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Integration?
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Abstract: Building on a broad qualitative literature on migrant transnationalism, including a diverse set of conceptualizations, previous literature on the relation between transnational engagement and host country integration offers a conflicting picture. This study empirically examines the relation between different types of transnational activities in relation to economic, social, cultural and political integration. Using unique Swedish Survey data from 2010-2012 the analysis is done among a diverse migrant sample originating from different parts of the world and with different reasons for migration. The results show how the type of activity varies substantially depending on migration context and region of origin. Transnational activities are additionally found resource dependent and relate positively to economic integration but more negatively with social and cultural integration, thus calling for different explanations. The article concludes by describing transnational activities as reflecting the simultaneous connectedness to both sending and receiving society as well as individual migration experiences. Transnational activities are thereby argued to be central in any conceptualization of integration as a three-way process.

Keywords Migrant transnationalism, transnational activity, integration, assimilation

Introduction

Transnationalism as a theoretical approach has given rise to an extensive qualitative field of study. But despite the vast qualitative literature there is still a lack of any general understanding of transnational activities within processes of host country integration. Building on a broad scope of varying conceptualizations and case specific studies the academic field on migrant transnationalism is not offering any uniform description (For further overviews, see for example Erdal & Oeppen 2013; Vertovec 2009). Some scholars have argued transnationalism to be empowering strategies of marginalized migrants (Bolognani 2007; Haller & Landolt 2005) as well as a feature of cosmopolitan elite (Guarnizo et al. 2003; Portes 2003). Other scholars, policy makers, and journalists have questioned migrants' transnational engagement, by fear of it undermining integration and social cohesion within receiving nations (Alba & Nee 2009; Koopmans et al. 2005; Mügge 2016).

While return migration, social networks, emotional relations, communication, economic and political engagement and feelings of strong homeland attachment always have been parts of the migration experience, new transportation and communication technologies, together with cultural diversification shaped by globalization, have facilitated cross-nation relations (Portes 2003; Vertovec 2009). Transnational engagement is argued to take more institutionalized forms and to be more acknowledged by society than before, for example by politicians making it possible to have dual citizenships and sending countries reaching out to its emigrant population making transnational relations a part of nation-building strategies (Di Bartolomeo et al. 2015; Guarnizo et al. 2003; Vertovec 2009).

Inspired by the recognized importance of migrant transnational engagement for development in sending regions, the European Union is increasingly proposing a conceptualization of migrant host country integration as a three-way process, including not only the migrants and the receiving society but also the country of origin (European Commission 2011; Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx 2016). However, we know little of the relevance of such a three-way approach in explaining host society integration outcomes.

The main objective of this paper is to answer the question how migrant transnational activities, measured as sending remittances, having family and friends in the country of origin and number and length of return visits, relate to economic, social, cultural and political integration. Looking at multiple aspects of both transnational activities and integration in relation to the specific migration context helps contextualize some of the conflicting findings in previous literature. So far, the main quantitative contributions on transnational activities

and the relation to integration derive from studies of Latin American migrants in the US during the 1990's (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003; Portes 2003). Using previously non-examined data from Sweden, this paper does not only add empirical data to the European context, that with some exceptions (see for example Esser 2009; Schunck 2014; Snel et al. 2008) is still unexplored. To add to the literature on migrant transnationalism the case of Sweden is also important, not only because it is a country known for its inclusive integration policies, but also because it is a country with a diverse migration history, manifested in the multiple origins, reasons for migration and experiences of the foreign-born population.

Migrant transnationalism and the relation to integration

The theoretical concept of transnationalism was first formulated by the anthropologists Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992, 1995) as a new analytical approach in social sciences, describing and acknowledging the border-crossing nature of social relations, political and economic activities, loyalties and identities among international migrants, making them part of “transnational social fields”. Different from theories of globalization describing a worldwide processes, international political relations or transnational business cooperation, the transnational approach aimed at describing the everyday practices and experiences of individual actors and networks within the context of a few specific national and local contexts (Faist 2000;192; 2010; Levitt & Schiller 2004; Guarnizo and Smith 1998).

The empirical understanding of transnationalism has largely developed within sociological studies of transnational activities. Conducted by individual migrants in relation to their country of origin, transnational activities are commonly divided into economic, politic, social and cultural spheres, although the classification sometimes overlaps (Kivisto 2001; Schunck 2014). Examples of conceptualizations of activities within the economic sphere are the sending of remittances, entrepreneurial investments in companies, trade or business travels (Haller & Landolt 2005; Portes 2003; Portes et al. 2002; Schunck 2014; Snel et al. 2006). Political activities have been seen as and measured through the membership, participation and monetary contributions to political parties or campaigns, civic associations, charity organizations and political elections (Guarnizo et al. 2003; Portes 2003; Portes et al. 2002; Waldinger 2008). Social relations has been conceptualized as the frequency of contact to and number and length of visits to family and friends in the country of origin (Haller & Landolt 2005; Schunck 2014). Cultural relations have been measured through cultural habits as listening to music, reading newspapers, cooking food, visiting cultural events as well as

strong identities to a specific or several homelands or cultural values and norms (Diehl & Schnell 2006; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; Snel et al. 2006).

As transnationalism aims at describing simultaneous involvement in different countries, it has challenged conventional understandings of migrant integration. The question whether transnationalism and integration are two mutually exclusive, interrelated or even parallel processes has thus emerged (for a further discussion see Erdal & Oeppen 2013).

According to classic assimilation theory, as elaborated by Gordon (1964) in the American immigration context, migrant assimilation is an inevitable and linear process into a mainstream. Hence, attachment to the country of the origin hinders assimilation into the host society. Similarly, the longer time spent in the host country, the less attached will you be towards your origin.

Advocates for an assimilationist view on the relation between transnational activity and integration claim that time, resources and energy are aspects that by the means of practical choices in everyday life need to be invested in society and thereby impeding simultaneous involvement in different societies (Kivisto 2001). At its best, transnational connections result in low status occupations less effective for integration outcomes (Alba & Nee 2009). Instead, social interaction and identification with the majority population is much more important than contact within the own ethnic group for structural labour market integration outcomes (Lancee 2010; Nekby & Rödin 2010). By some scholars, cultural orientation and political activism directed toward the country of origin is argued to endorse "ambivalence" and "divided loyalty" between two societies (Faist 2000). In some cases this is not only seen as an impediment to migrant integration but also as a threat to the social cohesion of receiving states, exemplified with violent actions and Islamic terror attacks (Koopmans et al. 2005: 107, 142).

Not all migrants engage in regular transnational activities and researchers have been asking what the conditions are in which they do. The findings so far suggest rather opposite explanations and, as Waldinger (2008:3) concludes, "neither transnationalism as condition of being, nor transmigrants, as distinctive class of people, is commonly found." Among pioneering sociological studies on migrant transnationalism, studying Latin American migrants in the US in the 1990's, researchers found that the most regularly active migrants were the ones with the sufficient individual and contextual resources to do so. Their findings suggest that integration and years in the host country facilitate greater mobility and social connectedness within and across nation borders. Through employment, economic stability, expanding social networks, human resources such as education and legal aspects such as

rights to citizenship and easy travel, migrants gain necessary resources (Guarnizo et al. 2003; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Portes 2003; Portes et al. 2003; Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; 2005; Waldinger 2008). In a study of Bosnian refugees Al-ali et al. (2001) similarly show how people with higher education, previous experiences of travelling and knowledge of foreign languages both adapt more easily to the receiving society and keep connected to the country of origin to a higher extent.

