INTERACT – Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration

Co-financed by the European Union

Social Interactions between Immigrants and Host Country Populations: A Country-of-Origin Perspective

Sonia Gsir

INTERACT Research Report 2014/02

INTERACT
Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process -
Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of
Integration

Research Report
Position Paper

INTERACT RR 2014/02

Social Interactions between Immigrants and Host Country Populations:
A Country-of-Origin Perspective

Sonia Gsir
Centre d'études de l'ethnicité et des migrations (CEDEM), Université de Liège

European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/
http://interact-project.eu/publications/
http://cadmus.eui.eu

INTERACT - Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration

Around 25 million persons born in a third country (TCNs) are currently living in the European Union (EU), representing 5% of its total population. Integrating immigrants, i.e. allowing them to participate in the host society at the same level as natives, is an active, not a passive, process that involves two parties, the host society and the immigrants, working together to build a cohesive society.

Policy-making on integration is commonly regarded as primarily a matter of concern for the receiving state, with general disregard for the role of the sending state. However, migrants belong to two places: first, where they come and second, where they now live. While integration takes place in the latter, migrants maintain a variety of links with the former. New means of communication facilitating contact between migrants and their homes, globalisation bringing greater cultural diversity to host countries, and nation-building in source countries seeing expatriate nationals as a strategic resource have all transformed the way migrants interact with their home country.

INTERACT project looks at the ways governments and non-governmental institutions in origin countries, including the media, make transnational bonds a reality, and have developed tools that operate economically (to boost financial transfers and investments); culturally (to maintain or revive cultural heritage); politically (to expand the constituency); legally (to support their rights).

INTERACT project explores several important questions: To what extent do policies pursued by EU member states to integrate immigrants, and policies pursued by governments and non-state actors in origin countries regarding expatriates, complement or contradict each other? What effective contribution do they make to the successful integration of migrants and what obstacles do they put in their way?

A considerable amount of high-quality research on the integration of migrants has been produced in the EU. Building on existing research to investigate the impact of origin countries on the integration of migrants in the host country remains to be done.

INTERACT is co-financed by the European Union and is implemented by a consortium built by CEDEM, UPF and MPI Europe.

Abstract

This paper aims at exploring how countries of origin can affect migrants' socio-cultural integration in multicultural European societies. Socio-cultural integration is considered through the lenses of different kinds of social interactions between migrants and host society namely: intermarriages, interethnic friendship, interethnic relations in workplaces, and encounters in the neighbourhood. The literature review highlighted that these social interactions prove to depend on a multiplicity of factors related mainly to the destination country (such as residential segregation, degree of racism and acceptance, opportunities for encounters and neighbourhood effects) and of individual factors related to the migrant (such as demographic characteristics, migration trajectory and length of residence and work position). The impact of countries of origin and transnational links is more difficult to assess considering that little research has directly dealt with the issue. However, the paper shows that some non-state actors such as family members and some state-actors such as Ministries or consulates, may have an influence on the social interactions of emigrants abroad even though this influence can be indirect. The paper tries to map actors and related actions including very specific cases like family pressure to discourage intermarriage or broader ones through programmes targeting diaspora which may have an empowerment effect on emigrants and thus foster their socio-cultural integration. Finally, through the paper, some specific case studies on transnational ties and integration are presented and several hypotheses and questions for further research are highlighted.

Keywords: social interactions, country of origin, transnational activities, diaspora policies, intermarriage, interethnic friendship, neighbourhood, interethnic relations, socio-cultural integration

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

- **Objectives**

This paper aims at setting out a theoretical framework on the links that countries of origin maintain with emigrants abroad. It also concerns itself with the socio-cultural dimension of integration when migrants settle in the new country of residence, not to mention socio-cultural integration. "Socio-cultural integration is concerned with the question of whether ethnic minority groups become part of the receiving society or whether these groups remain distinct from the host country" (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007). The contacts migrants can develop with the host society, their knowledge of host society language, the attitudes of the host society, and the sense of belonging to the host society are some aspects of socio-cultural integration and have been studied in great detail (Ehrkamp, 2005; Snel*et al.*, 2006; Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007; Vancluysen*et al.*, 2009; etc.). In this paper, socio-cultural integration is examined particularly through the lenses of social interactions between migrants and host society. Different kinds of social interactions are considered: intermarriages, interethnic friendship, interethnic relations at workplace, and finally meetings in the neighbourhood.

The specific objective is to explore the following questions:

First, how state and non-state actors in the country of origin can try to affect :

- social interactions of their emigrants abroad? In particular, how do diaspora policies affect social interactions in the host country?

- Second, how can social interactions in the country of immigration be shaped by immigrants' transnational activities? And what kind of transnational links have an effect on social interaction in the host society and, why?

In other words, the purpose is to explore how links with the country of origin can have an impact on social interactions in multicultural European societies. The paper aims at identifying these ties and at trying to assess their impact on socio-cultural integration in the host society. The goal is, therefore, not so much to describe transnational social interactions, unless non-migrant people in the host countries are involved. Rather, the goal is to examine the links with the country of origin, which may have an impact on social interactions occurring in the host country.

In order to answer these questions or at least to draw some hypotheses, the paper relies principally on different bodies of existing literature on immigrant integration, on transnationalism and on emigration and diaspora policies. However, it is important to note that the INTERACT questions are not necessarily tackled directly by these bodies of literature. Literature on immigrant integration aims first of all at understanding the conditions of integration from the perspective of the receiving country. And, in studies on immigrant transnationalism the dependent variables are transnational practices and the conditions of the emergence of these practices. Their consequences for integration are of lesser importance – even though this issue is not completely absent (Snel*et al.,* 2006; Vertovec, 2007a; Délano, 2010). Finally, the literature on emigration and diaspora policies is still limited. Therefore, information about the object, as it is constructed in the INTERACT project, is relatively new. Certainly, data about the impact of emigration countries on integration and specifically social interactions in immigration countries are scattered through the literature.

Finally, as the INTERACT project focuses mainly on first generation migrants in legal situations in Europe, the paper mainly takes into account social interactions between this category and host society: though note that a literature has developed regarding second generation integration (for example, Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes*et al.*, 2009; Ellis and Almgren, 2009). Moreover, diaspora policies can obviously target second and third generation migrants (De Haas, 2007).

- **Structure of the paper**

This paper deals with the issue of the role of the origin country on migrants' integration abroad, in particular in the socio-cultural dimension. Whereas the literature has generally focused on the role that transnational bonds play in the society of origin, here it is rather their role on the receiving society which is explored.

The first part briefly introduces the concept of social interactions and defines spaces where social interactions occur and isolates four kinds of interactions: intermarriages, interethnic friendship, then interactions at work and in the neighbourhood. This part also draws on, broadly speaking, social interaction in Europe: the diversification of European diversity, the integration programmes and the Europeanization of integration practices. We argue here for the use of the term "co-integration" (Martiniello, 2012; Faist*et al.,* 2013). The second part of the paper addresses the impact of transnational activities on social integration in the Netherlands. It also considers how migrants maintain links with the country of origin. In the third and main part, we look at social interactions and their role in socio-cultural integration is highlighted. For each one, a non-exhaustive review of the specific literature helps highlight the main factors which explain these social interactions. The role of the links with the country is also explored and finally some questions and hypothesis are put forward in the framework of INTERACT project. The fourth part presents a mapping of actors in the country of origin and their actions in the destination country. It also gives concrete examples of actors and actions. Finally, concluding remarks relate to the mechanisms of diaspora policies and sum up significant elements.

Throughout the paper and in particular the third part, case studies are highlighted in boxes; even though there is little research on the specific question covered here.

2. Social Interactions

- **Social interactions (definition)**

In order to understand social integration between immigrants and natives, one can focus on social interactions that occur in immigrants' everyday life in the host country. Accordingly, I favour an interactionist approach, inspired by the sociologist Erving Goffman. When using the concept of social interactions, Goffman (1967) refers to "[…] the class of events which occurs during co-presence and by virtue of co-presence. The ultimate behavioural material are the glances, gestures, positioning, and verbal statements that people continuously feed into the situation, whether intended or not." Social interactions can be very diverse. They can be ephemeral or long-lasting, positive or negative, private or public, ethnic or non-ethnic, etc.

Social interactions can emerge in the frameworks of more or less strong social ties. As Alioua (2008) noted, strong ties imply a high level of reciprocity and long-term relations, and they concern relations with relatives, friends or even regular associates. Whereas weak ties are more occasional, and they do not imply reciprocity and regular contacts (ibid.). The nature of social interactions reveals the array of relations that can emerge between individuals or groups: distance, separation, segregation, cooperation, coalition, patterns of friendship, conflicts, tensions, accommodation, etc. (Vertovec, 2007a). Observing and analysing social interactions can highlight the social structures framing individuals when they enter into relations (Goffman, 1967). In this paper, the relevant co-presence is migrants and people from the receiving society. Social interactions occurring between migrants and natives are thus the dependent variable and refer to socio-cultural integration. Thus the question is how countries of origin have an impact on social interactions in the countries of destination.

In the present paper, one of the prominent characteristic of these social interactions is that they occur between members of different ethnic groups: immigrant minorities and the majority group or natives. Therefore, here social interactions can also refer to interethnic relations and can be considered as such and, in particular, as part of the questioning of integration and integration conditions in the new society. De Rudder, Poiret and Vourc'h (2000) defined interethnic relations as "relations that build and unite social groups defined by their origin, real or perceived, and their culture, claimed or alleged. Interethnic relations are not reducible to what is sometimes called 'intercultural relations'. In interethnic relations, cultural facts are actually 'captured' by a description and categorization system. This system selects, falsifies or invents cultural traits including them in a more or less unequal and hierarchical social organization." In multicultural societies shaped by immigration history, the population is diverse with different groups: immigrants (new immigrants, naturalized), natives with more or less recent immigration backgrounds and native with no immigrant background. These groups are also labelled ethnic minorities and the majority are referred to as the natives. Nevertheless, when observing socio-cultural interactions, one person who can objectively and sociologically be considered to be a native can nevertheless be perceived and considered as a member of the ethnic minority: for example, the child of Tunisian parents who was though born in France. Interethnic relations occur between immigrants and natives, for example, in Spain, between Moroccans and Spaniards but also between immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds, for example, Moroccans and Senegalese. In some neighbourhoods with a high percentage of immigrants or with many residents from an immigrant background, the balance between ethnic minorities and the majority group can be inverted leading to another kind of social interactions where natives feel themselves to be a minority . Finally, there is a wide array of social interactions among all these groups. The INTERACT project focus mostly on social interactions between first-generation immigrants and natives without a recent immigration background.

