Migrant Capital: Networks, Identities and Strategies

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# Contents

*List of Tables and Figures*  
xix

*Foreword*  
xii

*Notes on Contributors*  
xiv

## Part I Capitals

**Introduction: Understanding ‘Migrant Capital’**  
3  
*Louise Ryan, Umut Erel and Alessio D’Angelo*

1. Thinking Migrant Capitals Intersectionally: Using a Biographical Approach  
18  
*Umut Erel*

2. Embodied Cultural Capital and the Study of Ethnic Inequalities  
33  
*Maja Cederberg*

3. Breaking through the Glass Ceiling: Intercultural Communication and the Career Experiences of Skilled Immigrant Managers  
48  
*Suhair Deeb and Harald Bauder*

4. The Role of Care in Developing Capitals among Caribbean Migrant Families  
64  
*Tracey Reynolds*

## Part II Migrants’ Activism and Civic Engagement

5. Migrant Organisations: Embodied Community Capital?  
83  
*Alessio D’Angelo*

6. Diaspora, the Internet and Social Capital  
102  
*Janroj Keles*

7. Ethnic Social Capital and Political Participation of Immigrants  
117  
*Barbara Herman and Dirk Jacobs*
Part III Embedding and Integrating Networks

8 Embedding in Motion: Analysing Relational, Spatial and Temporal Dynamics among Highly Skilled Migrants 135
Louise Ryan and Jon Mulholland

9 Looking Inside the Ethnic Enclave: Inequality, Social Capital and Transnationalism 154
José Luis Molina, Hugo Valenzuela-García, Miranda Jessica Lubbers, Alejandro García-Macías and Judith Pampalona

10 Paths of Legal Integration and Migrant Social Networks: The Case of Filipina and Romanian Female Domestic Workers in Italy 172
Tiziana Caponio

11 Network Embeddedness of Migrants: Exploring Variations across Three Neighbourhoods in Vienna 188
Philipp Schnell, Josef Kohlbacher and Ursula Reeger

12 A Spectrum of Integration: Examining Combinations of Bonding and Bridging Social Capital and Network Heterogeneity among Australian Refugee and Skilled Migrants 207
Roger Patulny

References 230

Index 257
Introduction

Understanding ‘Migrant Capital’

Louise Ryan, Umut Erel and Alessio D’Angelo

Migration studies have widely adopted the concept of ‘social networks’ (Boyd, 1989; Castle and Miller, 2003; Jordan and Duvell, 2003; Faist and Ozveren, 2004), usually closely linked to that of ‘social capital’ and, more generally, to capital theory. Social networks are widely recognised as a key source of migrants’ capital, facilitating migration and settlement as well as the maintenance of transnational lives (Portes, 1995; Castles and Miller, 2003; Faist and Ozveren, 2004). Migrant and ethnic networks can also constitute ‘communities of resistance’ (Sivanandan, 1990) against exclusion and discrimination.

Nonetheless, among migration researchers the concept of ‘networks’ has often been employed loosely (Wierzbicki, 2004); at the same time, the relationship between networks and capital has often been taken for granted (Anthias, 2007) rather than being properly analysed and discussed. Indeed, social capital theory has often overlooked the role of mobility, migration and ethnicity (see Erel, 2010 and Goulbourne et al., 2010). More analysis is needed of the processes through which migrants develop, access and maintain different types of networks in different social locations, with different people and of how such networks are used to generate, transfer and activate resources (Ryan et al., 2008; Eve, 2010; Ryan, 2011). Drawing on capital theories and network analysis, as well as a range of empirical data, this book contributes to a complex and nuanced understanding of migrant networks and how these link to varied forms of capital.

Migrant Capital covers a broad range of case studies and, by bringing together leading and emerging researchers, presents state-of-the-art empirical, theoretical and methodological perspectives on migration, networks, social and cultural capital, exploring ways in which these bodies of literature can inform and strengthen each other. In so doing, we
bring the theoretical and methodological dimensions into dialogue with each other.

The migrants discussed in the book are ethnically and socio-economically diverse and have a range of migratory trajectories and experiences. Various types of networks are looked at and compared: intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic; locally based, national and transnational; informal and formal, including migrant community organisations. The book is international in focus drawing on research from Australia, North America, the Caribbean and across Europe, including Italy, Spain, Austria, Sweden, Germany and the United Kingdom. Research has often focused on individual cases, thereby running the risk of over-emphasising the peculiarities of certain migrant groups and locations, leading to criticisms of empirical nationalism (Amelina and Faist, 2012; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002). The range of case studies in this book can open up a comparative perspective to contribute to a broader theoretical framework rooted in empirical research.

The overall aim of this book is to explore why, how and with whom migrants form networks and interrogate the extent to which social, economic and cultural capital are generated within these social ties. However, it goes beyond simple description. By critically engaging with current academic and policy debates, the book explores networks and capital in all their complexity to analyse how:

- social networks both shape and are shaped by migrant mobilities through space and time;
- networking processes emerge from the interaction of identities, shared needs, individuals’ strategies and opportunity structures within the host society;
- migrants use networks to transfer, generate and activate social, economic and cultural capital, often to gain or challenge nationally bounded forms of recognition;
- migrants’ social, economic and cultural capital are both stratified and stratifying within and across gender, class, ethnicity and migration status;
- individual and collective dimensions of accruing social, economic and cultural capital interrelate;
- social networks are often characterised by a complex balance between solidarity and exploitation, trust and conflict.

All these issues raise questions about how social networks are conceptualised and what research methodologies are useful in understanding them; these are discussed in the following sections.
Exploring migrants’ networks

The significance of social networks in migration has been discussed by numerous scholars over many decades (Hugo, 1982; Massey, 1988; Boyd, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992; Portes, 1995; Castles and Miller, 2003; Faist and Ozveren, 2004; Heering et al., 2004; Olwig, 2007; Haug, 2008). However, there is a tendency within migration studies to simply take ethnic networks for granted, with – as noted by several commentators (Gurak and Caces, 1992; Ryan, 2007; Eve, 2010) – fairly limited analysis of how such networks are formed. In particular, Eve suggests that the concentration of ethnic ties cannot be simply assumed as natural, but should stimulate enquiry into their roots so that we can develop a ‘sociological explanation of particularities and an account of how they emerge from preceding ties’ (2010: 1245).

