

EUROPE IN LOVE

Binational Couples and Cosmopolitan Society

Juan Díez Medrano

ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN SOCIOLOGY



“Scholars and policy analysts have spent the last 20 years or so focused on institutions that create transnationalism and cross-cultural integration. They have overlooked the most obvious institution—marriage. Juan Díez Medrano’s important new book explores how transnational marriage creates dynamic cosmopolitan social forms. This meticulously researched book is a landmark study that scholars of nationalism and cross culturalism will cite for years to come.”

— *Mabel Berezin, Department of Sociology, Cornell University*

“With the political project of building Europe failing, we may need to look to everyday life to see if EU integration is having any irreversible sociological consequences. The obvious place to look is international marriage and family life, as a core building block of the cross-border kinship networks that might sustain a more cosmopolitan future. In this, the very first systematic study of intra-EU love across borders, Díez Medrano again pioneers a new kind of transnational sociology. Notably he challenges easy assumptions that successful cosmopolitanism is the exclusive preserve of upper and middle classes. This quite literally sexy study deserves wide attention for the virtuoso methodology and analysis on display throughout.”

— *Adrian Favell, Chair in Sociology and Social Theory,
University of Leeds*

“This very important book explores a crucial but under-researched dimension of the Europeanisation of everyday life; the author unearths some often surprising and counter-intuitive results. Social scientists concerned with the further development of a European society will want to read this study, and it should inspire much further work.”

— *William Outhwaite, Emeritus Professor of Sociology,
Newcastle University, UK*

“Juan Díez Medrano continues to dig deeper into the social and cultural underpinnings of European integration by focusing on binational couples – a strategic minority in the redefinition of nation-based habitus, lifestyles and identifications. *Europe in Love* is another must read for anybody interested in the future of Europe beyond the controversies and vagaries of EU politics.”

— *Ettore Recchi, Professor of Sociology, Sciences Po Paris*



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

EUROPE IN LOVE

Inter-marriage both reflects and brings social change. This book draws on a unique survey of randomly selected samples of national and European binational couples to demonstrate that the latter are core cells of a future European society.

Unrestricted freedom of movement has enabled a rise in the number of lower-class and middle-class binational couples among Europeans. Euro-couples fully integrate in their host cities but secure less support in solving everyday problems than do national ones, partly because of a relatively small network of relatives living close-by. Embeddedness in a dense international network and a cosmopolitan outlook also distinguish them from national couples. The book challenges the view of cosmopolitanism as exclusively middle-class and highlights contrasts between lower-class and middle-class binational couples. Furthermore, it shows that social cosmopolitanism among binational couples is not matched by a commensurate weaker national identification that would enhance support to a more federal Europe.

This book is primarily addressed to the general public interested in contemporary European society and to academics interested in inter-marriage. Since the chapters are quasi stand-alone pieces devoted to specific topics, it provides suitable reading material for social stratification, social networks, civil society, popular culture, and European integration undergraduate and graduate courses.

Juan Díez Medrano is Professor of Sociology at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (Spain). The focus of his research is the study of nationalism and European integration. His publications include *Divided Nations* (1995) and *Framing Europe* (2003).

Routledge Advances in Sociology

277 On the Genealogy of Critique

Or How We Have Become Decadently Indignant

Diana Stypinska

278 Nostalgia Now

Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on the Past in the Present

Edited by Michael Hviid Jacobsen

279 Magical Realist Sociologies of Belonging and Becoming

The Explorer

Rodanthi Tzanelli

280 Queer Campus Climate

An Ethnographic Fantasia

Benjamin Arnberg

281 Children in Social Movements

Rethinking Agency, Mobilization and Rights

Diane M. Rodgers

282 The Global Citizenship Nexus

Critical Studies

Edited by Debra D. Chapman, Tania Ruiz-Chapman and Peter Eglin

283 People, Care and Work in the Home

Edited by Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem and Antonio Argandona

284 Europe In Love

Binational Couples and Cosmopolitan Society

Juan Díez Medrano

For more information about this series, please visit: www.routledge.com/Routledge-Advances-in-Sociology/book-series/SE0511

EUROPE IN LOVE

Binational Couples and Cosmopolitan Society

Juan Díez Medrano

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2020 Juan Díez Medrano

The right of Juan Díez Medrano to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Díez Medrano, Juan, author.

