

# Wednesday - 13<sup>th</sup> May 2009

## Panel Session

### Interethnic Marriages / Families: The Easiest Way Towards Integration?

#### Union Patterns of Migrants and Migrants' Children According to Origin of Spouses and its Impact on their Fertility

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This paper analyzes the origin of spouses/partners and fertility of migrants and second generation according to whether spouses are migrants of same origin or else. Migrants have been disaggregated by age and marital status at arrival and second generation by origin of both parents. Logistic regressions show individual, familial and social factors associated with the origin/(choice) of spouses. Mixed marriage rates and migrants' and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation TFR are not enough to provide a full view of inter-ethnic relations and integration. Disaggregation of data according to relevant variables show the specifics of various types of mixed or ethnic marriages/unions with their effects on fertility and enable precise analysis of the patterns of migrants' integration or the lack of it.

In France, some migrants' origins show little change between migrants' and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation's marriage patterns: second generation Turks, Moroccans and Africans (who received their parents' mother tongue) are more likely to marry with migrants and their integration on the local marriage market appears to be very slow. However, cohabitation is the main type of mixed unions. Sub-groups inside the various origins tend to maintain higher fertility levels : when their spouses are migrants from the same origin, second generation females' fertility remains quasi similar with that of migrants who married persons of same origin.

#### Lost in Translation? Intermarriages Between African Immigrants and Japanese Natives

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Although compared to other developed nations the percentage of immigrants in Japan is still low, their number is increasing. Nowadays, around 1.7 percent of the Japanese population is foreign born or of foreign descent. Most immigrants come from other Asian countries or are so-called 'ethnic Japanese'; those who migrated back to Japan from Brazil and Peru. A relatively small but highly visible sub-group of immigrants in Japan originates from Sub-Saharan Africa, mainly from Ghana and Nigeria. One of the interesting characteristics of this

group is the high rate of intermarriage with Japanese natives. Most empirical research on intermarriage has been conducted in western developed countries and it is not clear if subsequent theories on intermarriage can be applied in a different context such as Japan. This paper will discuss theories on intermarriage, more specifically theories on preferences, opportunities and third parties from the point of view of African-Japanese marriages in Japan. The paper is based on in - depth interviews with members of the African community in Tokyo and Japanese spouses of African immigrants as well as on participant observation in various activities organized around the African community in Tokyo.

## **Factors Affecting International Marriage Survival. A Theoretical Approach**

### **Don DeVoretz**

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### **Nahikari Irastoza**

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As a result of increasing international migration, the integration of immigrants has become one of the most relevant sociopolitical topics in western countries. Whereas the economic and political integration of immigrants have been widely studied in the literature, little is known about their social interaction with the native population. *Interethnic* marriages have been posited as a factor that undermines racial barriers and thus contributes to the integration between immigrants and natives (Bossard, 1939; Kennedy, 1944; Price, 1982; Giorgas and Jones, 2002). Whereas the extant literature has mainly analyzed the probability of people from different ethnic groups to intermarry, there is a dearth of studies on the success or failure of these intermarriages (Phillips and Sweeney, 2005). Furthermore, these studies focus on the intermarriage matters of ethnic groups, regardless of their foreign-born status or not. Nevertheless, we believe that the immigrant status of any of the partners may also contribute to the success or failure of the union.

Thus, our study aims to fill these gaps in the literature by theoretically analyzing the factors that may contribute to the success or failure of *international* marriages (i.e., those where at least one of the partners is foreign-born), such as the liability of foreignness of one of the partners, the stress induced by migration and the differences owing to country of origin differences between the partners. We argue that an analysis of international intermarriages through the aid of a 'hazard model' can help us to better understand the success and failure of international marriages and their role in the integration process of immigrants, which in turn can inform policy to support such unions.

## Parallel Workshop

### Interethnic Relations and Social Cohesion in the Neighbourhood

#### Living Together in the Neighbourhood: Social Dynamic of Group Identities

##### **Mariya Dzhengozova**

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The establishment of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood could be perceived as a threat to local identities and existing norms of *living together*. This may create potential divides between “we” (the established) and “they” (the newcomers). Such probability is very much dependant on the social dynamic of the intergroup relations including face-to-face interactions in the residential area as well as engagement of local organisations.

