

Immigrant integration between social structure and individual action.

“Ethnic groups”, ethnic boundaries and social production functions

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Outline

- I. Core concept: the social production function
- II. Integration
- III. Assimilation
- IV. Multiculturalism
- V. Segmented assimilation theory
- VI. Transnationalism and integration: the debate (R. Schunck)
- VII. Ethnic groups and boundaries: between essentialism and super-dynamics (A. Wimmer)
- VIII. The social production function and ethnic vs. host country capital: the micro-macro model of integration (H. Esser)
- IX. Rational actors and ethnic boundaries: contested social production functions

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I. Core concept: the social production function and status attainment

Investment approach (Lindenberg 1996; Esser 1999): Action = production of utility

$$Y = f(X), \quad \text{z.B.: } \epsilon_{t(1)} = b_0 + b_1 \bullet \text{education}_{t(0)} + b_2 \bullet \text{private lessons}_{t(0)} + \epsilon$$

Social production function: Where should we invest (X) in order to attain ultimate goals (Y)?

1. **social acceptance / prestige** (output of **activities** that others regard as prestigious)
2. **well-being** (output of **activities** that are "good" for you)
 ... **activities produce resources**: Intermediary goods, re-invested to attain ultimate goals. Usually, high income is just an intermediary good, used to satisfy needs, to attain ultimate goals

In a given society: A **limited set** of intermediary goods (X) results in desired output (Y)

3. **SEU model of investment decision**: choice from a set of alternatives that maximizes subjective expected utility (U). The subjectively expected probability (p) of realizing U indicates uncertainty – which is not at random, but varies – among other things – with context characteristics an individual resources.

$$SEU(i) = p(i) \bullet U(i) - C(i) \quad \rightarrow \max(SEU)$$

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I. Core concept: the social production function and status attainment

Social production function and immigrant incorporation:

- **Social production function** depends of countries, cultural contexts, milieus, and historic development.
- **Weber**: Modernization initiated by religious interest groups was a conflict of different social production functions. Protestant sects had to be economically successful and needed thus a legal basis for deliberate action.
- **Bourdieu**: Investment in social networks yields social capital, which can be re-invested to attain other goals.

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I. Core concept: the social production function and status attainment

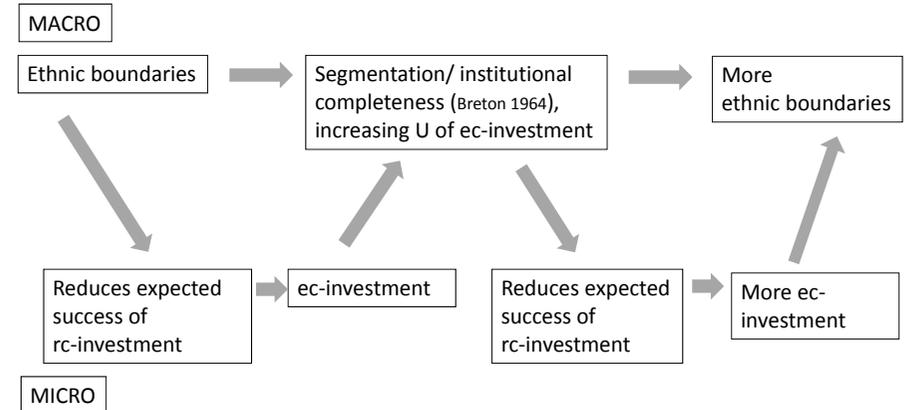
Social production function and immigrant incorporation:

- **Immigrant incorporation has different potential outcomes:** Assimilation, (multiple) integration, Segmentation, Marginality (Berry 1997)
- **Esser (2006):** outcomes depend on the kind of capital immigrants invest in
 - 1. receiving-context capital (rc):** Language, educational degrees, social networks of receiving context
 - 2. activities related to ethnic group (ec):** ethnic economy, home-country language, social network in ethnic community
- (multiple) integration and assimilation require **receiving-country capital**.
- But do structural constraints (e.g. segregation, discrimination or ethnic group size) restrict the utility of rc-investment?

I. Core concept: the social production function and status attainment

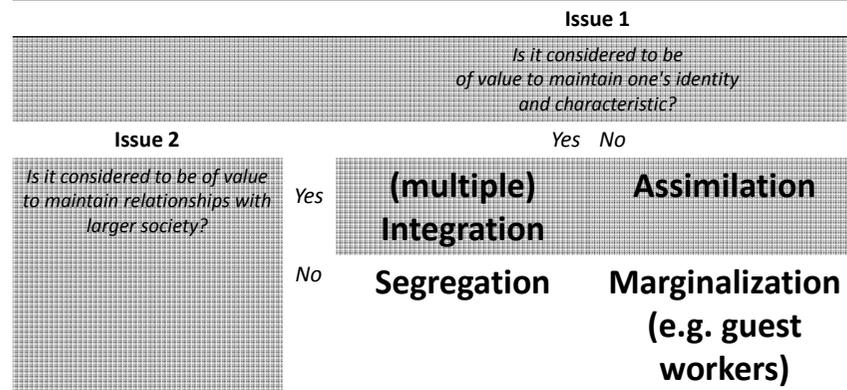
The micro-macro model of immigrant incorporation and social change

Actors' decisions depend on situations, and the aggregation of decisions results in unintended situations. To give an example:



II. Integration

Immigrant incorporation (Berry 1997)



II. Integration

Integration: a rather vague concept unless one specifies "how" and "into what" are immigrants integrated?

