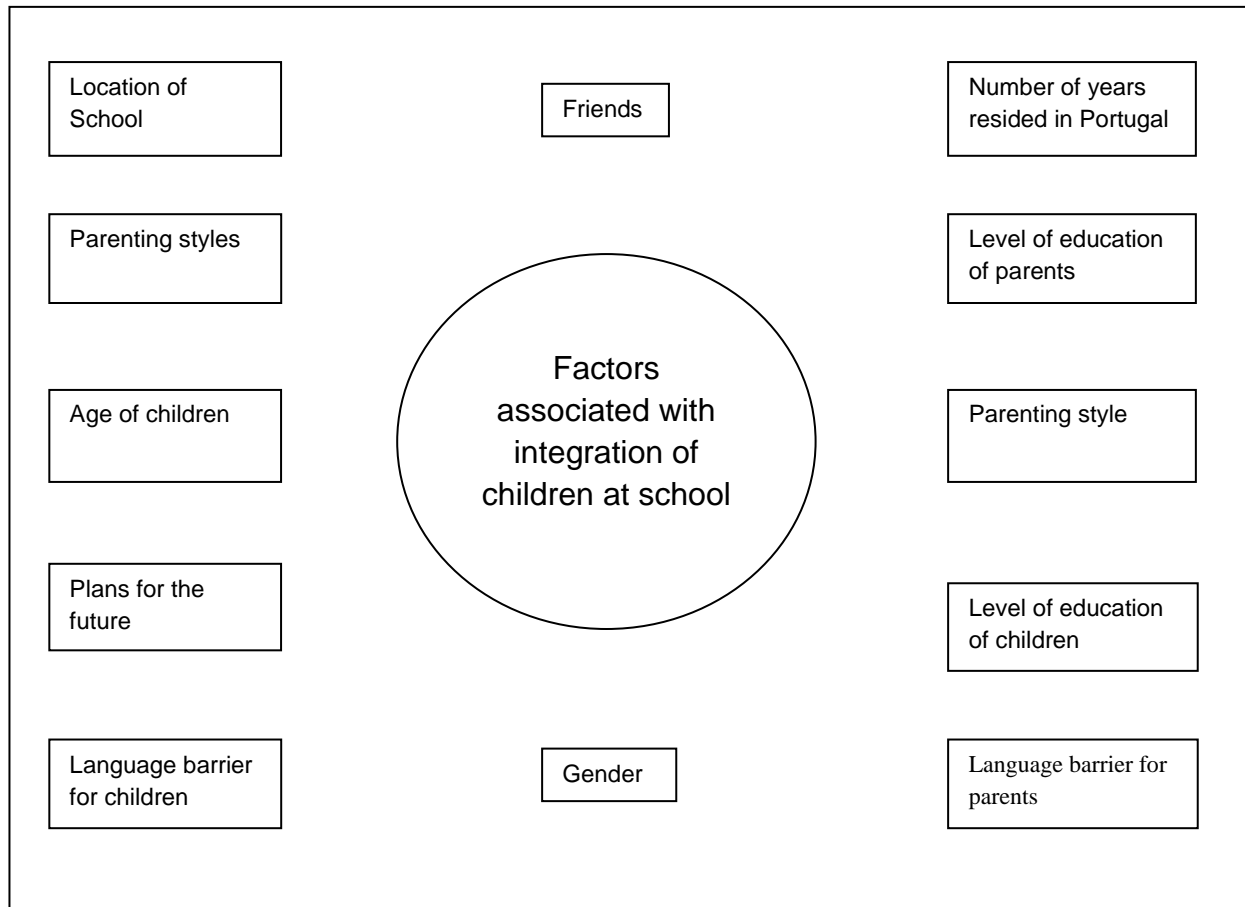
The Nepalese parents also mentioned that their parenting was mostly influenced by the Nepalese culture as they intended to transmit the values of respect, inter-dependence, educational achievements and preservation of native culture. But transmissions of these values were sometimes affected by Portuguese laws and norms, child's own standpoint and their support system and community. Most of the parents disapproved of the right provided to the children after the age of 18 as they were worried about their children leaving them. The children's reaction has seen change in behavior among parents as well, especially in terms of insistence on studying. The children exposed more to the society makes it probable for them to integrate faster than their parents which might reduce the power differential among the parents and their children as the children are more competent and the parents might have to depend on them for ease in their day to day activities. This might lead the parent to adapt to the demands of the children and adhere to the norms of the Portuguese society. There is also gender differences between parenting carried out by mother and that by a father. It was evident that mothers were mostly associated with providing care, support and comfort to the children, whereas, fathers were associated with monitoring and implementation of rules. The parent's also showed the tendency

to delay bringing their children to Portugal as they perceive education provided in Nepal to be superior to that of Portugal.

Parents have influence in the integration of the child in their school and they try to be highly involved in the education of their children but find it difficult because of the barrier in language. But still they try to encourage their children to study to make sure that they perform well in their school. They are also informative about their children's friends and try to know the whereabouts of their children. Most of the children have friends from Nepal and are closer to them than with friends of other nationalities. The parents visit the school of the children to know about the progress they have made. The parents also try to encourage the teachers to give homework to their children to make sure that they are not free in their home, but it seems that it has less effect. Therefore parents might not have too much influence on the teacher child relationship. The parents try to preserve their own language and culture and avoid speaking Portuguese in home as they feel that they will learn the language regardless and they should instead try to speak Nepali to ensure their children do not forget it.