The work of Bourdieu reveals that the existence of a network of connections is not a given, rather it is ‘the product of endless effort’ required ‘in order to produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits’ (1986: 52). Moreover, people’s opportunities to access and participate in networks depend on the available time and resources. As we will discuss below, such resources are stratified according to class, gender, ethnicity and other social divisions. Furthermore, as noted by Anthias (2007), even where people participate in a network, they may not all be able to derive equal benefits. Thus, the assumption that migrants are able to access dense networks within close-knit local communities ‘simplifies the experiences of newly arrived migrants, underestimating difficulties they may face in accessing support’ (Ryan et al., 2008) and the distrust or exclusion they may face from the resident population. This issue will be explored in detail in several chapters in this book, for example, by Patulny, drawing on his recent research in Australia, and by Cederberg in relation to Sweden.

More generally, in this book we suggest that several of the assumptions about networking made by seminal scholars cannot be easily applied to migrants. For example, while Putnam and Coleman focus on the stability of social relationships, ‘it is the dynamism of networks that is particularly relevant to the study of migrants’ social ties’ (Ryan et al., 2008: 675). Migrant networks change as needs and circumstances alter over time and over the life course (cf. Ryan and Mulholland, this volume). Likewise, while Putnam and Coleman are primarily concerned with local associations, communities and neighbourhoods, migrant networks are often dispersed over a wide geographical area, as chapters by Reynolds, Keles and Molina et al. demonstrate; migrants’ social ties may expand beyond the nation state.
to encompass transnational relationships (see also Dahinden, 2007). In particular, Reynolds’s chapter building upon her earlier, influential work on transnational kinship ties (2007, 2008) assesses care exchanged in these networks as resources for building capital, while Keles offers insights into resources generated through Internet-based networks.

Yet, it is also necessary to consider how propinquity remains important for certain kinds of support, such as childcare (Ryan, 2007; Ryan et al., 2008). Although migrants may sometimes call in support through transnational networks, this will usually require physical relocation at least on a temporary basis (Ryan et al., 2008; Isaksen, 2012). Thus, it is necessary to consider the ways in which local and translocal networks may affect and shape each other. In their study of a specific neighbourhood in Spain, Molina et al. (this volume) use social network analysis to explore how local and transnational networks interact. In their chapter, Schnell et al. explore the formation of local ties among migrants in different types of neighbourhoods across Vienna. Barriers to accessing local networks, even for migrants rich in social and economic capital, are discussed in Ryan and Mulholland’s chapter.

Overall the chapters in this book demonstrate that the study of social networks among migrants – even more than with other groups – requires the differentiation of networks both temporally and spatially. More specifically, Migrant Capital explores how social networks both shape and are shaped by migrant mobilities through space and time – an approach requiring rigorous conceptualisation of networks. In the remainder of this introductory chapter, we critically engage with how networks are conceptualised, with a particular focus on the bonding and bridging dichotomy; next we consider the relationship between networks and capital and then we discuss the complex interconnections between networks and the intersections of ethnicity, gender and class. Finally, we explore methodological approaches to the study of networks and consider the advantages of mixed methods in social networks analysis.

Re-visiting bridging and bonding capital

Putnam’s (2000) distinction between bonding – ‘ties to people who are like me in some important way’ – and bridging – ties to ‘people who are unlike me in some important way’ – has been particularly influential within migration studies (see for example, Nannestad et al., 2008; Fernandez and Nichols, 2002). There has been a tendency to associate bridging networks to ‘positive’ forms of social capital, leading to
integration and social mobility of migrants, with positive effects on wider society (Coffé and Geys, 2008: 358; Nannestad et al., 2008). On the other hand, bonding networks tend to be widely regarded as ‘negative’ social capital, leading to closed ethnic enclaves threatening overall social cohesion (Marshall and Stolle, 2004; Anthias, 2007; Hickman et al., 2012). Research over many decades has illustrated that migrants who rely heavily on ethnic-specific networks for jobs, housing and practical support may become encapsulated within migrant enclaves which can reinforce social marginalisation (Gurak and Caces, 1992; Woolcock, 1998; Griffiths et al., 2005).

As Kelly and Lusis (2006: 842) argue, ‘although migration studies often celebrate the use of networks in the integration of new immigrants, this utilisation should perhaps more accurately be interpreted as an indication of how comparatively bereft of social contacts, and the value they provide, immigrants really are’. Dense, ethnic-specific networks may be characterised as ‘truncated’ (Portes, 1998); while protecting disadvantaged groups from discrimination and abuse, they may cut off some members from information about the wider society. In relation to migrant organisations, some authors (Taylor, 2003; Crow, 2004) have pointed out the risk that they can reinforce social division and even segregation, and create a condition of dependency to access services and exercise rights (D’Angelo, 2008). This book highlights the complex combination of solidarity and exploitation, trust and conflict within migrant and ethnic-specific networks (see for example chapters by D’Angelo, Erel, Herman and Jacobs and Molina et al.).

The concepts of ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ are often used in a rather simplistic, dichotomous fashion within migration studies and should be disentangled. As Patulny has argued in his influential work (Patulny and Svendsen, 2007) – and further develops in this book – bonding and bridging are not mutually exclusive concepts but located along a continuum of social relationships. This raises further questions about the meaning of ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ (Geys and Murdoch, 2010; Ryan, 2011). Rather than following Putnam and differentiating bonding and bridging primarily on the basis of the similarity or dissimilarity of the people involved, a case has been made for focusing instead on the meaning as well as the structure of networks – that is, on the specific relationship between the actors, their relative social location and their available and realisable resources (Ryan, 2011; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a). For example, bonding may involve close, durable relationships resulting in shared resources of social and emotional support, while bridging may involve more expansive but less intimate
relationships resulting in flows of valuable information. This relates to Mark Granovetter's early conceptualisation of 'bridging' capital in 'weak ties' (1973), providing people 'with access to information and resources beyond those available in their own social circle'. This is echoed by Bourdieu (1986) when arguing that social ties are most effective when they result in access to those who have more resources and knowledge.

The concept of social location in relation to social capital theory indicates the need to differentiate between 'horizontal' and 'vertical' weak ties. Drawing on Granovetter's and Bourdieu's concepts of 'social location'/social distance', networks can be conceptualised in terms of the value of resources travelling across 'horizontal' and 'vertical' bridges (Ryan, 2011). Studies from different countries suggest that migrants with high levels of bonding networks may also have high levels of bridging (Nannestad et al., 2008). This observation raises interesting questions about networking strategies. It is often assumed that poor and socially disadvantaged migrants rely on dense, multiplex, intra-ethnic bonds, while the highly skilled are perceived to be less reliant on such networks (Vertovec, 2001a; Wierzbicki, 2004). In their chapter, Ryan and Mulholland explore this issue in relation to highly skilled migrants and examine the cultural capital that may enable social actors to forge new relationships, both vertically and horizontally in the host environment.

