Negotiating the Situational Identity of Algerian Migrants over-skilled in Québec

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Abstract :

Through qualitative demarch, this research is trying to point out how the difficulties to integrate into market labor of the host-society and affect the strategies of new comers and exploring each situation to realize their goals. They find themselves obliged to negotiate constantly their situations and their strategies. Because it is never an individual matter, the identity is deeply affected, and it is intricately shaped by every experience life. In exploring the micro-social processes interaction through which migrant identity is reinvented, the study leads to setting up of a "mapping" of migrants faced every situation and how the migrant negotiate its references. Furthermore, it displays the result of negotiating as a social adjustment in everyday life and the struggles to succeed gradually the whole process of integration. The people interviewed invent for themselves new norms of negotiating, within the different social situations, which include three references (homeland, host society and community of the same origin). A new form of identifications emerges from their social negotiating that obey not only to their references but also to the conditions of their situations and the possibilities to improve or realize their aims. The analysis highlights the 'adaptative action' and the situation negotiating of identity.

Key words : Situational Idenity, adaptation, Algerian migrants, host society, homeland

Résumé :

Moyennant une démarchage qualitatif, cette recherche tente de mettre en évidence comment les difficultés d'intégration dans le marché du travail de la société d'accueil affectent les stratégies des nouveaux arrivants et l'exploration de chaque situation pour réaliser leurs objectifs. Ils se trouvent obligés de négocier constamment leurs situations et leurs stratégies. Parce qu'il ne s'agit jamais d'une affaire individuelle, l'identité est profondément affectée, et elle est intimement façonnée par chaque expérience de vie. En explorant l'interaction des processus micro-sociaux à travers lesquels l'identité des migrants est réinventée, l'étude conduit à la mise en place d'une "cartographie" des migrants confrontés à chaque situation et à la manière dont le migrant négocie ses références. En outre, elle montre le résultat de la négociation en tant qu'ajustement social dans la vie quotidienne et les luttes pour réussir progressivement l'ensemble du processus d'intégration. Les personnes interrogées inventent pour elles-mêmes de nouvelles normes de négociation, dans les différentes situations sociales, qui incluent trois références (la patrie, la société d'accueil et la communauté de la même origine). Une nouvelle forme d'identifications émerge de leur négociation sociale qui obéit non seulement à leurs références mais aussi aux conditions de leurs situations et aux possibilités d'améliorer ou de réaliser leurs objectifs. L'analyse met en évidence l'"action adaptative" et la négociation de l'identité en situation.

Mots clés : identité situationnelle, adaptation, migrant Algérien, société d'accueil, société d'origine.

1. Introduction :

This article takes a Symbolic Interactionist perspective on identity (Blumer 1969) and builds upon the existing literature on the migration identity (Alba & Nee 1997; Berry1997; Horenczyk 1996; Sommerland & Berry 1970), We draw upon the Goffman (1961) clarifications of the relation between situation and identity within the migration context. By the same token, Symbolic Interaction regards identity as a process of negotiation: it is relational, communicative and symbolic meaningful (cf. Scott 2015). Identities are contextual, the details of their expression varying between settings and situations, and they are dynamic, mutable and contingent. Their meanings are forever shifting in line with the situation demands, group values and normative expectations (Goffman 1961). Therefore, to apprehend the adaptation process requires describing and analyzing the social process of interaction (as negotiating)

through which identities can be recreated, reshaped, maintained, communicated, presented, negotiated, challenged, reproduced, reinvented and narrated (cf. Scott 2015: 11).

Indeed, for migrants fron the first generartion, to be over skilled and highly qualified can form a real barrier to integrate into the labor market, and hinder their economic and social integration (Chicha 2009). In the earlier years of their arrival, this compulsory passage of professional disqualification leads them to live within social decommissioning (Belaidi 2016). The latter is experienced differently the adopting strategies and the ways in which they negotiated with such reality which can allow us to seize their strategies' identity in every social situation. As matter of fact, the situation is constructed and negotiated, it is an ongoing process of definition and redefinition and mutual negotiating (cf. Berger & Luckman 1966). The people are becoming social types, as their identities emerge from ongoing patterns of interaction and are never completely finished (Becker 1963).