Rigid ethnic boundaries and closed ethnic communities can be one specific form of integration among many others.

- Social networks seem to be the "medium" of integration
- Especially in persons' "lifeworlds" (Habermas 1987)
- But SNA is not the standard approach in analyzing immigrant integration

II. Integration

Assimilation: clearly defined dimensions (Esser 2004), but some scholars criticize normative implications. Can be expressed in a “weakly” normative way:

Regarding social networks, socially assimilated networks should reflect the opportunity structure, **otherwise:**

- Systematic preferences indicate ethnic boundaries (Alba & Nee 2003) and result in segregation of ties in social networks.

II. Integration

Integration as a process rather than a fixed condition

- **Lifeworld approach** (Habermas 1987): integration “updated” during events of social interaction and communication in networks
- **condensation** and **confirmation** of “meaning” in communicative processes (Luhmann 2002) shapes actor’s identity
 - **Condensation:** meaning of an object and expectations about its future behavior successively emerge
 - **Confirmation:** expectations can be confirmed in subsequent communication. If so, actors gain their social identity, which reduces complexity in further communication
- **Social integration** *proceeds* during social events of communication in social networks

II. Integration

The Problem of multiplexity and intergenerational embeddedness

- Children in schools share a highly effective focus point (Feld 1981): Good opportunity for inter-ethnic friendship networks (Quillian & Campbell 2003; Baerveldt et al. 2004, 2007; Knecht 2008; Lubbers 2004; Mouw & Entwisle 2006; Windzio 2012; Winkler et al. 2011)
- Ethnic segregation in networks among their **parents** might be higher (Alba 2008): Earlier generations have other focus points
 - However, children’s ties comprise dimensions where their parents are involved in ...
 - **Children’s birthday** parties are an **example** of parental involvement. Communicative events of **integration into social networks**

II. Integration

Children’s birthday parties as an example

- Highly significant events for children
- “invitation is a symbolic act of reinforcement and public confirmation of the relationship” (Sirota 2001)
- Parties involve elements of Mauss’ *potlatch* (Clarke 2007)
- Parents debate on norm violations (e.g. the serving of “branded sweets”) (Clarke 2007)
- Most birthday parties are less antagonistic than the *potlatch*, but still the foci of **social exchange** (Homans 1958; Blau 1994; Coleman 1990)

II. Integration

Children's birthday parties as an example

• **Coleman's version of exchange theory:** Rational actors hold rights to carry out certain actions in a system of exchange of mutual obligations and transferring authority over their actions to significant others

- Mutual obligations result in social integration of the system
- Needs a social focus where the mutual obligations are exchanged

II. Integration

(Windzio 2012)	friendship (=1, else 0)		intergen. closure (=1, else 0)		ego went to alter's birthday (=1, else 0)	
	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6
alter lives close to ego	5.325***	3.532***	6.563***	6.065***	5.915***	4.246***
homophily: no. of books	1.195***	1.075	1.404***	1.407***	1.218+	1.007
ego: possess own room	0.88	0.776+	1.604*	1.560*	1.379	1.265
boy => boy	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
boy => girl	0.114***	0.336***	0.135***	0.153***	0.037***	0.126***
girl => girl	2.424***	1.376**	1.153	1.188	4.155***	3.385***
girl => boy	0.117***	0.322***	0.182***	0.204***	0.055***	0.151***
German => German	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
German => Turkish	0.758	1.003	0.051**	0.051**	0.080***	0.330*
German => other mig.	0.678***	0.787+	0.575**	0.552**	0.252***	0.809
Turkish => German	0.828	1.373	0.188**	0.184**	0.126***	0.424+
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other mig. => Turkish	0.724	0.531*	0.466	0.423+	0.052***	0.249*
other mig. => other mig.	0.84	1.074	0.539*	0.510*	0.126***	0.595
% Turkish	-	1.009	-	1.008	-	1.034**
% other migr.	-	1.011**	-	1.001	-	1.000
intergenerat. closure	-	-	-	-	9.136***	7.508***
mutuality	-	5.497***	-	-	-	-
transitive triads	-	1.223***	-	1.095**	-	1.460***
in-stars	-	0.879***	-	0.935	-	1.088*
out-stars	-	1.072***	-	0.967	-	0.999
var(u ₀) dyad	-	-	-	-	6.842***	4.940***
R2 (McK. & Zav.)	0.412	0.609	0.412	0.408	0.383	0.498

