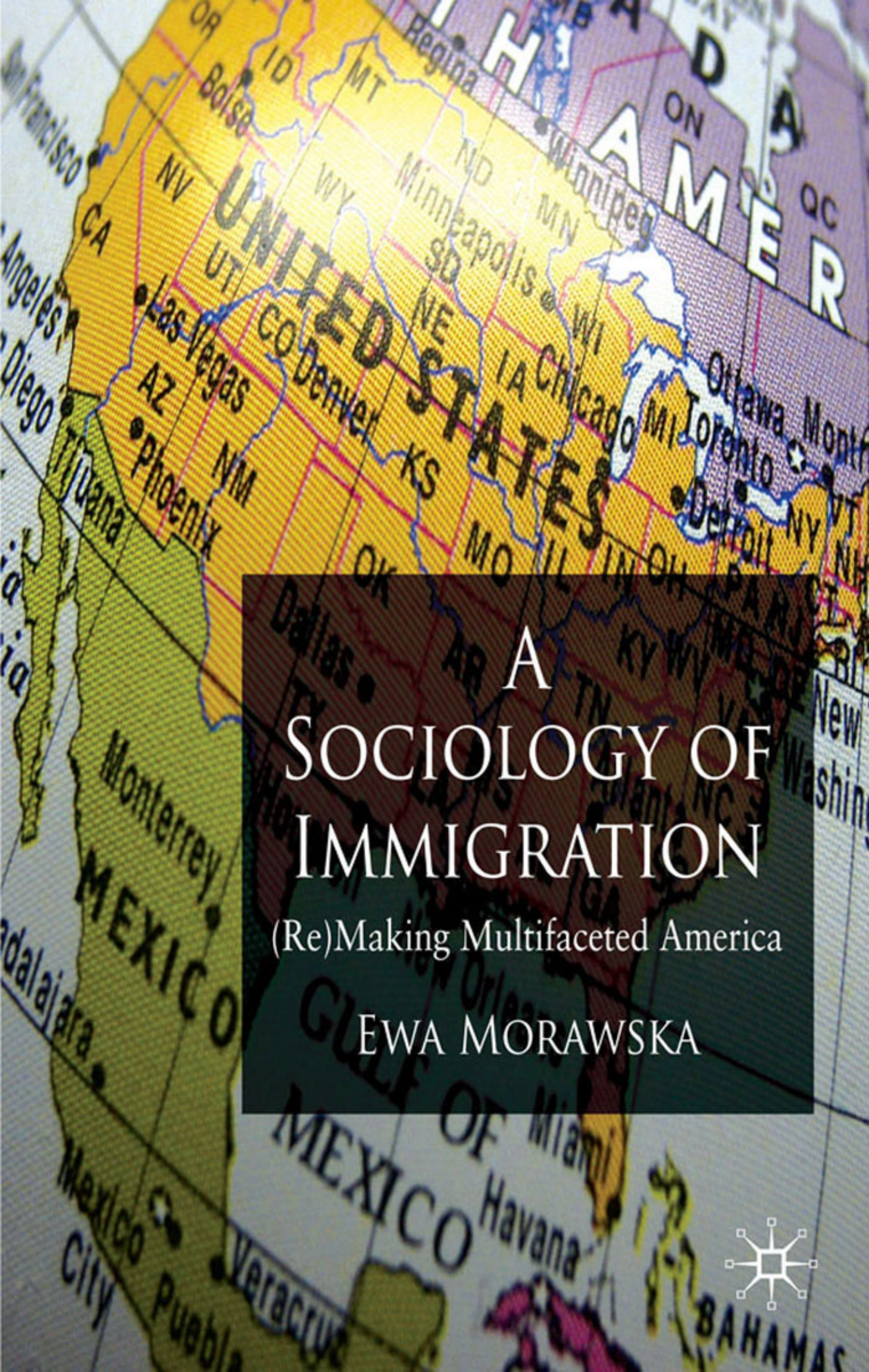

A SOCIOLOGY OF IMMIGRATION

(Re)Making Multifaceted America

EWA MORAWSKA

A Sociology of Immigration

Also by Ewa Morawska

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION RESEARCH: Constructions, Omissions, and Promises of Interdisciplinarity (*co-edited with Michael Bommes*)

TOWARD ASSIMILATION AND CITIZENSHIP IN LIBERAL NATION-STATES (*co-edited with Christian Joppke*)

INSECURE PROSPERITY: Jews in Small-Town Industrial America, 1880–1940

FOR BREAD WITH BUTTER: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania 1890–1940

A Sociology of Immigration

(Re)Making Multifaceted America

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Table 3.1 was adapted from Douglas S. Massey and Chiara Capoferro, Table 2.1 “Distribution of Recent Immigrants to the United States in 1980, 1990, and 2000.” In *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Industry*. © 2008 Russell Sage Foundation, 112 East 64th Street, New York, NY 10021. Reprinted with permission.

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Introduction

The close interconnection between globalization and transnational population movements in the contemporary world on the one hand and, on the other, between international migrations and the multicultural nature of twenty-first-century societies makes the study of international migration a necessary component of our understanding of both macro- and micro-level societal processes. The enormous expansion of international migrations since the 1980s has been a constitutive component of accelerated globalization processes connecting different regions of the world through trade and labor exchange, international laws and organizations, and rapidly advancing transportation and communication technologies. Swelling international migrations and their consequences for both sender and receiver societies have prompted governments and international organizations to find ways to control these flows either by constraining them (receiver states) or by facilitating cross-border population movements (human rights organizations and many sender governments with vested interests in immigrants' remittances and their economic investments at home). Increased public concern in most of the highly developed countries that receive the bulk of these international population flows with an influx of immigrants from remote regions of the world has been articulated in Samuel Huntington's (1996) vision of a "clash of civilizations," Peter Brimelow's (1996) prediction of "immigration disaster," and Hans Magnus Enzensberger's (1992) fears concerning "*Die grosse Wanderung*" (*The Great Migration*).

At the same time, the settlement of diverse people—immigrants from around the world in towns and cities of once-homogenous societies—"localizes" the global or brings multicultural ways of life into the everyday existence of particular localities. This simultaneous process of homogenization and diversification characteristic of the contemporary world whereby international migration plays a crucial role has been called by sociologists *glocalization* (Robertson 1992; Waters 2001; Berger and Huntington 2002).

Recognition of cross-border population flows as the integral component of glocalization of the contemporary world has elevated international migration to a central place in sociological analysis: the encompassing sociological account of nearly every aspect of contemporary society must address the issue of immigrants' experience. As a contribution toward this purpose, this book examines international migration as an outcome and at the same time an important contributor to globalization and, simultaneously, as a diversifying sociocultural force in local communities. The discussion of the main issues informing the sociological study of (im)migration and their empirical illustrations focuses on the United States—the receiver of well over half of all immigrants settling in the most developed parts of the world, including Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Four important assumptions—three theoretical and one epistemological—inform this discussion. First, I assume the subject matter of sociological investigation to be the shaping of individuals by society and, conversely, the shaping of society by individuals. In the case under consideration here, the subject of investigation is negotiations by (im)migrants of their specific economic, political, and sociocultural circumstances in the pursuit of their goals. This interpretative approach is informed by the structuration model. In its reformulated version the structuration model has been the preferred interpretative framework of my own historical–sociological studies of past and present immigration in the United States and in Europe. (For the original formulations of the structuration model, see Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1976, 1984; the reformulated versions can be found in Sewell 1992; Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Stones 2005.) I also believe—and this persuasion justifies using the structuration model to inform the analyses in this volume—that the field of immigration studies needs a coherent theoretical framework or, better, a range of encompassing theoretical models which scholars could choose from to account for a broad spectrum of phenomena related to international migration. Currently, the social-science study of (im)migration offers several issue-specific fragmented theoretical models, such as theories of the international population movements, of immigrants' assimilation to the host society, and of their transnational involvements abroad.

The structuration process can be summarized as follows. Whereas the pressures of forces at the upper structural layers (economic and political systems, cultural formations, technological civilizations) set the “dynamic limits” of the possible and the impossible within which people act, it is at the level of the immediate social surroundings that individuals and groups evaluate their situations, define purposes, and undertake actions. The intended and, often, unintended consequences of these individual and collective activities in turn affect—sustain or transform—these local-level and, over time, larger-scope structures.

Structures, understood as more or less enduring organizations of social (including economic and political) relations and cultural formations, are created and recreated through the everyday practice of social actors. “The secret of social structures”—to paraphrase George Homans’s well-known insight (1961: 385)—“is that they are made by men, and that there is nothing in social structures but what men put there.” John Scott (1995: 94) thus comments on Homans’s statement: “Those features of social life that are conventionally called ‘social structures’ imply chains of individual actions, and it is because many of these chains become quite extensive [and repetitive—E.M.] that social structures can appear to have a life of their own.” Externalized by people’s repetitive everyday actions and “hardened” in this process into societal institutions as the economic, political, and cultural systems, structures exert, in turn, an influence on actors’ choices and shape their opportunities.

Structures are plural in character (different-purpose organizations, strong and weak informal networks, [sub]cultures), scope (global, regional/national, local), dynamics (more or less stable), and durability (long- to short-dure). Their multiplicity imbues structures at all levels with inherent tensions or even direct contradictions that create “gaps” or “loopholes” in between different social arrangements and, resulting from these imperfections, an inconsistent and mutable capacity both to enable and to constrain human agency.

The everyday “engagement by individuals of different structural environments which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing situations” (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 970) is called *human agency* in the structuration model. Human agency may be represented as comprising three analytically distinguishable components (in lived experience they closely interrelate). The *habitual* element refers to “the selective reactivation by actors of past patterns of thoughts and action, as routinely incorporated in practical activity"; the *projective* element encompasses "the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors' hopes, fears, and desires for the future"; and the *practical–evaluative* element entails "the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgements among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations." Depending on a particular configuration of circumstances, "one or another of these three aspects might predominate" in guiding individuals' actions (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 970–72).

As social actors adjust their habitual reactions and future-oriented projects to their assessment of the practical situations of the moment, they create and recreate different structures of social life. This reproduction, however, is never ideal. Inherent in all humans is "the capacity to appropriate, reproduce, and, potentially, to innovate upon received cultural categories and conditions of action in accordance with their personal and collective ideals, interests, and commitments." The concrete forms and "contents" of this capacity are shaped by sets of particular cultural orientations and resources available in time- and place-specific environments in which people live and by specific configurations of habitual, projective, and practical–evaluative considerations. Agency arises from the actors' knowledge of cultural rules and (some) control of resources, which means the ability to apply these tools to new situations. New situations, in particular, enable actors to reinterpret schemas and redesign resources. As a result, as social actors innovate and devise ways to cope with the world, "thoughts, perceptions, and actions [that are] inconsistent with the reproduction of existing social patterns" occur (Ibid.: 1442–43).

Two different interpretations exist among structuration theorists regarding the source of the (re)constitutive capacity of human agency: one of them locates it in individual "vital energies," and the other views agency as the faculty emergent in the process of "transaction" or exchange among actors (for critical overviews of these positions, see Emirbayer 1997; Depelteau 2008). Rather than arguing for the individual or interactive nature of human agency, I propose that we allow theoretically for both sources of actors' capacity to (re)constitute their environment, and that we make the actual outcomes of this process time- and place-dependent, contingent on individual/group accustomed *Weltanschauungen* and their sociocultural capital, the mode of operation of the economy/labor markets, and the degree of differentiation/individualization of society.

Thus conceptualized, the structuration model is particularly useful for interpretations of the pursuits of (im)migrants who move into or between different environments and confront new circumstances. Analyzed in this framework, (im)migrants' activities are neither simply the products of structures nor their agentic volitions but of the time- and place-specific contexts of the interactions between the two. How much agentic power individuals can derive from their sociocultural resources is contingent on the influence of other macro- and micro-structures that support particular orientations: dynamism or stagnation of the economy, an open or segmented labor market, the restrictiveness of sender and receiver state immigration policies and the "gaps" created by their imperfections, civic-political pluralism or exclusiveness of the receiving society, parochialism or cosmopolitanism of the host culture. Within these intersecting frameworks, the specific configurations of individuals' orientations and, thus, their transformative potential are further influenced by their sociodemographic characteristics, economic resources, and social-cultural capital changing over time and, in the case of immigrants, their civic-political status in the receiving country. Thus constituted, (im)migrant-actors' orientations and practices (re)constitute in turn these very social structures.

The structures-agency (re)constitution is an ongoing process. Available historical and contemporary studies of immigrants' experience in the United States—the basis of the analyses in this book—permit, however, reconstruction of only the first two phases of this process: the shaping by societal structures of immigrants' options and opportunities and the ways the latter act upon their situations. Except for a general recognition of the "pluralizing" effects of immigrants' presence on the receiver (here, American society) however, the specific ways that immigrants' actions (re)constitute the societal structures in which they pursue their goals has thus far not attracted much research attention from students of immigration. The dominant preoccupation of researchers in this field of study has been the transformative impact on immigrants of their experience in the host society.[1] Although my reflections on the actors-on-society phase of the structuration process—the impact of immigrants' resettlement into American cities, their assimilation trajectories, and transnational involvements on their home and host societies—are not backed up by a volume of empirical studies, I present them here in separate sections of chapters devoted to the above issues in order to extend the structuration analyses one step beyond the customary investigation, and to encourage immigration researchers to undertake investigations of the transformative effects of immigrants' activities on the societies they are embedded in.

The second assumption informing this exploration of immigrants' experience is the diversity of outcomes of the negotiations by actors of the societal structures, resulting from immigrants' different sociocultural backgrounds and their changing situations. Third, and related, I hold that the specific patterns or regularities detectable in this diversity are the products of the interplay between immigrants' socioeconomic and cultural resources and the goals they pursue on the one hand, and, on the other, the "limits of the possible" set by the structural conditions of their lives. Neither of these two premises is unique to the structuration model; in fact, they are shared by a majority of present-day sociologists of immigration. The advantage of the approach used in this analysis, as I pointed out earlier, is its encompassing scope which allows it to account in one theoretical framework for different dimensions of immigrants' experience.

Fourth, I believe that this interactive process and the diversity of societal arrangements it produces are best captured through comparative investigation. Comparative analyses in this volume include comparisons across time (the previous, turn-of-the-twentieth-century vs. contemporary great waves of immigration to the United States) and across differently located present-day immigrant groups. The purpose of these comparisons, to use Charles Ragin's (1994; see also Hall 1999) typology of the main goals of comparative research, is exploring diversity and identifying existing patterns. Although it might be more elegant to present these comparisons across time and space in one narrative organized in specific themes, such a multiplex story, I thought, would blur not clarify the insights offered by a comparative analysis.

I have, therefore, decided to divide this comparative analysis into two parts. First, I offer a comparison over time of general similarities and differences in the experience and the societal contexts of their home and host environments of "old" (turn-of-the-twentieth-century) and "new" (contemporary) immigrants. Next, making up the bulk of the volume, are contemporary inter-group comparisons. I have selected eight groups to serve as comparative "case studies." Although a comparison of only eight groups out of the American ethnic tapestry made of hundreds of threads cannot provide a fully representative depiction thereof, it captures the main trends and basic diversities that characterize this composition. These eight groups include Hong Kong and Taiwanese transnational businessmen in Los Angeles, Korean shopkeepers in that same city, residentially dispersed Asian Indian professionals, first-wave Cuban political refugees in Miami, low-skilled Mexicans in Southwestern agriculture and in Los Angeles, differently socioeconomically positioned Jamaicans in New York, and middle-class Russian Jews and white- and blue-collar Poles in Philadelphia.

My choice of these particular cases was dictated by three sociological and one personal considerations. First, there exists sufficient empirical information, in terms of statistical data and ethnographic studies, about these groups and the local conditions in which they reside to make possible more or less systematic comparisons on some at least of the main themes informing this book. Second, these groups and their local surroundings represent sociologically interesting cases of context-dependent diversity regarding the main issues examined in this volume which make up the current research agenda of immigration studies in the United States (see below). The selection of Philadelphia Poles and Russians has been motivated by both personal and sociological considerations. I have conducted an ethnographic study of both groups in that city which was focused, precisely, on the issues analyzed in this book (Morawska 2004). These two cases, which (to the extent permitted by available studies) I also compare with the situations of Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants in New York and Chicago where they have settled in much larger numbers, add empirical evidence to the claim of context-dependent diversity of immigrants' experience.

Deliberately, each of the eight groups chosen for comparison, except one, is located in a specific region or city of the United States to demonstrate the importance of local circumstances in shaping immigrants' experience. The case of residentially dispersed Asian Indians was selected to "test" the impact of this important and rarely examined aspect of immigrants' existence on their mode of integration into the host society. To bring present-day inter-group comparisons into a sharper focus my examination of each group concerns immigrants who have arrived in the United States since the 1980s, who include most foreign-born Hong Kong and Taiwanese global traders and Asian Indian professionals, the majority of Jamaicans and Koreans, and nearly half of Mexicans. Earlier-wave Polish immigrants who arrived in America in 1946–48 are by now either retired or deceased (1968 emigration was primarily composed of Polish Jews); and the vast majority of Russian Jews in Philadelphia came during the 1980s. The exception, because they represent a particularly interesting—actually unique—case in a *tableau* of diverse modes of incorporation, are first-wave Cuban political refugees who came to Miami in the late 1950s to early 1960s.

Within the framework outlined above, the themes explored in the book correspond to the current theoretical and research agenda informing American immigration studies. They include the mechanisms triggering and sustaining international migration; patterns of immigrants' settlement in the host country; different trajectories and social correlates of immigrants' assimilation (socioeconomic, civic-political, and cultural) into the receiver society; patterns of their transnational engagements; and the main features of the experience of native-American born members of the second generation.

A comparative examination of the five major themes identified here which inform the present-day sociological study of (im)migration in the United States makes up the bulk of the book. In addition, the volume also contains a comparative discussion of another kind: an overview of the main research agenda and explanatory approaches in this field of study in different regions of the world. Globalization's crucial place in the study of contemporary international migration has become a routine assertion in scholarly essays and conference presentations of immigration specialists. Yet, other than general familiarity with worldwide directions and volume of present-day population movements (for a recent assessment, see Massey and Taylor 2004), and different civic traditions shaping the reception of newcomers in different countries (e.g., Joppke 1999, 2005), we know embarrassingly little about research agendas and explanatory approaches in the study of (im)migration as practiced in parts of the globe other than our own.

Such knowledge is needed for several reasons. The first is for its own sake or to broaden our grasp of the phenomena we study and of the ways our colleagues in different world regions conceptualize and investigate empirically our shared subject matter. The second is for comparative purposes or to learn about similarities and differences in the contexts and outcomes of (im)migration processes worldwide on the one hand, and, on the other, for possible cognitive gains for our own projects derived from familiarizing ourselves with the issues examined and research methods used by (im)migration scholars in other parts of the world. And third, it is needed for the prospect of launching inter-regional scholarly conversations about the whats and hows of the issues we study that may evolve into joint research projects that will, in combination with the effects of the first two purposes, enrich our professional knowledge by making it genuinely more global.

A final clarification is necessary before concluding these introductory remarks: like sociology in general, sociology of immigration is a "jargony" field, and, try as I may, I am afraid in this regard I am a typical representative of the discipline. Most of the concepts used in this book, such as the terms related to different migration theories or to immigrants' residential concentration and segregation from natives, are known to those familiar with this area of study. Those pertaining to the structuration model which serves in this book as the interpretative framework for the discussion of immigrants' experience have already been defined. Some other concepts used in the analyses are my own coinage and I should explain them here. They refer primarily to particular trajectories of immigrants' assimilation, and generally reflect the interpretative "spirit" of my analysis with its emphasis on diversity rather than on identifying the common patterns. The most encompassing of them is the concept of ethnicization used in the examination of different trajectories of immigrants' assimilation which denotes the process of mixing-and-blending in different constellations of home- and host-country traditions. Elaborating on the concept of segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997) already incorporated into sociological analyses of immigrants' integration, I distinguish between mainstream upward and downward and ethnic-path upward and downward assimilation. The former pair of concepts refers to immigrants' integration into the middle and higher or lower and underclass socioeconomic strata of the receiver society. Ethnic-path (otherwise called ethnic-adhesive) assimilation refers to immigrants' incorporation into the host society within an ethnic group; like mainstream trajectories, it can involve upward or downward mobility. Immigrants assimilating in the ethnic-path pattern can display home- or host-country orientations in different scopes and intensities. The ethnic-path integration pattern can also represent an accommodating or resilient type of assimilation. The latter denotes a set of attitudes and behaviors most commonly displayed by socioeconomically disadvantaged (im)migrants who resist the absorption of host-society orientations and activities and deliberately maintain or even exaggerate their ethnic separateness. I also distinguish between the ongoing process of integration into the host society experienced by immigrants who live there permanently, and the incidental or sporadic assimilation of sojourners who frequently move back and forth between the receiver and sender countries.

The book consists of six chapters and an extensive conclusion:

Chapter 1 compares the main patterns of migratory process, settlement, assimilation, and transnational engagements of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants to America, locating them in the economic, political, and cultural contexts of those settlers' home and host societies of the time and against past and present immigrant-actors' life-orientations and projects.

Chapter 2 examines the mechanisms of contemporary international migration, formulates an encompassing sociological interpretation of transnational population flows, and applies it to the eight empirical cases.

Chapter 3 considers the reasons immigrants in the groups selected for examination chose to settle in particular cities/regions in the United States, patterns of their residential settlement and incorporation into the local economies, and their civic-political reception by native-born Americans. This discussion is preceded by an introduction of the current understandings of assimilation in the field of immigration and ethnic studies in the United States.

Chapter 4 investigates different modes of sociocultural and civic-political assimilation to the host, American society of members of the eight contemporary immigrant groups selected for comparison.

Chapter 5 identifies different forms and the main social correlates of immigrants' transnational engagements in the economic, political, and cultural realms. The specific configurations of transnational engagements of selected immigrant groups are comparatively examined, and, next, different forms of coexistence of immigrants' assimilation to the American society and their transnational involvements are identified.

Chapter 6 considers the main issues related to the experience of the second generation discussed in current social science studies in the field.

In Lieu of Conclusion I point out, first, some interesting modifications to the structuration model and current understandings of immigrants' assimilation and transnationalism suggested by the preceding analyses. Next, I identify and locate in their generating societal contexts the main issues and explanatory approaches informing the study of (im)migration in selected regions of the world, and I suggest some promising directions of future inter-regional collaboration among the sociologists of (im)migration.

1

The Experience of Old and New Immigrants: A Comparison

We compare here turn-of-the-twentieth-century (1870s–1914) and contemporary (1965 to the present) economic, political, and sociocultural circumstances of past and present immigrants' lives in their home countries and in the United States and, in these contexts, those peoples' decisions to cross the Atlantic, their most common assimilation patterns and forms of transnational engagements. In the last section of the chapter, I point out the main similarities and differences in the impact of past and present actor-immigrants on the structures of their home and host societies. The aim of this analysis is to identify the common features of the experience of members of the previous and contemporary "great waves" of American immigration and, next, to compare them to each other looking for major similarities and differences. (For other historical–comparative studies of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants in America, see Foner 2000, 2005; Min 2002; Foner and Fredrickson 2004; Perlmann 2005. See also Gibson and Lennon 1999 on historical statistics of the foreign-born population in the United States since 1850.) Because subsequent chapters on cross-border movement, integration trajectories, and home-country involvements of members of the eight present-day immigrant groups contain information with bibliographic reference to both general and group-specific contemporary studies on these issues, I illustrate and annotate here primarily turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrant experience as recorded in contemporaneous and historical studies. As I compare the old and new great waves of immigration, I summarily identify the general features of contemporary immigrants' situations which will be reiterated and discussed in greater detail later in the book.

Circumstances triggering international migration

The most important finding revealed by comparing historical and contemporary studies of macro-, local-, and individual-level circumstances of travels to America of past and present (im)migrants is that these contributing conditions have been broadly similar over the years. At the same time, there are several differences in the similar contributing factors so that each picture presents, as in a turned kaleidoscope, a unique composition.

Let us compare, first, the socioeconomic and political circumstances in sender and receiver countries which triggered the journeys to America of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and present-day immigrants. The main similarity between the past and present situations has been the global arrangement of the economic push-and-pull forces of population movements. Then as now, these forces have drawn migrants from economically underdeveloped to highly developed parts of the world in a compass, SE–NW direction. In the late nineteenth century the United States was undergoing a rapid transformation. A proliferation of factories accompanying urbanization and industrialization needed large and growing quantities of labor that the domestic supply was unable to satisfy. This voracious demand "pulled" into the American economy millions of income-seeking immigrants who had been "pushed" out of their regions by overpopulation and by structural (that is, built into the existing economic systems) poverty and sluggish development. As a result, during the last four decades preceding World War I, no less than one-third of the increase of the American industrial labor force came from immigration. (Table 1.1 illustrates this rapid increase in immigrant population in the United States in the period of urbanization and industrialization. On America's rapid economic development between 1870 and 1914, see Walett 1963; Hoerder 1985; Hillstrom and Hillstrom 2005; Hatton, O'Rourke, and Taylor 2007; Klein 2007; McDonald 2008.)

Five important differences, however, between the push-and-pull economic forces triggering international migration today and a century ago, make the situations now and then qualitatively different. The first is the considerably "densified"—in terms of the number and diversity of links and interconnections—and very much expanded-in-scale contemporary capitalist world-system which now includes faraway regions that had not been affected by these forces a century ago. The second, related, difference has been the unprecedented advancement in present-day communication and transportation technologies that makes transnational traveling quick and easy even between the remote corners of

Table 1.1 Foreign-Born Population in the United States by Region of Birth: Selected Years, 1850–2000

Year	**Numbers (in millions)**	**Region of Origin (Percentage of Total Foreign-Born Population)**				
		Europe	**North America**	**Latin America**	**Asia**	**Other areas**
2000	21.1	15.3	2.5	51.0	25.5	5.7
1990	19.8	22.9	4.0	44.3	26.3	2.5
1980	14.1	39.0	6.5	33.1	19.3	2.1
1970	9.6	61.7	8.7	19.4	8.9	1.3
1960	9.7	75.0	9.8	9.4	5.1	0.7
1930	14.3	83.0	9.2	5.6	–	2.2
1900	10.4	86.0	11.4	–	–	2.6
1880	6.7	86.2	10.7	–	–	3.1
1850	2.2	92.2	6.7	–	–	1.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports Series P23-206 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2001), Figure 2-1 and Figure 2-2, p. 11.

the world. A third difference has to do with the nature of economic development and the passage of time. Although the capitalist world-system has retained its inherent SE–NW structural inequalities in terms of the economic development of its particular parts, regions that previously were peripheral, such as East Europe or the Mediterranean, have since moved to semi-peripheral or periphery-of the-core positions, while those recently incorporated into the present-day global world-system have entered with peripheral status. (On South and East Europe's peripheral position in the Atlantic world-economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Pollard 1973; Briani 1979; Bairoch 1982; Berend and Ranki 1982; Chirot 1989; Sylla and Toniolo 1991; Vecoli and Sinke 1991; Cohen and Frederico 2001.)

As a result of the above transformations, the regional origins of most contemporary immigrants to the United States have significantly changed in comparison with those a century ago, although, as before, they represent the less- and underdeveloped S/E parts of the world. As Table 1.1 demonstrates, during the three decades between the 1880s and 1914, more than 80 percent of all immigrants came from South and East Europe, and about 4 percent each from Asia and the Caribbean and Central America. A century later, these proportions are reversed: more than 80 percent of immigrants arrive from Central America and the Caribbean (45 percent) and Asia (37 percent), and less than 15 percent from Europe. Contemporary immigrants' regional and national origins have made a visible change in the general profile of present-day arrivals in the United States compared to the previous great migration wave. Another change—and the fourth important difference underlying the economic forces triggering past and present migrations—has been class, or the socioeconomic composition of old and new immigrants. The previous migration wave was composed primarily of uneducated, un- or low-skilled people, while a significant proportion of contemporary (im)migrants are highly educated with professional and managerial status. In terms of macro-structural circumstances generating transnational population movement, this change is the result of a gradual economic development in sender, non-core parts of the world on the one hand, and, on the other, of the postindustrial transformation of core (here, the United States) economy that has greatly increased the demand for a highly skilled workforce (this latter development will be discussed in Chapter 3).

The fifth difference between the operation of SE–NW push-and-pull forces today and a century ago is related to the above-mentioned transformations of sender- and receiver-country economies. The rapid expansion of white-collar and service jobs has led to the mass entry of women into paid employment. This development has been accompanied by changes—in some world regions quicker than in others—in cultural norms and expectations regarding gender roles and, especially, regarding women's entry into the public sphere. This economic and cultural transformation has, in turn, changed the gender composition of contemporary immigrants by significantly increasing (from 20-odd to about 50 percent) the proportion of women among international travelers. (On transformation of contemporary sender and receiver economies and the mass entry of women into the labor markets, see Eyerman 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; on the latter in the United States, see Cobble 2007; on the transformation of gender composition of the contemporary international migration, see Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003.)

In comparison with the enduring features of the economic push-and-pull forces triggering international migration, another macro-structure relevant to transnational population movements, that is, immigration policies and practices of the affected nation-states and nongovernmental organizations, has changed dramatically since the turn of the twentieth century. The development of greatest consequence for contemporary international migration has been the politicization of this issue, that is, the question of whether, where, and which migrants are able to travel. At the turn of the twentieth century these decisions were by and large the prerogative of the migrants themselves and their local communities, contingent on the general and local economic conditions in the sending and receiving societies and on availability of transportation.[1] Today, international migration is intricately entangled in politics and ideology, and negotiated at the "upper levels" of the contemporary global system far above the heads of those personally interested.

At the same time, there exist today, absent from the international political landscape in the past, multiple international and regional bodies founded on the principle of universal human rights, including the freedom of movement, that try to constrain individual states'/regions' policies restricting human movement. (This principle was first formulated in the United Nations declaration in 1948, and has since been amended and expanded in nearly 60 proclamations, more than one-fourth of which concern migrants and refugees, issued by international agencies at worldwide and regional levels; see Zolberg 1981; Goodwin-Gill 1989; Fuchs 1990.)

We now turn to the agentic: practical, habitual, and projective considerations of prospective migrants then and now as they have impacted upon the situations they encountered.[2] The enduring poverty, the lack of employment/income opportunities in the émigrés' surroundings, and the practical need to leave in search of a livelihood have been basic similarities in past and present travelers' decisions to migrate. For many, then and now, this practical reason has been political turmoil or instability in their countries, or persecution directed at their ethnic/religious group.