Some of the other social factors which has influence in school integration of children were: location of school as some schools might be better in integrating immigrant students better than the others, number of years resided in Portugal as residing for a longer period might allow for better exposure and familiarity of the school environment, age of the children as it is seen that age determines the parent's behavior towards their children and also influences the children's own perception of what they should be allowed to do, plans for the future as some of the parents mentioned that their desire to move elsewhere has had an effect on their children's educational outcome and language proficiency, gender of children as there is difference in how daughters and sons are treated and level of education for both children and parents. These factors are also presented in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Social factors associated with integration of children at school



Following this research, there can be further research on Nepalese immigrant's parenting and its influence in child integration but with the child's point of view. As this study covered the parent's perspective, it would be interesting to understand what the children themselves think about the parenting styles incorporated by their parents. The findings from this research also mentioned that the parents delay bringing their children to Portugal due to the fear that their children will not be able to achieve educational excellence so a line of research for the future can be a comparative study between Nepalese children studying in Nepal and Nepalese children studying in Portugal to understand if the difference in quality really exists or it is just the perception of the parents.

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Appendix

Interview Guideline

Date:

Locality of Interview:

Interview Duration:

Time of Interview:

Demographic Elements:

Personal Information:

Age:

Sex:

Occupation:

Level of Education:

Address:

Contact number:

Number of Years in Portugal:

Family Information:

How many members are there in the family?

How many children do you have?

Age and Gender of Children:

Education of Spouse:

Do the Children go to school?

Which kind of school do they go?

How many people live in the house and who?

Occupation of Spouse:

When did the spouse first come to Portugal?

When did the child first come to Portugal?

1. Can you share your experience with the entire process of child reunification?
 - 1.1. What made you believe that it was the right moment to bring your child here at that point of time
 - 1.2. How was the decision taken and who were involved in decision making process
 - 1.3. How prepared and informed was your child regarding Portugal before coming here (information about language, culture, society, friends and family)

2. How do you feel your child is doing here in Portugal and how do you describe your relationship with your child to be like?
 - 2.1. How comfortable are they in communicating with you and sharing their feelings and how concerned are you about your child?
 - 2.2. When it comes to setting of ground rules and restrictions, who does it, how is it done and what is the level of participation from the child?
 - 2.3. Can you mention (with examples and incidents) in cases of violation of rules and inappropriate behavior, what sort of repercussions does the child face?
 - 2.4. What are the ways in which you discipline your child?
 - 2.5. How has these changed or remained the same from your time of parenting when you were in Nepal?
 - 2.6. After your child came to Portugal, what kind of changes did you find in him/her?

3. Can you tell how does your child perform at school in Portugal?
 - 3.1. What according to you has an influence on their performances and how does it affect them
 - 3.2. How involved are you with their education and how important do you feel it is for the child
 - 3.3. What do you think about your child's relationship with teachers and peers
 - 3.4. When we say friends, who are friends to them, are they friends from Nepal, friends from immigrant origin or Portuguese friends and how often do they meet and where
 - 3.5. How much time do they spend with their peers and are there other activities beside school that they are part of, are they part of any association or such (sports, music etc)?
 - 3.6. How well does your child speak Portuguese?

4. What do you feel about the culture and values between Nepal and Portugal?
 - 4.1. While raising your child, which culture and values do you feel your child should incorporate and why?
 - 4.2. Does your spouse feel about it the same?
 - 4.3. Do you feel it is important to preserve cultural values and tradition from back home?
 - 4.4. How do you generally transmit these values and how has it influenced their children in building their identity?
 - 4.5. How does your child react to the values being transferred (share your experience)?
 - 4.6. What religion do you practice and do you teach your child about religion?

5. Can you explain about the support system you have here and how it has been important?
 - 5.1. Does the support system provide assistance with parenting and child needs? If yes how?
 - 5.2. Do they have influence in how you perform your parental roles?
 - 5.3. Have you received any state support or support from organizations for integration of your child and are you aware of any support being provided?

6. Are you happy and satisfied with what you have been doing for your child?
 - 6.1. Did you have expectations for your child before they came here and has these expectations been met?
 - 6.2. Before you came to Portugal, how many years were you away from your child and how did you manage your relationship with them? In your absence who took care of your child and who took decisions for them?
 - 6.3. Do you feel that coming to Portugal has provided your child with better opportunities?
 - 6.4. Did you face obstacles after bringing your child here and how were you able to solve them?
 - 6.5. Were there problems relating to house, school, language, culture, sociability etc for the child?
 - 6.6. What are future aspirations for you and your child?
 - 6.7. When you think about future, do you see yourself here in Portugal or somewhere else?

- 6.8. Do you have any recommendations for those who are planning to bring their children and for the state on what could be done to promote better integration among immigrant children?
7. Is there anything you want to say regarding parenting and children that has not been covered by these questions?