Networks do not operate in a vacuum, and it is important to consider how networking processes emerge from the interaction of identities, shared needs, individuals’ strategies and wider social structures. For example, Herman and Jacobs’ and D’Angelo’s chapters examine how the political-opportunity structures of the host society may shape migrant associational formations. Caponio’s chapter on migrant domestic workers explores their uses of networks to gain residence and citizenship status in Italy, while Cederberg’s chapter examines the strategies and resources that migrants mobilise in their efforts to establish themselves professionally and socially in Sweden. In the Austrian context, Schnell et al. analyse how migrants negotiate belonging through local attachments. Drawing on the Canadian experience, Deeb and Bauder examine how migrants negotiate integration into the workplace to achieve ‘success’. These discussions of opportunities and obstacles go beyond a narrow, simplistic and dichotomous interpretation of networks as either bonding (intra-ethnic) or bridging (inter-ethnic). Instead they examine the complexity and diversity of migrant ties along a wide spectrum of relationships with different people in different places. By adopting this approach, we argue, the nuances of the connections between social networks and social capital can be better understood.
Linking networks and social capital

As Portes suggested, ‘the term social capital has become one of the most popular exports from sociological theory into everyday language’, emerging as a ‘cure-all for the maladies affecting society’ (1998: 2). Especially during the 2000s, national, transnational and global policymaking promoted the idea that social capital could mitigate social inequality (Putnam, 2007). In relation to migration in particular, social capital has often been identified by policymakers as a key resource to promote migrants’ social inclusion and social cohesion (Dwyer et al., 2006). Some authors have criticised the lack of conceptual clarity and ubiquitous use of the term ‘social capital’, rendering it almost meaningless (Bankston and Zhou, 2002; Fine, 2010). Yet, there are very different conceptualisations of social capital in circulation.

The pioneering work of Coleman (1988) focused particularly on the social capital realisable through relationships of mutual trust and obligation within closed, multiplex networks. Coleman’s work is useful in elucidating the nature of resources within different networks and the extent to which they are made available because of norms governing expectations of obligation and support. However, while Coleman regarded closed bonds as positive sources of social capital, other researchers have highlighted the negative aspects of such exclusivity (Edwards, 2004). The tension between inclusionary and exclusionary aspects of social capital is discussed in more detail by several contributors to this book (see Molina et al., Herman and Jacobs, Keles, D’Angelo, Erel).

Bourdieu has presented a more critical perspective on social capital as one of three forms of capital – together with economic and cultural – that individuals may possess, thus offering a more differentiated understanding of how capital is accessed and accumulated. In this sense, while economic capital refers to material assets and income, cultural capital refers to the symbolic assets which may be embodied in accent and behaviour – ‘the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital’ (Bourdieu, 1986: 49) – which may also be institutionalised through education. On the other hand, social capital is ‘the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words to membership in a group’.

Although seminal authors such as Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam pay little attention to migrants, a growing number of migration scholars have begun to explore the impact and usefulness of social capital for migrant communities (see Heering et al., 2004; Evergeti and Zontini,
Haug (2008), in particular, argues that the concept of social capital provides an important tool for understanding how networks affect migration. The way and the extent to which these concepts have been used lead Fine to criticise migration studies for jumping on ‘the social capital bandwagon’ (2010: 186). Indeed there has been a tendency in the literature not only to use the concept in generalised ways but also to confuse the sources of social capital – that is, access to networks – with the resources thus derived, for example, economic benefits (for a discussion see Woolcock, 1998; Bankston and Zhou, 2002; Edwards et al., 2003; Reimer et al., 2008). Floya Anthias (2007) has criticised the tendency to treat ethnic networks and ties simply as evidence of social capital:

While ethnic ties may provide resources relating to sociality and commonality, which may indirectly feed into aspects of life that enable people to achieve improved life chances, they do not always function directly as forms of social capital that can be drawn on for social advantage in direct ways.

(Anthias, 2007: 788)

*Migrant Capital* contributes to discussions about how social capital can be understood. Several chapters develop a critical interrogation of the power relations, hierarchies and exclusionary mechanisms of migrant social and cultural capital. Drawing on empirical data from Sweden, Cederberg argues that refugees’ and migrants’ access to particular forms of social capital may be negotiated through constructions of embodied features of sameness or difference. Erel shows how hegemonic notions of femininity can work to exclude women from particular migrant networks and the resources generated in them. Focusing on Australia, Patulny examines how refugees and other migrants have differential access to social capital through their networks. Keles shows how age, gender, education and linguistic skills can create hierarchies in migrants’ access to virtual and face-to-face networks, affecting their access to symbolic and economic capital.

The value of the resources may also vary greatly between networks. For example, closed networks, which are rich in resources may be valuable to members, while closed networks which are low in resources but high on expectations of support may reinforce disadvantage and inhibit social mobility. In chapters by Molina et al. and Reynolds, this discussion is further developed to consider how issues of trust and solidarity...
offer potential benefits but are also sources of possible exploitation within ethnic-specific migrant networks. Thus, the precise nature of the resources available and realisable within networks is also of crucial importance. Throughout this book we argue that, to be useful, the notion of social capital needs to be specific about relationships between actors, their relative social location and the actual resources available and realisable within particular social networks (see Ryan, 2011).

In *Migrant Capital*, we bring together perspectives on social capital at individual, collective, organisational, national and transnational level – exploring the interconnections between these. Recent years have seen a growing interest in the role of migrant and ethnic community organisations (Moya, 2005; Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005). As noted by Jacobs (Jacobs and Tillie, 2004) and developed in his chapter, with Herman, in this book, the role of migrant organisations has been strongly linked to the notions of migrants’ social networks and social capital, since it is often thought that ‘the vibrancy of associational life (...) is positively correlated with the stocks of social capital a society possesses’ (Maloney et al., 2000: 212). This raises the question of the relationship between individuals and collectives as bearers of capital. Herman and Jacobs discuss whether membership in different types of organisations, including intra- and inter-ethnic ones, may have a varying impact on migrants’ political involvement. D’Angelo’s chapter focuses on the networking among organisations and how this is shaped by shared identities, common aims, but also competition and conflict. Finally Keles’s chapter looks at the interrelationship between virtual (online) and offline networks and investigates how these function as a social capital resource for community building.