This paper discusses the theoretical concept of *living together* in the context of other concepts such as social exclusion, segregation, formation and change of group identities. It is assumed that evolving patterns of behavioural and attitudinal interaction in the neighbourhood are dependant on group differences as regards access to opportunities (such spatial or other local resources). The bigger the differences, the stronger the divides and vice versa: every change towards more equal chances to opportunities lessens the (social) distances between established and newcomers. In this sense, the paper raises the following questions: *What factors may create, reproduce and reinforce divides between “we” and “they”?* *What factors have the potential to reduce them?* *What structural changes are needed?* *What is the role of local authorities and organisations operating in the neighbourhood?*

Two case studies will illustrate model examples on local policies supporting *living together* in the neighbourhood. The first one deals with re-location of Roma population in normalised dwellings in the Spanish city of Aviles, accompanied by measures that foster the involvement of Roma in the local community. The second example concerns initiatives of Viennese local area offices such as conflict moderation, solution and reduction of neighbourhood disputes.

## **Ethnic, Religious and Economic Diversity in the Neighbourhood: Explaining Quality of Contact with Neighbours, Trust in the Neighbourhood and Inter-ethnic Trust for Immigrant and Native Residents**

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### **Jaap Dronkers**

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Several studies conclude that ethnic diversity tends to reduce social capital. As Putnam (2007) claims: in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, residents of all ethnicities tend to ‘hunker down’. There may however be other forms of diversity that affect social capital as well. Besides ethnic diversity, we identify economic and religious diversity, as well as language proficiency in the neighbourhood. This study explores with data from the Netherlands to what extent these dimensions of diversity in the neighbourhood affect the quality of contact with neighbours, trust in neighbourhood and inter-ethnic trust for immigrant and native residents.

Using multi-level regression models, we find that ethnic diversity in the neighbourhood lowers the quality of contact with the neighbours. However, for natives, ethnic diversity is positively associated with inter-ethnic trust, whereas for immigrants there is no effect. Furthermore, for natives, religious diversity negatively affects the quality of contact with the neighbours and interethnic trust, whereas for immigrants this effect is positive. Economic diversity positively impacts trust in the neighbourhood and inter-ethnic trust. We do not find an effect of language proficiency.

We conclude that besides ethnic diversity, other forms of diversity in the neighbourhood affect trust as well. Furthermore, diversity undermines, but also builds trust. Last, diversity in the neighbourhood does not mean the same for immigrant and native residents.

Key words: ethnic diversity, economic diversity, religious diversity, trust, neighbourhoods.

## Interethnic Interactions in Urban Public Spaces: Processes of Social Integration

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Various ethnic groups use public spaces within their living environment to spend their leisure time. Public space is a space of presence, recognition, participation and citizenship, the means by which difference is negotiated, affirmed or contested. Public spaces partly shape identities in our various living, working, shopping and leisure patterns. Moreover, forms of social differentiation such as gender and ethnicity are major influences on people's lives and experiences of places and spaces. People attach different meanings to different spaces.

Public spaces are for two reasons important in discussing issues of social integration. First, public spaces are sites of representation of a multicultural society. Second, public spaces test the relationships between the members of such society. Understanding the meaning of public spaces therefore gives also insight in issues of social integration. This paper shed light on the role of ethnicity with regard to the meaning, perception and use of urban public spaces. The objective of this paper is to gain insight into the meaning of public space for different ethnic groups and how do they use different public spaces for leisure activities?

Research has been done in urban parks and playgrounds in cities in the Netherlands. These locales, and their visitors, are the main object of study. In order to study behaviour in concrete settings, observation is used as the main method. Central is the relation between the use and meaning of public space and social integration. Since these spatial settings do not have a steady group of visitors, there also isn't a steady group of respondents. This essential aspect of public space implies that observations are the only way to investigate a setting like this. Only systematic observations of public interactions can give information about what is happening in this place. Observations are used to collect information on questions such as: Who is present? With whom and at which place (territoriality) do people spend their time in urban public spaces? Do people interact? And if so, with whom?

Next to these observations, interviews are held in order to get more in depth information about the presence and meaning of interactions. Data about the meaning of places will also be retrieved through interviews in which two types of questions will be asked. The first type of questions will be about their motives and the meaning of their behaviour in public spaces. The second type of questions are meant to gain inside in place attachment, place identity and cultural conformity. Concepts that are used in order to gain insight in the relation between public spaces and social integration.

I will argue that urban public spaces are negotiated and perceived as meeting places; not literally in the sense that people interact physically, but in a sense that being together shows differences in society which is needed because visibility is a phase in acknowledging cultural diversity as a fact of Western societies.