Both then and now decisions to go have been made interactively in the family and in consideration of its current situation and future needs, although high-skilled, especially single contemporary travelers who have advance knowledge of the language and cultural habits of the receiver society and whose professional specializations guarantee well-paid and secure employment after resettlement often consider individually the pros and cons of emigration and individually act upon these assessments. As migration to America became a more and more common social practice—a collective habit in the structuration language—in the immediate environment of potential travelers, now and then these decisions, whether arrived at through an exchange with kin and acquaintances or individually, became easier to make.

The fact that turn-of-the-twentieth-century potential immigrants to America were, as we have seen, predominantly men, was the outcome of habitual and practical considerations: venturing into the outside world was men's prerogative and, as cross-border migration became more and more common in particular localities, prospective travelers learned from their predecessors in America that they had the skills that the receiver-country's urbanizing–industrializing economy needed most: their hands and muscles and their readiness for hard physical work.[3] Paradoxically, one might hypothesize that those immigrants' skills were actually better fitted to the demands of the labor market they were to enter than those of their contemporary successors who join a flexible and insecure postindustrial labor market likely to keep them (under)employed, or downgrade them occupationally (we shall see illustrations of such situations in Chapter 4).

Different practical-cum-habitual considerations have informed present-day highly skilled male and female migrants' decisions to leave their country. Their human capital or professional experience has already been tested in the home country and they usually have been informed about or even pre-arranged before departure employment in the United States. The culture of migration which "naturalized" cross-border movement in search of a better life, prevalent a century ago in particular localities, has today become much more widespread, even global due, first, to the already-mentioned rapid advancement in transportation and communication technologies, and, second, to pervasive media images of mobile members of a successful transnational middle-class.

An important practical consideration facilitating past and present migrants' decisions to leave their countries has been the availability of transnational support networks created by immigrants in the course of cross-border travels. In addition to returning migrants, "[t]he most effective method of (recruiting) and distributing immigrant labour in the United States . . . is the mail service" and the returning migrants, concluded a report prepared by the U.S. Bureau of Labor at the beginning of the twentieth century (Sheridan 1907: 407–08). And according to a turn-of-the-twentieth-century student of labor migrations in East European villages, which applies to Polish as well as other South and East European transatlantic travelers,

> Migrants from villages in southern Poland [then part of the Austrian Monarchy—E.M.] constitute among themselves a kind of employment agency remaining in constant contact with each other . . . From one or a few [who had gone earlier] they receive information about

> the prospects so that most often they leave with a conviction that . . . they will find jobs in the course of a few days.
>
> (Bujak 1901: 93–94)

Today, phone calls and the Internet have replaced letters, but the strategy remains the same: immigrants who have paved the way inform those at home about conditions of work and possibilities of saving money. They help in the process of migration and settlement in the new place, sustaining in this way the transnational flow of people. Combined with the demands and opportunities of the American economy, these social support networks and the individual decisions to migrate they facilitate have led to the emergence of large immigrant settlements in specific parts of the country. Thus, in the year 1900, the five states most highly populated by new immigrants were New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Michigan (Reports of the U.S. Immigration Commission: Immigrants in Cities, 1911; Bodnar 1985; Nugent 1992). A century later, these are California, New York, Florida, New Jersey, and Illinois (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Massey 2007; Waters and Ueda 2007).

There are two noteworthy differences, however, in the importance and "content" of social networks in prompting past and present migrants to cross the Atlantic. First, present-day immigrant support networks offer assistance, not needed by their predecessors, regarding ways to avoid immigration restrictions and in this way support practical–projective security considerations of prospective undocumented sojourners. The second difference concerns contemporary highly skilled immigrants, a novelty in the class composition of the present-day wave, who usually plan and negotiate their entry into the American labor market without the mediation of their fellow ethnics, either individually (on the basis of merit) or by relying on support networks from members of mainstream society.

Potential émigrés' projective agency or their expectations of the outcomes of migration are similar now and then in two aspects: members of both great waves of migration have shared the image of America as the "Land of (Unparalleled) Opportunity," and both expected to significantly better their lives there. "Everybody was talking about America . . . (My family was hopelessly poor) so I thought this"—this reminiscence from a 1927 memoir of a Polish immigrant echoed in similar stories from other South and East Europeans at that time and it still reflects the dreams of thousands of contemporary impoverished travelers to American from (semi-)peripheral parts of the world—"I will go to

America, work for a few years, save money, will return . . . and I will marry into a *gospodarstwo* (farm), and I will be a *kmiec* (yeoman)" (*Pamiętniki Emigrantów*, 1977, Vol. II: 299). (On turn-of-the-century immigrants' dreams of success in America, see Balch 1910; Taylor 1971; Morawska 1989; Wyman 1993; Hoerder and Moch 1996.) An important difference for present-day immigrants is that success in the host society means not only, as for their predecessors, material improvement of their living standards, but also career advancement and, through it, the fulfilment of the personal potential for growth and self-realization which can be envisioned as an individual or individual-interactive project.

Immigrants' assimilation into the host society

If the overall outcome of our comparison of the international migration process of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary travelers has been that of similarity with notable differences, a comparative examination of past versus present immigrants' assimilation trajectories yields, rather, a picture of difference with notable similarities. As in the case discussed above, different historical circumstances at the macro- and individual levels make for patterns with some similar components, but unique in their compositions.

A review of the extensive literature on assimilation of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants in the United States reveals five main areas of difference in the patterns of their adaptation to the host society now and then. (For overviews of studies of past and present immigrants' assimilation patterns, see Morawska 1990; Foner 2005.) The first important difference is that the modes of assimilation of contemporary immigrants have significantly diversified in comparison with those of their predecessors a century ago. As we shall see in Chapter 4, present-day immigrants can adapt to the host society in several different ways, ranging from global citizenship and mainstream upward and downward assimilation, to ethnic-path assimilation of middle-class, lower-class, and ethnic-resilient (deliberately separatist or oppositional) varieties. In comparison, the almost exclusive assimilation trajectory of turn-of-the-century immigrants was the ethnic-path adaptation within their own communities (on this dominant integration trajectory among South and East European immigrants, see Sarna 1978; Nelli 1979; Archdeacon 1983; Daniels 1990; Conzen et al. 1992). The second, related difference is that the present-day diversification of assimilation trajectories and, especially, the mainstream upward mode of integration contains an option of individually projected and realized advancement—the largely unavailable choice for turn-of-the-twentieth-century arrivals because of their backgrounds in the ascriptive sociocultural structures of home societies, weak human capital, and the widely accepted exclusionary principle of the operation of the receiver, American society.

The third interesting difference is the nature of past and present immigrants' ethnic-path assimilation to the host society. Two specific disparities are noteworthy. First, whereas turn-of-the-century immigrants' ethnic-path integration into American society encompassed all three major dimensions of assimilation as specified by Milton Gordon (1964) in his classic theoretical representation of this process—cultural (extrinsic and intrinsic), social (formal and informal), and identificational—their contemporary successors may adapt in the ethnic-path mode in one realm of their lives and in the mainstream upward mode in another. And second, while the ethnic-path mode of assimilation of "old" immigrants was, by and large, accommodative, that is, it evolved peacefully alongside the mainstream receiver society, this pattern of integration among their present-day successors contains also the intentionally separatist or oppositional—ethnic-resilient—variety. (I have adapted here the notions of accommodative vs. oppositional modes of ethnic mobilization as used by Hechter 1975; Leifer 1981; Olzak 1983.)

The fourth visible difference between the process of integration into the host society of past and present immigrants, especially those who assimilate in the ethnic-path trajectory, has been a much more assertive public presence of contemporary ethnic Americans. Their sense of civic-political entitlement sharply contrasts with the orientation of turn-of-the-twentieth-century closet ethnics who kept their languages, customs, and their ethnic grievances within their own communities and who avoided "rocking the boat" by presenting their claims in ethnic terms then viewed as divisive and "unassimilated."

Last to note, a fifth difference revealed by a comparison of the assimilation patterns of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants pertains to gender roles and relations and, specifically, women's economic and civic-political integration into the host society, their role in maintaining home-country traditions and Americanizing their homes, and the impact thereof on gender relations in immigrant homes and communities. I will return to this issue shortly.

We now compare the main features of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary societal structures in which immigrants' assimilation evolved into the host, American society and the agentic considerations of immigrants themselves which co-shaped this process regarding the four issues identified above.

The multiplication of present-day assimilation patterns has been the outcome of the interplay of economic, political, and sociocultural structural circumstances of immigrants' incorporation into American society and their human capital and life-orientations. The earlier noted postwar transformations of sender and receiver economies have certainly been an important contributing factor. Although uneven and halted and unable to create channels for upward mobility for the majority, the economic development of (semi-)peripheral regions of the world—the senders, as before, of the bulk of contemporary immigrants to America—has led to a general increase of educational levels and occupational skills in the population.[4] On the receiver (here, American) side, the restructuring of the economy has produced a bifurcated labor market with a hardened barrier between the high-skilled, well-paid workforce very much in demand and the underclass composed of low-educated, low-skilled residents often of foreign birth. Combined with the politicization of immigration to the United States, this feature of the postindustrial capitalist economy has created a category of permanently un(der)employed undocumented residents. This structural double-exclusion of a large segment of present-day American immigrants has contributed to the emergence of new categories of integration, without equivalent a century ago, including downward assimilation and an oppositional ethnic-resilience mode of adaptation. Although located at the bottom of the industrial class structure and, as we shall see shortly, considered racially inferior to the dominant, West European groups, turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants constituted an integral part of the mainstream American economy and body politic.

Another structural factor of great consequence for the diversification of assimilation trajectories of present-day immigrants, and, especially, for the emergence of the mainstream upward trajectory of integration, has represented a political-cultural-social cluster. Postwar decades witnessed a shift from a nativist-exclusive to a pluralist political ideology and public practice of the American nation-state, programmatically tolerant of "egalitarian diversity" and upheld by an array of legal provisions that provide formal recourse in case of violations. Today, a range of legitimate options is available to immigrants in terms of identities and forms of participation, ranging from global to transnational, national, and local and different combinations thereof. Although the contemporary idea of a "just pluralism" does not embrace equally all communities, especially those of non-whites (who constitute a large proportion of contemporary immigrants—see below), the existing laws and public discourse create institutional channels and a juridico-political "climate" for groups and individuals in which they can either pursue their grievances or remain "other" without fear of opprobrium and accusations of state-national disloyalty.

The replacement of nativist proclamations with legal provisions for and public declarations of ethnic pluralism has been accompanied by a slower and often "reluctant" but nevertheless progressive opening up of the orientations of native-born Americans toward ethnic and racial "others." (On the history of American pluralism, see Higham 1971; Gleason 1992.)[5]

Prejudice and discrimination against newcomers by mainstream American society and its institutions have certainly been enduring features of immigrants' experience then and now. Contrary to the present-day matter-of-fact representation of the descendants of turn-of-the-twentieth-century South and East Europeans in the United States as "naturally white," native-born Americans perceived earlier immigrants as "other" and a racially inferior species. The meaning of the concept of race accepted at the turn of the twentieth century differed from present-day understanding in that it was more inclusive and ambiguous. During the early decades of the twentieth century widely recognized "scholarly" racist theories and the dominant, native-born American public opinion viewed groups defined today as white as racially differentiated by physical features, skin "hues," and genetically determined mental capacities. The "Nordic race" was considered superior to all others. In this scheme South and East Europeans—immigrants and their American-born children—were perceived as racially (and not just nationally or ethnically) distinct and inferior to the dominant Anglo-Saxon and other Northwestern European groups. They are made of "germ plasm," "the Slavs are immune to certain kinds of dirt. They can stand what would kill a white man," Italians' "dark complexion . . . resembles African more than Caucasian hues," Jews or "furtive Yacoobs . . . snarl in weird Yiddish"—examples of such racist pronouncements about those "suspicious aliens of inferior species" by respectable public personae in respectable American institutions such as Congress, Harvard University, the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the American Federation of Labour (AFL), and the like, were common. (On those institutions' perceptions of South and East European immigrants and their offspring in racial terms, see Higham 1984; Roediger 1991; Kraut 1994; Jacobson 1998; Gutterl 2000;

Guglielmo and Salerno 2003; Foner and Fredrickson 2004.) The exclusion of South and East Europeans from closer social relations with the natives and open discrimination against them at work and in public places resulted in large part from these accepted perceptions.[6]

In comparison, the contemporary racism of Americans has been tempered or potentially tempered by the already-noted shift in the official American civic-political ideology accompanied by the institutionalization of practical measures to realize it, including weapons to fight racial discrimination. At the same time, however, American racial perceptions, rather vague regarding turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants, have now rigidified into a dichotomous, black–white racial divide that privileges one (white) and disadvantages the other (black) segment of the American population. This affects foreign-born Americans who have been assigned the "inferior" label in terms of their chances of socioeconomic achievement and political participation—the two basic aspects of their assimilation into the mainstream society. (Asians such as the Chinese, Vietnamese, or Filipinos who, unlike most dark-skinned Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, cannot be classified into any of the opposite black–white categories, are viewed as racially "separate.") The largely non-white composition of post–World War II immigration to the United States has been a contributor and at the same time an effect of this racial dichotomization. Contemporary immigrants classified as black cannot escape their ascription to the second-class group of Americans. In contrast, turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants and their offspring—the "dark Caucasoids" according to the mainstream American media—could and did "become white" through cultural Americanization (such as losing their accents, often anglicizing their names, and generally assuming mainstream American lifestyles) and gradual upward mobility into the middle socioeconomic strata. A combination of economic, political, and cultural features of the present-day American society (public declarations of egalitarian pluralism as the societal principle, non-white immigrants' disproportional entrapment in the underclass of the host-society postindustrial economy, and the inescapability of their color in the accustomed cultural constructions of group membership by the natives) has contributed to the emergence of the ethnic-resilient mode of assimilation.

Immigrants' own skills, orientations, and life-goals or, in the language of the structuration model, their agentic contributions to the multiplication of present-day versus turn-of-the-twentieth-century assimilation patterns have differed in four major aspects. The most obvious to note has been the diversification of contemporary immigrants' human capital and, in particular, the presence in the United States of foreign-born men and women whose high education and professional skills and expectations equip them with the habituated-practical-projective orientation toward an encompassing—material, occupational, social status, and personal—success in the mainstream society. In comparison, the mass of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants, who were poor, barely literate (either in English or in middle-class cultural coda) and lacking occupational skills for upward mobility in the urban–industrial society, had much lower and narrower aspirations. They came to work hard in American factories and earned enough money to better the material standard of living of their families at home and, over time, in their ethnic colonies in the United States. The second, related difference between past and present immigrants' orientations and practices regarding their experience in America concerns their practical-and-projective considerations regarding the use of social networks of assistance in the realization of their projects. Whereas both turn-of-the-previous-century and contemporary immigrants have relied on the social support networks of their fellow-ethnics and on cultural bonds provided by their ethnic communities to help them integrate into American society, as pointed out at the beginning of this section, present-day immigrants, men and women alike, equipped with strong human capital and high aspirations of success can and do assimilate directly, by mobilizing the faculties of their human agency on an individual basis, into the economy and society of mainstream society and its "dominant profile of cultural orientation" (Kluckhohn 1950).

The third important difference between old and new immigrants' agentic considerations co-shaping their assimilation trajectories has been a sense of civic entitlement among the latter. Having come from still largely traditional, postfeudal societies, turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants had a deeply habituated sense of social ascription, in this case, a "natural" subordination to the better classes at least in the initial decades of their American sojourns, and, deriving from the shared worldviews transplanted from the home-country and from their experience of exclusion in the host, American society, a limited sense of group and individual rights. The sense of civic entitlement among their contemporary successors has been the outcome of the official pluralism of today's American society and, among highly skilled immigrants, their high-power human capital in demand by the host-country's economy. Among middle- and upper-class immigrants this has contributed to the emergence of mainstream upward mode of assimilation and to the assertive nature of ethnic-path trajectory whereby a large segment of today's foreign-born Americans openly display simultaneous involvement in both home- and host-country affairs. (As we shall see below, turn-of-the-century immigrants maintained "closet" transnational connections.) Combined with strong human capital, this sense of entitlement enhances, in turn, the individual mechanism of present-day high-skilled immigrants' individual agency. Among low-educated, low-skilled, especially non-white, present-day immigrants this sense of civic entitlement accompanied by anger and frustration at the unrealized promise of egalitarian pluralism has contributed to the emergence of a resilient ethnicity mode of assimilation. Interestingly, unlike assertive displays of selective ethnic attachments among immigrants assimilating in the mainstream upward trajectory which are generated by individual agentic preferences or by a combination of those with transactional engagements, the mobilization of orientations and practices informed by the spirit of resilient ethnicity primarily occurs, as suggest studies of this phenomenon, through the process of interaction with similarly positioned and like-minded fellow ethnics.

The last agentic circumstance contributing to the diversification of present-day assimilation trajectories or, more accurately, to the prevalence of the ethnic-path mode of incorporation of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants, has been the latter's widespread "ideological" preoccupation with their homelands which precluded a wholehearted commitment to the host, American society. By the late-nineteenth century most of the home countries of South and East European immigrants were still deeply immersed in building national allegiance among the wider populations. Several countries, especially in the eastern parts of the Continent, struggled to gain (or regain) state-national sovereignty. The overwhelming majority of turn-of-the-twentieth-century arrivals in the United States, more than 90 percent of whom were of rural backgrounds, came to this country with a group identity and a sense of belonging that extended no further than the *okolica* (local countryside).[7] Paradoxically, it was only after they came to America and began to create organized immigrant networks for assistance and self-expression and establish group boundaries as they encountered an often hostile environment that these immigrants developed modern, translocal national identities. The idea of the home-country Fatherland as promulgated by the cultural elites of the then either stateless or recently politically unified origin-nations of immigrants and emulated by immigrant secular and religious leaders, foreign-language newspapers,[8] and (parochial) school textbooks in (im)migrant settlements defined the nation as the primordial, encompassing symbolic community and nationalism and national identity as a moral imperative and the exclusive loyalty. Immigrants had widely absorbed this orientation. Reflecting the prevailing sentiments at the time, when asked why he did not become an American citizen, a Lithuanian-born resident of Detroit explained in 1921 that he did not want to "forswear himself" (quote from Morawska 1996: 239).

Except for Russian Jews who came to settle in America for good, the minds of most South and East European immigrants were for a prolonged time focused on when they would return to their home villages. Combined with their sojourner mentality, the exclusive obligations embedded in the emerging sense of national identities among turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants made them so intensely preoccupied with the affairs in their countries of origin that for an extended period the ethnic "mix" in their assimilation contained predominantly home-country elements and only a small admixture of host-country acquisitions. (On the enduring sojourner mentality of the majority of turn-of-the-century immigrants, see Wyman 1993. On immigrants' acquisition of home-country national consciousness in their ethnic colonies in America, see Greene 1975; Bodnar 1985; Conzen et al. 1992; Morawska 2001.) In comparison, unless they are members of political diasporas forced to leave their countries against their will and anxiously waiting to return, contemporary immigrants who come with already-formed national identities and whose home and host countries recognize dual national/ethnic commitments as legitimate do not experience such incompatible commitments which narrow their options for ways to integrate into the host, American society.

The major structural and agentic factors contributing to the second of the main discontinuities between past and present immigrants' assimilation patterns include the more encompassing and largely accommodative nature of the former's ethnic-path integration process, which has already been identified in the discussion of the differentiation of present-day assimilation trajectories. I reiterate them summarily below.

We first consider the all-encompassing versus fragmented nature of past and present immigrants' ethnic-path mode of integration to the host, American society. Although turn-of-the-previous-century immigrants were employed in the receiver country's mainstream economy, because they usually worked in "national gangs" of unskilled labor—such arrangement was useful to employers who assigned ethnic supervisors to the group with the role of managing its work process and to the immigrants who did not know English—their contacts with native-born Americans were limited. (The exception here was that of foreign-born

South and East European women employed as maids in middle-class American homes—see below on gender differences in past and present immigrants' assimilation trajectories.) It should be noted, however, that while this limited economic and social contact with native-born Americans resulting from the organization of industrial labor definitely contributed to the absence of mainstream modes of assimilation among turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants, the latter had access to a particularly class-specific form of civic-political assimilation-qua-Americanization: the labor unions. Although they long excluded "foreigners," during the New Deal era in the 1930s the labor unions eventually opened their ranks to the new immigrants and their children. (On the protracted exclusion of new immigrants from and their eventual mass entry into the American union movement, see Kolko 1976; Montgomery 1979; Brody 1980.) Although South and East European workers joined the unions as "ethnics" and, therefore—and until post–World War II era—as a separate segment of the American labor force, they nevertheless could and did use this membership as a channel of their assimilation into the American ethnic working class. Immigrants' prolonged residential segregation from native-born Americans (Lieberson 1963; Bodnar 1985) sustained their confinement to their own ethnic communities.[9] The openly nativist, anti-foreign political discourse of the American establishment did not encourage ventures into the host society.

Turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants' agentic characteristics further contributed to encompassing character of their ethnic-path incorporation to the host society. They included the already noted lack of familiarity with the English language, the enduring sojourner mentality, and the exclusive obligations of immigrants' newly formed home-country national identities.

In contrast, the operation of the small-scale, informal, and decentralized primary sector of the American postindustrial labor market offers contemporary middle- and upper-class immigrants—a large population without an equivalent a century ago—an opportunity for everyday professional and informal social contacts with natives of similar status and with their cultural activities. The ethnic residential concentration and segregation from native-born Americans have characterized immigrant groups in the past and in the present (see Chapter 3 on present-day residential patterns of foreign- and native-born Americans), but highly educated and highly skilled present-day immigrants who adapt to the American society in the ethnic-path mode are also accepted as residents in mixed or predominantly native-born American neighborhoods. These structural opportunities of socioeconomic integration and the legal protection of the officially proclaimed civic-political pluralism of contemporary American society empower the practical–projective agency of immigrants in this group to pick and chose—individually or through interaction with their family members and friends—the specific composition of their ethnic-path mode of integration to the host society.

At the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum, the emergence today of a new, ethnic-resilient mode of assimilation has been the outcome of the following interplay of external circumstances and immigrants' reactions to their situations. Two combined postwar developments in American society—the formation of the residentially isolated underclass of permanently un(der)employed people as the integral fixture of the postindustrial socioeconomic structure, and the political doctrine of egalitarian pluralism—have angered and encouraged the disadvantaged groups, here, non-white lowerclass and underclass immigrants, to openly pursue their oppositional ways of life. In contrast, faced with the opportunities for material advancement and a step-by-step intergenerational occupational mobility offered by the industrial capitalist system, and intimidated by the nativist discourse and practice of the dominant groups of the host society, until they belatedly had put down roots in the labor unions, turn-of-the-century immigrants pursued the accommodating mode of assimilation.

The "closet" versus public nature of past and present immigrants' ethnic identities and lifestyles has been a third important difference in the assimilation patterns between these two populations. I briefly note the already-identified dissimilarities in the structural contexts of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants' experiences in the host, American society and in their agentic orientations and practices which account for this contrast. Present-day educated and skilled immigrants' socioeconomic contacts with native-born Americans in the context of the officially sanctioned and legally protected principle of pluralism give those immigrants—those assimilating in mainstream upward as well as in ethnic-path modes—the practical assurance and the projective expectation of their individual and group right to adapt to American society in the ways they choose and a sense of entitlement to display it in public if they wish so: in the décor of their homes, food, dress, ethnic composition of and language used in communication with their friends, forms, and intensity of contacts with their home country. Low-educated immigrants entrapped in the ghetto underclass who choose to pursue the ethnic-resilient mode of assimilation do so, as we have seen, because of the anger resulting from frustrated expectations of egalitarian pluralism and a desire to maintain their group and individual self-respect which is threatened by the rejection on the part of the dominant host society.

In comparison, native-born American public opinion saw turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants as culturally inferior, uninteresting, and potentially dangerous, and there were neither laws nor civil organizations to protect immigrants' rights as foreign-born residents. On the contrary, they were confronted with the then-pervasive suspicion of foreigners' anti-Americanism and wide support among the natives for President Woodrow Wilson's renowned "infallible test" for proper hyphenated Americans (who might retain "ancient affections" but their "hearts and thoughts [must be] centered nowhere but in the emotions and the purposes and the policies of the U.S.A." (after Arthur 1991: 144). Combined with immigrants' sojourner mentality and preoccupation with their home-countries, their intimidation resulting from the civic-political climate in the country led to the practical resolution of keeping their ethnic pursuits closeted or confined within the boundaries of their communities. (On the closet nature of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants' ethnicity and their public insecurity, see Greene 1975; Novak 1975; Higham 1984; Conzen et al. 1992.)

Last to note in this section concerns women's assimilation in public and private spheres and its impact on gender relations in immigrant homes and communities then and now. We first compare past and present women's economic and civic-political integration into the host society. Although both then and now immigrant women seeking gainful employment have tended to find lower-skilled jobs in the American labor market, the post–World War II period has witnessed a large-scale entry of women, including foreign-borns, into the professional and managerial strata. The rapid increase of service-oriented, white-collar jobs in the postindustrial American economy and the new legislation protecting the rights of female workers boosted women's roles in the workforce. As a result, the trajectories of contemporary immigrant women's economic assimilation into the host country have greatly diversified and their participation in mainstream American life through paid employment has significantly increased in comparison with the experience of their predecessors a century ago who, once married, were largely confined to the home.[10]

A significant increase in contemporary immigrant women's participation in American civic-political affairs represents another expansion of the scope of their assimilation into the public sphere of the host society in comparison with the situation of their turn-of-the-century predecessors. American women were given the right to participate in the country's public life as fully fledged citizens considerably later than their counterparts in other Western societies. It was only in 1920 that women were granted the right to vote in American elections, and only in 1923 that foreign-born females could apply for American citizenship independently of their husbands. (On the history of women's suffrage in America, see Tilly and Gurin 1990; on the history of women's rights in Europe, see Bock 2001.) Much later yet, in the post–World War II era, with the shift to pluralism of the American ideology and institutional practice, legal provisions and recourses were implemented to protect gender equality in public life. With these changes in women's legal status as fully fledged American citizens and with their increased education and occupational opportunities came women's (immigrant and native-born) greater assertiveness regarding their place in the public sphere and a sense of civic entitlement which had no equivalent among turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrant women.

The entry of contemporary immigrant women into the public sphere of the host, American society has been an outcome of the country's economic growth and the universalization of the legal–political rights of its residents as well as the socioeconomic and political modernization of immigrants' home-countries, and, on the agentic side, of the important transformation of women's practical and projective orientations. Turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants—men and women—brought with them to America habituated notions of gender-ascriptive roles whereby the realm of women's activities was first and foremost the home and, second, supplementary economic engagement on behalf of the household. These perceptions and practices, although changing slowly under the impact of practical requirements of economic survival in a new country and projective expectations of bettering the immigrant household's material standards which required concerted effort of all members of the family, had nevertheless endured through and were even reinforced during the economic boom of the 1950s. It is true that contemporary immigrants coming from societies with the traditional gender division of labor also bring with them habituated representations, played out in everyday interactions, of gender roles as aligned along the female=private and male=public disjunction. Both in their home countries and in the host American society, however, those immigrants are confronted with representations of women who are actively engaged on partner-like terms in the public realm, and with models of egalitarian gender relations through public education, the media, and legal provisions.

This demonstration effect is particularly strong in the case of highly educated and highly skilled present-day immigrant women whose practical (know-how) and projective (self-realization) considerations lead them to engage in public-realm activities and to do it following the desires of their individual agency, not or only partially negotiated with the members of their families. As studies of gender relations in present-day immigrant homes indicate, however (we shall come back to this issue in Chapter 4), these assertive individualist ambitions and public-sphere involvements of contemporary immigrant women tend to generate considerable tensions between husbands and wives and also between mothers and children. Significantly, few similar reports exist for turn-of-the-previous-century immigrant families.

Regarding women's role in fostering assimilation at home, historical and contemporary studies suggest that in immigrant groups assimilating in the ethnic-path pattern but today also in the mainstream upward category whose members choose to maintain some ethnic traditions, women tend to display stronger ethnic commitments than do men. This is because even when women have engaged en masse in public-sphere activities, the home has remained largely their responsibility which, in the case considered here, involves the maintenance of at least some ethnic traditions, inculcating them into the children, and keeping alive ethnic social ties, especially the local ones.

Turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrant women enthusiastically engaged in local ethnic organizations, usually gender-separate women's clubs and associations, which, as they had basically no access to mainstream American civic-political organizations (except for the labor unions), had by the interwar period become the public sphere of their activities. (On "old" immigrant women's involvement in ethnic-group gender-specific public-sphere activities, see Joselit 1987; Wenger 1987; Toll 1989; Gabaccia 1994.) Although contemporary immigrant women, especially those coming from traditional milieus, also conduct their group public activities in gender-specific associations and networks, unlike their predecessors they also aspire to and gradually gain access to the once men-only venues of public engagement within their ethnic communities and, particularly more educated females, in the mainstream receiver society. At the same time however, contemporary immigrant women, busy with their outside jobs, usually located, unlike workplaces of their predecessors a century ago, far from their domiciles, have been on the whole less active than were the latter in the "ethnic neighbourhood work" and, especially, in voluntary work in their ethnic communities.

Both then and now the material (home furnishings, dress, housewares) and lifestyle aspects of Americanization of immigrant families have been predominantly the prerogative of women. In the past, immigrant women learned these primarily through their common employment as domestics in middle-class American homes and, second, from the foreign-language ethnic newspapers which by the 1920s usually carried a section for women on housekeeping, fashion, and the upbringing of children. (On the role of women in the Americanization of immigrant families' lifestyles, see Ewen 1985; Braunstein and Joselit 1990; Heinze 1990.) Although these modes of women's cultural assimilation still exist, especially among lower-class immigrants and those assimilating in the ethnic-path pattern, more direct, fueled by individual projects, acculturation through mainstream American media, the workplaces, and through immigrant women's personal social engagements with native-born Americans themselves, have become common today, particularly among highly educated professional immigrant women.

Immigrants' transnational engagements

Unlike the comparison of the assimilation experience of past and present immigrants which yields a picture of the overall difference with notable similarities, when we consider their transnational engagements, the outcome is that of similarity with notable differences. Before we proceed, however, a brief clarification is in order of the meaning of the term "transnationalism" used in this discussion (it will be explained at length in Chapter 5). It refers to some combination of plural civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social networks, and cultural identities reaching across and linking people (here, immigrants) and institutions in two or more nation-states in diverse, multilayered patterns.

