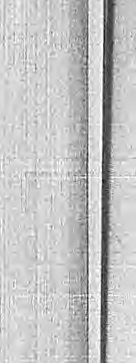
**CHAPTER 4**



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**The Sociology of International Migration** 1

David Scott FitzGerald

Sociology's foundatio n as a n acade mic disc ipline co inc ided with waves of mass migration at the turn of the twe ntieth ce ntury. Max Weber warned in 1895 that Polis h agricultural migrants of a "lower race" *(ti efers1ehende11 Rasse)* were displacing native German fanners (Smith 2011). Across the Atlantic, the early Chicago School sociologists' co ncern with social problems they attributed to the arrival of so many foreig ners put the study of international mig ratio n at the center of the new disc ipli ne. Edward Ross, president of the American Soc iologi­ ca l Assoc iatio n (ASA) , concluded his 1914 volume on immigration by alerting his readers that native whites of northweste rn Eu ropean ancest ry were com­ mitting "race suicide" by admitting southe rn Europeans and those of "Afti can, Saracen, and Mongolian blood." New demog raphic methods revealed alarming patterns of immig rant cr imin ality and mental retardatio n amid the declining fertili ty of nati ve old-stock whites . Writi ng in the flagship *American Journal of Sociology,* which had long served as a transa tla ntic channel for eugenic ist id eas (Gal to n 1904 ), Edwin Grant calle d for "a systematic deportation" that "euge ni­

c ally clea nses Americ a" of the "Scum from the Melting- Pot" (G rant 1925). 'I

A ce ntury later, internation al mig ratio n re mains a fundame ntal co ncern of sociology to a degree unp aralleled in anthropology or politica l sc ience. T he gall ery of ASA presidents inc ludes lead ing mig ration sc holar s such as Herbert Gans (1988), Ale jand ro Portes (1999 ), Douglas Massey (200 1), and E velyn Naka no Gle nn (2010). One obvious c hange is that scho lars today reject the eugen ic is t principles taken for granted in the ear ly twentieth ce ntury. The fie ld of e ugenic s lost its scien tific racis m and evolved into the field s of demog raphy and public health (Bas hford and Levine 201.0). Rare is the voice unfriendly to imm ig rants among the 600-p lus members of the ASA's Internatio nal Migratio n Section.

Yet one historical continu ity is that muc h scholars hip retains the idea that immigration generates a co mpe t.itio n between different groups of i mrnigrants

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and natives organized along ethnoracial lines. Sociologists no longer call for the expulsion of "weaker races," but they often continue to delimit the field of inquiry as if it were an ethnoracial Olympic Games. In these Games, eth­ noracial groups began competing with each other a century ago in the heyday of transatlantic migration. As new groups arrive, they join the Games and are judged by their "attainment" compared to current groups and past compet­ itors, as if the Mexican "team" in 2000 could be compared to the Chinese team's performance in the same year, as well as to the Italian team in 1910 (see Perlmann 2005). It is not simply that individuals and groups at the same time and place are perceived to be in competition, which may objectively be the case in some contexts, but that people separated by a century of history or more are categorized and analyzed as if they were contending with each other. The construction of the field as a multigenerational competition has generated crucial insights, but sociologists are increasingly adopting other perspectives as well to understand international migration in its many facets.

The study of immigration to the United States has disproportionately influ­ enced the study of other migrations. This is due to both the broad influence of the United States in the global academy generally and to the extraordinary and sustained volume of immigration to the United States that has driven much academic interest. During the long nineteenth century, more Europeans moved overseas to the United States than to the rest of the world put together, though there were even larger migrations within Asia at the time that have been ignored by sociologists (McKeown 2004). The 45.8 million immigrants in the United States in 2013 represented more than the total immigrant populations of the next five biggest destinations combined (Russia, Germany, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and the United Kingdom). There were more people of Mexican birth alone living in the United States than the total number of immi­ grants of all nationalities in any other country (Passel et al. 2012).

This chapter is written by a card-carrying member of the ASA with a US

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Assumptions that immigrants will assimilate, or that the host society wants them to assimilate, clearly do not apply in contexts such as the Persian Gulf countries, which have the world's highest rates of in-migration relative to their population, yet make the integration of foreigners all but impossible. Neither is the United States alone a "nation of immigrants." There are many other such self-described nations, many of which have experienced much higher rates of immigration relative to their total population, including Argentina and Cuba in the early twentieth century, and Canada and Australia more consistently (FitzGerald and Cook-Martin 2014). The contrast often drawn between the set­ tler societies of North America and Oceania on the one hand, against a Europe that supposedly only discovered migration after World War II on the other, ignores the long history of mass immigration to France and other large-scale circular movements in Europe (Moch 1992). Of greatest theoretical concern is that there is as much migration between countries in the so-called Global South as from the Global South to the North (Castles and Miller 2009). These massive migrations within the Global South remain understudied, and their theorization underspecified vis-a-vis concepts developed in other contexts, to the detriment of sociological understanding everywhere.



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**A TAXONOMY OF SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES**

The sociology of international migration has examined experiences of migration from the viewpoints of a wide array of actors in multiple social fields. Table 4.1 summarizes five major perspectives, the definition of the analytical field and its

**TABLE 4.1:MIGRATION STUDIES PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY**

**Analytic Perspective Reference Groups and Social Field Trajectory of Change**

passport and Ph.D. It admittedly reproduces some aspects of a US-centric view, but it also aims to show where US dominance has left major casualties

Selectivity I. Networked self-selection of emigrants vis-a-vis those who stay behind In country of origin

2. Origin and destination state selection of immigrants

Divergence

on the field of knowledge. The entire enterprise is shot through with unstated and often mistaken assumptions of both universality and US exceptionalism. Assumptions that international migration is constituted by long-distance, more or less permanent immigration betrays the field's roots in understanding the transoceanic migrations of the turn of the twentieth century when sociology

Classical asslmiladon

I. Endpoint comparing descendents of0 new" Immigrants vis-a-vis descendants of "old" immigrants

1. Processual trajectory of new Immigrants and their descendants vis-a-vis their "old" immigrant counterparts

Convergence

was becoming institutionalized as a discipline. While for Americans, there is no more quintessential image of an immigrant than a passenger on a steamship sailing past the Statue of Liberty, a wide range of actors cross international

Segmented assimlladon Assimilation of new immigrants and their descendants Divergence vis-a-vis particular segments of the host population:

* 1. "old" immigrant counterparts and (2) marginalized natives

borders, including tourists, traders, students, commuters, and refugees.

The logic of a discipline built around assessing how immigrants and their descendants are faring in a multigenerational competition for resources and sta­ tus begins to crack when a broader range of mobile experiences is considered.

Transnationalism Dissimilation

Methodological rejection of stricdy defined points of comparison on diffuse transnational social field

Emigrants and their offspring vis-a-vis those who stay behind in the country of origin

Reproduction Divergence

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reference groups, and the trajectory of social change that is emphasized in each perspective. After briefly defining these concepts and their origins, the chapter discusses each of them in turn in greater detail.2 Throughout, I emphasize the political factors that shape who migrates and the subsequent experiences of migrants and their descendants. There are many forms of migration, including internal migration from the countryside to the city. What makes international migration distinctive is its political quality. Migrants cross the borders that states have created to control movement, define sovereignty, and establish membership (Zolberg 1999). Political considerations interact with many other factors, but understanding variation in migrant selectivity, integration, transna­ tionalism, and dissimilation requires careful attention to underlying political factors that should not be taken for granted.

Studies of selectivity begin with the question of who migrates and why. The

answers often start with differences in macro-economic structures and varia­ tion in opportunities between source and destination countries, but the main sociological contribution has been to explain the critical role of the "world system," social networks, and demographic patterns in shaping migration flows. Political sociologists, along with political scientists whose work in prac­ tice is often indistinguishable, explain the role of states in shaping migration flows and the selection of who is included or excluded. The major trajectory of change in studies of selectivity is divergence among different populations. From the perspective of the place of origin, some individuals migrate while others are left behind; from the perspective of the place of destination, some are admitted while others are rejected.

The question of what happens to immigrants on arrival in their coun­ tries of destination was first studied in the United States under the rubric of assimilation. The term was partly discredited in the United States in the ethnic revival of the 1970s for being an ideological mask for coercive Amer­ icanization and failing to recognize examples of persistent ethnic difference. The conceptualization of assimilation in the United States has been impov­ erished by an inattention to comparable processes in other parts of the world that have been conceptualized in other terms (Banton 1983). Post-World War II studies in Europe, as well as some US scholarship, has preferred to work with the concept of "integration" instead, based on the logic that these terms are more ideologically neutral, less colored by the specificity of the US experience, and better allow for an understanding of how immigra­ tion changes both host societies as well as immigrants themselves (Yancey et al. 1976; Favell 2001). However, contemporary empirical studies of assimilation and integration in practice tend to look indistinguishable when it comes to operationalizing their constitutive components. The choice of terms appears to express political preferences and academic socialization in particular national contexts more than a fundamentally different analytical stance.

