

Sub-theme 21: Migration and the Meaning of Inclusion

Who should adapt ‘at home’? Microdynamics of social exchange for reciprocal integration among migrants and hosts

Minna Paunova & Maribel Blasco

Introduction

Large-scale sociological studies have confirmed the rise of prejudice against migrants in various European societies (Semyonov et al., 2006), but the underlying micro-social dynamics and implications for host engagement with migrants, and vice versa, are not well understood. An understanding of exchange dynamics between hosts and migrants is crucial in designing measures to support harmonious relations, improve professional and social opportunities for both groups, and mitigate potentially self-exclusionary tendencies, such as radicalization (Lyons-Padilla et al., 2015). Host societies that are unable or unwilling to engage in exchange with migrants risk missing out on their potential professional and/or social contributions; and even experience challenges to their collective sense of non-belonging ‘at home’ (Kymlicka, 2013). Migrants who cannot or will not exchange with hosts may find their access to jobs, financial services, and education limited, hindering their social integration and depriving them of ‘participation parity’ (Fraser, 2003) and a sense of belonging in the host society (Cheah et al., 2013; Croucher et al., 2016; Salignac et al., 2016), and increasing the risk that both groups may engage in self-protective strategies such as self-exclusion or ‘self-encapsulation’ (EC, 2008; Rezaei, 2002).

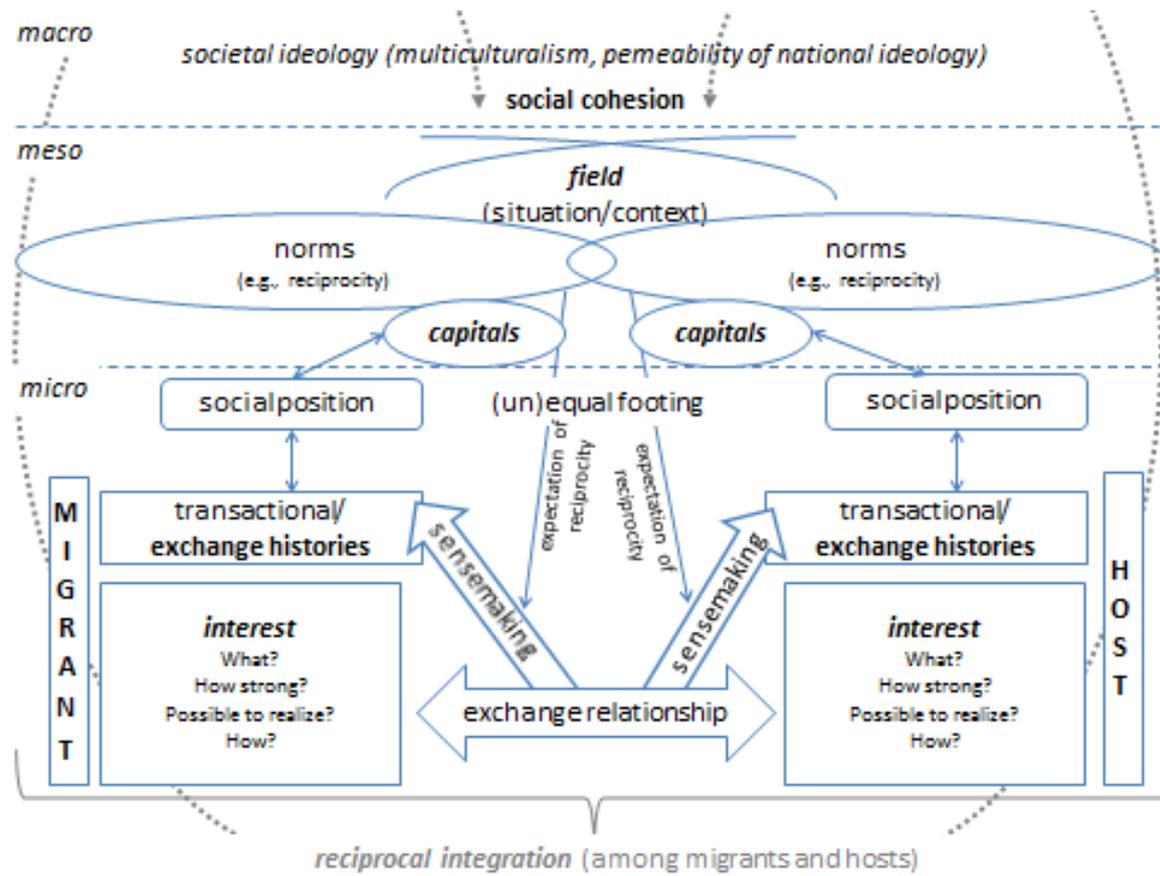
Our aim is, therefore, to develop the domain of **reciprocal integration** between migrants and hosts, with a view to investigating and disseminating the idea that integration requires mutual engagement between the two parties. So far, most research on integration has focused either on migrants’ attitudes and conditions for adaptation to their host societies, or on hosts’ perceptions of migrants; and only more recently have researchers begun to pay more attention to the *receiving* society (Van Oudenhoven et al. 2006). In practice, however, most integration efforts are still geared towards changing migrants’ attitudes and behaviors, but rarely those of hosts, perpetuating the notion that integration is a one-way street. We develop the idea that integration is a mutual effort that stems from micro-level exchange

interactions that accumulate over time to result in generalized trust (or lack thereof) and recognition between migrants and hosts.