Notes: N(observations) = 4382, N(dyads) = 2191, N(students) = 257, N(classes) = 15

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III. Assimilation

Dimensions of assimilation according to H. Esser (2004):

1. **Cultural:** Language, stock of knowledge and knowledge about behavioral standards. Also known as cognitive assimilation or acculturation
2. **Structural:** Educational degrees, labor market success, socioeconomic status, legal status, citizenship. Also: "spatial assimilation" (Massey & Denton). Cultural assimilation is a condition.
3. **Social:** Social ties to host country members. Friendship and particularly intermarriage. Structural assimilation is helpful because of "educational endogamy" and homophily.
4. **Identification** with culture and constitution (?) of the host country, however: mainstream or pluralization?

Theory of action and the social production function:

- Similar to the overall life-course, migration and immigrant incorporation depend on actors' decisions on investment in intermediary goods. These decisions are made in a context where – ideally – a specific **social production function** is established.

III. Assimilation

Social assimilation: mixed social networks and intermarriages indicate absence of ethnic boundaries. Important for the integration of the overall society, because:

1. Regular social contact (under favorable conditions) reduces prejudice (Allport 1954)
2. Social segregation along ethnic lines results in "ethnic" collectives who apply social practices (Bourdieu 1986) of social closure and distinction. This might make ethnic boundaries even more rigid

- In contrast to integration, social assimilation can be a precisely defined, even for **multiplex social networks**, i.e. different social dimensions of network ties such as friendship, support, conflict or marriage.

III. Assimilation

There is **social assimilation** (SASS) in networks (N) if the ethnic composition (EC) in all relevant dimensions (d) of N is **similar** to the opportunity structure (O) in the society

$$\forall d \in D : SASS := EC(N) \approx EC(O)$$

\forall for all elements of the set
 $:=$ defined as

\exists for one element of the set
 not \neg

$$\exists d \in D : EC(N) \neg \approx EC(O) \rightarrow pSASS \vee segregation$$

There is only **partial social assimilation** (pSASS) or segregation in networks (N) if the ethnic composition (EC) in at least one relevant dimensions (d) is **not similar** to the opportunity structure (O) in the society

$$\forall d \in D : EC(N) \neg \approx EC(O) \rightarrow segregation$$

There is social **segregation** in networks (N) if the ethnic composition (EC) in all relevant network dimensions (d) is **not similar** to the opportunity structure (O) in the society

III. Assimilation

How do actors establish, keep, and dissolve network ties? (Snijders 2013)

- Assume a complete network in a focus, e.g. a school. Friendships provide **utility**, but is the distribution of utility over actors' in the network in **equilibrium**?

Does anybody have the perfect amount of utility?

$$u_i(Y) = \sum_{j \neq i}^g (w_{ij} b^{d_{ij}(y)} - c_{ij} Y_{ij})$$

utility of actor i of a tie Y in the network

utility of tie ij

costs of a tie if present

Utility decreases with distance d if tie is present

If distribution of utility in network is **not in equilibrium**, actors tend to establish new ties and to dissolve existing ties \rightarrow **network dynamics**

III. Assimilation

Real networks are rarely in a stable equilibrium. Networks usually change because actors try to maximize their utility – and thereby change the utility of others.

- This notion motivated Tom Snijders in the development of actor-based stochastic models of network evolution (SIENA) (Steglich et al. 2010)

How do immigrants decide?

$$SEU(i) = p(i) \bullet U(i) - C(i) \rightarrow \max(SEU)$$

Cost of ties to natives are high if distance is large (spatial segregation) and discrimination is perceived

- "Cheaper" ethnic ties become easily available if size of group is large
- Ethnic segregation of network ties becomes higher, the "closer" and the more "costly" a tie is (Windzio & Bicer 2013)

IV. Multiculturalism

Predecessor of the concept of **immigrant transnationalism**?

- In sharp **opposition** to **assimilation** concept, which is supposed to neglect and disrespect cultures of immigrants
- But: often, multiculturalists reduced the assimilation concept to **identity**.
- Actually, assimilation is **multidimensional**, and related to **inequality research**.
- In Germany, dominated by H. Esser (2004), who in turn elaborated of M. Gordon's typology. **Assimilation** : 1. cognitive 2. structural 3. social 4. identification
- Also Esser's theory seems to have a **normative** element:

Avoid ethnic inequalities and ethnic stratification!
- Many research on ethnic inequalities (Heath & Cheung 2007) is indeed research on structural assimilation
- Most multiculturalists would agree for normative reasons that structural assimilation is required.