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The study of assimilation/integration includes multiple perspectives within it. Classical studies of assimilation emphasize convergence between foreign­ ers and natives over time and generations spent in the destination country. The studies differ in the extent to which they describe the *process* of assimilation­ whether immigrants and natives are converging in some way--or claim that at a given *endpoint,* assimilation either happened or remained incomplete in some unspoken teleology. The endpoint is usually determined as a practi­ cal matter by the availability of quantitative data rather than any theoretical rationale. Earlier authors emphasized straight-line assimilation, in which the process moved inexorably forward even if different ethnic groups advanced at different speeds (Warner and Srole 1945), while latter authors such as Gans (1992a) recognized that the process was more of a "bumpy line." The distinc­ tion between straight and bumpy lines has become part of the historiography of assimilation but does not represent a current axis of debate, as no contem­ porary analyst would argue for inexorable, strictly straight-line assimilation.

Studies of segmented assimilation emphasize that immigrants and their descendants engage different parts of the destination society, resulting in a broader set of assimilation paths than could be seen by looking for one form of assimilation to the entire "host society." Instead, the segmented assimila­ tion perspective describes how an immigrant population that is diverse in its ethnoracial and class origins assimilates to different segments of a host society that is likewise segmented by ethnoracial background and class (Zhou 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Most attention in this perspective has focused on the downward path of assimilation, though there is no inherent reason to con­ flate segmentation, the degree of similarity between comparison groups, and the direction of mobility.

The transnationalism literature emerged out of anthropology in the late

1980s and early 1990s to reject the notion of assimilation as the master category of migration studies (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). It originally emphasized that many migrants retain strong ties with their places of origin rather than simply assimilating, though later sociological iterations allowed for the assimilatory and transnational processes to unfold at the same time (Levitt 2001; Smith 2006). Some critics of the slipperiness of the concept of transnationalism drew on earlier work in the sociology of North African migration to France and Mexican migration to the United States to develop the notion of dissimilation, which emphasizes ruptures between emigrants and those they left behind in countries of emigration, unlike the reproduction of community across borders highlighted in transnational accounts (Sayad 2004; FitzGerald 2009).

**SELECTIVITY**

Theories of international migration attempt to explain population move­ ments across international borders-an ambitious task given the wide array of

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ratio nale s for why so mcon l! might move. In practice, mos t Lheor izi ng a ltcmpts to ex plain labor mig ration. Economi sts' accounts approach c ircu lar reaso ning when they explain that labor mig rants migrate 10 work, but they make impor­ tar ll po in ts alo ng the way about the wage differen tials, diver sific atio n s trateg ies of house hold ec o nomic portfoli o s . c redit mark et fail ures , s truct ural demand for immi g rants in modern eco nom ies, and liquidit y cons traints on fina ncing migra­ tio n that nre impl ic a ted in labor migration (Massey et aJ. 1998 ; Hatton and William so n 2008). Soc io log ica l accounts of the eco no mic ratio nales for mig ra-· Lion have tended to focus on one of a set of diverse factors pro moting labor migratio n, suc h as the structural demand for immi grants in glo b a l c ities r is­ ing from the co nce ntration of hig h-s killed professio nals see ki ng lowe r-s killed labor (Sassen 1999 ), the efforts of capitaJis t state s Lo se parate the sites of eco ­ nomic produc tio n fro m the sites of family reproduc tio n by recruiti ng tempo rary male labor mig rants in places such as So uthern Africa and the United States ( Bu rnwoy 1976), and the econo mic dis rup tions Lo tbe world syste m c reated by neoliberalis m (Po rtes 1 978). T he world-syste ms approac h to inte rnatio nal migratio n theo ry emphasizes that colonia lism and other foreig n interventions ge ne rate migration strea ms in the oppo site dir ec tion: Algeria ns migrate to France, Jndian s to Britain, and Vie tnamese to the United Sta tes (Massey et al. 19 98). As imm ig rant ac tivists in Britain put it. "We are here beca use you were there."' Sociologis ts have also emp hasize d demograp hic cond itions. such as the growth of coho rts of new worke rs in migrant source countries and the aging of the work force in cou ntries of destin at io n, as causes of increased mig ration ( Bean and Brown, this volume ). All of these theo ries he lp expla in why migra­ tion c irc ui ts arise at so me times and place s but not in others.



Econo mists are a lso co nce rned with the c har acteristics of those who self­

selec t to mig rare- that is, how do they systema ticall y differ fro m those who decide to re main in the country of 01igin . There is co nsiderab le d e bate abo ut the exte nt to whic h so me mig rant groups are positively selec ted on ed uc ation, for examp le . Bo rjas (1999 ) influ entia lly claimed that Mexica n em igra nts had lower levels of edu ca tio n than that of those who staye d in Mexico, thoug h soc i­ ologist Cynthia Feliciano (2005) disputed these findings. T here is no ques tion that in so me co untri es, e migrants are high ly se lec ted based on ed ucation, such as among C hinese. I ndi ans, and Fil ipinos who move to the United Sta tes . For exampl e, most of the population of Indi a does not comp le te high sc hool, while over 80 perce nt of Lndian e migra nts to the United States have co mpleted a bachelor's deg ree or higher (Ag uila r E s teva 20 1 3). Hig h levels of self-se le c tion help to ex pla in the rapid upward mobil ity of these ethnic g roups in the United Stales (Felic ian o 2005). Demog raphers seek to determine the extelll to which emigrants are posit ively self-se lec ted on he alth. If healthier people are mo re like ly to e migrate, that wo uld help explai n the paradox in which imm ig rants fro m lo wer socioeco no mic status groups have better hea lth than co mpa rably situ ate d natives (Jasso et al. 2004).

One of the main soc iolo gica l co ntr ibutio ns 10 theo ries of why people mig rate has been to explai n the networked nature of the phenomeno n a t a mcso leve l. T he reaso n why peo ple from one com munit y migra te while people fr o m communities in similar econo mic s ituatio ns do not ca n o ften be traced back to potentia l migrants' access to borde r-spa nning soc ial ne tworks of family, frie nds, and people who share the same hometowns (Massey et al. 1987; Boyd 1989; Faist 2000). Social networks allow someo ne livi ng in a village thousa nds o f kilo me ters from the destina tion to be transp lanted within a matter of days to find lodging, employme nt, and informatio n about how to navigate life in a new co untry. Scholars of the " migratio n industry" point out that people s mugg lers, labor rec ruiters, and travel agents, as well as no n-profit charitab le organiza­ tions, enabl e migrat ion without so cial net works, at least fo r those who have the financial resou rces (Gamme ltoft-Hanse n and Nyb erg So rensen 20 13).

Once migran ts ar rive at the des tinatio n, socia l networ ks shape their sub­

seq ue nt assimilation. Imm ig ra nt entreprene urs use their networks to access investment capitaJ th rough rotating credit assoc iations (Light 19 72), esta b­ lish ethnic enclaves (Po rtes 1995), a nd find jobs in immig rant nic hes of the eco nomy (Waldin ger 1994). Networks comprised exclu sively of people with limi te d resou rces and informatio n about good jobs eventually can become barriers to soc ial mobilit y, howeve r. T he ne tworks the mselves degrade whe n zero-sum co mpetition over scarce resources ove rwhe lms bonds of mutual obli­ gatio n (Menjfvar 200 0). Networks that promote mobi lity from sma ll towns in Mexico to the United States can trap migrants in exp lo itative relatio nships and cycles of indebtednes s. Info rmation about the nega tive qualities of these rela tions hips is se lf-ce nsored by migran ts who feel co mpelled to ga in s tatus in their places of o rigin by avoiding taJk of their hardships in the destinatio n, thus degrading the qua lity of info nn ation abou t actual cond it ions in the Unit e d States and engenderin g further out-mi gratio n. Thi s mec hanism reprodu ces networked migratio n und er exp loitative co nditions (Rosales 2013 ). The oppor­ tunities afforded by access to social networks can vary for wome n and men , as Hagan (1998) shows in her st udy of how gende red networks in Houston favo red the lega lization of me n fo llow ing the 19 86 US Immigra tion Reform and Control Act.

Political soc iologist s emph asize the role of states in shaping migrat ion flows . Sociologists engage *in* dialog ue wirh politicaJ sc ientists, especially a gro up whose work is practically indistinguishable from soc iologists (e.g. Zo l­ berg 197 8 , 1999; Guiraudon 2003; Co rne lius e l al. 2004; a nd Geddes 2003). In both disciplines , scho lars typi cally focu s on macro explanations of diffe r­ e nces in migration policies over time and place. Sociologists such as Sc hmitter Heisle r (1985), Oi shi (2005 ), Fitz Gerald (2009), and a multidi sc ipli nary team asse mbled by Gree n and Weil (2007) have followed Zolberg (19 99) by desc rib­ in g the changes in po licies of co untri es of emigration that allow and shape internationa l migra tion in the firs t place. John Torpey' s (2000) path-b re aking

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book showed that th e very notion of co mprehensive state co nt.rol over move­ ment across borders is a rece nt histor ica l acco mpl is hmen t. The passpo rt did not become a widespread requir ement for inte rnat iona l trave l until aro und World War 1.