We provisionally define reciprocal integration as *micro exchange interactions involving perceived symmetry and mutual engagement between migrants and hosts*. Our broader theoretical aim is to conceptualize how such micro exchange interactions, and sense-making about them both by migrants and hosts, shape broader *societal outcomes* such as social cohesion. Our conceptualization of reciprocal integration seeks to capture the seemingly banal and involuntary interactions that are in focus in recent research on everyday subtle racism (for example, Sue et al., 2007 in Wong et al., 2014: 3; Chew, 2010) but extends beyond it in that we address how such interactions affect both migrants' and hosts' sense of symmetry in a *two-way* process, rather than just focusing on the one-sided exclusionary maneuver implied in the concept of racism. We thus also avoid normative categorizations of practices or actors as 'racist' or 'exclusionary', and instead focus on attaining a deeper understanding of how exchange interactions are construed both by migrants and hosts in specific situations and social contexts involving different constellations of actors/social positions. This approach further allows for possible variations in migrant experiences depending on the latter factors; and for the possibility that what constitutes the majority group (what we have hitherto called 'host') may vary according to these same factors, and that there may be multiple majority groups in any given context (cf. Horenczyk et al. 2013).

Our conceptual piece is structured as follows. First, we overview the literature on integration at the micro and macro levels of analysis, and we appraise the concept vis-a-vis related ideas, such as acculturation, multiculturalism and assimilation. Our review shows that more attention to how integration unfolds reciprocally is needed at the micro, interactional level of analysis. Subsequently, we argue that a social exchange perspective within a broader Bourdieu-inspired framework can help flesh out integration as a dynamic, two-way process, and link between the micro and macro levels of analysis. We use this conceptual framework to propose a set of research questions that can help guide future research on reciprocal integration. We then discuss the implications of reciprocal integration for social cohesion. Our reasoning is schematically presented in the Figure.

Figure. The process of reciprocal integration



What is integration?

Integration is a multifaceted concept that has been examined at multiple levels of analysis, within various spheres of social life, and from several theoretical angles (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). From a macro perspective, integration refers to a characteristic of a social system (e.g., a society), and is closely related to the concept of social cohesion: the more a society is integrated, the more closely and the more intensely its constituent parts – groups or individuals – relate to one another. Social cohesion may be regarded as the degree of interconnectedness between individuals that “is both a result and cause of public and civic life”, and that encompasses feelings of commitment, trust, and norms of reciprocity and is demonstrated by participation in networks and civic organizations (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014: 460). Perhaps because social cohesion is difficult to appraise directly, a concrete way to study integration at the macro level, has been in terms of indicators of integration along three dimensions: socio-economic (e.g., migrant labor market participation, income level), legal and political (e.g., citizenship, civic participation), and

cultural (e.g., attitudes towards rules and norms of the host country, language skills; Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003).

From a more micro perspective (i.e., group or individual), different levels of acculturation have been put forward as possible modes of migrant integration. Four types of acculturation strategies can result at the individual level (Berry 1997) – integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization – and four possible types of intercultural strategies can arise at group level – multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, and exclusion. From this perspective, the key question driving research on integration is “how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to *adapt* to new contexts that result from migration” (Berry, 1997: 6, emphasis added). An alternative, but similar model is the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) that explores how the intercultural orientations of the majority group interplay with those of migrant groups and how these lead to specific relational outcomes (Bourhis et al. 1997 in Horenczyk et al. 2013: 206). These intercultural orientations vary depending on the extent to which migrants wish to relinquish aspects of their own culture and adopt aspects of the host culture; and on hosts’ attitudes to these migrant orientations.

In this model, the expectations of the host society towards migrants (e.g., in highly assimilationist societies the prevailing discourse may expect migrants to relinquish their own culture in favor of the host culture) are powerful in shaping the overall acculturation preferences both of host and migrant groups; and if both groups share similar acculturation orientations then more harmonious intergroup relations may be expected. Alternatively, responses such as negative stereotypes and communication, discrimination, stress and reduced wellbeing may result (Bourhis et al., 1997 in Horenczyk et al., 2013: 206). The so-called Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA), which builds on these ideas, has found that the ‘fit’ between the acculturation expectations of majority and migrant groups was the best predictor of harmonious intergroup relations (Brown & Zagefka, 2011 in Horenczyk et al., 2013: 208); and the related Relative Acculturation Extended Model gauges both real acculturation strategies that migrant groups have adopted and which hosts believe they adopt; contra ideal acculturation options that migrants would like to adopt and which hosts would prefer them to adopt (Navas et al., 2005).

Finally, and closest to our own proposed concept of reciprocal integration, Horenczyk’s notion of ‘mutuality in acculturation’ defines mutuality as “a reciprocal

relationship between two or more people or things” which refers to the intergroup processes resulting from acculturation and which shape acculturation patterns. The concept has previously been used to capture the bidirectional way in which “both individuals and groups in contact influence each other and both groups can change” (Horenczyk et al., 2013: 205). The concept importantly recognizes that mere passive ‘tolerance’ is insufficient to achieve a well-functioning integration, but that a truly multicultural society requires an effort by the majority group to engage with migrants as well (Kunst et al., 2015). It thus extends prior research on acculturation, such as the influential work carried out by Berry and others, mentioned above, which has focused largely on one group’s attachment to own cultural norms, and its willingness to enter into contact with another given group; on how such acculturation processes were managed by, and affected, the individuals concerned, and on their acculturation strategies (Horenczyk et al., 2013).

Yet although all these models emphasize to a greater or less extent that “*mutual accommodation* is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples” (Berry, 1997: 10, emphasis in the original), research on integration at the micro level has focused largely on the individual (i.e., migrants’) psychological “strategies” of adaptation and acculturation to the new cultural context of the host society. Indeed, *mutual acculturation* seldom means *symmetrical acculturation* (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003): nearly always, migrants (are expected to) adapt a lot more to their changed environment than the native population does. Host society expectations are seen as defining to a greater or lesser extent the preferred orientations of both groups, and smooth integration is seen as dependent on the migrant group deferring to these. The micro-level strategy of integration has therefore been conjoined with a macro-level, societal strategy of multiculturalism (Berry & Sam, 2013). Here, the relationship between integration and multiculturalism is unidirectional – so that migrant integration (i.e., mutual accommodation between migrants and hosts) is actually only theoretically possible in multicultural societies (Berry, 1997). To proceed with this line of reasoning, it is important to briefly discuss the concepts of multiculturalism and assimilation vis-à-vis integration.