Furthermore, and considering that adaptation does not lose its heuristic value, we propose to apprehend the adaptation as an action, or rather as an '*adaptative action*'. The main principle of this proposal is that the adaptation has to be understood as continuing process from the situation to the another, which branded by the social negotiating. Needless to say, the meaning of the situation is constructed by the participants and frames their interactions (Blumer 1969). Besides it is important to rehearse that humans act towards social objects on the basis of the meaning that these things have for them; secondly, these meanings arise out of social interaction; and, thirdly, meanings can be modified by interpretation, or interpretive process (Ibid.). Similarly, the migrant, as a stranger (Schüz 1971; Simmel 1908), feels excluded from the common stocks of background knowledge that those around him appear to take for granted. This has pragmatic implication in making it difficult for the migrant to partake in joint action (cf. Blumer 1969); the migrant might not know which role to play, the normative code of conduct or the recipe knowledge needed to help the situation flow smoothly, even though, he is not compelled to remain in the marginal position of the stranger (cf. Simmel 1908) or even neutral if there are some opportunities to seize (cf. Belaidi Op.cit.). Each situation is considered as an encounter with the host-society, hence the interactional form simultaneously: proximity and distance (cf. Simmel Op.cit.) looking for these opportunities. Therefore, the migrant who is indulged is actually in the powerful position to benefit from each situation.
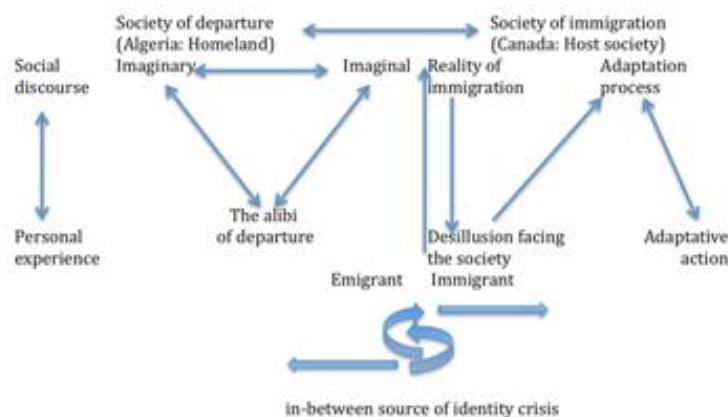

Figure 1. The double face of migration experiment

Figure 1 : the double face of migrant experiment

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2. Methodology :

The findings presented here are drawn from a research based on minute exploration of 30 detailed interviews with migrants, over-skilled and qualified, from the first generation of Algerian origin in Québec, Canada.The interviews were conducted in 2014 in Montreal. The participants were recruited in snowballing's procedure (cf. Dawson 2002: 53). This study, on one hand, is trying to point out the various ways in which these migrants combine their multiple strategies to negotiate their situations in purpose to integrate the labor market. On the other hand, it catches the mechanism of social negotiating, which explains the 'adaptive action'.in shaping the situational identity In short, in this qualitative approach, the survey should permit to understand how each of the participants facing their disappointments negotiating their identifications in each social situation and reinvent then their own identities. We have opted for the deep interview in order to realize the participant's singular paths in their 'adaptative' action within everyday life. Certain cautionary should be made regarding the representativeness of the sample and generalizability of the finding (Eid 2015). During the interviews, it appears that more other typologies can be found among migrants from the same origin, hence, it will be vastly different with others origin. Because ethnicity might somehow impact on such strategies.

Various themes were covered by interviews, but special attention is paid here to the rationale underlying the informants' strategy to accept the conversion, how they tolerate their social decommissioning and for which purposes. It will be interesting to underline that the mechanism of negotiating, which we pointed out, in the analysis, needs more research with others migrants to make sure in purpose to test one's explanatory and heuristic validity.

3. Situational identity in continuous negotiating :

Everyone has different stance (as involvement toward the situation) which gives the migrant the legitimacy to negotiate and respond to the situation with three different manners; it allows us to understand the situational identity: 1) engaged, 2) disengaged and 3) none-engaged in everyday life (see table 1). More the situation offers the opportunities fitting, or not, their purposes more we can understand the manner, which the migrant deals with the situation. And every migrant interprets the opportunities as facilities to get his purposes regarding three benchmarks: 1) home-society, 2) host-society and 3) the community of the same origin (see Figure 1 and 2). Every situation has to be regarded as a continuous process of interpretation and social negotiating with these three dimensions. Then the migrant is guided, on one side, by the opportunities of the situation and, on the other side, by how he defines his relation with the three dimensions (the degree of every mental distance). Yet, the relation between situation and social negotiating can be blurred by these three benchmarks and led us to the incongruence understanding (see Supra).

3.1. The disengaged negotiating :

Some migrants, facing the difficulties to integrate host society (especially market labor), insist on their maintaining their relations with the homeland, and because the feeling of rejection or disappointment from the immigration society, they designate themselves by their origin. Hence, every situation finds its meaning through the origin benchmarks of the migrants.