Contemporary sociolog ica l acco unts of mig ratio n policy typicall y focus on ric h, libera l-democrat ic co untri es of des tinati on in Western Europe, North Ame rica, and Aust ralia. Sc holars hip on s tate policy is es pecially developed in Europe, given an i ntense interes t in the way that the European Union is shifting many aspect s of immigration policy into an unpr ece dented sup rana­ tional d ime ns ion, whet her through dir ec t legal mechan isms or the influence of episte mic co mmun it ies of ex pe rts. Resea rc h funding by the EU and a suprana­ tional entit y that s ti ll co ntai ns muc h nat io nal variation is especia lly co nd uc ive to co mpa rative s tud ies ( Morawska 2008).

One puzz le for political soc io logy is tbe yawni ng gap between public opin­ ion surveys that typically show majoritarian de mand s for greater restrictio n of i mm ig ra tio n and polic ies that co ntinue to ad mit more imm ig rant s than the public wants. Christian Joppke ( 1998) has wriuen compelling ly a bout this parado x in his work on why libera l s tate s accept unwanted immigration. His answer is the " se lf- limited s o vereignty" of inde pendent jud ic iaries. clie nt poli­ tics, and cultural no rms of nationhood based on i mmig ratio n in the United States and norms of obligat ion towa rd formerly colo nized peoples in so me European co untri es. While Jo ppke argues that liberal states have all but ended their expl ic it se lec tio n of immi grants by ethno racial cri teria because libera l democ racy is inherently inco mpatible with racism, Fit zGera ld and Cook­ Manin (201 4) c hallenge this thes is by showing that in the Western Hemisphe re, libe ral-de mocra tic s tates we re leader s in promoting ethnic disc riminat io n and laggar ds in its formal eliminat io n. Indeed, politica l sys tems with hig h deg rees of socie tal inclus ion, such as de mocrac ies and populist regime s, have been especia lly vigo rous in promoting polic ies of e thnic se lect ion.

The Ja panese case prese nts a further puzzle both for cla im s of liberal democracie s ' inheren t openness to immi g ratio n and eco nomistic acco unts of advanced marke t economies' structurall y e mbedded demand for high leve ls of immigra tion ( Holli fie ld 199 2). Japan has very Little imm igrat ion despite its status as a ric h, liberal democracy with a marke t economy. Only 1.6 percent of the populatio n wa s fo reign-born in 20 10, an anomaly that Skrentny et al. (2012) argue lies in a widely shared under sta ndin g of i mm igra ti o n i n Japan that e mph asizes the perce ived soc iocultu ral costs of introducing foreigners.

Foreig n policy ratio nales have bee n unde rappreciated in mos t analyses of immi g ratio n policy. With the exceptio n of s tud ies of re fugee policy, most resea rch loo ks within the boundarie s of a na tio n-s tate to ex plain change s over time (Fitzgerald 1996). However, politica l soc iologists increas ingly atte nd to fo reig n policy co nside r\_atio ns. For exa mp le, Skrentny's (2002) analysis of the e nd of the US national-origins quota syste m in I 965 s how s that it was primarily

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tJ1e re s ult of Co ld War pressures to appea l to publi cs and gove rnment s in Asia and Africa whose natio nals were subj ect to the law's discri minat io n. Open­ in g the doo rs to those natio nalities removed a diplomatic em barrass ment that favored the Soviets in their strugg le with the Un ited States for the hearts and minds of the Third World. FitzGerald and Cook-Martin (2014) go on to show how pressures to end nega tive eth nic disc rimin ation in the United States and Canada began in Latin America and Asia as part of the geopolitics of decol­ onization. Brubaker and Kim's (20 I I ) acco unt of favorable et hnic selectio n policies in Germany and So uth Korea highlight the unsung foreign policy co n­ sideratio ns that only favored particular groups of ethnic German s and Koreans, revealing that th ese policies were not simp ly about generic et hnic so lidarity, but rather foreign policy goals vis-a -v is Communist ne ig hbors. In a similar vein, Surak (2008) hig hl ights the efforts of Japanese government offic ia ls to raise Japan's international prestige th.rough mostly symbolic o penings in im mi­ gration policy.

Most studies of internationa l migration focus on a single case study or com­ pare se veral co untri es as if the counu·y is the obviou s unit of comprui so n and any differences in s tate policy can be attributed to internal differe nces within a case. Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) strongly cr itic ize this stance as " meth­ odological nat io nalis m." Unders tandi ng the policy in a given co unt ry may also require under s tanding the interactio ns among the migration policie s of differ­ ent co untri es. For example, Cook-Mru·tin (2013) s hows how the nati o nality polic ies of Argen tina, Spain, and Italy were shaped by the policies of each other as they co mpet ed for the bodie s and political loyalties of mobile cit ize ns. Simi larly, the immigratio n po lic ies of cou ntries throughout the Amer icas ca n on ly be expla in ed by tracing distinc t mecha nis ms of policy diffusion in which policy shifts in one co untry cau sed changes else where (F itzGera ld and Cook­ Martin 2014). Geography ma tters in these exp lana tions more than soc io logists would often like to admit. Reitz (20 1 2) po ints out that geographic position can shape immigratio n policy more than national inst itutio ns such as official multi culturalism. In his acco unt, Ca nada 's geograph ic iso latio n and a bility to use the United States as a buffe r with Latin American co untri es of em ig ra tion exp lai n the success of Canadian polic ies in atu·acting a greater proportion of highly skilled permane nt immi g rants tha n most destinatio n co untries.

C urious ly, the soc io log y of migra tio n, part ic ular ly in the United States , has paid co mparative ly littl e attention to ques tions of forced migration policy. "Theo ries of in ternatio nal mig ratio n" do not systematica lly address migra tion resulting from the threat of violence or persecution. " Ref ugee s tudie s," so me­ times reba ptized as " forced mig ratio n st udies" to incl ude broader ca uses of disp lace me nt res ulti ng from develo p mental projects or environme ntal disas ter, was crea ted as a fie ld of know le d ge in the 1980s. Re fugee studi es now has its ow n resea rch ce nter s, jo urnal s, co nfe rences, and profess iona l netwo rks- all of which overlap surpris ingly lill le with the soc iolog y of int e rnat iona l migra tio n.

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Some scholars have attempted to bridge this divide. particularly in Australia and Europe. where asylum seekers are a far more salient subject in contempo­ rary political debates about international migration than in the United States. Sociological investigation of the determinants and practices of national poli­ cies and the international refugee regime is better developed in these regions as a consequence (Castles 2003; Geiger and Pecoud 2010).

Basic research remains to be done on the extent to which many of the broader findings of the migration literature apply to refugees. For example, while the designation of individuals as refugees is typically thought of as obey­ ing a foreign policy logic (Fitzgerald 1996). class politics may be implicated as well. Under what circumstances are refugee policies a backdoor for attracting workers? There are certainly examples of such policies. as when the Canadian government accepted Polish refugees from World War II on the condition that they work in agriculture for two years (Satzewich 1991). How do class politics and foreign policy interact in other contexts? Sociologists have written exten­ sively about the social networks of labor migrants, entrepreneurs. and reuniting families, but at least in some contexts. refugees also rely on social networks to migrate, even though the refugee category is a political construction of states and intergovernmental agencies (Hein 1993; Koser and Pinkerton 2002). Given that the literature on refugees tends to be so dominated by normative concerns that include the political goal of carving out refugees as a special category for protection. there is insufficient attention to specifying when, how, and why the experience of refugees differs from that of other types of international migrants.

**CLASSICAL ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION**

The work of Park and Burgess (1924) and Warner and Srole (1945) initiated the classical canon of assimilation studies in the United States. Park and Bur­ gess defined assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories. sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups. and. by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." They imply an "ultimate homogeneity" of American culture at the end of the process. Two typologies from Milton Gordon (1964) later sharpened analytical tools in the sociological kit. First, Gordon highlighted different modes of assimilation: the Anglo-conformity desired by earlier authors, the melting pot, and pluralism. Anglo-conformity represented the mode in which immigrants to the United States changed to become like the Anglo-Sax.on majority, a concept made transportable outside the US context by Horowitz (1975). who termed it "incorporation." By contrast, in the melting pot, both immigrants and natives change to accommodate each other through the creation of a new national entity. In the pluralist mode, which aligns with contemporary US understandings of multiculturalism, immigrants

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adapt to the host society in some ways while still retaining some ethnic differ­ ence. Gordon's second typology unpacked the idea of assimilation, whatever its mode. into different dimensions of change such as acculturation. inter­ marriage, and acceptance by the host society in attitude and practice. These domains can be operationalized for empirical study and make it possible to measure systematically the direction and pace of change in each dimension and patterned sequences of change across dimensions.

