

# International Friendships



# International Friendships:

*The Interpersonal Basis  
of a Worldwide Community*

Edited by

Agnaldo Garcia

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## PREFACE

*International Friendships: The Interpersonal Basis of a Worldwide Community* discusses theoretical and empirical issues concerning international interpersonal friendships and the influence of society and culture on the different contexts in which these friendships may be found, particularly in international migration and international education.

Advances in communication technology and new social and economic scenarios have enabled closer contact between people from different countries and cultures, as is the case with international migration and international education. According to the United Nations, the total number of international migrants worldwide in 2015 was about 244 million people and, according to the Institute of International Education, there are about 4.5 million international college and university students worldwide. The increase in international human contact raises questions about how people relate with those from other countries and cultures. In a growing international context, international friendships are relevant not only as a source of satisfaction and happiness but also as the basis for peaceful cohabitation and cooperation between people from different origins.

Beyond theoretical issues, empirical data on international friendships involving Latin American countries or citizens are included, in themes such as international migration and international education. Latin America has a population of approximately 600 million people, according to estimative data from the World Bank. Efforts to foster international friendships are discussed as well as perspectives of friendship as a factor for a better integration of human populations. The book is aimed at students and researchers in Psychology and Family Studies, Sociology, Communication Studies, Latin American Studies, Anthropology, and others.

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—Agnaldo Garcia





## CHAPTER ONE

# INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIPS: PEOPLE AND NATIONS, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

AGNALDO GARCIA

International friendship has been discussed from an interpersonal or an interstate perspective. We aim here to discuss international friendships from an interpersonal perspective. International political and state friendships have been discussed by some authors in International Relations in recent years. Just to cite some examples, Vion (2007) recognized that international friendship is often neglected in international relations but considers that these friendships are a result of institutional facts such as the development of twin cities and cultural institutes. Digeser (2009a, 2009b) also considers international friendship as the possibility of states associating with one another, which has largely been ignored. According to Lu (2009), political friendship among peoples are distinct from but analogous to personal friendship. Political friendships are founded on mutual recognition and respect, and they are characterized by consensual agreement with the fundamental terms of cooperation. According to Roshchin (2005, 2006), the concept of interstate friendship in International Relations has been changing and Roshchin points out an ambiguity influenced by royalist and republican interpretations. Roshchin (2007) suggests we should instead focus on the link between friendship and the functioning of international order, and Roshchin (2010) considers international friendship an understudied phenomenon in International Relations. The understanding of friendship as positive is associated with interpersonal relations. Smith (2007) also suggests that thinking about friendship in relation to the state is useful in International Relations but recognizes that friendship is hard to define.

Regarding international friendships from an interpersonal perspective, they should also be approached as a complex phenomenon to be considered

in light of micro and macro perspectives. In this case, the multiple ways and conditions affecting the contact between persons from different national and cultural origins in the contemporary world should be taken into account. Besides traditional international friendships historically documented, which connect people living in their home countries, new patterns of international migration should also be considered in the examination of international and interethnic friendships. International migration is a fundamental issue at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the wide diversity of international friendships should be considered. The contact between different human groups is growing continuously around the world, mainly by the increasing number of international migrants globally.

Personal bonds between two persons from different nations, states or other historical associations, such as kingdoms, empires, tribes, clans, and so on, have existed from ancient times, and international friendships are as old as national states. Intergroup attitudes are more frequently seen as conflictive. In the history of mankind, the contact between different peoples has frequently generated conflicts, war, slavery, genocide, besides prejudice and discrimination. The emphasis here lies on the possibility of people from different countries and cultures to develop positive personal contacts and relationships, especially through friendship. Friendship may vary according to distinct historical and cultural contexts.

Usually, the literature on friendship analyzes and discusses relationships between friends living in the same place, sharing activities in the same environment, and liking each other. However, international or intercultural friendship are part of history and some have been documented. These international friendships connect different groups and they are composed of inner and external dimensions. In international friendships, the complexity of the context is of paramount importance to try to understand how these friendships have originated, developed and affected the social environment.