## **Parallel Workshop**

### **Boundary, Inter-ethnic Relations and Differentiation in Contexts of Impending Ethnicity**

#### **Africans and Afrodescendants in Argentina. The Study of Multiple Relationships from an Anthropological Perspective**

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As a result of different migratory flows since its constitution as Nation, Argentina has a population characterised by a diversity of origins which has given a truly multiethnic and pluricultural profile to the country, features shared with other countries in the world. From an anthropologist perspective, but also including data from history, sociology and demography, we have focused on the migrating study of small and medium immigrant groups especially those from Subsaharian Africa. In this paper we will first refer to Cape Verdeans, the only group of immigrants from that region, who arrived in Argentina at the beginning of the 20th century. We will deal about topics such as identity hybridization in relation to the process, called "Argentinization", resulting from the State policies that aimed to immigrant assimilation. Among other things, the existing forms of articulation play a very important role in the practices within associations where a permanent process of reconstruction of ethnic borders and of identity boundary takes place in the interaction with a wider social context. Second, we will analyze the relationship of the so-called "new African immigrants" (Senegalese, Nigerian, Camerunese, among others) with native Cape Verdeans, Afrodescendants and other Argentinians, and also with other actors such as governmental and non-governmental organizations. These "new African immigrants" have been arriving in Argentina since 1990. In both cases we will focus on the way they are organizing themselves around some proposals and claims for their rights and for "visibility" by the Argentinian society.

## **Interethnic Relations in School Education as one of the Factors for the Ethnic Conflicts in North Caucasus Republics.**

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Presented paper will show the results of the research on the program “Children in Risk” which was conducted in 7 North Caucasus republics in 2007 on evaluation of access to school education in North Caucasus republics. All of these republics are characterized by different demographic processes, especially migration as internal and external. Ethnic compositions of population is also different and purification processes in all republics as result of press out minorities ethnic groups and Russian –speaking population created conflict situation and provoked tensions and forced migration. In different republics the problems with education are different. In Chechnya and Ingushetia – the republics which are more affected by ethnic conflicts children of local population and forced migrants sufferer because they dropped out of education because of military activities, but also because of the republican governments experiments with education language (for last 15 years the alphabet was several times changed from Cyrillic to Arabic, after to Latin and returned to Russian again). In North Ossetia the problems of children of refugees of first South Ossetia – Georgia wars in 90s is not solved yet . They are not fully accepted by local North Ossetian population and often dropped out of education and marginalized. In Dagestan as the most ethnically diverse and high mountains region the communication language is often Russian but because of ethnic tensions Russian teachers fled and nobody can replace them and teach Russian. The school program curricular in Russian taught by local teachers at different local languages depends of their skills and abilities and children often do not know properly as own language and Russian. In other republics which have not been affected by wars so much (Karachai-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Adigea) the traditionally patriarchal style of life for population after collapse of USSR dramatically changed. Poor socio-economic situation forced population to migrate and traditionally big families now often without one or two parents. Such rapid transformation leads to homelessness of many children, drug usage and rise of criminality. They are easily mobilized by some extremists groups which often use ethnic ground for the formation of militant groups.

## **How Globalised Cultural Trends and International Institutions Influence the Construction of Ethnicity in Colombia**

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In this presentation we will examine the presence of globalized ideas like the value of diversity, cultural heritage or the crisis of modern society, in the discourses of White elites in

Colombia when they refer to local indigenous cultures or ethnicity in general. Those ideas that have actually changed interethnic relations (between Whites and indigenous peoples) exist in many other “westernized” countries and circulate world-wide via the various flux of information. They are present in cultural domains that are not necessarily directly related to the indigenous peoples (domains like marketing, spirituality, alternative medicine and tourism). They constitute a new conceptual structure and a new set of values which sustain a new, idealized image of indigenous cultures.

Some of those ideas are also actively promoted by international institutions like humanitarian NGOs and the UN, which not only act through campaigns and publicity, but also have an influence on local governments and social organizations. All those factors have generated some political and jurisdictional changes such as a new Constitution that declares the country pluri-ethnic and multicultural and a series of measures known as “positive discrimination” (similar to what they call “affirmative action” in the USA) with unexpected consequences which we will analyze.

## **The Organization of Collective Memory by Romanians and Hungarians in Cluj-Napoca (Romania) after 1989**

**Jakab Albert Zsolt**  
Researcher, Romania

Transylvania, annexed to Romania in 1920, is a place of continuous Romanian–Hungarian conflicts. There is always a domain of conflict between the Hungarian minority and the Romanian majority represented by the construction, the invention and commemorative use of the past. In my ethnographic and socioanthropologic analysis I focus on the memory entrepreneurship and the interethnic relations and symbolic behaviours that stay behind it in the social context of multiethnic Cluj-Napoca.

The system change of 1989 brought along not only a political fracture, but also one in the imagined past. On the social level resulted in the drama of diminution of belief in the institutions and authorities. The past constructed up to that point naturally lost its political legitimacy.