The term "assimilation" was widely discredited in the US academy dur­ ing the ethnic revival of the 1970s for its association with forced assimilation, or at least the assumption that Anglo-conformity ·was a good thing and that the moral responsibility for change lay in the hands of immigrants rather than natives (see Brubaker 2001). Alba and Nee (1997, 2003) revived the use of the term by distancing themselves from its use in *promoting* assimilation. Alba and Nee's definition of assimilation as "the decline, and at its endpoint the disap­ pearance, of an ethnic/ racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it" (1997: 863) is useful because of its focus on "distinction." A given cultural practice or representation is only a source of ethnic distinction if it is a significant boundary marker in the perception of actors in a given context (Barth 1969). By viewing assimilation as a process of boundary dis­ solution or reconfiguration, the insights of Barth can be applied to assimilation in a way that both broadens the kinds of circumstances studied while more carefully specifying the mechanisms involved (Zolberg and Woon 1999; Alba 2005; Wimmer 2008).

The general starting assumption of assimilation studies in the United States is that over time, and certainly over the course of a generation, immigrants want to assimilate, and the host society wants them to assimilate. This per­ spective fits many examples in US history, but it struggles to accommodate other basic facts. For example, in the United States as throughout most of the Western Hemisphere in the late nineteenth century, policy makers recruited Chinese temporary workers because they were considered to be different from natives in ways that made them better workers. In the United States, Chinese were legally segregated on the West Coast and then later blamed for refusing to assimilate, thus legitimizing further exclusionary measures (FitzGerald and Cook-Martin 2014). Interviews with Canadian agricultural employers of tem­ porary migrant workers show that many employers prefer Mexicans to West Indians because they consider Mexicans less likely to assimilate or protest working conditions, given their limited English skills and the lack of an estab­ lished Mexican community (Preibisch and Binford 2007). Temporary migrant workers are often preferred because they are different, not because they are considered more assimilable.

It would be a mistake to think that US models of assimilation apply glob­ ally. Governments and public opinion in countries with large populations of permanent immigrants do not always want them to integrate. For example,

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Rogers Brubaker's (1992) comparison of nationality in France and Germany argued that the French policy of *jus soli,* the principle of attributing nationality to birth on the national soil, differed from the German policy of *jus sanguinis,* the principle of attributing nationality based on descent, in large part because of the cultural meaning of the nation in France as being framed by the borders of the state, in contrast to German understandings of the nation as extend­ ing to a community that had been divided by wars and mass emigration to stretch across state borders. The effect was to make it extremely difficult for immigrants to naturalize in Germany compared to France. While Brubaker's predictions of policy continuity and interpretation of historical details came under attack from other scholars (Joppke 1999; Weil 2008), the book showed the importance of differential configu ations of political culture and the effect of path dependency in shaping the very possibility of immigrants achieving political incorporation.

Gino Germani (1970) extended the comparative study of assimilation by examining the Argentine case together with the United States, Brazil, and Canada. Germani argued that the two main demographic conditions for full assimilation, or "fusion," were when the stock of foreign-born residents was larger than that of older inhabitants and when the native population was ini­ tially small. However, the subsequent growth of mass migration to the Persian Gulf shows that such demographic factors are insufficient bases for assimila­ tion. Naturalization is all but impossible for most migrants in the Gulf.·Male workers are often housed in barracks while women work as atomized live-in domestics to limit their interactions with native society. Workers from non­ Arab countries are desired because they are different from natives and thus can be more easily controlled and excluded (Fargues 2011). Political factors matter as much as demographic factors in shaping the nature of integration.

Claire Adida's (2011) fieldwork in West Africa further expands understand­ ings of how different local contexts shape assimilation. Based on surveys and interviews with two major immigrant communities (Yorubas and Hausas) living in four countries (Ghana, Benin, Nigeria, and Niger), she surprisingly finds that the most culturally similar immigrants are the least likely to integrate. As she explains this paradox, immigrant leaders patrol cultural boundaries to prevent their constituents from "passing" in the host society and defecting from the informal institutions controlled by the leaders. Members of the host society are quickest to reject culturally similar immigrants, whom they fear will be a greater source of competition for scarce resources if they can pass as natives. Assimilation is not the natural condition of immigrants and their descendants, but rather a product of only a subset of many possible configurations of migra­ tion policies and cultural expectations.

Morawska (2008) argues that European studies of integration have tended to pay more attention to the effects of state policies than studies in the United States, due to the relatively greater weight of the state in European social life

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generally and state dominance of European research funding. Comparative studies of official multiculturalism have been one way to understand the insti­ tutions that promote or inhibit different forms of integration. Unfortunately, multiculturalism can have contradictory meanings and intentions (Koopmans 2013). In Canada and the United Kingdom, for example, multiculturalism refers to a state-sponsored celebration of ethnic difference that should be main­ tained among permanent immigrants and their descendants, under the umbrella of a common national identity. In the Netherlands of the 1970s, by contrast, multiculturalism referred to a policy of maintaining the ethnic difference of foreigners expected to return to their countries of origin. Teaching the second generation in their parents' native languages was aimed at preventing their full integration into Dutch society that would retard return to countries such as Morocco (Entzinger 2006).

Notwithstanding extensive attention to national variation in citizenship pol­ icies among sociologists (Joppke 2010), political scientists (Vink and Baubock 2013), and legal scholars (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001), a debate raging since the 1990s disputes the extent to which national citizenship matters at all in shaping access to social rights of state services. Access to rights is constitutive of political integration and shapes the possibilities of economic and educa­ tional integration. Soysal (1994) argued that universal personhood-thequality of being a human being-is more important than territorial personhood-the quality of membership in a particular place-based community-in justifying the extension of social rights to non-citizen residents of a territory. Soysal's argument that a more universalistic, postnational moment had arrived was widely criticized for misrepresenting the source of rights and the applicability of the argument beyond the unique setting of the EU (Hansen 2009), but it was spectacularly successful at opening a debate and cited more than 3,200 times in fewer than 20 years.3

If there was previously a lack of attention to how state policies affect

immigrant integration in the United States, *it* had eroded by the tum of the twenty-first century. Bloemraad (2006) draws on the greater promotion of mul­ ticulturalism in Canada relative to the United States to explain higher levels of naturalization in the former even though naturalization requirements are quite similar. Alba and Nee's (2003) optimistic assessment for the assimilation of the second generation of post-1965 immigrants is predicated in part on official anti-discriminatory policies, which stand in contrast to the pre-Civil Rights era, in which open, often legal discrimination against despised racial groups was rampant. Fox's (2012) historical reconstruction of social policy toward immigrants beginning with the New Deal in the 1930s highlights how early policies favored southern and eastern Europeans relative to Mexicans, with lasting consequences.

Sociologists have taken the lead in attempting to establish the extent to

which the legal status of immigrants, and the legal status of their parents,

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affct:IS assim ila tio n. An es timat ed 11.1 million unautho rized immigran ts lived in th e United States in 201 I, 59 perce nt of whom were from Mexico, lead­ ing to conce rns that overall le vels of as s imilat ion will be slowe r for Mexicans than othe r gro ups. 4 Bean et al. (20 13) warn that unauLhorized status has a wide range of nega tive ou tco mes for una ulhoriz ed indi viduals and their chil­ dren alike. Dre by (20 12) highl ig hts the e motio nal distress of growing up in a house hold wit h un autho rized parents. a s itu at io n that affects many US c itizens, aut horized im mig rants, and unauthorized im migra nts alike , given the preva­ le nce of mixed- statu s families ( Menjivar and Abrego 20 I2).

**SEGMENTED ASSIMILATION**

Beginning in Lhe 1990s, prominent scholars began to argue that the second gen­ eration of US i mmig ra nts was ass imilat ing downward in wha t Ga ns ( 1992 b) ca lled "second-ge neratio n decline." Zhou ( 1997) and Po rtes and Rumbaut (2001) point out that immigrants can assimi late not only towa rd native whites buL a lso toward marginal ized native mi nority groups. thus forming part of a " rain bow underclass" (see also L6pcz and S ta nton-Salazar 200 I ). T he ..seg­ me nted assimila tio n" perspective advanced by these aut ho rs is disting uis hed by its assert io n that the targe t toward which immigrants ass imila te is differenli­ ated by race and class, such that imm igra nts and the ir descendants assimilate in to di ffere nt se g ments with in US society. Portes and Rumbaut are particularly concerned wilh a mode of "dissonant accult uratio n," in which the seco nd gen­ eration tak es on values of US s treet culture and learns Englis h much faster than imm ig rant parents. By co ntrast, in the pa ttern of "co nso nant acc ult ura­ tion." childre n and parents become Americanized at a s im ilar pace. "Se lec live accul turalio n" has ma ny of the same characterist ics of consonant accult uratio n , e xcep t that both parents and ch ildren re tai n so me aspects of their immigrant ethnic cult ure, allow ing them to be bicultura l and mo re up ward ly mo bile than in th e ot her modes of seg mented ass imiJat io n.