There have been two basic continuities in immigrant transnational involvements. First, although some scholars have argued that immigrant transnationalism is a product of present-day globalization of the world, this phenomenon was already thriving at the turn of the previous century. (For claims of the novelty of present-day immigrant transnationalism, see Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994; Lie 1995; Glick Schiller 1995; Portes 1997. For evidence of transnational engagements of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants and for their comparisons with the activities of their contemporaries, see Foner 1997; Morawska 2001; and Levitt 2007.) Second, both now and then immigrants' transnational activities involved several social, cultural, economic, and political areas.

Present-day immigrants' transnationalism differs, however, from that of their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors in four ways. First, the former's transnational engagements cover much larger distances and are more frequent and intense than those of their predecessors a century ago. Second, new immigrants' transnationalism is more diverse in form and content than that of old ones. Third, contemporary immigrant women who, like their predecessors a century ago, engage in family and home-sphere transnationalism, have also been active in transnational involvements in fields not traditionally designated as feminine. And fourth, unless they choose so, contemporary immigrants do not keep their transnational activities hidden within the confines of their ethnic circles as did their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors; as is ethnic-path assimilation, multiple connections with their homelands of the present-day American foreign-born population are lived in public.[11]

We begin with the basic similarities and consider, first, the structural circumstances responsible for these enduring features of immigrants' transnational involvements, and, next, their agentic contributors. The availability then and now of transportation and communication technologies making it possible for immigrants to maintain their transnational connections—obviously much more advanced today than they were a century ago—has been a sine qua non condition of these enduring engagements. The representation of immigrants as inferior in the dominant American culture and their exclusion from the mainstream society's social circles—at the turn of the previous century extending to new arrivals en bloc and today narrowed to their low/underclass non-white segment—has been another contributing factor to their maintenance of close ties with their homelands where they were treated with respect. An active solicitation of immigrants' loyalty by past and present sender-country governments has also played a role in sustaining transnational engagements in the diasporas. The efforts to mobilize "their" emigrants' commitments by turn-of-the-twentieth-century sender-country governments were often aimed at squashing immigrants' political activities abroad which were deemed subversive, such as, in the complaint of a Russian official visiting Pennsylvania's coal mines in 1908, among Lithuanians who "awaken a Lithuanian [national—E.M] spirit" and implant it back home when they return (Rubchak 1992). Contemporary sender governments try to gain a following in expatriate communities because a considerable number of home-country economies depend on immigrants' remittances and business investments, and/or because they desire to secure a political "lobby" for their interests with the host-country's political establishment.

As important, the enduring local-level structural factor sustaining transnational involvements of past and present immigrants has been the transatlantic household economy of millions of immigrant households. A century ago immigrant men supervised from across the ocean their family affairs and managed their farms. Such long-distance management required continuous attention and, above all, the financial means to provide the support expected—and demanded—by the migrants' families at home from their American "emissaries." "Homefolk passed judgement on their own in America . . . by the standard of the remittances: this one sends much and frequently, so he is diligent and thrifty; that one sends but little and irregularly so he is negligent and wasteful" (Molek 1979: 45). As we shall see in Chapter 5, although in diversified forms rather than mainly through émigrés' remittances, transnational economic management by immigrants has endured into the contemporary era.

Responding to these structural incentives, the enduring agentic concerns which have motivated past and present immigrants to sustain their transnational involvements have involved, first and foremost, the economic obligations and emotional needs—the habitual–practical considerations in the language of the structuration model mobilized into action through the actual and symbolic interactive process—for maintaining contact with and support for their families and local communities at home. Habituated in the case of present-day immigrants and, among their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors, emergent symbolic commitments to their nations of origin have constituted another enduring mechanism sustaining their transnational engagements. The back-and-forth flow of migrants and dense circulation of letters at the turn of the previous century—between 1900 and 1906 alone 7 million letters from sojourners in America arrived in Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (Balch 1910)—created an effective transnational system of communication, social control and household management that extended both forward from the immigrants' native places into the United States and backward from America to their original homes. As historical records indicate, old immigrants managed to save and transfer home to help their families and support charitable initiatives in their villages up to 75 percent of the average laborer's pay. As their (home-)national identities took firmer root immigrant men also became involved when an important event or issue in the political affairs of their home countries meant support was needed. (Information on past immigrants' transnational activities from Greene 1975; Bodnar 1985; Foner 1997.)

For the majority of old immigrants and for a considerable segment of the new ones it has also been the projective vision of returning home—an agency-mobilizing representation combining individual motivations to enjoy a good life and an image of increased social status derived from interactions with local residents—which, even when it was never realized, for a prolonged time upheld their engagement in home-country affairs.

Different constellations of structural and agentic circumstances account for the four major discontinuities between past and present immigrants' sustained transnational involvements. A much broader geographic scope and frequency of contemporary immigrants' transnationalism in comparison with that of their predecessors has to do mainly with the rapid advancement of today's transportation and communication technologies and with globalization of international migration, in this case, the presence in the United States of immigrants from the remotest parts of the world. The presence today of many more forms and contents of immigrants' transnational engagements than was the case at the turn of the twentieth century has been the outcome of the differentiation of present-day immigrants' socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds noted already in the previous section, and, reflecting it, the diversification of their human capital, interests, and preferences. The range of old immigrants' transnational activities, impressively broad for that matter, primarily covered, in the economic realm, family remittances, and financial support for communal initiatives in the villages; in the social-cultural realm, exchange of information, social assistance, and material objects; and in the political sphere local-level mobilization on behalf of specific causes or events in the home country. In addition to the above activities, transnational involvements of contemporary immigrants include (conducted face-to-face or through the Internet) local, national, and regional business investments; sponsorship of cultural and educational initiatives and support for gender-, race-, or faith-specific causes; and voting in the home country and national-level political lobbying on its behalf in the host society.

Related to the above, the involvement today of immigrant women in the areas previously closed to females, that is, transnational activities in their home-countries' public sphere, especially at the national level, has been an outcome of the elevation of women's educational and occupational status in home- and host-countries combined with legal provisions for their engagement in public affairs. Reflecting these developments on the agentic side has been a considerable expansion of present-day immigrant women's human capital or practical know-how in matters of public life, accompanied with their increased assertiveness as individuals and expectations of self-realization outside of the home.

The structural and agentic factors responsible for the shift from the closet to public character of past and present immigrants' transnational engagements have already been discussed in the context of the ethnic-path assimilation trajectory. They have included, to reiterate, the presence in today's "officially pluralist" America of a range of legitimate options available to immigrants in terms of identities and forms of participation, ranging from global, national, and local and in different combinations thereof, which were not available in the openly nativist American society ever suspicious of foreigners' anti-Americanism. The increased tolerance of émigrés' multiple commitments in present-day sender societies and their governments has also replaced the expectation of their exclusive national loyalty pervasive a century ago.

Contemporary immigrant-actors' orientations toward and practices of transnationalism have reflected these changes. In comparison with closet transnationalists of the previous century, today's immigrants perceive their enduring economic and social-cultural connections with the home country as well as the simultaneous involvement in the civic-political affairs here and there as a matter-of-fact condition or choice (not without tensions, of course) that they can rightfully claim. Their transnational identities are not experienced, or are experienced considerably less intensely than in the past, as problematic and uncomfortable because of the legitimation of "the right to difference" in contemporary American society and the resulting enhanced sense of civic-political entitlement.

Impact of actor-immigrants on the structures of host and home societies

This comparison of the impact of past and present immigrants' activities on their host and home societies has a twofold purpose. One is to complete one full sequence of the structuration process by looking at its actors-(re)constituting-structures phase. The other is to identify the major areas in which turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants' involvement in the receiver and sender societies have had glocalizing effects. Because of the scarcity of historical and sociological studies on this issue, my report here is not as detailed as the analyses in the previous sections.

A comparison of the impact of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants on their host and home societies reveals a picture with recognizable yet distinct features in each period. We first consider the major effects of past and present immigrants' presence and activities on the host, American society's national- and local-level economic, political, and sociocultural structures, and, next, on similar structures of their home societies. Thus, both then and now immigrants' participation in the American labor market has been an integral component of the growth of, respectively, the industrial and postindustrial economies of the country. In this sense it can be argued that turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants' involvement alike has been a sine qua non condition of the (re)constitution—sustenance and development—of the economic structure of the host society. There have been important differences, however, in the scope and character of these effects a century ago and today. Both the turn-of-the-twentieth-century and present-day foreign-born workforce have contributed to the expansion of the American economy at the national level. But because of the mobile, decentralized, and globalized nature of today's postindustrial capitalist production, with significantly more diversified human capital and a greater geographic dispersion of contemporary immigrant men and women, the latter's activities contribute as well to a much broader scope of local-level economies across the United States on the one hand, and, on the other, to the enhancement of American capitalism on a global scale.

Not all involvement of immigrants in the host society's structures results in the latter's glocalization defined in the Introduction as a tangible increase of diversity in social institutions and people's everyday lives achieved through the mixing and blending of different customs and styles. One can argue that turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants' evident contribution to the development of American industrial capitalism notwithstanding, the hierarchical and ethnic-divisive operation of the mills and factories employing the majority of South and East Europeans and their prolonged exclusion from the labor unions largely prevented significant glocalization effects of immigrants' presence on the host-country economy. Small size, high mobility of the personnel, and decentralized operation of companies of the postindustrial era combined with high-level human capital of a large number of present-day immigrants facilitate the glocalization process, although racial prejudice or simply disinterest among native-born Americans can easily slow it down. As for present-day immigrants with big capital and transnational connections who invest in joint ventures in the United States and involve American companies in business abroad, the effect of their activities on the host-country's economy is that of globalization rather than glocalization.

Old and new immigrants' contribution to a thriving multiculturalism "on the ground" of the American society has probably been another important continuity over time, this one in the overlapping civic-political and cultural structures of the host environment. But here, too, there are significant differences between these effects now and then. As repeatedly noted in the previous sections, whereas contemporary immigrants pursue their ethnic activities and make claims in the public sphere of the mainstream society and with a sense of civic entitlement, their predecessors a century ago had been closet ethnics who displayed their differences within their own communities. Turn-of-the-twentieth-century American neighborhoods, churches, schools, and workplaces were certainly multicultural, but it was segmented multiculturalism composed of ethnic niches, and, as a result, the glocalization process was mainly one-sided, that is, the influences from the dominant American society transformed immigrant communities, but the reverse effects were very limited. Today, the official recognition of pluralism as the principle of the American society and its trickle-down effect on the native-born American population through the system of laws, education at schools and in the workplaces, and the media, combined with the diversification of immigrants' human capital and their increased occupational and residential dispersion throughout the dominant society have jointly contributed to the emergence of multiculturalism as mixing-and-borrowing—two-sided glocalization—rather than simply existing next to each other. The spread of ethnic food, music, dress, material artifacts, as well as linguistic borrowings into the mainstream American culture, unknown a century ago, has today become commonplace. Significantly increased, although certainly not predominant, especially across racial lines, are also interethnic friendships and intermarriage. Another important difference between local-level multiculturalism of the American society then and now as the result of immigrants' presence, and the outcome of a similar constellation of factors, has been the emergence today of "individual multiculturalism" next to that of the group. Contemporary immigrants, especially highly skilled men and women who live and work among representatives of the dominant American society can display, if they choose so, their personal ethnic differences in dress, lifestyle, or transnational activities, and individually contribute in this way to the multicultural character of their neighborhoods and workplaces.

It is probably in the political sphere *sensu stricto* at the national and local levels that the impact of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and present-day immigrants' on the host, American society has been the most distinct despite the apparent similarities. The arrival in America of masses of immigrants then and now, both then and now appearing different from and, thus, threatening, to the dominant population, has led to increased concerns among the native-borns about the security of their neighborhoods and work and about the survival of American values, and to a heated public debate about imposing limits on this influx.

Unlike today's debate, however, public pronouncements regarding immigrants a century ago referred to them, as we have seen, in openly racist language representing the new arrivals as inferior and a threat to the integrity of American society. Until the 1920s this exclusionary public discourse was not, however, accompanied by restrictive immigration policies. Although the codes of political correctness backed up by legal provisions today preclude racist proclamations in public, the major effect of the massive influx of immigrants, a large proportion of them non-white, has been the introduction by the U.S. government of restrictive rules and regulations regarding immigrants' entry into the country, duration of sojourn, activities (employment), and civic entitlements (welfare provisions, medical care). These restrictions by host political structures have created an army of undocumented immigrants whose beat-the-system/bend-the-law strategies of incorporation into American society, especially in the economic sphere, corrupt, in turn, from below the very system which excludes them.

In terms of glocalization, because of the much larger and vocal presence of present-day immigrants in American public life, the blending into the host society's civic-political culture of these newcomers' styles (verbal and body language) and concerns (the disadvantaged in their ethnic communities and native regions, civil rights, regional peace efforts) has been much greater than in the era of segmented incorporation and closet ethnics a century ago.

We now turn to the impact of past and present immigrants' activities on their home societies and look first at the national- and local-level economic structures. In this case, too, a comparison shows an underlying similarity with important differences which make for distinct overall pictures in each period. Both now and then the decisions of hundreds of thousands of people to emigrate to the United States in search of a livelihood from un(der)developed regions of the world—South and East Europe at the turn of the twentieth century and impoverished parts of South America, the Caribbean, and Asia today—have relieved overpopulation and hunger in the sender societies. Both now and then multimillion dollar remittances regularly sent back by the immigrants—then mainly men and now both genders—to their home towns and villages have helped their households survive or even better themselves materially.

Because of the increased economic globalization of the contemporary world combined with revolutionary advances in transportation and communication technologies on the one hand, and, on the other, the emergence of a large group of highly skilled travelers with high capital, present-day immigrants' leaving their countries and their transnational involvements there have, however, much more diversified effects on the economies of home societies than did similar activities of their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors. Three major new developments should be noted. Unknown in the past, the phenomenon of the brain-drain or massive emigration of highly educated and highly skilled men and women lured to America and other core countries by the prospects of professional advancement and a much better remuneration presents today a serious problem to the labor markets of un(der)developed economies of sender societies. (In my native Poland the departure since the country's admission to the European Union in 2004 of thousands of computer specialists, engineers, doctors, and nurses to the highly developed western parts of the Continent has considerably undermined the operation of the national economic infrastructure.) At the same time, however, increased circular migrations of a considerable number of highly skilled migrants and the "return of the brain drain" from core countries to migrants' home societies have been noted to contribute toward the dissemination in the latter of a technological and entrepreneurial culture and the know-how (Saxenian 2002). The third effect of contemporary immigrants' activities with no counterpart a century ago has been large-scale investments of émigré capital in their home-country/-region economies which further the latter's incorporation into the global capitalist system.

As in the case of glocalization effects of immigrants' activities on their home-society economic structures, the transformative impact of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and lower-class contemporary immigrants with few resources on their home-country economies has been limited. As noted above, the impact of financially powerful present-day immigrants who undertake large-scale business investments in their home countries/regions has been globalization of those economies more than their glocalization.

Next to consider are sender-society political structures. At the turn of the twentieth century the most visible transformative—here, glocalization—effects of immigrants' transnational engagements and of activities of the returnees on political developments in home societies had a local character. They involved the spread among peasantry in South and East European villages of modern national identities as Lithuanians, Slovaks, or Italians, and of the ideas of democracy and freedom transplanted from immigrant colonies in America.[12] (The earlier-noted sporadic attempts of the oppressor sender-country governments in East Europe to suppress the rising "national spirit" in émigré communities in America appear to have been the main national-level effect at home of immigrants' political activities.)

In comparison, the major political impact of contemporary immigrants on their home societies involves national-level structures, and, specifically, sender-country governments' and other political agencies' efforts to solicit the continued loyalty and engagement of the diaspora abroad by allowing dual citizenship to its members and, increasingly often, voting in their home localities, and by lobbying in émigré communities for support of home-society state-national interests. I am not sure if this development falls under the label of glocalization which denotes the incorporation—here, as a result of immigrants' activities—of foreign influences into the host- or home-society's structures so that the outcome represents a new quality. One could justifiably argue that new policies and the informal soliciting behavior of sender-country governments is the outcome of a large presence of émigrés in a foreign country. But the "foreign influence" is not clear in this case. However, with greater certainty, a minority of immigrants who do take the opportunity to vote in local elections in their home countries and who participate in civic-political actions in their native towns or villages—we examine these issues in Chapter 5—also contribute to a transformation of these local agendas and priorities.

Finally, the most noticeable effect of past and present immigrants' activities on their home societies in the sociocultural realm—and the main similarity between the two periods—has been the emergence of the culture of migration understood as the naturalization of cross-border travels as a social norm and cultural expectation. It has been most pervasive at the local level in the regions most affected by (e)migration to the United States. An important difference is that today these local cultures of migration also encompass independent women travelers.

Both then and now, too, in countries regularly sending large numbers of people abroad the culture of migration has "trickled up" from local- to national-level systems so that the presence of diasporas in the United States or, broader, in the world has become a component of sender societies' national self-representations. Another similarity in the impact of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants' on the sociocultural structures of their home countries has been a transplantation to local sender societies of elements of American material (objects and lifestyles) and symbolic (orientations and values) culture through immigrants' transnational activities and through the returnees and, as a consequence, a transformation of these local systems.

Two noteworthy differences between the two periods should be highlighted before we conclude this comparison. One of them is the already noted important contribution of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants' activities to the spread of modern national identities in their home-country villages—a development without parallel in the contemporary era because the incorporation into sender state-national communities of their citizens, even those in the lower classes, is today much more advanced or complete. The other difference concerns the recognizable glocalizing impact of present-day immigrants—those with high skills, substantial capital, and high-level connections in the home country (a group without an equivalent a century ago)—on the latter's national-level cultural productions, especially in the media and popular entertainment.

2

Mechanisms and Effects of International Migration

The question of why millions of people travel long distances to unknown places has attracted the vigorous attention of immigration scholars: nearly a dozen different theories explain the mechanisms of these transnational movements. In *Worlds in Motion* Massey et al. (1998) (see also Lucassen and Lucassen 1997) provide a comprehensive critical review of these models, so there is no need to reiterate it here. Instead, I propose an encompassing framework to account for international migration which, drawing on these particular theories, reflects the explanatory logic of the structuration model as outlined in the Introduction. This attempt makes up the first section of the chapter. In the next section I comparatively examine the interplay of structural circumstances and agentic considerations which account for migration to the United States of members of the eight contemporary immigrant groups selected for analysis in this volume. In the third, last section I identify the main effects of the departure of migrant actors in these different groups on the sender- and receiver-society structures.

Structuring international migration

Any satisfactory theoretical synthesis of the existing accounts of international migration, Massey et al. (1998) conclude in their assessment of the existing models, must recognize the multiplicity of mechanisms that simultaneously initiate and sustain transnational population flows. In their own widely recognized explanatory account of international migration they include, therefore, macro-level societal structures, local conditions, and migrants' personal motivations and purposes. The premise of the multiplicity of contributing factors informs also the here-proposed conceptualization of international migration as a structuration process. It recognizes, too, non-identical constellations of factors contributing to the triggering and sustaining phases of transnational population movements distinguished by the authors of *Worlds in Motion*. But, I argue, it also elaborates and improves on the account of this phenomenon by Massey et al. which they present as the "laying of the groundwork" toward an encompassing theory of transnational movements. The interpretation of international migration within the structuration framework ameliorates this account in three directions. First, it integrates the structural and agentic mechanisms into a theoretically coherent account of migration as a dynamic process in which causes and effects (re)constitute each other over time. Massey et al. identify these components as the simultaneous contributors to international population movements but do not explain their theoretical relationship. Second, it recognizes the role of culture as both a cause and an effect in sustaining international migration. In *Worlds in Motion* the impact of cultural factors on the perpetuation of population movement, conceived of alternately in structural ["culture of migration"] and individual ["perceptions and motives"] terms, remains theoretically unelaborated. And third, it incorporates the state as a consequential actor in structuring international migration. Having assessed sender and receiver state policies as by and large ineffective in controlling the volume of international migration once it has entered the self-sustaining phase, Massey et al. leave political structures out of their explanatory framework.

In reconstructing international migration as a structuration process, we shall move down what Fernand Braudel (1981) called multistoried societal structures: beginning with the top levels of the operation of world capitalism and international political organizations and legal systems traversing the globe in "seven-league boots," to the intermediate levels of labor markets and national immigration policies, and to the lowest local "structures of everyday life" of potential migrants and, finally, in this multi-level context, to these people's motivations and decisions to travel abroad.

Rapidly advancing communication and transportation technologies, globalization of the capitalist economy, which incorporates today practically the entire world, and the emergence of international bodies and legal regulations founded on the principle of universal human rights, including the freedom of movement, constitute the outermost frame of the multilayer structures providing the context for the prospective migrants' decisions to leave their countries. The technological revolution greatly facilitates transnational exchange and travel between the remotest parts of the world. The contemporary capitalist world-system whose operation sustains profound developmental inequalities between (semi-)peripheral South-East (SE) and core North-West (NW) regions creates the macro-level push-and-pull mechanisms of international "compass" transfers of low- and high-skilled labor as well as the intensified transfers of highly skilled labor within the core. International human rights treaties and organizations provide—at least potentially—the legal recourse and assistance networks for people, especially political refugees, who wish to travel abroad.

If the operation of the three global structures identified here creates circumstances conducive to international migration, the geographic distance between home and potential destination countries, and the functioning of regional- and national-level economic and political structures in home and host countries of potential migrants, have had contradictory effects. Geographic distance plays a role not as a single factor but in combination with the transportation and communication facilities and the economic and political conditions in the potential destination country. Postindustrial transformation of host economies—we focus here on receiver countries in the core parts of the world-system which attract the bulk of international migrants—has divided their labor markets into the capital-intensive primary sectors offering high-skilled, well-paid jobs with good advancement opportunities, and labor-intensive secondary sectors with expendable, low-paid, unskilled jobs, with the overlapping large informal sector specializing in small-scale manufacturing, construction, and service industries. All three sectors display the continued demand for male and female labor which can be treated as an element of the national-level "pull" structural context of the potential migrants' decisions whether and where to travel. In the non-core parts of the world, although persistent economic underdevelopment sustains large un(der)employed and hungry populations, the economic growth in several countries, especially the expansion of white-collar and service jobs, and their political transformation (state-national independence) during the post–World War II era have nevertheless created a sizeable stratum of better-educated men and women with occupational skills. The enduring underperformance of (semi)peripheral economies combined with much lower wages/salaries in comparison with those paid in the core countries, also in the latter's secondary and informal sectors, constitute an integral component of the national-level "push" structural circumstances in which prospective international travelers make their decisions about whether and where to move.

The receiver-countries/regions immigration policies, including regulations of entry, duration of sojourn, permission to work, the treatment of unauthorized immigrants, and of citizenship, represent another layer of national-level structures which usually have an impact on potential migrants' decisions regarding cross-border migration. These regulations are conducive to some and constraining to other groups' options of international travel. For example, the current American immigration policy was originally formulated in 1965 by the landmark Hart-Celler Immigration Act and subsequently amended—to note only the major alterations—by the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, and the Immigration Act of 1990. They establish regional (Western vs. Eastern hemisphere) and per-country numerical limits of immigrant visas (repeatedly adjusted over time, it now stands at 675,000 annually), granting priority to applicants who meet the criteria of preference set by the Hart-Celler legislation, and to political refugees with legitimate claims for this status; a separate number (currently 55,000 annually) of permanent residence permits is also set for "diversity" immigrants through the so-called lottery visa program. The policy also allows for the legalization of unauthorized immigrants already in the country who have lived there a specified number of years (so-called Amnesty law). By 2000, about 3 million illegal immigrants or 85 percent of the accepted (lottery) applications had achieved permanent resident status and several thousand more have achieved it since then. (For a good review of the changing immigration policies of the U.S. government and their outcomes, see Zolberg 1995; Zolberg and Benda 2001; Daniels 2004; Swain 2007.) The ongoing and continuously modified efforts by the European Union to synchronize the immigration policies of its member-states (Cornelius, Martin, and Hollifield 1994; Favell 1998; Hansen and Weil 2001; Lahav 2004) illustrate the operation of regional-level political structures which provide a context for potential migrants' decision-making regarding their international travels.

The operation of the receiver-country/region political structures regulating international migration is not unrelated to the underlying logic of global capitalism. The political and military power of a group of the core receiver states sustains the global economic system through the employment of the neoliberal economic order to regulate global trade and finance as well as international migration, especially through temporary low-skilled labor importation programs and residence laws encouraging settlement of well-to-do foreign investors. For example, between 1942 and 1964 the United States imported almost 5 million temporary agricultural workers, primarily men, from Mexico under the Bracero Programme designed specifically for this purpose, and, in diminished numbers it continues to bring in such laborers under the special

H-2A visa program for temporary agricultural workers. At the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum, in 1992 a new "investor category," noted already in the previous chapter, was created in the U.S. immigration system that guarantees permanent residence to 10,000 immigrants annually in exchange for a U.S. $1 million investment by these newcomers that results in the creation of at least ten jobs in the United States.

Severe malfunctioning or a collapse of the sender-country/region's political structures have notoriously created inducements for massive flights of political refugees most commonly across the border or farther away to remote parts of the world. The breaking down of political establishments which generates the "push" mechanism for international migration can be the result of domestic conflicts or a consequence of sender countries' penetration by global capitalism and core-country interests which dominate its operation. The latter situation has been succinctly summarized by Massey et al. (1998: 41): "political and military interventions by governments of capitalist countries to protect investments abroad and to support foreign governments sympathetic to the expansion of the global market, when they fail, produce refugee movements directed to particular core countries." The core/receiver-country's political establishment can also cocreate a similar effect by surreptitiously inducing the weakening or collapse of a sender-country's political structures for reasons of political animosity or open conflict.

Finally, sender-country local-level economic and political structures contribute yet another layer making up the context for potential men and women migrants' decisions to move. They involve local markets (employment, capital, credit, insurance), income opportunities and distribution, the (mal)functioning of health care, schools, and other public institutions, public safety, and intergroup relations.

The macro- and micro-level structures outlined here shape potential migrants' decisions to travel abroad. As they consider this step, people assess their present and future circumstances. These assessments are influenced by the immediate circumstances of their lives as well as more remote ones which indirectly impact the local environment of prospective migrants, some of which they may be aware of, while others they are not. A good example of the former situation, to use an illustration of postcommunist East Europe from where large numbers of work-seeking male and female migrants migrate to the West, is the radical restructuring of their home-country economies resulting in layoffs of industrial workers, and the failure of nationwide health services as the outcome of political instability. An illustration of the latter is the role of core transnational companies, increasingly influential in East European economies since the collapse of Soviet-dominated regimes, in accelerating massive layoffs of the industrial workforce, and, more generally, the effects on semi-peripheral economies of their incorporation into the capitalist world-system. Whereas these immediate and more remote external circumstances obviously impact potential migrants' decisions to go abroad or stay home, they do not fully determine them. As they contemplate their future actions in the context of the surrounding circumstances, prospective migrants engage the habitual, practical–evaluative, and projective components of their human agency which we defined as the capacity to (re)produce one's life situations—in this case, to remain at home or undertake international travel. Once they make their decisions and act upon them, their actions or non-actions reconstitute or transform their local environments over time, and, if these pursuits involve large numbers of people over a longer period of time, also societal structures at higher stories of the Braudelian construction. For example, when Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 first mobilized migrants from areas with long traditions of labor migrations to the West, specific pockets of local labor markets began to experience labor shortages. Five years later as "migration fever" has spread across the country, the operation of significant segments of the Polish economy is threatened because of the lack of workers and the country is considering altering its immigration policies to bring in substitutes from the easternmost parts of the region.

As already demonstrated in the previous chapter, the "contents" of (im)migrants' habitual-practical-projective agency and, therefore, the forms, directions, and determinedness of actions it shapes significantly differ depending on the decision-makers' socioeconomic position, human capital, gender, race, and their geographic—and, thus, also macro-economic and often political—location vis-à-vis the contemplated destination country. With the presuppositions of the contingency of the agentic constellations on circumstances of actors' lives and of the resulting diversity of outcomes, I identify here the main general elements of the agentic considerations of prospective migrants as they make their decisions to leave. We first focus on the initial or "triggering" phase of international migration.

The contribution of the habitual component of potential migrants' agency to their decisions to initiate travel abroad or stay home includes personal ambition to succeed and an "entrepreneurial spirit" or a "can do" attitude and a willingness to take risks by changing language, culture, and social environment. These orientations, in turn, depend to a considerable extent (although not completely) on human capital, including age, gender in traditional societies, education, skills, and experience. Another important element of the habitual considerations of prospective migrants regarding international travel, again contingent on the level of traditionalism of their society, gender, actors' human capital and life-stage, especially their marital status and family situation, is the collective or individual nature of the decision-making.

The practical component of the prospective migrants' agency serves to evaluate their own and their families' current and future needs and mutual obligations—emotional, material, and, in the case of better-educated/better-skilled people, also professional and personal—against the perceived risks and expected gains of transplantation to another country. Decision-makers' assessment of the effectiveness of their human capital in realizing the purposes of their migration through the negotiation of economic opportunities, the political situation, and potential personal problems (nostalgia, maladjustment) expected in the destination country plays an important role here. I would like to note yet another element of the habitual–practical agency of prospective migrants which plays a role in their decision-making regarding international travel, especially among the underprivileged classes from the poor and/or misruled regions of the world. In Soviet-dominated East Europe where I grew up this ubiquitous orientation-cum-practice was called the beat-the-system/bend-the-rules coping strategy—an important resource of the powerless to play against the inimical structures. There it meant "going around" the constraints and prohibitions imposed by the authoritarian regimes that permeated all aspects of everyday life. In the case considered here, it involves habituated coping tools of potential migrants who consider entering and undertaking employment in the destination country as undocumented residents; tools they expect to use to negotiate their sojourns abroad by appropriating for their own purposes the unavoidable gaps and loopholes in host-country economic and political structures. (On such habitual–practical considerations motivating low-skilled Polish migrant men and women's decisions to travel to and undertake undocumented work in the West, see Morawska 2001.) It may well be, however, that the beat-the-system/bend-the-law orientations also represent habitual-and-practical considerations of the prospective migrants from the top strata of global capitalism who feel sufficiently powerful—not powerless—to undertake this strategy of international migration with impunity. Prospective migrants' assessments of the feasibility of the planned (legitimate or not) routes toward the realization of their purposes also involve practical considerations of the effectiveness of the collective versus individual strategy for pursuing these goals. If there exists a general rule in this matter, it would be that the more disadvantaged potential travelers are and the weaker their human capital is—including socioeconomic position, race, gender, and age—the more they tend to rely on collective strategies in making their plans for international migration.