**Considering the role of ethnicity, gender and class**

In examining power differentials and unequal access to resources, it is also necessary to unpack the notion of ethnicity in migrant networks and assess how the intersections of ethnicity, class and gender, in particular, may impact on migrants’ opportunities to build networks and generate different forms of capital. Although within the literature there is often an assumption that networks are based on shared ethnicity, this cannot be taken for granted. As Keles’ and D’Angelo’s chapters on Kurds show, migrants from the same country may be part of different ethnic groups (i.e. Turks and Kurds). On the other hand, co-ethnic migrants, such as Kurds, may come from different countries (e.g. Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria). This may affect how migrants build networks. Moreover, we
should not neglect the fact that some migrants’ networks, especially in
the country of settlement, are with people of other ethnicities, as dis-
cussed in several chapters including by Deeb and Bauder, Caponio and
also Patulny.

In conceptualising the links between networks and capital, this book
highlights the different dimensions in which people – and migrants in
particular – may be ‘alike and unalike in important ways’ – to para-
phrase Putnam. There has been a tendency to focus on bridging ties
exclusively in relation to ethnicity; however the idea of ‘ethnic identity’
as neat, clear-cut and unproblematic is somewhat inadequate to analyse
migrants’ interpersonal attachments and social networking. Thus, net-
work research needs to take into account that ethnicity is constructed
situationally, often in response to opportunity structures within the
society of residence, as elaborated in the chapters by Caponio, D’Angelo,
Schnell et al. and Herman and Jacobs.

Many migrants feel they belong to several communities simulta-
neously; Anthias (2000, 2002) suggests that to address multilayered
complex belongings, researchers should replace the notion of ‘identity’
with that of ‘narratives of location and positionality’. Such an approach
would enable the researcher ‘to understand the ways in which the nar-
rator, at a specific point in time and space, is able to make sense of and
articulate their placement in the social order of things. This, however,
also means the recognition of the narrative as an action, as a perfor-
mance’ (Anthias, 2002: 501). Moreover, in certain contexts other aspects
of identity, such as class and gender, may be as – if not more – important
than ethnicity or migrant background. Complex, multilayered and per-
formative aspects of belonging are thematised in the chapters by Erel,
Reynolds, D’Angelo, Keles and Cederberg. Some of this book’s authors
(e.g. Erel, 2009; Ryan, 2011) have pointed out how migrants may build
networks based on a number of similarities, such as gender, shared par-
enting, shared political projects and attachment to locality – not only
ethnicity; this is further explored in several chapters. Erel’s chapter, in
particular, focuses on how the intersections of gender and class affect
the ability to form and validate social and cultural capital for women in
migration. The chapter shows that different articulations of femininity
and class can lead both to vulnerabilities and exclusion of women from
some ethnically based networks. In turn, this can motivate migrant
women to build alternative sources of social and cultural capital.

Gender plays a key role in migrants’ networking strategies (Kofman
et al., 2000; Ryan, 2007; Erel, 2010). Although most classic theorists of
social capital either ignore women completely or else take for granted
Index

Note: Locators followed by the letter ‘n’ refer to notes.

Ackers, H. L., 69
Ager, A., 207
Agoston, A., 153
Aisenbrey, S., 148
Alba, R., 75, 79n4, 173–4
Alberts, H., 21
Amelina, A., 4
Anduiza, E., 127
Anthias, F., 3, 5, 7, 10, 12–13, 21, 23–4, 33, 45, 68, 99–100
Apitzsch, U., 25
Appadurai, A., 103, 105
Arjona-Garrido, A., 157
assimilation, 173–5
Australian citizens
brokering, 210
ethnic diversity, cosmopolitan
versus ethnocentric, 213–14
ethnocentric network, 226–7
Family Program, 209
Humanitarian and Refugee
Programme, 209
migrant bonding and bridging
social capital, 208–27
migrants and integration in
Australia, 208–9
multiplicity, 210
regression analysis, 222–7
Skilled Workers program, 209
social capital-based integration,
211–13, 221–2
transition to integration, 228

Barrow, C., 71
Basch, L. G., 102, 174
Basher, B., 87
Bauder, H., 8, 12–14, 21–2, 34, 39,
47n4, 48–63, 72, 74–5, 184, 187n1
Beaverstock, J. V., 148, 150
Beckert, J., 138–9
Beck, J. H., 10
Berger, M., 118, 120–2
Bernal, V., 105, 112
Bevelander, P., 35
Bhabha, H. K., 19
Bhachu, P., 21
Bilge, S., 24
Billig, M., 42
biographical case study methods, 15,
24–6, 47n3, 144–5, 152
advantages, 25
agency and structure interaction,
24–5
limitations, 26
migration-specific capitals, 18–32
qualitative research, 25
Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)
organisations, 89
‘blurred’ boundaries, 79n4
Boccagni, P., 68
bonding social capital, 66–7, 221–2
among Australian migrants, 207–27
bonding networks, 6–8, 65
among Australian migrants, 207–27
Bonizzoni, P., 68
Bornat, J., 67
Bossi-Fini law, 178
Bourdieu, P., 5, 8–9, 13, 22–3, 34–7,
40–1, 44–6, 48, 50–2, 62, 65, 68,
72–3, 99, 102–3, 139, 176, 210
Bourdieu’s theoretical model of
cultural capital, 35–6
Boutylkova, E., 87
Boyd, M., 3, 5, 188, 195, 208

257
Brah, A., 106–7
Brandes, U., 160
Brannen, J., 25
Breton, R., 84, 165

bridging networks, 6–8
‘horizontal’ bridges, 8
Mark Granovetter’s conceptualisation of, 8
‘vertical’ bridges, 8

bridging social capital and network heterogeneity, 216–20
among Australian migrants, 207–27
‘bright’ boundaries, 79n4

Brown, J., 71
Brubaker, R., 173
Bruhn, J. G., 195
Bruneau, M., 102
Bryceson, D., 67–8
Bullock, J., 87
Burt, R. S., 210–11
Butcher, M., 150
Buzdugan, R., 50
Byrd, M., 52

Caces, F., 5, 7, 14, 188
Caiani, M., 128
Campbell, K. E., 199, 201
Campbell, S., 53
Canada’s Multiculturalism Act, 49
Canada’s skilled-labour immigration, 49
Greater Toronto Area (GTA), 49
points system, 49–50