Sc hola rs have sharp ly disputed ho w common the pattern of dissonant accul­ tura tion is, and more genera lly, how much downward assim ilat ion is actually occurrin g. Waldinger and Feliciano (2004) find littl e ev id e nce of a rainbow und ercla ss. Kasinitz et a l. (2008) sugges t that the seco nd genera tion may eve n have unrecog nized advantages given their ca pacity to ac t as c ultura l brokers in the diverse metro polis of New York City. Drawi ng on the same data, Water s el al. (20 I0: 11 85) arg ue that disso nant acc ulturatio n is "the exceptio n, not the norm." In response, Halle r and his co lleag ues (20 1 1) vigo rous ly defend the notion of downward ass imila tio n, not in g tha t the loca l mode of incorporation affects the ex te nt lo whic h a particu lar gro up ca n assi milate up ward. In parlicu­ lar. given the host socie ty 's nega ti ve views of blacks and Mexi ca ns, the autho rs arg ue that the downward assimilatio n experienced by seco nd-ge ne ration Mexi­ cans. Hait ians, and Jama ica ns/Wes t Indians is un surpr is ing. Te lles and O rtiz

(2008) a.re particularly pess 1m1s t1c about the assimilatio n of la tter genera ­ tions of Mexican Amer icans based on their study of Mexica n Amer it:ans in Los Angeles and San Anto nio in 1965 and 2000. Howe ver, Alba et al. (2013 ) argue th at beca use Telles and Orliz conflate diffe rent cohorts of immigrants wit h different generatio ns, the s tud y missed i mpo rta nt cha nges that have taken place over time. The seco nd generalion born in 1945 faced a different set of challenges and o ppo rtunitie s than the seco nd genera tion born in 1965 or 1995. Th ere is significant upward mobility among a non-trivial portion of the popula­ tion in the study.

Sociolog ists working on Euro pe also have raised the s pecter of down­

ward integration. The recency of mass, extra-con tine ntal immigration to most of Europe, and limited data on ethn ic ity and immigrant generat ion in some nat ional ce nsuses initially hampe red unde rsta ndings of assimilat io n as a multige nera tional process (Morawska 2008). Major resources subseq uen tly poured into projects such as TlES (The Integration of the European Seco nd Genera tion) . A team of politica l sc ie ntists, anth ropoiog is Ls. a nd socio logists surveyed the descendants of i mmigra nts from Turke y, the former Yugos la via, and Morocco living in fifteen European cities in e ight co untries (Crul et a l. 2012). Bean et al. (2012) co mpared the incorporat io n of the seco nd genera­ tion in two US cit ies and ele ven Euro pean c ities lo tease out impo rtant lo cal as well as national effec ts. In France, Patrick Simo n (20 I I ) found that the second genera tion is ge nerally doing better than the first across a wide range of soc ioeco no mic outcomes, but et hnic seg regation remains. Eu ropean-origin immigrants are less seg rega ted than African and Turkish-origin mino riti es. Anthropo logist Hans Vermeule n (20 10) notes that as quantitat ive studies estab­ lish the risk of "downward assimilat ion" among various immigrant groups in Europ e, they generally fail to show that there is an existing ·'oppositional cul­ tur e" or " underc la ss" that wou ld be a cog nate 10 the one putativ ely driving downward segmented assim ilatio n in the United States.

Scholars hip o n Britain sta nds out for greater attentio n to racialized dynam­ ics tha n o ne find s in most of the rest of Europe (Morawska 2008). Nancy Fone r (2005) compares how the presence of an established bla ck native populatio n

i.n New York caused different racia l expe rie nces for West In dians in New York than for those in London. West India ns are usually portrayed as a success s to ry vis-a-vis nati ve African Ame rican s in NewYork. while in Lo ndon , West I ndians are portrayed as disad vantaged vis-a- vis native Britons and Asian immig rants. The presence of an es tab lished African American population in New York created the co nditi o ns for a pan- blac k poli tical alliai1ce that strengthened the political power of West Ind ia ns, yet West Indian s often have sought to te le­ grap h their ethnic distinctiveness in dai ly li fe to avo id be in g lum ped toge ther with Afiican Americans and suffer ing the same d isc riminatio n in daily life. Politic al incorporation and accult urat ion in the two cities are thus shaped by diffe rent racia l histo rica l co ntexts.

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Scho la r s of i nteg ratio n in Europe genera lly have been more alluned to re li­ gio us differences than in the United States, particularly when it co mes lo Lhe integratio n o f Muslim imm ig rants and their descendant s (Zo lberg and Woon 1999; Jo ppke and Torpey 2013). Koopman s (20 I 3) a rg ues that the relative ly strong pol itica l attacks against multiculturalism in Europe in the 2000s and 20 l Os, co mpared to its greater acceptance in Aus tralia and Canada, re flec ted the weig ht of disputes about the proper role of religion in the public sphere, which is greater in Europe given the la rger proportion of Musl im immigrants. ln Spain, for examp le, public opini o n sw-veys show a hierarchy o f preference s for immigrant groups in which Moroccans *are* on the bo ttom , below black African s, g iven the preva le nce of lslamophobia (Colec tivo Toe 200 I ). How­ ever, it is wor th reme mbe ring soc iolo g is t of re ligion Will Herberg 's (1955) descriptio n of how Ca tho lics and Jews who were once excluded from the US mains tr eam eventually became incorporated into a "Judeo-Christian" religious trifecta along with Prote s tan tis m, sugges ting the perils of making long-te rm predic tions of ine vitable exclusio n along religious lines.



Disc uss ions of downward assi mila tion shed new ligh t on the no m, ative his­ torica l baggage that scho lars working in the new assimilation paradigm have struggled to toss as ide . The lang uage of a "do wnward" trajectory ine vita bly invokes a nega tive image. An o bvio us question is who decides what co ns titutes up or down? For exa mple, t here is overwhe lmi ng evidence that when Latino immig rants adopt a main s trea m US diet , their health outcomes suffe r (D ubow­ itz et al. 20 I 0) . D oes eat ing burgers and fries cons titute upward ass imilation toward the US cu lt ural no rm , or downward assim ilat io n tow ard higher rates of obesity which mos t health researcher s would consider a negative outcome? Conflating the d irec tio n of change with moral judgme nts about the desirabil­

ity of cha nge sets up a convoluted unde rstanding of what awaits the children of very highl y educa ted immig rants. Given the well-known processes by which ed ucatio nal inequality is perpetuated across generations. immigrants selected on the basis of their very hig h levels of educatio n are likely to have offspring with disproportionate ly hig h er levels of educa tion compared to the children of immig rants with low le vels. Yet educa tio nal advantage does not reproduce perfeclly. Children of immigrant physicians and PhDs will not all ach ie ve the high est le vels of ed uca tio n that their parents did, and on average. will have lower levels or ed ucatio n. Does such a process co nstitute dow nward ass imila tion, even if they became flue nt in the dominant language, inte rmarry, move 10 an ethni­ cally diverse ne ighborhood, and otherwise fully integrate? Calling every form of social c hange and mobility "ass imilatio n" leads to suc h contradictions. *Similar­ ity* among grou ps and indiv id uals and *social mobilicy* are two distinct questions. The degree to which si milari ty and mobil ity overlap in a give n con text varies, to a degree that ca n only be assessed by heuristically separatin g the questio ns.

Further clo udin g s tudies of ass imil atio n is es tab lishi ng the refe rence point against w hich imm ig ra nts and the i r descendants are meas ured. In s tanda rd US

sociol ogy, natjv e whites are the touchsto ne again s t which all other groups' "ac hie veme nt" is meas ured, a practice that many obse rvers have c ritic ized for perpetuating the idea that only whites fully belo ng in the Unit ed States, or eve n that to be a full member of US society is to have achieved categoriza ti o n as white. Jimenez and Horowitz (2013) argue that the educa tiona l mainst rea m in some communities in California is now defined by Asian Americans, many of whom come from highly select professio nal fam.ily backgrounds. The loca l seg mented norm to which upwardly mob ile native white stude nts as pire is defined by Asian Americans. Defini ng a pa rtic ular et hnic g ro up as a timeless norm against which all other change is measured wo uld not allow the analyst to take into account local and historical variation. Furthe r, there is no stag­ nant gr oup against which imm ig rants ca n be mea sured, because the boundaries of eac h gro up change and new g roups are invented. In the United S tate s, for exa mple, categorizations of who co ns titutes the white and Latino catego ries have changed radically over time (Wimmer 2008 ).

Finally , the notion of upward and downward assimi la tion exace rbates the sense that every domain of soc ial Life is part of a group competition- a son of ethnic Olym pic Games in which national or racial gro ups are entities mov­ ing through time that spar with eac h other. Brubaker (2004) cautio ns that such notion s of eternal "groupness" sho uld be the object of analysis rather than an assumptio n about the world, but in the soc iology of immigratio n's version of the Games, sociologists are record-k ee pers in the grand competitio n. How are the reds doing versus the blu es this year in the hig h-sc hoo l-co mpletion eve nt? In the incarceration event? In the home-ownership event? Are the reds learning the lang uage of the blues at the same speed as the greens, or at the same speed as the yellows did at the Games 80 years ago? The most sophisticated analysts scour the team rosters to detenn.ine how many reds are defecting to play for the blues and on which roster to place the purples who are products of blue/red unions.