- "They'll tell you back to school, they'll pay you a training, once you're done, you come back, and once again, do you have the Quebec experience? But, I got a training so, training is not an experience isn't it? And you turn around. Then, welcome social assistance and social welfare. At some point, you are pushed without realizing working under-table [black market], and there are many who accept that. But there are also those who refuse this type of work because it depends on the personality of each and it is a matter of principle. [We] were highly qualified in our country, here [we] are just nothing. Zero. [We] have to restart from scratch, but [we] are no longer young to do so. [We] would be discouraged to study back, what is the solution? But it's OK, I'm here I wait, to fill, my pocket and get my citizenship, and then I fold my luggage back home... I was better there" " Noureddine 51-years-old.

- "My closest friend had worked under the table [in the black market] for five years. Once he has gotten his citizenship and launched his project in the homeland he left Canada. For him, everything was planned, money and citizenship. Surprisingly, his wife and two sons refused to back with him and remain [in Canada]." Wahrani 38-year-old.

- "To be migrant is just a new way of slavery [...]. They inject [us] a dose, [we] have our social welfare, [we] work illegally and they know about it, but nobody will disturb us. The system here knows well what it does [...]. The migration, for me, is just passage to gather some knowledge and money to invest them there, to exercise what I want. I was living [better there] " Rafik 55-years-old.

It is in every situation that the migrant encounters with the new society, each time, he needs to align his stream of consciousness' to that he can coordinate his behavior in the situation (Schüz 1972). This, in turn, contributes to interaction order (Goffman 1982), by allowing the social situation to flow smoothly, in an orderly and predictable reaction (Scott 2015: 7). That while individuals inhabit their own subjective reality, this is an imported microcosm of the wider social world (cf. Schüz 1972). The migrant encounters the social situation with a different stock of knowledge. Therefore, he starts a new construction of his new reality, as external, throughout objective and subjective negotiating. However, the ancient stock of knowledge does not linger without any influence. The process of negotiating is affected by both stocks of knowledge, ancient and new. The migrant still sustains at different degrees the relation with his homeland. This link takes a form of control to satisfy his status as 'emigrant'. And generally, a strong link can be manifested as disengagement toward the situation. Because the migrant looks to every situation as opportunities in purpose to satisfy his/her status as an emigrant in his homeland. The social negotiating is instrumentalised in this accumulative way of objects. Hence the situation relays on the countrepart as a symbolic achievement from the homeland. Every situation is assessed its profit side, even if the situation unfits the process of integration but complies the goals belonging the home-society. In the opposite, the complying situation with host-society is negotiated negatively: it is discarded. The situational identity is considered as 'exclusive identity'. As instance, in the situation, where the opportunistic can find his purpose, he may even conceal or ignore his skills and qualifications and incline to the social decommissioning and will be focused on the advantages of every situation and what he will get from it. The acquisition of objects and material is the most valuable to prove his achievement in migration. It's also important to emphasize that the idea of the returning project is to sustain in his process. By the same token, the migrant maintains his relation, more or less, complicated with every negotiating. Of course, the latter disclosed the mental distance with the three dimensions.

3.2. The engaged negotiating :

The migrant needs more time to understand the new society, and every situation or new encounter will be an occasion to fortify his relation with one's host society. He believed that every social involvement is considered as another step to close and integrate the society:

"I was very prepared when I come here, after three years as a migrant in France. I read a lot about Canada, its culture, I took my time I looked seriously for a job, which fit my qualification. I was concerned about my future. Thus I opted for an intensive training, six months. I chose a fitting umbrella, as we said, I got my first job, a contract for fourteen months, just after my training, It was a very nice experiment, I learnt a lot there and, I improved my skills. But once the contract closed to the end, I preferred to look for another job. I didn't wait. I just prefer to look into another direction. Thus I worked for different companies. The second contract for twenty-four months. I also take a chance to work as a freelancer I had my own company, it is very easy to do it here. At the end, my resume is very full. After eight years working as a freelancer, I got a very interesting proposal as a permanent job. I was recruited. I work four days per week with many times off. So I have more time for my family." Dadi 47-years-old.

"I know it from the beginning, if I wanted to succeed, I have to create my own net. And I never ashamed to ask for advice from the ancient immigrant. The first year was a failure for me; I failed in my study in university. So I looked for short training, after that, I got my first real job. Two years later, I met a friend who informed me about a job, which joined my first qualification with my new one. And now I work there, for almost seven years, I even helped some migrants from Algerian to be recruited [...]. My wife is also working. Although everything is good here, you feel that something is missing, that why I hesitate to decide I stay definitively." Mustafa 45-years-old.

"I did my choice, I quiet from Algeria it doesn't mean that in Canada is easier then Algeria, it is rather different, we face different problems, at first to get a decent job, education for our children and prepare them to deal objectively with the [host] society guide them for better future... you see here is much better than there."