The local contexts where emerge social interactions between immigrants and the receiving society are many and varied. They range from multiple institutions of the host society (local governments administrations and other public services, schools, companies, hospitals, associations, ... (Vertovec, 2007a)) to public spaces with squares, public transportation, shops, housing complexes. However, they also include the private sphere (family relations, marriage, friendships). Social interactions that occur between immigrants and the host society can take place in a private setting or in a public context and contribute to the migrant social network. In this paper, for the purposes of clarity, I will distinguish interactions in private context from those in public context even though it is obvious that both contexts are not impervious. The private context is the place for strong bonds of a family type, for friendship or even professional relations. I will, though, focus particularly on marriages and friendship between immigrants and native population. It is in the public context that the weakest links between immigrants and host society can emerge. This might be the case in formal and institutional public frameworks such as the workplace, churches or other religious organizations, recreational groups or volunteering associations. These weak links arise in a more informal way in the public space such as the neighbourhood understood as an open public space, but also within reduced public spaces such as specific squares, parking areas, etc.

To sum up, in order to give a perspective including different types of contexts of social interactions between immigrants and host country population, this paper will focus on social interactions taking place in: the private space such as **marriage** and **friendship**; and on those occurring in the public space such as **workplaces** and the **neighbourhood**. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the literature to understand whether the links that migrants keep or weave with their country of origin can influence their social interactions in the new country of residence. According to the types of contexts, this question can be split into the following ones:

- How countries of origin or links with these countries may have an impact on bi-national marriages?
- How countries of origin or links with these countries may influence friendships between migrants and natives in the host countries?

- How countries of origin or links with these countries might impact social interactions between migrant workers or entrepreneurs and the host society at workplace in the destination countries?

- How countries of origin or links with these countries might impact social interactions between migrants and host society which take place in the neighbourhood in the destination countries?

- **Diversification and co-integration in Europe**

Before turning to the issue of the influence of the country of origin on social interactions in the host country, it is essential to be more exact about elements that characterize integration, in the new country of residence. These elements help to give more depth to the analysis and recall the important role played by the receiving country and by the host society in the process of co-integration.

The European Union has created a continent of immigration with *de facto* multicultural societies with diverse ethnic and religious populations. Migration contributed to the diversification of Europe and continues to do so with the arrival and settlement of new migrants (Fargues, 2011). But the diversification of Europe is not only related to migration; other factors contribute too to diversity. Martiniello (2011) addressed them systematically: 27 Member States (28, with Croatia's membership in 2013); various regions sometimes marked by subnational mobilization, like Catalonia or Scotland; political and socio-economic diversity (the latter is particularly evident with the economic crisis since 2008); the Roma population contributing to population diversity and, finally, different gender and sexual orientations.

In the same vein, Vertovec (2007b) introduced the notion of super-diversity in order to adopt a multifactorial perspective when examining society rather than an exclusive focus on the ethnic factor. Indeed, on the basis of the super-diversification of society, Vertovec proposed to take into account other factors often considered separately such as "differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (Vertovec, 2007b). He meant by super-diversity precisely "the interplay of these factors" (ibid.). This multidimensional diversification must undoubtedly be taken into account in the analysis of social interactions in complex societies. For example, even though, in the following I will talk about social interactions between migrants and natives, the fact is that among the latter some have a migration background which may impact on social interactions. Or as Song (2010) noted in her study about intermarriage and "mixed" children in Britain "[w]hat we mean by integration, and assumptions about the social distance between ethnic and racial groups, will need far more fine tuning, with the growing multiple pathways and outcomes experienced by monoracial and multiracial people within multi-ethnic Western societies." Diversity at different levels is thus a specific structural element of European societies and it has to be taken into account when studying social interactions between different ethnic groups. As Wessendorf (2013) showed so clearly diversity can affect civility and social interactions. "Thus, also in parochial space, people make an effort to be civil towards diversity, expressed by a somewhat limited engagement with difference" (Wessendorf, 2013).

Integration has progressively become synonymous with the efforts undertaken by immigrants to integrate their new residence society and they are indeed viewed in political discourses and public opinion as the main proof of their good integration. My position is that integration, and specifically socio-cultural integration, happens not only through immigrant endeavours but rather in articulation or interaction with the host society. The premise of this statement is to look at identities as multiple and, above all, not fixed but changing throughout life. In other words, identities are not essentialized and reduced to culture or religion. Furthermore, other sources of identity formation have to be taken into account such as "experiences of gender, age, education, class and consumption, which are shared with other groups and cut across ethnic lines" (Amin, 2002). Socio-cultural interactions are a *locus* for

identities formation. Faist and his colleagues argued that "focusing on interaction allow to move from the integration of immigrants to the co-integration of residents" (Faist *et al.*, 2013). In order to better account for this reciprocity between immigrants and the host society members, I advocate the use of co-integration instead of integration. Co-integration, I assume, better reflects integration as a "two-way process" (Joppke, 2007). Co-integration is, thus, a process involving all members of the destination country society, including those who are full members and fully included and including new members even though they do not yet necessarily enjoy full rights linked to citizenship.

Co-integration relies on the place the host society and the receiving country grant or allow to immigrants in "the process of becoming an accepted part of society" (Penninx, 2004). This highlights precisely what is at stake: the place that the society assigns to the migrant and how social interactions can take place. Some even consider that "[t]he most important factor of integration is acceptance and that means maintaining a positive perception and appreciation of diversity" (Süssmuth and Weidenfeld, 2005). The point, in this paper is that through social interactions between established members of the society and newcomers, one can observe and measure steps and degrees of the co-integration process and the dynamics of a changing society. This paper also adheres to the ideas of contact theory that Allport (1954) pioneered stating that prejudice can be reduced by interpersonal contacts between different social groups. Blau and his colleagues have also showed that "[m]ultigroup affiliations further the integration of the diverse segments of complex society in two ways: by fostering crisscrossing conflicts, which mitigate the chances of deep cleavages and sustain democracy, as political sociologists have pointed out (e.g., Lipset), and by promoting marriages as well as friendships between members of different groups […]" (Blau *et al.*, 1984). Language proficiency in the host country language is also an element that is put forward by several authors in terms of the social integration of migrants (Jacobs *et al.* 2004; Chiswick and Miller, 2007; etc.). If some very basic social interactions may happen without sharing a common language, it is obvious that the language proficiency of the receiving country constitutes a powerful tool in order to actively communicate and interact with members of the receiving society. A question that might reasonably be raised is, thus, whether the country of origin undertakes any action that helps emigrants to learn the language of the receiving society and thus to have an impact upstream of social interactions. The specific INTERACT position paper on language offers potential answers.

3. Transnational Links and Social Integration

Transnational activities and social integration

Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes (2006) empirically examined the impact of transnational involvement on social integration in the Netherlands. Their study is based on a survey of 300 respondents from six different immigrants groups respectively originating from Morocco, Dutch Antilles, Iraq, former Yugoslavia, United States and Japan. They purposely chose migrants from different categories and from different migration trajectories (guest workers, refugees, new migrant workers). They investigated migrants' transnational activities but also their transnational identifications defined as "cross-border identifications; that is if migrants living in the Netherlands identify more strongly with people outside the country (either from the country of origin or from another country) than with other Dutch residents (native Dutch people or compatriots living in the Netherlands)" (Snel *et al.*, 2006). Social integration is measured in terms of social position (structural integration) and in terms of contacts and identification with the native population's values and ideas (social and cultural integration).

Snel and his colleagues (2006) distinguished different kinds of transnational activities: "*everyday economic activities* such as sending money or goods to the country of origin, home ownership or donations to charities in the country of origin"; "*professional economic activities* such as investments

in, business dealings with, or business trips to the country of origin"; "*political activities*" (taken in a broad sense, and ranging from showing interests in the politics of the country of origin by reading newspapers to membership in political organization); and, "*socio-cultural activities.*" They make a distinction between transnational socio-cultural activities in the country of origin and those in the receiving country. The first would involve visits and contacts with family and friends in the country of origin or membership of an organization in the country of origin. Those in the receiving country might include "meetings attended mainly by compatriots, supporting cultural activities featuring artists from the country of origin, and joining migrant or other organizations in the Netherlands [host country] with connections to the country of origin" (Snel *et al.*, 2006). These authors found that most migrants, when they are engaged transnationally, develop predominantly socio-cultural transnational activities and then political and everyday economic activities, while professional economic activities were rarer in their case-study.

Furthermore, they found that social interactions in terms of informal contact with native residents are not related to transnational activities or transnational identification. It is, rather, the length of stay in the new residence country that influences the number of native Dutch in their social networks. They also found that migrants involved in transnational economic activities, who identified themselves with the members of their diaspora living in other countries, tend to identify more with the natives. They conclude that "migrants appear to be quite able to live in two different worlds" (Snel *et al.*, 2006). And finally, they acknowledge that their results show that the links migrants keep with the country of origin do not impede social integration in the host country (ibid.).