To be fair, the answers to these ques tio ns do reveal important social pro­ cesses. They are a useful way of measuring ethnic inequa lities that might otherwise go suspected but not demonstrated empirica ll y. The resea rch is importa nt , and I have tried to make modest contribution s to it myself, but it is worth remembering that this is only one way of approach ing the study of international migration. It make s less se nse in contex ts of temporary or circu­ lar migra tio n. Ethnicity is demo ns trab ly the master ca tego ry exp laining many outco mes , but its elevation as the *assumed* master category may occlude pro­ cesses that also are affected by geography, foreign policy, class, gender, or other dynam ics.

**TRANSNATIONALISM**

The sociology of assimilation is squarely co nce rned with processes in the co un­ try of destination, but the study of inte rnat io nal migration has nev er neglec ted

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Lhe emigra nt home lan d a ltoge ther. The no tio n of dias po ric lies s1re tches back to an ti quit y ( D ufoi x 20 1 1). Soc iolog is ts WiUiam Thomas and Flo r ia n Z nanieck i's fi ve-vo lume *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918- 20) a nal yzed the e ntir e le ngth of the mig rat ion chain and the commun ica tions that s us ta ined Lies between it s a nc ho ring s ites in Poland and the Unit ed States. ln flue ntia l works by anthro polo g is t Manuel Gamio ( 1930) a nd eco no mis L P a ul Taylor (1933) e xa mined how migration affected e mig rant so urce co mmun it ies in Mexico, fo llow ed by the surveys of politica l sc ie nt.is t W a yne Co rne li us ( 1976) and soc iolo g ists Rafae l Alarcon, Douglas Massey, and Jo rge Durand (1987). Briti s h anth ro polog ists so ught to understand Lh e e ffec ts of la bor migrn tion on co mmun iti es of o r ig in in Britain 's African colonies b y i nvesLigatin g c hanges suc h as Lhe ge ndered d ivis ion of labo r (Ric hards 1939; Van Ye lse n 1960). Sin ce the la te 198 0s a nd ea rly l 990s, howeve r, an exp licitly tran snat io na l perspective risi ng o ut o f anth ropo logy in the Mexica n. Fil ipino, and Ca ribbea n cases has revived a ttentio n to mig rant homelands, highlig hting pro cesses e ncompa ss ing a ll poles o f a mig ratio n ci rcuit (Rouse 19 89; G lic k Sch ille r et al. 1992).

Authors wri ti ng in the transnationa lis m framework emph asize that those who move abroad are not de finitively immigrants or e migran ts, but rathe r people whose l ives sp an i nte rnatio nal borders . Whet her m ig ra nts physica lly move back and fo11h or particip ate in the lives of the ir places of origin from a dis ta nce th rough remittance s and co mm unica tio ns, the i r experie nces cannot be und erstood from the perspective of the de s tin atio n co umr y alone. The mo re postmode rn versio ns of trnns natio n a lis m in amhro pology and geog raphy reject altoge the r the dichoto mous ca tego ries of o rigin and des tinat io n. e mig rant and i mm ig rant, and eve n the geograp hic spaces of here and the re- arguin g instead that a sing le co mmun ity, soc ia l fie ld, or third space has eme rged across inter­ nat io nal borders. This perspec tive e mphasizes the reproduc tion of co mmun it y. Rather than co mpar e the di ffe rences betwee n diffe rent g ro ups of se denta ry a nd mob ile peo ple, t his bo dy of lite rat ure e mph as izes how eve n peop le who do not move are affec ted by processes of mig ratio n. For exa mple, people livi ng on Ca ribb ean islands with high le vels of emigratio n beco me part of a " trans na­ tio nal co mmunity " l inked to island e rs in New York witho ut eve r eve n le av i ng ho me. These acco unts undermine the no tion that natio n-s tates are " co ntai n­ ers" for dis ti ncL nat io na l c ultur es (B hab ha 1990; Basch et a l. 1994; Fa is t 2000 ; Levitt and Ja wo rsky 2007).

Earlier versio ns of the tra nsnatio nalism litera ture pos itio ned the mse lves aga inst the ass i mila t ion lit era ture by co rrectly po i nting ou t that a rigid focus 011 dyna mics with in the dest inatio n co untry had blinded resea rchers to the ongo ing Lie s between migra n ts a nd t he ir place s of o ri g in (Basc h e t a l. 199 4). S ubsequent soc io logica l re visions argued that as similatio n and trans nat io nal­ is m m·e no t inco mpat ible processes (Levitt 200 I ; S mith 2006; Tama ki 2011 ). E rdaI and O e pp e n (2 0 13) o ffe r a use ful typolog y for the varia ble way that integra ti o n rela tes to tran snatio nalism along mu lt ip le d i me ns ions. Within each

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d imens ion, inte ractions may be addi tive, sy nergis tic , o r antagonis tic to duality . S nel et al. 's (2006) survey of imm ig ran ts in the Nethe rlands fromM o rocco, Iraq, the form er Yugos la via, Dutch Antilles, Japan, and the United Sta tes s hows that the degree to whic h tran snat ional practices and integ ratio n intot he desti­ nation co untry coex is t depends on the se ndi ng co untry. Guarnizo et al. (2003) find that the most engaged me mbers of Latino immigrant hometow n a ss oc ia­ tions in the United States are long- ter m res ide nts with legal papers allow ing the m to travel back and forth to the i r places of orig in. Most evidence for sub­ stantial cro ss- borde r ties is limited to the first generati o n, wit h the exce ptio n of cases in which the re is a perce ived major threat to the ho meland , in which

case subseque nt ge nerat io ns may beco me involved (Sc hans 2009; Soehl and Waldinger 20 1 2).

T he soc iology of tra nsnatio na lis m quickly enco untered skep ticis m bolh within and outside the disc ipl ine. Historian s deb unked inca utious c laims of a nove l new phe nomenon by showing that ret urn migratio n was substant ial dur­ ing the turn of the nin etee mh ce mur y, and that migra nts to the United States from China and E uro pe had main ta ined similar ties to their places of origin more than a ce ntury ear lie r (Wyman 1 993; Hsu 2000; Morawska 200 I ). Or ga­ nizing based on mig rants' reg ional orig ins has lo ng precedent. Karl Marx, after aU, w as co- presid e nt of his mig rant hometow n dri nki ng cl ub (Moya 2005). Analyses se lect ing on tJ1e dependent variable of high levels of cross-border interactio n ass ume a phenome na that needs to be explai ned. Waldinge r and FitzGerald (2004) note that the s tudy of mig rant trans nationalis m con tla tes long -dis tance natio na lism, plura l a ffiliatio ns, and un iversalis ms that transcend the particular. They ask what co nditi o ns fos te r cross-border interactio ns give n the border-cl osing activiti es fund ame nta l to ac tivities that make nat ion-states. Althou gh much of the tra ns nat io naJi s m l iterat ure has e mphas ize d that new trans po rta tio n a nd co mmuni ca tio n tec hnolog ies a re res ponsible fo r new forms of cross- border ties, a dec li ne in wars betwee n s tate s that reduces charges of dual alleg iance, norms of cultu ra l p lu ralism, and the diffusio n of policy models from co untri es that have success full y reac h e d out to e mbrace emig ra nts abroad are probably mor e co nseq ue ntia l than tec hnolog ica l s hift s .

Th e rese arc h interes ts of soc iologists and eco no mis ts have coinci ded in their studies of the poss ibifay of us ing migran t re mitta nces to s pur eco nomic devel­ opment in pla ces of o rig in. Rem ittances worldwide constitute more tJian twice the level of direc t fore ign aid receive d by deve loping co untri es. ln many deve l­ o ping co un tries, re mittances exceed foreig n direct inves tme nt. Remittances represented more than 10 perce nt of GDP in twenty-o ne co untri es in 2009.5 Economists and soc iolo g ists share a conce rn with under s tand ing the use and effects of suc h remittances, but they differ in that soc iolog ists are muc h more likely to engage in ca e studies of re mittance depende ncy, pay special atte ntio n to colJec tive remin ances, and expla in the po lic ies of co unt rie s of m-igin s uc h as India that a im to in c rease rem itta nces (Go ldr ing 2004; Naujo ks 20 I 3) . Pones

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and Yiu (20 13) note that re rniuan ces, u-e more likely Lo be used fo r bus iness in vestme nt in co ntex ts of hig h-sk illed mig ration, whereas the remina nces of la bor migra nts are mo re likely to be used for daily co nsum ptio n and rea l estate . Schans's (20 09 ) s tud y of Turkish, Morocca n, Surin am ese, and AnLillea ns in the Ne the rla nds found that unlik e in Wald inger's (2008) stud y of Latinos in the United S ta tes, ye11rs of res idence in the destinatio n co untry were no t assoc iate d with a decl in e in remittances. Schans at tributed the differe nce to the greater diffic ulty of cultura l and soc ioeco no mic int e gration in the Nethe rlands that led imm ig rants to seek prestige in their home coun tries by co ntinuing to se nd re mi tta nces, and a tig htening of fa mily reunificati on policies in the Nether­ lands that le ft more family me mbers of im migrants s tuck in the home co un try, where they depended on remi ttances.