Canadian networks, 14
capital, 50
cultural capital, 51–2
‘human capital’, 50
linguistic capital, 50–1
role of care in developing, 64–79;
see also care networks as cultural resources
see also social capital
capital theory, 3, 8
Caponio, T., 8, 12–13, 85, 172–87
Carabaña-Morales, J., 162
Carbado, D., 24
career experiences of skilled immigrant managers, 48–63
care giving practices role in capital development, 64–79
care networks as cultural resources, 72–7
bonding social capital, 66
‘caring about’ activity, 69–70, 73
‘caring for’ activity, 69–70, 73
‘cosmopolitan habitus’, 72
ethnic identity formation, 66
placing capitals and transnational care, 67–72
Putnam’s model of social capital, 65
transatlantic and cross-cultural family networks, 66
transnational care, 65
transnational mothering, 68
Caribbean migrant families, care giving practices role in, 64–79
see also care networks as cultural resources
‘caring about’ activity, 69–70, 73–4
‘caring for’ activity, 69–70, 73–4
Carrington, K., 209
Carrington, P. J., 188
case study methods, 24–6
see also biographical case study methods
Castles, S., 3, 5, 102
Catanzaro, R., 177
Cederberg, M., 5, 8, 10, 12–13, 22, 33–47, 49, 72, 75, 184
Cheetham, J., 84
Cheung, S. Y., 206n4
Chin, R., 20
Chiswick, B. R., 206n8
Cinalli, M., 126
circular migration, 157, 165–9
citizenship, 184–6
access to, in Italy, 177–9, 184–6
and access to legal status, 175
MPMC (Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities), 86
and political participation, 126–7
‘civic community’, 118–19, 121, 123, 128–9
class in migration-specific capitals, 21–3
class related social capital, 13
Index

class role in migrant workers, 13–14
coercively segregated/alienated bonding and bridging, 211, 213
Coffe, H., 7
Cohen, R., 102
Coleman, J. S., 5, 9, 102–3, 210
Colombo, A., 177–9
communicating with homeland, 111–14
communication skills and immigration, 52–6
community organisations, 4, 11, 74, 100–1
Kurdish, 84, 87–8, 94, 100, 107–9
role of, in London Kurds life, 90–2
Turkish, 86
concept of ‘migrant capital’, 3–17
bonding networks, 6–8
bridging networks, 6–8
‘migrants’ networks, exploring, 5–6
‘cosmopolitan habitus’, 72
cosmopolitan integration, 213, 215
cosmopolitan interactions, 213–14
cosmopolitan segregation, 214–15, 228
Côté, J., 63
Craig, G., 89
Creese, G., 51, 62
Crisp, R., 203
Crossley, N., 14–16, 87, 93
Crow, G., 7, 83
Crowley, H., 13
Cukier, W., 49
cultural capital, 4, 8–10, 13, 18, 21–7, 34, 50–2, 64–5, 72–3, 75–8, 84, 120, 150
ability to engage in small talk, importance, 56
femininity as, 31
linguistic capital and, line between, 57
theories, 24
see also embodied cultural capital
cultural and social capital, connecting, 44–5
access to social networks, 44
Cupach, W. R., 52
Curtis, A., 87–8
Degenne, A., 161
Dekker, K., 128, 201
Derwing, T. M., 51
Devadason, R., 127
d’Haenens, L., 110
Diani, M., 128
diaspora, 102–16
‘diasporic consciousness’, 106
digital diaspora and social capital, 105–7
digital diaspora, 105–7
digital social capital, 114–15
‘digital divide’, 114
limits of, 114–15
Di Leonardo, M., 69
Diminescu, D., 106
Drory, A., 52
Dumin, M., 203
Duvell, E., 3
Dwyer, C., 9
Dyer, R., 42
economic capital, 6, 9–10, 13, 22, 31–2, 35, 77, 203
Edwards, G., 15–16, 87, 196
Edwards, R., 9–10, 13, 52
Eggert, N., 127–8
Ehn, B., 42
Ehrenreich, B., 68
Ellen, I. G., 184
Ellingsworth, H. W., 52
Ellison, N., 106
Elsner, B., 188
embeddedness/embedding in motion, 135–53
case studies, 145–52
differentiated dimensions of, 140
‘fuzzy concept’, theorising, 137–9
Granovetter work on, 138
multilayered approach to embedding, 141–2
relational, spatial and temporal dynamics, analyzing, 135–53
spatial and temporal dynamism, 139–41
embodied community capital, 83–101
embodied cultural capital, 33–47
  Bourdieu’s concept of, 35; embodied cultural capital, 36, 47;
  institutionalised cultural capital, 36; objectified cultural capital, 36
  cultural and social capital, connecting, 44–5
  ‘Sweden-specific competencies’, 37–9
  embodied state, 50
  employment opportunity for migrants, 14
  Erbring, L., 115
  Erel, U., 3–17, 18–32, 37, 39, 47n3, 59, 72–3, 75, 78
  Eriksen, T. H., 112
  Eryilmaz, A., 20
  Essed, P., 40
  Esser, H., 173–4
  ‘ethnic civic community’, 118–19
  Fennema and Tillie theory, 118–19
  ethnic diversity, cosmopolitan versus ethnocentric, 213–14
  ethnic enclave, 154–71
    Indian enclave in Lloret de Mar, 157–63; see also individual entry
    inequality, 154–71
    social capital, 154–71
    transnational dimension to, 157
    transnationalism and, 154–71
  ethnic inequalities study, 33–47
  cultural capital and, 41–4; banal nationalism, 42; ‘legitimate language’ requirement, 41;
  ‘othering’ practices, 43–5; ‘somatic norm’ of white, 41
  ethnicity role in migrant workers, 11–14
  ethnic social capital, 117–32
  ethnocentric integration, 213
  ethnocentric interactions, 213–14
  ethnocentric segregation, 214
  Eve, M., 3, 5, 15, 152, 173
  Evergeti, V., 9
  Faist, T., 3–5, 102, 106, 157
  family care networks, social capital and, 69
  Fanon, F., 41, 46
  Favell, A., 45
  Feldstein, L. M., 106
  Fennema, M., 16, 85–6, 90, 92, 98, 118–23, 125, 127, 130–1
  Fennema and Tillie theory, 118–19
    limits of, 119–21
  Fernandez, M., 6
  Fernback, J., 106
  Ferragina, E., 116
  Ferree, M., 19
  Field, J., 72, 94
  Filipina female domestic workers in Italy, 172–87
  Finch, J., 69
  Findlay, A. M., 135, 137, 139, 144
  Fine, B., 9
  Finkelstein, K. E., 20
  Fischer, C., 215
  Floridi, L., 114
  Fornara, P., 87
  Foster, S. P., 115
  Frankenberg, R., 42
  Frideres, J., 50
  ‘fuzzy concept’, theorising, 137–9
  Gagliolo, M., 128–9
  García-Macías, A., 154–71
  Geertz, C., 164
  gender and migration, 19–21
    see also Turkish women in Germany
  gender in migration-specific capitals, 21–3
    Bourdieuan notion of, 22
    intra-gender differentiations, 22
    women’s role as resources for family or wider community, 21
  gender role in migrant workers, 11–14
    women’s role, 12–13
  geographical dispersion index (geodisp), 161
  Geys, B., 7, 214
  Gilchrist, A., 203, 205
  Giscombe, K., 49, 52, 62
  Giugni, M., 125–7, 130
  glass ceiling, breaking through, 48–63
    English language skills, 54–6
    linguistic capital, 54–6
networking, overcoming barriers to, 59–60
professional networks establishment need, 58
reflecting on one’s own background, 56
using mentorship, 60
women’s network, 58
Glick Schiller, N., 4, 157
Gómez-Bueno, C., 162
González-Ferrer, A., 126
Goot, M., 207
Górny, A., 190
Gough, M., 157
Goulbourne, H., 3, 10, 65, 68, 71
Granovetter, M., 8, 15, 44, 102–3, 137–8, 148, 151, 194, 210
Greater Toronto Area (GTA), 49, 53–4
cultural capital, 51–2
social capital, 58–61
Greco, G.M., 114
Green, D. A., 49
Green, A. G., 49
Griffiths, D., 7, 83–6
Grootaert, C., 87
group-specific opportunity structure, 176
Groves, D., 69
Guarnizo, L. E., 174
Gudykunst, W. B., 52
Gültekin, N., 20
Gümen, S., 19
Gurak, D. T., 5, 7, 14, 188