4. Social Interactions: Towards an Emigration Countries Perspective

In the present section, different kind of social interactions are reviewed from intimate ones such as immigrant-native marriages in a private space to more mundane encounters in the public space like the neighbourhood. Each section will briefly define the social interactions at stake. The literature review will help to identify the factors explaining social interactions and also to assess the links between for example, intermarriage and integration. One crucial question would be to identify in the literature the role that countries of origin or transnational links can play on intermarriages, interethnic friendship, and interethnic relations in the workplace and in the neighbourhood. Finally, in order to try to answer this issue new hypotheses are put forward with a series of questions for further research (survey step).

- **Intermarriages**

"One of the most commonly used indicators of social interaction between immigrant communities and mainstream society is intermarriage" (Muttarak, 2013). Intermarriages take place when two persons of two groups considered as ethnically different marry and the word refers to a form of cultural exogamy (Safi, 2008). Moreover, "[i]nterethnic marriage, defined as a marital union between a foreign-born and a native-born individuals, is considered to have important social implications for both immigrants and their host countries" (Kantarevic, 2004).

A great deal of research in sociology and in demography has been focussed on binational marriages or intermarriages. These works examine the patterns of exogamy, they provide intermarriage statistics, they describe interethnic marriages and focus on their causes, their formation, etc. (Fillhon and Varro, 2005; Collet and Regnard, 2008; Lucassen and Laarman, 2009; Hamel *et al.,* 2010; Le Gall and Meintel, 2011; etc.). Some studies have showed that the number of intermarriages have grown in some European countries (Collet and Regnard, 2008; Lucassen and Laarman, 2009; Muttarak, 2013). Among the factors that influence intermarriages, authors pointed to the age and marital status at migration, the level of education, the generation, the length of residence in the host country (Fillhon and Varro, 2005; Kalmijn, 2010). Another important factor is group norms (Muttarak, 2013). They might discourage intermarriage or acquaintance out of the group for preserving some cultural values or

traditions (ibid.). Muttarak (2013) gave the example of Muslim Pakistanis in Britain who favoured endogamous arranged marriages. The interethnic friendship network increases the probability of marrying interethnic partners (Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn, 2010). Finally, Safi (2008) recalls what others have also highlighted, namely the importance of demographic balance between groups, residential segregation, and the size of the group: when migrants were fewer it was more likely that they would meet natives. There are thus individual and structural factors explaining intermarriages (Safi, 2008).

Other research also tried to understand the impact that intermarriages may have had on integration (Blau *et al.*, 1984; Lucassen and Laarman, 2009; Safi, 2008), on the economic assimilation of immigrants (Kantarevic, 2004), and on the social integration of the children of these interethnic marriages (Kalmijn, 2010; Song, 2010; Fillhon and Varro, 2005; Le Gall and Meintel, 2011). Intermarriages are often viewed as a measure of integration in the receiving society (Safi, 2008). "High rates of intermarriage are considered to be indicative of social integration, because they reveal that intimate and profound relations between members of different groups and strata are-more or less-socially acceptable" (Blau*et al.*, 1984)**.** Safi (2008) reminds us that intermarriage is a principle of assimilation theory on integration. After all, the more that migrants are assimilated, the more they get closer to natives and, thus marry them, have children, blurring boundaries between groups. Consequently intermarriages rate as an indicator of assimilation (ibid.). Even though this theory worked for describing European migrant assimilation in the USA at the beginning of twentieth century, it was contradicted by other examples such as the low intermarriage rate between "Black" and "White", Irish or Jewish and others in the USA (ibid.). In her case-study on intermarriages among migrants in France, Safi (2008) has shown that the classical assimilation theory is relevant for European migrants, the Portuguese excepted. Therefore, she concludes, social integration through intermarriage depends on good integration on the labour market. But, she observed an inclination to endogamy for other groups such as Asians and the Portuguese, who are well integrated in the labour market but who maintain strong community bounds. There was, meanwhile, a proclivity to exogamy for other groups that are less integrated economically in particular Tunisians but also other North Africans (ibid.). Her findings allowed her to nuance the correlation between intermarriages and integration and to underline that other factors were crucial: individual, structural and contextual factors explaining intermarriages, not to mention the particular migration history of each immigration (ibid.). Furthermore intermarriages generally contribute to the integration of children. In his case-study on Senegambian-Spanish couples in Catalonia, Rodríguez-García (2006) noted that "[s]ocial class seems a more important factor than cultural origins in determining patterns of endogamy and exogamy, not to mention the dynamics of living together and the raising of mixed-union children". She warned about the risk of essentialism when focusing on cultural arguments to explain mixed unions and their consequences (ibid.). Moreover, Kalmijn (2010) stressed that intermarriages also affect society as a whole by reducing frontiers between groups and between the generations. However, I will not go further on this issue here because it is less relevant for this paper, focused as it is on first generation migrants.

The impact intermarriages have on the links with country of origin is progressively studied in particular in the context of transnational studies. When a migrant decides to get married with a spouse from the host country, this can lead to conflict or even rupture with the family in the country of origin (Le Gall and Meintel, 2011). In their case-study on intermarriages between migrants and Quebecois, Le Gall and Meintel (2011) indicated that social interactions with the family of origin of the migrant was sometimes stronger than with the Quebecois family, notwithstanding that this family was geographically closer. It seems that there is a real endeavour on the part of migrants and even their spouses to maintain strong and regular links with the family abroad and consequently, they invest more in these interactions (ibid.). Regular contacts with family in the country of origin is seen by the parents as a means to initiate their own children into country of origin culture and part of their identity (ibid.). In their research on binational marriages between the French and migrants, Fillhon and Varro (2005) looked for the impact of marriage on the migrant's desire to return to the country of origin. They found differences according to the origin and the sex of immigrants (Fillhon and Varro, 2005).

Accordingly, Portuguese and Moroccan men married to a French spouse were keener to return than women from the same countries (ibid.). However, globally, they found that migrants involved in binational marriages tended to return less to the country of origin than migrants married with a co-ethnic spouse (ibid.).

But rather than the question of impact on the links with country of origin, here the issue is on the impact of the country of origin on intermarriages. In some specific cases, agencies in the country of origin advertise and promote intermarriages with natives in the destination country by advertising brides from an emigration country (Kofman, 2004; Zabyelina, 2009). However, the issue of "mail-order brides" seems to fall outside the scope of this paper in the sense that it concerns women candidates for emigration rather than emigrants already settled in the host country. The literature apparently offers little on the influence on institutional actors from the country of origin on intermarriages of migrants in the host country. In order to investigate this question, one can hypothesize that different kinds of actors in the country of origin may have an impact on cultural exogamy. Without assessing the importance of this "country of origin" factor, the hypothesis is that it can, indeed, be relevant to complete the array of local factors already identified – local referring to the individual and structural factors, which are specific to immigrants in the new residence country. On the one hand, non-state actors, third parties such as families, friends, religious groups affect immigrant spouse choice. Families staying in the emigration country can try and encourage or discourage from a far the son or the daughter (namely the migrant) to get married with a native from the immigration country. They can on each occasion promote arranged endogamous marriages. Especially as studies have demonstrated, arranged marriages with immigrants, can be a way to organize new emigration. Mbah-Fongkimeh and her colleagues (2012) showed how Turkish arranged marriages with even second generation migrants residing in Belgium, and through the family reunification right, encourage new emigration. On the other hand, state actors may also influence maybe more indirectly the union of emigrants abroad according to diaspora policy and access to documents to contract marriages abroad.

Third parties in the country of origin can thus affect intermarriages according group norms and interests. The following questions might reasonably be asked:

- What is the norm regarding intermarriages? How are intermarriages perceived in the country of origin?
- Do emigrants celebrate intermarriages in the country of origin?
- Are visits to the country of origin more or less frequent when emigrants get married with a spouse from the destination country?

Authorities in the country of origin can also affect intermarriages according to their diaspora and migration policies. Apart from the broad question regarding the diaspora policy and the measures that are related to intermarriages, another set of questions is possible:

- Are intermarriages allowed by country of origin law?
- Are all intermarriages recognized by the country of origin (e.g. gay marriages)? And how?
- Is access to documents requested for the marriage (e.g. such as birth certificate) easily accessible from abroad? Or more precisely, do consulates facilitate access to these documents?
- What are the rights of a foreign spouse of an emigrant in terms of access to the territory of the country of origin?
- Do the spouse and children have access country of origin nationality?

- **Interethnic friendship**

Before even getting married, another type of social interaction happens when some migrants and members of the host society develop close ties and trust, and become simply friends. Friendship with

the majority population can benefit immigrants in terms of socio-cultural integration even though friendship relations are not as formal as intermarriages (Muttarak, 2013). Interethnic friendship gives opportunities for better reciprocal knowledge and brings migrants and natives closer allowing theexchanges of socio-cultural codes, practices, languages, etc. It can also reduce mutual prejudice (intergroup contact theory), as mentioned above with the work of Allport (1954) and followers such as Savelkoul *et al.* (2011): these demonstrated that social contacts between different groups have a favourable effect on mutual perceptions and reduce negative attitudes. They can enlarge the social networks of both migrants and host society. They can also have a positive effect on employment and on finding a job (Battu *et al.*, 2011; Lancee, 2012). "[I]nter-ethnic friendships not only reflect voluntary and intimate social relations between individuals, but also indicate to what extent members of different ethnic groups accept each other for such relations (Schlueter, 2012).

A rich literature on interethnic friendship both in the USA and European countries suggests that interethnic friendship is a process shaped by individual preference, opportunity structure and also integration (Muttarak, 2013). In her theoretical review, Muttarak (2013) pointed out the factors influencing interethnic contacts and friendship such as the principle of "homophily": homophily means that people tend to associate with similar others in terms of characteristics (language, nationality, culture, tradition, religion, etc.) directing social relations in general. "Individuals with similar social status (e.g. education and occupation) and beliefs (e.g. religion and political orientation) are more likely to be in the same physical space at the same time" (Muttarak, 2013). A second factor is the influence of third parties (family or group members), which can be against interethnic friendship (ibid.). Encounter opportunities are another important factor conditioning friendship and finally integration is also a relevant element in the sense that second generation migrants, who are already included in different spheres of society, will have a greater chance to have interethnic friends than their parents when they migrated (ibid.). Works such as the case-study of Schlueter (2012) on immigrants in the German city of Duisburg demonstrate that friendship with natives is more frequent when immigrants are born in the host country and when they speak the host country language and have a high education.