Title: Europe in love: binational couples and cosmopolitan society / Juan Díez Medrano.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020. | Series: Routledge advances in sociology | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020001671 (print) | LCCN 2020001672 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367478568 (hardback) | ISBN 9780367478575 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003036951 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Nationalism—European Union countries. | Dual nationality—European Union countries. | Married people—European Union countries. | Cosmopolitanism—European Union countries. | Transnationalism.

Classification: LCC JC311 .D5175 2020 (print) | LCC JC311 (ebook) | DDC 306.84/5094—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020001671>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020001672>

ISBN: 978-0-367-47856-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-47857-5 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-03695-1 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by codeMantra

For Selene



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CONTENTS

<i>List of tables</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xvii</i>
1 Introduction	1
2 When Willem met Laura: who enters national and binational couples?	26
3 Sociability	47
4 Making a living	79
5 Civil and political engagement	105
6 Taste and cultural practices	126
7 Identities	151
Conclusion	192
<i>Appendix 1: survey methodology</i>	<i>201</i>
<i>Appendix 2: in-depth Interviews</i>	<i>209</i>
<i>Appendix 3: variables Used in the Statistical Analysis</i>	<i>211</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>219</i>

TABLES

2.1	Distribution of Respondents by Type of Couple, Education, and Country of Residence (%)	33
2.2	Distribution of Foreign Individuals (Respondents or Partners) in Binational Couples, by Nationality (N)	34
2.3	Average Age When Partners Started Life Together, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	35
2.4	Average Number of Children with Current Partner, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	35
2.5	Mean Age Gap between Partners, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	36
2.6	Place of First Meeting for Individuals in Binational Couples, by Education, and Country (%)	36
2.7	Average Number of Years Foreign Partner Spent in Country of Residence before Meeting Partner, by Education and Country (Information Provided by Foreign Partners to Binational Couples)	37
2.8	Average Number of Years Foreign Partner Spent in Country of Residence before Meeting Partner, by Education and Country (Foreign Partners Who Met in Country of Residence only; Information Provided by Foreign Respondent)	37
2.9	Reasons for Coming to Country, by Nationality of Reporting Respondent, Place Where Partners Met, and Education (Partners in Binational Couples Only) (%)	38
2.10	Gender Distribution, by Type of Couple, and Education (% Women)	40
2.11	Parents Born in Different Countries, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country (%)	42

2.12	Average Number of Countries Visited Before Turning 17, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	42
2.13	Average Number of Countries Visited Between the Age of 17 and the Age When Met Partner, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	43
2.14	Average Number of Languages Known before Meeting Partner, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	43
3.1	Relatives, In-Laws, and Friends in <i>Country of Residence</i> , by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries)	49
3.2	Origin of Respondent's Friends in <i>Country of Residence</i> , by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries)	50
3.3	A Close Friend among the Respondent's Five Closest Ones in the Country of Residence Has a Different Nationality from the Country of Residence's, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country (%)	52
3.4	Average Frequency of Contact with Relatives and In-Laws who live in <i>Country of Residence</i> , by Type of Couple and Education (Average of the Country Means)	53
3.5	Average Frequency of Contact with Friends who live in <i>Country of Residence</i> , by Type of Couple and Education (Average of the Country Means)	53
3.6	Mean Perceived Degree of Help (1–7) Received by Respondents When Conducting Specific Tasks, by Type of Couple and Education (Average of the Country Means)	54
3.7	Association between Having Family and Friends in Country of Residence and Meeting Frequency with Family and Friends, and Amount of Help received, Controlling for City of Residence and Education (National Couples Only) (OLS)	55
3.8	Relatives, In-Laws, and Friends in <i>the European Union</i> , by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries)	55
3.9	Average Frequency of Contact with Friends who live in <i>the European Union</i> , by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	56
3.10	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Having Relatives, In-Laws, and Friends in <i>Country of Residence</i> , <i>EU</i> , and <i>outside the EU</i> , Controlling for City of Residence and for Country of Nationality, Socio-Demographic and Transnational Experience and Skills Variables (OLS)	58
3.11	Association between Socio-Demographic Variables and Availability of Family in Country of Residence and How Many Native Close Friends Foreign Partners in Binational Couples have (OLS)	61