### **International, intercultural, interethnic and interracial friendships**

Based on a wide literature review, Garcia and Miranda (2012) discussed intercultural, international, interethnic and interracial friendships, which are still considered as little understood. These friendships allow for a relationship between members of different nations, cultures, ethnic groups and races. These four aspects, strictly speaking, are independent and can occur individually or jointly. Intercultural friendships presuppose relationships

between people belonging to different cultures (regardless of whether they belong to the same race, ethnicity or nation). Thus, international friendships can also involve different or similar cultures, races, and ethnic groups. The authors point out the need for further research in the area, especially of international friendships, in which national identities tend to be maintained despite the close contact with the people and the culture of another country. The friendships of international students who leave their countries to study abroad with inhabitants of these countries possibly represent a social capital of relevance to the future social, political, scientific and cultural development of nations involved, possibly leading to further cooperation. In addition, the authors suggest we should pay more attention to cultural diversity and to consider several levels of complexity, from dyadic relationships to socio-cultural structure and their dialectical relations, in different countries and cultures, based on the proposals of Hinde (1997).

International friendship could be defined as a friendship between people from different countries or national origins, born in different nations. This may occur when friends remain attached to their own countries and live there or when people migrate temporarily or permanently to another country. In any case, social, political, economic, religious and cultural dimensions may affect the formation and development of these friendships. In the following chapters, different types of international friendships will be analyzed and discussed, including those associated with temporary and permanent international migration. The role of culture as a mediating factor in international friendships and the activity of institutions promoting international friendship will also be discussed. Some basic elements are expected to make international friendships possible, as some kind of personal contact and the possibility of communication. Sharing a common language contributes strongly to developing a friendship, making it possible to accomplish a range of cultural exchanges related to cultural products or activities. Throughout this book, a variety of international friendships will be analyzed, from famous historical friendships to those relationships between ordinary people. In this chapter, we will present some personal friendships between political leaders or involving historical figures connected to political leaders from different countries.

## **International Friendship and International Context**

In order to understand international friendship in contemporary society, it is fundamental to understand the external context to which these friendships develop. First of all, international friendships are made

possible when two people from different nations meet and become acquainted. This should not be considered as accidental. The probability of meeting people from different countries also depends on migratory flows, which vary from country to country and in different periods. Besides getting in touch, communicating and exchanging cultural activities, and besides mutual liking, mutual help and having fun together have been observed in several empirical investigations.

International friendships nowadays should consider relationships between people who were born in different nations, even if the concept of nation and state has suffered constant transformations and national unities have been challenged by their dissolution or formation of international blocks. In this book, we will use the idea of nationality as the bond between the individual and the nation-state, which is considered in international migration practices. The concept of nation-states has changed over time and distinct definitions of a nation-state are available, including the role of society and culture in their definition.

People coming from different nations have developed friendships. In this first chapter, we will explore some interpersonal friendships between political or representatives of different nations. In the following chapters, international friendships will be explored in different fields of cultural activity to see how they are embedded in our societies. Interpersonal international friendships are also important nowadays as a result of international migration. An emphasis on good international relationships seems to have blossomed in the 1920s as a result of the First World War and was reinforced after World War II. The perspective here is to consider friendships as a relevant bonding element in contemporary society regardless of wider political or national organization. Although the political organization of nations and states has changed throughout history, friendship and family bonds are considered some of the basic ties that form the basis of society, although they may also change historically.

International interpersonal friendships also change over time, influenced by world transformations, including new patterns of international migration. Possibly, several social movements promoting international friendships were influenced by historical concerns after the two world wars. In contemporary societies, the relations have changed as hundreds of millions of people gave rise to a new social distribution of national citizens all around the world. The global society is becoming more and more internationalized as national diasporas disseminate all over the world. These diasporas take different forms and go to different countries and are differently distributed around the world. A world permeated by transnational networks of people represents a challenge for

traditional conceptions of nation-states as defined by sharing a common culture or ethnic composition.

Some problems faced by traditional definitions of a nation-state are reflected in the definition proposed by UNESCO (2016), as most inhabitants are expected to share the same culture. Recent data have indicated that states should no longer be seen as founded in a national culture. The idea of a nation-state incorporating people of a single ethnic stock and cultural traditions (Kazancigil & Dogan, 1986) is also increasingly unacceptable as contemporary states are becoming polyethnic and multicultural.

A more and more internationalized society is in progress and the possibility of uniting these people by friendship bonds should be fostered. Contemporary society has witnessed a growing internationalization, not only of capitals and products but of people as well. International migration and its resulting processes may be considered a core aspect of understanding international friendships in modern society.