The access to easy travel is determined, not only by citizenship, but also by previous migration flows and international relations (Waldinger 2008). In the same way the political and social context in the country of origin determines not only the possibility to be transnationally active but also the willingness and obligations to be so (Al-ali et al. 2001; Cela et al. 2012; Haller & Landolt 2005; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; 2005; Schunck 2014). Studies of remittances sent from Sweden show how these can be understood through the maintained bonds and solidarity, as well as the obligations, to the ones left in the country of origin (Pelling et al. 2011; Pelling 2010). The attachment to the culture and groups of the country of origin is by the same studies noted to weaken over time, as the social ties grow weaker or disappears. Studies of migrants' remittances from Sweden provide examples of how transnational activities reflect the conditions both in the receiving and sending state. Although remittances are enabled by a stable income (Boulanger-Martel et al. 2014) it is the need of the recipients that determines the amount and whether they are sent or not (Pelling et al. 2011).

Partly contrary from theories on "resource dependent transnationalism" (term formulated by Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002) some studies have interpreted transnational activity as a reaction to experienced racism and marginalization (Bolognani 2007; Haller & Landolt 2005; Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; 2005; Schunck 2014). In these cases transnational activities and social connectedness and interpreted as providing for social capital not provided within the receiving society, especially important shortly after migration. For example, institutional obstacles for upward mobility among younger second-generation migrants (Haller & Landolt 2005) and lower economic status (Schunck 2014) have been noted related to more frequent return visits. In a qualitative study of "'homeland' attachment" among second and third generations of British Pakistanis Bolognani (2007) shows how return visits bear different meanings across first and later generations. Previously associated with socio-economic motives within the first generation of migrants, visits to Pakistan among younger generations are instead linked to identity formation and responses to political issues and islamophobia in the United Kingdom (Bolognani 2007).

In two different empirical contributions from Germany (Schunck 2014) and the Netherlands (Snel et.al. 2006), transnational activities are concluded to be normal parts of the migration experience and not hindering integration. Instead Schunck (2014) argues that these activities should be seen as parallel processes. In the same way, Faist et al. (2013) argue that transnational activities ought to influence the way we conceptualize integration. As they put it: “a more open, less linear and static understanding of integration is required” (Faist et al. 2013:100) than the one underlying assimilationist notions. Within the European context, integration is sometimes understood as a two-way process, including not only the migrant but also the receiving society (Mussino et al. 2014). By adding the perspective of the country origin, thus understanding integration as a three-way process (Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx 2016), the process of integration would perhaps be more correctly conceptualized.

This study

Previous literature on the relation between transnational engagement and host country integration offers a conflicting picture. The diverse conceptualizations of migrant transnationalism have resulted in a critique of the concept as being too vague (Kivisto 2001; Levitt & Jaworsky 2007; Schunck 2014; Snel et al. 2006). Additionally, the associations sometimes differ in relation to economic and social aspects of integration (Cela et al. 2012). Transnational activities are in this study conceptualized as sending remittances, having friends and family in the country of origin and the number and length of return visits. Integration is measured through aspects of economic, social, cultural and political integration. By examining multiple aspects of both transnational activities and integration this study could hopefully shed light on some of the discrepancies in previous studies.

In this study, transnational activities are examined in relation to integration outcomes in Sweden, where the lack of reliable data so far has hindered any thorough examination of migrant transnational activities. The diverse migrant backgrounds in the sample, reflecting the diverse immigration to Sweden, provide a rich base for examination. In line with assimilationist ideas on migrant transnationalism, following hypotheses are tested:

H1: Migrants’ transnational activities are negatively associated with economic, social, cultural and political integration.

H2: The associations between transnational activities and integration are similar across the different integration aspects.

The Swedish experience

Since the Second World War Sweden has been a country of immigration. The share of persons living in Sweden and born abroad has risen from 4% in 1960 to 16,5% in 2014 (Statistics Sweden 2015). Characterized by labour migration from the 1960's to mid 1970's, the more recent migration to Sweden has been characterized by refugees and family reunions. The social democratic welfare state of Sweden has been famous for its inclusive immigration policies including also other citizens in a system of universal rights (Sainsbury 2006; Schierup et al. 2006). Migrants during the post-war period were not only encouraged to maintain and practice their culture of origin but also given minority status as to support their specific interests and participation in democratic processes (Sainsbury 2006; Schierup et al. 2006). However, these notions were altered during the 1990's in favor of a focus on incorporation of migrants into a common national identity built on democratic values (Schierup et al. 2006). This was done in a time of economic and political changes marked by cutbacks within public welfare, higher unemployment rates and the rise of national populist movements, also leading to an increase in the marginalization of migrants (Sainsbury 2006; Schierup et al. 2006; Pred 1997). Today Sweden continues to be a country of immigration at the same time as national populist movements have gain much influence.

Data and models

The data used for this study derives from the Swedish Level of Living Survey of Foreign Born conducted by SULCIS - *Stockholm University Linnaeus Center for Integration Studies* in cooperation with Statistics Sweden. The survey was conducted 2010-2012 and includes non-adopted persons born outside of Sweden aged 18-75 years and who have lived permanently in Sweden since at least January 1st 2005, meaning for at least 5 years (Wadensjö 2013). The survey is as it is the first national-scale survey asking about the current relation to the respondents' countries of origin. Overall, the sample comprises individuals having lived in Sweden for quite some time and coming to Sweden at relatively young ages, although there are some differences across regions of origin.. For example, more than two thirds of the sample has lived in Sweden for more than 14 years and about one third of the sample came to Sweden under the age of 16.

For analysis, descriptive statistics and binary logistic regressions are used. The regressions are individually fitted to each integration outcome and thus contain different sets of control variables.

Outcome variables – economic, social, cultural and political integration

The European usage of the term integration bears a political and normative difference from the classic assimilation one, although in practice these are often operationalized without any discrepancy. Whereas assimilation refers to the linear process of becoming culturally and behaviourally similar (Gordon 1964), integration is more often understood as the process of increasing participation in society (Berry 2005; Diaz 1993). In this study integration is understood as the process of becoming similar in terms of increased economic, social, cultural and political participation in Sweden.

Economic integration is conceptualized as being *employed* in contrast to not being employed. Stated as employed are those with full- or part time employment contracts, self-employed, farmers, freelancers or people with other types of secondary employments. There is no requirement of having worked a certain number of hours or having a certain salary, meaning that people also on for example parental leave, part time students and retirees are still stated as employed as long as they are enrolled in some kind of employment. Those not employed are both those listed as unemployed and people outside the labour force, i.e. non-working students, retirees and household caretakers. Only including people aged 20-65 years in the model limits the share of people outside the labor force. Often explained by determinants of human capital and demographic characteristics and sometimes also by national economy structures (Bevelander 2000), labour market participation and hourly wage are some of the most prevailing measures of economic and structural integration, central in political discussions of societal exclusion and inclusion. Not only do wage from employment enable economic resources in forms of salary and work related benefits, it does also enable important social interactions for example enabling social integration (Kalmijn 1998).

Social integration is measured through *intermarriage*, differing between having a Swedish born partner (cohabiting or married) and a partner born in the country of origin. Persons without any partner or with a partner born in a third country are excluded from the model. Intermarriage between socioeconomic or ethnic originally different groups has a long history within sociological research on integration including within classic assimilation theory (Coleman 1994; Gordon 1964; Kalmijn 1998; Kalmijn & Van Tubergen 2010; Smits 2010). Not only does it involve the married couple but also the social network of family and friends, both prior and after marriage (Kalmijn 1998, Kalmijn & Van Tubergen 2010). Different to socioeconomic endogamy, ethnic group endogamy is believed to be produced by a wish for cultural similarity more than socioeconomic status (Kalmijn 1998; Kalmijn & Van Tubergen

2010). Therefore, if transnational activities hindered social integration into a majority culture, lower probabilities of intermarriage is to be expected. A more diverse migrant population, increased travel and the development of transnational networks are on the other hand possible explanations behind the increase in the proportions of binational marriages in Sweden since the beginning of the 1990's (Haandrikman 2014).