Political scie ntists have large ly followed soc iolo gists in attempting to assess the politica l ac tivity carried out by emigrants, returned migra nt s, a nd govern­ ments and political parties in countries of origin seek ing to engage them (e.g. Perez-Arme ndariz and Crow 2010). Th e q ualitative work of polit ical science in this a rea is scru·cely dis ting uis hable from sociology (e.g. Lyons and Mand a­ ville 20 12), a nd the quantita tive work of socio log is ts is sca rce ly distingu is hable from that of political sc ie ntists studying migration (e.g. Waldinger 2008). During the ninetee nth ce ntu ry heyday of the model of " perpetual alleg iance," natio nal loyalties were expec ted 10 be e nduring and ex clusive. For most of the twenti­ eth cc ntu1y , the leg iti macy of changing natio nality has been recog nized, but the princ iple of o nly holdi ng one na tionality remained the norm. In many co un tries, there has bee n an abo ut-face in attitudes toward dual natio na li ty, es pecially since the 1990s, as e mig rants have beco me seen as a politica l a nd eco no mic reso urce rather than as deserters. Acceptance of dual nationalit y has increase d in rece nt years, to the point that more than half of the world's countries allow so me form of dual nati onality (Fais t and Gerdes 2008). Countries increas ingly aUo w their citi­ zens to vote by abse ntee ballot from abroad. By 2012, I06 co un tries had adopted such a provisio n. Extra-te rritorial election distric ts, in which emig ra nts elec t representatives to their national co ngresses, have bee n crea ted fo r Co lo mbians, Poles, I ta lia ns, Ango lans, Haitians, the Fre nch, C roatians, Morocca ns, and others (Collyer 20 13 ). Amo ng the most dramatic forms of expatriate po ljti c a l participa­ tion is running for public office in the country of origin. Around the world, there have bee n pro minen t cases of expatriate candidac ies, many of the m success ful. For exa mple, after near ly 50 years of living in the United S tates, Valdas Adamkus returned to Lithuania just months be fo re winning the presidency in L99 8 .

Se ndi ng sta tes try to tum e migran ts into a political asse t whe n they e nco ur­ age expatria tes to fo nn e th nic lobbies in the ir destinat io n co untry. An emigrant lobby makes se nse only under two co nd itio ns: e mig ran ts must es tablish the mse lves in co untr ies that permit immi g rant political part icipatio n a nd the destinat io n co untr y must have so me poli tica l or eco nomic levera ge of use Lo the home co untry. T he United States generally fulfills both of these co nditions,

and most research on emig ra nt lo bbies has rocuscd on the US case. Since the 1990s, many Lat in American co untries wi th large populat io ns in the United States have ac tively tried to fo rm e migrant lobb ies. The po litical sc ientist Rodolfo de la Garza (1997) has arg ued that s uc h lobbies are rarely effective because La tin Amer ica n e migra nts and their US-born offspring usually have nega tive attitudes toward the govern ment of their co un try of o rigin. Neverthe­ less, the dream of emigrant lobbies in Washingto n co ntinu es to entice policy makers in El Salvador, d1e Dominican Re publi c, Co lo mbia, and Mexico. In the Mediterranea n, Cyprus embraced Greek Cyprio ts living in the United Kingdom for the sa me reaso n, and Turkey extended the possibility of dual citi­ zenship in 1995 parlly in the hopes that T urks living in Western Europe would become more inte gra ted into tJ1eir hos t co untries and push the Eu ropean Union to admi t Turkey (0 stergaard-N ie lse n 2003).

New, more fle xible features of emigrant citize nship are not un iversa l, however. At the source countr y level, strong slate- led national ism and an antago nisti c relatio nsh ip witJ1 de s tina tio n co untries make it more difficu lt for so urce co untr y go vernme nts to accep t dual citize nshi p in particu lar. For exam­ ple, India allows dual citizenship for Americans, but not Pak.is tanjs (Na ujo ks 2013 ). In the destinat io n co untr y the re is a curvilinear re lat ionship between the degree of assimilat ionism and th e fle xibility of migra nts to pick and choose from a large menu of practices. For example, in the Pers ian Gu lf, naturaliza ­ tio n and most forms of socia l ass i milat io n are all but imposs ib le for most migrants, so they are not a ble to easi ly parlay having their feet in two cou n­ tries to their advantage. On the other ext re me, the political culture of highly ass imilationist countries such as Fra nce renders e thn ic lobbies of the American sort illegitimate. The United S tat es, and Canada to an even greater degree, encourages a plural istic fo rm of ass imila tio n that has an elective affinity with dual nationality and dual affiliatio ns. Al the in dividua l level, migrants who are unauthorized, live under "Tem pora ry Protec ted S tatus" or so me other limina l legal category, or who have low leve ls of various kinds of capital, have less flexib ility to define their c itizenship. Co nversely, profess ionals and e ntrepre­ neurs are best posi tioned to take ou t multiple c itizenships and to seek out tax advantages as an " insurance policy" in case condi tio ns deteriorate in a given co untry. The y dive rs ify their portfolio of visas and pass ports as a measure of protection agains t the risk of eco nomic and political turm oil in a given co untry (FitzGer ald 2012). Political co nd itio ns in co untries of origin and desti na tion , and socioeco nomic status dee ply sha pe variatio n in the ability of migrants to live their lives acro ss borders.

**DISSIMILATION**

Building on the ass imilatio n and trans na tional ism perspect ives, th e co nce pt of

*dissimi lar io11* o ffers a third app roach. Dissimila tio n, the proce ss of becoming

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different. is the forgotten twin of assi mila tion, the process whereby groups and individua ls become s i mila r. As immigra nts and Lheir c hildren beco me s imilar to o ther me mbers of the des tinatio n co unt ry. they become diss imilar from the no n- mig ra nts they leave behind. The deg ree of difference is shape d by the pos­ sibilit ies o f ass imila tio n. Migra nts denie d the opporrunir y to ass imila te in the destinatio n if they wis h are less likely to diss imi late from their places of ori­ gin. Patterns tha t hold in the case of Alge ri a n mig ratio n to France or Mexican mig ratio n to the Unite d S ta tes a re not uni versa l. Yet in co ntexts in wh ic h muc h ass imi latio n does occur, the diffe re nces that deve lop betwee n mig ra nts and th e ir c hi ldr e n, on the one hand, and those who stay in the co untr y of orig in, on the other, are often muc h g rea te r than the small differences in the co untr y of destinatio n upon which sc holars of ass i milat io n foc us their microscopes (Jimenez and FitzGerald 2007; Fitz G e rald 2009).



The diss imila tio n per s pec tive d raws on the wo rk of Abde lm alek Sayad (2004), who eloq ue ntly wrote of the cu ltura l c hanges in Algerian villages wrought by emig ratio n to France. His work emphasized that mig ratio n e nge n­ dered not the re produc tion of co mmuni ty and the co ntinui ties found in the trans na tio na lism litera ture, but rather the *absence* created by out-m ig ratio n. FitLGe rald (2009) extended the co nce pt of a politics of absence in desc ribing how th e Mexican go vernment and Lhe Ca Lho lic C hurc h in Mexico d e veloped techniq ues and i nsti tutio ns to e mbrace abse nt mig ra nt s living in the territory or anothe r coun try. Int e rna tio na l mig rants upse t the nea t dis tinc tions betwee n i nsiders and outs iders. Im mig ra nts are subj ec t to the laws of the hos t cou ntr y by vi rtue of their presence in it s territor y, but they are not (yet) co ns idered me mbers. By virtue of their absence, e mig rants a re not dir ec tly subjec t to the la ws of the ir country of orig i n. but Lhe y may stiU b e co nsidered pan of the lega l a nd c ultu ral natio n. The prese nce of foreig ners and the abse nce of c it i­ zens c rac k apart the fus io n of polity, soc ie ty, and territory that cons titut es the natio n-state as a spec ific form of politica l o rgan izatio n.