There were two kind of attitudes appearing within the self-legitimizing strategies regarding the past. On the one hand the denial of continuity, the rejection of the past constructed by previous societies in the interest of the new historical order. This new historical order didn't want to continue the previous economical, social and political relations. But on the other hand, in a parallel way, there was a need for historical depth rising: how can one legitimate the present and create a continuity in the historical space. Nevertheless the new system

considered it necessary to deduce the new social order from history. It had a need for the past also because it defined itself in opposition with the past, distancing itself from it: thus the past became surpassed and at the same time an example to follow.

The period of time between 1989 and 2008 proved to be one of the most productive regarding local construction of memory, a fact shown already by previous researches. Therefore I would like to analyze more deeply the tendencies of past construction that appeared starting with 1989. What previously exposed component of the past was made invisible by the new system? What was overtaken and what new components were brought to the surface? What conflicts were revealed, what kind of identity strategies, legitimating processes and national discourses were put into motion by the construction of (new) memory?

### **“I’m not like all these *Latinos*”. From Ethnicization to Selective Ethnicity Appropriation as a Lever for Social Integration Overseas**

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The paper reinterprets, building on the constructs of ethnicization and selective ethnicity, a translocal ethnography I have realized on an Ecuadorian migration flow, spanning between Southern Ecuador and Northern Italy.

On the one hand, ethnicization may account for immigrants’ distribution with respect to the labour market, housing and welfare services, as well as for their patterns of leisure and consumptions. Yet, while the host society’s standard view tends to frame their “otherness” in supposedly ethnic terms, Ecuadorian immigrants themselves – albeit coming from a very ethnically diverse country – generally share a *mestizo* background which emphasizes much more the cultural commonalities with the receiving society.

At the same time, they may draw selectively from their own ethnicity patterns – as a shared repertoire of habits, ways of life and commonsense ideas, supported by a communal identity and background – in order to shape the interactions between their previous identities and lifestyles, and the standard ones overseas. Their ethnicity may be purposefully reshaped, for instance, in their ways of living and speaking, or in their sociability networks, as an effort of self-distinction from the stereotyped Ecuadorian (or even *Latino*) “ways of behaving”. This is also expected to pave the way for a smoother and more egalitarian “integration” in the host society. Whatever the case, by de-constructing immigrant ethnicity from within, a diverse range of expectations and strategies towards the receiving society emerges – even apart from their own differentiation on grounds of age, gender, education, social status, etc.

From either side, symbolic ethnicity-driven attitudes and behaviours, along with their significance and implications, will also be dealt with – both for immigrant incorporation overseas and for their transnational engagement back home.

## **For all Muslims: Religious Imagination and Micro-Politics in a Lisbon Mosque**

**José Mapril**

CRIA, Portugal

Through an ethnography of a Bangladeshi mosque in Lisbon, this presentation will argue that this space is a site of inscription of apparently contradictory religious imaginations. It replicates two discourses and practices on Islam: the first reflects globalised, borderless, and universalistic notions of transnational Islam, the *umma*; while the second (re)produces what many call “Bengalized” versions, narratives and practices of religion. My argument is that the reproduction of these two discourses has to be thought of in the context of a political project, developed by and for Bangladeshi pioneer migrants. This project is linked to the (re)production of two broad social networks: (i) the Portuguese and other (non-Bangladeshi) Muslims (e.g. Guinean, Pakistani and Indo-Mozambican Muslims), frequently essential due to their role of brokers with the Portuguese public space; and (ii) the Bengali Muslims from Bangladesh that are the main source of its financial and organizational maintenance. For the pioneer Bangladeshi migrants, appealing to these two networks is a strategy of legitimating their role as “community” leaders and of producing themselves as charismatic and successful figures.

## **Gypsies in South Portugal: Space, Place, Strategies and Institutional Politics**

**Micol Brazzabeni**

CRIA, Portugal

The paper aims to propose some ethnographic suggestions about my current post-doctoral research within Portuguese gypsy families in the geographic area of Algarve (Portugal), in the little town of Vila Real de S. Antonio. In this local context the gypsies “appropriate” their territory in very heterogeneous ways: social housings, shanties, rural camps near to one’s own rent house.

The concept of marginality suggests an interpretation of the gypsies life conditions that just faces with problems of social inclusion, justifying the institutional “obsession” with legality and

normativity: remove all the shanties and, with them, urban blight, insecurity, criminality, deviance.