Hagan, J. M., 188
Hage, G., 22, 207, 213
Haller, D., 157
Halli, S., 50
Hartung, A., 210
Haug, S., 5, 10, 188
Heath, A. F., 206n4
Heath, S., 143
Hecht, M. L., 52
Heckmann, F., 173
Heering, L., 5, 9, 13
Henderson, S., 67
Hendrickson, B., 211
Herman, B., 7–9, 11–12, 86, 101n5, 117–32, 175
Hersberger, J., 143
Hess, M., 136–7, 139–40, 146, 151
Hickman, M., 7, 13, 139
Hipp, J. R., 189, 201
Hite, J., 136–7, 141, 149–51
Hochschild, A., 68
Hogan, B., 142
Holgate, J., 92, 105–6, 111
Holland, J., 67
Holmes, J., 52
Holmes, M. E., 212
Holton, E. F., 94
Ho, M., 63n3
Hongladarom, S., 114
Hooghe, M., 120
‘horizontal’ bridges, 8, 210
Huckfeldt, R., 120
Hugo, G.J., 5
‘human capital’, 49–50, 60, 62, 210
Huth-Hildebrandt, C., 19

Imahori, T., 52
Indian enclave in Lloret de Mar, 157–63
co-nationals residing in India, 160
co-nationals residing in Spain, 160
employees and circular migration, 165–9
entrepreneurs and their businesses, 163–5
geographical dispersion of networks, 161
mixed embeddedness and transnationalism, 166–9
natives from Spain residing in Spain, 160
network social capital, 161–3
others, 160
personal networks, comparing, 160–1
personal networks methodology, 159–60
inequality, 9, 40, 68, 74, 114, 154–71
information and communication technologies (ICT), 111
Inowlocki, L., 19–20
institutionalised cultural capital, 13, 36, 39
institutionalised state, 50
institutional opportunity structure, 177–9
migrants’ access to legal status in Italy, 177–9
integrated bonding and bridging, 211–12
integration, 49–53, 63n1
in Australia, 208–9
definition, 49, 207
discourse surrounding, 39
of immigrant residents, 124
immigrant workplace integration, 50
legal integration, 172–86
networks use in, 7
spectrum of integration, 207–29
theories, 173–6
into workplace, 8
intercultural communication, 52–3, 62
of skilled immigrant managers, 48–63
Internet, 102–16
building and empowering community through, 107–10
Facebook, 109
‘imagined community’ through, 106
and social capital, 102–16
‘virtual communities’, 105
inter-organisational networks, 100
intersectional approach to migrant capitals, 18–32
class in, 21–3
cultural capital theories, 24
gender in, 21–3
using biographical approach, 18–32
losifides, T., 26
Isaksen, L. I., 6
Italy, migrants’ access to legal status in, 177–9
arrival timing and group-specific opportunity structures, 179–81
citizenship, 184–6
empirical research, 179–86
Filipina and Romanian female domestic workers in, 172–87
first entry, 181–2
group-specific opportunity structure, 176
institutionalist approaches, 173
institutional opportunity structure, 176–9
neo-classical approach, 174
nuanced and multidimensional conceptualisation of, 174
opportunity structures, 176
segmented assimilation theory, 174
social networks and integration theories, 173–6
structuralist approaches, 173
Jacobs, D., 7–9, 11–12, 83, 86, 101n5, 117–32, 136, 175
Jacobsen, D., 111
Jamin, M., 20
Jandt, F. E., 52
Jaworsky, N., 68
Jiménez, S., 155
Jordan, B., 3
jus sanguinis principle, 179
Kambere, E. N., 51, 62
Kanas, A., 203–4
Kavanaugh, A. L., 107, 115
Keles, J., 5–6, 9–12, 102–16, 120, 129, 140
Kelly, P., 7, 13, 23, 83
Kennedy, P., 150
Kilkey, M., 68
Kim, K., 50
King, R., 88
Kloosterman, R. C., 158, 170
Knoke, D., 128
Kofman, E., 12, 14, 22, 68
Kohlbacher, J., 158, 188–206
Koopmans, R., 120, 173
Korinek, K., 136–8, 140, 147, 150–1
Kram, K. E., 62
Krishna, A., 86
Kritz, M. M., 102
Kunz, J. L., 52, 62
Kurdish diaspora, 109–14
building and empowering community through Internet, 107–10
communicating with homeland, 111–14
Index

Connectivity, continuity and familiarity, 111–14
Cyber–Kurdistanisation, 112
Homeland information on, 113
Kurdish Professional Network (KPN) Facebook, 109
Kurdish Studies and Student Organisation (KSSO), 109
Recognition and representation, seeking, 110–11
‘virtual communities’, 105–6, 110
Kurdish migration to United Kingdom, 104–5
Kurdish organisations, 87–100
Access to resources, cooperation and conflicts over, 96–100
Alevi Cultural Centre, 89
Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) organisations, 89
Community organisations role in London Kurds life, 90–2
development of, 88–90
Kurdish Disability Organisation, 89
Kurdish Housing Association, 89
in London, 87–8
Networks, structure and patterns of, 94–6
Kyprianou, P., 203, 205