The specific visions of accomplishments international travel is expected to help realize or the prospective migrants' projective agency which contributes to their decisions whether and where to go differ in content depending on these people's location on the map of the world-capitalist system (the poorer the region the more "basic" their representations of success, and the more resigned or "fatalistic" the decision-makers are, the lesser the likelihood they will dare to go); the political situation of their countries (the "projects" of political refugees fleeing their habitats is that of a secure place in which to stay); their human capital (the higher it is, the more diversified and ambitious their plans for the future), gender (especially in more traditional regions where women's plans for the future are limited to the private sphere of marriage and the family); and intentions of temporary or permanent sojourn abroad (often, although not always related to the geographic proximity between sender and receiver countries). Here again, depending on the potential migrants' circumstances at home and their assessment of the situation encountered and its expected development in the destination country, these projects can involve visions of collective (family) or individual success or a combination of both.

We now turn to the structural and agentic circumstances which perpetuate the already flowing international migration. Regarding this stage of international migration, Massey et al. (1998) state "Each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely" (ibid.: 45). The developments identified in *Worlds in Motion* which alter the social context of subsequent migrations are of a (trans)local nature. They include the expansion of transnational support networks created by the first wave of migrants and the formation of group occupational niches in receiver locations where (im)migrants concentrate, which significantly reduce the cost and risk of further movement; increased income discrepancy in sender communities resulting from the enrichment of migrant households that generates relative deprivation which, combined with the emergence of the culture of migration, enhances the motivation of others to seek income abroad.

International movement, argue the authors, perpetuates itself over time as the cumulative effect of these developments.

The treatment of transnational migration as a structuration process recognizes these (trans)local mechanisms and elaborates on them in the following directions. First, it locates these (trans)local mechanisms within the framework of macro-level structures which are viewed as causally relevant in perpetuating (or restraining) international travels of people from/to particular locations. Two specific changes in national-level economic and political structures with a visible effect on migrants' decisions, which, in turn, reversed to a considerable extent the directions of the already-established flows of population, illustrate this continued relevance very well. At the close of 2008, migration of Polish work-seekers to the United Kingdom met all the above-specified (trans)local circumstances which sustain the transnational flow of people. And yet, the current economic downturn in the receiver country nationwide persuaded thousands of Polish migrant men and women to return home and curtailed the influx of new arrivals. In another example, the proclamation of state-national independence of Kosovo in that same year had not only significantly reduced the long-term flow of migrants from that country to Germany, but mobilized many of those already in the West to return home.

Second, the conceptualization of international migration as a structuration process treats the culture of migration which sustains transnational travels both as a structure and as an agentic faculty of the people involved. As a local structure, the culture of migration provides social norms and expectations sanctioning transnational travel which inform the decisions of people considering this step. In more traditional sender societies these norms and expectations concern primarily men and dependent women joining their husbands/fathers but, with the increasing flow of international movement, the culturally prescribed allowances begin to include women as well. As an agentic faculty, the culture of migration is reflected in habitual and practical–projective considerations of prospective or repeated migrants: their perception of transnational migration as "natural" and internal readiness to follow in the footsteps of the predecessors, combined with the reassuring awareness of the availability of information and assistance from fellow migrants already abroad or back from such sojourns. In sender countries where the culture of migration becomes part of national self-definition, these structure-cum-agency facilitating effects, augmented through public education and the media, are probably even stronger (I am not familiar with any empirical studies testing this proposition).

And third, rather than simply assuming the role of transnational social support networks as a constant in sustaining international migration, the treatment of cross-border population movements as a structuration process makes the emergence, types, and importance of migrant intra-group support networks contingent on the interplay between societal structures and travelers' agentic faculties and, especially, their human capital and expected and actual prospects in the destination country. As we have seen in the previous chapter comparing mechanisms of international travel of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary migrants, the latter's diversified macro-economic and sociocultural origins and human capital have differentiated their reliance on and types of social support networks which now range from high to low intensity, strong to weak ties, and in-(ethnic)group to mainstream contacts for information and assistance.

International migration process in empirical applications: Eight groups compared

Table 2.1 below shows the country-of-origin distribution of foreign-born residents in the United States as reported in the 2000 census (the enumeration includes immigrant groups with 200,000 or more members) and, of concern here, the numbers of immigrants in each of the eight groups examined in this volume admitted to the United States since the 1980s.

As we have seen in the previous section, an encompassing theoretical account of international migration justifiably distinguishes between the initiating and sustaining stages of cross-border population movement. In most of the empirical cases examined here, however—Mexicans, Jamaicans, Koreans, Poles, and Russian Jews who arrived in America since the 1980s—immigration to the receiver country followed earlier waves of fellow nationals who had already formed extensive ethnic communities in the United States. International travel of members of these groups is therefore treated here as sustained migration. In the two cases—Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen and Asian Indian professionals—where the influx to America of sizeable numbers of immigrants in these occupational categories began in the 1980s, I consider the structural and agentic circumstances first triggering and then upholding transnational movement. In the case of first-wave Cuban refugees I identify only the triggering circumstances because of the short-lived nature of this politically motivated transplantation. (The political reasons for this group's arrival in America and its elevated

Table 2.1 Country of Origin of Foreign-Born Population in the United States (2000) and Eight Group Admissions Since 1980s

	Immigrant Numbers (2000)	**Admissions since 1980s**[1]	
		1981–90	**1991–2000**
Canada	820,713		
South America			
Central America			
El Salvador	815,570		
Guatemala	480,665		
Honduras	282,850		
Mexico	9,163,463	1,665,843	2,249,421
Nicaragua	220,335		
South America			
Brazil	212,430		
Peru	278,185		
The Caribbean[2]			
Cuba	872,716	133,992 (1959–61)	
Dominican Republic	685,952		
Haiti	419,315		
Jamaica	553,825	208,248	169,227
Asia			
China (PCR)	1,011,805		
Hong Kong and Taiwan	542,690	379,910 (1981–2000)	
India	1,027,144	250,786	363,060
Japan	347,540		
Korea	870,542	333,746	164,166
Laos	204,285		
Pakistan	223,475		
Philippines	1,374,213		
Vietnam	991,995		
Europe			
West Europe			
Germany	705,110		
Italy	473,340		
Portugal	203,120		
The United Kingdom	677,750		
East and South Europe			
Former Soviet Union	1,253,838	57,677[3]	46,874
Poland	466,740	83,252	163,747

Notes:

[1] The figures include only legal admissions.

[2] As part of the United States, Puerto Rico is not included in the list.

[3] Figures for 1981–90 and 1991–2000 include only Jewish immigrants.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000. Profiles of Demographic and Social Characteristics of the Foreign-born Population http://www.census.gov/population/www.socdemo/foreign/datatbls.html; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 5% Public Use Microdata Sample; *2004 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2004, Table 2, p. 8.

socioeconomic status sharply distinguished it from members of the preexisting Cuban community in the Miami area which did not serve as a social support network for these refugees.)

We reconstruct, first, the macro-level structural contexts of the decisions made by the émigrés. What can be seen right away is that except for global-level advances in transportation and communication technologies facilitating the cross-border travels of all migrants, these contexts were different for different groups.

Both global and, within this framework, the sender- and receiver-society economic contexts for the decision-making of the predominantly male Hong Kong and Taiwanese transnational venture capitalists, technology entrepreneurs, and company managers who considered relocation to the United States, and, specifically, the then-healthy dynamic of the world capitalist economy linking these two parts of the world in which our prospective migrants occupied the capital-rich upper echelons, were decidedly conducive to such movement. (On the structural and agentic circumstances of international migratory movements of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen, see Skeldon 1994; Ng 1998; Pan 1998; Hamilton 1999; Ma and Cartier 2003; Saxenian 2006; Holdaway 2007.) Although representing a different constellation of push-and-pull structural circumstances, the macro-level context of highly skilled male and (a growing minority of) female Asian Indians' decisions to leave for America was likewise conducive to international migration. The quickly rising economy of India created a sizeable new middle-class composed of well-educated scientific and technical professionals, but whose employment and mobility expectations it could not meet. On the side of the destination country, the quickly growing American postindustrial economy generated a sustained demand for a highly skilled scientific and technical workforce which American employers actively sought at home and abroad. These economic opportunities trumped the situations in two countries which traditionally attracted Indian immigrants: Great Britain with a much less robust labor market, and South Africa in the throes of postcolonial transformation. (On the mechanisms of international migration of middle-class Asian Indians, see Jensen 1988; Clarke, Peach, and Vertovec 1990; Rangaswamy 2000; Saxenian 2006; also Peixoto 2001 on transnational migration of professional cadres.)

For middle-class male and female Korean émigrés the structural contexts conducive to their decisions to relocate to the United States included, on the side of the sender society, the rising economy of Korea that, on a considerably smaller scale than in India, also created a sizeable white-collar class whose growing expectations were frustrated at home, and in the destination country the dynamic postindustrial economy offering more and better-paid employment opportunities. (See Bonacich and Light 1988; Min 1996, 2006, and 2007 on circumstances responsible for Koreans' migration to the United States.) Russian Jewish and Polish émigrés in our sample, men and women alike, made their decisions in the context of the rapidly declining late-communist economies and, later, the incorporation of postcommunist East Europe into the global capitalist economy causing serious structural dislocations of the labor force at all skill levels. The "pull" macro-economic context of these people's (e)migration decisions was a demand for labor in the prospective receiver-country economy's primary, secondary, and informal sectors (see Gitelman 1999; Morawska 2001, 2004; Erdmans 2007; Gold 2007 on the mechanisms stimulating relocation to the West, including the United States, of members of these two groups).

The macro-level frameworks for the decisions to emigrate made by Mexican and Jamaican men and women were the (semi-)peripheral economies of Mexico and Jamaica already incorporated into global capitalism with zigzagging economic growth and with large quantities of un(der)employed labor and, especially in Jamaica, a frustrated middle class with blocked expectations, and, on the side of the prospective receiver country, the steady demand for unskilled workers and opportunities for other employment. For Jamaicans (and generally West Indians contemplating international migration), the restriction of Caribbean immigration into Great Britain in the 1960s was an additional incentive to consider the United States instead. (On the factors contributing to international migration of Mexicans, see Bonilla et al. 1998; Tuiran 2000; Martin 2002; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002; Zúñiga and Hernández-Leon 2005; Camarillo 2007; Leach and Bean 2008. On Jamaicans, see Palmer 1995; Chamberlain 1998; Goulbourne and Chamberlain 2001; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001.) Finally, although it was not the reason triggering the flight of Cubans to their neighboring country, a close economic collaboration between pre-revolutionary Cuba and the United States and the prominent role in this exchange of the affluent class of Cuban businessmen and managers who made up the bulk of the first-wave refugee flow to America made their decisions much easier. (On the mechanisms of first-wave Cuban refugee movement to Florida, see Portes and Stepick 1993; Garcia 1996; Pedraza 1996; Grenier and Perez 2003; Stepick et al. 2003; Perez 2007.)

Macro-political structural context and, specifically, a radical change of the political situation in their country was the circumstance most immediately relevant in Cuban refugees' decisions to leave. The communist revolution in Cuba was openly hostile to the native finance, and the business elite was viewed as dangerous "class enemies." The political interests of the United States greatly facilitated the refugees' choice of that country as their destination. The American government, entangled in the Cold War with the Soviet Union and its expansionist strategies, and threatened by the direct geographic proximity to the U.S. territory of a new communist surrogate, was eager to accept staunchly anti-communist Cuban refugees into the country. Just as it was instigated by political circumstances, the emigration of business-class Cuban refugees was ended "from above" by new-regime political authorities by the mid-1960s, but only after a large wave of working-class Cubans managed to escape to Miami (see Chapters 3 and 4 for the consequences of this multilayer transplantation of Cuban refugees for their economic and sociocultural assimilation trajectories).

Although macro-political structures also mattered in setting the context for migration decisions of other groups considered here, like the economic structures, they mattered differently for differently positioned groups. In the case of Russian Jews—already the third wave of post–World War II emigration from that country—it was anti-Semitism embedded in Soviet state institutions accompanied by shifting policies regarding Jewish emigration on the part of the government combined, on the side of the receiver society, with the powerful pro-Soviet-Jews immigration political lobbying of American Jewish organizations and a favorable policy in this matter of the U.S. government. (The cessation of the outflow of Russian Jews—by the late 1990s it became just a trickle—did not have political but demographic reasons. After several emigration waves since the 1970s, there were simply not many of them left in the country.) In Poland, it was the suppression of the Solidarity Movement by the communist regime in 1981 on the one hand, and, on the other, the American government's support for the spirit of this struggle and for its activists, which persuaded about 20,000 of the Solidarity Union's persecuted members to emigrate to the United States. Later, the "domestication" of passports following the collapse of the Soviet-dominated regime (under Communism passports were granted for specific reasons upon application and were surrendered to state authorities upon return) and the elimination (European Union) or expedition (United States) of entry visas for short-term Polish visitors by Western countries opened the door, literally and symbolically, between the former antagonists.

A different political circumstance, the already-noted new "investor category" introduced in 1990 into the U.S. immigration policy contributed the context conducive to migratory decisions of Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese global financiers and transnational entrepreneurs whose home governments have actively encouraged this type of international migration. Furthermore, the admission into the United States of their wives and children was "doubly" guaranteed by the receiver country's legal provision allowing entry and permanent residence to spouses and (unmarried) children of permanent residents on the basis of family reunification, and by the new investor policy which includes family members.

Asian Indian scientific researchers, engineers, and technical experts in our sample were actively recruited by American firms and, as such, they readily obtained work permits and permanent residence on the basis of the First Employment-based Preference for Priority Workers U.S. immigration law; the Indian government remains neutral regarding this type of international migration. A specific political circumstance on the receiver-country side should be noted in this context. Although the U.S. Patriot Act, instituted in the wake of September 11, 2001, and establishing new grounds of inadmissibility to the country, has by and large left members of the national groups considered here unaffected, several incidents have been reported—not to be dismissed as a factor discouraging immigration to America—of mistreatment of Asian Indian visa applicants/arrivals who, because of their appearance, are (mis)taken for potential Muslim terrorists.

The macro-political context for the decisions to undertake international migration by Koreans included the neutrality in this matter of Korean law, and, on the side of the receiver, American society, immigration laws granting permanent residence on the grounds of Second Employment-based Preference for members of professions holding advanced degrees. The last two groups considered here, Mexican and Jamaican émigrés in America, encountered (and their fellow nationals still do) a contradictory political context for their decisions. On the one hand, the Mexican and Jamaican governments have encouraged economic migration abroad and have allowed their émigrés in the United States a dual citizenship, but, on the other hand, the immigration policies of the receiver society have made it increasingly difficult for people from these and other neighboring countries to enter and remain in the United States.

Two aspects of the macro-level cultural context of émigrés' decisions to leave should be noted. One of them, media images of America as the country of unmatched riches and "the best hope to improve one's quality of life," and as the society "open for all" has been relevant, as acknowledged in studies, for six out of the eight groups examined here: Poles and Russian Jews (the "American Legend" there going back to the previous great migration wave of the nineteenth–twentieth centuries), Koreans, Jamaicans, Indians, and Mexicans. But this consideration was less relevant for the *taikongren* (globe-trotter) Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese global businessmen who move around the world from one global city to the next. And less so, too, for Cuban refugees forced to leave by the political revolution who left for the country that was geographically close, whose government welcomed them, and where they had considerable economic investments.

The other structural aspect of the cultural context of individual and family decisions to migrate is the culture of migration which naturalizes international travels and settlement abroad as part of the group's national "imagined community," including collective self-perceptions. This recognition of one's group's world diaspora as part of national or ethnic history and symbolic unity can be identified—and potentially matter for decision-making as early as the initiation phase of migration—in seven out of eight cases examined here. Asian Indians, Jamaicans, and Chinese have had a long history of international migration and settlement around the world. Russian Jews' and Poles' diasporic history also dates back a long time, and includes the United States. And Cubans and Mexicans have had a long history of migrations to America. The only group without a diasporic component of group self-identity appears to be Koreans.

We turn now to the local-level structural circumstances in sender and receiver countries that had an impact on the decisions to leave for the United States made by members of our eight immigrant groups. Here, too, the contexts of decision-making by the émigrés had different components for particular groups, making for the different overall frameworks.

The diverse macro-economic context of potential migrants decision-making reflected at the local level has already been noted. It was the world-economy's operation in global cities for Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese. For middle-class Indians, Koreans, Russian Jews, and better-educated Jamaicans and Poles it was blocked opportunities in their home-country locations combined, on the receiver-country side, with the demand for skilled male and female workers for a higher remuneration in major American cities. For Mexicans and lower-class Poles and Jamaicans, it was structural un(der)employment in their home-country locations combined with the demand for low-skilled and service work for men and women, again paying higher wages than those obtainable at home, in the receiver country's agriculture (Mexicans) and major American cities (Mexicans, Poles, and Jamaicans). Cuban refugees' decisions to leave for the United States were aided by its geographic proximity and the location of Miami as a hub between North and South America in addition to the political situation.

For the prospective émigrés whose fellow nationals/ethnics had already established communities in the United States—Mexicans, Jamaicans, Koreans, Russian Jews, and Poles—the existence of (trans)national group networks of information and assistance served as an important additional consideration in the decision-making process. The majority of these "contacts" concentrate in a few American cities or regions. The receiver-country side, then, through information about jobs and saving opportunities provided by social support networks, usually had a specific location in America for the potential migrants from these groups (see Chapter 3). The pre-existing transnational social support networks coexisted with pre-established local cultures of migration. In an example representative of the groups considered here, the parents of Lech Wałęsa, the leader of the Polish Solidarity Movement and the former President of independent Poland, came to America [for the first time] in 1980 invited by their relatives to earn money to support their family back home. "Their decision to go," reminisced Wałęsa in 1987, "was dictated by common sense and tradition: in our family there had always been someone on the other side of the ocean. It was in our blood: one or the other went over there so that the rest of the family could count on some security and a chance of financial help" (Wałęsa 1987: 33).

As the 1980s' immigrants settled in America in growing numbers, they began to form their own networks of information and assistance that extended to their home countries. New Jamaican immigrants who established and serviced Caribbean markets in New York's Crown Heights, Poles who created small ethnic occupational niches in informal construction (men) and private-service (women) sectors in Philadelphia, and college-educated Koreans in Los Angeles who viewed running family businesses as a temporary adjustment strategy advised their fellow nationals considering following in their footsteps. This included advice about the ways to find "official" or undocumented work, its conditions and remuneration, the opportunities for establishing a small business, and prospects of regaining pre-emigration occupational positions, and, generally, about the know-how required to negotiate their lives in America specific to the economic and political situations of their groups. In addition to passing on information to their fellow nationals at home who considered international migration, immigrants already in America have been relied upon to arrange for housing and loans necessary for business start-ups, and to provide "connections" for finding work, including information on the specific expectations of particular employers. (Waldinger and Lichter 2003 provide an informative discussion of the operation of this employment information networks; see also O'Connor, Tilly, and Bobo 2001.) For example, Polish and Mexican lower-class women have been reported to rely on chain replacements in "unofficial" cleaning and other domestic service work, so that when one returns home, another takes her job and when the first one comes back to the United States and gets the same job, the second one goes home. Prospective male migrants in these groups can likewise rely on in-group networks of fellow nationals already in the destination country. These are designed to assist newcomers in arranging for jobs through personal agreements with friends to whom later a reciprocal favor will be due or, in a more "businesslike" way (although still informally), sold to someone for an agreed-upon sum of money to be paid upon the assumption of the position.

Hong Kong and Taiwanese global-investor émigrés could rely on long-established transnational business networks, located primarily in world global cities and composed of extended family members and fellow-ethnic (Chinese) professional acquaintances dispersed around the globe. Asian Indian scientific researchers and engineers who began to arrive in America in larger numbers in the 1980s represent an interesting case. Those heading toward the Silicon Valley—about 25 percent of recent arrivals—where growing numbers of South Asian "argonauts" pursuing global technological projects (Saxenian 2006) rely on the information and assistance provided by their ethnic-group professional associations. Immigrants with professional skills who consider settling outside of this area—the subjects of our investigation—base their emigration decisions either on weak (professional) ties in the mainstream American society and/or on their qualifications for employment in jobs advertised on the Internet. This latter case has been replicated to a smaller degree by middle-class Polish émigrés and, most recently, better-educated Mexicans heading toward locations outside of the traditional settlements of their fellow ethnics.

We now reconstruct the impact of individual human capital and agentic considerations on decision-making regarding international migration to America by members of our eight groups. The decidedly enabling macro- and micro-level contexts of Hong Kong and Taiwan global businessmen-potential émigrés to Los Angeles in the 1980s, their high-powered human capital well-fitting the occupational challenges awaiting them in the United States (including considerable financial capital combined with superior entrepreneurial skills, know-how in transnational business, and a good familiarity with English), and the embedded culture of migration in their occupational group probably simplified their decisions to go. Their habitual agency, that is, the un-reflexive reactivation in actors' present pursuits of their accustomed ways of thought and action from the past, enhanced in this case the agency's practical dimension, which, in turn, supported the projective vision of further augmented capital or business transactions. The opportunity called—our decision-makers had an awareness of the "expand or perish" iron logic of big-scale capitalist operations, well-practiced know-how of how to deal with similar challenges, and well-probed transnational networks in which to nest their activities—so they went. These decisions were, of course, taken within the family and considered in the context of its then-current needs, but the (limited) information that exists suggests that men (not women) ultimately made these decisions according to their professional priorities and left (or left first) leaving their wives and children at home.

The macro- and local-level contexts of the decisions to leave for the United States which were made by middle-class Indian professional men and women were also expedient, although for a different constellation of reasons than in the case of Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese emigrants. Transferable occupational skills in specialities in high demand in the receiver society, knowledge of the English language, an advance socialization—a remnant of the British colonial education—into the Western (especially English) cultural orientations and way of life, and high professional ambitions weighed against deep attachments to and responsibilities for the home country shared by members of its educated elite, and a frustrating recognition of blocked opportunities—students of this émigré group also mention "the exasperating bureaucracy and corruption" (Rangaswamy 2000: 21)—in that country for the realization of the decision-makers' professional ambitions. Asian Indians' decisions to leave were likely the outcome of practical–evaluative and projective agentic dimensions, that is, by the assessment of their professional prospects in India vis-à-vis the opportunities awaiting them in America. These decisions were made in a mix of individualist (projective-and-practical agency regarding employment opportunities) and interactive (habitual-and-practical agency regarding family obligations) considerations with the former component more prominent among men and the latter among women migrants. The sporadic evidence that exists suggests, however, that emigration decisions of members of India's educated elite could have been more difficult or less matter-of-fact than those of the Chinese global investors and businessmen, because of the former's public commitment to their country's ongoing modern nation-state formation process. This dilemma might have been eased by the leavers' habitual recognition of the Indian Oikumene, or world diaspora, as a long-standing national symbolic community which they would join, and continue in this way their responsible involvement in home-country affairs.

First-wave Cuban émigrés' decisions to leave for the United States can be reconstructed from personal interviews and memoirs written by the exiles. Put in the language of the structuration model, the decisions to flee to America made by the well-to-do Cuban refugees were the outcome of the immediately practical and projective considerations that encompassed entire families. The foremost consideration was the danger not only to their possessions but physically to themselves (the revolutions tend, especially in their initial phase, to destroy groups perceived as the enemies of their causes). On the other hand, these members of the Cuban pre-revolutionary elite were convinced that the Castro regime would be eliminated by the United States in a very short time and—a projective dimension of their decisions to temporarily resettle in the neighboring Miami—that they would soon safely return home. Almost the entire Cuban capitalist elite, its business leaders and their families, emigrated on these grounds between 1959 and 1961 following the communist takeover, and they have been waiting for a chance to return to *Cuba libre* ever since.

Next to consider are the agentic considerations in deciding to leave for America of members of the three college-educated (sub)groups in our sample: Koreans, Poles, and Russians. Given their good education and frustrated ambitions of professional advancement at home, but no solid promise of better careers in America similar to that faced by their Chinese and Indian counterparts, Korean men's and women's decisions to emigrate were likely a result of practical and projective agency considerations. Their human capital and, especially, high-level education combined with personal drive to achieve and determination to do so appeared to guarantee good employment in the country perceived by the outside world as "meritocracy for the willing." (They apparently did not foresee their limited familiarity with English as an important obstruction in re-establishing their occupational status in the destination country.) This assessment was accompanied by a strong projective vision of a professionally and materially accomplished life for themselves and their children. These emigration decisions, their timing and the specific destinations in America, were negotiated within families. In a reversal of the earlier postwar trend when Korean brides (of American soldiers and personnel first engaged in the Korean War and then stationed in South Korea in the American bases) came in much greater numbers than men, since the 1980s, as the native Korean tradition dictated, men have been the first to go.

The decisions of college-educated Polish men and women to (e)migrate to the United States were likewise based on a combination of practical and projective considerations. They spoke passable English and although their professional diplomas, in areas of demand in America (medicine and its servicing occupations, dentistry, engineering), required licensing in the destination country which involved the necessity of taking (and paying for) courses followed by a series of exams, all this was feasible, as they were advised by their middle-class fellow-nationals already in America, if one was patient and determined. These expectations were reinforced by the habituated culture of migration in their socioeconomic group and by the risk-diminishing presence in American cities of the already established Polish colonies. Although arrived at in a largely interactive fashion, (e)migration decisions of Polish college-educated men and women also contained—I probed this issue in my Philadelphia interviews—a detectable element of individual dreams and ambitions which motivated them to go. It is worth noting that women were considerably more numerous among the 1980s Polish immigrants than in the Korean case. This sizeable female presence reflected a significant independence, occupational and financial, of Polish women achieved under the communist state where more than 70 percent of married females were gainfully employed, and a secure landing was promised by pre-existing social support networks in Polish ethnic communities in America.

The decision-making situation of the prospective Russian Jewish migrants differed from that of the Poles on several accounts, making for a stronger overall personal "push" to emigrate for men and women alike. First, a large proportion of them, nearly 40 percent, were either already retired or approaching retirement at the time of making decisions to emigrate, so their human capital and the risks involved in making one's future dependent on its effectiveness in a new environment were not fundamentally relevant in making the decisions (but see below). The remainder held good and transferable occupations, although their English fluency was insufficient. Second, the habituated diaspora mentality which prospective migrants shared with each other had the emigration-enticing effect strongly reinforced by the two previous waves (in the early 1970s and again at the end of that decade, as the Soviet authorities vacillated in their policies vis-à-vis this group) of their coreligionists, many of whom they knew and with whom they maintained contact across the ocean. And third, also inclining toward leaving, was a practical assurance shared by Russian Jews contemplating emigration to the United States that their travel and the initial period of adjustment in America would be assisted by American Jewish organizations set up especially for this purpose. Additional practical considerations of the prospective migrants in this group included, on the one hand, blocked opportunities for professional advancement for those still of working age and, on the other, a politically insecure situation in Russia for the entire group. The projective component of their decision-making was the desire, shared by all émigrés, for the civic-political security of living as Jews in America, and, for the working-age people, the expectations of occupational advancement and comfortable living standards; those already pensioned or approaching retirement expected peaceful and contented existence. These decisions involved entire households and in most cases entire families left.

The majority of middle-class Jamaican men and women considering emigration to America had a high-school education, and most of them held white-collar or small-business jobs in the home country. Most of them, too, had a native fluency in English. Although prospective migrants in this group were aware of the race problem in America, as available studies indicate, their projective agency seems to have "overcome" this hindrance: they were educated, they were ambitious (unlike "lazy" native-born American blacks), and they were going to achieve in that country what they set out to do. Here, too, decisions to leave were negotiated within families, but, as in the Polish case, a large proportion of Jamaican women, traditionally independent occupationally, decided to (e)migrate on their own. A reassuring "security net" provided by the geographic proximity between Jamaica and the United States that made the return quick and easy was a practical consideration which facilitated the undertaking of international travel by men and women.

Lower-class Mexicans, Poles, and Jamaicans who during the 1980s and 1990s considered leaving for America had the lowest human-capital ranking from the point of view of the opportunities for upward mobility—but not material accumulation—in the destination country. In the case of Poles and Mexicans, this capital, or its limitations, rather, included low-level education and occupational skills and no or rudimentary ability to speak English. In the case of Mexicans and Jamaicans, a "debit" in their human capital from the perspective of making it in America was the dark shade of their skins.

Lower-class Poles' decisions to leave for America were the outcomes of all three agency's components, but they involved different considerations than those of the much better socioeconomically or politically positioned groups considered above. The majority of them planned to go to America on tourist visas (relatively easily obtainable for a 3-month period) with the intention of undertaking unauthorized employment; their stays were to be sojourns, long enough to accumulate enough savings to return to Poland with the means for a better life. The habitual component of lower-class Poles' decision-making involved, similar to their middle-class fellow nationals, the deeply internalized culture of migration (a long-standing tradition of neighbors moving back and forth between Poland and America). The practical element included a constellation of factors. First, they had a sense of "can do" as unauthorized workers in the informal sector of the American economy, based on the well-tested (under the Soviet regime) coping strategy of beating-the-system/bending-the-law informed by disrespect for the laws, policies, and institutions and preference for informal *dojścia* (ins) and *kombinacje* (shady arrangements as in wheeling and dealing).[1] Second, they had good skills in diverse services very much in demand, as they knew from their fellow-national kin and acquaintances already in the United States, in the informal sector of the American labor market: construction, carpentry, plumbing, and mechanics in the case of men, and, in the case of women, house-cleaning and homecare. Third, there was the risk-diminishing presence in America of pre-established Polish ethnic communities whose members would provide assistance in finding housing and unauthorized employment. The projective element of the decisions made by lower-class Poles to go to the United States was the expectation of saving enough money to afford a much higher standard of living back in Poland.[2] As in all previous cases, decisions to leave were negotiated within families, and employable women went almost as often as men, unless they were prevented from doing so by pregnancy or small children at home.

Made in overall similar macro- and micro-level contexts, lower-class Mexicans' and Jamaicans' decisions to leave for the United States contained basically analogous agentic components. Those who expected to find employment in the informal sector of the American economy were familiar with the beat-the-system/bend-the-law coping strategies as a resource of the poor in the world-capitalist system. This practical know-how diminishing the risk of emigration for the lower-class Mexican and Jamaican decision-makers alike, and regardless of the American labor market sector they intended to work in, was combined with their capacity and willingness to work hard in manual occupations, with long-established local cultures of international migration, and with pre-existing social support networks in the region/city émigrés expected to go to in the destination country. An additional component in practical consideration of lower-class Mexicans and Jamaicans regarding migration to America, absent in the Polish case, was the geographic proximity of their home countries to the United States that provided another risk-diminishing element in their decisions by allowing for an easy return home in case things did not work out as planned. Like those of their Polish counterparts, the projective considerations of lower-class Mexican and Jamaican potential migrants to America were expectations of big savings that would permit them to build new, materially affluent, and economically safe lives upon return to their home countries. And, as in most of the cases examined here, decisions to leave were negotiated within families in consideration of their needs and priorities. Because of material distress as well as tradition, men and women left in almost equal proportions.