Culture is a wide concept, and we will consider formal cultural relationships as those based on cultural activities such as science, literature, music and other arts. Popular culture is also considered to play an important role in international friendships. The contact of different cultural traditions in contemporary society and the development of a multicultural society based on international integration should also be considered.

International interpersonal friendships are not independent of their historical context and they change as macro aspects of the environment as well as personal aspects change. So, in a contemporary world, international friendships are not restricted to people living in different countries, but international communities are more and more frequently living together, which demands new ways of integration and mutual cooperation. This work advocates the central role that friendships play in bonding people from different national origins, usually speaking different languages, professing different religions, with different ethnic origins and different informal and formal cultures, living in a different or the same country.

After presenting a general framework, we will discuss some personal friendships which could be considered as paradigmatic as they involve historical figures which have been profoundly associated with their nations, mainly in their origin, organization and independence, as in the case of George Washington or in the case of international crises when national identities are stressed, such as the friendships between Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Other famous friendships

connecting people from different national social and cultural origins will also be discussed, including the friendship between first lady Mary Lincoln and her dressmaker, and Eleanor Roosevelt and her physician.

## **Historical Interpersonal Political Friendships**

One of the most famous friendships between persons from different countries with important historical and political outcomes was between George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette (Clary, 2007). George Washington was 45 years old and Lafayette was 19 when they first met in 1777. Lafayette and Washington fought together against the British. Washington admired Lafayette's dedication to the American cause and both were fellow Masons. In his letters and memoirs (Marquis de Lafayette, 1837), Lafayette wrote about the mutual admiration and their working together for the same cause. Lafayette served the cause without pay and even paid for expenses. Washington was impressed by his courage under fire and the more he observed Lafayette the more impressed he was and the closer the two became. Lafayette's letters refer to Washington's trust in himself, who he regarded as a trustworthy friend in whom he could confide. They talked or exchanged letters frequently, with Washington consulting his French friend on several points. Washington considered him as an ally of America and both remained close friends after the war. Lafayette named his only son George Washington Lafayette and, in 1789, he sent one of the keys to the Bastille to George Washington as a gift. They corresponded regularly until Washington's death in 1799. Lafayette died in 1834.

The friendship between the president Franklin Roosevelt and the Prime Minister Winston Churchill was one of the most famous political friendships of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as described by Meacham (2003). They first met in London in 1918, but their friendship only developed in 1939. According to Meacham (2003), the men shared some similarities as they both liked tobacco, strong drink, and shared similar personal traits. In addition, both were sons of the elite, students of history, politicians of the first rank, and enjoyed great power. They spent much time together (113 days during the war) and exchanged nearly two thousand letters up until 1945. They met in different places, including Washington, London, Casablanca, and Teheran, talking to each other about war, politics, the burden of command, their health, wives, and children.

Some friendships involving the first ladies of the United States have also become famous, such as the friendship between Eleanor Roosevelt, an American politician, diplomat, and activist, and wife of the president

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and her personal physician David Gurewitsch, considered her friend and confidant (Gurewitsch, 2002; Franklin, 2016). David Gurewitsch was born and attended medical school in Switzerland, moving to the United States in the 1930s. Eleanor Roosevelt met David Gurewitsch in 1944, through their mutual friend, Trude Lash (Lash, 1972). After Franklin Delano Roosevelt's death, he became her personal physician and they became closer friends in 1947 when Gurewitsch was diagnosed with tuberculosis and returned to Switzerland for treatment during which time they traveled together and she took care of him. The friendship lasted until her death in 1962. According to Gurewitsch (2002), Eleanor Roosevelt could confide her anxieties and preoccupations with him. They corresponded with each other for fifteen years, and they traveled together to several countries, including Israel, Pakistan, India, Greece, Yugoslavia, France, and Switzerland. David Gurewitsch married Edna Perkel in 1958, in New York City, and the ceremony took place in Eleanor Roosevelt's apartment. Soon after, the Gurewitsches purchased a townhouse together with Eleanor Roosevelt in Manhattan and they usually dined, went to concerts or the theater together. As Eleanor Roosevelt faced severe health problems, she increasingly counted on her physician for medical and emotional support.

Another outstanding friendship associated with a political leader's wife was between the first lady Mary Todd Lincoln, the wife of Abraham Lincoln, and her Afro-American dressmaker, Elizabeth Keckley (Fleischner, 2004). Mary Lincoln considered Elizabeth Keckley her best living friend in 1867. They remained friends while Lincoln was president and in the early years after his death. Elizabeth Keckley was born a slave, but she bought her freedom in 1855 and moved to Washington. She was already well established as a "high society" dressmaker when Mary Lincoln met her on arrival at the capitol and she provided companionship, support, and advice, becoming Mary Lincoln's confidante.