3.12	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and the Frequency of Contact <i>with Relatives/In-Laws</i> , Controlling for City of Residence, for Socio-Demographic Variables, and for the Presence of Relatives and In-Laws in CoR (OLS)	64
3.13	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and the Amount of Help Received When Solving Problems or Conducting Specific Tasks, Controlling for City of Residence, Socio-Demographic Variables, and Social Networks in the Country of Residence (OLS)	66
3.14	Association between Being a <i>Foreign Partner</i> in a Binational Couple and the Frequency of Contact <i>with Relatives/In-Laws</i> and Friends <i>in other EU States</i> , Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic, and Transnational Experience and Skills Variables (OLS)	70
3.15	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and the Number of States Visited Since with Partner, the Number of Trips to Border Countries, and the Number of Trips to other European Union Countries in the 12 months before the Interview, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic Variables and Transnational Experience and Skills Variables (OLS)	71
4.1	Employment Status, by Type of Couple and Education (Employed—Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries)	83
4.2	Employment Status, by Type of Couple and Education (Employed—Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries) (Women)	84
4.3	Employment Status, by Type of Couple and Education (Employed—Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries) (Men)	84
4.4	Employed in Managerial, Professional, or Technical Occupations (Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries) (Currently Employed)	84
4.5	Employed in Managerial, Professional, or Technical Occupations (Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries) (Currently Employed—Women)	84
4.6	Employed in Managerial, Professional, or Technical Occupations (Unweighted Average % across the Four Countries) (Currently Employed Men)	85
4.7	Works for a Multinational, by Type of Couple and Education (Currently Employed)	86
4.8	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Work for a Multinational, Controlling for City of Residence, Gender, Education, and Specific Nationality (OLS) (Employed respondents only)	87

4.9	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Personal Income, Controlling for City of Residence, Gender, Education, Nationality, Work for a Multinational, and English Knowledge (OLS)	89
4.10	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Personal Income, Controlling for City of Residence, Gender, Education, Specific Nationality, Work for a Multinational, and English Knowledge (OLS)	90
4.11	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Personal Income, Controlling for Years of Residence, City of Residence, Gender, Education, Specific Nationality, Work for a Multinational, and English Knowledge (OLS) (Subsample of Male Respondents with known years of residence in Country of Residence)	92
4.12	Mean Level in Society, by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average of Country Means)	95
4.13	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Perceived Social Position, Controlling for City of Residence, Gender, Education, Specific Nationality, Work for a Multinational, and English Knowledge (OLS)	96
5.1	Participation in Civil Activities and Associations, by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average of Country %)	111
5.2	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Participation in Civil Activities and Associations, Controlling for City of Residence, and for Socio-Demographic Variables, Transnational Skills and Experience, Social Support Network Embeddedness, Identification, and Socio-Psychological Variables (OLS)	112
5.3	Interest in City, Country of Residence, European, World Politics, and Country of Nationality, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country (% Very and Extremely Interested)	115
5.4	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Interest in Politics on Different Scales, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic, Social Support, Network Embeddedness, and Psychological Variables (OLS)	117
5.5	Association between Years of Residence and Interest in Politics in the Country of Nationality relative to Interest in Politics in the Country of Residence, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic, Social Support, Network Embeddedness, and Psychological Variables (OLS) (Foreign Partners Only)	118
5.6	Political Participation, by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average of Country %)	120