Part of the literature often examines patterns of friendship or the interethnic unions of immigrants children (Verkuyten and Kinket, 2000; Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn, 2013) rather than focusing on adults (Muttarak, 2013). As INTERACT targets, above all, first generation migrants, the literature focusing on adult friendship is privileged here. Muttarak (2013) examined interethnic friendships of minority ethnic groups in Britain and found that generation was an important factor or, in other words, that interethnic friendship was more frequent in second generation migrants than in the first generation. She found, too, that migrants from one ethnic group tended to develop friendships with migrants from other ethnic groups and less with the "white British" (ibid.). And finally, she highlighted the fact that if ethno-religious identity could shape interethnic friendships, economic integration weakened this factor (ibid).

Another factor which must be taken into account is the characteristics of the residing environment. Regarding the influence of residence on interethnic friendship, two positions have been established (Schlueter, 2012). The first one states that living in an ethnic enclave where ethnic minorities were the main inhabitants limits social relations with the host society and interethnic friendship; whereas the second position argued that segregation was not a relevant factor because of the high level of mobility and modern communication technology in current societies (ibid.) Taking into account the role of socio-economic resources on social integration, Schlueter (2012) examined how residence and educational attainment play a role on interethnic friendship patterns between Turks and German in a German city. He found, as others had showed before him, that there was a correlation between residing in an ethnic segregated neighbourhood and friendship with host-society members. But he also demonstrated that when the education level was low there was even smaller chance of getting friends within the host society (ibid.).

Finally, the literature on interethnic friendship does not particularly highlight the role actors in the country of origin could play in this specific social interaction. Nevertheless, to go one step further, some factors influencing interethnic friendship could be questioned from the country of origin perspective. of In this last paragraph, I ask whether actors in the country of origin and links with the country of origin may affect the conditions of interethnic friendship. The degree of impact could be looked for within the following factors:

- **Homophily**: What are the discourses of actors of the emigration country regarding the immigration country with respect to the socio-cultural dimension of the receiving country? Is the stress put on socio-cultural differences or on socio-cultural similarities?

- **Third parties**: When frequent transnational contacts are maintained with members of the families back in the country of origin, one could ask to what extent these members favour or discourage interethnic friendship.

  What is the attitude of family or friends in the country of origin regarding interethnic friendship? Is it possible for emigrants to travel back home with friends from the host country?

- **Opportunities of encounters** - Do actors of the country of origin promote, in the receiving countries, opportunities of encounters (through, for example, some events or some specific places) between emigrants and the host society?

  Do they support intercultural events?

  One could imagine that some events organized or supported by the country of origin such as celebrations, festivals or concerts and targeting a wide audience could be places of interethnic encounters, which could lead to friendships .

  Another question is whether host country authorities issue visas for visiting friends and more generally what is there visa policy regarding citizens from the destination country?

- **Residence:** Residence is more difficult to address from the perspective of the country of origin. Nevertheless, in some bilateral agreements between the emigration country and the country of destination, there can be specific housing measures which can favour or on the contrary prevent residence segregation.

  What kind of housing measures are included in bilateral migration agreements?

- **Interethnic relations in the workplace**

Some business, firms, companies, private and even public services in Europe are places of diversity. Working in ethnically diverse settings raises the issues of cultural diversity management but also, the question of social interactions between colleagues from different ethnic backgrounds. For us the most important question is the matter of social interactions between migrant workers or entrepreneurs and people from the host society when they meet in the workplace and more precisely the impact of the country of origin on these interactions. There is a vast literature on immigrants' integration on the labour market (see specific INTERACT paper on this dimension). And some scholars have studied the role of the country of origin human-capital on migrant employment and in particular self-employment in the destination country (Kanas *et al.*, 2009). But no studies focus precisely on the impact of countries of origin on interethnic relations in the workplace. However, some migration studies address ethnic business and entrepreneurship, and transnational entrepreneurs (Portes, 2000; Portes*et al.,* 2002; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). In the following section, elements from the literature are examined to better understand interethnic relations in the workplace and to draw hypotheses about the impact of country of origin actors.

The workplace is a space in-between the private and the public spaces. Unlike the wide public space, the workplace can be defined as "micro-publics" in terms of interaction (Amin, 2002). Amin, indeed, defines the workplace as "the sites for coming to terms with ethnic difference are the 'micro-publics' where dialogue and 'prosaic negotiations' are compulsory, in sites such as the workplace,

schools, colleges, youth centres, sports clubs and other spaces of association" (Amin, 2002). Then social interactions between interethnic groups are circumscribed to a specific environment, the workplace, and develop accordingly. Thus, the workplace offers an opportunity for encounters and for creating stronger bonds (Wise *et al.*, 2010).

Few studies have focused specifically on interethnic relations in the workplace (Schaafsma, 2008). And they are often studied so as to assess diversity in the organizations and to improve its management (Jackson *et al.*, 2003). In her review of studies focused on interethnic relations and diversity in the workplace, Schaafsma (2008) gave elements illustrating the range of relations between workers from ethnic minority groups and workers from the majority: difficulties in establishing positive relations or in maintaining personal relations. Here we see relations becoming conflicted, trends of avoiding ethnic contact, discriminatory acts, language problems and cultural differences causing misunderstanding and irritation and also lessidentification with the organization and the work team for the ethnic minorities (Schaafsma, 2008). She also pointed out that the perception of negative relationships differed from one group to another, and for example "that majority members are less sensitive to negative ethnicity-related events than minority members" (Schaafsma, 2008).

Schaafsma (2008) studied daily interethnic relations and how they are perceived by the staff in fifteen organizations (manufacturing and distribution industries) in the Netherlands. She looked at employees and managers from both ethnic minorities (in order of importance Turkey, Morocco, Surinam and Netherlands Antilles) and from the majority group. She found that interethnic interactions were generally perceived as positive or neutral because the goals that had to be reached at work took precedence over ethnic differences, which seemed to be more likely to be taken into account during informal contacts at work rather than during working time (ibid.). She also found similar interethnic barriers at work highlighted in previous studies : "communication problems because of language barriers or cultural differences in social norms […], tensions because ethnic minority members spoke in their native tongue prejudice, ethnic clique formation, ethnic jokes and discriminatory remarks, and the preferential treatment of ethnic minority or majority workers by managers. To a lesser extent, […] problems because of cultural habits interfering with the work process […] and because of differences in work norms" (Schaafsma, 2008). Furthermore, she isolated three factors affecting interethnic relations at work: "the sense of achievement" (threatening work process or goals), "the sense of belonging" like the unity of the group and the "sense of equality", such as unequal norms and preferential treatment (ibid.).

The organizational setting also plays a role in interethnic relations at work. Schaafsma (2008) reminded that some studies on former guest workers pointed to the importance of the work position and of the distance existing between ethnic minority workers and workers from the majority group. She found indeed in her study that in low-skill settings ethnic boundaries were more visible (ibid.). Contact theory already mentioned above suggests that better conditions for contacts include equal status between the ones involved in the social interactions, so the question of the position at workplace between immigrants and natives is crucial (Hashim*et al.*, 2012). The position in the workplace allows us to gain an insight into social interactions. It is already obvious that if immigrants are employees, they are not in the same position as the self-employed. The literature on immigrant entrepreneurs showed already that some migrants, because of difficulties in accessing the labour market, turned to self-employment and created their own businesses (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). Developing their affairs, immigrant entrepreneurs may employ some workers. They are often, at the beginning, members of the family or co-ethnics; in this case, relations are intra-ethnic.

Nevertheless, interethnic interactions can take place with the clientele following the type of market concerned by the business of ethnic entrepreneurs. Interethnic social interactions will be hard to observe in "ethnic markets" or in "niche markets" where in both cases clients are co-ethnics (Rušinovic, 2006). It is rather in "middleman markets" and in "mainstream markets" that opportunities for social contacts with natives will be more important. "Middle markets" as defined by Rušinovic (2006), in her study on first and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, are

markets where "*ethnic* products are sold to a general public". In "mainstream markets", meanwhile, non-ethnic products and services are sold to a wide clientele. Interethnic contacts can occur in middle markets and mainstream markets lead by immigrant entrepreneurs or in mainstream workplaces. Nevertheless, no study has yet focused on these contacts. The literature on transnational entrepreneurship aims rather at explaining how transnational entrepreneurs cross borders for their business activities and at examining transnational economic activities from an economic point of view (Portes*et al.*, 2002). They particularly highlight strategies of transnational entrepreneurs and the links with the country of origin.

Finally, studies on interethnic relations at work or on ethnic entrepreneurship do not give an insight into the specific role that actors in the country of origin play. The perspective of the country of origin can be taken into account in a broader programme of socio-cultural integration for emigrants abroad; much as it is the case in the programme developed by the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME). Délano questioned, in fact, the role of the Mexican state, regarding the integration of Mexican emigrants in the United States. First of all, she highlighted that integration was rather an unstated objective in the diaspora policy of Mexico, rather than a stated one even though the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME) depending of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs whose role was "improving the quality of life of Mexicans abroad." Délano noted, especially, that "in an anti-immigrant context, there is concern regarding a potential backlash in response to Mexico's outreach to migrants" (Délano, 2010). The case in the box offers an example of diaspora policy measure aimed at socio-cultural integration broadly and not so much at the workplace. The effect on integration in the workplace is thus rather indirect. However, these are examples where representatives of the country of origin interact with natives and migrants to foster socio-cultural integration. This is the case when collaboration for educational purpose, between institutions of the both countries is put forward.