IV. Multiculturalism

Philosophical background: Hegel's concept of "*Sittlichkeit*", developed against the abstract moral philosophy of Kant:

- The "good" lies not in abstract rules/maxims (categorical imperative), but in everyday life's situation. Depends on circumstances
 - e.g. debate on female morality (Carol Gilligan vs. Lawrence Kohlberg), care vs. fair, but abstract-maxims.
- Abstract **universalism and individualism** can't be applied to all cultures. If so: shall there be **specific rights** to culturally defined collectives? Or shall all groups accept modern Western universalism, individualism and liberalism?
- **Communitarianism** : moral commitment to solidarity is focused on care and support in the proximate community. Social capital will be destroyed by individualism. To prevent this, ethnic communities should be strengthened. "meso- approach"
- **The debate:** Modernity does not necessarily imply erosion of communities, but rather the liberation of individuals from collective prescription, such as ethnic origin or religion, e.g. individuals decide on their own on their religious belief and affiliation – or not to join any religious group – but accept the law when they think it is based on fair regulations.

IV. Multiculturalism

Origin of the concept: debate on Anglo- or Francophone identity in Canada

- Acceptance and explicit **conservation** of immigrants' and minorities' **culture of origin**. Result: cultural diversity, "salad bowl" instead of "melting pot". What is the result of diversity, e.g. the effect of language of origin country and scholastic success in school
 1. **Socialization**: there is no socialization without culture. Often, immigrants can only transfer origin country culture to their children. **Communitarianism**: Culture is acquired in strong-tie social networks, assimilation weaken cultural socialization, e.g. religion.
 2. **Heterogeneity**: receiving countries are culturally heterogeneous, a variety of life-styles and value orientations. It is matter of fairness to grant migrant- or minority organizations the same support available to native organizations. Important issue: mosques and minarets.
- **Political demand**: intercultural opening of host-country institutions
 - **Educational institutions**: teaching in origin-country language. Intensive debate on effects (Gogolin vs. Esser)
 - **Health system**: culturally sensitive nurses and care workers or Muslim hospitals?
 - Public and private social service institutions.
- critique from proponents of assimilation theory: unintended increase of social inequality.

IV. Multiculturalism

Liberal multiculturalism = communitarianism + elements of liberal theory of justice

- **Liberalism**: Individuals have the opportunity of deliberate choice. Can **collective** rights be justified?
- **Kymlicka** (1995): An individual will only become self-confident and gains the free will for deliberate choice if part of a group and culture. One needs **self-esteem, options, a sense of history, identity**.
 - => **Communitarianism: collective rights** protect the cultural basis of minorities (e.g. Canadian Indian, Franco-Canadians);
- **Individualism** requires the **right to leave a culture**. Illiberal cultures or groups should be preserved as soon as they do not deny the individual right to leave the group or culture. Important: How do religions regulate apostasy?
- Under this condition, minority cultures are associations of free individuals. Such minority cultures should be supported by the state, e.g. the catholic church.

IV. Multiculturalism

Criticism of liberal multiculturalism (Brunner & Peled 1998)

- the **right to leave a cultural group** also depends on **cognitive and social skills**, which actors acquire in the group.

Dilemma of liberal multiculturalism:

- Respect and protection of ethnic culture is a basis for individual decisions
- Universalistic protection of individual rights, which also protects individual autonomy
- Some cultures are more in line with the ability to critique and dissociate from their own community than others. Some cultures even regard critique as a thread (Brunner & Peled 1998, p. 379).
- How do cultures deal with outsiders, marginalized, and deviant persons/groups?

IV. Multiculturalism

Brunner & Peled's (1998) criticism of Kymlicka: There are not only negative, but also positive rights and liberties for cultural groups:

- Negative **rights**: others **must not** do something which affects me (in a bad way)
- Positive **rights**: others **must** do something which affects me (in a positive way)
- Negative **liberties**: There is restraint imposed by others
- Positive **liberties**: I have the capability of doing something
- Culture should enhance the capacity for freedom and deliberate choice.
- **Freedom as "individual fulfillment" and "self-realization"**: There is also an economic dimension of freedom, namely the participation, (economic) inclusion, resources and in particular **education**.

IV. Multiculturalism

Bringing the social production function back in (Lindenberg 1996).