Cultural integration is measured through *host country language proficiency*, captured by the variable of having Very good Swedish speaking skills or not. Deriving from the question "How well can you make yourself understood in [spoken] Swedish?" this variable is coded into a dummy differing between those answering always or almost always and others answering often, randomly or never. Host country language proficiency is an important resource for social inclusion but also labour market outcomes (Aleksynska & Algan 2010; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn 2009). A lack of communication abilities is sometimes even seen as a threat to national cohesion (Ersanilli & Koopmans 2010:782). Language proficiency is additionally related to language use and self-identity (Van Tubergen & Kalmijn 2009). Leading to a decrease in both opportunities to speak as well as economic incentives to learn a second language, transnational activities may hamper integration. Higher exposure to origin country language might lead to less second language exposure (Van Tubergen & Kalmijn 2009). The economic incentives for acquiring a new language may therefore weaken.

Political integration is measured through *electoral participation*, referring to whether the respondent participated in the Swedish national elections in 2010 or not. The national elections include election of representatives at the municipality, county and national level, and one could participate in any, all or neither of them. Respondents interviewed before the elections (missing values) and persons with no right to vote have not been included in the model. Electoral participation is perhaps extra valid as a measure of integration in Sweden, where integration politics for long have been dominated by ideas of equal participation in democratic processes (Sainsbury 2006; Schierup et al. 2006). Electoral participation in Sweden is additionally relatively high, with more than 80% in the regional elections. People 18 years or older and residing in Sweden since more than three years do all have the right to vote in the regional elections to municipalities and counties, even without Swedish citizenship. Compared to people not voting, electoral participants are presumably more aware of their electoral rights and able to view their own action as part of the residential region in which they live.

Independent variables – transnational activities and controls

Transnational activity is in this analysis measured through four of the most commonly used measures of migrant transnational activities: *sending remittances* (previously used in studies by for example Portes 2003; Portes et al. 2002; Snel et al. 2006), *family and/or friends in the country of origin*, *number and length of return visits* (see for example Haller & Landolt 2005; Schunck 2014). Whilst remittances and return visits correspond to actual activities, social contacts are assumed to reflect stronger social and emotional ties to the country of origin. All four aspects correspond to the imagined conflict between migrant transnationalism and integration as they consume time, energy and economic resources (Kivisto 2001) as well as constitute emotional ties to people and places outside the receiving country.

The country of origin is interpreted as the country where the respondent lived most of his or her life under the age of 16 years. If this country is Sweden, then the country of origin is instead the country of birth.

Sending remittances is measured as a dummy and derives from the question: “Have you during the past 12 months given economic support or gifts to a total amount of 6000 kronor [about 600 Euros] or more to someone outside your household?” and do only involve private individuals living outside Sweden. As many remittances are sent or delivered through informal channels, it is a clear advantage using this type of survey data. However, as remittances may consist of small amounts, some remittances might be missed because of the amount limit set (Monti & Nordlund 2014).

The presence of family and/or friends in the country of origin is coded into a variable differing between having no family nor friends, only friends, only family and both family and friends in the country of origin. Family refers to parents, siblings or spouse. Other relatives are not included in the variable all though it should be noted that a majority of the sample has some relatives in the country of origin.

Return visits to the country of origin is measured as the number of visits since first migration to Sweden or, if this migration took place ten or more years ago, the latest ten years. The variable is categorized as either Never, 1-5 times or >5 times.

The length of the longest visit (since first migration or the latest ten years) is measured as a dummy differing between one or more than one month and less than one month.

Control variables consist of individual demographic and socio-economic characteristics and variables reflecting the migration context and background. Not all control variables are included in all models, instead these are individually fitted. Individual variables include

dummy variables of *gender* and *children living in the household*, *civil status*, measured as no partner, cohabiting or married, *intermarriage* as no partner, Swedish born partner, partner born in country of origin and partner born in other country. *Age at interview* is measured as a categorical variable. Residential region is measured in one variable reflecting the *regional employment rate* compared to the national average, differing between lower, equal or higher than the average and in another variable reflecting the *type of municipality*, differing between metropolitan areas, cities to commuter municipalities and more sparsely populated regions¹. Individual socio-economic variables also reflecting individual's human capital include highest attained *educational level*, differing between up to secondary, secondary and post-secondary or university level. *Language proficiency* is measured as the outcome variable on Swedish speaking skills. Similarly, the outcome variable of employment is also used as a control. *Labour force participation* is measured as either employed, unemployed or not in the labour force. Finally *union member* is measured as a dummy. Contextual variables include *time since migration* to Sweden, measured in years from first migration to Sweden, *time since migration square* and *age at migration*, measured both as a continuous and categorical variable. *Reason for migration* derives from the question on what grounds the first resident permit was admitted and is aggregated to work, study, refugee and family migrants and those not in need of residence permit (mostly Nordic and some European migrants). *Region of origin* is an aggregated variable of country of origin as it is aggregated by the survey, into Nordic countries, EU15+ countries (these refer to the European Union's first fifteen EU member states plus Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand) Eastern European, North African/Middle Eastern, Sub-Saharan, Asian and Latin American countries.

Results

Descriptive findings

The decennium and reason of first migration to Sweden is presented by region of origin in Table 1. A majority of the migrants within this sample came to Sweden as family or refugee migrants after the 1970's. Among the Nordic migrants a majority is originally from Finland, migrating to Sweden before 1980. The vast majority have not needed any residence permit at all. Within the EU+ group we find the highest share of work migrants. The single most

¹ The categories are aggregated levels of a division made by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions 2011 and build on register data added to the data set.

common country of origin within this group is Germany, followed by other European countries among earlier migrants and migrants from the US the years after 1990. Migrants from Eastern Europe in this sample are mainly refugee or family migrants from former Yugoslavia arriving Sweden in the 1990's. Iran and Iraqi migrants contribute to the largest shares within the group from Middle East and North Africa. Also these migrants came to Sweden as refugees or family members but starting from 1980's. Other countries in this group are for example Turkey, Lebanon and Syria. Within the group of Sub-Saharan migrants more than half of the respondents are originally from the horn of Africa (Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia), migrating as refugees or family members starting from 1970 and onwards. Respondents from Asia come primarily from Thailand and Afghanistan, but also Vietnam, Philippines and China. The migrants from Thailand have come almost exclusively as family migrants whereas other migrants have come both as refugee and family migrants. Among the respondents from Latin America almost everyone has come as refugees or family members during the 1970's to 1990's. Almost half of these respondents come from Chile. It is important to note that being a family migrant from a region from where many refugee migrants arrive could also, by other definitions, be regarded as refugees.

Table 2 shows how different integration outcomes vary depending on the region of origin. Employment rates for the entire sample show how these are highest for Latin American and Nordic migrants and lowest among migrants from the Middle East/North Africa, who are also showing the highest share of non-employment. Nordic and EU+ migrants have highest shares of Swedish born partners and lowest shares of partners born in the country of origin. The opposite is true for migrants from Middle East/North Africa where less than one out of ten persons have a Swedish born partner but more than a third have a partner from the country of origin. Nordic migrants have the highest share of very good Swedish speaking proficiency followed by other European migrants. Asian migrants show the lowest share of very good speaking proficiency, followed by migrants from the Middle East/North Africa. A majority of those with the right to vote in the national election 2010 did so. Highest shares of voters are found among the Latin American respondents and highest shares of not voting, although having the right to do so, among Asian migrants.