"To be volunteer is very important here [in Canada] to construct your own network. And my first job, I got it there. They were in need a translator from French to Arabic to work with Irakian refugees. At the same time, I was preparing my Master in communication. I was tired. Of course, I got nice money from this occupation. " Fardia 39-years-old.

"The beginning was very hard. My wife was pregnant with her first baby, so I needed a job. That true, we were fortunate, my brother and his wife received us supported us and led us in our first days. We were here on a 4th marsh and I started my work 10th the same month. Of course, I regularize my situation towards migration administrative and I started working. After three years I earned this company. Although I have had a job in my early days, I looked for a good training, as warranty for future. Nothing here is forever. So I did four training, in a different field. Sometimes I worked two or three jobs at the same time. Here every day is an experience, and we have to work hard. I live here with my family. My kids born in Canada, they are Canadian; Algeria, for me, now is history." Kamel, 35-year-old.

"The first year was difficult for us as parents, we have to choose who will take the training to sustain the family. I was a police inspector [in Algeria] I have a law degree. My wife is an engineer, potentially speaking and with a good training, she will get a nice job. So we discussed the question, I kept my children and she did her training. She has a very nice job as an engineer, she even buys a house, no more rent." Noury 55-years-old.

The engagement in social negotiating is regarded as an aspiration to be accepted and integrated the host-society. The migrant translates his stock knowledge in a manner to fit the situation. Every new situation is considered as an opportunity to move closer and closer to the host society. He projects himself in the integration of the host-society; accordingly, he links his future in his real engagement and continuous negotiating his social and economic integration. Hence, the situations are regarded as the opportunities to reinforce his engagement. Of course, some situations can be negative as an opportunity, but even though he can maintain, in his compliance, his thought to integrate the economic and social systems. And discarding the negative thoughts with fake opportunities is regarded as real engagement in his social negotiating to the situation. The situational identity is considered as 'inclusive identity'.

3.3. The none-engaged negotiating :

It is obvious for certain migrants that is impossible to be accepted by the host society; at the same time, for whatever reason, they refuse to assume themselves from their home-society, which deceive them. Hence, they consider themselves out of the game both sides, integration the host society or returning to the homeland, they satisfy themselves in reinforcing and encouraging their members family (children) to succeed their integration.

"If I remain here it doesn't mean I will become like them, a Canadian. No! We are 'WE' and they are 'THEY'. I'm here because I invest my money and time. Failure or success are relatives. The return will make us suffer. Working with my qualification as a migrant is almost impossible, and I am a lazy person but the social welfare is legitimate. And yes for me, because I have my children, and it is tolerable. My main concern is my children. We must have a good strategy to keep them with us. So I prefer to remain with my wife and protect my family because the threat is here. I'm in alert stance, to guide them in their education project and their success."

"I was undervalued in my country, with no work no future it was very hard. I was lucky to get out from there. In the nineties, during the civil war, we were surviving there [in Algeria]. It was a loosing of time, our time and our lives. It was just as hell. Here also is not a paradise. Canada, to my surprise, is a big lie. They want our children. I know I will be considered a stranger, or migrant as others. I will not find a job which fit me and fit my qualifications, for that I decided we my wife to focus on our children to succeed their education and get a good job. This is what integration means for me. The success of my children, of to remain Muslim. Keep teaching our children our values and tradition." Mouloud 37-years-old.

"My life is behind me. Here I'll be considered an immigrant, just another stranger, but my kids grow up here, studied here. I see my future through them. That why I emigrate for them: to provide them a better future. Over there, [in Algeria] they had nothing. My first son is now an engineer in the aeronautic field, the second may be he will choose to be a doctor I hope. He is in high-school has everything. I'm very satisfied, for them"

"I'm not a Canadian. The firsts months were very difficult for my family. I did work some small jobs, you know [in the black market], and I style touch my welfare. I considered my self-old to back to school. Spending my time with my children. We emigrate for them. They are the future, not me."