Plaza Communitarias - Emigration country programmes and social integration

Since the 1990s, the Mexican government developed migrant programmes. In particular there was the Programme of Rapprochement with Mexican Communities Abroad (PCME) also called "Comunidades" and the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME) created in 2003 wherein the PCME was incorporated. These programmes offer services for Mexican immigrants such as "adult education, preventive health care, sports, cultural activities, financial literacy, and expanded relationship with migrant leadership and their organization" (Délano, 2010). She pointed out that the IME approach was to collaborate with US institutions (Délano, 2010). And, for example, the programme Binational Teacher Exchanges consists of agreements between "the federal Mexican Secretariat of Public Education (SEP) and US state departments of education or local school districts to meet teaching needs in US schools" (Laglagaron, 2010).

The education programmes *Plaza Communitarias* "do in fact provide the tools for a more successful interaction with [the] United States" (Délano, 2010). They consist in adult courses (from the age of 15) held in Spanish on "Spanish literacy and writing, elementary and middle school education, computer literacy, and English as a Second Language" (Laglagaron, 2010).These **binational programmes** are organized inside U.S. institutions (like schools, community centres, health clinics, etc.) and according to Délano's findings, these location help migrants to know these institutions and to become familiar with them (ibid.). In other words, they offer **opportunities to develop social interactions with the American society**. Moreover, Délano (2010) noted that some coordinators of these programmes were Americans. Finally, she highlighted "the Mexican government programs play a key role in terms of serving as a bridge and connecting the students to programs and institutions that they would not normally approach in the United States" (Délano, 2010).

Again in the case of emigration policies, bilateral agreements on temporary labour migration have provided some specific elements regarding the workplace. One could ask if diaspora policies aim at influencing the workplace environment of emigrants abroad. It seems that the influence that country of origin actors can have on social interactions in the workplace is an influence located upstream by, for example, empowering multicultural skills of emigrant workers. The following question might reasonably asked:

- Is there some programme for emigrants – initiated or developed by country of origin actors – to help migrants to work in a multicultural environment?

- Are there actions from the country of origin perspective for promoting diversity in the workplace?

Another strand of research might concern the role of migrants' transnational activities on social interactions in the workplace in the host society.

- Do transnational entrepreneurs encourage interethnic relations in the workplace?

- Are there any binational entrepreneurship or binational business associations?

- **Daily encounters in the neighbourhood**

In order to understand and more fully address the complex issue of the socio-cultural integration of immigrants, the micro-local level of the neighbourhood needs to be explored. A great number of social interactions between migrants and host society happen in the context of daily life in the neighbourhood. These range from the most informal and mundane interactions like meetings in the street or sharing a space in, say, a square, a green area or public transportation, to more formal interactions such as neighbourhood relations, attending neighbourhood events or being part of a neighbourhood association. The last look more like the "micro-publics" mentioned above.

Local context and in particular sub-national spaces are of major importance for understanding migrant integration (Ellis and Almgren, 2009). Focusing on the "micro-cultures of place" allows migrants "to privilege everyday enactment as the central site of identity and attitude formation" (Amin, 2002). Neighbourhoods are spaces of sociability, functional spaces with a specific socio-cultural history and they are also symbolic spaces (Grafmeyer, 1994). They provide diverse opportunities to residents in terms of infrastructures. They are spaces of life within the city, which are specifically interconnected in the urban space. Each neighbourhood has its own social dynamic. Moreover, integration policies, even if they are defined at the national level, are implemented at the local level. Furthermore, considering the neighbourhood is critical in this case because the presence of migrants become more visible at the neighbourhood level. Even though migrants do not constitute the majority of the population, they symbolically mark the neighbourhood, which can even be labelled accordingly, as for example, the Turkish neighbourhood or migrant neighbourhoods (Taboada-Leonetti, 1989). Consequently, some neighbourhoods are perceived as "ethnic enclaves" and some of them are truly enclaves (Logan *et al.*, 2002).

There are, indeed, different kinds of neighbourhoods identified according to the distribution of populations. When ethnic minorities represent more than half of the population, they are considered as "ethnic enclaves". Germain and Blanc called multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, those with more than 30% of ethnic minorities and with an important diversity among ethnic minorities. Mixed neighbourhoods, unlike homogeneous neighbourhoods, are considered as such because they have a mixed population in terms of income (Blockland and Van Eijk, 2010) and ethnicity (Bolt *et al.*, 2010). Finally, some neighbourhoods are defined as "super-diverse neighbourhoods" (Wessendorf, 2013) and take into account the "super-diverse context" mentioned above. This concept aims at giving space not only to the ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood but also its socio-economic, religious and linguistic diversity. From another perspective, Amin (2002) reminded us that research in UK on areas characterized by racism has distinguished two types of neighbourhoods which one can observe

without difficulty in many other European cities. The first type are impoverished neighbourhoods where the native working class lived and where successive waves of migrants settled; with progressive socio-economic and cultural decline (Amin, 2002). In these areas where clashes between populations may happen, natives long for the neighbourhood as it looked in the past while migrants express a right of place (ibid.). The second types are "'White flight' suburbs and estates dominated by an aspirant working class or an inward-looking middle class repelled by what it sees as the replacement of a homely White nation by another land of foreign cultural contamination and ethnic mixture" (ibid.).

Furthermore, if neighbourhoods differ in terms of population distribution and composition and migration history, they also provide their own public services, institutional infrastructures, schools, hospitals, green and pedestrian areas. All these elements contribute to the coexistence of residents and frame social interactions. Unlike the workplace, social interactions in the neighbourhood are not compulsory. As seen above, in the workplace, all workers are engaged in shared working activities and pursue common working goals. This allows them to interact together despite ethnic differences and stereotypes. Work has a kind of mediating effect much as other types of activities (learning in at schools, playing sports, volunteering in association, etc.). It forces the encounter and interactions between immigrants and natives. These spaces which can be located in the neighbourhood represent what Lofland (1989) called a "parochial realm" quoted by Wessendorf (2013). "Parochial realm" is a space "characterized by more communal relations among neighbours, with colleagues in the workplace, or acquaintances through associations or schools" (Wessendorf, 2013). Wood and Landry (2007) pointed out that social cooperation is often easier in "zones of encounter", where deeper and more enduring interactions between people engaging in shared activities and common goals can take place. Such places are, for instance, associations, schools, youth centres, sport clubs, etc." (Pastore and Ponzo, 2013). It is thus important to make a distinction between social interactions in these specific spaces of the neighbourhood. Assuming that interactions are different in the neighbourhood itself, some authors find it useful to make a distinction between: cohabitation in residential space (buildings, residential area) where people tend to stay; and public spaces such as parks, streets, shops, pubs, public transportation, etc. where people tend to circulate or where they stay briefly in order to assess the different modes of sociability between populations (Germain and Blanc, 1998).

Lots of authors have studied ethnic cohabitation at the neighbourhood level (Taboada-Leonetti, 1989; Simon, 1997; Germain and Blanc, 1998; Ehrkamp, 2005; Gsir and Mandin, 2012; etc.). Some authors have examined the evolution of social distance between ethnic minority and the majority group (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2005; Schaafsma et al., 2010). A large array of relationships can weave in the neighbourhoods between migrants and the majority group. I use the term "relationships" purposely to take into account both interactions and representations. Even though the focus is here on social interactions, it is important to bear in mind how mutual perceptions about the other can shape and influence attitudes and interactions (Pastore and Ponzo, 2013). In some studies, scholars measure socio-cultural integration by observing social contacts together ("contacts with indigenous people in leisure time and visits of indigenous friends or neighbours"), language proficiency and stereotypical attitudes (e.g. Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007). In the neighbourhood, immigrants can be seen as a social threat or a territorial threat, being discriminated against or on the contrary accepted as neighbours. Migrants as natives have mutual beliefs, stereotypes and prejudices.

Social interactions in the neighbourhood happen more or less fortuitously. They are not necessarily sought after as in friendship or intermarriage where individual choice is critical. "Specifically, inter-ethnic contacts such as everyday encounters between immigrants and host-society members in the neighbourhood, at the workplace, in a sports club or within the family may, but need not be, based on voluntary preferences for enduring and beneficial social interaction the *sine qua non* for identifying friendships generally" (Schlueter, 2012). They can, thus, be almost inexistent even though one can acknowledge that even when two outsiders cross anonymously in the street without even greeting each other, there is a kind of social interaction. Daily social interactions give an insight into the quality of relations between populations groups living in the neighbourhood and in this case, those relations

between migrants and host country population. They can also give them the opportunity for renegotiating interethnic differences (Amin, 2002). So Germain and Blanc (1998), in their study of the multi-ethnic neighbourhoods of Montreal, observed that in public spaces, ties emerged rather between people from the same ethnic group. Regarding interethnic interactions, they observed a pacific cohabitation and a kind of distance, a way of sharing a densely populated space which characterized the occupation of urban spaces (ibid.).

From the literature, one can distinguish two major sets of factors influencing social interactions in the neighbourhood and therefore socio-cultural integration and more largely co-integration. On one the hand, the neighbourhood specificities like residential segregation and its evolution over time in the city are important. On the other hand, interethnic relations depend also on the characteristics of the various population groups. Moreover, Bolt and colleagues (2010), who discussed the correlation between residential segregation and integration, found that integration relied not only on migrants' characteristics but also on institutions and the populations of the receiving society; in other words, their argument was that segregated cities were created by the host society (Bolt *et al.*, 2010). In particular, they pointed out the location of the neighbourhoods in the city (ibid.). Some neighbourhoods, even ethnically segregated ones, may have links with other neighbourhoods due to their geographical situation or because of public transportation. Their ethnic population can, therefore, be exposed to natives and can interact with them (ibid.).