Table 1 Decennium and reason for first migration by region of origin. Percentages

	Nordic	Eu15+	Eastern Europe	Middle East / North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	Asia	Latin America
Reason for Migration							
Work	5	24	9	3	5	7	4
Studies	1	5	1	3	3	4	1
Family Reunion	9	49	42	38	42	63	41
Asylum/Humanitarian	1	5	45	51	47	22	48
Permit Not Needed	83	12	1	2	2	2	3
Missing	1	4	2	2	2	2	3
Decennium of Migration							
-1970	36	24	11	3	4	2	2
1970-1979	21	10	11	8	16	14	20
1980-1989	15	16	16	33	25	19	44
1990-1999	13	25	50	37	35	34	21
2000-2008	15	25	12	19	20	30	12
N	552	565	485	443	377	438	506

Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using STATA 14.0

Table 2 Integration outcomes by region of origin. Percentages

	Nordic	Eu15+	Eastern Europe	Middle East / North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	Asia	Latin America
Employed vs. Otherwise, people 20-64 years old							
Not Employed	23	22	30	39	33	33	27
Employed	77	78	70	61	67	67	73
Sum, N	453	444	420	392	337	393	460
Intermarriage, people with a partner born in Sweden or country of origin							
Partner Born In Country Of Origin	25	9	61	81	64	52	45
Swedish Born Partner	75	91	39	19	36	48	55
Sum, N	329	322	243	211	163	242	256
Language Proficiency, all in sample							
Not Very Good	4	8	12	30	28	35	22
Very Good	96	92	88	70	72	65	78
Sum, N	552	565	485	443	377	438	506
Electoral participation, people with the right to vote and with no missing information							
No, did not vote	22	20	19	16	17	24	12
Yes, voted	78	80	81	84	83	76	88
Sum, N	448	462	436	408	348	393	460

Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using STATA 14.0

The share of transnational active migrants differs depending on region of origin and type of activity. This is illustrated in Figures 1a-1d as well as in Table 3. The importance of origin stresses the migration context such as the reason for migration, situation in the origin, access to travel and geographical proximity (Waldinger 2008). The share of migrants sending remittances, where 6% of the Nordic and EU+ migrants send remittances and 20% of the Sub-Saharan migrants declare they do the same, probably as the need and expectations on remittances are greater in that region. Student migrants is the group of migrants with the largest share of having both family and friends left in the country of origin and are also the ones with the highest share of persons sending remittances. Whereas migrants not in need for any residence permit remit to a lesser extent, they visit their country of origin more frequently. This could be compared with the share of no return visits among refugees, where the situation in the country of origin might not allow for such visits and the overall relation between Sweden and these countries might make easy travel less accessible. Similar patterns are shown when comparing the share of no return visit among migrants from Nordic, EU15+ and Eastern European countries to migrants from the Middle East/North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa where the shares who never visited their country of origin is varying between 5-7% among the former and 30 respectively 41% among the latter. Migrants with larger geographical distance to their regions of origin, for example Asia and Latin America, tend to visit less frequently but stay longer once away.

Transnational activities are not necessarily lower among migrants who have been in Sweden for longer periods of time (Table 3). In this sample, a higher share of migrants coming to Sweden during the 1970's send remittances compared to later years and no big changes are noted in the number or length of return visits. What is shown though is that the shares of migrants having both friends and family in the country of origin are higher among more recent migrants groups whereas the share of migrants having none of these contacts left in the country of origin is higher in the older cohorts, suggesting that the social connectedness weakens over time.

Social connectedness is crucial in order to understand transnational activities and younger migrants show lower shares of persons with friends and family still in the origin. Among those migrating as children a majority migrated to Sweden together with their family and a lesser share is sending remittance and visit the country of origin than those migrating at an age over 15 years. However, this is again different across region. Among Sub-Saharan migrants for example where the overall shares of sending remittances are high, 13% of the younger migrants still send remittances (not showed in table).

The transnational activities depicted here take place within the realm of family and friends, in what Schiller et al. (1992; 1995) introduced as “transnational social fields”. The activities are all mainly social in character, which might be a reason for why there are no great differences are depicted between men and women. Over 80% of those traveling to the country of origin say that one of the main reason is to visit family and friends. The reasons for visits do not change dramatically across regions and neither does it change by reasons for migration.

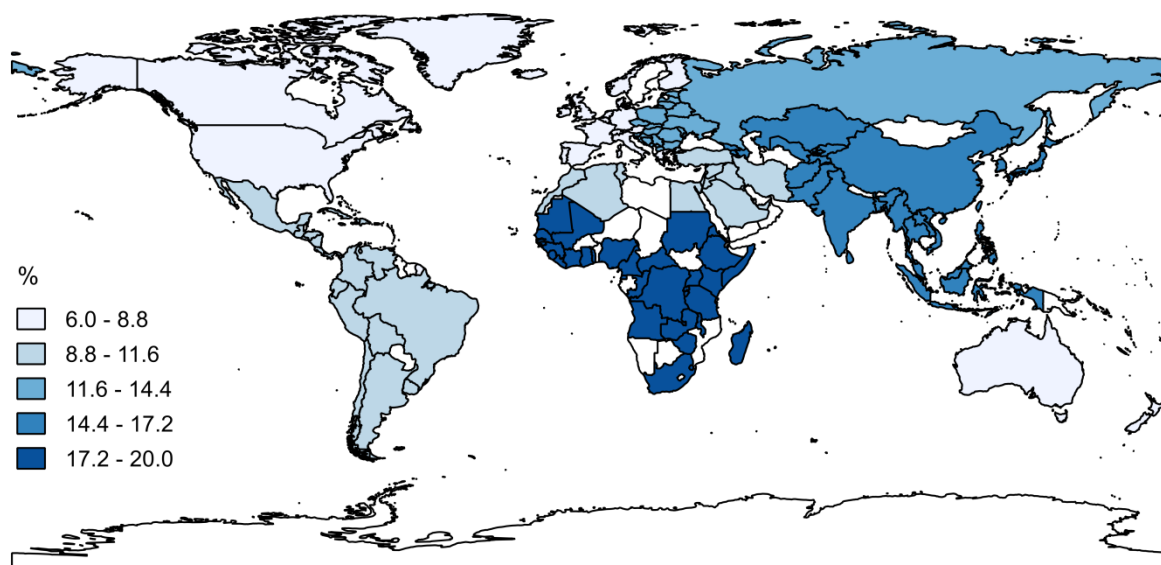


Fig. 1a Share of persons sending remittances from Sweden, by region of origin. The percentage points refer to the between country variations within each region. Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author’s computation using QGIS 2.14.3