- High education within the "rich" minority language at the expense of the majority language can be a challenge for the individual autonomy (Brunner & Peled 1998, p. 387)
 - **should Palestinian school authorities boost Hebrew at the expense of Arabic when 50% of Palestinian are employed in Hebrew speaking labor markets?**
 - This would increase Palestinian's ability to invest according the social production function!
- Kymlicka would just focus on how school authorities contribute to the conservation of the Arabic-Palestinian minority culture – even though this could result in a disadvantage!
- A school system should not increase segregation of minorities and thereby undermine life-chances. Rather, it should facilitate the productive participation and inclusion minorities in the economic and cultural life of the whole society. This is not assimilation, but a pluralistic culture (Brunner & Peled 1998, p. 389).
- But of course this means: **structural assimilation!**

V. Segmented assimilation theory

Assumes different outcomes of incorporation processes (Portes & Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997)

- criticism of classical assimilation models because of empirical "**anomalies**", e.g. 2nd generation decline (!)
- **new waves** of immigration since the 1960s, immigration from Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America.
- At the same time restructuring of U.S. economy: **hourglass economy**, middle class blue collar jobs declined significantly, lower chances of upward mobility for Immigrants
- 1.5 (immigrated up to the age of 6 or 10) and 2nd generation less assimilated than the 1st generation.

There is no automatism in assimilation. Significantly different processes between the groups, **3 alternative Paths**:

1. **Classical assimilation** (M. Gordon)
2. **Downward mobility**: assimilation to inner-city (black) underclass (unemployment, poverty, drugs, crime)
3. (deliberate) continuance in the "**ethnic enclave**", which provides protection against downward mobility.

→ However: Is this a theory that integrates micro-macro interdependency?

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

Globalization processes triggered a change in the perspective:

- Migration is not an one-directional process, but leads to permanent transnational networks
- cross-border activities, social, economic, political, cultural.

“We have defined **transnationalism** as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (Glick Schiller et al. 1998, p. 1)

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

4 basic elements of "immigrant transnationalism"

1. Existing **concepts** are not appropriate and limit the perspective, rather than explaining the outcomes: Nation, ethnic group, society, culture, immigrant, e.g.: "circulation" instead of "immigration".
 - Critique against "**methodological nationalism**" and the assumption of clearly defined distinct categories (e.g. migrant or native)
2. **Globalization of capitalism**: outsourcing of manual jobs from the U.S.A since the late 1970s (de-industrialization) and MNC-investments in developing countries, "large scale agro-businesses". Also a result of the **debt crisis** since 1982 (Mexico) adjustment programs of IMF and World Bank. Uprooting of small farmers and welfare state retrenchment
3. Migration results in **cultural diffusion in social networks**, which comprise both destination- and origin countries.
4. **Multiple, complex identities**: Migrants maintain their home-country identity and blend it with host-country identity. Multiple Identities, related to several cultures, societies and nation states.

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

New form of migration or just a new paradigm?

- **severe criticism of "methodological nationalism" in migration research.**
 - In the wake of globalization migrants live bi- or multi-local in or between different societies.
- Integration into the host-country has now a different meaning: assimilation to the receiving-context is not an issue at all, since they live in a **transnational social space**.
- From the **assimilation-perspective**: do transnational activities impede structural assimilation? How do activities relate to the **rc-social production function**?
- From the **transnationalism-perspective**: already the question of assimilation is wrong, or irrelevant. In the course of pluralism assimilation isn't even possible

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

Where does the phenomenon of transnationalism come from?

- Recently, migrants' can more easily maintain ties to the host country:
 1. Abolition and higher **permeability of borders** (e.g. Eastern Europe)
 2. Cheaper **transportation**
 3. New media, **easier communication** across long distances. Internet and international banking.
 4. "push" effects, **hostility against immigrants** is a disincentive to lose ties to home-country.
 5. New world order: **inclusion of new areas** into the global economy
 6. General change and **dissolution of national identities**. Declining relevance of "Nation"
 7. Large **communities** due to chain migration, family re-union and transnational marriages.

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

A new research perspective

- Flow of "social remittances" in "social fields" (Glick Schiller et al. 1998) (ideas, norms, money, knowledge, behavior, identities) or transnational social spaces (L. Pries, Th. Faist). Also non-migrants in the host country are affected.

- **"from above"**: by global capital, multinational companies, mass media
- **"from below"**: local "grassroot" activities, e.g. support for political parties in the country of origin, economic activities, social networks.

1. economic 2. political 3. socio-cultural activities

- **Core transnationalism**: integral part of individual lives, regular basis, "patterned" therefore partially predictable

- **Expanded transnationalism**: occasional engagement, e.g. in case of a problems in the home-country (Guarnizo 2003)

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

Critique of the transnationalism approach

- A transnationalism-perspective can also describe the "old immigration" to the U.S. Here we had 30-40% re-migration, and remittances right from the beginning!

- Is transnationalism really a new phenomenon? Is it just a gradual change, in line with increasing globalization?

How relevant are transnational activities?

- Researchers often use non-standardized "small N" data, usually not generalizable large surveys. Many ethnographic studies on specific populations in specific contexts.

- "Sampling at the dependent variable" in many qualitative studies.

- Second and Third Generation are much less transnationally active. However, they grow up in transnational social spaces.