The non-engagement reveals a neutral stance. On one hand, the migrant anticipates his rejection from the host-society, because he will be always perceived or considered as a migrant (stranger), and, on the other hand, the inconceivability to return in his homeland. He actually rejects himself from both societies. In this case, he prefers to maintain a strong relation with the community of the same origin. This latter is considered as to stay in-between. The non-engagement here is regarded as betweenness. Then, the migrant provides no endeavor in his social negotiating. This type relays his/her hopes on his/her own children or even his/her partner as intermediate existence in his social negotiating. But generally, it is the children whom they bear the migration project of their parents. S/he exists through others. S/he imposes for his children its educational project and then consequently, his future, its professional project. The situational identity is considered as 'laminar identity'. The nature of social negotiating is defined by, on one hand, the situation, as a social environment to interact, and, on the other hand, by the psycho-sociological side of every participant in the situation (cf. supra). Of course, We noted above the importance of the mental distance between migrant and the three dimensions. We can also add the socio-psychological side, which We propose to explore within Meadian insight. Furthermore, every situation impels a variety of components, including the references of every participant, who construct in their interaction the nature of the social negotiating of everyone. Therefore, the meaning of the situation is a result of these negotiating which of course affect the identity process.

The nature of the social negotiating.	The type of the situational identity
Disengaged	The migrant lives in the social invisibility, he maintains a returning project, in standby way, the migrant lives in alienate life he identity can be defined as willingly alienated: "exclusive negotiating identity"
Non-engaged	The migrant live a social absence, he exists intermediately through the partner or children. Throughout this intermediate existence, the migrant sustains a "laminar (passive) negotiating identity".
Engaged	The migrant is socially involved in his social negotiating. s/he is in constant looking for reconnaissance and consideration as a way to integrate the host-society. The migrant is socially involved. The identity here can be defined as an "inclusive negotiating identity".

Source : The findings presented here are drawn from present research

4. The negotiation within interaction order :

It seems that each migrant is affected by three dimensions, rather differently, which formed their benchmarks, and underpin their strategies and orient their negotiation as 'adaptative action', which we underlined it above, and on the other hand, the identity remains continuously shaped framed by the situations. Thus, this situational identity means the negotiating ways the migrant as individual interacts with other dependently with the contingency of the situations. As we typified it, in my early work, the acceptance of the social decommissioning relies on the goals of every migrant at the beginning of the migration project. These goals can be adjusted to comply with the reality of host-society. But the rationality of their action can not be understood without considering the conserved relation with the homeland. On the other side, it seems that the relation with the community of the same origin can affect the process of adaptation. As a result, we identified four types of conversion as justifications of their social decommissioning. However, it is important to notice that the typologies are not stern, contrary, they are very flexible and fluctuant, which makes detecting their strategies of social negotiating in every situation very complicated because the migrants respond to actively constructed meaning (cf. Charon 2007). Indeed the meaning of the situation depends on the interaction order among the participants of the situation. Because interaction means actors taking each other into account, communicating to and interpreting each other as they go along (Ibid.: 140), each migrant has his/her particular meaning of the success interacts with others participants and give us the situational meaning of the negotiation. And according to the situation's format and distribution roles (cf. Goffman 1972) the interaction order (Goffman 1982; 1983) suggests that actors interpret, construct and perform social roles according to situational motives and concerns. The interaction order is depicted differently among the participants. Thus the interaction order has to be understood through the meaning (as a perception), which every migrant (an actor) can give to a situation: the migrant decides of his/her negotiating with the situation.
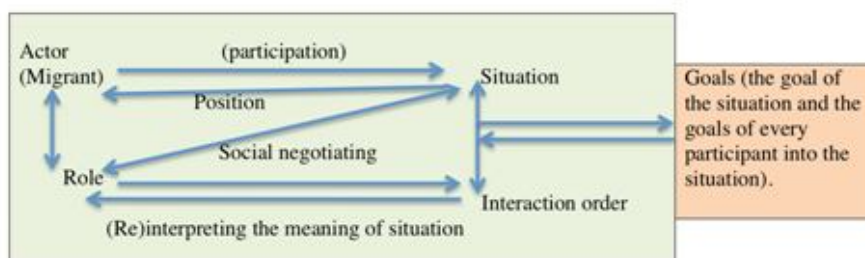

Figure 2. The scheme of interaction in the situation

Figure 2 : cheme of interation within the situation

Now to understand the negotiating as it figures in the image above, it appears that the negotiating, in one hand is deeply influence by the setting of the situation, and on the other hand by the time, and the repetitiveness of the situational (similar situation) allow the actor (migrant) to fit with the situation dependently with his/her goals and shift from elastic (zone) negotiating to plastic (zone) negotiation. Hence, the break-up threshold depicts the necessary accumulative of the setting in the similar situation throughout the time (staying in the host society). Of course, the mental distances will be affected by the changing of the proximities with his/her benchmarks, which appear through the time. The actor can narrow his/her relation with the host society s/he becomes more related with it and relation with homeland become more distant. The homeland can be utterly replaced by the community of the same origin. In short, the more the mental distance closes to host society the more the migrant can reach a plastic zone negotiating, the less he refers to the homeland. The more the migrant maintain the distance with homeland narrowly the more he stays inelastic zone negotiating.