Impact of (e)migrants' transplantation on sender- and receiver-country structures

Large and growing numbers of people leaving their homes and settling in foreign places have a tangible effect on the local societies of both sender and receiver countries and, if this movement is sustained, over time also on larger economic and sociocultural structures on both sides of the migratory flow. But unless it is intensely circular, international migration alone does not, I believe, have a glocalizing impact on the societies the travelers leave and come to. In this section we consider these effects brought about by (e)migrants in the eight groups selected for examination. (The information, admittedly selective because of its focus primarily on the economic impact of international migrations, has been compiled from Massey et al. 1998; Hatton and Williamson 2005; Lucas 2005; Kuznetsov 2006; Özden and Schiff 2006; Saxenian 2006; Pozo 2007; Naerssen, Spaan, and Zoomers 2008.)

We begin with the impact of émigrés' departures on their home-country societal structures and first consider the economic effects of the departure of émigré groups most advantageously positioned. Considering Hong Kong and Taiwanese global entrepreneurs' capital, expertise, and intentions, their move to the United States carried a realistic prospect of accelerated expansion for the sectors of their home-country economies involved in global production, trade, and finances. Emigration of Asian Indian professionals meant a loss of human resources crucial to their home-country economic development unless, like the earlier-noted émigrés heading for the Silicon Valley, they intended to establish there American-Indian/South Asian high-tech transnational companies which would foster the growth of India's economy. In contrast, while the departure for America of an almost entire Cuban business elite was definitely convenient for the new political regime's efforts to establish a communist rule, the country's substantial depletion of capital and skills had an inhibiting impact on its economic development.

The decisions to leave their home countries by college-educated Koreans, Poles, and Russian Jews represented, as in the case of Asian Indians, a considerable loss to their home countries of important human resources in the form of a "brain drain." Unlike Asian Indian professional émigrés, however, many of whom specialized in high-tech occupations which are a driving force of the global economy and who left with the intention of becoming involved in American-South Asian transnational business in these fields, the college degrees of the Korean, Polish, and Russian Jewish émigrés were mostly in more traditional "stationary" (as opposed to globally mobile) specialities and, thus, inapplicable to transnational economic ventures beneficial to the sender countries.

Although college-educated émigrés in these three groups as well as lower middle-class Jamaicans leaving for the United States could be counted on by their non-migrant family members at home to send occasional remittances, this expectation, well-grounded in shared social norms—and with it calculations of materially sufficient or even better-off lives—applied primarily to the kin and often also to close acquaintances of lower-class émigré Jamaicans, Poles, and Mexicans. More and more people leaving and sending their remittances has over time altered the distribution of income in the sending localities and, in particular, contributed to a proliferation of better-off households and, as a result, to an increase of local socioeconomic inequality. (We shall look more closely at these effects of immigrants' transnational engagements in Chapter 5.)

These economic effects of émigrés' decisions to leave their countries produce, in turn, the so-called demonstration effect or a new social situation by making others increasingly ready to undertake international travel as well. The more people continue to migrate and the more visible the material effects of their decisions to leave, the more widespread becomes the culture of migration. To the extent that followers of the pioneers can master their own lives, these developments enhance the "let's go" effects of the practical and projective agency dimensions on their decisions to migrate to America, and further contribute to the persistence or even growth of this movement. Besides increased income inequalities, the demonstration effect of the decisions to leave of significant numbers of migrants has been reported in studies of the impact of international migration on sender societies in Korea, India, Poland, Mexico, and Jamaica alike (as already noted, the last wave of Russian Jewish émigrés to America nearly exhausted the pool of mobile members of this ethnic minority, and Cubans were prevented from going by upper-level political structures).

Two more social-cultural effects of émigré-actors' decisions to leave on the situations in their home societies should be noted. Reported in studies of groups whose members commonly travel alone rather than in entire families—Koreans, Jamaicans, Poles, and Mexicans—they concern émigrés' families left behind. One of these effects has been the empowerment of women who stay home and manage the households alone. The other development, affecting households whose core members—usually men but also and increasingly women—remain abroad for a prolonged period of time, involves destabilization of the family not uncommonly ending in its dissolution.

We now identify the major impact of the influx of international migrants on the host, American society (the effects of immigrants' assimilation into it will be discussed in Chapter 4). This impact, by no means limited to the eight groups examined here, has been tangible in at least three areas. First is the economy. Both low- and high-skilled arrivals contribute to the growth of the receiver country's economy locally and, through the multiplication effect, also nationally. In the case of the lower-class (im)migrants it is by their readiness to perform jobs in high demand in the postindustrial service economy but low paid and often unwanted by the natives. In the case of highly skilled settlers it is by invigorating the expansion of the primary sector of the American economy, and for émigrés engaged in transnational business by contributing to its further globalization.

The second area of a visible impact of the arrival in the host, American society of large numbers of immigrants from different parts of the world—members of our eight groups included—has been the increased cultural (ethnic) diversity of the population. This diversification, and, especially, the influx of poor non-white immigrants, has resulted, in turn, in a backlash in the form of intensified anti-immigrant sentiments on the part of native-born Americans in the regions of the country, such as the Southwest, where the growing presence of poor non-white (read: Latino) immigrants has been particularly visible.

And the third area on which the influx of (im)migrants has had a transformative effect has been the already-discussed immigration policy of the receiver, American state, continually (re)adjusted since the 1980s to regulate the entry and conditions of sojourn of different categories of arrivals. As we have seen in the example of members of the eight groups in our sample, it privileges some and handicaps other social and economic categories of (im)migrants. In the latter case, restrictions mobilize new arrivals to use the beat-the-system/bend-the-law strategies to go around the unfriendly policies which, in turn, prompts the U.S. government to modify its regulations in the ongoing cycle of the structuration process.

3

Residential Settlement, Economic Incorporation, and Civic Reception of Immigrants

The macro-level economic and political circumstances of the reception of members of our eight groups in the United States, and those immigrants' human capital, cultural backgrounds, and the intentions which brought them to that country were discussed in the previous chapter. Here we consider three important dimensions of their incorporation into the host societies, including residential patterns in the cities immigrants settled in and their concentration and segregation from other groups; the profile and dynamics of local economies and, in this context, immigrants' integration into the labor market; and the civic-political climate and reception of newcomers in the places they have settled in. This information will be used in the following chapters examining the contributing factors and outcomes of immigrants' sociocultural and civic-political assimilation and transnational engagements. Because the analysis here concerns issues related to the process of immigrants' assimilation into the host society, we begin with an overview of the current theoretical understandings of this concept which pertain to the economic dimension of newcomers' integration, and identify the approach informing this study. (Concepts related to immigrants' sociocultural and civic-political assimilation will be introduced in the next chapter.)

Assimilation: Theoretical approach

Since the revival in the 1990s of immigration/ethnic scholars' interest in assimilation, their approaches to this phenomenon have considerably diversified. (On the decline in the 1960s of the classical notion of assimilation as the linear-progressive disappearance of immigrants' home-country orientations and behavioral patterns, and the concerns that informed the agenda of American immigration/ethnic studies in the 1970s and 1980s, see Morawska 1990.) Diversified as they are, however, present-day understandings of assimilation share an emphasis on its inherently multipath trajectory contingent on time- and place-specific economic, political, and sociocultural contexts of the lives of immigrants and their offspring. Social scientists also generally agree that, although it takes different trajectories, the process of assimilation refers to the emergence of new attitudes, customs, and behaviors in immigrants' lives that make them resemble more closely those of native-born residents in different class and racial groups and residential locations of the host society. They agree, too, that it is inherently multidimensional, including the residential (spatial), economic, political, social, cultural, and identificational integration aspects.

Two main propositions have informed the current approaches to the incorporation process of immigrants and their offspring. One of them, best represented by the segmented assimilation model (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Zhou and Xiong 2005), makes the assimilation trajectories—upward or downward mainstream society's socioeconomic ladder—contingent upon immigrants' or their children's structural location in the receiver society and, specifically, in the specific segments of a three-pronged post-industrial economy consisting of the formal upper (primary) and lower (secondary) and informal labor markets. Those, particularly non-whites, who are trapped in lower (secondary) and informal sectors, move along a downward path of incorporation into inner-city underclass America without prospects of upward mobility. The effect of this downward incorporation, which results from economic restructuring and the racial discrimination embedded in the institutional structures of the receiver society, is the acculturation of immigrants and their children into the "adversarial culture" of the American underclass based on a wilful rejection of mainstream American cultural norms, values, and social role models which, in turn, further entraps them in the underclass.[1] The way to avoid this downward incorporation, the proponents of the segmented assimilation thesis suggest, is through the retention of ethnicity, that is, for the immigrants' children to remain within the ethnic economic niches and subcultures of their parents that offer better chances of socioeconomic success.

The other common conceptualization of assimilation acknowledges the contingency of this process on structural circumstances, but presumes it to be more open-ended and more "agentic" than the previous proposition, that is, dependent on the deliberate negotiations by social actors of the conditions of their incorporation into the host society.

Informed by this recognition, assimilation is understood as an interactive, multitrack process of "bumpy" or non-linear incorporation of immigrants and their offspring into the native society, allowing for variable degrees and aspects of similarity and difference, twists, and (re)turns (see Gans 1997; Perlmann and Waldinger 1997; Rumbaut 1997; Espiritu 2003). The main proposition, formulated in a polemic with the segmented assimilation thesis, argues that immigrants' children—a much better analytic unit to evaluate the workings of assimilation than the immigrant generation—are still too young to assess their progress or decline in mainstream American society. Pointing to the dynamic character of the American and global economies, and the opportunity for public protest/action on their behalf by contemporary immigrant/ethnic organizations created by the institutionalization of pluralism, the polemicists against the segmented incorporation thesis remain cautiously optimistic regarding the future of assimilation as a "direction toward similarity" (Alba and Nee 2003), bumpy and multitrack as it may be.[2] (For a representative selection of major theoretical positions on assimilation, see Kivisto 2003.)

The structuration model informing this analysis recognizes both societal structures and human agency as (re)setting the pace and trajectory of the assimilation process through the interplay of the surrounding environment (macro- and local-level social structures) and orientations and activities of the immigrants themselves as they negotiate these surroundings in pursuit of their purposes. Such treatment of assimilation is more akin to the "negotiating-agents" approach outlined above than to the segmented incorporation model. It does, however, recognize the causal effects of the structures on immigrants' incorporation in a theoretically more explicit fashion than does the negotiating-agents model.

The main concepts informing this comparative analysis of the assimilation trajectories of members of the eight immigrant groups selected for examination have already been introduced at the beginning of the book. Let me briefly reiterate them here. Elaborating on the concept of segmented assimilation, I distinguish between mainstream upward and downward and ethnic-path upward and downward assimilation. The former pair of concepts refers to immigrants' integration into the middle and higher or lower and underclass socioeconomic strata of the receiver society. The ethnic-path, otherwise called ethnic-adhesive (Hurh and Kim 1984), assimilation trajectory refers to immigrants' incorporation into the host society within the ethnic community with varying degrees of institutional completeness. Unlike the advocates of the segmented assimilation thesis, I do not view immigrants' ethnic-path integration merely as a way to escape downward incorporation into the receiver society. Like upward or downward mainstream integration trajectory, assimilation into the host society from within the ethnic group can evolve along (upper)middle- or lower-class trajectories. (For a differently theoretically formulated argument of multipath assimilation trajectories, see Esser 2008.) I also identify the discontinuous or "sporadic" assimilation of migrants who continually travel back and forth between their home and host countries as a mode distinct from the incorporation of permanently settled immigrants. Last and important, the structuration model of the assimilation process allows for its different dimensions—economic, social-cultural, civic-political—to evolve along non-identical trajectories (we shall see empirical illustrations of this situation in this and the following chapters).

Immigrants' residential locations in their cities/regions of settlement

We begin with a presentation of the general patterns of immigrants' residential settlement across the United States and, next, show destinations of the principal settlement of members of our eight groups. The states which have traditionally attracted the largest numbers of immigrants (overall) since the 1960s and the top five new destinations since the 1980s are presented in Table 3.1.

The figures document the concentration in six states—California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Texas—of the majority, nearly 70 percent, of present-day immigrants. California alone was home to nearly one-third of them, and New York and Texas attracted more than one-tenth each. As interesting as the persistent concentration of foreign-born residents in the traditional settlements of their co-ethnics is a new trend among the most recent immigrants of increasingly venturing outside of these areas. Recent figures show a considerable decrease, from 31.1 percent to 22.7 percent between 1980 and 2005 of the share of immigrants settling in California, and a drop from 12.9 percent to 5.9 percent of those heading for New York (Massey 2008; see also Gozdziak and Martin 2005; Zúñiga and Hernández-Leon 2005). A considerable number of immigrants diverted from the top traditional locations have settled in new destination states—as shown in the table, those with the highest increases in foreign-borns during the last 25 years include Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania.

Table 3.1 Traditional and New States of Immigrant Settlement (Number of Foreign-Born Residents, 1980–2005)

	Number of Foreign-Born Persons Arrived in United States During Previous 5 Years (in Thousands)				**Percent Distribution**			
	1980	**1990**	**2000**	**2005**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2005**
Traditional Destinations								
California	426.3	1,353.7	1,211.7	1,055.4	31.1	35.5	21.1	22.7
New York	176.6	515.8	569.5	275.6	12.9	13.4	9.9	5.9
Texas	116.5	258.7	584.0	438.6	8.5	6.7	10.2	9.4
Florida	79.2	276.8	469.0	405.8	5.8	7.2	8.2	8.7
Illinois	75.9	171.2	300.9	237.9	5.5	4.5	5.2	5.1
New Jersey	50.7	166.1	267.1	149.4	3.7	4.3	4.6	3.2
New Destinations								
Arizona	14.7	56.4	114.1	161.8	1.1	1.5	2.5	3.5
Georgia	10.2	44.3	172.3	140.7	0.7	1.2	3.0	3.0
Michigan	25.4	48.2	116.1	127.5	1.9	1.3	2.0	2.7
North Carolina	11.5	30.4	140.7	130.6			2.4	2.8
Pennsylvania	25.2	71.2	91.2	116.7	1.8	1.9	1.7	2.5

Source: Adapted from Table 2.1 in Douglas Massey ed., *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008.

The next table shows the principal states of residence in the year 2000 of members of our eight groups, and the numbers of Hong Kong/Taiwanese and Korean immigrants in Los Angeles; Jamaicans in New York, Cubans in Miami, Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants in Philadelphia, Mexicans in the Southwest and, specifically, Los Angeles, and Asian Indians in states outside of their primary concentration—Washington, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland combined.

The major structural and agentic circumstances which led members of our immigrant groups to particular cities/regions in America were already identified in the previous chapter. We reiterate here and supplement additional components of these different constellations. For Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen, the dynamically growing global city of Los Angeles with good connections with Asian economies was an ideal location. Informal information networks and business organizations created by Chinese transnational entrepreneurs in Los Angeles had by the end of the twentieth century additionally facilitated settlement of new immigrants. Korean settlers chose Los Angeles because of its employment opportunities and because of a large population of fellow-ethnics in the city and, in particular, since

Table 3.2 States of Principal Settlement of eight Immigrant Groups and Their Numbers in Examined Cities, 2000

	States of Principal Settlement							**Number of Immigrant Members of 8 Groups in Cities/Regions Examined[1]**						
Country of Birth	**Numbers**	**First**	**%**	**Second**	**%**	**Third**	**%**		**LA[3]**	**M**	**NY**	**P**	**Southwest**	**6 States[4]**
Mexico	9,163,463	California	42.8	Texas	20.4	Illinois	6.7	Mexicans					5.8 million	
Korea	870,542	California	31.3	New York	11.6	New Jersey	5.9	Koreans	200,000					
Hong Kong and Taiwan	526,592	California	45.9	New York	12.9	Texas	5.5	Hong Kong and Taiwanese Chinese	230,000					
India	1,027,144	California	19.5	New Jersey	11.7	New York	11.5	Asian Indians						213,912
Cuba	872,716	Florida	73.5	New Jersey	6.4	California	4.7	First-wave (1959–61) Cubans		135,000				
Jamaica	554,897	New York	39.7	Florida	25.7	New Jersey	6.7	Jamaicans			215,000			
Former USSR[2]	618,302	New York	27.3	California	17.1	Illinois	6.0	Russian Jews				33,000		
Poland	472,544	Illinois	29.8	New York	19.6	New Jersey	1.8	Poles				11,800		

Notes:

[1] In rounded figures.

[2] Immigrants from Russia and Ukraine.

[3] LA = Los Angeles, M = Miami, NY = New York, P = Philadelphia.

[4] Asian Indians in states outside their primary concentration: Washington, Illinois, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Maryland combined.

Source: U.S. 2000 Census, 5% Public Use Microdata Sample.

the 1970s the established presence of a thriving Koreatown with hundreds of shops, legal offices, travel agencies, bookstores, and ethnic organizations, which guaranteed assistance in making a living in the initial period of settlement. (On the formation of a Koreatown in the area along the Olympic Boulevard during the 1970s, see Yu et al. 2004.)

For Mexican immigrants, the geographic proximity of the American Southwest to their home country, the continual demand for seasonal labor in its agriculture, and in the cities, the steady availability of low-skilled jobs in construction, manufacturing, and services on the one hand, and, on the other, the reassuring presence in that region of the already-established kin and acquaintances and of large colonies of the fellow-ethnics made up the main constellation of reasons for settlement in this particular place. (Like Koreans, however, and similarly motivated by the lack of welcome, to put it mildly, toward the growing foreign-born population on the part of native-born Americans in the region, and also by a growing saturation of the local labor markets with immigrants, in the last decade Mexican immigrants have been reported to venture out to new destinations across the country in increasing numbers—see Zúñiga and Hernández-Leon 2005.)

Asian Indian doctors, engineers, and computer specialists chose to settle in residential dispersion in cities such as Seattle, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC, because their skills were in demand there and because their human capital and, especially, familiarity with English and advance socialization into Western culture provided effective strategies for coping in mainstream American life. Anti-Asian hostilities in New York and Los Angeles in the 1980s and, especially, anti-Indian "dotbuster attacks" in 1986–87 in New Jersey, the third largest concentration of Asian Indians in the United States (Rangaswamy 2000; Lessinger 2001), might also have contributed to immigrants' decisions to settle in other locations. Surinder Bhardwaj and Madhusudana Rao (1990) suggest an additional factor contributing to a tendency among Asian Indian middle-class immigrants in the United States as well as other destination countries to live in residential dispersion, namely, the personal/family orientation of Hinduism, the practice of which does not require the presence of a larger ethno-religious community. If this absence of the religiously motivated preference to live among one's own people indeed plays a role in Asian Indians' choice of residence, it is clearly contingent on their class position since studies of lower-class Asian Indians in the United Kingdom, South Africa, and the Caribbean (see, e.g., Clarke, Peach, and Vertovec 1990; Vertovec 2000) have reported these people's settling together and constructing temples soon after their arrival.

Jamaican middle- and lower-class immigrants' choice of New York was dictated by the city's postindustrial-services-fueled economy generating a large pool of better-skilled and low-wage service jobs, hundreds of thousands of small firms, and the continued demand for low-skill labor in both secondary and informal sectors, its multiethnic character, and, importantly, its long-established Jamaican community.

First-wave Cuban political refugees relocated to the geographically closest city where—significantly—they also had well-established business connections. Russian Jewish immigrants did not choose Philadelphia themselves or they did not do so entirely by themselves. Although they did have a say in where they wanted to live in the United States, and the presence of family members already settled in particular cities, in this case, in and around Philadelphia, certainly played a role in their preferences, these priorities had to be negotiated with the officials of American Jewish organizations sponsoring (post-)Soviet émigrés to the United States whose representatives had to consider factors unrelated to immigrants' personal desires, such as the number of people already allocated to particular localities, and the budgeting of assistance across states. Polish immigrants, finally, selected Philadelphia for yet a different constellation of reasons: as in the previous cases, the already-established presence in that city of relatives and acquaintances who provided information about the available local opportunities and who could be counted on for assistance when immigrants arrived was certainly of primary importance. As my respondents told me,[3] however, what also mattered was their reluctance to go to New York or Chicago—the two cities where more than two-thirds of the total number of foreign-born Poles in the United States live—because there were already "too many Poles" there, so it was difficult to penetrate ethnic occupational niches and, in addition, they "constantly fought with each other" (see Erdmans 2007 on the notorious in-fighting in Polish-American communities), while it was "nice and quiet" in Philadelphia and not too far from New York if one wanted to visit.

We now consider patterns of residential settlement in the cities/regions where our immigrants settled. Table 3.3 shows two indices of ethnic groups' spatial assimilation (Massey and Denton 1993; Myles and Hou 2004) or their (presumed) residential contact with native-born members of the receiver society: dissimilarity[4] or (un)evenness of spatial distribution of group members across a particular area, and isolation or intensity of exposure to in-group members of African-Americans,

Table 3.3 Residential Segregation of African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians in Examined Cities,[1] 1980 and 2000

	Dissimilarity Index (Evenness)						Isolation Index (Exposure)					
	1980			2000			1980			2000		
	African-Americans	**Hispanics**	**Asians**[2]	**African-Americans**	**Hispanics**	**Asians**	**African-Americans**	**Hispanics**	**Asians**	**African-Americans**	**Hispanics**	**Asians**
Boston	0.763	0.553	0.482	0.658	0.587	0.448	0.594	0.219	0.133	0.504	0.330	0.213
Chicago	0.878	0.635	0.443	0.797	0.611	0.424	0.856	0.437	0.107	0.776	0.550	0.193
Los Angeles	0.808	0.573	0.468	0.664	0.631	0.477	0.758	0.603	0.277	0.652	0.781	0.502
Miami	0.785	0.525	n.d	0.694	0.439	n.d	0.738	0.625	n.d	0.782	0.791	n.d
New York	0.812	0.652	0.492	0.810	0.667	0.505	0.793	0.604	0.234	0.827	0.708	0.438
Philadelphia	0.781	0.628	0.403	0.728	0.601	0.436	0.723	0.351	0.057	0.687	0.429	0.173
Seattle	0.671	0.191	0.390	0.481	0.303	0.343	0.357	0.031	0.160	0.224	0.112	0.240
Washington, DC	0.687	0.322	0.322	0.625	0.480	0.382	0.685	0.097	0.068	0.654	0.338	0.208

Notes:

[1] The figures are for PMSAs.

[2] Including Pacific Islanders.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1980 and 2000, Summary File 1.

Hispanics, and Asians in the selected American cities in 1980 and 2000.

The data reveal three major tendencies. First, although they have somewhat diminished between 1980 and 2000, moderate-to-high levels of residential segregation and isolation of African-Americans were consistently higher than the respective figures for Hispanics and Asians. In comparison, the latter displayed the lowest levels of segregation and isolation at both times and across the selected metropolitan areas. Second, the table shows persistent differences among cities in the intensity of residential segregation of all three groups, with New York and Los Angeles scoring the highest and Seattle the lowest on the presented measures; for Hispanics and Asians Washington, DC, has also proven a relatively open city residentially. And third, the data demonstrate interesting tendencies over time regarding residential segregation of groups in cities which concern us. In Los Angeles, both dissimilarity and isolation indices for Hispanics—a large proportion of our Mexican immigrants who settled in the American Southwest came to live in that city—have increased between 1980 and 2000, mainly because of a significant growth during that period of the size of group on the one hand, and, on the other, the "white flight" further and further away from their settlements. In Philadelphia, both residential segregation and isolation of the African-American population as the main non-white majority in the city have increased during the 20 years since 1980. Professional Asian Indians who made their homes in large cities across America had sufficient human and financial resources to settle in suburban areas far from poor blacks and Latinos, although in terms of "residential multiculturalism" Seattle has been the best option. Not shown in the table, residential exposure of white residents in all seven metropolitan centers to their own white group has remained a high 80 percent between 1980 and 2000, indicating that they continue to live in neighborhoods whose residents are predominantly of the same race. (For good discussions of residential patterns in the major metropolitan areas of the United States, see Logan 2001; Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz 2002; on residential patters of Asians, see Logan 2001; of Hispanics, see Zúñiga and Hernández-Leon 2005.)

As we can see, except for the unusually open Seattle where some Asian Indians settled, members of our immigrants groups came to live in residentially fragmented cities. As could be expected, they have replicated this pattern themselves. Table 3.4 shows the overall ethnic composition of the population in Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Philadelphia in the year 2000, and the indices of residential segregation from other

Table 3.4 Ethnic Composition of the Population and Residential Segregation of Members of seven Immigrant Groups in Examined Cities, 2000[1]

	Overall Ethnic Composition	**Dissimilarity Index**
Los Angeles PMSA		
Non-Hispanic Whites	31	
Blacks	10	
Hispanics	45	
Asians	12	
FB Hong Kong/Taiwanese vs. NB Non-Hispanic Whites		0.688
FB Hong/Kong/Taiwanese vs. Blacks		0.837
FB Hong Kong/Taiwanese vs. Hispanics		0.783
FB Koreans vs. NB Non-Hispanic Whites		0.632
FB Koreans vs. Blacks		0.777
FB Koreans vs. Hispanics		0.717
FB Mexicans vs. Non-Hispanic Whites		0.781
FB Mexicans vs. Blacks		0.573
FB Mexicans vs. Asians		0.873
New York PMSA		
Non-Hispanic White	40	
Blacks	24	
Hispanics	25	
Asians	10	
FB Jamaicans vs. NB Non-Hispanic Whites		0.862
FB Jamaicans vs. Hispanics		0.683
FB Jamaicans vs. Asians		0.836
Miami PMSA		
Non-Hispanic Whites	21	
Blacks	20	
Hispanics	57	
Asians	2	
FB Cubans vs. NB Non-Hispanic Whites		0.611
FB Cubans vs. Blacks		0.797
FB Cubans vs. Asians		0.648
Philadelphia PMSA		
Non-Hispanic Whites	70	
Blacks	20	
Hispanics	5	
Asians	4	
FB Russians[2] vs. NB Non-Hispanic Whites		0.715
FB Russians vs. Blacks		0.883
FB Russians vs. Hispanics		0.855

Table 3.4 (Continued)

	Overall Ethnic Composition	Dissimilarity Index
FB Russians vs. Asians		0.706
FB Poles vs. NB Non-Hispanic Whites		0.663
FB Poles vs. Blacks		0.858
FB Poles vs. Hispanics		0.766
FB Poles vs. Asians		0.681

Notes:
[1] In rounded figures.
[2] "Russians" include people born in Russia and Ukraine.
Source: 2000 U.S. Census, Summary File 3, Tables P6, P7, PCT19, PCT 63a.

major groups of Hong Kong and Taiwanese, Korean, and Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles, Jamaican immigrants in New York, Cubans in Miami, and Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants in Philadelphia. (The numbers of Asian Indians residentially dispersed in metropolitan centers are too small to allow for the calculation of residential dissimilarity and isolation indices.)

The figures demonstrate an overall high intergroup segregation in all the examined cities. Except for Jamaicans in New York and Mexicans in Los Angeles, residential location of the five remaining immigrant groups vis-à-vis native-born non-Hispanic whites shows the relatively lowest dissimilarity indices. These indices are highest between the same groups and blacks (with Russian Jews and Poles in Philadelphia and Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants in Los Angeles scoring the highest). Residential segregation between our immigrants (excluding Mexicans and Cubans) and Hispanics is somewhat lower although still pronounced, oscillating between upper-0.6 (New York Jamaicans) and mid-0.8 (Russian Jews in Philadelphia) scores. Residential dissimilarity between Asians and Mexicans in Los Angeles, Cubans in Miami, and Poles and Russian Jews in Philadelphia ranges between mid-to-upper 0.6 and lower 0.7.

The data in Table 3.4 concern the entire foreign-born populations in particular groups in Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Philadelphia, and as such reveal important features of their residential positions vis-à-vis other residents in these cities. The sub-groups examined in this volume—Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen and managers, Korean shopkeepers, and lower-class Mexicans in Los Angeles, first-wave Cuban refugees in Miami, middle- and lower-class Jamaicans in New York, and recent-wave Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants in Philadelphia—may conform to or deviate from these patterns.

Among about 230,000 Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong who reside in the Los Angeles area almost three-quarters have arrived in America since the 1980s. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the majority of them, about 65 percent, are college-educated professionals and managers among whom nearly 15 percent, and the focus of this analysis, are high-level employees of transnational companies and in global, mainly Asia-oriented businesses. They reside—when they are in the country, that is—in the suburban areas west of Los Angeles County called "Asian Beverly Hills" created by a Chinese real estate developer who launched the development of this residential area far away from the centers of Hispanic and African-American concentration. Although as a (small) group they live there in residential dispersion among affluent native-born white Los Angelenos, individual families frequently buy homes in relative proximity to each other. (This and the following information about Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen in Los Angeles has been compiled from Skeldon 1994; Dirlik 1996; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Wong 1998; Hamilton 1999; Koehn and Yin 2002; Ma and Cartier 2003; Saxenian and Li 2003; Saxenian 2006; Holdaway 2007; Yin 2007.)

About two-thirds of the 200,000 Korean immigrants recorded in the Los Angeles area by the U.S. Census in the year 2000 came to America during the 1980s and 1990s. An unusually large proportion of the adult population in this group is self-employed in small business (see Table 3.5 below). The owners of these small establishments have their homes either in Koreatown west of downtown Los Angeles (recent arrivals) which they share with increasing numbers of Latinos, or in neighborhoods outside of the center city (better-established immigrants with more financial resources) which they share with middle-class Asians and white Los Angelinos. But Korean businesses are disproportionately located in poor minority neighborhoods: about 60 percent of the total, almost equally distributed between African-American and Latino sections of South Central Los Angeles. As we shall see shortly, this everyday exposure—Korean immigrants spend 12 to 14 hours in their shops—has caused considerable intergroup tensions between Koreans and African-Americans. (Information about Korean immigrants' residential and occupational position in Los Angeles has been compiled from Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng 1994; Bozorgmehr, Sabagh, and Light 1996; Min 1996; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Park 1997; Light 1998; Espiritu 2003; Yu et al. 2004.)