Within the set of factors linked to the neighbourhood, one which is seen as critical by many scholars is **ethnic concentration or segregation**. Ethnic segregation is considered as an obstacle for social interactions with natives because migrants, as they live mainly among co-ethnics favour contacts with them. "In the Netherlands, it has been found that there is a strong negative effect of ethnic concentration on the likelihood of maintaining contacts with native Dutch" (LaanBouma-Doff, 2007). An interesting question came up in Gijsberts and Dagevos' study (2007) on the relations between ethnic concentration in the neighbourhoods and the socio-cultural integration of ethnic minorities in Dutch society. There the authors asked whether in a less ethnically concentrated neighbourhood there were necessarily more social contacts between minorities and the majority group because natives would more likely meet migrants. They found that ethnic concentration was related to a mechanism of ethnic competition; immigrants were seen as a threat by the natives who adopted defensive behaviour (ibid.). But they found that ethnic concentrations could have another effect as ethnic minorities were a majority in the neighbourhood, Dutch natives had more opportunities to meet them and thus to have social contact to a certain point (ibid.) If there were more than 50% ethnic minorities from non-Western origin, Dutch natives tended to have less contact (ibid.). Therefore, they concluded that a degree of mixing could favour interethnic contacts. This, in turn, then had a positive effect on mutual acceptance between migrants and natives and on migrant language proficiency, an element recognized as critical for socio-cultural integration (ibid.).

Another element pointed to by Gijsberts and Dagevos (2007), which may influence significantly interethnic relations in the neighbourhood, is the **pace of the influx of migrants** there. They found that the way the diversification of the neighbourhood happened in terms of population had a negative impact on how the natives perceived the migrants. This was particularly true when there was a quick inflow of newcomers and especially non-Western migrants (ibid.).

Finally, as mentioned above, **other characteristics of the neighbourhoods** in terms of geographical location and interconnection with other parts of the city, in terms of socio-economic infrastructures and public services on offer are also significant (Vertovec, 2007a ; Amin, 2002). In the comparative research on integration and conflict in European neighbourhoods *Concordia Discors*, it is observed of one of the Nuremberg neighbourhood that "the increasing number of shops and restaurants are regarded by interviewees to have fostered a trend away from mutual ignorance towards greater harmony and cooperation among residents: everyday interactions, such as shopping, leisure time activities, involvement in associations, local district committee, neighbourhood centres (e.g. ZentrumAktiverBürger) as well as courtyard festivals are considered crucial in fostering encounters

between migrants and natives." (Pastore and Ponzo, 2013). The socio-economic structure of the neighbourhood is thus a crucial element for social interactions.

Other factors are related to the characteristics of the population living in the neighbourhood. A first crucial element highlighted by many authors is income or **socio-economic position and also education level**. Amin (2002) reminded that social deprivation exacerbated ethnic difference. According to Gijsberts and Dagevos (2007), the less privileged in the population socio-economically or with a low level of education had more negative attitudes. They explained this observation again by ethnic competition theory (ibid.). They observed also that a high education level and a good position in the labour market allowed more contacts, and concluded that there was an articulation between structural and social integration (integration in the labour market and education producing social integration) (ibid.). Another critical element is the **migration trajectory** of immigrants living in these neighbourhoods. First generation migrants have less contact with the natives (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007).

Amin (2002) also noted that **racism** had a dramatic influence on interethnic relations in neighbourhoods. Denouncing the integration or housing policy of ethnic mixing to increase neighbourhood social cohesion, he pointed out that even then racism could persist. He explained that cultural isolation was usually seen as the problem and ethnic mixing the key, but he argued that the underlying assumption leading to this policy solution was a vision of the different groups identities as fixed and culturally homogeneous (ibid.). "Inter-ethnic understanding, therefore, is not guaranteed by everyday cultural hybridisation. It requires the removal of fear and intolerance associated with racial and ethnic difference, living with or coming to terms with ethnic difference, and, ultimately, an acceptance that cultural pluralism (ethnic, racial, sexual, generational) is the mark of a vibrant and evolving society" (Amin, 2002). In his comparative study on interethnic relations between Turks and Dutch in Tilburg and Rotterdam, Leeflang (2002) found that it was the level of **acceptance** of Turks as neighbours, colleagues, friends that determined the tolerance and not the reverse. According to him, both communities have their own perspectives for evaluating relationships and the concepts they use to describe their relationship, therefore, "[a] majority, which determines what level of cultural diversity is allowed, is related to a minority, which strives for a respectful relationship with the majority" (ibid.). Finally, another study on neighbourhoods, in a Belgian city this time, revealed that even though natives, in their discourses, expressed racism towards immigrants living with them in the neighbourhood, they could simultaneously and paradoxically create ties and interact with them in a way that demonstrated acceptance (Gsir and Mandin; 2012). It is thus crucial to observe social interactions *in locus* and not only to rely on discourses about interethnic relations in the neighbourhood.

Finally, two other elements need to be considered when analysing interethnic interactions in the neighbourhouds. Urbanists put forward the **propinquity effect** or the objective physical distance between the groups at stake. In other words, "individuals will tend to associate most with those closest to them in physical space" (Hipp and Perrin, 2009). The issue of housing distribution and access to housing is crucial from this point of view (see specific INTERACT paper). Whereas, sociologists pointed out **social distance** between individuals – according to their demographic characteristics such as age, gender race/ethnicity, religion, economic resource, life course stage and social background – which is also fundamental for understanding the complexity of social interactions (ibid.)

Transnational activities and local attachments

In her case-study on the neighbourhood of Marxloh located in the North part of Duisburg in Germany, Ehrkamp (2005) examined how the transnational activities of Turkish migrants could influence their life in relation to German society. Marxloh was a thriving industrial neighbourhood of Duisburg where workers at the steelworks and coalmines lived until economic decline brought deprivation and impoverishment (ibid.). The foreign population was mainly Turkish guest-workers who settled and other migrants arrived such as asylum seekers particularly Kurdish origin (ibid.). The neighbourhood included a high foreign population in particular a very diverse Turkish populations and relationships of inhabitants were sometimes conflicting (ibid). Ehrkamp identified different types of transnational practices from the more passive ones such as watching Turkish media through satellites to providing Turkish products directly imported in Turkish stores. One example of transnational links influencing socio-cultural integration concerned the faith and religious affiliation of immigrants. In her case, Ehrkamp was informed that the spiritual leader of the community came from Turkey: "He comes to Germany for a limited number of years, which poses particular problems for some members of local communities because the *hoça* lacks insights into life in Germany. When local Turkish immigrants ask for guidance in questions of everyday life and raising children in Germany, the *hoça* does not know enough about the circumstances of immigrants' local lives, and thus is not always able to provide members of the community with the guidance that they need" (Ehrkamp, 2005).

Ehrkamp focused, above all, on how Turkish migrants transformed the neighbourhood by expressing their Turkish identity. She found that when they maintained transnational ties with Turkey, they invested in the neighbourhood and felt at home; the neighbourhood was also changed by Turkish stores, teahouses, etc. (ibid.). Transnational activities and their consequences on the neighbourhood had, she suggested, to be seen as an engagement in the receiving society and a way to feel at home. However, she viewed the neighbourhood more from a perspective where it was a place of belonging rather than a place of interacting with the host society. As she focused on the way the neighbourhood is metamorphosed by Turkish migrants and on their perception, without interviewing native Germans about this change, her case-study appeared a little bit one-sided.

As seen above, the literature on social interactions in neighbourhoods reveals various factors in interethnic relations. The role of the country or the society of origin is rarely put forward, save maybe questions of the migratory trajectory. But this factor refers more to emigration policies than to diaspora policies. Apart from studies such as Ehrkamp's (2005), the literature does not really explain how countries of origin, or links with these countries, can affect daily social interactions between migrants and the host society in neighbourhood. A possible hypothesis is that actors in the country of origin become interested in what happens in the neighbourhood when there is ethnic concentration of emigrants and when problems or conflicts with the native population are reported in the media. The country of origin is, indeed, concerned as to how emigrants are perceived in host countries and on how they are reported by host country media. Furthermore, "[e]xposure to the culture of a country through its diaspora may serve as a portal through which people in a host country develop broader interest in the diaspora's homeland – including its political and economic circumstances. Country-of-origin governments often promote culture as a way of raising the profile and burnishing the reputation of their country" (Newland, 2010). The authorities of the country of origin can, then, try to promote better intercultural understanding.

Another relevant element are the "zones of encounters" in the neighbourhood that can favour cooperation and peaceful relations. There are several contexts where natives and migrants can interact and where the country of origin can be present or represented such as institutions established by the country of origin in the host country (consular networks, cultural centres, schools). Home town associations or migrant associations can also be zone of encounters, even though their members are

migrants. They may organize events or activities for larger audience and also interact with natives for the purpose of collecting funds. Some questions could be explored such as:

- How actors in the country of origin try to empower emigrants in terms of social integration (language courses, information about group norms and codes, information about the local institutions) in the country of destination? What is the role of consulates regarding socio-cultural integration? Do they target specific neighbourhoods among cities of the destination country?

- How actors in the country of origin support the creation of mixed place of encounters in the neighbourhoods such as cultural centres or religious or leisure places?

- How actors in the country of origin organize or co-organize events with intercultural dimension? For example festivals, cultural events, fairs, sport events, …

- How actors in the country of origin take part in events organized by the receiving country such as municipality initiatives, intercultural networks, public fora and events, city twining, intercultural exchanges, and sponsorship?

5. Actions and Actors in the Countries of Origin

- **Mapping actors and actions**

On the basis of the previous section on social interaction, the table below provides a map of country-of-origin actors in terms of their actions in influencing the different social interactions of emigrants abroad.