V- The mental distance in the social negotiating :

In every interaction, the actors hold a mutual knowledge about each other's role identities and likely course of action (Schütz 1964); actors show their 'accessibility' to be drawn into interaction, in various ways (Scott 2015: 33). They demonstrate their engagement differently and show their involvement. Even more in their social negotiating, the actors have different levels of insight into the tacit knowledge embedded in a scene and the respective role-identities within it. This distribution is unequal, as one party knows more about the other and/or the situation than that other knows about them. "The combination of what each interactant in a situation knows about the identity of the other and his own identity in the eyes of the other" (Schütz 1964: 670). Thus, the negotiating is the definition of intersubjective reality. Yet, the discrepancy between manifest and latent definitions of reality can be used to create analytical taxonomies of the situation according to the orientation actors have towards them (Scott 2015:43).

In the migration context, at the beginning of the process, the migrant misperceives the frame of situations, or interprets it differently from other participants; he lacks access to their shared stocks background knowledge (cf. Simmel 1908). Consequently, the migrant tailors his performance to suit the exigencies of the situation, and selectively present or conceal information about himself (Scott 2015:91-2). Moreover, the migrant learns to interpret their stocks background knowledge through their sights. An important component of this capacity is the stock of generalized schemas or representations about what might be meant in familiar kinds of situations: these include typifications about the type of roles that we expect to find in certain contexts, and recipe knowledge about the chain of interaction is likely to unfold (Schütz 1972).

For migrant appealing the homeland seems necessary to unveil and explain some behaviors of the migrant, which can appear weird from the host-society but has a deep explanation there in homeland, in Algerian society, the relation in public space can seem incoherent, and it is important to dig deeply to unfold this incoherency and the complexity of the interaction. Such incoherency is deeply embedded in social imaginary, which give us the explanations. Hence, the idealization involves maximizing the satisfaction not only of the participants, as an audience, but also by the way the members of the society of origin evaluate his/her own acquisition. The latter is measured and judged from the home context, which becomes the backstage of the negotiating. The migrant intends to combine between double contexts (host and home) and solicits conventional context: the community of the same origin. This latter is considered as the third stage or as combining-stage (front and back) –in between stage. As result, the migrant maintains three different distances between him/her and the three stages, or dimensions, which varies in different degrees it depends on the goals and the strategies to intend these goals.

Certain mystification is the strategy of limiting contact between the performance and the audience so that the latter cannot find out too much about how the situation is being staged. The migrant maintains mentally this three distances and tries to encounter in the community of the same origin dependently of his negotiating which value can fit his/her strategies and goals. Hence s/he maintains a barrier between the front- and backstage regions so that the others never get a chance to see into his/her strategies, and mystification, therefore, helps to hide the real goals lies behind the composition of a role performance.
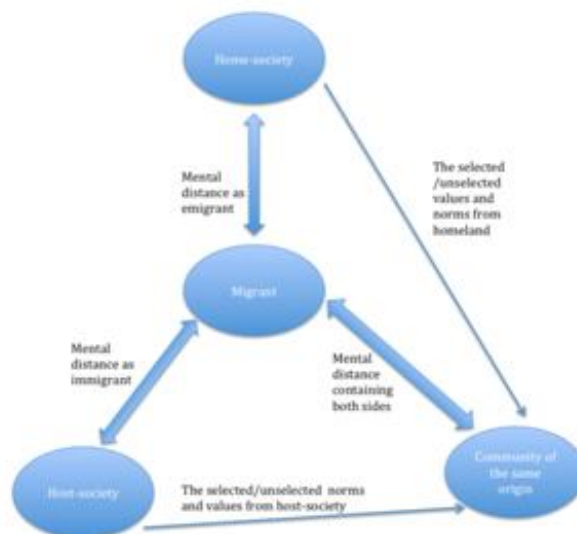
Figure 3 : The frame of the mental disnces of migrants' negotiation

5. How to understand the frame :

The first issue is not interaction but frame (Goffman 1975: 127). Indeed the frame shapes the negotiating, that encompass the interaction and has to be apprehended as, on one hand, a situational context, and one the other hand, in three references as we explain it below. The migrant basically has two statuses: the first is considered from his/her home society as an "emigrant" and the second from the host society as "immigrant" both sides of the migrant lead to transposed statuses. Besides, a third reference emerges: the community of the same origin will form a combination of both sides to appease the discarding and spare one's contradictions. Hence, the social negotiating contained within three transposition frames: homeland host society and community of the same origin.