## **Conclusion**

Although international friendships have been discussed from an interstate perspective, this book will adopt an interpersonal perspective, which does not exclude the importance of social, political, economic, religious, national, and cultural aspects, among others, to fully understand these relationships. Some considerations have been presented in order to develop a wide framework to understand international friendships in the contemporary world.

The first point refers to conceptual issues, regarding the meaning and conceptual limitations of international friendships. These have been described mainly as friendships connecting people living in diverse countries, while friendships involving migrant populations have usually been regarded as interethnic, interracial or intercultural. International friendship is defined as a friendship between people from different countries or national origins, born in different nations, and friends may remain in their home countries or may share a common nation. In this book, both groups will be integrated and will be considered as having international friendships, trying to develop a wider framework to understand these relationships.

The second point refers to the context in which international contacts are made possible in the modern world. The increasing facility of international contacts and the growth of international migration for economic, social, cultural and technological reasons are presented as arguments to further studies on these friendships, as they are regarded as important links between different groups and should be fostered in a multicultural and polyethnic world. International phenomena, such as national diasporas and transnational networks, are related to international friendships in modern society.

The third point refers to an integrated, systematic and dialectical perspective as the most appropriate to deal with these complex relationships. It is also argued that a perspective involving several levels of complexity around these friendships should be used. The fourth point is the centrality of cultural elements to understand and foster these relationships, including popular and formal culture. Culture is considered a major mediating factor in international friendships, from language to a range of cultural exchanges related to cultural products or activities. In a more and more internationalized society, the possibility of bonding these people through a friendship that is mediated by cultural elements should be fostered. Formal cultural relationships are those based on cultural activities such as science, literature, music and other arts. Popular culture is also considered to play an important role in international friendships. This work advocates the central role that friendships have to bond people from different national origins, usually speaking different languages, professing different religions, with different ethnic origins and different informal and formal cultures, living in a different or the same country.

This chapter was based on some famous friendships between people from different countries involved in national or international politics, which have been widely documented. In the case of the two political friendships, the friends were involved in critical periods concerning their



nations. In both cases, it is difficult to separate the personal aspects from the international actions and outcomes. The most striking facts about these friendships are that they are related to historical and national crises. These political leaders from different countries, however, shared a mutual admiration, helped each other and cooperated, inspired by the same aims. In these cases, the opportunity to meet people from other countries was made possible by the position occupied, as is the case with some professionals in international activities.

In this chapter, we have also included two famous friendships involving people from different national or ethnic origins, in different social positions. These friendships are well documented as they both involved the first ladies of the United States. In this case, it is also important to note that friendships may cross other social and cultural barriers. In the case of Mary Lincoln and Elizabeth Keckley, this woman had been a slave and became a famous seamstress. It is for that reason that they met each other.

Considering the international context for developing international friendships, we should consider the contemporary scenario as different from that prevalent in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly after World War I and World War II, when international friendships were emphasized in order to contribute to international peace. In the contemporary world, people from other countries are on our streets and in our cities, which should also be considered. Nationality is not the only difference, but social class, educational and cultural formation, professional activity, language proficiency, illegal status and other factors are to be considered in the friendships of these people from other countries. As in the example of Mary Lincoln and Elizabeth Keckley's friendship, social, cultural and professional development may be expected to result in a wider and more diversified friendship network.

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## CHAPTER TWO

# THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIPS: MIGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

AGNALDO GARCIA  
AND MARIA APARECIDA PENSO

In this chapter, we consider international friendships as those between two persons from different national origins. These friends may live in different countries or may live in the same country. In this case, international friendships include relationships of local citizens with international migrants and also the friendships between people from different national origins living in a third country.

In this case, typical international friendship includes people from different countries living in their home countries. We think that friendships with international migrants should also be included in the discussion, as international friendships also involve people from different national origins but in specific conditions. The friendships of international migrants could be divided into (1) permanent immigrants and (2) temporary immigrants. The establishment of these friendships may follow different routes but available data for Latin America indicate that these usually depend on personal contact. In this chapter, friendships in the context of international permanent and temporary migration will be discussed. The identification of national communities or diasporas around the world, the increase in transnational national communities, and other important social and international developments should be taken into account in a more detailed analysis.