ACTORS in emigration country	ACTIONS	SOCIAL INTERACTIONS in immigration country	
Families, friends, religious groups, churches, etc. (non-state actors)	Encouraging or discouraging the formation (or indifference) Arranging endogamous marriages Celebrating in the emigration country Welcoming or rejecting foreign spouses when visiting	**Intermarriages**	PRIVATE SPACE
National authorities (state-actors) Different ministries + consulates	Authorising, prohibiting, facilitating (document access) Recognising Giving rights or facilities to foreign spouse and children from interethnic unions (citizenship, no visa fees)		
Families, friends, religious groups (non-state actors)	Encouraging or discouraging or indifference Welcoming or refusing visits of foreign friends	**Interethnic friendship**	
National authorities (state actors) Different ministries	Issuing visas Organizing opportunities for encounters, intercultural events Promoting cultural diversity		
Non-state actors	Providing co-ethnic business partners	**Interethnic relations at work place**	PUBLIC SPACE
National authorities (state actors) Different ministries	Diaspora policy Programme on work on multicultural environment		
Non-state actors	Supporting the creation of places of encounters (cultural centres) Organizing intercultural events Empowering emigrants in terms of education, language proficiency	**Encounters in the neighbourhood**	
National authorities (state actors) Consulates Intercultural councils	Supporting the creation of places of encounters (cultural centres) Organizing intercultural events Empowering emigrants in terms of education, language proficiency		

- **Examples of practices**
  – The **Indian Council for Cultural Relations** is a corporate body established in India. Its main objective is to establish, revive and strengthen cultural relations and mutual

understanding between India and other countries. It has 38 Indian Cultural Centres in different parts of the world (in Europe: the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom). These cultural centres can constitute zone of encounters and interactions. They organize and support different kinds of cultural activities.

Actions: the Indian Council for Cultural Relations sponsors visits of Indian artists to France and also student exchange in the field of culture and art. It also co-organizes the Indian cultural festival Namasté France.

– The **official Colombian Cultural agency**, **Colcultura** is in charge of promoting Columbian culture.

Actions: "Colcultura […] has traditionally sponsored high-culture events in New York (for example, concerts, national classic and folkloric ballet performances, and art exhibitions by acclaimed Colombian artists), but very few in Los Angeles. These cultural events are aimed at improving the national image abroad and, thus, are explicitly directed at a US audience." (Guarnizo*et al.*, 1999)

– The **Columbian Charity organization** *Corazón-a-Corazón*(CaC)

Actions: "CaC has centred its mission on providing monetary and medical support to bring needy Colombian children to the United States for heart operations and other sophisticated treatments. CaC also donates expensive and hard-to-find medical equipment to its Colombian counterparts. In addition, CaC has facilitated the establishment of scientific relations between specialized US medical and research centres and a select group of Colombian counterparts. Through this relationship, American and Colombian cardiologists coordinate treatment for seriously ill patients and regularly exchange expertise on pediatric cardiac surgery. As of mid-1997, CaC was collaborating with thirteen Colombian health institutions in ten cities and four health and health-related organizations in the New York metropolitan area." (Guarnizo *et al.*, 1999).

– **Cultural diplomacy activities**

The 2013 **Germany China Tibetan Culture Week** is a cultural event co-organized by Germany and China. It includes exhibitions, various artistic performances, seminars and discussion in Berlin and Munich.

6.Concluding Remarks

This paper set out to clarify how country-of-origin actors influenced the socio-cultural integration of emigrants in the destination country; or put differently, the objective was to identify diaspora policies and transnational links that could affect social interactions between emigrants and host country society members. Literature on the issue is, as we noted, scarce and rather than answers, hypotheses and new questions have been offered here. From the four cases that were considered (intermarriages, interethnic friendship, interethnic contacts at workplace and in the neighbourhood), a few remarks can be offered.

First, the different social interactions prove to depend on a multiplicity of contextual factors related to the destination country (such as residential segregation, degree of racism and acceptance, opportunities of encounters, neighbourhood effects) and individual factors related to migrants (demographic characteristics, migration trajectory and length of residence). The influence of the country of origin can be part of this multifactorial approach, but it should not be overestimated. Second, regarding interethnic relations in private spaces, it seems that non-state actors from the country of origin are the ones who may have a critical impact. Their influence can be particularly relevant for interethnic union formation. The influence of country-of-origin actors in the neighbourhood or even in the workplace is difficult to assess perhaps because these links are *de facto* the weakest. Nevertheless they are fundamental as they also contribute to defining interethnic relations in the destination country. Third, actors in the country of origin may influence emigrants abroad but

indirectly by creating opportunities of encounters with natives or by offering emigrants some practical tools for socio-cultural integration (such as language courses).

Finally, through "diaspora engagement policies," states of origin work first, at diaspora building by cultivating or recognizing diaspora identity . Second, they carry out diaspora integration or rather re-integration in homeland politics by extending emigrant rights abroad and in the origin country, such as the right to retain citizenship (Gamlen, 2006). Besides these two mechanisms for engaging diaspora (Gamlen, 2008), the INTERACT project assumed a third kind of diaspora mechanism that is **diaspora empowering** in the host country. The country of origin can strive to sustain and facilitate emigrants' socio-cultural integration in the receiving country. Moreover, even diaspora engagement policies do not aim at shaping social interactions and integration in the host country. Its implementation can influence social interactions by giving conditions (such as dual citizenship) to develop them or by offering migrants tools and services to more easily interact with the host society. Sustaining migrant integration in the host country can be a strategy for other policy areas (tourism, bilateral agreements, economic policies, etc.). States of origin want their emigrants to succeed in host countries in order to get indirect benefits: good image, remittances, opportunities, development. Socio-cultural integration is undoubtedly part of the recipe for success. However as Délano (2010) remarked in the case of Mexican diaspora policy, immigrant integration is often part of an "unstated objective" of the country of origin because of the concern of potential intrusion in the country of destination's affairs and potential allegiance confusion. It should also be said that for the society of origin, the idea that their government is more active for emigrants abroad than for the population within the country could deserve political actors in the country of origin.

7. References

Alioua, Mehdi (2008), "A la rencontre de la sociologie d'Alain Tarrius. Du paradigme de la mobilité au territoire circulatoire ", *e-migrinter*, 1, 7-19.

Allport, Gordon (1954), *The Nature of Prejudice.* Reading, MA, Addison-Wesley.

Amin, Ash (2002), "Ethnicity and the multicultural city", *Environment and Planning A*, 34(6), 959-980.

Battu, Harminder, Seaman, Paul, and Zenou, Yves (2011), "Job contact networks and the ethnic minorities", *Labour Economics*, 18, 48–56.

Blau, Peter, Beeker Carolyn, Fitzpatrick Kevin (1984), "Intersecting social affiliations and intermarriage", *Social Forces,* 62(3), 585-606.

Blokland, Talja and van Eijk, Gwen (2010), "Do People Who Like Diversity Practice Diversity in Neighbourhood Life? Neighbourhood Use and the Social Networks of 'Diversity-Seekers' in a Mixed Neighbourhood in the Netherlands", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), 313-332.

Bolt, Gideon, Özüekren, Sule, and Philipps, Deborah (2010), "Linking integration and residential segregation", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), 169-86.

Chiswick, Barry R. and Miller, Paul W. (2007), *Modeling immigrants' language skills*, IZA Discussion Papers, No. 2974.

Collet, Beate and Régnard, Corinne, (2008), "Mixité franco-étrangère : quelle réalité sociale ? ", *Infos migrations*, 2.

de Haas, Hein (2007), "Between courting and controlling: The Moroccan state and 'its' emigrants", Working Paper No. 54, COMPAS, University of Oxford.

De Rudder, Véronique, Poiret, Christian, Vourc'h François (2000), *L'inégalité raciste. L'universalité républicaine à l'épreuve*, Paris, PUF.

Délano, Alexandra (2010) "Immigrant Integration vs. Transnational Ties ? The Role of the Sending State", *Social Research* 77(1), 237-268.

Ehrkamp, Patricia (2005), "Placing identities: transnational practices and local attachments of Turkish immigrants in Germany", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(2): 345-64.

Ellis, Mark, and Almgren, Gunnar (2009) "Local Contexts of Immigrant and Second-Generation Integration in the United States." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(7), 1059-1076.

Faist, Thomas, Fauser, Margit and Reisenauer, Eveline (2013), *Transnational Migration.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Fargues,Philippe (*2011), International migration and Europe's demographic challenge, Background paper EU-US Immigration Systems 2011/09*, European University Institute.

Filhon, Alexandra and Varro, Gabrielle (2005), "Les couples mixtes, une catégorie hétérogène", in Lefèvre, Cécile and Filhon, Alexandra, Histoires de familles, histoires familiales. *Les Cahiers de l'INED*, 156, 483-501.

Gamlen, Alan (2006), "Diaspora Engagement Policies: What are they, and what kinds of states use them?" Working Paper 06- 32, Compas, University of Oxford.

Gamlen, Alan (2008), "The Emigration State and the Modern Geopolitical Imagination", *Political Geography* 27(8), 840-856.

Germain, Annick et Blanc, Bernadette (1998), "La vie de quartier dans le Montréal multiethnique", *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 14(1), 141-158.

Gijsberts, Mérove and Dagevos, Jaco (2007), "The socio-cultural integration of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: identifying neighbourhood effects on multiple integration outcomes", *Housing Studies*, 22(5): 805-31.

Goffmann, Erving (1967), *Interaction Rituals. Essays in face-to-face behavior.*Chicago, Aldline Pub. Co.

Grafmeyer, Yves (1994), *Sociologieurbaine*, Nathan, Paris.

Gsir, Sonia and Mandin, Jérémy (2012), "Discourses and Coexistence, Intercultural Cohabitation in theBelgian City of Verviers", *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, *"Alteridades desbordadas: conflictos, mediaciones y fricciones de la experiencia migrante en los espacios locales. Parte I"*, 28, 84-101.

Guarnizo Luis, Sanchez, Arturo Ignacio and Roach, Elizabeth M. (1999), "Mistrust, fragmented solidarity, and transnational migration: Colombians in New York City and Los Angeles", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 367-396.