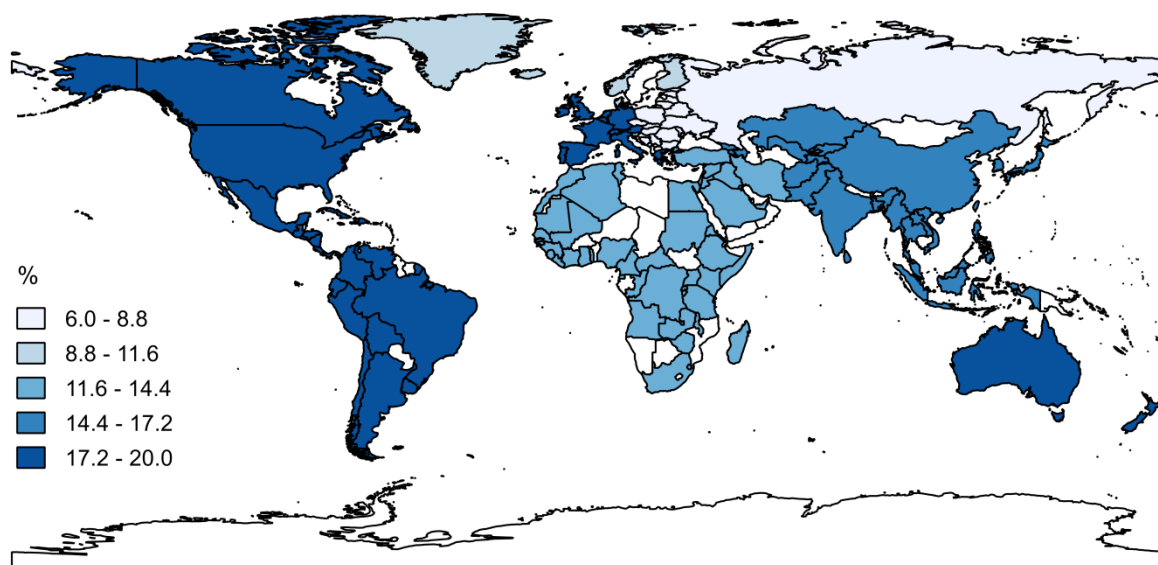


Fig. b Share of persons having both family and friends in the country of origin, by region of origin. The percentage points refer to the between country variations within each region. Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author’s computation using QGIS 2.14.3

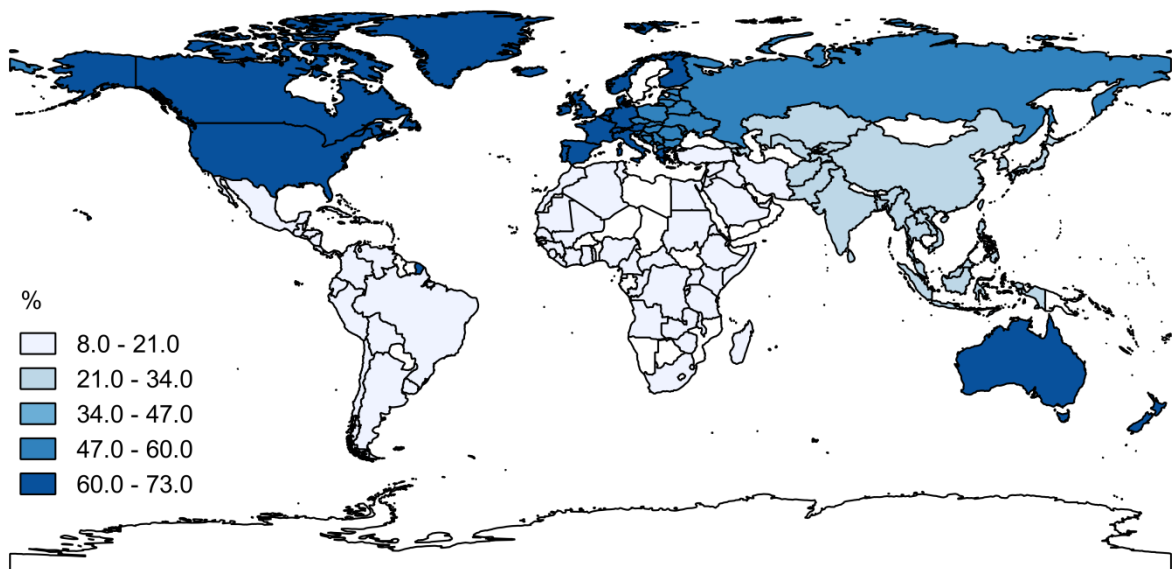


Fig. 1c Share of persons having visited their country of origin more than five times since migration or the latest ten years, by region of origin. The percentage points refer to the between country variations within each region. Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using QGIS 2.14.3

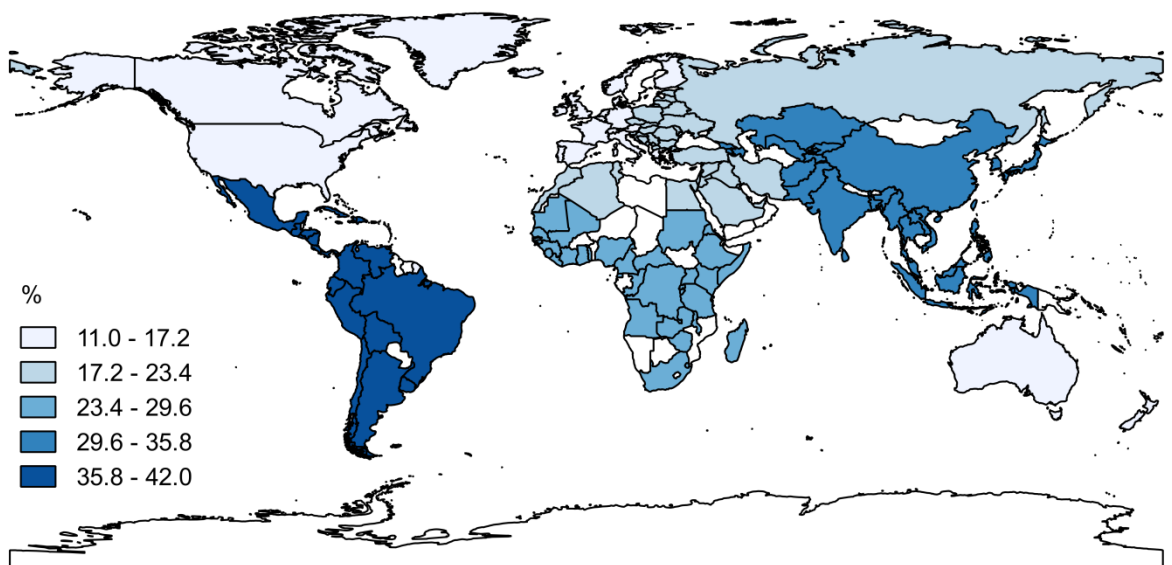


Fig. 1d Share of persons having visited their country of origin for longer than one month since migration or the latest ten years, by region of origin. The percentage points refer to the between country variations within each region. Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using QGIS 2.

Table 3 Transnational activities by individual and contextual variables. Percentages

		Sending Remittances		Family and/or Friends in Country of Origin				Number of Return Visits			Visit over 1 month		Total N
		No	Yes	None	Friends	Family	Both	Never	1-5 Times	>5 Times	No	Yes	
Region of Origin	Nordic	94	6	28	12	26	34	5	22	73	89	11	552
	EU15+	94	6	15	11	25	48	6	27	67	83	17	565
	Eastern Europe	88	12	29	24	20	26	7	33	60	80	20	485
	Middle East/North Africa	91	9	29	17	20	35	30	53	17	80	20	443
	Sub-Saharan Africa	80	20	27	11	28	35	41	52	8	76	24	377
	Asia	84	16	20	13	26	41	15	55	30	68	32	438
	Latin America	90	10	17	14	22	47	17	67	16	58	42	506
Decennium of Migration	-1970	95	5	34	16	24	27	12	31	57	90	10	439
	1970-1979	86	14	20	11	27	42	13	39	48	78	22	480
	1980-1989	90	10	24	15	24	37	18	51	31	73	27	800
	1990-1999	89	11	26	16	22	36	16	45	39	73	27	1006
	2000-2008	89	11	13	12	25	50	17	40	43	76	24	641
Reason for Migration	Work	90	10	14	10	29	47	7	29	64	81	19	291
	Studies	80	20	6	6	23	66	10	29	61	79	21	87
	Family	89	11	20	13	24	42	13	48	39	72	28	1346
	Refugee	87	13	29	19	21	31	28	52	20	76	24	992
	Not Needed	93	7	24	13	26	37	6	23	71	87	13	569
	Missing	98	2	46	20	20	15	21	53	26	78	22	81
Migrated as a child	Yes	94	6	43	24	17	16	20	48	32	75	25	1177
	No	87	13	13	9	28	50	14	40	46	78	22	2189
Woman	Man	89	11	24	16	24	36	18	43	40	77	23	1620
	Woman	89	11	23	13	24	40	14	43	43	76	24	1746
Total (percentage)		89	11	23	14	24	38	16	43	41	77	23	3366

Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using STATA 14.0

Multivariate analysis

The regression results showing the association between transnational activities and integration outcomes are presented in table 4. Model A includes only variables of transnational activity. Model B adds individual characteristics and Model C additionally adds variables of the migration context. While table 4 shows only the results of transnational activities, table A2 in Appendix show full regression results (Model C) for each integration outcome.