International migration and international education are responsible for several studies on international friendships. In the first case, we present a review of studies relating international migration and friendship and

international education, a kind of temporary migration and friendship. Further studies are necessary on tourism and international friendships.

## **Migration and Friendship**

Migration and friendship are intimately connected in different ways. Friendship networks are relevant for migratory flows and migrants are supported by friends, making new friends during the migration process and developing new friendship networks as they move to another country or region. Traditionally, how friendship networks are constructed in new countries usually takes into account the cultural and national/ethnic origin of friends, and homophily is frequently discussed as a widely recurrent phenomenon. However, friendship relations are not exempt from the influence of migratory processes such as assimilation, transnationalism and segregation. Some recent papers reveal the wide and complex relations between international migration and friendship.

Some recent investigations have related friendship and assimilation. Facchini, Patacchini and Steinhardt (2015), for instance, investigated how migration, friendship ties, and cultural assimilation were related using information from the German Socio-Economic Panel (1996–2011) and observed that migrants with a German friend were more similar to natives in aspects such as participation in social activities, interest in economy, politics, environment, crime and xenophobia. Friendship acquisition was influenced by getting a new job, the number of years living in the country, the birth of a child, residential mobility and additional education in the host country.

On the other hand, friendships are also related to transnational communities, as friends constitute transnational networks. Tsujimoto (2014), in an investigation of Filipino workers migrating from South Korea to Canada, observed that friendship gave rise to global transnational networks, based in different host countries. Such friendship was accompanied by onward migration to Canada through the transfer of ties in a new social setting. Beyond the duality of home and abroad, this study reveals that migrants' transnationalism tends to be cosmopolitan or to form global multi-local friendship ties with compatriot friends.

These data suggest how complex the relations between international migration and friendship may become. Based on these investigations, friendship may contribute to assimilation to a host country as well as to the formation of transnational communities. So, friendships may assume different roles when investigated in light of migratory flows. Although homophily, or the preference to connect with people from the same

national and cultural origin, has been found in several investigations relating international migrations and friendships, some recent investigations have indicated that homophily may affect friendships differently, according to a specific situation. In an investigation into friendship-making by highly qualified Irish migrants in Britain, Ryan (2015) proposed that selection opportunities and obstacles, preferences and shared interests should be taken into account, beyond the notion of homophily, to understand how migrants build friendships with a diverse range of people. Based on migration, social network analysis and friendship literature, the author explores the construction of friendship networks by international migrants. In research conducted in Latin America, we have also observed that homophily is not the only criteria to make friends, but friends may also be from other countries and the host country.

Besides typical international friendship, the friendship involving migrant populations is extremely important in the contemporary world, as the number of international immigrants is the highest in history.

## **International Migration and Friendship**

Some recent papers have discussed how migrant populations relate to natives and how this depends on structural, social and special conditions. In these papers, it is possible to note some different approaches, sometimes more ethnic or racial or more migrant-directed.

A basic aspect to enable the development of intergroup friendships is the possibility of getting in touch with migrants. In Europe, Savelkoul, Tolsma and Scheepers (2015) investigated natives' interethnic friends and colleagues, and observed that groups differ in their interethnic social networks. For instance, men reported having more interethnic colleagues and friends, while older residents in Europe declared having fewer immigrant friends. According to the authors, opportunity plays a significant role in fostering interethnic friends and colleagues, and preference and third parties predominantly affect the chances of having interethnic friendships.

Social exposure and contact opportunities were also related to the development of a diversified friendship network in the United States. Britton (2014) investigated intergroup friendship among Latino adults in Harris County, Texas, concluding that Latinos who lived in neighborhoods that provided greater exposure to non-Hispanic whites were more likely to have non-Hispanic whites among their three closest friends than those who lived in Latino enclaves. In this case, neighborhood diversity, particularly

among non-white residents, was also associated with diverse friendship networks among Latinos.

According to Titzmann and Stoessel (2014), friendships between natives and immigrants have been considered as a benchmark for socio-cultural integration although investigations usually show that individuals mainly make friends with members of their own group. Comparing diaspora migration in Israel and Germany, immigrants have been found to show tendencies for friendship homophily, despite their cultural and ethnic commonalities with the host population, although the level may differ depending on the length of time since immigration.