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

Transnational Activities among Immigrants in different studies

Receiving country	CIEP ¹		Waldinger 2008	Snell et al. 2006
	(N=1,202)		(N=4,213)	(N=250)
	USA	USA	USA	Netherlands
	Regular	Occasional		
	%	%	%	%
Economic				
Transnational entrepreneur	5	--		3-9
Transfers money to family/friends in the country of origin	74	--	47	28
Political				
Keeps in touch with politics in country of origin				53
Reads newspaper from the country of origin				74
Member of political party in country of origin	10	18		10
Gives money to political party in country of origin	7	12		
Takes part in political campaigns and rallies in country of origin	8	14		
Votes in elections in the country of origin			15	
Socio-cultural				
Member of hometown civic association	14	28		
Member of (charity) organization active in country of origin	14	31		8
Gives money to community/charity projects in country of origin	10	25		
Travels to attend public festivities in country of origin	6	17		
Participates in local sports club with links to country of origin	8	18		

VI. Transnationalism and Integration: the debate

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	USA	USA	USA	Netherlands
	Regular	Occasional		
	%	%	%	%
Real home is country of origin				61
Is country of origin national first				68
Made at least one trip to country of origin since migration				66
Visits family and friends in the country of origin				76
Frequent contact with family in country of origin				88
Plans to move back to country of origin				35

Source: modified from Portes 2003/Guarnizo et al. 2003/Itzigsohn and Giorguli Saucedo 2002/Waldinger 2008/Snell et al. 2006; 1: from different studies

Table by Reinhard Schunck (2011)

Levitt & Jaworsky (2007): Only 10-15% are active, but cumulated over time and over all dimensions, activities are of significant quantity

VII. Ethnic groups and boundaries

Does the concept of **ethnic group** make sense?

Wimmer (2008a, b): group boundaries are spanned by social actors.

1. develop the theory of ethnic boundaries, beyond Herder's "natural peoples"
2. highlight an additional component in immigrant integration research:

rational actors and the social production function:
middle class status attainment and distinction

Boundary-concept is inspired by ...

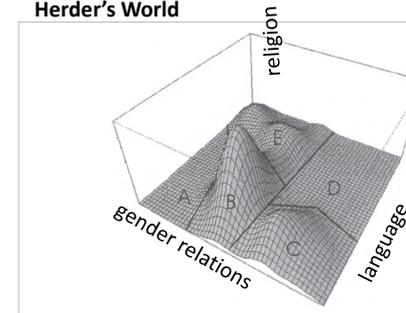
- ... sociological tradition:
 - M. Weber** – significant differences due to "disposition" or "tradition" → same result concept of "social closure"
 - P. Bourdieu** – distinction as a strategy of social closure. Collective social practices categorization, symbolic struggles.
- ... social anthropology:
 - F. Barth's** criticism of ethnic and cultural categories: To some extent, boundaries seem to be independent of culture. Is individual/collective action a driving force?

VII. Ethnic groups and boundaries

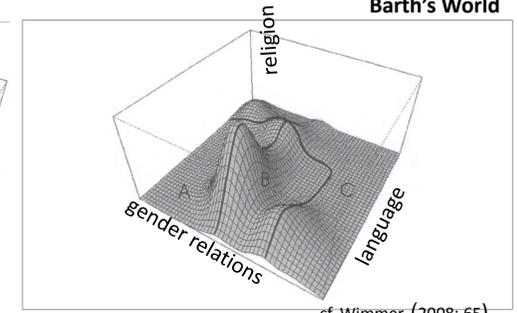
Does the concept of **ethnic group** make sense?

Wimmer (2008a, b): group boundaries are spanned by social actors.

Herder's World



Barth's World



cf. Wimmer (2008: 65)

Herder: Ethnic categories reflect differences in culture, e.g. language, religion, gender relations. Cultural similar individuals are likely to be in the same ethnic category.

Barth: Diffusion of culture, "partial assimilation" does not dissolve ethnic boundaries! In other words: Boundaries persist, despite partial assimilation. So there might be individual and collective **action** behind the boundaries!

VII. Ethnic groups and boundaries

Does the concept of **ethnic group** make sense?

Assimilation: a boundary-related process (Alba & Nee 1997: 863)

"assimilation can be defined as the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it.

...

assimilation can involve minority groups only, in which case the ethnic boundary between the majority and the merged minority groups presumably remains intact."

- Alba & Nee (1997) were among the first who applied the concept to immigrant incorporation.
- But they did not systematically analyze the mechanisms of the shifting or blurring of boundaries.
- Debate on citizenship (Bauböck, Rundell 1998): Naturalization as a boundary-shift

VII. Ethnic groups and boundaries

Does the concept of **ethnic group** make sense?

→ yes, if regarded as a contingent outcome of individual and collective **action**.