In every negotiating the migrant has to negotiate his status as an emigrant and as an immigrant and as none of them. This continuous psycho-sociological negotiating takes place through the mental distance with every status and its references, as it appears in the following figure. The mental distance shapes the role of distance, where the actors have the orientation toward his/her roles in terms of not only belief but also feeling (Goffman 1961: 73-134). Role distance involves the performance of disengagement or engagement or non-engagement from a role as performance. The migrant is actually denying not the role but the negotiating doesn't fit his purpose (Goffman 1961b: 95).

The behaviors are changeable as result of continuous renegotiation with himself, defined by the exigencies of the situation if they fitted and worked their purposes or not. The encounter with the host society, the migrant strives to achieve a working consensus with different frames guiding by his purposes in migration context. The migrant defines the situations as passages through a process of the social negotiating. The redundancy of the same situation (with the same conditions and same opportunities) justifies the passage from the elastic negotiating to plastic negotiating in their accumulation. A role is assumed differently among migrants. In short, the negotiating obeys to interdependency.

Consequently, social situation and social identities, the real concern for the migrant is not to satisfy the objectivist claim of the participants' but rather with grasping the opportunities fitting its own social negotiating. Because identities are the process of becoming, rather than simply being (Becker 1963), the migrant is, generally, interactionally contingent, open-ended and perpetually unfinished (cf. Scott 2015:139). Most important the negotiating shapes the situation through mental distances and gave to every participant in the situation the type of his situational identity. The negotiating is affected by, on one hand, the context of the situation, and, on the other hand, by the benchmark of the migrant of his migration project (the three mental distance). As we see, the social negotiating reveals the orientation

taken by the migrant in his 'adaptative action', and the interaction order is apprehended throughout the three mental distances, as it describes above.

VII- The social negotiation and the dimension of times :

The social decommissioning is the result of accepting disqualification in his/her social negotiating. In term of times, the acceptance has different extension in time, but generally, the acceptance starts as a provisory situation without a fixed deadline. It depends on the first goals and the component of the social negotiating and the strategies built with purposes. For instance, the disengaged identity instrumentalized every situation and oriented to the acquisition and accumulation of objects and materials. The insistence of returning project, s/he is guided by the origin benchmark. He is constantly judging him/herself through it as a social-court dictating the achievement from the homeland.

The situation can be defined in terms of the role. Every role has a specific position in the situation, which implies a specific social negotiating and responses in an adaptative action. The meaning of the situation then is constructed and reconstructed by actors accordingly to their roles within the situation. The nature of negotiating (disengaged, none-engaged and engaged) manifested by each actor in his involvement reveals the type of the situational identity (exclusive, inclusive and laminar) implies the relation with the time dimension. Of course, social negotiating means to deal with the present time, but the relation with present seems to have different meaning dependently to the nature of negotiating as it explains below:

- The present of disengaged negotiating is dominated by the past and the home-society, and even the future is seen through this past and is oriented toward the past. Thus this type of situational identity (exclusive) is defined in the past, his future is constructed in his returning project to the homeland; s/he exists in the past. The relation present situation can't be defined only in the past. The future doesn't exist in the host society. He is detached from the present and his future. He lives in the social invisibility.
- The present of none-engaged negotiating is dominated by the future of his intermediate, whether his/her children or his/her partner. His present is in a state of waiting. This type of situational identity (laminar) is defined in the future of others. He is disinterested by his present and focuses much more on the future of her/his children as intermediate existence. He exists through others. More important in this kind of situational identity has been understood, on one hand, as detached from the homeland (for instance: political refugees), and on the other hand as immigrant which never be accepted in the host society.
- for the engaged negotiating, its present is dominated by his/her own immediacy present. Each situation is seen as an approximate opportunity to integrate the new society. His future is oriented to present because it depends on it, and his/her past isn't helpful anymore in his integration process. Hence this situational identity (inclusive) is defined in the close present. The present moment for him is very important to maximize his/her chance to be accepted by the host-society, and every trying is to integrate it. His/her concern is in the present moment, and every situation is important and valuable to get his success. S/he is stuck in the present as immediate.

In short, we can say that the temporality of situational identity follows the nature of negotiating. Hence in the disengaged situational identity the provisory is imposable by the way how the migrant sees his future back to the past, s/he ignores her/his present by living in the provisory. Her/his time is unachieved. Secondly, the none-engaged situational identity defines differently his time although her/his present becomes a waiting moment. This waiting has the same character than the disengaged s/he stuck in his/her unachieved situation and his times is the provisory continuous to the future of others. Thirdly, the engaged situation identity is more define with his time. Even his present can be provisory, but one's provisory is not continuous discontinue. S/he strives to rid her/himself of the provisory and unachieved moment for a better situation. He tries to achieve a success by mastering his present independently of his past for future built on the new present.