Also considering spatial and social national/ethnic distribution, Pratsinakis, Hatziprokopiou, Labrianidis and Vogiatzis (2015) have observed that the neighborhood context affects the development of migrants' interethnic friendships. Findings indicated that close interethnic relationships were not uncommon in several multi-ethnic European cities. They further noticed that the neighborhood context plays an important role in the first years of migrants' settlement. According to the authors, relationships in the neighborhood develop in less formal social settings and demand fewer cultural skills, making it easier to develop close interethnic relationships with natives. Finally, a diverse neighborhood was considered positive for the development of interethnic friendships.

Some investigations have suggested that the social and spatial characteristics of the neighborhood may also positively affect the development of intergroup friendships in contexts involving international migrants and the native population. Data also suggest that time is another important element affecting the emergence of friendships of populations from diverse national origins.

## **Social Networks, Migration and International Friendship**

The role of online social networks for international friendships is still being investigated and some difficulties refer to the constant transformations in the use of different online social networks over time. A second problem is that the concept of friendship may also differ when used to contacts made by social networks. Although the way these networks are used frequently changes, they have been used to keep in touch with friends in other countries, but their role to originate new friendships and not only online acquaintances should be further investigated. In spite of these difficulties, some investigations have contributed to understanding how social networks and international friendships are related. Investigating international friendship networks on Facebook, Barnett and Benefield

(2015) suggested the possibility of predicting international Facebook ties through cultural homophily and other factors. According to the authors, network analysis resulted in one group of nations, with countries that bridge geographic and linguistic clusters (France, Spain, United Kingdom, and United Arab Emirates) being the most central. Countries with international Facebook friendship ties tended to share borders, language, civilization, and migration.

Social media provide new communication channels in migration networks and also transform these networks and facilitate migration by enhancing the possibilities of maintaining strong ties with family and friends; by addressing weak ties relevant to migration and integration; by establishing new latent ties; by offering a source of insider knowledge on migration (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014).

### **Culture and Language, International Migration and Friendship**

Culture, and specifically language skills, have been highlighted as important elements for making contact with people from other national origins possible. According to Chiswick and Miller (2014), language skills have social benefits as they can expand the range of friendship networks beyond one's ethnic/linguistic group in international migration, and close conational friends tend to limit dominant language proficiency. On the other hand, Florack, Rohmann, Palcu and Mazziotta (2014) observed that initial cross-group friendships fostered intercultural communication among Spanish-speaking immigrants in Germany as these friendships reduced intergroup anxiety and increased self-confidence in communication, increasing positive attitudes and facilitating further contact. In this case, friendship and communication with people from different national and cultural origins affect each other.

Communication, however, is culturally complex and some cultural aspects may take some time to be mastered by international migrants, such as cultural differences in humor. Westcott and Vazquez Maggio (2015) reported that international migrants in Australia from different countries, despite speaking good English, faced difficulties in using humor in new friendships with English speakers in informal settings. As the migrant's length of time in Australia increased, language confidence improved, but barriers when using humor remained.

The option to preserve cultural traditions (including religion and others) may also affect acculturation and friendships with people with different cultural traditions. Zagefka, Mohamed, Mursi and Lay (2015)



investigated the process of acculturation and how identification with the minority group affected acculturation preferences among Muslim women and Somali minority members in Britain. Culture maintenance preference was associated with involvement in intragroup friendships, and culture adoption preference was associated with involvement in intergroup friendships and increased stress. Cultural elements are central not only for communication but for friendship as well. A few recent papers on language and culture also indicate how cultural skills and options are influenced by and influence friendships.

## **Work**

Economic factors and the employment market are among the most important factors in recent migratory flows. Some recent investigations have focused on migration, work and friendship. According to Kokkonen, Esaiasson and Gilljam (2015), workplace diversity has a strong potential for social and cultural integration, allowing native-born populations to form interethnic friendships. The authors found that individuals who worked at diverse workplaces were more likely to have immigrant friends than individuals who worked at homogenous workplaces. They also proposed that workplace diversity was more efficacious than neighborhood diversity in generating interethnic friendships. Workplace diversity and the likelihood of having immigrant friends was also stronger among individuals who had a low level of education, felt economically vulnerable, and who lived in countries with relative resource scarcity.

In an investigation relating education and work, Murat (2014) found evidence that education networks foster bilateral trade between the UK and the home countries of international students and alumni. This would happen as college students usually develop friendship and trust, which may last for decades, leading to economic and business ties. Work, besides education, has proved to be an important context for developing a friendship with people from other national and cultural origins.