5.7	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Political Participation, Controlling for City of Residence, Socio-Demographic Variables, Transnational Skills and Experience, Social Support Network Embeddedness, Identification, and Psychological Variables (OLS)	121
6.1	Musical Taste, by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average of Country %)	129
6.2	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Taste for Different Music Genres, Controlling for City of Residence, Socio-Economic Variables, and the Number of Spoken Languages (OLS)	131
6.3	Film Taste, by City of Residence, Type of Couple, and Education (%)	133
6.4	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Taste for Films from Different World Regions, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic Variables and the Number of Spoken Languages (OLS)	135
6.5	Preference for Films in Original Version, by City of Residence, Type of Couple, and Education (%)	136
6.6	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Taste for Films in Original Version, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic Variables and the Number of Spoken Languages (OLS)	137
6.7	Read a Book in a Foreign Language the Previous Year, by City of Residence, Type of Couple and Education (%)	139
6.8	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Reading Books in Foreign Languages, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic Variables, and the Number of Spoken Languages (OLS)	139
6.9	Number of National Cuisines Liked and Taste for Asian Food, by Type of Couple and Education (Unweighted Average of Country Means)	141
6.10	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and both the Number of National Cuisines Liked and Taste for Asian Food, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-Demographic and Transnational Experience and Skills Variables (OLS)	141
6.11	Taste for Host Country's Cuisine, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country (%)	143
6.12	Association between Being in a Binational Couple and Liking Different Cuisines, Controlling for Socio-Demographic Variables, and for Having a Partner of a Particular Nationality or from a particular European Region (Respondents who have the Country of Nationality Only) (OLS)	143

6.13 Association between Taste in Music, Taste in Film, Reading Habits, and Taste for Cuisine and Being in a Binational Couple instead of a National Couple (Multinomial Logit Model—Logit Coefficients).	146
6.14 Associations between Years of Residence and Duration of Relationship on Taste for Music, Film, and Cuisine among Foreign Partners in Binational Couples, Controlling for City of Residence, Gender, Age, Education, Parents' Education, and the Number of Spoken Languages (OLS Regression Coefficients)	147
7.1 Average European Identification, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	155
7.2 Association between being in a Binational Couple and European Identification, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-demographic and Transnational Background and Experience Variables (OLS)	157
7.3 Choice of European over Other Identifications, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country (%)	161
7.4 Association between being in a Binational Couple and Choice of European Identification, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-demographic and Transnational Background and Experience Variables (OLS)	162
7.5 Average Levels of Solidarity with Country of Residence Region by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	165
7.6 Average Levels of Solidarity with European Region, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	166
7.7 Association between being in a Binational Couple and Regional and European Solidarity, Controlling for City of Residence, and for Socio-demographic and Transnational Background and Experience Variables (OLS)	167
7.8 Respondents Who "Would be Very Sorry" if the European Union were to Dissolve, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country (%)	170
7.9 Association between being in a Binational Couple and Anticipation of Regret if the European Union were Dissolved, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-demographic and Transnational Background and Experience Variables (OLS)	171
7.10 Average Identification with Country of Nationality, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	175
7.11 Association between being in a Binational Couple and Identification with Country of Nationality, Controlling for City of Residence and for Socio-demographic and Transnational Background and Experience Variables (OLS)	176

7.12	Average Levels of Identification with Country of Residence, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	178
7.13	Association between Socio-demographic, Temporal, Network, Well-Being, and Cultural Assimilation Variables and Identification with the Country of Residence (Foreign Partners) (OLS)	181
7.14	Average Levels of Identification with City of Residence, by Type of Couple, Education, and Country	184
7.15	Association between being in a Binational Couple and Identification with City of Residence, controlling for Socio-demographic and Transnational Background and Experience Variables (OLS)	186

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In 2003, as I was finishing a book on the role of frames in the explanation of attitudes toward European integration, I became uncomfortable with the idea of approaching European integration as just a political process in need of explanation. Frequent travelling across Europe while writing *Framing Europe*, my personal life, and my professional experience in different countries had convinced me that the European Union bears the potential for a dramatic transformation of Europe's social structure and culture that will, in the long run, result in the emergence of a European society. It became clear to me that these changes could mean to Europe what the development of internal markets and the growth of states in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries meant for national societies. Yet the great majority of my colleagues in sociology, married as they still largely are to methodological nationalism, had shown no interest whatsoever in these changes. There was thus a big intellectual gap to fill and a great opportunity for me to assert my professional identity as a sociologist. It turned out that I was not alone in thinking that major social transformations were taking place in Europe, which sociologists were best suited to study. Around that time, Adrian Favell, Neil Fligstein, Ettore Recchi, and Steffen Mau embarked on similar projects and, by 2011, Adrian Favell and Virginie Guiraudon had edited a book that outlined a sociological agenda for the study of both European integration and the social transformation of Europe.