In every type of negotiation, whether the negotiation is disengaged or non-engaged or even engaged, the time of waiting is present. Of course, I can say that the temporality of situational identity follows the nature of negotiating, and the provisory is imposable by the way how the migrant sees one's future and past. The present is considered as a transient passage. This latter is defined in unachieved time and transformed it to the waiting moment. Although the situational identity determined its time differently, the present for differents negotiations remains as a waiting moment (see supra).

VIII- Duality absence/presence :

No doubt, to question migration implies questioning, in advance, the conditions of production and reproduction of emigrants and as a result the social mechanism of the identity (Sayad 1991: 173). A contrast of times, non-stop provisory life as a waiting moment, which accompanied the nature of emigration, implies a kind of duality between absence and presence. A contradiction of time and space facing every situation is due to the intrication of these three references (homeland, host-society, and community of the same origin). The double status of migrant: emigrant-immigrant implies this duality of absence and presence to justify the waiting. The relation with the time explains by this two notions. As it appears above the waiting emerges as a relation of time in migration context, but this waiting is a result of the absence as a notion, which is embedded deeply in every migrant and affects, of course, the negotiation as it is explained below :

The nature of negotiation	The nature of dually
• The disengaged negotiating	• present/absent : the social invisibility.
• The non-engaged negotition	• the absent/present : the social passivity
• The engaged negotiation	• present/present : the social inclusiveness

Source : the finding of the present study

Firstly, the disengaged negotiator, which is dominated by his/her past, lives the situation as the absent present. Consequently, he lives in social invisibility. Secondly, the non-engaged negotiator, which is dominated by his neutral stance toward the present, lives his situation like the present absent. Thirdly, the engaged negotiator, which is concerned deeply by his successful inclusiveness, live as the present - present. To summarise, the migration gives us different ways to experiment with the absence and explains the waiting. However, the migrant is not totally present or entirely absent. The uncompleted forms of the absence and the presence explain the waiting moment until he reaches the threshold breakdown where s/he completes the non-return point of the present- present.
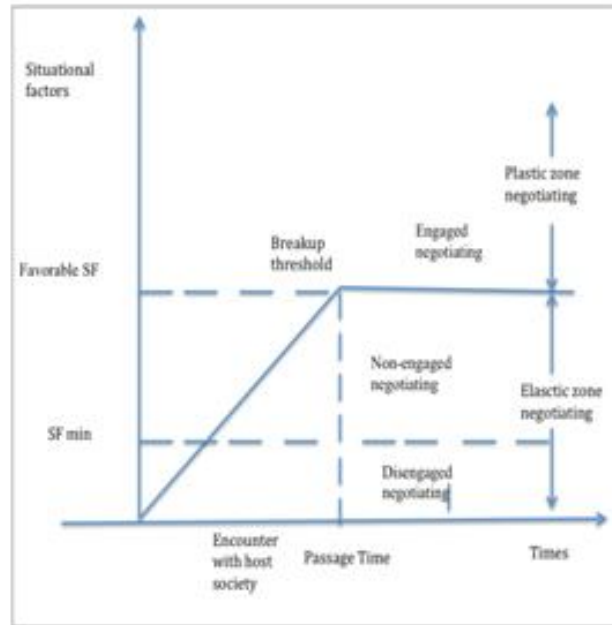
Figure 4. The social negotiating process in the adaptive action facing the situational settings within similar situations

Figure 4. The social negotiating process in the adaptive action facing the situational settings within similar situations.

IX- Conclusion :

This paper has examined the processes of situational identity changes that take place within migration context. In each situation the migrant are encountering the host society differently. The influence of both home society and the community of the same origin are not without consequences in their strategies of negotiation in everyday life. Hence, symbolically speaking, the situational identity is permently and and routinely recreated by micro-level of negotiations. Focusing on adaptation process, we detect that adaptation run as 'adaptative-action' in every new situation. Hence, repetitive situation acts in an accumulative way is fixing a selective fitting behavior in its social negotiating. This fixing is understood as a passage from elastic to plastic negotiating. This passage means that the repetitive situation reaches the limit, which we define as breakup threshold negotiating to pass from elastic to plastic negotiating. The commitment with the references is important to understand the orientation of this different ways. At the end, we can say that the situation identity is contextualized and re-contextualized within situations. And the adaptive action is characterized by the passage through different situations (these situations work in an accumulative way), from elastic to plastic social negotiating. In the end, the explanatory scheme, which we depicted in this paper, can not be taken in a stern manner and in linear understanding, it has to be very flexible as possible especially with the passages; of course, this model needs more testing with other ethnicities and to refine it for better understanding.

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