Like integration, multiculturalism is conceptually manifold, and consists of at least the following three aspects¹: (a) a reflection of a collective’s ethnocultural demographic

¹ Recently, Bloemraad and Wright (2014) added a fourth dimension to encompass *public discourse* on multiculturalism.

diversity, that is, a descriptive account of the actual pluralism present in a given social group; (b) a political philosophy aimed at recognizing and accommodating the differences that result from demographic diversity, and (c) a public policy instrument to help achieve objectives based on the above political philosophy (Berry et al., 1977, cited in Ng & Bloemraad, 2015; see also Berry & Sam, 2013). First, ethnocultural diversity, or *demographic multiculturalism*, has grown dramatically in many countries as a result of globalization, migration, and so forth, to the extent that we now observe “superdiversity” in some liberal democracies (Vertovec, 2007).

The presence of diversity thereby necessitates that host societies (or dominant groups) deal with groups who are different from themselves. Diversity orientations encompass the beliefs and attitudes espoused by host country nationals regarding the treatment of ethnocultural groups, their status, and how they should be incorporated into the host country society. As mentioned previously, diversity orientations can take the form of assimilation (i.e., an expectation for migrants or ethnic minorities to take on the culture of the dominant group), separation (i.e., when minorities refuse to adopt the dominant group culture), marginalization (i.e., when the dominant group rejects the culture of minority group members), and integration or pluralism (i.e., when the dominant group and minority group members adopt and adapt to each other’s cultures; Berry, 1997). This is linked to a second dimension of multiculturalism, namely *multiculturalism as a political philosophy*.

Finally, despite the rise of demographic multiculturalism, *multiculturalism as a public policy* instrument has been in decline across liberal nation states (Bloemraad & Wright, 2014; Joppke & Morawska, 2002; Kymlicka, 2010). Measures such as the multiculturalism policy index (MCP index) or the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) show that Denmark, France, Germany, Norway, and Switzerland are among the least multicultural of all countries measured (Bloemraad, 2011). In many cases, “policy” represents an absence of multiculturalism policy making, such as with Denmark’s assimilationist approach (Meer et al., 2015, in Berry & Sam, 2013). Despite variations between nation states, the overall tendency across the West is return to assimilation (Brubaker, 2001). This tendency has been accompanied by a shift from “the automatic valorization of cultural differences to a renewed concern with civic integration” (Brubaker, 2001: 542).

In summary, integration as a strategy of multiculturalism *or* assimilation has been extensively debated in the literature. Yet, “limiting the debate on integration to a controversy between multiculturalism and assimilation tends to overemphasize the relevance of the cultural dimension at the expense of legal and socio-economic aspects” of integration (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003: 14). To better understand this tension, it is helpful to consider that cultural integration (i.e., acculturation) is only one of two facets of integration, and what was initially labeled assimilation (cf. Berry, 1997; Brubaker, 2001). However, integration has a structural, in addition to cultural, dimension. The structural and cultural aspects map onto what Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) call the incidence dimension and an identity (i.e., normative) dimension of integration. While the two are intrinsically related, they do not always correlate; increased acculturation does not necessarily imply increased structural (e.g., civic) integration, and vice versa. In extant literature, the structural dimension points at the increase of social participation of individuals and groups in a larger society, basically at an institutional level, while the cultural dimension points at processes of value orientation and identification of migrants (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). In other words, the former refers to an increase in migrant participation in the major institutions of a society (e.g., labor market, education, and health care system), while the latter to changes in the migrants’ cultural orientation and identification. As we can see, structural integration has been conceived largely at the macro level, whereas cultural integration is almost entirely “up to the migrant”.

As we will try to argue, this conceptualization of integration vis-à-vis multiculturalism places undue emphasis on migrants and the state, disregarding whether and how hosts reciprocally “adapt” to and engage with migrants. Furthermore, it fails to explain how social cohesion may be attained from the bottom up. Relatedly, it over-psychologizes the process of integration, basically delimiting it to questions of identity and identification, cultural adaptation and preferences and attitudes towards the other group – essentially host self-perceptions and perceptions of migrants, as well as their mutual tolerance, expectations, attributions, and *willingness* to engage and/or adapt (Kunst et al. 2015; Horenczyk et al. 2013), but neglecting the *micro-relational* aspect of how concrete interactions accumulate to support or undermine cohesion at the societal level. Neither does this literature explore the *processual* and *situational* aspect of acculturation, including whether, how, why and in what contexts particular acculturation orientations develop over time in particular ways, and how people make assumptions about each other’s orientations and behaviors.

With these considerations in mind, we will shortly argue that in order to move research forward, it is critically important to move beyond cultural adaptation (e.g., mutuality in acculturation: Horenczyk et al., 2013) and consider how micro-relational dynamics of reciprocal integration unfold, and thereby translate into broader social cohesion (i.e., macro-level structural integration). In what follows, we will focus on the structure-culture interplay at the micro relational level, that is, at the interface of migrant and host relations. We will demonstrate that reciprocal integration may be understood as micro exchange interactions.