Assimilation: a boundary-related process (Alba & Nee 1997: 863), → blurring of boundaries
Boundary related processes (Wimmer 2013, chp. 3):

- Nation-building → e.g. incorporation (a+b → a), or amalg. (a+b → c)
- Ethnogenesis (by the state): → e.g. Belgian colonial administration privileged Tutsi Clans
- Contraction → drawing narrower boundaries, splitting categories
- Transvaluation } boundaries remain intact → "revaluation of values", e.g. black power movement
- Positional moves } → crossing, identification with majority, individual and collective (Chinese in the Miss. Area)
- Blurring → intermarriage, multiethnic friendships etc., pan-ethnic religious movements. Fosters the spanning of new boundaries?

VIII. The micro-marco-model of integration

Actor's investment decision, extended model:

$$SEU(i) = p(i) \cdot U(i) + (1 - p(i)) \cdot U(j_{j \neq i}) - C(i) \rightarrow \max(SEU)$$

rc: receiving context capital

High utility

High costs

$$SEU(rc) = p(rc) \cdot U(rc) + (1 - p(rc)) \cdot U(ec) - C(rc)$$

Low in case of ethnic boundaries/ discrimination

ec: ethnic context capital

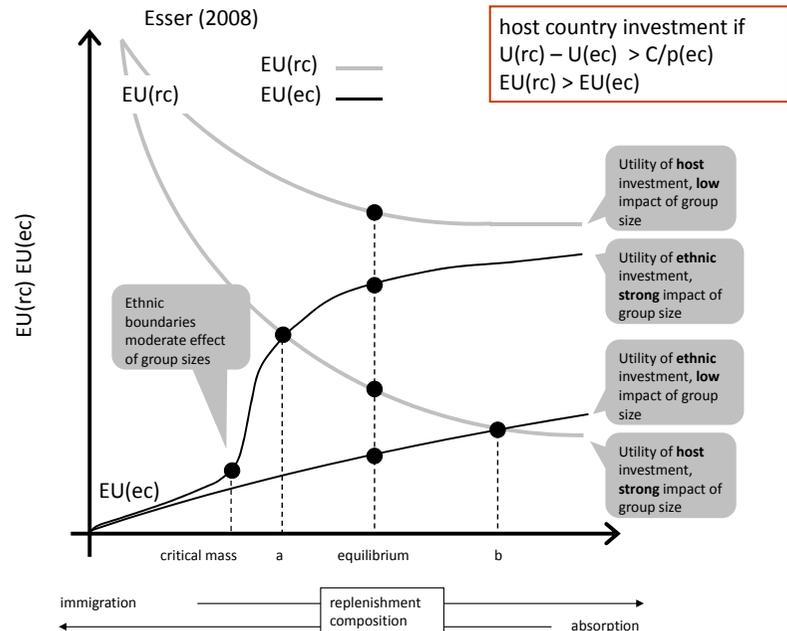
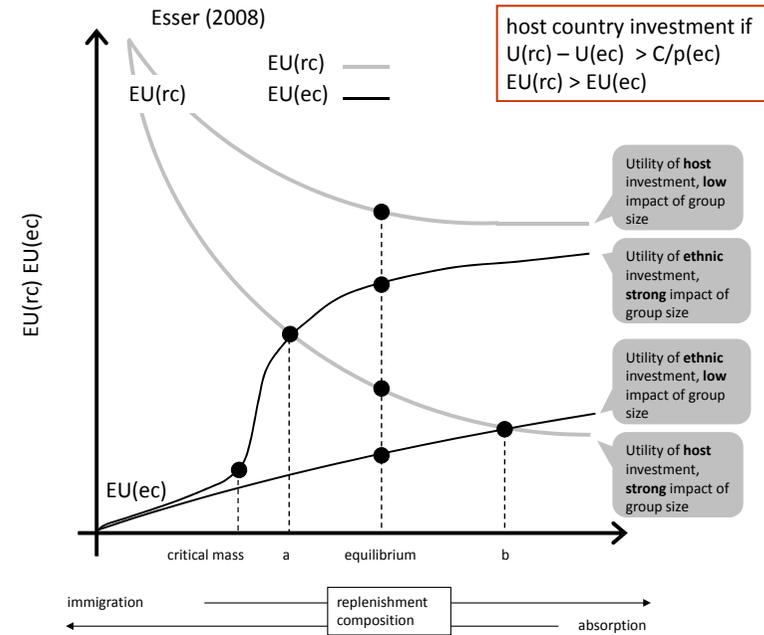
Lower utility

Low costs

$$SEU(ec) = p(ec) \cdot U(ec) + (1 - p(ec)) \cdot U(rc) - C(ec)$$

Always high, seems to be sure

host country investment if $U(rc) - U(ec) > C/p(ec)$
 $EU(rc) \gg EU(ec)$



VIII. The micro-marco-model of integration

Result of ethnic boundaries:

$$U(rc) - U(ec) > C/p(ec)$$

$$U(rc) - U(ec) \leq C/p(ec)$$

- Gain by rc-investment does not outweigh the cost of "working through barriers" (Kogan 2007). Rather ec than rc investment. Immigrants do not follow the SPF.
- If ethnic capital gives a lower pay-off (usually the case), society becomes ethnically stratified
- Social conflicts become ethnic conflicts in the public perception.
- The result: more rigid boundaries.
 - Example: strike of train drivers in Germany 2007. What would have been the public response if train driver were a typical "Italian" job in an ethnically stratified system?