The research, instead, analyses how institutions create and enact the category of “incompetent users”, and therefore unsuitable to live and dwell according to the society rules, turning gypsies into objects of social rehabilitation programmes. The paper will focus on gypsies strategies facing institutional treatments: how can we describe the complexity with whom gypsies appropriate territory? Which kind of networks do they activate? How much do they strive for social invisibility, or how much is it imposed by the institutions?

## **From Clown-Brazil to Europe-Portugal: Intricate Dimensions of Class and Gender in Female Brazilian Immigrants’ Strategies**

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The paper presented is based on research carried on among a heterogeneous group of Brazilian immigrant women living in Portugal, more precisely the in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Following a qualitative, case-study approach, we explore the narratives of informants anchored in different subjective positions of ‘class’. In the network analyses, 3 main typologies of migrant trajectories were identified. My research has been focused on the entailed dynamics of these 3 typologies, which has allowed exploring i) dynamics related to the reproduction of the hiatus between these positions in the two contexts and ii) strategies the migrants use to (re)position themselves in both places. The work in progress, points towards the direction that the gendered (re)construction of these subjective positions is deeply entrenched in intra-group differentiation strategies. This reality brings new questions regarding the use of ‘class’, gender and migration as dimensions of analysis. The intersection of these dimensions has to be supported by a framework that substantiates class with meanings that elaborate beyond the solely economic ones. Furthermore, such a framework highlights a number of significant questions that complexify our research. Why, in the context of our case-study, is ‘class’ important in migratory contexts? In what ways are class dynamics mediated by migration processes?

## **Parallel Workshop**

### **Migrants & Ethnic Minorities and Citizen's Participation**

#### **Citizenship Practices and Transnationalism in Spanish Cities. The Case of Romanian Migrants**

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This paper explores the practices of citizenship of the Romanian migrant collective in several cities from the Madrid Metropolitan Area and the Valencian Community, giving an account of the processes of incorporation in the local and homeland politics. In spite of the fact that the local and the transnational cannot be dissociated when analyzing the citizenship practices, we observe that they are constructed upon different formal and informal rules. While the subjective opinions and beliefs of the local elites regarding the immigration and citizenship issues play a decisive role in assuring a genuine integration and participation of the new citizens, the symbolic elements are the main tool by which the transnational politics is made present. In many cases, the local politicians prefer to keep the distance from the migrant collectives, for fear of a nativist backlash. At the same time, the politics of the country of origin becomes visible and present in most physical and imagined spaces of the Romanian community. However, the localities studied present uneven patterns of these practices. The paper explores in this sense the variable logics of citizenship construction in several territories.

#### **The Emerging Community Leadership and Transnational Politics of Mexicans National Immigrants in New England**

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This chapter presents an analysis of how Mexican national immigrants, a minority subgroup within the larger Latino groups of Puerto Ricans, Colombians, and Central Americans in the Northeast have been organizing since the 1990s in the New England area through the creation of their community based organizations. The paper addresses the type of emergent leadership which directors and presidents of these Mexican organizations report they have

been developing and how such leadership bridges transnational politics between Mexico and the United States.

Using both qualitative and quantitative methods, a study was undertaken during 2004-2005 that identified "leaders" within the Mexican communities of New England. As directors or presidents of Mexican organizations, these leaders could act as proxies in identifying the needs of the Mexican communities they serve, the types of organizations they are developing and the conceptualization of leadership used. A 3 hour in-depth interview which addressed the background of the identified leaders, information about their organizations and their roles, leadership styles and decision-making, and expectations held with regard to the Mexican Consulate, the government of Mexico and the U. S. was undertaken with 12 male and female Mexican leaders or community based organizations. In addition, a survey, which also included half of these leaders, was also administered to 60 Mexicans who attended a seminar sponsored by the Gaston Institute of the University of Massachusetts-Boston and the General Consulate of Mexico in Boston. While the survey serves as a backdrop for the issues presented and provides a general perspective of the status of Mexicans in New England, the in-depth interviews provide a more in-depth examination of the personal perspectives shared by these leaders and their emerging leadership.

Because the history of Mexicans in New England and the evolution of the Mexican community organizations is detailed in other publications, this paper focuses solely on: 1) the conceptualization of leadership shared by these leaders, 2) the leadership styles that these nascent and seasoned leaders rely on, 3) the types of relationships and support these leaders need from the Mexican Consulate, the Mexican government and the U. S. government, and 4) the roles, social and political networks that have been developed by these leaders. Identified are the social and political implications of the settlement of Mexicans in the New England area, particularly Boston, Massachusetts; Nashua, New Hampshire, and Providence, Rhode Island, the political and democratic transnational bridges that are being created, the role of the Institute for Mexicans abroad and emerging type of leadership which can be envisioned for the future of Mexicans in New England.