Towards a conceptualization of *reciprocal integration*

Motivated by the gaps in the literature about the *relational* dimension of host-migrant interaction at the micro level, in the following we develop a conceptual framework for studying *reciprocal integration*. Building on existing research on mutual acculturation, we provisionally (pending empirical research) define reciprocal integration as *micro exchange interactions involving perceived mutual engagement and symmetry*. We take our point of departure in social exchange theory and Bourdieu's concepts of *capital* and *field* to frame our study of exchange relations between migrants and hosts, and we operationalize these concepts within an overall framework of *sense-making* (cf. Weick et al., 2005). We focus on *exchange interactions* at the micro level (rather than merely focusing on 'interactions', for instance), because high-quality social exchange relationships are associated with a sense of justice and are known to enhance a sense of cohesion, inclusion and trust (Joshi et al., 2011). Our concept of reciprocal integration therefore places hosts and migrants, conceptually, on an equal footing, in the sense that both parties are regarded as equally susceptible to the effects of exchange interactions (such as perceived violations) and responsible for assuring symmetry in these (cf. also Kunst et al., 2015) – however that is defined (see below). Thus, both hosts and migrants may feel poorly treated or excluded as a result of unsatisfactory exchange interactions or, conversely, affirmed and recognized.

Social exchange theory offers a conceptual framework for analysing interactions as *interdependent* (i.e., contingent on another's responses; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005), in line with our focus on reciprocal integration. If those responses are consistently rewarding, this is conducive to positive relationships over time, the assumption being that resources will only continue to be exchanged if there is reciprocity – a 'return' on one's investment (Joshi et al. 2011; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Emerson, 1976: 359). By

‘exchange’, we refer both to formal forms of exchange involving the exchange of goods and services through monetary transactions, as well as informal exchange, such as the exchange of goods, knowledge and favors, that does not involve a monetary transaction but which may have material outcomes (e.g., access to jobs, improved work performance, etc.). Following Bourdieu (1986), we consider both formal (e.g., monetary) and informal exchange as inherently social with interpersonal manifestations at the micro level (Machado, 2011; Swedberg, 2006).

Exchange interactions are governed by norms that shape expectations about the rights and obligations of the involved parties, and about *what* should be exchanged, among *whom*, *how*, in which *context/situation*. These norms are known to differ dramatically cross-culturally (Emerson, 1976; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). We propose that the concept of *symmetry* is helpful in linking notions of (e.g., distributive) justice at the societal level with host-migrant exchange interactions at the micro level, since perceptions of entitlement also affect people’s expectations about fair treatment, and their responses when they feel that justice has been violated at the interpersonal level: “For instance, being undeservedly ostracized or excluded from an interaction can be experienced as unjust and induce anger (Chow et al., 2008). Researchers have theorized that such disrespectful actions are experienced as unjust because they deprive people of the respect to which they feel entitled (Bourdieu, 1965 in Sawaoka et al., 2015: 1024) or because they “subject people to a harmful moral experience that they do not deserve (W. I. Miller, 1993)” (Sawaoka et al., 2015: 1024). In other words, negative reactions to injustice arise from a perceived mismatch – or lack of symmetry - between people’s deserved and experienced outcomes (Sawaoka et al., 2015: 1024). These responses to perceived injustices vary individually, since people’s sense of entitlement varies according to the ‘powerfulness’ of their social position. Debates about migration point to the importance played by notions of distributive justice, notably with regard to societal resources, and to a sense of indignation, typically on the part of the host society, that migrants are receiving a disproportionate proportion of those resources and/or getting more than they deserve (cf. Kunst et al., 2015). Recent research conducted in the US further suggests that “not all migrants are created equal;” they may, for instance, be perceived more or less favorably depending on their country of origin (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006). In addition to country of origin, exchange relationships may also be colored by spatial location, situation, gender, age, profession and professional status, education, religion,

socioeconomic status, etc. There is, for instance, some evidence that racial and ethnic stereotypes may vary by gender (Chew, 2010; Galinsky et al., 2013; Eagly & Kite, 1987).

Research on reciprocity has, moreover, shown that adults spontaneously classify relationships – and by extension their expectations of those relationships – according to four basic categories: “(1) communal-sharing relationships that involve equal distribution and shared identity, (2) authority-ranked relationships that are hierarchical and characterized by dominance, (3) equality-matched relationships that entail an equitable exchange of benefits, and (4) market-priced relationships that rely on schemes for weighing the subjective utility of resources” (Fiske, 1992 in Laursen & Hartup, 2002: 29). This suggests that relationships (including perceptions about the other party’s power, and about the type of relationship at stake) are likely both to shape, and be shaped by, notions of symmetry in exchange interactions, so that how one classifies a relationship affects one’s expectations of an exchange interaction, and therefore also one’s interpretation of the interaction and one’s satisfaction with the outcome. Reciprocity theory further distinguishes between ‘symmetrical reciprocity’, where two people contribute approximately the same to an exchange or relationship; and ‘complementary reciprocity’ where the contributions are not equivalent but may compensate or complement one another (e.g., in parent-child relationships) (Laursen & Hartup, 2002). A situation is, therefore, theoretically possible in which both parties accept that a satisfactory or ‘fair’ exchange interaction between them would involve one or both parties’ acceptance of their unequal status, power and hence bargaining positions at the outset – and hence also their acceptance or otherwise of a seemingly unjust outcome.

The concepts of social and redistributive justice (i.e., symmetry in particular), thus enable us to conceptualize how exchange interactions at the micro level are associated with social position and power at the meso level, and social cohesion as a potential outcome. Yet research has focused very little on the social positions and categorizations of migrants and hosts, focusing instead on contextual factors such as access to resources and degree of exposure to one another. Following from this, we find Bourdieu’s concepts of social, cultural and economic capital helpful both in conceptualizing how these transactions are shaped by migrants’ and hosts’ positions in a given field (*who* exchanges, with *whom* and *why*); and in grasping the *resources* that are exchanged in their transactions (*what* is exchanged). These social positions are based on categorization of oneself and others that could be either horizontal and nominal, and/or vertical and graduated (i.e., Blau’s heterogeneity and inequality in relation to age, gender, employment status, or national and ethnic background;