La Due Lake, R., 120
Lalli, M., 201
Lancee, B., 210
Landolt, P., 33, 203, 210
Language proficiency, 9, 14, 34, 38, 75–8, 122, 124, 199–200, 213
Accents, 55
In career development, 54–5
And immigration, 54–6
Importance, 124, 150, 206n8
Among Kurdish population, 91–2, 97, 110–14
‘legitimate language’, 41
Lareau, A., 68
Laroche, M., 50
Larsen, J., 105
Laudongasse, 190–201
Laumann, E. O., 128
Lee, B. A., 199, 201
Legal integration and migrant social networks, 172–87
Filipina and Romanian female workers in Italy, 172–87; see also under Italy
Institutional opportunity structure, 177–9
Leighley, J., 117
Lelieveldt, H., 128
Leonard, D., 69
Lerner, J., 160
Levitt, P., 67–8, 157, 174
Linguistic capital, 50–1
Lin, N., 159, 161
Li, P., 39
Lippi-Green, R., 51
Liversage, A., 75
Li, Y., 214
Lockwood, D., 173
Lovell, T., 24
Lubbers, M. J., 154–71
Ludo-Hartmann-Platz, 191–201
Lusis, T., 7, 13, 23, 83
Lutz, H., 19–20
Mahler, S., 13, 19, 22
Making Democracy Work, 118
Maloney, W., 11
Manalansan IV, M., 21
Mandel, R., 20
Manning, R., 156
Marshall, M. J., 7
Martin, J. N., 52, 127
Massey, D., 5
Mauthner, N., 67
McCarty, C., 160
McDowall, D., 87
McKinnon, C., 23
McLeod, M., 84, 89
McPherson, M., 203, 214
Mérette, M., 50
Merla, L., 64, 68
Migrant organisations, 7, 11, 83–101, 120, 130
Antecedents of, 84–5
‘opportunity structure’ in the host society, 85
Organisational networks as social capital, 85–7
migrants and integration in Australia, 208–9
‘migrants’ networks, xi, exploring, 5–6
migration background, 206n3
migration research
alternative forms of cultural capital, 36–7
biographical methods, 25–6
netowrk concept, 3, 14–15
social network theory, 188
Miller, D., 106
Miller, M., 3, 5, 102
Miller, P. W., 206n8
Mitra, A., 106
Morales, L., 125–7, 130
Morariu, M., 126–7
Morawska, E., 173, 175
Morris, A., 215, 219, 228
Morris, H., 87
Morrison, M., 201
Moya, J., 11, 83, 85
Mulholland, J., 5–8, 13, 15, 101n5, 135–53, 154, 188, 195, 203–4, 209, 229n3
multilayered approach to embedding, 136, 141–2, 151
Munro, M. J., 51
Murdoch, Z., 7, 214

Nagel, C., 105, 111
Nakayama, T. K., 52
Nannestad, P., 6–8, 203, 210, 214–15
Nee, N., 157
Nee, V., 18, 21, 39, 173–4
neo-classical assimilation theory, 174
network embeddedness of migrants, 16, 188–206
see also Vienna GEITONIES study
networks, 3
associational networks, 119
bonding networks, 6–8, 65
bridging networks, 6–8
building, based on similarities, 12
Canadian networks, 14
composition, 193–6
embeddedness, variations in, 198–202
emergence of, 8
ethnocentric network, 226–7
family care networks, social capital and, 69
geographical dispersion of networks, 161
inter-organisational networks, 100
local network embeddedness, 193–201
‘migrants’ networks, exploring, 5–6
network embeddedness, 16
overcoming barriers to, 59–60
patterns of, 94–6
personal networks, 159–61
professional networks establishment need, 58
size, 193–6
and social capital, linking, 9–11
social networks and integration theories, 173–6
structure of, 94–6
structures, 127–9
use in integration, 7
women’s network, 58
see also care networks as cultural resources; organisational networks; Social Network Analysis (SNA)
network social capital, 161–3
Nguyen, A. M. T., 62
Nichols, L., 6
Nie, N. H., 115
Nilsen, A., 25
Nohl, A. M., 14, 22
Nooy, W., 95, 101n6
Norris, P., 114

objectified cultural capital, 36
objectified state, 50
occupational stereotyping, 43, 52
Olwig, K. E., 5
Olzak, S., 84
opportunity structures, 4, 12, 16, 49, 85, 100, 139, 172–81, 183, 186
organisational networks, 85–7
community organisations, 100–1
‘institutional completeness’, 86
inter-organisational networks, 100
mapping, 93–4
‘organisational density’, 86
‘organisational filling’, 86
as social capital, 85–7
see also Kurdish organisations
Østergaard-Nielsen, E., 87
Ozveren, E., 3, 5

Pahl, R., 215
Pampalona, J., 154–71
Parham, A. A., 105, 108
Parreñas, R. S., 68
Patterson, S. J., 115
Patulny, R., 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 137, 165, 175, 195, 203–4, 206n5, 207–29
Paxton, P., 123
Pearl, M., 83
Perrin, A., 189, 201
personal networks methodology, 159–61
Pessar, P., 13, 19, 22
Phalet, K., 120
Phillipson, C., 204
Pietersee, J. N., 33
Pilati, K., 117, 120, 124–6, 128, 130
Platt, L., 209
points system, Canada, 49–50
political participation of immigrants, 117–32
on aggregate level, 119–22
associational involvement and, 125
associational networks and, linking, 119
civic engagement and, 122–3
‘ethnic minorities’ political participation, 118
on individual level, 121–7
Localmultidem study, 126–7
network structures, 127–9
political opportunity structures, 124
Ponzo, I., 180
Poros, M. V., 188, 204
Portes, A., 3, 5, 7, 9, 33, 35, 102–3, 126, 137–9, 156–7, 173–4, 203, 210
Prats, L., 155
Pries, P. L., 83
professional networks establishment need, 58
social networks versus, xii
social resources versus, xii
theories of, 103
women’s network, 58
for workplace integration, 52
Putnam, R. D., 5–7, 9, 12, 35, 52, 65–8, 92, 102–3, 106–7, 118–19, 123, 130–1, 189, 201, 208–9, 214
Puwar, N., 14, 41
Raghuram, P., 14, 22, 47n1
rainmaker effect, 123
Rath, J., 158
Reeger, U., 158, 188–206
Reimer, B., 10
Reitz, J. G., 49, 53
Rex, J., 83
Reynolds, T., 5–6, 10, 12–13, 21, 37, 52, 64–79
Rheingold, H., 105
Riddiford, N., 52
Roberts, C., 52–3
Robinson, D., 139, 146, 203, 205
Romanian migratory system, Italy, 172–87
Roopnarine, J., 71
Røthmann, S., 19
Ryan, L., 3–17, 26, 33, 64, 68, 101n5, 135–53, 154, 188–9, 195, 203–5, 208–10, 223, 229n3
Safran, W., 102
Said, E., 42
Sampson, R. J., 189
Sanders, J. M., 18, 21, 39, 157
Sandu, D., 180
Sanli, S., 30
San Martin, J., 127
Sarrazin, T., 19
Schierup, C., 35
Schnapper, D., 173
Schnell, P., 6, 8, 12, 14–15, 136, 139, 158, 188–206, 211, 219
Schreiber, C. T., 49
Schrover, M., 11, 83–5
Index