In terms of economic integration, showed in table 4, we see that sending remittances is positively related to economic integration through all of the estimated models, as it is enabled by migrant's employment in Sweden. Although an endogenous result,² it is interesting as it shows how the sending of remittances is made possible through employment rather than limiting employment possibilities. Robust checks including multinomial models (not shown here) show that having any employment is more important for sending remittances than having higher salary. It is thus reasonable to believe that the need and expectations from family and kin in the origin is still more important for remittance sending than the specific economic situation in Sweden (Pelling et al. 2011). The importance of origin and migration context is noted in the models of social and cultural integration. Adding the aspects of migration background and region of origin, sending remittances become positive (although only significant in the model of cultural integration). Without the aspects of migration context sending remittances is negatively or not significantly associated with these integration outcomes, as most migrants sending remittances come from regions with lower shares of intermarriage and very good Swedish speaking skills. Remittances therefore, when controlled for region of origin, are positively related to social and cultural integration. In relation to political integration, remittances seem to not have any large importance.

Table 4 Logistic regression results of transnational activities in estimating the likelihood of economic, social, cultural and political integration outcomes

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	OR	Sig.	OR	Sig.	OR	Sig.
<i>Economic integration. Likelihood of being Employed vs. Otherwise. Respondents 20-65 years. N=2899</i>						
Sending remittances (vs. Not sending remittances)	2.65	***	2.40	***	2.50	***
Family and/or friends in the country of origin						
Ref. None	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Only friends	1.03		1.08		1.13	
Only family	0.89		0.83		0.82	
Both	1.21		1.03		1.05	
Number of return visits						
Ref. Never	1.00		1.00		1.00	
1-5 times	1.78	***	1.62	***	1.60	***
>5 times	2.59	***	2.18	***	2.13	***
Longest visit over one month (vs. No visit over one month)	0.49	***	0.51	***	0.47	***
<i>Social integration. Partner born in Sweden vs. Country of origin. Respondents 18-75 years, with a partner. N=1766</i>						
Sending remittances (vs. Not sending remittances)	0.91		0.84		1.35	
Family and/or friends in the country of origin						
Ref. None	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Only friends	0.52	***	0.56	**	0.50	**
Only family	0.73	*	0.84		0.82	
Both	0.60	***	0.73	*	0.67	*
Number of return visits						
Ref. Never	1.00		1.00		1.00	
1-5 times	1.51	*	1.28		0.87	
>5 times	2.80	***	2.05	***	0.98	
Longest visit over one month (vs. No visit over one month)	0.53	***	0.63	***	0.62	**
<i>Cultural integration. Fluent Swedish speaking skills vs. Otherwise. Respondents 18-75 years old. N=3366</i>						
Sending remittances (vs. Not sending remittances)	1.18		1.07		1.41	*
Family and/or friends in the country of origin						
Ref. None	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Only friends	0.60	**	0.67	*	0.81	
Only family	0.33	***	0.36	***	0.71	
Both	0.24	***	0.27	***	0.61	**
Number of return visits						
Ref. Never	1.00		1.00		1.00	
1-5 times	1.65	***	1.41	*	0.96	
>5 times	3.99	***	2.96	***	1.14	
Longest visit over one month (vs. No visit over one month)	0.58	***	0.70	**	0.77	

2 Without including remittances to the model of economic integration, the other main independent variables show almost exactly the same results as presented here.

<i>Political integration. Voting in National Election 2010 vs. Did not vote. Respondents with right to vote. N=2955</i>			
Sending remittances (vs. Not sending remittances)	1.24	1.06	1.05
Family and/or friends in the country of origin			
Ref. None	1.00	1.00	1.00
Only friends	0.78	0.77	0.78
Only family	0.85	0.75	0.82
Both	0.85	0.69 *	0.79
Number of return visits			
Ref. Never	1.00	1.00	1.00
1-5 times	1.18	1.04	1.20
>5 times	0.89	0.67 *	1.07
Longest visit over one month (vs. No visit over one month)	0.69 **	0.83	0.69 **

Note: Model A includes only variables of transnational activity, Model B adds individual characteristics and Model C additionally adds variables of migration context. Full regression results (Model C) are presented in Appendix, Table A2. Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using STATA 14.0

Having social ties consisting of friends and family in the origin is not significant in relation to economic integration. There is thereby no reason to believe that these relations would hinder employment likelihoods. However, in relation to intermarriage we do see a negative association with having friends (or both friends and family) in the country of origin, also when individual and contextual variables are controlled for. This negative association is reasonable when considering the importance of personal social networks both after and prior to partnering processes (Kalmijn 1998, Kalmijn & Van Tubergen 2010). Negative associations are also found between family and friends in origin and Swedish language skills. It shows how these relations might be related to lower incentives or opportunities to acquire the new language (Van Tubergen & Kalmijn 2009). The negative findings decrease when adding especially migration context variables such as time since migration and age at migration, as these are more important determining Swedish language proficiency. In relation to political integration, friends and family ties in the origin are also negatively related, although only significant when controlled for age at interview and not any of the migration contextual variables.

Higher number of return visits is positively related to employment. Again this mostly due to endogeneity, and shows how employment is not hindered by transnational activities but is instead providing necessary economic resources enabling travelling (Guarnizo et al. 2003; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Portes 2003; Portes et al. 2003; Saucedo 2002; 2005; Waldinger 2008). Similar relations are reflected in the model of cultural integration, probably since these integration outcomes are closely connected (Aleksynska & Algan 2010; Van Tubergen &

Kalmijn 2009). However, the positive relation to language proficiency becomes insignificant when controlling for contextual variables as time since migration and geographical proximity. Similar associations are found in the model of intermarriage. As those who visit their country of origin more frequently (more than five times) are mainly migrants with higher shares of intermarriage (this we saw in the descriptive section in the case of Nordic and EU15+ migrants) the positive association disappears when origin is controlled for. The same pattern is found in the model of political integration.

Different from the number of return visits, the length of longest visit is significant also when both individual demographic, socio-economic and migration contextual variables are controlled for. The association is negative across all integration models. What we know from descriptive statistics (not shown in table) is that the reason for visiting the country of origin differs somewhat among those having been away for longer than those who have not. Among those staying for longer, fewer go for vacation and more travel to study, work, visit and get to know the country better, although the differences are small. The regression results could be interpreted as supporting the assimilationist view: being away for longer periods of time hinder the incentives and possibilities to societal participation in the host society (compare Alba & Nee 2009; Gordon 1964; Kivisto 2001). On the other hand it could also be interpreted in terms of “reactive transnationalism” (Itzigohn & Giorguli-Saucedo 2002; 2005). If one has no employment, a partner from the country of origin, doesn’t know Swedish very well and do not vote, the incentives and possibilities to stay away for more than one may be higher (compare Bolognani 2007; Haller & Landolt 2005; Schunck 2014).