VIII. The micro-marco-model of integration

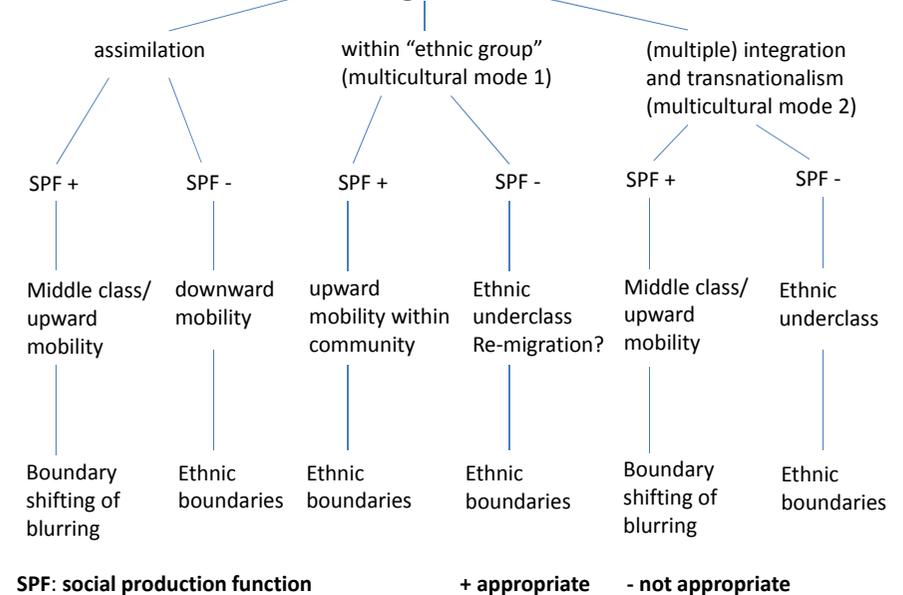
Result of **ethnic boundaries**:

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Integration



IX. Rational actors and ethnic boundaries: contested social production functions

- is there still one **ideal-type social production function** in western, immigrant receiving countries?
 - Germany: host-country language skills are highly predictive for educational success
 - education is still a necessary condition for successful status attainment, also in the occupational training system
 - academic middle-class habitus is a standard in most academic jobs. Regardless of ethnic or cultural origin, after graduation, most successful students assimilate to this habitus
=> how to dress, to speak, to think properly about problems and solutions
- following these arguments, assimilation in terms of acculturation (cultural assimilation) to the host country middle-class habitus is a way to avoid ethnic stratification

IX. Rational actors and ethnic boundaries: contested social production functions

- **Multiculturalists** reject this line of argumentation: The existing social production function implies **discrimination** against immigrants/ minority cultures.
 - In contrast, the **social production function should be changed**, so that it recognizes minority language and culture
- debate in Germany**, especially education science:
- **intercultural opening of institutions**: not just teach country-of-origin language, but also grade it as core-courses in the school-leaving examination.
 - **political conflict on social production functions**: which skills, which competencies, which investments are valued in a society? This is a conflict anyway, also in academia!
 - is this just a “contingent” political decision, or are there “objective” advantages or disadvantages of specific social production functions?
 - what are the effects on economic growth - or decline? **M. Weber’s** idea of the economic effects of **Protestantism** actually is a theory on how a specific SFP leads to growth and modernization (Esser 2000).

IX. Rational actors and ethnic boundaries: contested social production functions

- conflict on the **institutionalization of guiding principles in action contexts**, as described by M. R. Lepsius (1995)
- carrier groups try to implement their guiding principle in a context. If successful, they establish their own criteria of rationality: which behavior is in line with our guiding principle, which one is not?
- By sanctioning action which is not in line with the rationality criteria, the desired behavior becomes institutionalized.
- Any efficient institution should follow one criterion, or at least a very limited set of rationality criteria.
- negative externalities must be processed in other contexts, where other rationality criteria have been institutionalized. e.g. economic efficiency needs social welfare.

Actors invest according to a specific social production function or not (micro-level). At the macro-level, interest groups try to change the SPF, to establish their own one, or to defend the existing one (because it rewards their skills). The future of integration will also depend on the conflict on social production functions

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