Sciortino, G., 178–9
Scott, J., 188
segmented assimilation theory, 174
Selier, F., 165
Sensenbrenner, J., 103, 137–9
Sevenhuijzen, S., 69
Sezgin, D. Z., 83
Shaw, R., 210
Sheyholislami, J., 112
Shin, M., 49
Shrader, E., 86
Silva, C., 49, 52
Silva, E. B., 23, 32, 52
Siouti, I., 25
Sivanandan, A., 3
skilled immigrant managers, 48–63
breaking through the glass ceiling, 54–61; see also under glass ceiling
Canada’s skilled-labour immigration, 49
capital, 49–53
career experiences of, 48–63
cultural capital, 51–2
‘human capital’, 50
integration, 49–53
intercultural communication of, 48–63
linguistic capital, 50–1
occupational stereotyping, 52
racialisation, 52
social capital, 50–2
Slater, D., 106
Small, M., 189
Smith, A., 50
social capital, xi, 33, 50, 58–61, 102–16, 154–71
bonding social capital, 66–7, 221–2
bridging social capital and network heterogeneity, 216–20
class related, 13
cultural and social capital, connecting, 44–5
digital diaspora and, 105–7
digital social capital, 114–15
ethnic social capital, 117–32
family care networks and, 69
Internet and, 102–16
network social capital, 161–3
organisational networks as, 85–7
Putnam’s model of social capital, 65
social capital-based integration,
among Australian migrants, 211–13
bonding social capital, 216–18
bridging social capital, 216–20
coercively segregated/alienated, 213
by expected position of migrants, 215
integrated, 211–12
supportively segregated, 212–13
transitionally integrated, 212
social capital and networks, linking, 9–11
among migrant communities, 9
cultural capital and, 9
economic capital and, 9
relationships of mutual trust, 9
Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe, 125
sociality, xi, 29, 31–2
Social Network Analysis (SNA), 14–16, 84, 93–4
biographical research, 15
in-depth interviews, 15
mapping software, 15
network embeddedness, 16
qualitative data, 15
quantitative data, 15–16
shape, 15
size, 15
sociograms, 15
see also organisationsal networks: as social capital
social networks, xi, 3, 93–4, 99–100, 125, 136–8, 148, 188–9, 194–8, 203
cultural capital and, 44–5
between entrepreneurs and employees, 158
in Italy, among Filipina and Romanian female domestic workers, 172–87
lack of, consequences, 52
political structures through, 142
researching methods, 14–16
significance in migration, 5
virtual, 105
among women, 13, 22, 27–9
sociograms, 15–16, 137, 143–9, 152–3
Kurdish organisations in London, 94–5
sociological theory, 9
social systems theory, 173
Solomos, J., 68, 71
Soysal, Y. N., 102, 173
Spatial dynamism, embeddedness, 139–41
Spencer, L., 215
Staelhe, L., 105, 111
Stalford, H. E., 69
Statham, P., 120
Stockdale, A., 135, 139, 144
Stolle, D., 7
Stone, W., 15, 86
Strang, A., 207
supportively segregated bonding and bridging, 212–13
Sutton, C., 70
Svendsen, G. L. H, 210
Svendsen, G. T., 7, 210
Swanson, R. A., 94
Sweden migrants, 14, 37–9
Svynghedouw, M., 120
Svantison-Blanc, C., 174
Tang, J., 52
Tapscott, D., 114
Taylor-Goody, P., 83
Taylor, M., 7
temporal dynamism, embeddedness, 139–41
Thompson, J. B., 107, 115
Thomson, R., 67
Thorsby, D., 73
Thys, R., 128, 129–30
Tillie, J., 11, 83, 85–6, 90, 98, 100, 118–23, 125–8, 130–1, 136
Tilly, C., 35
Togeby, L., 121–2, 131
transitionally integrated bonding and bridging, 212
transnationalism, 154–71
ethnic enclaves and, 156–7
Tseng, Y. F., 157
Turkish women in Germany, 19–21
employment, 21
independence, 20
representations of, 19
Turkish and German, intra-ethnic differentiations, 19
Tynes, R., 103, 105, 112
Urry, J., 105
Valenzuela García, H., 154–71
van Amersfoort, H., 87
van Bastelaer, T., 87
Van Bruinessen, M., 87
van Heesum, A., 119
van Londen, M., 120, 123, 131
Verba, S., 125–6
Vermeulen, F., 11, 83–5, 118–20
‘vertical’ bridges, 8
Vertovec, S., 8, 14, 72, 102, 105
Vienna, 188–206
variations across three neighbourhoods in, exploring, 188–206
Vienna GEITONIES study, 190–201, 205, 205n1
Am Schöpfwerk, 192–3
Laudongasse, 190
local network embeddedness, 193–201
local ties intensity, 196–8
Ludo-Hartmann-Platz, 191
network embeddedness, variations in, 198–202
network size and composition, 193–6
‘visible minority’, 43, 49, 52–3, 63n2
Vuorela, U., 67–8
Wacquant, L. J. D., 51
Wahlbeck, Ö, 87–9, 106
Waite, E., 83
Wallman, S., 15, 96
Watson, I., 207
Weber, M., 35
Weenink, D., 72
Weine, S., 73
Weininger, E., 68
Wellman, B., 107, 203
Werbner, P., 156, 165, 219
Westhal, M., 19
Westwood, S., 21
Wierzbicki, S., 3, 8, 14, 83
Wilding, R., 113
Wimmer, A., 4
Woldoff, R. A., 201
Wong, M., 215
Woolcock, M., 7, 10

Xie, Y., 157
Yeates, N., 68
Yildiz, Y., 19
Yuval-Davis, N., 20, 31

Zaldman, N., 52
Zetter, R., 83
Zhang, L., 157
Zhou, M., 9–10, 165, 173–4, 211
Zhou, Y., 157
Zontini, E., 9, 13, 64, 68–9, 72