Other than situation in origin and receiving society, individual migration experiences are important for understanding the association between transnational activities and the integration outcomes. Interaction results from longer return visits and years since migration on employment likelihood are showed in Figure 2. The negative association between longer return visits and employment is increased by years since migration. This speaks to an explanation where people without employment are increasingly probable to engage in longer visits in the country of origin as time pass. Similarly, the positive association found shortly after migration could be interpreted as the mere consequence of selection. However, it could also be the consequence of longer return visits having a more important and positive role to play, for example in terms of social support (Bolognani 2007; Haller & Landolt 2005), in times when less time has been spent in the host country and attachment is still strong to the people and places in the origin.

The importance of age at migration is also previously showed in the descriptive results (table 3), where higher shares of people older at migration tended to send remittances and have both family and friends in the country of origin. This importance of age at migration is seen also in the interaction effect between number of return visits and age at migration in relation to social integration, presented in Figure 3. For those older at migration and with supposedly stronger attachment to the country of origin, the relation between number of visits and social integration is positive and increasing by age at migration. As an explanation for these results, we can imagine differences in the social connectedness underlying these return visits. Similar to the findings of Bolognani (2007), the return visits might have another implication for those migrating at younger ages, with supposedly less attachment to the origin. For these younger migrants, return visits may instead be a reactive response to exclusion processes in Sweden (Bolognani 2007; Haller & Landolt 2005).

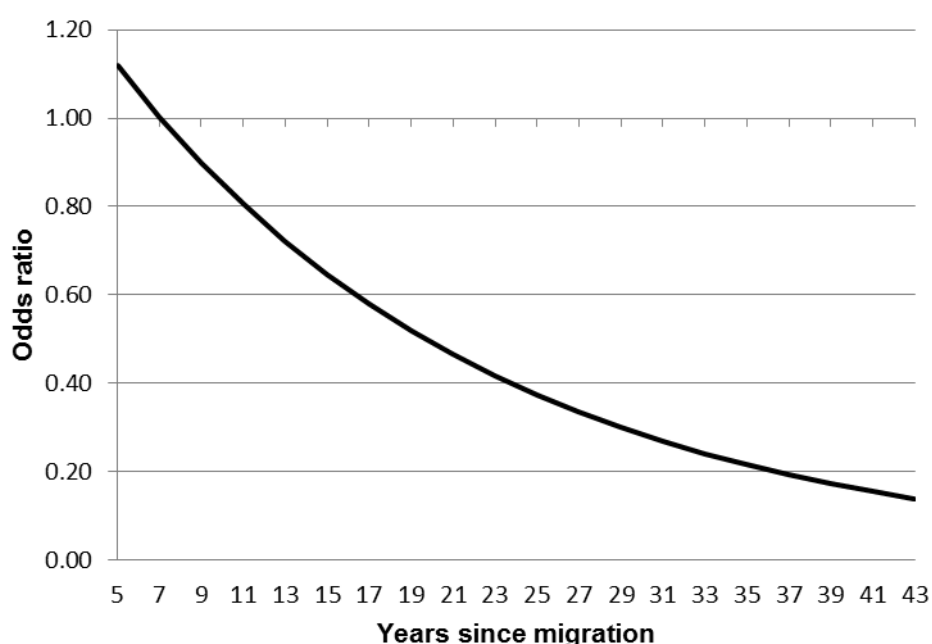


Fig. 2 Interaction effect of Longest return visit over one month (Ref. Shorter than one month) and Time since migration on the likelihood of Employment, people 20-65 years. Variables controlled for: Sending remittances, Family and/or friends in the country of origin, Number of return visits, Longest visit over one month, Gender, Civil status, Children in Household, residential region by Regional employment rate, Educational level, Region of origin, Age at migration (categorical), Time since migration, Time since migration square and Reason for migration

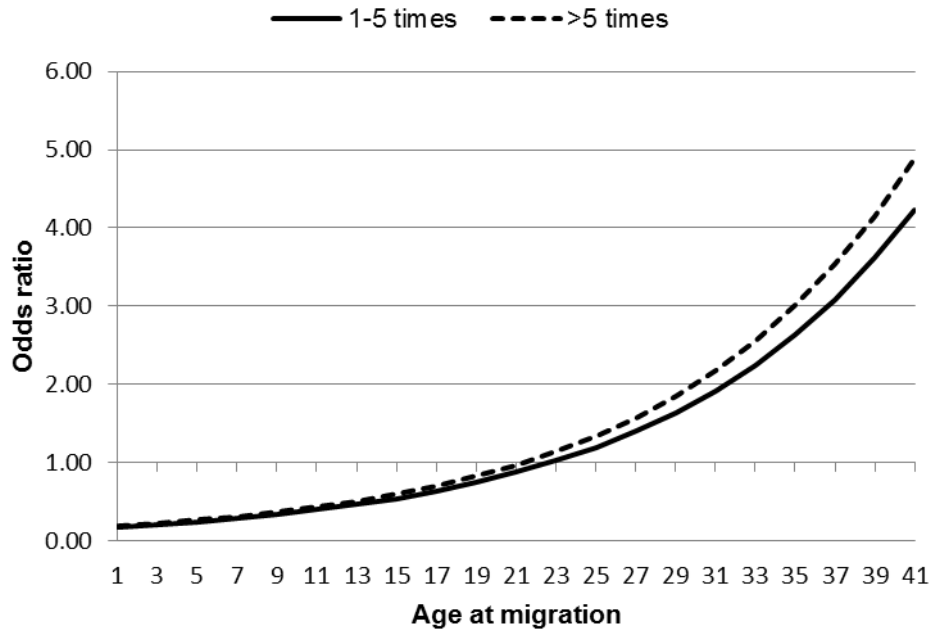


Fig. 3 Interaction effect of Number of return visits and Age at migration on the likelihood of having a Swedish-born partner compared to a partner born in the country of origin. Variables controlled for: Sending remittances, Family and/or friends in the country of origin, Number of return visits, Longest visit over one month, Gender, Residential area by Municipality type, Educational level, Very good Swedish speaking proficiency, Employed (dummy), Region of origin, Age at migration (continuous) and Reason for migration

Conclusion

The objective of this study has been to analyse the relation between transnational activities and host-country integration, understood as economic, social, cultural and political participation. Within previous literature this relationship has been contested. Following the assimilationist view on transnational activities, it was expected that transnational activities relate negatively to integration (H1) and that this calls for all types of activities as well as integration aspects (H2). However, the results from the descriptive as well as multivariate analysis show how associations between migrant transnational activities and integration differ according to both the type of activity and integration aspect, thus undermining both hypotheses.

The different associations found call for different explanations that varyingly stresses the aspects of transnational activities as enabled by resources, hindering integration or being reactive to lower levels of integration in Sweden. While sending remittances is positively related to integration outcomes, having friends and family in the origin relates negatively to

social and cultural integration. Longer return visits than one month are negatively related to all integration outcomes, including political integration that otherwise does not show any significant associations.

Transnational activities are in this study found related to specific conditions in both origin and receiving contexts, as well as to individual experiences and characteristics. Transnational activities are highly related to the situation in the country of origin, presence of family and friends, needs and expectations and accessibility. They relate to host country integration by the availability or non-availability of economic resources. Additionally, transnational activities, as well as the integration outcomes, relate heavily to the individual migration experience, meaning from where, why, from whom you migrated and when you did so. For example, interaction effects suggest that increased number and length of return visits may have different meanings and thus relate differently to economic and social integration depending on when and at what age one migrated to Sweden.