Hamel, Christelle, Lhommeau, Bertrand, Pailhé, Ariane and Santelli, Emmanuelle (2010), « La formation du couple entre ici et là-bas », in Beauchemin, Cris, Hamel , Christelle et Simon, Patrick (2010) *Trajectoires et origines. Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France.* Documents de travail 168, Teo – INED – INSEE.

Hashim, Intan, Mohd-Zaharima, Norzarina, and Khodarahimi, Siamak (2012), "Factors Predicting Inter-Ethnic Friendships at the Workplace", *Interpersona*, 6(2), 191–199.

Hipp, John and Perrin, Andrew (2009), "The simultaneous effect of social distance and physical distance on the formation of neighborhood ties", *City and Community*, 8(1), 5-25.

Jackson, Susan, Joshi, Aparna, and Erhardt, Niclas (2003), "Recent Research on Team and Organizational Diversity: SWOT Analysis and Implications", *Journal of Management*, 29(6) 801–830.

Jacobs, Dirk, Phalet, Karen and Swyngedouw, Marc (2004), "Associational Membership and Political Involvement among Ethnic Minority Groups in Brussels", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(3), 543–559.

Joppke, Christian (2007), "Transformation of Immigrant Integration: Civic Integration and Antidiscrimination in theNetherlands, France, and Germany", *World Politics*, 59(2), 243-273.

Kalmijn, Matthijs (2010), "Consequences of Racial Intermarriage for Children's Social Integration", *Sociological Perspectives*, 35(2), 271-286.

Kalmijn, Matthijs, Graaf, Paul, Janssen, Jacques (2005), "Intermarriage and the risk of divorce in the Netherlands: the effects of differences in religion and in nationality, 1974-1994", *Population Studies*, 59(1), 71-85.

Kanas, Agnieszka, Tubergen, Frank van and Lippe, Tanja van der (2009), "Immigrant Self-Employment. Testing Hypotheses about the Role of Origin- and Host-Country Human Capital and Bonding and Bridging Social Capital", *Work and Occupations*, 36(3), 181-208.

Kantarevic, Jasmin (2004), Interethnic Marriages and Economic Assimilation of Immigrants, IZA Discussion Papers, n°1142.

Kloosterman, Robert and Rath, Jan (2001), "Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies: mixed embeddedness further explored", Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 27(2), 189-201.

Kofman, Eleonore (2004), "Family-Related Migration: A Critical Review of European Studies", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2), 243-262.

LaanBouma-Doff, Wenda van der (2007), "Confined contact: residential segregation and ethnic bridges in the Netherlands", *Urban Studies*, 44(5/6), 997-1017.

Laglagaron, Laureen (2010), *Protection Through Integration: An Overview of Mexican Government Efforts to Build the Social and Human Capital of its Migrants in the United States*, Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Lancee, Bram (2012), *Immigrant Performance in the Labour Market. Bonding and Bridging Social Capital*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam UniversityPress.

Le Gall, Josiane and Meintel, Deirdre (2011), "Liens transnationaux et transmission Intergénérationnelle : le cas des familles mixtes au Québec ", *Autrepart*, n°57-58, 127-143.

Leeflang, Roland (2002), Ethnic stereotypes and interethnic relations. A comparative study of the emotions and prejudices of Dutch and Turkish residents in mixed neighbourhoods. Dissertation, Tilburg University.

Lofland, Lyn (1989), "Social life in the public realm. A review", *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 17, 453–482.

Logan, John, Alba, Richardand Zhang, Wenquan (2002), "Immigrant enclaves and ethnic communities in New York and Los Angeles", *American Sociological Review*, 67(2), 299-322.

Lucassen, Leo and Laarman, Charlotte (2009), "Immigration, intermarriage and the changing face of Europe in the post war period", *History of the Family,* 14, 52–68.

Martiniello, Marco (2011), *La démocratie multiculturelle.* Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Martiniello, Marco (2012), "L'émergence du concept de transnationalisme : quelle utilité pour la compréhension des phénomènes migratoires contemporains ?", lesson at the College of Belgium, 20 September 2012.

Mbah-Fongkimeh, Athanasia, Teule, Jochem, Timmerman, Christiane and Vanderwaeren, Els (2012), *La migration par le mariage d'Emirdağ à Bruxelles*, Brussels, Fondation Roi Baudouin.

Muttarak, Raya (2013), "Generation, ethnic and religious diversity in friendship choice: exploring interethnic close ties in Britain" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(1), 71-98.

Newland, Kathleen (2010), Voice after exit. Diaspora advocacy, Washington, MPI.

Pastore, Ferruccio and Ponzo, Irene (2013), Concordia Discors. Understanding Conflict and integration outcomes of intergroup relations and integration policies in selected quarters of five European cities. Synthesis report, www.concordiadiscors.eu

Penninx ,Rinus (2004), "Integration processes of migrants in the European Union and policies relating to integration." Presentation for the Conference on Population Challenges, International Migration and Reproductive Health in Turkey and the European Union: Issues and Policy Implications, held in Istanbul, October 11/12, 2004, http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/turkeynetherlands/RinnusPenninx.pdf

Portes, Alejandro and Zhou, Min (1993), "The new second generation : Segmented assimilation and its variants", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,*530, 74-98.

Portes, Alejandro, Guarnizo, Luis and Landolt, Patricia (1999), "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promises of an Emergent Social Field", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22 (2): 217-237

Portes, Alejandro, Guarnizo, Luis and Haller, William (2002), "Transnational Entrepreneurs: An Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation", *American Sociological Review*, 67(2), 278-298.

Portes, Alejandro, Escobar, Cristina and Arana, Renelinda (2008), "Bridging the gap: transnational and ethnic organizations in the political incorporation of immigrants in the United States", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(6), 1056-1090.

Portes, Alejandro, Fernández-Kelly, Patricia and Haller, William (2009), "The Adaptation of the Immigrant Second Generation in America: A Theoretical Overview and Recent Evidence", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 35(7), 1077-1104.

Rodriguez García, Dan (2006), "Mixed Marriages and Transnational Families in the Intercultural Context: A Case Study of African /Spanish Couples in Catalonia", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(3), 403-433.

Rušinovic, Katja (2006), *DynamicEntrepreneurship. First and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs in Dutchcities*. IMISCOE Dissertations. Amsterdam: AUP.

Safi, Mirna (2008), "Intermariage et intégration : les disparités des taux d'exogamie des immigrés en France", *Population*, 63(2), 267-298.

Savelkoul, Mikael, Scheepers, Peer, Tolsma, Jochem, Hagendoorn, Louk (2011) "Anti-Muslim Attitudes in The Netherlands: Tests of Contradictory Hypotheses Derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Intergroup Contact Theory" *European Sociological Review*, 27 (6), 741-758.

Schaafsma, Juliette (2008), "Interethnic relations at work: Examining ethnic minority and majority members' experiences in The Netherlands", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32(5), 453-465.

Schaafsma, Juliette, Nezlek, John, Krejtz, Izabela, and Safron, Magdalena (2010), "Ethnic identification and naturally occurring **interethnic social interactions**: Muslim minorities in Europe", *European Journal of Social Psychology, 40*, 1010-1028.

Schlueter, Elmar (2012), "The Inter-Ethnic Friendships of Immigrants with Host-Society Members: Revisiting the Role of Ethnic Residential Segregation", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(1), 77-91.

Simon, Patrick (1997), "Les représentations des relations interethniques dans un quartier cosmopolite ", *Recherches sociologiques,* 28(2), 5-37.

Snel, Erik, Engbersen, Godfried and Leerkes, Arjen (2006), "Transnational involvement and social integration", *Global Networks,* 6(3), 285-308.

Song, Miri (2010), "What happens after segmented assimilation? An exploration of intermarriage and 'mixed race' young people in Britain", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(7), 1194-1213.

Süssmuth, Rita and Weidenfeld, Werner (2005,) "The Integration Challenge: Living Together in a Europe of Diversity", in Süssmuth, Rita and Weidenfeld, Werner (eds), Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibilities Towards Immigrants, MPI and the Bertelsmann Foundation.

Taboada-Leonetti, Isabelle (1989), "Cohabitation pluri-ethnique dans la ville: strategies d'insertion locale et phénomènes identitaires", *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 5(2), 51-69.

Van Zantvliet, Pascale and Kalmijn, Matthijs (2013), "Friendship networks and interethnic union formation: An analysis of immigrant children", *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 1-21.

Vancluysen, Kris, Van Craen, Maarten and Ackaert, Johan (2009), "Transnational activities and social-cultural integration of Moroccan and Turkish descendants in Flemish Belgium", paper presented at the XXVI IUSSP International Population Conference, Marrakech, October.

Verkuyten, Maykel and Kinket, Barbara (2000), "Social Distances in a Multi-Ethnic Society: The Ethnic Hierarchy among Dutch Preadolescents", *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 63(1), 75–85.

Vertovec, Steven (2007a), New Complexities of Cohesion in Britain. Super-Diversity, Transnationalism and Civil Integration. Commission on Integration and Cohesion. West Yorkshire, Communities and Local Government Publications.

Vertovec, Steven (2007b), "Super-Diversity and its implications", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-54.

Wessendorf, Susan (2013), "'Being open, but sometimes closed'. Conviviality in a super-diverse London neighbourhood",*European Journal of Cultural Studies,* 0(0), 1–14.

Wise, Amanda, Velayutham, Selvaraj and Vogl, Gillian (2010), "Everyday multiculturalism in the workplace: Negotiating difference in a metropolitan university", paper presented at the Australian Sociological Association Conference (6 - 9 December 2010, Sydney).

Wood, Phil and Landry, Charles (2007), *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*. London; Sterling, VA: Earthscan.

Zabyelina, Yuliya (2009) "Mail-Order Brides: Content Analysis of Eastern European Internet Marriage Agencies", *Slovo*, 21(2), 86-101.