Europe in Love resulted from this interest of mine in the emergence of a European society. I chose to focus on binational couples among Europeans because of the rise in the prevalence of these couples in countries like Spain, which have experienced a large influx of immigrants from other European countries, and because exogamy is the foundation of society. I was fortunate to come into contact with a group of prominent scholars in Spain and other European countries willing to embark on a collaborative research project: Teresa Castro,

Helga de Valk, Jörg Rössel, and Leo van Wissen. *Europe in Love* would not have been written without their enthusiastic participation in the implementation of public opinion surveys in seven European cities in Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland, which provided systematic information regarding the social lives of *Euro-couples*. Therefore, my deepest gratitude goes to them and to their research teams as well as to my closest collaborators, Clara Cortina, Ana Safranoff, Roque Álvarez, and Irina Ciornei. My appreciation for making the public opinion surveys possible also extends to the *European Science Foundation*, which evaluated the research proposal and recommended it for funding by the national research foundations of the four countries in the project (EUI2010-04221) and to the national research foundations themselves (Flanders' Fund for Scientific Research or FWO, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research or NWO, Spain's former Ministry of Science and Innovation, and the Swiss National Science Foundation or FNS-SNF), which provided the funds.

Many other institutions and people have made this book possible. The IBEI (Institut Barcelona d' Estudis Internacionals) provided valuable administrative assistance during the execution phase of the public opinion survey and space for regular meetings between the research team's members. Meanwhile, the Kolleg-Forschergruppe "The Transformative Power of Europe" at the Freie Universität Berlin, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and the Institut für Soziologie at the Freie Universität Berlin provided me with funding, research resources, and a great intellectual environment while I wrote some of the chapters in *Europe in Love*. I am particularly thankful to Tanja Börzel, Thomas Risse, and Jürgen Gerhards for making this possible. I also owe a great debt to my colleagues at the Department of Social Sciences of the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. This department was created while I was writing this book, and what a fantastic creation! I never imagined that I would have the privilege to work in an inter-disciplinary department with so much talent and scholarly ambition. The tremendous productivity and intellectual rigor of my colleagues have been a constant source of ideas and motivation over these years. Finally, in the last stages of this project, I benefited from useful feedback provided by Mabel Berezin, the external reviewers, and Routledge's editorial team. I thank all of them for making this a better book.

My biggest source of strength and joy has been my family and my friends. Writing a book is like running a marathon. One needs discipline, resilience, dedicated coaching, and good nourishment. I somehow acquired the first two at some point in my early twenties. As for the coaching and the nourishment, I have obtained them from good books, intellectual conversation, fun, and affection. My parents and siblings, as well as my friends, Akos, John, and many more (including my virtual friends on FB!), have provided them in regular and adequate amounts. It is unfortunate that my good friend and journalist José Manuel Costa, with whom I had so many exchanges over musical taste in the context of Europeanization, is no longer with us. The real booster to my performance, however, have been my son Pascal and my wife Selene. Their love for me and my love for them have made the task of writing this book a most enjoyable experience.

1

INTRODUCTION

I also want to say this... if Anne's prediction comes true, if one day a stronger feeling grows between you and Muriel and you both deign to recognize it, I'll not be against it, personally...though I have my doubts about international marriages.

(Ms. Brown to Claude, *Les Deux anglaises et le continent*; Truffaut, 1971)

Although events in Truffaut's film, based on the novelist Henri-Pierre Roché's wonderful period drama set early in the 20th century, will in the end confirm Ms. Brown's misgivings, contemporary British parents would have probably been more optimistic about the future of Muriel and Claude's relationship. Binational relationships between Europeans are nowadays much more prevalent than in the past and last almost as much (or as little) as those between co-nationals. Like the French director's film, *Europe in Love* deals with binational marriage. Its focus, however, is not on the stability of binational marriage, a well-researched topic anyway, but on the lives of partners in binational couples. Longstanding interest in the process and historical significance of European integration as well as in its social foundations led me to a topic about which there is no systematic research.¹ Binational married and cohabiting couples formed by Europeans are core cells of a future European society. Partners in these couples not only self-select for open-mindedness and cosmopolitan lifestyles, taste, and identification, but also become more cosmopolitan the longer they stay together. At the same time, they lead distinct lives and face unique everyday problems. This distinctiveness contributes to the on-going gradual division of national middle and lower classes into local and cosmopolitan social segments, already noted in the political sociology literature.² One of the book's major contributions to this literature is, indeed, to demonstrate that this emerging social and political