## **Education**

Education is another important element to connect people from different national and cultural backgrounds. In general, basic and intermediary education deals with international permanent immigrants while investigations into higher education involve more temporary immigrants or international students. As the United Nations attribute to education a central role in the formation of international friendships, this is

an important topic not only for international students but also for migrant students.

Concerning immigrant children, Sime, Fox and Pietka (2015) have described some aspects of the friendships of Eastern European children newly arrived in Scotland. Some findings on friendship may be highlighted. One of the main factors affecting their experience was the range of social networks of family and friends, and some children seemed more resourceful in developing new friendships. The most common difficulties were related to language barriers and difficulties in forming friendships. Technologies were important mediators of local and transnational social networks, helping children to keep in touch with family and friends in the origin country. Friends left behind were missed and contact with them was often difficult. Not having friends was one of the most difficult things on arriving in Scotland and new friends could be difficult to make. Schools were considered fundamental in providing opportunities to develop new friendships. Linguistic competence in English was a key element to the integration process and friendships. Finally, the authors recommended support with opportunities to develop friendships for newly arrived children.

Other investigations have focused on adolescent immigrants. Schulz and Leszczensky (2015) have observed that having high shares of native friends was positively related to the immigrant youth's identification with the host country in secondary schools in Germany. However, the authors argue that the extent to which having native friends affects immigrants' national identification depended on the immigrant group characteristics and the receiving context, especially on ethnic boundaries and related group differences in perceived discrimination and the compatibility of ethnic and national identities. The authors found pronounced group differences. In another investigation conducted in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, Smith, Maas and van Tubergen (2014) observed that adolescents tended to have friends similar in ethnicity, cultural and socioeconomic characteristics. In another investigation involving adolescents in multicultural European schools, Stefanek, Strohmeier and van de Schoot (2015) pointed out that being a former Yugoslavian first and second generation immigrant, being a Turkish first generation immigrant, having fewer friends, a high level of cultural pride and a high level of cultural diversity in classes were related to more same-cultural friendship preferences.

Leszczensky, Pink and Kalter (2015) presented some information about a work in progress on adolescents relating friendship and identity in German schools, specifically how social networks and ethnic identifications

are related. The authors describe some methodological aspects and participants involved. Participants were from nine secondary schools in North Rhine-Westphalia, including all the classes in the fifth, sixth and seventh years, in three survey waves, involving more than 2,100 students. Three additional survey waves will be collected. The project aims at investigating empirically the formation and transformation of friendship networks and ethnic identities and their interactions.

In another investigation with immigrant adolescents, Titzmann (2014) recognizes that although interethnic friendships are among the best indicators of social adaptation to a new cultural context, adolescent immigrants usually form friendships within their own ethnic community. The author focuses on the acculturation of immigrant adolescents and on the factors that lead them to form friendships within their own group and presents opportunities for reducing friendship homophily, but also points to the complexity of acculturation research. According to the author, making friends with non-immigrant peers was predicted by good language proficiency and the attitudes of both sides, as immigrant children may vary in terms of their willingness to relate to people outside their group and native children may vary in negative attitudes to immigrants. Titzmann, Brenick, and Silbereisen (2015) have reported that adolescents who gained an intergroup friendship showed a significant decrease in negative prejudice over the study. Adolescents with many opportunities for contact, positive attitudes about contact, perceived positive social norms for contact and high levels of behavioral control were more likely to maintain a friendship with an outgroup member.

In Spain, investigating a group of first- and second-generation adolescent immigrants, Alvarez, Schneider and Villalobos (2015) have concluded that integration, considered as simultaneous identification with the culture of origin and the majority Spanish/Catalan culture, would predict better school adjustment. While identification with the culture of origin was related to closeness in friendship, identification with the host culture was linked with school adjustment. Basic and secondary education refers to children and adolescent migrants and how they make friends with people from different national origins.

## **International College Students**

If basic and secondary students are permanent migrants dealing with different cultural backgrounds, international college students are usually temporary immigrants, and so are expected to keep closer bonds with their

home country and culture. Some recent papers on friendships of international students are briefly analyzed.