Blau, 1977). In addition to formed on the basis of horizontal and/or vertical categories, social categorization is perceptual, that is, contingent on the actual or perceived possession of various forms of capital. As such, it is likely to influence *who* exchanges *what* with *whom*, with implications for the ultimate accumulation or erosion of different forms of capital by the two parties, migrants and hosts.² Kunst et al. (2015: 1439) point out that “Migrants usually hold significantly lower socio-economic positions than majority members” but this is not always the case. For example, in the Danish context characterized by strong assimilationism (Meer et al., in Berry & Sam, 2013), migrant knowledge workers with high-status jobs and plentiful socioeconomic resources are known to be hard to retain – not due to professional reasons but because they find it challenging to integrate socially with Danes (Oxford Research, 2010). Socio-economic position and power are known to affect people’s sense of entitlement and their sensitivity to perceived unfair treatment over unequal distribution of resources (Sawaoka et al., 2015), with more powerful people perceiving and reacting more swiftly to supposed unfairness. This makes it extremely pertinent also to enable theorizing about what happens in situations where migrants hold higher status positions than locals (here Danes), for instance in workplaces. Research has also focused far less on powerful people’s reactions when they are unfairly treated than on less powerful people’s responses (Sawaoka et al., 2015).

In addition to power and positions, a social exchange framework requires conceptual attention to the notion of *interest*, since this is the fundamental motivation that drives actors to engage in exchange. Actors are only likely to engage in voluntary exchange if they feel that there is ‘something in it for them’ and, as mentioned above, if they expect at least some degree of reciprocity. Key questions, then, are *what* interests are being pursued, how *strong* they are (e.g., a religious interest may take precedence over an economic interest, etc.), and *how* do actors go about realizing them (Swedberg, 2004). For the purposes of our

² It would therefore be methodologically appropriate in operationalizing this framework to cover: i) ‘equal footing’ contexts where migrants encounter host culture members with similar social positions (e.g., income and educational levels), or where one group has a different kind of power over the other (e.g., high status in a workplace organization versus in a leisure association); ii) ‘unequal footing’ contexts where migrants encounter host culture members with significantly lower or higher income and educational levels or where one group has power over another in some other way (e.g., power to grant benefits of some kind, sharing of vital information, etc.).

conceptual framework, we understand ‘interest’ as encompassing both economic and non-economic interests (e.g., the desire to be socially included), and following Sen (1986, in Swedberg, 2004: 9) we are not concerned with whether an interest is ‘rational’ or not in the mainstream economic sense, but in *interest realization* to use Sen’s term, which simply establishes that an interest exists and that an actor attempts to realize it. The rationality of interest, thus conceptualized, is therefore entirely subjective; and an actor’s ability to realize his/her interest is not given but may vary according to situation (and/or field) (Swedberg 2004).

Thus, we also anticipate that exchange relations, including interests and specific practices, may vary across *fields*, defined following Bourdieu as settings in which actors and their social positions are located (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007). Previous research on acculturation (e.g., the Relative Acculturation Extended Model, or RAEM) differentiates between the different spheres in which migrant-majority group interaction takes place: namely work, political, economic, social, family, religious and way of life (Navas et al., 2005 in Horenczyk, 2013). We focus on fields because there is evidence that acculturation patterns may vary in different *spheres of interaction*, such as work, social, etc. (Horenczyk et al., 2013). An actor’s position in a given field is a result of his/her habitus, cultural/social/economic capital, and the particular ‘rules of the game’ that govern the field in question, which are usually subordinated to wider power and class relations in the broader social field. Positions within any given field are always *relational* and subject to ongoing struggles to appropriate capital. The concept of field also takes account of broader societal dynamics beyond the individual and interactional level, in line with our ambition to link the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis.

We predict that exchange transactions are shaped not only by the migrants’ but also hosts’ social positions in a given field, which we conceptualize, following Bourdieu, as shaped by their actual and perceived possession of various forms of social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2007), which in turn is shaped by intersecting factors such as gender, class, nationality/ethnicity, etc. (cf. Paunova 2016). However, we are alert to how micro-dynamics of exchange may not amount to neat, linear outcomes determined by capitals. For instance, capitals may not always be recognized by others, it may be possible to lose or withhold capital, and one or both parties may resist exchange in a given situation (Erel, 2010 offers empirical examples of some of these situations). Capitals may also be used strategically and produced in interactions, and may therefore also constitute

outcomes of, and not only preconditions for, exchange interactions; they should therefore not merely be conceptualized as something that migrants bring with them to their host countries (cf. the ‘rucksack’ approach to capital critiqued in Erel, 2010) and which determine their social position and the exchange relations in which they engage. The concept of capital, although normally used for individual level analysis, also provides a link to broader societal structures, since “measures of cultural capital are shaped by policy constructions of national economic interests, and protectionist professional policies” (Erel, 2010: 646). Thus, cultural capital (such as professional qualifications), for instance, may not be recognized in the new national context, and may therefore be contextually / situationally dependent and non-transferrable in some cases.

Making sense of exchange interactions

We use a sense-making framework both to capture how migrants and hosts perceive and categorize exchange interactions (cf. the four exchange relationship categories outlined above), including how transaction histories develop, and more broadly to theorize the link between the micro individual and relational levels, and the meso (field) and macro societal levels of analysis. Sense-making theory addresses how people categorize experiences into what is familiar and what is not, i.e., what feels ‘different’. Weick and colleagues (2005) note that when things feel ‘different’, they are experienced as a disruption – e.g., surprise or breakdown – of a person’s expectations regarding the everyday flow of events, or in unfamiliar contexts (such as exchange interactions in unfamiliar contexts or with unfamiliar interlocutors) where one’s usual sense-making no longer works. Disruptions consist of the related phenomena of *noticing and bracketing*, which involve noticing ‘cues’ and thereby singling out things that stand out from the normal flux of events. Disruptions typically result in people searching for plausible explanations or ‘justifications’ in their surrounding context in order to restore ‘sense’ (Weick 2012) and, once that is done, a new meaning, or category, must be found for the thing that has occurred and been interpreted but which ‘does not yet have a name’ (Magala 1997 in Weick et al., 2005, 411). This ‘labelling’ process enables a person to apprehend it and re-engage in action in the future, having interpreted the disruptive event and figured out a way to deal with it. In this way, labelling enables action but it may also remove the need to seek further explanation for the anomaly in

the future, thereby potentially ‘fixing’ a person’s likely future interpretation of, and response to, cues perceived as similar (cf. Weick 2012).