2 Introduction

cleavage does not reflect a market-related distinction between *winners* and *losers* of globalization only, as leading scholars have emphasized (e.g. Fligstein, 2008; Kriesi et al., 2004), but also broader social changes, such as the greater prevalence of binational couples. The book also challenges the assumption in much of the literature that cosmopolitanism is only a middle-class phenomenon. A segmentation between nationals and cosmopolitans is also taking place among the lower classes and binational marriage and cohabitation is one of the vehicles for this social transformation.

There are many definitions of the terms “cosmopolitan” and “cosmopolitanism” in the literature.³ Although analytically useful, many among them, however, deviate from Durkheim’s precept that the definition of a sociological concept must be “sufficiently kin to” and not break with “common usage” (Durkheim, 1952 [1905], p. 42). In order to differentiate the concept “cosmopolitan” from related ones such as cultural openness and curiosity, cultural relativism, or ethnic or racial tolerance, I define it narrowly by building on the distinction between that which is national (i.e. from the state) and that which is foreign, as the stem “poli” from “polis” (city-state; group of citizens) implies. Cosmopolitanism is, first of all, a competence that results from having visited many foreign places and interacted and established bonds with many foreign nationals. It manifests itself in comfort, in ease while going around when abroad and while interacting with foreign nationals. It can also be understood as an identification, that is, as the feeling of belonging to actual or projected communities that stand above the dominant—in our world, national—political community. As Gerhards notes, the referent political community, or “social field,” which serves as the benchmark to describe an identification as “cosmopolitan”—the local, the national, and so on—varies historically (Gerhards, 2012). The two elements in the definition of “cosmopolitanism” above are precise and correspond to common usage. Individuals can be cosmopolitan in terms of competence but non-cosmopolitan on the basis of identification, and *vice-versa*.⁴

The European Union is an ideal setting for the unfolding of cosmopolitanism and for the study of the role that binational couples play in the process. The absence of barriers to the mobility of citizens of the European Union means that the motivations that enter into the formation of *Euro-couples* follow a similar logic to that which enters into the formation of national ones. It also means that the structure and character of the partners’ national and transnational social networks is most unhindered by bureaucratic, political, and economic barriers. At the same time, the significant scope and depth of European integration means that the European Union comes closest to the idea of a cosmopolitan polity and that Europe has become a meaningful object of identification. Finally, the freedom of movement for European Union nationals and the salience of European Union political institutions reduce pressure on foreign partners to assimilate to the country of residence’s culture and identity.

Euro-couples embody “cosmopolitanism” in practice and become more cosmopolitan as a consequence of being together. I pay particular attention to the social segmentation potential of cosmopolitanism as competence and identification.

Especially since the publication of Kriesi et al.'s seminal book *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization* (Kriesi et al., 2004), scholars have emphasized the politicization of cosmopolitanism, the emergence of a new political cleavage opposing nationals and cosmopolitans. This emphasis on the political dimension of cosmopolitanism, however, obscures the new political cleavage's social foundations, the fact that it is not just a reflection of conflict between winners and losers of globalization but, also, the expression of a deep social transformation to which binational couples are contributing.