Transnational activities are in this study found to have significant associations to integration, although they don't determine any integration outcome. However, reflecting a simultaneous connectedness to both the sending and receiving society as well as the individual migration experiences, transnational activities are found to provide fruitful insights in any conceptualization of integration as a three-way process (Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx 2016).

In this study, different transnational activities among migrants living in Sweden are for the first time described and analysed at a national level. By adding perspectives from a country with a relatively large and divergent immigration history and integration policies with historical emphasis on equal rights and cultural diversity, this study contributes to the studies on migrant transnationalism and integration. Different from prominent studies of migrant transnationalism and integration, this study includes not only working migrants but also refugees and family migrants, from many different parts of the world.

The data is the first of its kind in Sweden regarding the questions on migrant's relation to the country of origin. However, it is cross sectional that makes a longitudinal approach towards the study of this relation impossible and limit any chance to discuss potential directions of the associations. The definition of migrant transnationalism has also been restricted to only some distinct measures of transnational activities and ties, although we know that the concept by this definition is highly limited.

Addressing the originally qualitative and anthropological topic of migrant transnationalism through a quantitative lens has enabled the analysis of different migrant

groups placed within different migration flows and global connections. In this way this study empirically shows the importance of migration context and background in the study of transnational activities in relation to integration, not only in a specific case but on a more general level. The conceptualization of integration through four different domains has further contributed to a more complex picture, not only addressing the difficulties of a single definition of integration but also showing how transnational activities relate differently depending on the aspect of integration.

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Appendix.

Table A1 Categorical variables used in models, absolute numbers

	Nordic	Eu15+	Eastern Europe	Middle East / North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	Asia	Latin America	All
Gainful Employment								
Not Employed	193	202	183	199	148	167	160	1 252
Employed	359	363	302	244	229	271	346	2 114
Intermarriage								
Partner Born In Country Of Origin	82	29	148	170	105	125	114	773
Swedish Born Partner	247	293	95	41	58	117	142	993
Missing (No partner or partner born elsewhere)	223	243	242	232	214	196	250	1 600
Language Proficiency								
Not Very Good	24	43	56	134	107	155	111	630
Very Good	528	522	429	309	270	283	395	2 736
Voted								
Yes	348	370	354	343	289	300	406	2 410
No	100	92	82	65	59	93	54	545
Not The Right To Vote	65	73	13	6	13	22	18	210
Missing (Interviewed before the elections)	39	30	36	29	16	23	28	201
Sending Of Remittances								
No	520	530	425	404	302	366	457	3 004
Yes	32	35	60	39	75	72	49	362
Family And/Or Friends In Country Of Origin								
Nor Family Nor Friends	154	86	143	127	100	86	85	781
Only Friends	68	62	115	76	40	56	70	487
Only Family	142	143	99	87	106	116	113	806
Both Family And Friends	188	274	128	153	131	180	238	1 292
Number Of Visits Since Migration								

Never	29	32	33	135	153	65	88	535
1-5 Times	120	152	161	234	195	243	337	1 442
>5 Times	403	381	291	74	29	130	81	1 389
Visit > 1 Month								
No, Less	490	469	390	355	288	296	293	2 581
Yes, >1Month	62	96	95	88	89	142	213	785
Woman								
Man	242	297	223	234	204	183	237	1 620
Woman	310	268	262	209	173	255	269	1 746
Age At Interview								
<=25	61	78	95	81	50	75	64	504
26-39	120	151	122	120	99	126	153	891
40-59	222	165	168	164	143	158	185	1 205
>60	149	171	100	78	85	79	104	766
Civil Status								
No Partner	180	188	196	190	178	154	205	1 291
Cohabiting	134	99	73	25	32	51	122	536
Married	238	278	216	228	167	233	179	1 539
Intermarriage								
No Partner	180	188	196	190	178	154	205	1 291
Swedish Born Partner	247	293	95	41	58	117	142	993
Partner Born In Country Of Origin	82	29	148	170	105	125	114	773
Partner Born In Other Country	43	55	46	42	36	42	45	309
Children In Household								
No	381	362	311	234	197	228	283	1 996
Yes	171	203	174	208	180	209	223	1 368
Missing	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Residential Area, Employment Rate								
Higher	248	277	182	193	208	212	269	1 589
Equal/Lower	304	288	303	250	169	226	237	1 777
Residential Area, Type of Municipality								

Metropolitan And Suburban Municipalities	190	243	181	239	214	216	281	1 564
Large Cities To Commuter Municipalities	199	211	212	167	126	138	164	1 217
More sparsely Populated Regions	163	111	92	37	37	84	61	585
Highest Attained Educational Level Aggregated								
Elementary	105	63	63	111	89	101	76	608
Secondary	245	209	213	158	179	141	208	1 353
Post-Secondary/University	183	274	199	149	98	174	213	1 290
Missing	19	19	10	25	11	22	9	115
Labor Force								
Employed	359	363	302	244	229	271	346	2 114
Unemployed	26	30	37	43	49	38	50	273
Out Of Labor Force	167	172	146	156	99	129	110	979
Union Member								
No	289	332	242	266	185	257	228	1 799
Yes	256	225	240	167	186	172	273	1 519
Missing	7	8	3	10	6	9	5	48
Age at Migration								
0-15	257	159	197	141	100	136	187	1 177
16-25	213	229	128	120	112	108	122	1 032
26-40	71	152	123	129	135	151	169	930
>40	11	25	37	53	30	43	28	227
Reason for Migration								
Work	27	137	42	15	18	31	21	291
Studies	6	31	5	13	10	17	5	87
Family Reunion	51	278	204	169	158	278	208	1 346
Asylum/Humanitarian	3	26	218	227	176	97	245	992
Permit Not Needed	457	70	7	8	6	7	14	569
Missing	8	23	9	11	9	8	13	81
N	552	565	485	443	377	438	506	3 366

Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using STATA 14.0

Table A2 Logistic regression results estimating the likelihood of integration outcomes

[illegible]

Migration context

Region of origin							
Ref. Nordic countries	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00
EU15+	0.72		3.51	***	1.10		0.41 **
Eastern Europe	0.43	**	0.24	***	0.80		0.56 **
Middle East/Northern Africa	0.42	**	0.13	***	0.36	**	0.52 **
Subsaharan Africa	0.62		0.29	***	0.35	**	0.79
Asia	0.51	*	0.41	**	0.23	***	0.76
Latin America	0.74		0.71		0.38	**	0.54 **
Age at migration (continuous)			0.95	***	0.91	***	
Age at migration							
Ref. 15 or younger	1.00						
16-25	1.07						
26-40	0.83						
40 or older	0.42	***					
Time since migration (continuous)	1.03		1.00		1.04	***	1.06 ***
Time since migration square (continuous)	1.00	*					1.00 **
Reason for migration							
Ref. Asylum	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00
Work	0.91		2.19	**	0.90		0.47 ***
Studies	1.19		3.52	**	0.69		0.42 **
Family reunion	1.05		3.67	***	1.16		0.70 **
Permit not needed	0.63	*	1.64		1.45		0.66
Constant	1.36		1.72		25.13	***	0.85
Pseudo R	0.12		0.28		0.33		0.10
Log Likelihood	1543		-870		1086		1278
N	2899		1766		3366		2955

*p≤0.05; **p≤0.01; ***p≤0.001

Source: LNU-UFB 2010-2012, author's computation using STATA 14.0