Sense-making theory is well suited for analyzing experiences of exchange interactions, since it enables us to locate the ‘moments’ where migrants and hosts experience disruptions in their interactions with one another, to identify the cues that trigger these disruptions, and to document their interpretations, responses and future strategies they may plan to mobilize in similar situations. We should also be able to tease out the schema, including the normative frameworks, used by both parties in assessing each other’s behavior in these interactions. While sense-making is an ongoing process (Weick et al. 2005), once cues are ‘catalogued’ and thereby perhaps also constitute a fixed part of the frame people use to make sense of future situations, new cues in similar situations that are not consistent with this framework may no longer even be noticed, let alone interpreted differently, a phenomenon also known from schema and stereotype theory (Tuckey & Brewer, 2003).

Over time, through this sense-making process, we expect exchange interactions to accumulate into more or less coherent ‘transaction histories’ (see Bourdieu, 1986) both for migrants and hosts. In this way, exchange interactions become both constitutive of, and expressive of, their *relationships*. Using e.g., a narrative method that encourages interviewees to report retrospectively on their sense-making processes, a picture of these transaction histories, including disrupted expectations and norms (cf. social exchange theory, above), should emerge.

Linking micro-, meso- and macro levels

The framework outlined above offers several opportunities for linking the micro-, meso- and macro levels. First, we think that the concept of *symmetry* is helpful in linking notions of distributive justice at the societal level with host-migrant exchange interactions at the micro level through the concept of *social position*, which shapes people’s sense of entitlement and expectations of fair treatment. Second, the concept of individual *interest* can only be realized through social relations (Swedberg, 2004), and therefore provides a means to conceptualize the link between individual interests and exchange relationships. Third, Bourdieu’s concepts of *capital* and *field* offer linkages between individual actors’ positions in a given field (as a result of his/her habitus,

cultural/social/economic capital), and the ‘rules of the game’ of the field in question, which are usually subordinated to wider power and class relations in the broader social field, thereby linking the micro, meso and macro levels. The challenge then becomes to trace the mechanisms through which the structures of a field exert pressure on social actors (Swedberg, 2004). We predict that these interactions (or their avoidance), as they accumulate at micro level over time into *exchange histories* through the process of *sensemaking*, may come to symbolize acts of *organizational* and/or *societal* recognition and non-recognition, trust and distrust, inclusion or exclusion/ self-exclusion, and ultimately belonging and non-belonging by a ‘generalised other’ (Mead, 2015). Empirical investigation is needed into the role played by exchange transactions in triggering assumptions about ‘generalised others’, both for migrants and hosts, as we predict that this will have implications for social cohesion at the macro level, as we will discuss shortly.

Finally, the concept of national identity, closely related to notions of multiculturalism as political philosophy, may be helpful in bridging micro and macro levels in conceptualizing exchange interactions. Kunst et al. (2015: 1439) suggest that some national identities may be more permeable and/or inclusive than others, and that this is likely to affect majority integration efforts (though this ‘permeability’ has as yet been little studied). Also relevant may be the stage at which a given society finds itself in terms of “the transformation from an ethno-culturally homogeneous to a multicultural society that results from immigration [and which] often challenges the boundaries of majority members’ national identity concepts” (Uberoi, 2008 in Kunst et al., 2015: 1439). From a Bourdieu perspective, the state has overriding symbolic power to recognize and legitimize cultural capital (e.g., by refusing to recognize qualifications obtained abroad), so we may hypothesize that state ideologies and discourses regarding migrants will filter downwards via institutionalized channels such as qualification conversion limitations and prerequisites for employment (e.g., linguistic skills or local work experience, cf. Erel, 2010), thus playing out in various ways in migrant-host exchange interactions. Along similar lines, we may speculate that national identities underpinned by self-stereotypes of having a lot to offer (e.g., a well-functioning, developed society with high levels of welfare), as is arguably the case for Denmark, may be more likely to espouse anti-migrant ideologies than less affluent and developed nations. An obvious contrasting case here is Uganda, recently applauded for its extremely hospitable treatment of refugees (The Guardian, 2017; see also Betts et al. 2015). This should, therefore,

be investigated in connection with any empirical inquiry into reciprocal integration. Our conceptual framework outlined above raises the following research questions.

- How do people make sense of micro exchange interactions and (narratives about these)? And how does this sense-making feed into thoughts about possible future actions?
- How do people respond to perceived violations of norms or unsatisfactory exchanges (or to satisfactory ones)?
- What role do exchange interactions play in the conversion, for migrants, of one kind of capital to another (e.g., social to economic)?
- Do people narrate their ‘exchange histories’ as cumulative or characterized by rupture/revision?
- Do people ‘solidify’ their schema and stop ‘seeing’ new cues from the environment, as a result of unsatisfactory exchange interactions?
- Is there consensus among the actors involved about the symmetry of the exchange interaction?
- Is ‘symmetry’ conceived of in different ways by migrants and hosts, respectively – or within these groups? When is symmetry, or balance, achieved in exchange interactions between ‘equal’ parties cf. ‘unequal’ parties? What constitutes symmetry in these interactions? Is this idea the same for the party with the ‘upper hand’ cf. the ‘lower hand’?
- What strategies, if any, do people devise to avoid unsatisfactory exchanges or promote satisfactory ones, and with what perceived effects?
- Do hosts and migrants, respectively, regard each other as representatives of a ‘generalized Other’ in their exchange interactions? If so, at what point do exchange transactions become symbolic of this generalized other, and what is the nature of the exchange interaction triggering this form of sense-making?
- (cf. previous question) If hosts and migrants, respectively, do not regard each other as representatives of a ‘generalized Other’ in their exchange interactions, can this orientation be traced to a particular exchange interaction in which the other party’s behavior is no longer taken to symbolize the generalized Other?
- Do particular national identities, more than others, predispose locals to consider that they have ‘more to offer’ in an exchange situation with migrants?