We gain historical perspective on the emergence of this new cleavage between nationals and cosmopolitans, if we look back at the formation of nation-states in the 19th and 20th centuries. The crystallization of nations and nation-states was more than just a shift in political loyalty from the local or regional group to a more broadly conceived nation; it also meant the emergence of a national layer in the social structure which superseded the local, as evidenced by Kocka's work on the German bourgeoisie (Kocka, 1999; see also Kaelble, 2004). Some of the most relevant social and political conflicts in the 19th century pitted in fact local and national fractions of the same social class (e.g. the Spanish Carlist wars in the Basque Country) (Díez Medrano, 1995). Political conflicts crystallize and become enduring cleavages to the extent that they rest not only on differences regarding policies or ideological programs but also on social distinctiveness. By social distinctiveness, I mean a distinct socio-economic status as well as distinct social networks, lifestyles, and world outlook. The literature on nationalism, for instance, has emphasized that ethnic and national differences become politically salient when they coincide with class and Mann's work highlights the special significance for the formation of nations and nation-states of coinciding ideological, economic, military, and political networks as opposed to cross-cutting ones (Hechter, 1975; Mann, 1992). Inspired by this insight, I approach the study of *Euro-couples* with an eye to the extent to which they constitute a basic social unit in an emergent segmentation process toward the formation of cosmopolitan and national social groups.

I move beyond the current literature on transnationalism, not only by examining how partners in binational couples differ from partners in national couples on various dimensions of cosmopolitanism, but also by examining how they differ on various other social dimensions, like socio-economic status, social networks, the capacity to deal with everyday problems, seasonal or yearly routines, civil engagement, and consumer taste and practices. Recchi approaches the study of mobile Europeans in the same spirit, comparing their social mobility and civil and political engagement to those of non-mobile Europeans (Recchi, 2015). My study of binational couples differs from Recchi's in that I focus on binational couples instead of mobile Europeans, I examine a broader range of sociological dimensions, and, above all, I interpret the findings from the perspective of social segmentation between nationals and cosmopolitans.

Europe in Love relies on data provided by random online surveys conducted in seven European cities in 2012. I coordinated the project and then Teresa Castro and I executed it in Spain while Helga de Valk, Jörg Rössel, Leo van Wissen

4 Introduction

executed it in Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, respectively.⁵ *Europe in Love* shows that, just like the mobile Europeans that Favell, Recchi, and their co-contributors have studied in recent years, partners in Euro-couples are pioneers in the road toward a cosmopolitan world. They stand-out for their thick transnational social networks and for their international taste, world outlook, and emotional attachment to the European Union. Their lives, especially those of foreign partners in these couples, are also more complicated, partly because their families and friends are more scattered than those of partners in national couples and partly because of the logistic complications that arise from this scatter of relatives and friends.

The book also reveals significant contrasts between foreign partners in binational couples, based on education and geographic origin. Less educated foreign partners benefit from more emotional support and help in addressing the ordinary problems of daily life than do more educated ones. Also, whereas less educated foreign partners, especially if from poorer European countries, are likely to experience their move to a new country as upward social mobility, more educated ones often experience the move as downward social mobility. Having or not having blood relatives in the country of residence and comparisons with relative opportunities and collective well-being in the country of origin explain these contrasts.

Social segmentation between locals and cosmopolitans along class lines is thus taking place. We are still, however, in the early stages of a long process. This explains that, contrasts notwithstanding, binational and national couples still resemble each other: their socio-economic position is determined by cultural and other forms of capital to about the same extent and they are strongly attached to their country of nationality.

Nationals into cosmopolitans—year one

The study of inter-group marriage in contemporary sociology is inextricably linked to that of assimilation or integration of foreign partners to the host state's national culture. This focus on assimilation and integration is justified as an answer to pressing political problems and demands in the countries that concentrate most of research on the topics of migration and inter-group marriage. *Europe in Love* invites the reader to approach European integration and inter-group marriage from a different angle, to integrate the book's findings into a *longue durée* narrative about how societies have been transforming in the past one thousand years.

Nations

At the end of the Middle Ages, human groups around the world began an uninterrupted expansion beyond family and village. This tectonic process, major, slow, and of varying speed eventually produced a world of nations and national

states in the 20th century and has continued and accelerated since then, roughly pre-figuring what a cosmopolitan society may look like in a distant future. In this narrative, nations and national states are neither the beginning nor the end of history—and it is easy to forget that they are no more than 150 years old! Once we relativize nations and national states in this way, once we turn our focus to the continuous expansion of social networks across the earth and start asking questions about the logic that drives this process and the social mechanisms that channel or obstruct expansion, the study of inter-group marriage, just like that of geographic mobility with which it is bound, acquires new meaning. It becomes relevant to the description and explanation of the process of expansion, an entry point to the study of cosmopolitanism in all its forms, of how people come to develop an interest in and appreciate otherness, of how they decide to cross group boundaries, and of how they come to develop group transcending and more encompassing identifications. Inter-group couples formed across the ages, linking families, villages, regions, and states, have been the specific micro-nodes, ephemeral and not necessarily recreated by these inter-group couples' offspring, which have propelled the slowly moving centrifugal process toward the formation of nations and cosmopolitan society forward.