Policy make rs and scholars have vie wed so me i mm igrants' adoption of urban youth culture in the United S tates as a failure o f as similation (Gans 199 2b), but the same set of facts is viewed in Mexico as e vidence of American iza tio n. Non­ migrants co mmo nly cla im that migra nts are " ne ither from here nor from there." ln othe r wo rds, mig rants have diss imilat e cl from the Mexican mainstream, but tJ1ey do no t belo ng in tJ1e US mains tream eit her. Alarco n ( 1992) exp la ined that co mmunit ies of o rigin had become " northernize d ," in the sense that they were more affected in so me cases by mig ra lion to the North (the United States) than processes li nking the m to the res t of Mex ico. Re tw·n migratio n, eve n if te mpo­ rary, carries risks fo r nati onalis ts when mig rants introduce nox ious ideas and practices assoc iated wi th a fore ig n co mpetitor. Case studies around the world s uggest that many no n-mig rants co nsid e r these cultural impo11s to b e prej udicia l to mo rali ty a nd the natio nal cultur e (see Moya 1998 on Spain; Cine! 199 1 o n Ita ly: Guarnizo 1 99 7 on the Do mini ca n Re public; and Sayad 2004 on Alge ria).

As with as s imilatio n, d is s i milatio n ca n be parsed into diffe re nt domains o f soc ial life. Mig rati o n may dramatica lly open oppo n uni lies for mra rying ou ­t

s ide the group, for exam ple, w hile doing little to change some aspectso f teh cult ural co ntent e nco unte red in the place of destinat io n. IL is d i ffic ultot mea s ur e migra tio n' s inde pendent e ffec t on cultural change in the co untr y of e mgir a t io n, because flow s o f media, goods, and tourists introduce heteroge ne it y incoun­ tries of e mig ratio n and i mmi grat io n. Mig rants become d iffe rent fro mt ho se who stay behind, while th ose who s tay behind also change, as places of or ig in exper ience vast trans forma tio ns only partly attributable to mig ratio n.

While scholars in the transnatio nalist tradition also have described cutlu ral transformatio ns in places of orig in ( Lev itt 2001; Smith 2006), Alarco n e mp ha­ sizes the *disruptions* in co mmuni ty fo rm a tion, firs t from the perspec tive oft eh communj t y of o rig in, and later, from the perspective of immi gra nt co mmuni­ ties in the destinatio n. Alarco n e l a l. (20 12) exp lain tJ1e processes of lo ng- te rm se ttlement that have seve red ma ny i mmi grants' ties with the ir places o f origin, and how eve n home town associat io ns are increasing ly tu rni11g their a tte ntion IO Ii.Ee in the destin a tio n co mmun ity. Soe hl and Waldinger's (20 I 0) a nal ys is of survey data sho ws that this is not simp ly an idiosync rasy of rece nt Mexi c an immigra nts, but rathe r a pa tte rn that applie s to the la rgest gro ups of co nte mpo­ rary Lat in o migra tio n to the United States.

The diss imila t ion perspec tive shares the trans nationa l a pproach's a tte ntion to the coun try of o rig in and the possibi lity of migrants' new and ongoing Lies acros s borders. but the diss imi la tio n pers pecbve diffe rs in importa nt ways . Against the trans na tio nal is m lite rature 's foc us on reproductio n and *similarity* io a comm unity spread ac ross inte rna tion al bo rders, the co nce pt of diss imila­ tion foc uses a ttentio n on tJ1e c rea tio n of *difference* betwee n pop ulat io ns divided by the border. Diss imi lation ques tio ns the very co nce pt o f co mmunit y by high­ lighting nego tia tio ns over who is a leg itimate member of the co mmun ity, what kinds of behavio r are acce ptab le, and struggles over where the bo und aries of Lhe co mmuni ty beg in and e nd.

**CONCLUSION**

The varie ty of ways in which scholars frame the soc iology of inte rnatio nal migration leaves ample room for inno vatjve ques tio ns tJia t borrow from neig hboring disc ipli nes, but that same variety poses significa nt challe nges to c reating a co herent rese arc h program. One way forward is to more sys­ tematically spec ify when, how, and why different processes of se lecti vity, assimi latio n, rrans na tiona lis m, and diss imi lati o n take place. A co mpara tive­ historica l soc iology of in te rnat io nal migration stands positio ned to establis h the scope cond iti o ns of theo retica l cla ims and the co nd iti o ns und er whic h particu lar patterns emerge (F itzGe rald 20 1 2; Bloe mrnacl 20 I 3). Wh ile this project is h.is to rica lly grounded, it attempts Lo go beyo nd theo ry-bu ild in g via

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perio dization as describ ed in this volu me by Donna Gabaccia. The scale o f the scope condit io ns around the theoretica l c laims that socio log is ts make is usu­ ally hig her than the cla ims of histo rians. Th ere is muc h tru th to the old saw that socio log is ts te nd to be " lump ers" and historians te nd to be "s pli tters," eve n as these patterns in ev ita bly blur on a continuum of me thodolog ic a l practice.

Theo ries o f inte rnat io nal mjgratio n co uld bette r defin e what kinds of mig ra­ tion they are attempting to explain. Types of mobil ity left out of those lheo ries co uld the n be subjects of their own theoriza tio n e fforts, which co uld point out similarities and diffe rences in the factors driving multipl e forms of mobiJjty. For example, what is the role of social networks in dr iving tourism, sn1de nt migratio n, and forced mig ration? Under what co nditio ns do governme nts and employers atte mpt to select migrants who are mo re or less e a s y to assimj late, in the ir view, ove r what peri o d of ti me, and with what rig hts?

The assimi lation resear ch program can be revitalized by ques tionin g systematic ally the conditi ons that promote or inhibit different fo rm s of integra­ tion. To what extent do governme nt po licies matter relative to the actions of migrants themse lves, non-migrants, and the ins ti tuti o ns of c ivil soc ie ty? Soci­ o log is ts no lo nge r chee r on the Germans agains t the Poles or no rth western Europeans aga inst everyone else, in contrast to Max Weber and the early Chi ­ cago Schoo l, but the soc iolog y of assimi la tio n co ntinues to ce leb rate its own Games with the re lease of every cens us. Analyses that more ca refully attend to boundary- mak ing and transfo rmjng processes, rather than taking the mul ti­ gene ratio na l g roup as a self-co ntain ed organis m rep roduc ing itself , o ffer more su btle unders tand ings of the i.nteractio ns a mon g immjg rants, the i r offspring, and diverse native popula tions. All modern socie ties are highly segmented , and all ass im ilation is seg mented. Better specifying the re ference g roups and the ratio na les for the ir se lec tio n in tracing processes of change is one way to avoid the me thod ological natio nalism of slippin g back into fault y assumpti ons that the nati o n-s tate contains a societ y.

De bates about whethe r transnat io nalism ex ists have helpe d to sharpen an alysis of the different and sometime cont radictory notions within this para­ dig m, fro m long-dis tance nation alism to binationa l ties to universali s ms that rejec t nationalis m in all its forms. Socio log is ts a re brea king new ground in dialogue with other d isc ipli nes to answer the ques tions raised by transnat io nal­ is m. Alon g with econo mists, they are see king to determine not s impl y whethe r re mittances promote or inhibit econo mic g rowth in the co untry of origin, but under what condi tio ns re mittan ces promote diffe re nt kinds o f economic activ­ ity. Alo ng with political sc ie ntists, they are measuring the effec ts o f the new institu tio ns promo ting migrant long-di stance poli tical part icipatio n a nd dual engagement. Alo ng with historians, they are dete rminin g what re ally is new about c ross-border co nnec tion s relative to earlie r a ge s o f mig ratio n, and the in s tituti o nal, tec hnolo g ical, geopoli tical, and o ther forces that ex plain changes over tim e.

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The dissimil atio n literature is le s s develo ped, but it offe rs a way of loo kin g a t the world that yie lds di ffe rent ins ig hts vis-a-vis the sc holars of transnational­ is m, who high lig ht the reproduction of ties between mig rants and their cou ntries o f orig i n, and the new ly ins tituti onalize d po ss ibilities for dual national ity and cultural plu ralis m. Whe re migratio n st rea ms are domina ted by patterns of cir­ cularity or short-term flows , lo ng-distance ties may prevai l. Assess ments of the strength of assimila tio n, tra nsnatio nalis m, and dis s imilatio n s hould not be articles of faith, but rathe r the subject of empirical investigation in differe nt cont exts.

**NOTES**

1. The author grate fully acknowledges the research assistance of Jane Lilly L6pez and Rawan Arar, as well as the comments of Tomas Jim enez on an earlier draft.
2. See Jime nez and FitzGerald (2007) for an e mpirical application of this taxon omy showing how different theoretical perspectives yield dramatically different, if not contradictory, findings about the educational prospects of immigrants and their descendants.
3. [htt p://schola](http://schola/) r.google.co m/.
4. hu[p://ww](http://www.pewhispanic.or/)w.[pewhi](http://www.pewhispanic.or/)sp[anic.or](http://www.pewhispanic.or/) g/2013/ 0 I /29/ a-nation-of-im migrants/. accessed April 20 , 20 l 4.
5. [http://www.](http://www/) undp .org/conte nt/ dam/ undp/1i brar y/ Poven y%20 Re duc t ion/ Incl us ive%20de ve lo pment/Towa rds%20 Hum an%20 Resilienc e /Towards\_ Sus tainingMDG Progress\_Ch4. pdf, accessed April 20, 2014.

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