Discussion and conclusion

Although exchange relations and reciprocity are known to be fundamental to all human relationships and activity – to the extent that some researchers claim that humans are ‘hard-wired’ to understand relationships in this way (Laursen & Hartup, 2002) – very little attention has been paid to this in the literature on migrant-host relations. This despite the fact that much of the negative discourse and discontent surrounding mass migration, typically from the host perspective, stems from a perception that migrants ‘get’ far more than they ‘give’ to their host societies (cf. Kunst et al., 2015, above) – in other words that the exchange relationship is unequal. Perhaps the lack of attention to exchange relations between migrants and hosts has to do with the fact that the very concept of exchange implies that both parties have something to offer that the other party wants or needs. This idea is not very commonplace in debates about migration, perhaps exactly because of the way the host-migrant relationship is framed as inherently unequal, thus seemingly obviating any notion of ‘exchange’ before it even gets off the ground.

We expect that the micro-dynamics of reciprocal integration would trickle up to affect various outcomes at the collective level. We are particularly interested in macro-level integration, that is, social cohesion.³ Social cohesion may decrease as multiculturalism, or demographic heterogeneity, in society increases – the so-called constrict hypothesis (Putnam 2007). While there is mixed evidence in support of this hypothesis (i.e., “cacophony of empirical findings”, Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014: 460), multiculturalism as demographic trend, political philosophy, and public policy has been linked not only to social cohesion, but to a number of other threats and opportunities for social groups (Ng & Bloemraad, 2015). Multiculturalism has been associated with the creation of faultlines, fostering separate and parallel lives, hindering equality, posing a threat to nationalism and national identity, clashing with Western liberal values, and burdening state welfare. Meanwhile, multiculturalism has also been argued and/or shown to foster collective identity, promote cultural tolerance and modernization, help in the incorporation of ethnocultural minorities, attract talent, serve as source of competitive advantage, and provide political gains. We believe that our framework

³ We choose to focus on social cohesion rather than related concepts such as trust and social capital (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014) in line with an existing conceptualization of macro-level integration as social cohesion (Entinzer & Biezeveld, 2003).

can help shed novel light on the mechanisms underpinning these paradoxical claims, as we will illustrate with regard to social cohesion.

Two mechanisms help explain a potential negative effect of demographic multiculturalism on social cohesion: ethnic threat and anomie (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Despite their differences, both mechanisms implicitly assume the homophily principle (i.e., people prefer to interact with others similar to themselves, even without a dislike for ethnic others). Focusing on exchange, and including considerations of interests, capitals, equal and unequal footing of the exchange partners, etc. our framework moves beyond considerations of homophily and illustrates some of the conditions under which dissimilar individuals nonetheless relate to each other.

For example, an important distinction in social cohesion research is the one between formal and informal cohesion, based on the level of institutionalization of social relationships (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Extant research, particularly research that has found support for the constrict hypothesis, has focused heavily on informal cohesion (i.e., informal bonds that are particularistic, tied to particular people or social groups). Our framework helps understand cohesion in “formally constituted organizations or activities” (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014: 461) because of our focus on exchange relations within various fields. Therefore, our framework should help to illuminate mechanisms that transform formalized relations between dissimilar individuals into informal cohesion through the dynamics of social exchange, highlighting dyadic effects that may trump homophily.

Second, cohesion may be formed by at least two modes: attitudinal (e.g., dislike, trust, and fear) and behavioral (e.g., contact, association). Again, the majority of studies, particularly those that show negative effects on social cohesion, have focused on attitudes (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Our framework should help to show how exchange behaviors interplay with migrant and host attitudes towards one another. Unlike the majority of empirical and theoretical research that focuses on attitudes towards the other group – essentially willingness to engage – we study reciprocal integration as a two-way process of micro social interactions involving mutual engagement. It is relevant to note that, in extant literature, the behavioral facets of cohesion overlap considerably with the formal facets (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Our framework provides nuance along these lines as well, by showing how generalized, informal attitudes relate to informal as well as formal behaviors of exchange. In sum, the question of social cohesion is not the traditional “Who is connected?”

or even “Who is connected to whom?” but rather “Who is connected to whom, where, and how?” (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). By disentangling the cultural from structural at the micro level, and by investigating who exchanges with whom, where, and how, we show the conceptual potential of reciprocal integration to address questions of social cohesion.

References

- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5-34.
- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (2013). Accommodating cultural diversity and achieving equity: An introduction to psychological dimensions of multiculturalism. *European Psychologist*, 18, 151-157.
- Berry, J. W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Supply and Services Canada.
- Betts, A., Bloom, L., & Weaver, N. (2015). *Refugee Innovation: Humanitarian Innovation that Starts with Communities:[report]*. Refugee Studies Centre.
- Blau, P. M. (1977). *Inequality and heterogeneity: A primitive theory of social structure* (Vol. 7). New York: Free Press.
- Bloemraad, I. (2011). The debate over multiculturalism: Philosophy, politics, and policy, Available at <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/print/4298#.WTUjD-uGOM81/9>
- Bloemraad, I., & Wright, M. (2014). “Utter failure” or unity out of diversity? Debating and evaluating policies of multiculturalism. *International Migration Review*, 48(Suppl. 1), S292-S334.
- Bourdieu, P. and L. Wacquant (2007) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Brubaker, R. (2001). The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4), 531-548.