Past research provides us already with a good understanding of the historical process through which entire populations transcended their village identifications and came to see themselves as members of national imagined communities. This transition is brilliantly captured in Eugen Weber's book title *Peasants into Frenchmen*.⁶ The resumption of trade in the 12th century, followed by print capitalism in the 15th and 16th centuries, created extensive and expansive exchange and communication networks that gradually drew the contours of *imagined communities* roughly bounded by state borders. After the 17th century, the state played an increasing role in propitiating the development of these imagined communities and their coincidence with states: the centralization of power, language and legal homogenization policy, national conscription, and the creation of internal markets through the elimination of internal borders and the unification of weights and measures paved the way. Simultaneously, in extra-European colonies and at the fringes of some older states like Spain or Britain, the combination of print capitalism (e.g. local newspapers) and state centralization efforts propitiated the emergence of dissident and politically contentious imagined communities. Then, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, dramatic social and political change contributed to a new transformation, that of state-bounded imagined communities into nations.

The industrial revolution uprooted thousands of peasants from the countryside into cities, where they met, befriended, and married people from everywhere in the states where they lived, just as they developed a working class consciousness; meanwhile successful local capitalists conquered national markets, associated with capitalists from other regions, moved their residence to large urban centers, and intermarried with members of the ruling political class and the old landowning aristocracy, thus transforming into a national capitalist class.

Meanwhile, the state experienced a dramatic increase in size, scope, and depth, becoming a major presence in people's lives and minds, a central source of material and physical security. Social upheaval leading to the transition from Absolutism to Constitutionalism transferred sovereignty to what was called the nation, initially largely conceived as the state's inhabitants, but by the end of the 19th century metamorphosed into a culturally distinct group of people in or across state boundaries. National sovereignty meant that state and nation became inextricably united in discourse, if not in the minds of those on whose names political elites or contenders spoke. Furthermore, Napoleon's military prowess persuaded ruling and aspiring state elites all over Europe of the formidable power of mobilizing and speaking in the name of the nation. When in power, they mobilized political discourse, symbols, commemoration, official rituals, universal education, universal conscription, and welfare policies to culminate the centuries' old process that had transformed local peasants into members of amorphous, shifting, and nameless imagined communities, by making them see themselves now as members of fully fledged and eternal nations.

In the synthesis above, which borrows from the most relevant texts published in the past 50 years, I have taken the liberty of adding the sentence segment "where they met, befriended, and married people from everywhere in the states where they lived, just as they developed a working-class consciousness." I draw from Deutsch's application of communication theory to account for how rural-urban migration during industrialization contributed to the emergence of national communities (Deutsch, 1953). Deutsch emphasizes the role of migration in promoting a break with local culture and of inter-group marriage in promoting the gradual emergence of common understandings, a common world outlook, and common values. The cumulation of these micro-processes eventually led to the emergence of new identifications. Deutsch did not test his theory empirically and, to my knowledge, no study has empirically analyzed intermarriage between people coming from different geographical locations in industrializing countries, and how these propitiated and sedimented national identifications. The most important book connecting demography to national development, Cotts-Watkins's *From Provinces into Nations: Demographic Behavior in Western Europe, 1870–1960* just focuses on demographic convergence (Cotts-Watkins, 1991).⁷ More recently, Botev's study of intermarriage in Yugoslavia in the decades before the outbreak of the civil war in 1990 has not been replicated in other countries and extended to earlier times (Botev, 1994).

Globalization

The world did not stop when nations and nation states came to cover the entire surface of the earth, with the exception of the Antarctic region. While nation-states make the emergence of supranational polities more difficult, while they hinder the emergence and diffusion of cosmopolitan identifications, the same, or similar, centrifugal social processes that contributed to the emergence of