The 2000 census recorded nearly 6 million documented Mexican immigrants in five Southwestern states: California, Texas, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, nearly 60 percent of whom arrived in the United States since 1980. In the Los Angeles CMSA there resided in that year about 2.5 million documented foreign-born Mexicans who made up 46 percent of the immigrant population in the area (Sabagh and Bozorgmehr 1996: 112). Mostly low-skilled with limited financial resources, no or little familiarity with English, and unwelcome by native-born (white) Americans, these immigrants settled mainly in the Los Angeles County mega-barrio (Ong and Lawrence 1992; see also South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005) among their own people who provide social company, emotional support, and practical assistance. (This and forthcoming information about Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles has been compiled from Logan et al. 1994; Bozorgmehr, Sabagh, and Light 1996; Gutierrez 1995; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Abu-Lughod 1999; Bean and Bell-Rose 1999; Massey 2000; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002; Bean and Stevens 2003; Halle 2003; Zúñiga and Hernández-Leon 2005; Camarillo 2007.)

In the year 2000 there resided in the New York CMSA more than 200,000 Jamaican immigrants, two-thirds of whom had arrived in the United States since the 1980s. The figures in Table 3.4 show residential segregation indices for the entire group. Depending on immigrants' socioeconomic position, however, their residential positioning vis-à-vis other groups have been different. More affluent families with members employed in professional and managerial occupations (see below for immigrants' occupational distribution)—about 30 percent of Jamaican households by the mid-1990s—have moved to suburban neighborhoods in Westchester and Rockland Country. Middle-to-lower-class white-collar Jamaicans have been residentially concentrated in West Indian patches in the Queens neighborhoods of Cambria Heights, Springfield Gardens, and also in parts of Elmhurst and Flushing. They have shared some of the neighborhoods in the latter areas with African-Americans, although social contacts have been rare. Poorer and, especially, the poorest immigrants have lived in close residential proximity to African-Americans in similar socioeconomic situations in neighborhoods of Bedford-Stuyvesant and parts of the Crown Heights sections of Brooklyn. (This and the following information about Jamaican immigrants in New York has been gathered from Foner 1987, 2001; Kasinitz 1992; Sanjek 1993; Alba et al. 1995; Waldinger 1996; Crowder 1999; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001; Vickerman 2007.)

Our next group, about one-third of the 135,000-member first wave of Cuban refugees were the families of businessmen and managers who came to Miami between January 1959 and mid-1961. They had initially settled in what later became known as Little Havana in the central city, and subsequently relocated to the surrounding suburban areas. In this case, the data presented in Table 3.5, reflecting the residential segregation of the entire Cuban population, including 500,000 of lower-class émigrés who settled in Miami in subsequent waves during the two and a half decades following Castro's revolution, do not represent the situation of the affluent first-wave cohort who live in their own communities residentially isolated from their less advantaged fellow-ethnics as well as from African-Americans and well-to-do native-born (non-Hispanic) whites. (Information about Cuban refugees' residential and occupational position in Miami has been compiled from Portes and Stepick 1993; Stepick 1994; Masud-Piloto 1996; Pedraza 1996; Perez-Stable and Uriarte 1997; Bowie and Stepick 1998; Grenier and Castro 1998; Grenier and Perez 2003; Stepick et al. 2003; Garcia 1996; Perez 2007.)

Much less numerous than their fellow-ethnics in New York (about 200,000), Russian Jewish immigrants in the Philadelphia area numbered in the year 2000 between 30,000 and 35,000. About two-thirds of this number arrived in the United States during the 1980s and early 1990s. High residential segregation figures for their entire group shown in Table 3.4 also reflect the situation of these latecomers. The majority of them have settled in close proximity in North Philadelphia neighborhoods where they were provided housing and other assistance by the Jewish American sponsoring organizations. Located in their own neighborhoods with various stores and health care institutions Russian Jewish immigrants have had very limited residential contact with either African-American, or, much smaller in numbers, Hispanic, or Asian residents of the city. (This and the following information about Russian Jewish immigrants in Philadelphia comes from Gold 1994, 2007; Orleck 1999; Morawska 2004.)

From among about 12,000 Polish immigrants residing in the Philadelphia area in the year 2000,[5] nearly 80 percent have come to the United States since the 1980s. The general residential segregation figures for foreign-born Poles in the city presented in Table 3.4 can be, therefore, treated as representative for the group of concern here, but not for its middle-class component. Those occupied in professional and managerial jobs (see below) have lived residentially dispersed in the predominantly white suburbs of North Philadelphia, while the remainder—the majority employed in manual and lower-level service occupations—reside in the "Polish colony" in the Richmond neighborhood of the city. Although tightly knit itself in that it contains mainly Polish and old white-ethnic residents, this neighborhood is surrounded—pressured, as its residents see it—by poor Hispanic and African-American Philadelphians. (This and the following information about Polish immigrants in Philadelphia comes from Adams et al. 1991; Morawska 2004; see also Erdmans 2007.)

Patterns of immigrants' economic incorporation

We now turn to the economic circumstances immigrants in our groups encountered in the cities/regions they settled in, and, in this context, patterns of their occupational incorporation. It should be of interest to locate it in a comparative context of the general socioeconomic profiles of native- and foreign-born populations in the United States and of our eight immigrant groups across the country. This information is shown in Table 3.5, followed by Table 3.6 showing the occupational distribution in the year 2000 of male and female members of the eight immigrant groups selected for examination in the cities where they settled.

As shown in Table 3.6, the occupational positions, and specifically—treated as a measure of socioeconomic success in the host country—the proportions of immigrants holding professional and managerial jobs in the examined cities by and large correspond to the national figures for the respective groups in seven out of the eight cases: Hong Kong and Taiwanese Chinese, Koreans, Mexicans, Jamaicans, Russian Jews, Poles, and Asian Indians. Noteworthy differences regarding nationwide and city-specific proportions of self-employed immigrants include, to begin with the most striking contrast, a much higher share of self-employed Koreans in the Los Angeles area (38 percent) as compared with the respective figure for this group across the country (23 percent). The high proportion of Korean immigrant Los Angelenos involved in small business[6] reflects, on one hand, a large proportion in the city of recent arrivals from Korea who are dependent on the assistance of fellow-nationals in getting started in a new place, and, on the other hand, the effective operation of the well-established, institutionalized, and informal Korean group support network in that city (see below) which draws the newcomers unfamiliar with English and American ways into this ethnic employment niche. Although the differences are much less pronounced, Los Angeles Mexicans and New York Jamaicans

Table 3.5 Educational Attainment and Occupational Pursuits of U.S. Native- and Foreign-Born Population and of eight Immigrant Groups Nationwide, 2000 (%)[1]

	U.S. Population		**Eight Immigrant Groups**							
	Native-Born	**Foreign-Born**	**M**	**HK/T**	**K**	**C**	**J**	**RJ**	**P**	**AI[2]**
Educational Attainment[3]										
Less than High School	17	33	48	9	38	21	8	8	14	5
Bachelor Degree Or Higher	25	24	5	61	8	19	16	67	23	69
Occupational Pursuits										
In Labor Force[4]	66	67	60	64	59	52	71	64	56	69
% Females	62	54	45	56	53	45	69	57	48	54
Unemployed	6	8	6	2	4	4	5	3	3	3
Employed in Management and Professions	30	25	8	58	41	29	27	58	26	65
Services	42	39	25		9	15	27	10	20	6
Sales & Office	42	39	13	30	31	28	24	19	17	19
Construction	8	10	19	2	4	11	9	5	15	2
Production and Transportation of which Self-employed	18	23	27	2	12	17	15	9	22	7
Self-employed	12	9	5	15	23	14	5	10	9	13

Notes:

[1] In rounded figures.

[2] Abbreviations stand for: M = Mexicans, HK/T = Hong Kong and Taiwanese Chinese, K = Koreans, C = Cubans, J = Jamaicans, RJ = Russian Jews, P = Poles, AI = Asian Indians.

[3] Population 25 Years and over.

[4] Population 16 Years and over.

Source: 2000 U.S. Census, http:www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/general[foreign]/datatables.html.

also demonstrate higher rates of self-employment in comparison with their fellow-nationals across the country. In the case of Mexicans, it is mainly because of the demand for ethnic businesses in the Hispanic mega-barrio in Los Angeles; in the case of Jamaicans, it is a response to a steady demand for ethnic merchandise and entertainment in multiethnic New York. Remarkable, too, has been a difference in rates of self-employment among first-wave (36 percent) and general population of Cubans in Miami (12 percent) and nationwide (14 percent), reflecting different socioeconomic profiles of the subsequent waves of immigrants on one hand, and, on the other, the established powerful position of

Table 3.6 Occupational Distribution of 16 Years and Older Employed Members of eight Immigrants Groups in Examined Cities/Regions, 2000 (%)[1]

	Los Angeles PMSA									**New York PMSA**			**Miami PMSA**			**Philadelphia PMSA**			**Large Cities (PMSA) in 7 States[2]**					
	HK/T[3]			**K**			**M**			**J**			**C[4]**			**RJ**			**P**			**AI**		
	T[5]	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**
Professions & Management	57	61	51	38	40	37	8	7	9	27	19	35	43(23)	47(22)	39(25)	62	67	61	26	24	28	64	68	57
Service	7	7	8	10	7	14	22	20	25	30	28	35	9(16)	10(13)	9(19)	11	9	13	17	8	25	6	4	8
Sales & Office	30	25	36	34	30	39	19	12	28	24	18	28	36(31)	27(23)	46(40)	25	22	32	24	18	31	18	14	25
Construction	2	1	–	6	10	4	10	18	1	9	17	1	5(12)	5(22)	–(2)	1	1	–	14	28	1	2	2	–
Production & Transportation	4	6	3	11	12		41	42	37	11	19	1	7(18)	10(22)	6(14)	1	1	–	18	22	15	10	11	9
Self-employed	19			38			7			8			36(12)			8			11			14		

Notes:

[1] In rounded figures.

[2] Figures represent average proportions in large cities of Asian Indian immigrants' settlement in states of Washington, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Washington, DC, Maryland, and Virginia combined.

[3] Abbreviations stand for Hong Kong and Taiwanese Chinese (HK/T), Koreans (K), Mexicans (M), Jamaicans (J), Cubans (C), Russian Jews (RJ), Poles (P), and Asian Indians (AI).

[4] Percentages are for Cuban immigrants who came to Miami in 1959–61 and, in parentheses, for all foreign-born Cubans in the city.

[5] Abbreviations stand for: Total (T), Males (M), and Females (F).

Source: 2000 U.S. Census, 5% PUMS sample.

first-wave Cuban refugee businessmen in that city which has effectively prevented a similar ascent of their followers.

Table 3.6 also demonstrates interesting gender differences in occupational status of members of our eight immigrant groups. To use again the figures showing proportions of immigrants holding professional and managerial jobs, men have been more successful then women among Hong Kong and Taiwanese Chinese and Koreans in Los Angeles, first-wave Cubans in Miami, Russian Jews in Philadelphia, and residentially dispersed Asian Indians. Women's share of professional and managerial jobs has been much higher than men's among New York Jamaicans (almost double), and somewhat less among Los Angeles Mexicans, and Philadelphia Poles. (It should be noted that the figures shown in the table represent the entire foreign-born populations in particular cities, and not their subgroups examined here, such as global businessmen and transnational managers, shopkeepers, or professionals.)

The above data show the recent socioeconomic situations of our immigrants. In what follows, and depending on the type (quantitative or descriptive) of information available, I try summarily to reconstruct, in the context of the dynamics of the local economy/labor market, immigrants' occupational trajectories from the time of settlement in the cities/regions they chose to the year 2000 as reported in the table.

We begin with groups whose members settled in the Los Angeles area. The dynamic expansion of the Los Angeles postindustrial economy supplying various jobs ranging from global business and finance to low-level service and production employment has been repeatedly mentioned in the earlier discussion. Table 3.7 below illustrates labor market changes in the Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Philadelphia metropolitan areas between 1970 and 1990.

The decrease in the share of manufacturing in the Los Angeles economy between 1970 and 1990 was smaller than in other big cities because industries in which it has traditionally specialized (airplanes, missiles, rubber products) were not affected by the economic restructuring and because since the 1970s the local economy has thrived on small-scale decentralized light and high-tech industries. The expansion of the service sector during the same period, although less impressive than in New York and Miami, has nevertheless allowed it to employ nearly a half of the city's active population by the end of the century. Most impressive, however, has been—not shown in the table—a significant expansion of large-scale and, in particular, international business and financial establishments (Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Abu-Lughod 1999; Halle 2003).

Table 3.7 Labor Market Changes in Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Philadelphia, 1970–90 (%)

	1970				1990			
	L.A.	**N.Y.**	**Miami**	**Philadelphia**	**L.A.**	**N.Y.**	**Miami**	**Philadelphia**
Sectoral Employment								
Manufacturing	27	22	15	35	21	11	10	18
Services	37	24	35	20	46	40	48	42
Public Sector	12	18	14	13	10	17	13	11
Unemployment Rate								
Non-Hispanic Whites	5	4	4	4	6	6	6	4
Native Blacks	10	11	10	6	13	14	12	8
Hispanics	8	14	6	8	9	17	8	9

Source: Data compiled from Massey and Denton 1993; Mollenkopf 1993; Torres and Bonilla 1993; Grassmuck and Pessar 1996; Logan and Alba 1999; and Hodos 2002.

Hong Kong and Taiwanese transnational entrepreneurs have entered such establishments along two major trajectories, both of which represent a combination of global and (receiver-society) upper-class mainstream mode of economic assimilation. In both cases, the "user-friendly" national and city-level economic and political structures and, at the group level, (trans)ethnic social support networks combined with immigrants' human capital, including habituated entrepreneurial skills and good practical judgment, and a strong achievement drive to bring about success. One of these trajectories, the entry "from above," involved businessmen who either themselves or by delegating family members established in Los Angeles branches of their already successfully operating Hong Kong or Taiwanese companies. With the passage of time, and relying on extensive family connections—the traditional stronghold of Chinese entrepreneurship—these enterprises spread across North America and around the world. "Global Savings, Liu Chong Hang Bank, an United Savings Bank are just a few examples," Bernard Wong illustrates his discussion of the transnational careers of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen with empirical examples. Large-scale buying of commercial estate in major American cities and international trade conducted by wealthy Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese, Wong reports, has gained them the name of "argonaut tycoons" (Wong 1998: 56–58). The other route of Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants to the operation of successful transnational businesses and multinational corporations has been a move "from below," that is, by working their way up from the initial positions as company accountants, engineers, and managers they held as early-state immigrants in America. "The Chinese restaurant chain known as Harbor Village," Wong relates in a story of one such career, "now has branches in Los Angeles, Hong Kong, Kowloon" (ibid.: 90–91), and, let me add, most recently also in Beijing and Singapore.

The actors of these transnational business success stories have been mainly immigrant men. A small number of Hong Kong and Taiwanese women—known in the Chinese community as "strong women"—have independently engaged in transnational entrepreneurship as managers of global hotel chains, high-tech investment companies, and export/import firms and, like their husbands or fathers, have traveled back and forth between the United States, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. But these women have been an exception. The vast majority of the wives of the wealthy global businessmen and financiers have been housewives, taking care of the homes and children and occasionally assisting their husbands in running the family businesses. (Information about the pursuits of Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrant women in the group of concern here has been provided by Bernard Wong in a personal communication to this author in July 2008.)

In comparison with the decidedly upward mainstream trajectory of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global traders' incorporation into the Los Angeles economy, that of the Korean immigrants examined here has represented the middle-class ethnic-path mode. Korean immigrants—about 45 percent each of men and women—who came to the United States with college degrees but with untransferable skills in the receiver country and, importantly, with very limited familiarity with English engaged in small business. They did so either by investing their own money brought from Korea (studies of small-scale Korean entrepreneurs in Los Angeles quote figures ranging from $10,000 to $200,000) or by taking advantage of credits and loans provided by various Korean Business Associations operating in the area. Following the advice of their earlier-arrived fellow-ethnics, new immigrants commonly moved into the lines of business where their group members had already established a presence: retail groceries, liquor stores, dry cleaning services, small apparel shops, and gas stations. In this way they have contributed to the creation of a sizeable ethnic economic niche in this sector of the city's economy, and by the same token to the middle-class ethnic-path mode of their group's integration into the local labor market. By the year 2000 between 60 percent and 70 percent of the area's shops in the lines listed above were in the hands of Koreans. These are usually family-run businesses, employing husbands and wives and often adolescent children in part-time work; if they are larger, they also employ other Koreans and Hispanic immigrants from the neighborhood. According to Pyong Gap Min (1996; see also Yoon 1997), no less than 70 percent of Korean immigrant women participate in the labor market of which the predominant majority work in their family stores or for other Korean businesses.

Although college-educated middle-class Korean immigrants who upon arrival in Los Angeles opened family stores initially hoped with time to regain their pre-emigration occupational status, most of them have remained in small business throughout their lives. As their daily preoccupation with running the stores diminished their chances for professional retraining, and as their primary social contacts with the Korean-speaking fellow-ethnics (see Chapter 4) did little to improve their English, immigrant shopkeepers refocused their life-orientations on the *anjõng* or secure stability of their households. This shift in immigrants' expectations has been an outcome, it seems, of their practical evaluation of the opportunities allowed by their situations. As studies indicate, Korean shopkeepers' hopes for a professional future are now vested in their American-born children which, one may guess, assuages the frustrations of college-educated immigrants who experienced downward mobility and energizes their sustained involvement in small entrepreneurship.

In terms of the structuration model, middle-class Korean immigrants' entry into and persistence in small business in Los Angeles is explained, in the initial phase of the process, by the city-level structural obstacles (the English language in operation in the professional sector, and incompatibility of American/Los Angeles and Korean skill requirements) and the ethnic opportunity structure (Korean small business network of information and financial assistance) to which Korean immigrants responded with practical decisions—mobilized interactively in negotiations within family and with fellow-ethnics already in business—to undertake a feasible employment. In the sustaining phase of the structuration process, by the persistence of structural circumstances noted above resulting from immigrants' very engagement in small family business and by the readjustment—again, achieved in the exchange with family members—of projective considerations.

The trajectory of economic incorporation of our next group, Mexicans on farms in the Southwest and in Los Angeles, resembles that of the Koreans in that most of the immigrants have found occupations through the assistance of and among their own fellow-nationals, and that they have remained in positions similar to where they found employment upon arrival. These positions and the constellation of structural and agentic circumstances accounting for Mexican immigrants' socioeconomic situation have differed, however, from the Korean case. About one-fourth of Mexican foreign-born men and women in the Southwest are employed in agriculture where they usually work in national teams; this group consists largely of seasonal migrants who either return home between seasons or go to the (American) cities in search of temporary jobs (Martin 2002). The sporadic mode of incorporation into the local economy of the receiver-society is in this case implied in the nature of the employment. Immigrants who are in the cities—of concern here, Los Angeles—who enter and continue employment in the extensive ethnic employment niche, represent the lower-class ethnic-path mode of economic integration.

As the number of Mexicans in the Los Angeles area has increased over time, so has the proportion of immigrants who work with their fellow-nationals: whereas in 1970 this figure was 58 percent, by 1990 it grew to 72 percent, with the highest concentrations in the low-wage service sector and low-skill factory work. Mexican men "are found especially in industries characterized by heavy materials-handling labour processes and often noisy or dirty working conditions, such as wood-products and metallurgical industries" (Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996: 230–32), and in meat production, dyeing/finishing textiles, and transportation equipment production. Mexican women "are concentrated above all in labour-intensive craft industries marked by small establishment size (such as) clothing, textiles, and leather-products industries," and also in food preparation and pottery production (Ibid.: 256). Maid and cleaning services performed by documented and undocumented Mexican immigrant women can also be classified as an ethnic employment niche because information about available positions and necessary references are circulated within the group (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1997). Rather than moving out of the niche and up on the occupational ladder, most of the lower-class Mexican immigrants have since their arrival moved from one job to another within the same ethnic enclave.

Superimposed structural circumstances have been responsible for the enduring low-level socioeconomic position of the predominant majority of Mexican immigrants and their encapsulation in the ethnic employment niche in Los Angeles. The already-noted large and quickly growing numbers of the immigrant population in the area and their increasing residential segregation and isolation within the Hispanic mega-barrio, competition with other minority groups for jobs, and intensified prejudice and discrimination on the part of native-born American white residents of the city who feel threatened by the rapid "Hispanic surge" (see below) have naturally led to immigrants' developing dense networks of information and mutual assistance in housing and employment and, in the case of undocumented residents, widespread reliance on beat-the-system/bend-the-law strategies of finding work in the informal sector and avoiding capture by the U.S. immigration police. These circumstances have combined with Mexican immigrants' limited human capital (including low education and skills, and no English proficiency) to channel and retain them—the latter resulting from practical considerations of their prospects and from the habituated preference for the company of fellow-nationals—in the ethnic niche. Immigrants' projective considerations and, in particular, their assessment of their current and future situations in America as a tangible improvement over those at home (both men and women have been reported to calculate their American earnings in the home-country currency), and their practical evaluation of their opportunities as limited, further contribute to the endurance of their low socioeconomic positions. (We should recall here, however, that a growing number of Mexican immigrants, discouraged by the situation of their group in the Southwest/Los Angeles area, decide to settle elsewhere in the country, apparently moved by the projective vision of greater success there.)

We now move to New York to consider a three-path trajectory of economic integration of Jamaican immigrants: a middle-class variety of mainstream and ethnic-path mode of assimilation and the mainstream downward pattern. As already noted, one of the reasons they chose to settle in New York was the city's dynamically growing and diversified postindustrial economy and its multiethnic character. Indeed, these structural features of New York's economy and, specifically, its rapidly expanded service sector (as shown in Table 3.7 it nearly doubled in size between 1970 and 1990) and, the persistence of racial prejudice notwithstanding, the city's relative openness to newcomers, permitted Jamaican immigrant men and women with English fluency, good education, and ambitions of personal achievement brought from the home country and enhanced by the projective vision of success in America to establish themselves in middle-class positions in their new location. (See Mollenkopf 1993; Waldinger 1996; Binder and Reimers 1996; Howell and Mueller 1998; Abu-Lughod 1999; Cordero-Guzman and Grosfoguel 2000; Halle 2003 on the transformation of New York's economy since the 1970s.)

More than 60 percent of foreign-born post-1980 Jamaican immigrants came to New York with high school education and nearly 20–24 percent of the women and 17 percent of the men with college degrees. Although some of those immigrants, particularly men, had initially experienced occupational skidding,[7] by the year 2000, as we have seen, nearly two-thirds of Jamaican women and more than one-third of men held white-collar jobs and an additional 6 percent were employed in small business. Labor force participation (the unusually high 79 percent in the 16–65 age category) and the occupational status and average earnings of Jamaican immigrant women in this group have been generally higher than those of their male counterparts. This difference reflects a long-standing home-country tradition of independent occupational engagement among women on the one hand, and, on the other, a good fit between their human capital and the demand for feminized professional and administrative services in the New York economy, particularly in the health care sector. It has been in this sector that Jamaican immigrant women have established their ethnic occupational niche in the city. By the mid-1990 more than 40 percent of foreign-born Jamaican females were employed as nurses or managers in hospitals, nursing homes, and health care centers. In comparison, Jamaican immigrant men in the white-collar group have been occupationally much more dispersed, as only 20 percent of them were employed in the city's ethnic niches, especially in small-size firms in finance, insurance, and real estate. A noteworthy occupational niche of sorts for Jamaican immigrants, men and women alike, has also been the public sector, for employment in which they have fiercely competed with native-born New York blacks (see below), and which in 2000 employed a sizeable 18 percent of them.[8]

The other, much smaller segment of the Jamaican middle-class in New York consists of the self-employed—men more often than women—primarily in ethnic businesses in immigrant neighborhoods. This small-scale but vibrant ethnic entrepreneurship has been the outcome of a constellation of factors. Three structural circumstances have provided the conducive environment for this activity. First, advances in communication and transportation technologies allow for the ready movement of people and merchandise across state-national borders. Second, immigrant entrepreneurs have maintained close contacts with their home-country suppliers of ethnic merchandise and have themselves frequently traveled back and forth to import goods from Jamaica for their stores. And third, the presence of a large community of fellow-immigrants in New York and the vigorous cultural life it created have provided a clientele for ethnic goods and entertainment, newspapers and magazines, and shipments of material (from food to electronics) between New York and Jamaica. As part of New York's thriving global-culture business—an illustration of glocalization effects of immigrants' presence to which we shall return in the next chapter—Jamaican restaurants, bakeries, "patty shops," bars playing Reggae music, and record-selling shops have also attracted customers from other groups: young African-Americans, white middle-class New Yorkers seeking "consumer exotica," and international tourists. Immigrant men and women without college education, who have nevertheless shared with their fellow-ethnics equipped with stronger human capital the habituated appreciation of self-made independence, have combined the practical assessment of the opportunities offered by these structural circumstances with the projective motivation to appropriate this situation to their advantage.[9]

The remainder, a minority of about 15 percent, of almost exclusively male foreign-born Jamaicans of working age have been employed in low-skill positions in the secondary and some in the informal sectors of New York's economy. Lacking education and apparently with no ambitions to succeed occupationally, they are ostracized by their middle-class fellow-ethnics. Proficient in English but with limited financial resources they tend to live among native-born blacks in the city with whom they begin to identify racially and who come to serve as their assistance network in finding and changing menial jobs in New York hotels, restaurants, and laundries. Low-class immigrant Jamaican women—a considerably smaller number than that of men in this group—are also employed side by side with native-born blacks and "dark" Latinos as garment factory workers. Like uneducated poor African-Americans, they slip into and out of poverty—nearly one-fourth of Jamaican immigrants in this group were reported to have lived in poverty in 2000—and rely on beat-the-system/bend-the-law coping strategies in making ends meet.

Like Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants in Los Angeles, Cuban refugees in Miami have, although much earlier, moved to a position of business prominence. These two trajectories and their contributing circumstances were, however, quite different. A sequence of structural developments between the time of arrival in Miami of the first-wave Cuban refugees and the following two and a half decades made it possible for them to turn their human capital, including financial resources and business acumen, into an impressive socioeconomic success. The generous support for Cuban refugees by the U.S. government in the form of the Cuban Refugee Program and other federal initiatives, including direct loans, housing subsidies, and guaranteed health care, helped the immigrants launch their careers in the new environment.

Subsequent waves of lower-middle and lower-class Cuban immigrants into the Miami area—about 100,000 refugees followed first-wave families between 1962 and 1964 and another 250,000 had come by 1974—supplied the same-language, same-culture work force with the diverse skills needed for the formation of a thriving ethnic enclave as the mode of incorporation into the local economy, first-wave refugees' occupying the top positions therein.

First-wave refugee businessmen and managers' apt use of their personal resources in engaging these structural circumstances toward their economic success was supported by pre-communist intra-group and transcontinental business networks with North American, primarily Floridian, and South American financiers and industrialists. As a result, between 1950 and 1970 the number of business establishments in Miami grew by more than 70 percent, manufacturing firms by nearly 100 percent, and banking and finance agencies by 145 percent. Although the main agents of these developments were Cuban men, first-wave immigrant women were also occupationally active, at least in the initial years of settlement, significantly contributing in this way to their families' successful economic adjustment to their new situations. More than one-third of first-wave adult women refugees came to Miami with professional or managerial skills, and more than 40 percent had training in sales and administrative jobs. Until their families put down roots in the new environment and, if they did not have small children to take care of, Cuban immigrant women worked either in their husbands' businesses, especially in garment production, in lower-level managerial and administrative capacities, or as teachers and administrators in schools, health centers, and child-care institutions in the quickly growing Cuban ethnic community.[10]

Like other American cities, during the decades 1970–90 Miami witnessed the restructuring of its economy reflected in the decrease of the share of manufacturing and a rapid growth of the service sector (see Table 3.7). Using their local and transnational resources as a powerful business elite, first-wave refugees—this role fell to the men—have played an important role in turning Miami into a global city—a transformation which, in turn, further empowered Cuban entrepreneurs. While global business dealings of Hong Kong and Taiwanese Los Angelenos have been primarily focused on South East Asia, those of their Cuban counterparts in Miami are mainly oriented toward South America. (Information about the growth of Miami's economy and the role of Cubans in this process from Grenier and Stepick 1992; Portes and Stepick 1993; Nijman 1996; Pedraza 1996; Stepick et al. 2003.)

Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants in our sample have made their economic adjustment in Philadelphia. The share of Philadelphia's manufacturing sector, significantly larger in the industrial era than in either of the other three cities, was cut in half between 1970 and 1990, while that of the service sector more than doubled to a high 45 percent of the employed population. The same period witnessed a considerable depletion of Philadelphia's population and, both contributing to and resulting from this development, the relocation of jobs out of the city to the surrounding areas. Beginning in the 1990s, under the forceful leadership of Mayor Ed Rendell and his team, Philadelphia managed to transform its economy to become a so-called second city. These are cities that either lost to or could not enter into competition with more powerful metropolitan centers nearby on their way to becoming the hubs of global trade and finance and which, instead, developed second-tier transnational exchanges and infrastructures assisting global cities in their operations. (This and the following information about Philadelphia's economy comes from Adams et al. 1991; Hodos 2002, 2007.)

It has been only recently in its postwar history that Philadelphia, known as a paragon of a black-and-white city, has acquired a multiethnic—as in "multi-colour"—population. Still much lower than in other American cities of similar size, by 2000 the proportion of Hispanics was about 9 percent (up from 6 percent in 1970) and of Asians nearly 5 percent (in 1970 it was less than 1 percent); in comparison, African-Americans made up 43 percent of the city's population and non-Hispanic whites 44 percent. In part because of these low numbers (and, therefore, little power) of new ethnic minorities and in part because of the long-standing tradition of embedded divisions in residence and work along ethno-religious boundaries, intergroup competition for jobs has been significantly less intense than in Los Angeles and New York.

About two-thirds of Russian immigrants, men and women alike, came to Philadelphia with a college education. Reflecting the widespread practice in (post-)Soviet Russia, the majority of women held independent employment there and they continued it in America. Nearly 40 percent of Russian Jewish men and women who took up employment upon their arrival in Philadelphia, however, experienced occupational skidding in the initial phase of their settlement, mainly because of insufficient English proficiency and the need for professional retraining. Yet most of them, assisted in their efforts by English-language and educational programs offered by local American Jewish organizations which the immigrants eagerly pursued, managed to recover or upgrade their preemigration occupational positions within 10 to 15 years of arrival. By 2000, 62 percent of working-age immigrants who arrived in Philadelphia since the 1980s—59 percent of women and 64 percent of men—were employed in mainstream professional and managerial occupations, and 36 percent in administrative and clerical work; about 8 percent were self-employed. This occupational success story, or Russian Jews' economic integration along the mainstream upward trajectory, can be explained by immigrants' active engagement of their human capital, the shared habituated orientation toward professional achievement reinforced in interactions with similarly motivated fellow-ethnics, and a projective determination to realize their goals combined with city- and group-level facilitating circumstances. These circumstances include Philadelphia's ongoing transformation into a second city and, with it, the demand for college-educated experts in fields such as engineering of different kinds, soft and hard computer programming, and health care administration. Other factors include the proximity of skilled and well-paying jobs in the area of their local settlement, and, importantly, the assistance network, and, especially, weak-tie connections to good employers provided by occupationally well-positioned members of Jewish American organizations in the city.