The first two papers refer to international students in Australia and Canada. According to Gomes (2015), previous literature on international students in Australia often points out that these students do not integrate into Australian society, and many of them have very few or no Australian friends when they complete their studies. The findings suggest that Asian international students live in a parallel society almost exclusively made up of international students basically from the home nation and the Asian region. The author suggests that they create a sense of belonging *in* Australia and not *to* Australia due to separation from local society and culture. Kim and Sondhi (2015) have examined the key themes and findings from the literature on international students and education migrants in Canada. Some points on the friendships of these students are mentioned, such as the fact that they tend to rely on other international students or co-nationals and co-ethnic communities for friendship and support. They have also struggled to befriend Canadians and felt socially excluded. Future intentions are influenced by friendships in host societies. Finally, Bilecen and Faist (2015) investigated international doctoral students in Germany and their social transnational networks, considering their role in knowledge transference through transnational friendship networks. The authors emphasize trust, reciprocity and solidarity as social conditions of knowledge brokerage.

Considering international college students as temporary immigrants, their integration is also quite limited according to recent literature. This has been observed in the previous literature and also in other places, including Latin America. Although international students are more and more important to the internationalization of higher education, their social integration by friendship is still very limited.

Education should have a central importance in developing international friendships, but investigations apparently focus on international or immigrant students, and not on the education structure and dynamics. In this case, friendships with native children and adolescents seem to be expected. In a few cases, the existence of a multicultural education is mentioned, although multicultural societies are widely represented. Schools seem to be more assimilationist and friendship seems to be a kind of indication of the level of acculturation.

A wide picture of education and international friendship should consider the wide diversity and educational levels and how different levels are related to other social and cultural dimensions. Comparing different approaches to basic and secondary education, multicultural initiatives are

more present in schools trying to get internationalized. While some contexts of investigation suggest that students should change, acquiring language and cultural competencies, the educational system seems not to be challenged to promote changes to international citizenship.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have reviewed and discussed some papers on international migration and international education as the usual contexts for international friendships. In fact, international students are temporary migrants. In both cases, contact with people from other national origins occurs under a dominant society and culture, but international contact opportunities may result in international friendships. Migration and friendship are connected in different ways. Friendship networks affect migratory flows and migrants are supported by friends, and develop new friendship networks in the destination country with conationals, the host population, or with people from other countries. There is a complex relation between international migration and friendship, in phenomena such as assimilation, transnational communities, selection opportunities, besides preferences and shared interests. Spatial and social national/ethnic distribution in the neighborhood affects the development of migrants' interethnic friendships, as well as time dimensions.

First and foremost, international migration should be considered as a highly diversified phenomenon in history, including distinct economic, political, social and cultural aspects, among others. Different migratory patterns and motivations to migrate in different historical and social periods may influence how friendships develop. Economic, legal and illegal migrants and refugees face different migration conditions compared to highly qualified immigrants. Tourists and professionals working temporarily in another country are also expected to develop friendship networks. Cultural and linguistic resources also vary in distinct migration groups. International friendships may vary greatly in different historical moments, being affected by diverse social, economic, religious, cultural differences beyond different national origins and different destination countries.

Communication and online social networks also affect international friendships and migration. Culture, including social relational culture, and language skills are important elements for making friends with people from other national origins. Communication is fundamental for friendship development. On the other hand, friendship fosters intercultural communication. The connection with cultural traditions from the country

of origin or the country of destination also affects friendships, as well as economic factors. Workplace and neighborhood diversity generates interethnic friendships. College international friendship networks foster future international work relations as international trade. Work and education are important contexts for developing a friendship with people from other national and cultural origins.

Education is associated with international friendships at different levels, involving international permanent and temporary immigrants, from elementary to college and graduate education. Friendship is important for immigrant children at school and the friendships of adolescent immigrants affect their identification with the host country. International students usually have conational friends, although future intentions and work relations are influenced by friendships in host societies. International doctoral students also form transnational friendship networks.

In sum, a range of environmental and demographic factors besides education and work, and individual and social attitudes interfere in international friendships. Education is fundamental for fostering international friendships, and investigations should consider not only how students from other countries adapt to a national educational system, but it would also be relevant to investigate how national educational systems could adapt to an increasingly internationalized, multicultural global society. Global citizenship should be considered in educational programs and curricula should try to adapt to a global society, from basic school to graduate programs. In general, new patterns of international migration are affecting the opportunities and the development of international friendships. The complexity of contextual elements in international friendships also requires a more complex theoretical framework in order to integrate a diversified range of elements.

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