Cheah, W. H., Karamelic-Muratovic, A., & Matsuo, H. (2013). Ethnic-group strength among Bosnian refugees in St. Louis, Missouri, and host receptivity and conformity pressure. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 11(4): 401-415.

Chew, P. K. (2010). Seeing subtle racism. *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties*, 6: 183.

Council of the European Union. (2004). *Common basic principles on immigrants' integration*. 2618th Meeting of the Justice and Home Affairs Council, 14615/04, Brussels, 19 November 2004.

Cropanzano, M. & Mitchell, M.S. (2005) Social Exchange Theory: An Interdisciplinary Review. *Journal of Management*. 31 (6): 874-900.

Croucher, S. M., & Kramer, E. (2016). Cultural fusion theory: An alternative to acculturation. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 1-18.

Eagly, A. H., & Kite, M. E. (1987). Are stereotypes of nationalities applied to both women and men?. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53(3), 451.

EC (2008). Financial services provision and prevention of financial exclusion. *European Commission*.

Emerson, R. M. (1976). Social Exchange Theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2: 335-362.

Entzinger, H., & Biezeveld, R. (2003). *Benchmarking in immigrant integration*. Rotterdam: Erasmus University.

Erel, U. (2010). Migrating cultural capital: Bourdieu in migration studies. *Sociology*, 44(4), 642-660.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002) A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82: 878-902.

Galinsky A. D., Hall E. V., Cuddy, A. J. (2013). Gendered races implications for interracial marriage, leadership selection, and athletic participation. *Psychological Science*, 24: 498-506.

Horenczyk, G., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2013). Mutuality in acculturation: Toward an integration. *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*, 221(4), 205.

Joppke, C., & Morawska, E. (Eds.) (2002). *Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation-states*. Springer.

Joshi, A., Liao, H., & Roh, H. (2011). Bridging domains in workplace demography research: A review and reconceptualization. *Journal of Management*, 37(2), 521-552.

Kunst, J. R., Thomsen, L., Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2015). “We Are in This Together” Common Group Identity Predicts Majority Members’ Active Acculturation Efforts to Integrate Migrants. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(10), 1438-1453.

Kymlicka, W. (2010). The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. *International Social Science Journal*, 61(199), 97-112.

Laursen, B., & Hartup, W. W. (2002). The origins of reciprocity and social exchange in friendships. *New directions for child and adolescent development*, 2002(95), 27-40

Lee, T. L., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the Stereotype Content Model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 30: 751–68.

Lyons-Padilla, S., Gelfand, M. J., Mirahmadi, H., Farooq, M., & van Egmond, M. (2015). Belonging nowhere: Marginalization & radicalization risk among Muslim immigrants. *Behavioral Science & Policy*, 1(2), 1-12.

Machado, N. M. C. (2011). Karl Polanyi and the new economic sociology: Notes on the concept of (dis) embeddedness. *RCCS Annual Review*, 3: 119-140.

Meer, N., Mouritsen, P., Faas, D., & de Witte, N. (2015). Examining ‘Postmulticultural’ and Civic Turns in the Netherlands, Britain, Germany, and Denmark. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(6), 702-726.

Mead, G.H. (2015) *Mind, Self, and Society: The Definitive Edition*, edited by Charles W. Morris, annotated by Daniel R. Huebner and Hans Joas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ng, E. S., & Bloemraad, I. (2015). A SWOT analysis of multiculturalism in Canada, Europe, Mauritius, and South Korea. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(6), 619–636.

Oxford Research (2010) *The Expat Study 2010*. Copenhagen: Oxford Research A/S & The Copenhagen Post.

- Paunova, M. (2016). Who gets to lead the multinational team? An updated status characteristics perspective. *human relations*, 0018726716678469.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2), 137-174.
- Rezaei, S. (2002). Indvandrererejede virksomheder.” Akademiet for Migrationsstudier Working Paper Series.
- Salignac, F., Muir, K., & Wong, J. (2016). Are you really financially excluded if you choose not to be included? Insights from social exclusion, resilience and Ecological Systems. *Journal of Social Policy*, 45(02): 269-286.
- Sawaoka, T., Hughes, B. L., & Ambady, N. (2015). Power heightens sensitivity to unfairness against the self. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(8), 1023-1035.
- Semyonov, M., Raijman, R., & Gorodzeisky, A. (2006). The rise of anti-foreigner sentiment in European societies, 1988–2000. *American Sociological Review* 71: 426–49.
- Swedberg, R. (2006) The toolkit of economic sociology. SOCIUS Working Papers, No. 4. Lisbon: Centro de Investigação em Sociologia Económica e das Organizações Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa.
- The Guardian (2017) 'The refugees are like our brothers': Uganda's example to the world – in pictures. June 21, downloaded on 23/6/2017 at 14.32 at <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/gallery/2017/jun/21/refugees-like-our-brothers-uganda-example-to-world-in-pictures>
- Tuckey, M. R., & Brewer, N. (2003). The influence of schemas, stimulus ambiguity, and interview schedule on eyewitness memory over time. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied*, 9(2), 101.
- Van der Meer, T. W. G., & Tolsma, J. (2014). Ethnic diversity and its effects on social cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40, 459–478.
- Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Ward, C., & Masgoret, A. M. (2006). Patterns of relations between immigrants and host societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6), 637-651.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.

Weick, K. E. (2012). Organized sensemaking: A commentary on processes of interpretive work. *Human Relations*, 65(1), 141-153.

Weick, K. E., K. M. Sutcliffe, and K. Obstfeld (2005) “Organizing and the Process of Sensemaking.” *Organization Science* 16 (4): 409–421.

Wong, G., Derthick, A. O., David, E. J. R., Saw, A., & Okazaki, S. (2014). The what, the why, and the how: A review of racial microaggressions research in psychology. *Race and social problems*, 6(2), 181-200.