The occupational accomplishment of college-educated Polish immigrants in Philadelphia who held white-collar jobs at home—about one-fourth of the total number of post-1980 arrivals—has been less spectacular. A large proportion, almost two-thirds, of them experienced downward occupational mobility, and only half of those who skidded managed to improve their occupational positions. Women (the majority of whom held, as did their Russian Jewish counterparts, gainful employment in their home country) have experienced permanent occupational skidding more often than men (nearly 60 percent vs. 45 percent, respectively). The predominance of women over men among the skidders has probably been due to the inability of many to perfect their English because of family obligations, and the untransferable nature of their professional skills: in Poland they were mostly employed in administrative and clerical occupations which required country-specific training. In comparison, immigrant men's skills in construction, engineering, and computer science, and scientific research have been more easily transferable, especially when accompanied by more effective English which they have had more time to learn. As in the Russian Jewish case, the recovery over time by highly educated Polish immigrants of their home-country professional status has been facilitated by the expansion of high-skilled jobs in Philadelphia's postindustrial economy. They could not, however, like Russian Jews rely in this effort on the assistance of either local Polish-American organizations or members of the Polish-American community at large because of the former's notorious fragmentation (disorganization may be a better term) and of the latter's primary *dojścia*, informal connections, in low- rather than high-skill occupational niches in the city.

The fact that a large proportion of low-educated Polish immigrants in this group are quasi-permanent "tourist workers" who overstay their visas and engage in illegal work, and that only a small fraction have a familiarity with English, has further reinforced their habituated reliance on informal *dojścia*, mainly among more recent arrivals from the former Soviet bloc, in locating employment, and has channeled their economic incorporation along the lower-class ethnic-path trajectory. A telling measure of the effectiveness of this coping strategy has been a low (between 2 percent and 3 percent) proportion of immigrants in this group who have experienced unemployment. (Although considerably lower than in other immigrant groups, the unemployment rate among foreign-born Poles in New York metropolitan area has been 7 percent or more than double the Philadelphia figure. The reason for this difference may be a greater number of Polish men than women in New York than in Philadelphia and the fact that immigrant men in this group have been reported to have a comparatively harder time finding and sustaining employment than do women—see Cordero-Guzman and Grosfoguel 2000.) The supply of low-to-medium wage service jobs and their compartmentalization into small ethnic occupational niches operating in different parts of the city has of course been helpful. The majority of immigrant women in this group work in domestic service (housekeeping, childcare, and elder care) and private homes and office cleaning. Men, a majority of whom were employed as skilled manual workers in Poland, have usually continued in similar occupations in Philadelphia, primarily in construction, transportation, electrical operations, and car repairs. Although it has not been an upward trajectory in terms of occupational advancement, it has met immigrants' practical and projective expectations of making materially better lives for themselves.

The last group to consider, Asian Indians who since the 1980s have dispersed across large cities, came to the United States with high-powered cultural capital. Nearly 70 percent of immigrant men and women alike have been college educated and about two-thirds of those who had already been employed at home came with professional or managerial skills. Even more important than college degrees has been the professional expertise of Asian Indians in computer science, high-tech engineering, scientific research, and medicine, combined with English fluency and strong achievement orientations "driven" by habituated-projective motivations to act upon one's fate. Most Asian Indian immigrant men and nearly two-thirds of highly skilled women—the latter proportion corresponding by and large to the percentage of two-income families among college-educated foreign-born Asian Indian households in the United States—assumed high-status occupational positions in the mainstream economy shortly after their arrival in America.

Besides advance acculturation into Western ways of life, including proficiency in English, and a set of conducive habituated-projective predispositions, two structural circumstances have been indispensable in making it possible for Asian Indians to translate their human capital into the socioeconomic success in America without experiencing occupational skidding like college-educated Korean, Russian Jews, and Poles. They include, on one hand, the critical demand in the expanding postindustrial economies of large American cities for experts in the fields in which Asian Indians have had training (as we have seen, university education in just any fields did not help Korean immigrants in upward occupational mobility). On the other hand, and related, has been the facilitating effect of the receiver-country's political structure and, in this case, of employment-based preference regulations in the U.S. immigration policy favoring immigrants with skills sought by American employers. As reported in studies of Asian Indian immigrants in the group of concern here, a large number of them come to the United States with pre-arranged jobs on H1B visas or on F1 visas that are subsequently converted to H1B visas, and then to permanent residence. (Information about Asian Indians' economic adjustment comes from Hu-DeHart 1999; Rangaswamy 2000; Lessinger 2001; Khandelwal 2002; Bhatia 2007.)

Reception of immigrants in their cities/regions of settlement and intergroup relations

The civic-political climate and the reception of immigrants by the dominant groups in the cities/regions they settled in have constituted yet another important structural and, in immigrants' reaction to it, also agentic circumstance contributing to their integration into the host, American society. Although the available information for the specific groups in our sample in their residential locations is not systematic, I examine these issues to the extent possible because of the consequences they have had for the mode of immigrants' assimilation we shall consider in the next chapter.

As before, we begin with Los Angeles and, in it, with the situations of Hong Kong and Taiwanese, Korean, and Mexican immigrants. "Unlike New York, Los Angeles is new to its present role as an immigrant mecca"—with this statement Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (1996: 9) open with their reconstruction of an uneasy transformation of the city into a multicultural metropolis. Mostly still native-born (Anglo)white and parochial ("Iowa-on the Pacific") in the early 1960s, within a few decades Los Angeles had surpassed New York in the number of its foreign-born residents. From a mere 10 or so percent in 1960, the share of the foreign-born among Los Angelenos had quadrupled by 2000 and non-white ethnic minority groups (primarily Hispanics and Asians) have become, numerically, the majority population. The sudden change of the makeup of city neighborhoods and workplaces caused by the rapidly growing numbers of foreigners, including an army of undocumented migrants from across the Mexican border, has generated increasing resentment among native-born residents, although for different reasons among whites and blacks (Chang and Leong 1994; Bozorgmehr, Sabagh, and Light 1996; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn 1997; Mollenkopf 1999; U.S. Census Bureau *Current Population Survey* 2006.)

Although native-born white Los Angelenos were "never averse to employing newcomers willing to work at bargain wages" (Waldinger 1996: 445), they have been increasingly annoyed by the changing face of California and the threat it posed to their "American way of life." African-Americans—their population in Los Angeles County grew from 745,000 in 1970 to more than 928,000 in 1990—felt squeezed out of their neighborhoods and the employment and small business opportunities by the surging avalanche of immigrants in the area. The anti-foreign resentment among native-born Californians culminated in 1994 in a successful statewide campaign led by "a motley coalition of [white] right-wingers, environmentalists, and former officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service" (Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996: 456) and supported by a considerable number of African-Americans, for the passage of the Proposition 187 to add a constitutional amendment denying all but emergency aid to illegal immigrants and placing an obligation on public employers to report the suspects. (It should be noted, however, that Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan did not openly support this legislation—Mollenkopf 1999.) The new regulation has hardly assuaged anti-foreign sentiments however. Segmented as it is and riven by ethnic resentments, with the political environment fragmented into an assembly of loosely structured suburban communities that make it difficult to manage cross-group coalitions—Waldinger and Bozorgmehr conclude in their assessment of intergroup relations in the area—Los Angeles is a plural city "largely because the economy has learned to make good use of it" (Ibid.: 457).

The reception of members of our three immigrant groups by native-born Los Angelenos and their position in the city's civic-political landscape have been far from identical (for a good general discussion of intergroup relations among non-Hispanic whites, African-Americans, Latinos, and Asians in Los Angeles, see Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn 1997). The limited available information about the situation of the families of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen and transnational managers indicates, unsurprisingly, a friendly welcome on the part of the city's political establishment aware of this group's importance for the Los Angeles economy and its status as a global city, and appreciative of its support for public initiatives on behalf of the city's well-being and growth (these civic activities of wealthy Hong Kong and Taiwanese entrepreneurs will be discussed in the next chapter). Although native-born Americans in Los Angeles have commonly been reported as unable to distinguish among (East)Asians of different national origins, people whom the self-assured, English-speaking, and unmistakably affluent Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants interact with seem to be well-aware of whom they are dealing with. Social relations of immigrants with native-born whites (they seldom come into contact with African-Americans except for the representatives of this group's small professional elite) which occur either in their places of residence or at work have been reported as friendly. For the most part, however, and according to the preference of both parties to these interactions, they are "weak ties" rather than close personal involvements. (Information compiled from Wong 1998; Koehn and Yin 2002; Saxenian 2006.)

The situation of Korean shopkeepers in Los Angeles—members of the third largest group (after Filipinos and Chinese) among new arrivals from Asia and attracting the most of unwelcome local media attention—has been quite different. On the part of native-born whites who feel overwhelmed by the influx of immigrants, including those from Asia, and who, as already mentioned, often do not perceive differences in the physical appearance of members of different groups from that part of the world, the most "visible" Korean shopkeepers with their broken English have encountered persistent prejudice and discrimination. Discrimination has been most pronounced in business dealings. Korean merchants, especially in the lines of groceries, liquor, produce, and fish which depend on white suppliers, have been systematically discriminated by the latter "in terms of price, quality of merchandise, item selection, speed of delivery . . . and overall service" (Min 2008: 498). They have also regularly experienced unfriendly treatment in everyday encounters with native-born white residents.

However, tensions between African-Americans and Korean shopkeepers have attracted the most local and national media attention. (Information about this conflict comes from Jennings 1994; Ong, Park, and Tong 1994; Bozorgmehr, Sabagh, and Light 1996; Min 1996, 2008; Sonenshein 1996; Yoon 1997; Logan and Alba 1999.) As readers will recall, the majority of Korean immigrants' shops have been located in black neighborhoods. Their residents, dissatisfied with what they perceived as discourteous service, non-employment of blacks in Korean businesses, and the lack of capital and social investment by Koreans in the African-American community the exploitation of which "they get rich on," have frequently verbally abused and occasionally looted Korean stores. Koreans responded with racial slurs calling blacks "lazy," drug addicts, and no-goods in general.

Despite these mutual resentments and the sporadic harassment of Korean stores in black neighborhoods, because of the effective peacemaking politics of a black mayor, Tom Bradley, and conciliatory activities of the Black–Korean Alliance, during the 1980s African-American/Korean relations were on the whole quiescent. Then, instigated originally by the anger of African-Americans against a 5-year probation (much too lenient in their view) given in the fall of 1991 to a Korean grocery owner who shot to death an African-American girl while struggling with her over an unpaid bottle of orange juice, in the spring of 1992 anti-Korean hostility erupted into mass violence after a jury pronounced white police officers innocent of beating black motorist Rodney King. During the burning and looting one Korean was killed and 46 were injured, and more than 2000 Korean stores worth more than $350 million were destroyed primarily in black neighborhoods in the South Central section of the city but also in Koreatown four miles away. Although the conflict was eventually extinguished, the legacy of tension between Koreans and their black customers has persisted into the next century and, with it, an enhanced sense of ethnic group membership among Korean shopkeepers, the consequences of which (for their assimilation) will be examined in the next chapter.

A mass of low-educated, low-skilled, and Spanish-speaking Mexican immigrants with a large and growing contingent of undocumented residents has been the core object of fear and resentment among native-born white residents of California. Their primary reaction to these feelings has been the flight further and further away from the areas where Hispanic residents concentrate. When intergroup contacts do occur, the economically weak Mexican/Latino immigrants, rising, but not yet arrived, in political power commensurate to their population size, have been targets of systematic discrimination and prejudice by white Los Angelenos, and, of particular consequence for the victims, in housing, loan and credit services, public schools (tracking system), and employment. Because of residential proximity and direct competition for employment and public representation, intergroup tensions in the Los Angeles area have been the most intense between Mexicans and African-Americans. (Information about Latino/Mexican-African American conflict in Los Angeles comes from Chang and Leong 1994; Jennings 1994; Smith and Feagin 1995; Bozorgmehr, Sabagh, and Light 1996; Sonnenshein 1996; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Logan and Alba 1999; Mollenkopf, Olson, and Ross 2002.)

The local context of native-born black/Latino tensions in Los Angeles has been different from that fueling African-American/Korean hostilities. The massive entry of cheap Latino, mainly Mexican, labor into the Los Angeles economy between the 1970s and the 1990s has largely displaced black workers from several job concentrations, for example, certain manufacturing sectors, construction, services to dwellings, low-skill restaurant and hotel jobs (men), and textile production and domestic household service (women). In other fields, such as metal industries, furniture and fixtures, transportation, and higher-level manual jobs in hotel and restaurant services, the growing presence of immigrants and, in particular, the expansion of immigrant occupational niches based on in-group network recruitment has made it increasingly difficult for African-Americans to compete successfully for jobs. In 2000 the proportion of niche-occupied Mexican immigrants in the Los Angeles economy was about 70 percent (significantly higher than their share of the total population), representing an increase by nearly 15 percent since 1970. In addition to the sheer mass of cheap and willing immigrants and a high-level ethnic 'nichefication' of the economy that has effectively excluded outsiders, savage-capitalist open-shop labor market combined with native white and immigrant (Asian) employers' preference for Mexican (docile) over African-American (finicky and too ambitious) workers even for jobs outside of ethnic occupational niches makes job competition particularly tough for blacks.

African-Americans' only occupational niche in the city has been in public-sector employment. Holding a sizable one-fifth of city jobs and employing nearly 60 percent of the black residents, the African-American niche in the Los Angeles public sector has, nevertheless, been smaller and less secure than that of their New York fellow-ethnics (see below). This is because the black population itself is smaller overall and its share in the city's general population has declined while new immigrant/ethnic group demands for a relatively small number of city jobs have increased. The growing presence of native-born, better-educated adult children of immigrants in the Los Angeles region's Latino community and the latter's basically ethnically homogeneous, Mexican composition, and the dissolution of the biracial (black-and-white) coalition with the departure of Mayor Bradley in 1992 have led to an intensification of "fair share" demands on the part of the Latino/Mexican community. These combined factors have made these demands quite effective at all levels of the Los Angeles political system. The claims of the Latinos have been successful in that by the year 2000 the city council had 27 percent Latino and only 20 percent African-American representatives. It has not, however, eliminated Latino/Mexican–African-American tensions.

As in the private sector, the competition between African-Americans and Latinos for public jobs and political influence has continued to generate mutual resentment and negative stereotyping. Mexicans see blacks as having been in power too long and not wanting to recognize the fact that they are no longer the majority. African-Americans respond to these charges by pointing out that blacks struggled for years to win power in the civil service, while immigrants just arrived expect to have everything. The Mexicans' upper hand in this conflict concerns the future. "Tom Bradley was not only L.A.'s first black mayor," as an observer of the Los Angeles political scene said half in jest, "he was also probably its last [mayor]. Power has shifted for good here, even though most people don't realize it yet" (after Rieff 2002: 149). Although tenuous, a task-oriented collaboration between these two groups has not been impossible, however, as demonstrated by the support of city African-Americans for Antonio Villaraigosa, a victorious Hispanic candidate for mayor in the 2005 election. The impact of this vulnerable, but apparently improving situation on the form and content of assimilation of Mexican immigrants and their American-born children in Los Angeles will be examined in Chapters 4 and 6.

In comparison with Los Angeles, the politics of New York have been more pro-immigrant (if not consistently so), civic-political institutions have been more broadly representative of the city's diverse population regardless of the party currently at the helm,[11] and the sentiments of the residents have had a distinctly less anti-foreign tone. These differences reflect, on the one hand, New York's long historical tradition of multiculturalism and intergroup coalition-making in governing the city and, related, a large number of community-based organizations which represent the interests of their constituents, and, on the other hand, a more balanced ethnic group composition than in Los Angeles. Still, as in Los Angeles, the coexistence of different populations differently positioned in the city's residential landscape, labor market, and the public-sphere power structure unavoidably generates intergroup tensions. (Information about New York's politics vis-à-vis its immigrant/ethnic groups comes from Jennings 1994; DeSipio 1998; Hamermesh and Bean 1998; Jones-Correa 1998; Logan and Alba 1999; Mollenkopf 1999; Cordero-Guzman, Smith, and Grosfoguel 2001; Cordero-Guzman and Grosfoguel 2002.)

Of concern here is the reception of Jamaican immigrants in New York by the city's native-born American white and black residents. (On this issue, see Foner 1987; Kasinitz 1992; Kalmijn 1996; Joyce 1997; Crowder 1999; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001; Model 2008.) The ideology and cultural practices of Jamaican society have allowed its black residents effectively "to sidestep race as an issue in their everyday lives" and reinforced instead the belief that individual merit is what ultimately accounts for lifetime achievement. Soon after they arrive in America, however, Jamaican immigrants are confronted with the painful realization that, unlike in their home country, in the United States their skin color more than anything else defines their identity and opportunities. Perceived simply as black by native-born white American, Jamaicans have "suffered marked discrimination in the housing market that . . . makes it difficult for middle-class Jamaicans to move into predominantly white neighbourhoods . . . and effectively limits their access to employment opportunities in the outer areas; while low-skilled immigrants find themselves excluded by racial discrimination from many blue-collar jobs" (Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001: 192, 206). Because of their English literacy, good education, and the achievement drive of the majority of immigrants, and because native-born Americans, confronted with Jamaicans' (often purposely exaggerated) English accent and comportment, tend to treat "hard-working island boys" better than native blacks ("girls" are also preferred), Jamaican immigrants' integration into New York's labor market has been on the whole more successful than that of African-Americans.[12] Nevertheless, or precisely because of this success, members of the largest, middle-class group of immigrants have found the experience of exclusion based on the color of their skins deeply alienating.

The relationship between Jamaicans and native-born New York blacks has been ambivalent. They have competed for jobs (better-educated blacks primarily for employment in the public sector, and low-skilled immigrants and African-Americans for jobs in the low-wage service sector) and for political influence. The fact that the pool of public jobs in New York has been considerably greater than that in Los Angeles, and that the "multiculturalist practice" in the public sphere of the former has been more embedded than in the latter, may actually have enhanced the expectations of groups whose members view themselves as civically disadvantaged. The shrinking of public-sector services since the mid-1990s, in New York as elsewhere in the country, has made the competition and the accompanying intergroup tensions more acute. At issue also in the increasing intergroup dissension has been the distribution of local political offices, which in the opinion of Jamaicans unfairly privileges African-Americans. The tension has been aggravated by the recent appearance and the divisive effects of English-speaking West Indian, especially Jamaican, politicians campaigning under the banner of "ethnic politics" in the black public forum in New York. Supported by mutual stereotypes invested on both sides with moral judgments implying in-group superiority—of African-Americans as undisciplined spendthrifts and unambitious system blamers reluctant to take responsibility for their own lives and of Jamaicans as uppity arrogants and crafty overachievers—cultural distancing thus far has been the main expression of negative feelings between middle-class Jamaicans and African-Americans.

The racial solidarity option has been more common in poorer and, especially, the poorest inner-city neighborhoods. In these isolated ghetto neighborhoods a realization of the common race-derived fate has been difficult to escape (although more obviously so for the majority English- than for French- or Creole-speaking West Indians). Despite the apparent commonality of experience, and, therefore, of interests, however, racial solidarity of low(er)-class Jamaicans, and African-Americans, resting on the underlying competition for housing and lowly manual jobs and the resulting reciprocal ethnic "othering", has been situational rather than consistent.

Although they do not resolve intergroup tensions, collaborative undertakings joining native- and foreign-born blacks temporarily overcome them. Most cooperative actions have been instigated by abuses of blacks and racial conflicts with outside (white) society or interpreted as such by the black-nationalist ideology adhered to by a segment of the Afro-Caribbean population (e.g., recurrent boycotts of the Korean shops in black neighborhoods by combined "forces" of African-Americans and primarily English-speaking West Indians). But there have also been instances of cooperation for common political causes supported by Jamaican immigrant leaders who view the strategy of organizing around racial identity as more effective in obtaining resources than ethnic politics, and locally in neighborhoods, schools, and between churches.

Next on our list, Miami has differed from other postindustrial cities with large new-immigrant populations in the unusually powerful economic and political position of one immigrant group, the Cubans. By 1990 they made up approximately 750,000, or nearly one-third, of the area's residents and about two-thirds of the entire Latino population which by the early 1990s had become the largest ethnic group (53 percent) in the area. At the same time, the proportion of Miami's non-Hispanic whites decreased from 80 percent in 1960 to less than 30 percent in 1990. The black population increased from 15 percent to 20 percent during this period, with foreign-born blacks (mainly Haitians) accounting for most of this growth and for one-fourth of the total in 1990.

Although the very top of Miami's primary sector, especially banking, international trade, insurance, and real estate services, is still dominated, more behind the scenes than up-front, by non-Hispanic (Anglo and Jewish) whites, the solid presence of the powerful first-wave Cuban refugee businessmen and managers at the helm of the large Cuban economic enclave gives this group considerable power. In the secondary and informal sectors of the city's economy, in particular apparel manufacturing, construction, and hotel and restaurant services, Cuban immigrant businessmen have held the uncontested dominant position since the 1980s. (The information about Cubans' position in the Miami politics and about intergroup relations has been compiled from Mohl 1989; Portes and Stepick 1993; Smith and Feagin 1995; Perez-Stable and Uriarte 1997; Becker and Dluhy 1998; Bowie and Stepick 1998; DeSipio 1998; Garcia-Zamor 1998; Grenier and Castro 1998; Jones-Correa 1998; Grenier and Perez 2003; Stepick et al. 2003; and personal communications to this author from Alex Stepick, July 2008.)

The large size and good organization of the Cuban population and its elite's economic influence in Miami enabled its leaders also to gain central power in city politics. The appropriation by Cubans' of the city political establishment was a prolonged process as it met with strong resistance—eventually ending in a concession—from the native white establishment which saw itself increasingly set aside by the Cubans who relied on their own ethnic organizations rather than, as native-born American leaders expected, integrating into the existing political system. By the late 1980s, the city of Miami and the surrounding townships all had Cuban-born mayors, and foreign-born Cubans controlled the City Commission and made up nearly 40 percent of the county delegation to the state legislature. Guillermo Grenier and Lisandro Perez comment on a long list of Cuban city and state officials in Miami: "Nowhere else in America, not even in American history have first-generation immigrants so quickly and so thoroughly appropriated political power" (Grenier and Perez 1996: 368). It has been, we should add, political power of a distinctly conservative bent, and reluctant to accommodate other resident groups' aspirations for a share in it.

The appropriation and resulting exclusion of non-members from large segments of Miami's economy by one immigrant group with native-born non-Hispanic whites in the background, and Cuban dominance in the higher echelons of the Miami area civil-political system have understandably aggravated the city's ethnic minorities, primarily African-Americans. The conservative–exclusionary politics conducted by Miami's Cuban leaders on the one hand, and, on the other, the residential dispersion of the majority of blacks, especially middle-class, have kept African-Americans from building up a fair political representation for the black minority. As a result, although African-American participation in public-sector employment has exceeded their share in the total population, they have remained disproportionately concentrated in lower-level positions.

Cuban/African-American relations in Miami have been asymmetrical. In comparison with the hostile preoccupation of the disadvantaged blacks with the powerful Cubans, the latter have paid much less attention to African-Americans. Just when the Civil Rights movement removed the formal institutions of racial segregation in the Miami region in the 1960s and opportunities appeared for its black minority, the arrival of Cuban refugees set city development on a different track. The stalling of African-American progress and the rapid advance instead of Cubans to economic and political power in the city aided by the Cuban Refugee Program and other federal initiatives to support the adaptation of Cuban émigrés and by the priorities and preferences of U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War era has since provided the focal reference framework for enduring black discontent. The pervasive barriers to competition and advancement opportunities for racial and, to a lesser extent, ethnic outsiders posed by Cuban dominance rather than the competition itself have constituted the major source of African-American resentment. As opportunities for Miami blacks did not visibly improve, this hostility has been intensified by the widely held belief in the local African-American community that a historical injustice has been done to it and that, specifically, Cuban immigrants have undeservedly, and at the expense of blacks, assumed their powerful position in the Miami area.[13]

Despite this enduring animosity some attempts at African-American/Cuban cooperation have been made since the 1990s, including, for example, a black–Cuban coalition against the at-large voting-system that limited both black and Latino participation in county commissions, support by the local NAACP for the Latino-led opposition to the county's "English only" ordinance, and occasional fund-raising balls for black or Cuban causes. These were, however, fragile coalitions rather than a continuous dialog, leaving intact the roots of African-American discontent, not least because the plight of Miami blacks has occupied a marginal place on the Cuban public agenda, which focused on improving their own economic situation and on the political struggle with the Castro regime, and because Cuban leaders have persistently denied any intentional racism by the Cuban enclave when accused by local blacks, and, furthermore, have been unwilling to commit themselves to fight its (unintended) consequences.

The political landscape of Philadelphia which provided the local context for integration of Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants has been quite different. Although the city's African-Americans fought their way into the political system in the 1960s and 1970s through the local Civil Rights movement and militant activism against housing discrimination and policy brutality, the embedded (Democratic) political machine run by native (Anglo) whites effectively kept them from gaining a more significant public influence. It was only in the 1980s, as the black population grew and vocally demanded a voice in city politics, that they began to win elective city offices. Philadelphia is now one "of the only major US cities that has had two black mayors [Wilson Goode and John Street—E.M.], each of whom served for two terms"—Jerome Hodos summarizes the overview of the history of African-Americans' entry into Philadelphia's politics. Not only have they gained commensurate economic power, "African Americans have *become* the city's political establishment" (Hodos forthcoming: 33; see also Goode and Schneider 1994).

Although, as already noted, the increasing numbers of Hispanic and Asian immigrants in the city since the 1980s have diversified the colors of Philadelphia's population, the primary black–white competition for space and influence has delayed the political incorporation of new immigrant groups. As the tensions between native whites and native blacks continued to preoccupy Philadelphia's leaders and the local media, "Immigrants were often left on the sidelines. Their incorporation was frustrated or it was accomplished but delivered little in the way of real power" (Hodos forthcoming: 33). This assessment by Hodos concerns the two major racial minorities in the city: Hispanic, mainly Puerto Rican, and Asian groups both of which have been trying to get their share of political power in the city thus far with limited success. Recent white immigrants such as Russian Jews and Poles—both groups from (post-)Soviet popular culture informed by a profound mistrust toward state, also local, institutions commonly perceived as inimical and threatening—have not really aspired to political influence in the city, so staying "on the sidelines" has suited their members better. (Information about Philadelphia's ethnic politics and the civic reception of Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants has been compiled from Goode and Schneider 1994; Morawska 2004; Hodos forthcoming; and personal communications from Hodos to this author, July 2008.)

The reception of Russian Jewish immigrants into Philadelphia's political society has been a mediated, two-step process. They were absorbed, first, into the local Jewish American community, and it was within its boundaries rather than in a confrontation with outside ethnic groups that any intergroup tensions and misunderstandings that might have emerged, concerning immigrants' expectations regarding their socioeconomic positions and their obligations as members of the Jewish American group, were resolved. In the next phase of this process, as part of the Jewish American population rather than as an immigrant group on its own, Russian Jews have been represented in local political dealings by Philadelphia's Jewish American organizations (on their profile and activities, see Friedman 2003; also Friedman and Chernin 1999).

In comparison, Polish immigrants, who are small in numbers and unaffiliated with any influential group in the city (the so-called white-ethnic descendants of turn-of-the-twentieth-century wave of Polish settlers in the city have not been well organized), have been basically invisible in Philadelphia's political landscape. They have also remained outside of interethnic tensions in the city. Anti-Polish sentiments expressed in hurtful ethnic jokes prevalent in American popular culture in the 1960s by and large disappeared by the 1980s (Polish-Americans believe it was the Solidarity Movement in Poland and the election of the Polish Pope that put an end to these public displays of ethnic prejudice). What seems to have remained, in Philadelphia and in other postindustrial cities in the United States, has been the stereotypical representation of Poles as un(der)educated laborers, which tends to annoy middle-class representatives of this group but does not affect their occupational careers or residential choices.

Last to consider here is the reception in their cities of settlement of residentially dispersed middle-class Asian Indian immigrants. In none of the cities considered here—Seattle, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC—have they been numerically large enough to gain political influence as a group and in local intergroup conflicts they have tended to maintain "racial neutrality leaning towards whiteness" (Lessinger 2001: 9). In terms of attitudes toward Asian Indians by native-born Americans, in the opinion of a student of this group, they do not, in general, suffer much from overt racial discrimination, shielded by education, white-collar jobs, and well-to-do suburban neighborhoods (Lessinger 2001: 179). Nevertheless, native-born Americans do not perceive them as white, which makes Asian Indians, who are well aware of the racial "othering" they are subject to in the receiver country, feel "other" themselves. Offensive as incidents are, the racial othering of Asian Indians has had more tangible consequences for their professional careers when it assumes the form of the glass ceiling barriers at work or, as reported in studies, "a subtle but pervasive" discrimination in moving up the ladder of leadership and decision-making positions. Although it happens mostly to their lower-educated fellow-ethnics, Asian Indian immigrant professionals occasionally encounter racist or anti-immigrant slights and slurs and, since September 11, 2001, taken for Arab or Pakistani Muslims, they have been also reportedly confronted with accusations of terrorism and anti-American hatred. When it happens, such provocations occur on the streets, on public transportation, or in shopping malls rather than at workplaces or in neighborhoods where Asian Indians spend most of their everyday lives. (Information compiled from Helweg 1986; Rangaswamy 2000; Woo 2000; Lessinger 2001; Khandelwal 2002.)

We shall continue a discussion of different modes of immigrants' incorporation into the host society in the next chapter which focuses on the sociocultural and civic-political dimensions of their assimilation process. In the next chapter, too, we examine the actors-on-structures phase of the structuration process, that is, the impact of immigrants' economic, sociocultural, and civic-political integration into the receiver society on the latter's local-level institutions, and popular orientations and behaviors.

4

Immigrants' Sociocultural and Civic-Political Assimilation: Different Groups, Different Contexts, and Different Trajectories

In this chapter we comparatively examine the patterns of sociocultural and civic-political incorporation into the host, American society of members of our eight immigrant groups. The findings on their residential locations, modes of economic incorporation, and reception by native Americans reported in the previous chapter are treated here as circumstances contributing to particular trajectories of immigrants' sociocultural and civic-political assimilation.[1] The typology of assimilation patterns used in the earlier analysis is also applied to the examination of immigrants' sociocultural integration. Here, it denotes mainstream and/or ethnic-group dominant and subsidiary "profiles of cultural orientations" (Kluckhohn 1950), reference frameworks, location of social relations, identities, and commitments which usually assume the features of class-position and social milieus of their actor-carriers' everyday participation.

Three concepts related to the notion of assimilation which pertain to the sociocultural and civic-political dimensions of this process should be introduced before we move on. One of them has been the notion of *optional ethnicity* (Gans 1979; Waters 1990). Originally formulated in the 1970s, this concept has been brought back onto the agenda of contemporary immigration studies by the recently intensified debates about different modes of assimilation among American-born children of immigrants. Optional ethnicity involves the primarily symbolic identification of individuals with their ancestry, including self-identification and occasional leisure-time participation in cultural activities or displays of cultural icons that are voluntary or chosen (optional) by actors. Next, a subcategory of the ethnic-path integration mode, resilient ethnicity—as opposed to the accommodating kind—denotes a set of attitudes and behaviors most commonly displayed by socioeconomically disadvantaged (im)migrants who resist the absorption of host-society orientations and activities and deliberately maintain or even exaggerate their ethnic separateness.[2] Finally, the most encompassing concept used in the examination of different trajectories of immigrants' assimilation is that of ethnicization (coined in 1978 by Jonathan Sarna, a Jewish American historian of that group's acculturation into the receiver society), denoting the process of mixing-and-blending in different compositions of home- and host-country traditions.

The process of assimilation is incidental to everyday lives of people: it occurs by itself, so to speak, as individuals make other decisions and conduct their affairs—so claim Richard Alba and Victor Nee (2003) and I agree. As an immigrant myself I know only too well how one discovers in oneself surprising reactions that were not there at the time of emigration to America, such as emerging friendships one cannot guess the future depth of, and new preferences that at some time somehow developed without one's notice. At the same time, these new reactions and preferences are not the same in all immigrants. There are class, race, and political status "hurdles" in the process of assimilation of some groups while for others their class and features and civic reception facilitate integration into mainstream American society. There are immigrant groups whose home-country traditions narrowly proscribe social roles for women who then face a sharp conflict with their families and communities as they acculturate into the American cultural norms. And there are immigrant groups whose traditions are more similar in this matter to contemporary American culture or simply more flexible and open to change, making the assimilation of their members smoother and less problematic. There are also immigrants' personal commitments to their families at home and to their native countries that influence the scope and pace of their integration into the host, American society. In short, although large parts of the assimilation process indeed evolve imperceptibly as people move through their daily affairs, the directions and the specific "contents" of this process depend on the economic, political, and cultural circumstances of particular immigrant groups. The following comparative examination of different modes of sociocultural and civic-political assimilation into the American society of members of the eight immigrant groups will allow identification of the major factors in the surrounding society and the characteristics of the group itself and its members that in different constellations contribute to different trajectories of the process of immigrants' integration.

Because sociocultural assimilation and new civic commitments evolve by and large imperceptibly in people's everyday lives—new perceptions and behaviors unfold through immigrants' continuous daily engagements with family members, friends and acquaintances, community organizations, at work, in stores, at occasional encounters on the streets, reading newspapers and watching TV, listening to other people talking, and observing them doing things—except for their decisions to take up host-country citizenship or to use at home this or another language or eat a particular food, it is not possible (as we did in the previous chapters regarding choices to (e)migrate and the specific destination) to systematically distinguish the effects of different dimensions of immigrants' agency in pursuing particular modes of incorporation. I do this whenever possible, and I also indicate the interactive or individual source of immigrants' agentic mobilization to pursue a specific course of action when the available data justify such suggestions.

In the remainder of this chapter we examine, first, different modes of sociocultural and civic-political integration of members of eight immigrant groups. The ideal, of course, would be to provide an encompassing account of the political, social, and, to again follow Milton Gordon, intrinsic (symbolic) and extrinsic (behavioral and material) cultural dimensions for each immigrant group. The actual scope and content of the analysis, however, are limited by the availability of data, which are unavoidably "gappy." The next section identifies the main areas of (re)constitutive effects, including glocalization as implanting outside elements into the local institutions and culture, of immigrants' integration on the receiver, American society.

Diverse trajectories of immigrants' assimilation: Empirical cases

Following the order of discussion in the last chapter, we first consider the three groups in Los Angeles: Hong Kong and Taiwanese global venture capitalists and transnational company managers, Korean shopkeepers, and lower-class Mexicans.

The process of sociocultural and civic-political assimilation of Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants represents an interesting case of a multidirectional trajectory and a more distinct than usual gender difference in the modes of integration. (Information about the modes of assimilation of members of this group has been compiled from Kao and Bibney 1993; Skeldon 1994; Dirlik 1996; Ng 1998; Pan 1998; Wong 1998; Cheng 1999; Watanabe 1999; Kwong and Misevic 2005; Saxenian

2006; Holdaway 2007.) We begin with immigrant men about whom much more is known than about their wives—as we remember, except for a small minority of "strong women" engaged in transnational business side by side with their husbands, the majority of Hong Kong and Taiwanese females in this group stay home and take care of the families.

The structural and personal circumstances of affluent Hong Kong and Taiwanese global entrepreneurs and, specifically, their socioeconomic (multinational business networks) and political (privileged status in the host country and solicitation of services by home- and host-country governments) resources and high-power human capital, primarily applied in pursuits conducted in global rather than national realms, allow them to escape, as it were, the conventional, localized assimilation categories, or perhaps represent the avant-garde of a forthcoming trend. Derived from the nature of their economic activities, the primary mode of adaptation—to the United States, Los Angeles, and to their other habitats around the world—of these globetrotting men is cosmopolitanism. They either live in Los Angeles permanently or, as often, shuttle back and forth between their American, Asian, and European residences which has gained them the nickname of *taikongren*, or argonauts, constantly "in orbit" in the transnational community. Studies of these immigrants' identities and civic commitments refer to them as "pragmatic cosmopolitans" with sojourner mentalities and an "instrumental sense of nationalism" that sanctions opportunistic trading of citizenship for personal/family political security and economic advancement. The reply of an immigrant Chinese transnational investor asked where he most liked to live expresses this instrumental cosmopolitanism very well: "I can live anywhere in the world, but it must be near the airport."

It has been primarily as powerful *global* traders and financiers with connections to Asia sought after by American business and political leaders that Hong Kong and Taiwanese businessmen have integrated into Los Angeles society. American leaders of the area's capitalism, American politicians and the media all see this group as "bridge-builders" between the United States and South Asia, instrumental in the creation of the Pacific century in the global economy. As studies indicate, Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrant men's self-perceptions contain this image as well. Their sustained contributions to the internationalization of the Los Angeles economy integrate them into the very core of mainstream American capitalism in the global era.

Reflecting their economic position and pragmatic concerns as global businessmen with vested interests in the Los Angeles area, Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants' incorporation into Los Angeles mainstream civic-political structures represents a mix of mainstream American, ethnic (as in local Chinese American), and transnational concerns. A 1998 survey of naturalization of different ethnic groups in the Los Angeles area found that nearly 40 percent of immigrant men in this group had permanent residence cards, and a similar proportion were naturalized. Although they are too busy traveling around the world to hold local political offices, Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrant "globalists" have been known to give large endowments to Los Angeles hospitals and universities, most likely motivated by practical–projective considerations and mobilized interactively through their interactions with each other and with American business partners and political fundraisers. Together with native corporate lobbies, they have supported local- and national-level Asian-American business groups in pressing members of the U.S. Congress to recruit Asian labor, capital, and knowledge. And they have been reported to endorse advocacy groups formed during the 1990s, most with offices in Washington, DC, to advance political and ethnic-cultural interests of Asian Americans (the most visible among them are the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium [NAPALC], the Organization of Chinese Americans [OCA], and, in particular, the bipartisan Congressional Asian Pacific Caucus Institute [CAPACI]).[3]

The social-cultural realm of the incorporation of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global capitalists into American society represents yet a different blend of Chinese—not ethnic in the local sense as in the Chinese American community in the Los Angeles area, but transnational as in a world diaspora extending between Hong Kong, Taipei, London, Los Angeles, and New York—and (upper-)middle class mainstream American orientations and practices. As noted in the previous chapter, their social integration into American, here, Los Angeles, society has been partial and has relied primarily on weak ties generated by work- and civic-sphere-related encounters. Although by no means exclusive, the primary orbit of those immigrants' social relations is other Chinese—extended family members and business acquaintances in the Los Angeles area and around the world. Their everyday cultural pursuits also bridge different worlds, but the language used at home by a majority of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global traders is Chinese, and while they are proficient in English (many also in Dutch and Spanish) it is in Chinese that they most often communicate with their business partners.

This distinct blend informing the social-cultural lives of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen has been the product, on the one hand, of the group's intense economic engagements, backed up by embedded social networks in the Pacific Rim or its Asia-oriented cosmopolitanism, which constitute an integral component of their incorporation into Los Angeles/American society, and, on the other hand, of the "distant proximity" founded on a habituated-practical interest in and need for each other, but also mutual racial distance between native-born white and Chinese Americans, especially in the area of personal social relations and more intimate cultural exchange. Compared with the case of Korean shopkeepers (as we shall see below) this immigrant group's economic and political strength in the eyes of the natives facilitates the translation of this official approbation into practice. The shared sense of empowerment deriving from immigrants' economic position and supported by public recognition of the pluralism of American society makes openly assertive expressions of their transnational and ethnic commitments by Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen into a matter-of-fact feature of their everyday lives.

Much less is known about orientations and sense of belonging of the wives of Hong Kong and Taiwanese globetrotting entrepreneurs. Available information suggests that rather than cosmopolitan with local admixtures from different parts of the world like those of their husbands, Hong Kong and Taiwanese women's identities and commitments represent a more standard assimilation pattern, combining the dominant middle-class ethnic-path with situational mainstream American components. Through their daily engagements focused on taking care of the children and the home, and maintaining good relations with their extended families, women reconstruct Chinese and, increasingly with the passage of time, Chinese American traditions. Their primary social relations with other Chinese American women of the same socioeconomic status, and their reportedly active involvement in local Chinese American social, cultural, and entertainment associations, perform similar functions.

The earlier-quoted 1998 survey reported permanent residence and naturalization rates among Hong Kong and Taiwanese women as generally similar to those of the men. Like their husbands, they also tend to participate in local mainstream civic activities but of a traditionally female kind such as campaigns for charitable causes, education, and public safety projects which provide the occasions for weak-tie socializing with native-born Americans. I was unable to find any information regarding potential family conflicts about the traditional gender roles in this immigrant group, except for the reported unhappiness of some of the housewives about the repeated absences of their traveling husbands.

According to studies, if the women want to "do something" outside of the house, they "help" their husbands or other (male) family members in business; it is unclear, however, what the conditions of such engagements are, at what cost to marital harmony they are negotiated, and whether such "do-somethings" alter in any way the traditional gender division of labor in the immigrant families. Studies of the adaptation of Asian American immigrant families (see below on the Korean and Indian households) report considerable tensions caused by the contestation by women of patriarchal gender roles in their homes. These conflicts are generated by immigrant women's increased economic independence and personal autonomy deriving from the new experience of outside employment. The majority of wives of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen, however, stay home, so it may be—the issue awaits a comparative investigation—that their habituated-practical orientations make them more willing to acquiesce to the home-country tradition based on the Confucian religious philosophy which accords men the dominant position.

Shaped by a quite different constellation of structural and agentic circumstances, the trajectory of sociocultural and civic-political assimilation of Korean shopkeepers has had little in common with that of their Hong Kong and Taiwanese fellow Los Angelenos. It represents the middle-class ethnic-adhesive path of adaptation whereby ethnicization or the mixing-and-blending of home- and host-country customs and ways of life evolves primarily within the boundaries of the ethnic group. (Information about Korean immigrants' mode of assimilation comes from Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng 1994; Min 1996, 2001, 2006; Light and Gold 2000; Bean and Stevens 2003; Espiritu 2003; Yu et al. 2004.)

The major structural conditions responsible for this mode of integration of the Korean shopkeepers include, on the side of the group itself, immigrants' ethnic enclave employment, residential concentration, and immersion in tightly knit ethnic social networks, and, on the side of the surrounding society and in sharp contrast to the situation of powerful Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen, their vulnerable socioeconomic position as innocuous middlemen, and the inimical or at best inhospitable attitudes and behavior toward them on the part of native-born (black and white) Americans. Among the shared agentic circumstances channeling and keeping Korean immigrants in their ethnic community—and, as a consequence, sustaining their weak structural position in the city—are their unserviceable on the outside human capital, especially poor English and untransferable skills. Also, again in contrast to the Hong Kong/Taiwan group's pragmatic cosmopolitanism, their traditional understanding of national membership as immutable reflected in is habitual self-perceptions and sustained through interactions with fellow immigrants: to be Korean is "a matter of blood" that cannot simply be shed by transplantation to another country (we shall return to the latter issue in the next chapter). Membership in their ethnic community in Los Angeles serves the Korean immigrants as substitute for national affiliation, and as practical and emotional protection against what they perceive as their precarious position within Los Angeles society. Occasional eruptions of anti-Korean sentiments on the part of African-Americans and the negative press Korean shopkeepers receive in the mainstream media have, according to students of this group, actually enhanced its members' ethnic bonds and solidarity. Although they do not make Koreans into "closet ethnics"—immigrants who openly cultivate their group bonds and traditions—these combined circumstances of their lives do lessen the reassuring effects of the official "pluralist discourse" of the American media and institutions.

Reconstituted as outlined above, Korean shopkeepers' ethnic-path mode of assimilation has been expressed in the predominant majority, more than 80 percent, of immigrants in this group, men and women alike, using Korean at home, eating almost exclusively Korean food, and moving in exclusively Korean social circles. The majority, too, belong to and regularly frequent social-cultural events organized by local Korean American associations as their main source of entertainment besides informal meetings with Korean friends, and use primarily Korean-language newspapers/TV programs for information about American and world events. The intermarriage rate of Korean men and women has remained at a low 4 percent since the 1980s. Interestingly, the Korean American Protestant churches—nearly 60 percent of post-1980 immigrants in the Los Angeles area belong to these—have been reported to enhance their followers' ethnic commitments rather than serve as bridge-builders to the local mainstream American Protestant population.

While they retain significant home-country components, the outlooks and practices of immigrants assimilating in the ethnic-adhesive mode unavoidably ethnicize with time or acquire admixtures of host-country customs and attitudes. The identification of Korean shopkeepers, strongly Korean during the initial decades of their stay in the United States, has with time become hyphenated: Korean American. They also naturalize. After 10–15 years in the United States, about two-thirds of Korean immigrants in Los Angeles, including our subgroup and with no significant gender difference, are American citizens.

Mobilized by shared practical and projective considerations, Korean shopkeepers participate in the affairs of the host society primarily on the local level. Such involvement has included organized lobbying and other engagements on behalf of business and residential interests of their own and civic representation of the entire Korean community in Los Angeles. These activities are conducted through the Korean Produce Retailers' Association, Korean Dry Cleaners' Association, Korean Grocery Association, and under the umbrella of the Korean Traders' Association of Los Angeles. It is in terms of social relations that the Korean immigrants' ethnic-path assimilation home- and host-country mix has had the greatest and most persistent in-group or home-country component: they associate primarily with each other, in part because of cultural proximity and the densely organized local Korean community with many avenues of entertainment and socializing, which make the in-group option a habitual and practical choice, and in part because of immigrants' insufficient English and the exclusionary attitudes of native-born Americans.

The ethnic-adhesive path assimilation of Los Angeles Korean shopkeepers has been shared by men and women basically in all its above-noted aspects except for limited political involvement in the Los Angeles public forum which has been undertaken by men. Immigrant females' experience of assimilation has had, however, an extra dimension absent in but affecting the lives of the men. It has been predominantly women who have performed a double function as guardians of home-country traditions in the immigrant homes and as the primary agents of Americanization of family lives. Perhaps more important in terms of its consequences for Korean women's self-perceptions and gender relations in immigrant households and in the ethnic community has been their entry into the public sphere. The earlier-noted Confucian tradition, also informing Korean culture, which ascribes women to the home in the roles of wives and mothers and subordinates them to their fathers/husbands, has survived (South) Korea's post–World War II modernization. "Both traditional gender role expectations"—a good woman is *hyonmo yangch'o*, a wise mother and a good wife—and the resulting "employment discrimination discourage women from participating in the labour market;" in fact, by the end of the twentieth century only one-quarter of married women in urban areas participated in the labor force (Min 1998: 28–29).

However, as we have seen, the proportion of married Korean women employed in their family or co-ethnic stores in Los Angeles has been nearly triple that figure and this experience is new to them. They have also engaged in ethnic institutional life by forming various Korean American women's associations. These organizations primarily address "women's issues" such as church activities, education of children, and preparation of ethnic festivities, but they have made it possible for Korean women to get involved in the ethnic-community public sphere for the first time in their lives. These new "American" experiences which immigrant women perceive as a gain in *chonŏm*, human dignity by allowing them to make a contribution to the community, have made them more independent. Generated through interactions with other Korean women engaged in similar public activities, this new sense of self-assuredness among female immigrants becomes internalized over time and can be mobilized "from inside" in their individual reactions to particular situations. For example, studies report Korean women's increased expectations of a more equitable gender division of labor at home where they still perform the bulk of the chores. They also begin to expect a more equitable representation in ethnic community organizations. Korean husbands complain that life in America has made their wives "more frank and open," and that they "want to do things their way," neither of which fits a Korean way of life. Marital and group public-forum disagreements and open conflicts between immigrant men and women regarding these matters have been reported by most students of this group's adaptation to the receiver society. This has been probably more intense than in groups whose members participate more fully in mainstream American society because Korean shopkeepers' superimposed economic-residential-social segregation tends to sustain the traditional patriarchal hierarchies. Gender relations in the second, American-born generation to be examined in Chapter 6 provide a good testing ground for the pace and scope of transformation over "socio-cultural time."

Like that of Koreans, sociocultural assimilation of Los Angeles Mexican immigrants represents the ethnic-adhesive mode, but with a different composition of elements and, as a result, a different overall outlook. Mexicans' ethnicization process has contained considerably more home- than host-country components than the parallel development among the Koreans. And, unlike its Korean equivalent, it has had a distinctly resilient character. (Information about assimilation of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles and the agricultural Southwest has been compiled from Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Gutierrez 1995; Romo 1996; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Pardo 1997; Mollenkopf, Olson, and Ross 2001; Logan, Alba, and Zhang 2002; Martin 2002; Goldring 2003; South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005; Telles and Ortiz 2008.)

These features of the assimilation process of Mexican immigrants have been (re)produced by the constellation of structural and shared agentic circumstances of Mexican immigrants' experience in the area. They include, on the structural side, the group's very large size and its high residential and economic concentration and segregation from native-born Americans, the unfriendly local civic-political system and native public opinion, and competition for jobs and housing with other underprivileged groups in the city. The effects of these circumstances on this group's inward-orientation have been enhanced by the sojourner mentality of a majority of low-skilled Mexicans in the area combined with their encompassing, "physical" transnational involvements in the home country. For the majority of immigrants America has been just a place *para trabajar*, to work, and they hope to return home some day where they do not have to confront, as one immigrant put it, "the racism that exists in California," and where they "feel more *augusto*, comfortable" (but see below on gender differences in this regard). Staying among their own people has been further sustained by the majority of immigrants' unfamiliarity with English and by their emotional and practical need to rely on their fellow nationals.

Although the largely low-skilled composition and unfamiliarity with English of the dominant segment, and "floating" nature of a large proportion of the Mexican population in the Los Angeles area do not translate into the group's empowerment, official recognition of ethnic pluralism of the American (also local) society combined with the sheer size and residential concentration of Mexican residents in the area gives the immigrants a shared sense of resilience or determined endurance to carry on their activities: first and foremost earning *el gasto*, the amount of money necessary to sustain the family, and to enjoy the congenial company of their compatriots in their ethnic communities. Indeed, in the year 2000, no less than 95 percent of Mexican immigrants in the Los Angeles area used Spanish as the language spoken at home and a similar proportion reported most of their friends to be Mexicans. Their naturalization rate has been a low 25 percent, and less than 4 percent, men and women alike, were intermarried. Thriving ethnic activities in the form of diverse Latino (Mexican) associations, shops, movie theaters, concerts, bars and restaurants, newspapers, and television and radio programs in the Los Angeles mega-barrio provide ample opportunities for immigrants to socialize. Not surprisingly in this situation, the predominant majority of lower-class Mexican immigrants in the area, men and women alike, identify as Mexicans (a minority view themselves as panethnic "Hispanics").

Mexican immigrants' acculturation to the receiver, American society occurs within the group in the interaction with other group members. From among different dimensions of the integration process, the extrinsic cultural assimilation, including incorporation of material objects and elements of popular American culture into the lifestyles of Mexicans and their families through advertisements, shopping malls, movies, and television programs accessible in immigrant neighborhoods has been comparatively most advanced as immigrants talk about things they have seen and imitate each other in their use. Because of their unusually large size and high-level residential and employment segregation in the Los Angeles area, except for occasional encounters Mexican immigrants' actual social interactions with native-born Americans, especially whites, have been practically nonexistent. One can, however, allow for some symbolic or mediated social assimilation through the observation and partial absorption of the dominant group's behavior on TV or in the movies.

Mexican immigrants' civic-political integration has been also limited. Although increased in response to a threat to the rights and entitlements of the foreign-born posed by Proposition 187, Mexican immigrants' naturalization rate has remained more than two times lower than that of Los Angeles Koreans. Constrained by immigrants' meager naturalization rates and, among the U.S. citizens, low education, the sojourner mentality, and their preoccupation with economic survival, foreign-born Mexicans' political participation in the affairs of the city/region has been negligible. Immigrants' low-paid, unstable jobs make them constantly worry about unpaid bills and lack of security tomorrow, not to mention *el gasto*, the practical purpose of their daily labors in America: "I do not earn enough," says a Mexican employed by a landscape company in Orange County, California, "I pay $570 for rent, if I earn $200 per week, I still pay rent, plus gas, electricity, and other expenses I have. I barely make it with $800. I have nothing left over." And a happy occasion: "Last week I worked 11 hours on two different days, and they paid me overtime. I could send some money home to my family." Nevertheless, as shown by mass demonstrations of Mexican immigrants in the spring of 2006 against the U.S. Congressional legislation that would have made it a federal crime to live in the United States without appropriate documents, they are capable of political involvement in defence of their group's interests. (This mass protest mobilization dissipated, however, by the fall of 2006, most likely because of existential preoccupation of immigrants.)

Although Mexican immigrant women assimilate, like men, in the ethnic-adhesive mode, their ethnicization also evolves along their own, gender-specific path. Like their Korean counterparts, Mexican immigrant women combine the functions as guardians of private-sphere home-country traditions and as the agents of Americanization, especially in the material sphere, of family lives. As in the Korean case, of particular consequence for a gradual transformation of Mexican women's gender roles and perceptions has been their entry into the public sphere. A significant proportion, about one-third, of Mexican women come to America alone. An even greater number, including married women, find independent employment and earn independent income in the receiver country—a novelty for married women especially from the Mexican countryside. This new experience gives Mexican immigrant women a sense of self-confidence. While the Korean women's newly acquired sense of independence has been tempered by their employment in family or ethnic stores "ruled" by the Korean men, in the case of female Mexican immigrants it is mitigated by their mainstream occupations in positions that perpetuate paternalistic relations such as day workers, domestics, and the like. Although not partner-like, these involvements nevertheless provide Mexican women with opportunities for daily social interactions with native-born (white) Americans experienced neither by their husbands spending their working hours among their own kind nor by Korean women working in small family businesses.

To the extent permitted by their preoccupation with earning a living and running the households, Mexican women also engage in female-run ethnic associations and, especially, in voluntary work in immigrant parishes and neighborhoods compensating for the shortages of social and welfare services which are not performed or performed badly by the city. The creation by Mexican immigrant women of their own public space, replicates, as do the activities of their Korean counterparts, the traditional separation of genders. But it also represents important new developments, namely, the entry of women into the public sphere and, through this involvement, their acquisition of new skills and the creation of female networks both of which empower them in the representation of local ethnic group interests. As in the case of Korean women, this new sense of empowerment among Mexican women is first generated interactively through joint activities with other immigrants and it then gradually becomes an attribute of their personal orientations mobilized by the specific situations. The expansion of Mexican women activities into the public sphere through paid employment and engagement in the affairs of the ethnic community, and their new sense of confidence resulting therefrom have produced, as in Korean immigrant families and the community at large, considerable resistance on the part of the men. “In America, *la mujer manda*, woman gives the orders”—Mexican men perceive women’s enhanced self-worth and their expectations of a more equitable division of power at home and in the community as a reversal of the accustomed order. And so it is, more as a process of gradual transformation than a revolution. Significantly in this context, Mexican immigrant women have been reportedly less eager than men to return home, apparently reluctant to give up their newly gained financial and personal independence.

Before we move to the next group, a brief note is due about Mexican seasonal agricultural workers in the Southwest. The little that is known about their mode of sociocultural assimilation suggests that it represents the ethnic-adhesive pattern more strongly dominated by the sojourner mentality of migrant actors than is the case among Los Angeles immigrants, and with the home-/host-country mix composed primarily of country-of-origin orientations and practices. The incorporation by seasonal agricultural workers from Mexico of the elements of host-country, American, or, more precisely, Latino-American popular culture—the main dimension of this group’s assimilation—occurs in what I call a sporadic or discontinuous fashion, depending on the current location of migrants and their access to ethnic (Spanish-language) media propagating Latino-American culture.[4] Although working hard to earn the maximum income, women in this group do not seem to develop the sense of empowerment reported among their Los Angeles counterparts, probably because of the continuous back-and-forth movement between the home and host countries, and the absence of a local immigrant community offering different avenues for voluntary and ethnic engagements.

Like the multipath trajectory of their economic integration, Jamaican immigrants’ sociocultural and civic-political incorporation into New York society has evolved along different paths. White-collar (including self-employed) Jamaican men and women have assimilated in the middle-class ethnic-adhesive mode, while their low-skilled and un(der)employed fellow nationals have followed the mainstream downward path of integration. (Information about this group’s incorporation from Foner 1987; Kasinitz 1992; Waters 1999; Vickerman 1999, 2002; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001.)

The structural circumstances contributing to the middle-class ethnic-path mode of sociocultural assimilation of better-educated immigrants employed in white-collar occupations and in small-scale businesses include the group's residential concentration and the institutionalized racism of the receiver society. "I wasn't away of my colour until I got here"—this American lesson of a Jamaican social worker has been shared by other immigrants. Their collective "practical" response to the racial labeling and discrimination experienced in their interactions with members of the receiver, American society has been an enhanced sense and displays of ethnic separateness. Immigrants have tended to emphasize their "otherness" from African-Americans, their British accent and education, "good values," and their own ethnic—primarily Jamaican and, second, Jamaican-American—identities not only or not even primarily as self-assured expressions of their group membership, but as a means toward realizing their ambitions of social advancement which brought them to America. In its own way, middle-class Jamaican immigrants' deliberate exaggeration of their ethnic separateness represents a form of ethnic resilience dictated by group members' practical concern to counteract the structural forces of racial exclusion on the part of native whites and to compete with native blacks for public-sector jobs as they pursue their lifegoals. Immigrants' ethnic commitments also express, of course, their habitual identification with and need for familiarity and the congenial companionship of their own people. Because of a natural attachment to their home country and also because of their self-esteem threatened by the host-society's perception of immigrants' skin color as the primary and negative determinant of their worth, Jamaicans sustain intense connections with their home country (see Chapter 5). "I think my allegiance will always be to Jamaica," a financial consultant told a researcher, "because the system here is one that . . . even though I have become a citizen, I really do not feel a part of the system. Because, of course, being black . . . is really a third class citizen. I became a citizen out of convenience" (after Vickerman 1999: 171).

In comparison with their fellow ethnics employed in the city's mainstream white-collar occupations, Jamaican immigrant entrepreneurs appear to cultivate their "other," Jamaican identity with a lesser resilience. Involvement in ethnic entrepreneurship seemingly helps them to escape or at least reduce the experience of racial discrimination encountered by their fellow nationals employed in the mainstream New York economy. Their vested interest in Jamaican self-presentation as sellers of home-country/region food, clothing, and entertainment further enhances this distinct ethnic identity.

The share of host-country, American components in the process of ethnicization of the pursuits of white-collar and self-employed Jamaican immigrants in New York has been significantly larger than in the case of Los Angeles Mexicans. More than 50 percent of post-1980 immigrants in these two groups combined (a higher proportion among those employed in mainstream occupations than among the self-employed) were naturalized in the year 2000. Even if many of them, like the earlier-quoted young professional, applied for American citizenship out of convenience, for the same practical reasons naturalized Jamaican immigrants have been active in New York politics. Together with other English-speaking West Indian groups and motivated by shared practical-and-projective considerations Jamaicans have been openly and assertively contesting under the banner of "ethnic politics" the distribution of local political offices, which in their opinion unfairly privileges African-Americans. This perception dates back to the 1960s when a new generation of civil rights leaders began to replace the older cohort in which the English-speaking West Indian political refugees, a large proportion of whom were professionals, occupied a prominent place. The endurance of this perception adds fuel to the contestation. At the same time, because they dilute the race (black–white) issue, West Indian ethnic politics have been openly encouraged by New York white politicians who deliberately redistricted for the New York City Council to create two predominantly West Indian districts in Brooklyn.

Over time, as it becomes obvious that, unlike in Jamaica, success in America does not "whiten" skins and that their ethnic distancing notwithstanding they will remain black (even if a "better black") in the eyes of white Americans, middle-class Jamaican immigrants active in the city's public forums have been reported to develop a situation-dependent public solidarity with African-Americans, especially in black–white conflicts. This civic-political racial solidarity adds another dimension to the assimilation of Jamaican immigrants, in the sense of added distance from their native society in which they were "not aware of their colour."

Although immigrants' close personal relations take place primarily within their ethnic group (they also associate with other West Indians), those employed in mainstream white-collar occupations also report weak-tie (acquaintances lunchtime and other work-related occasions) among native-born American whites and representatives of other ethnic groups in the city. Jamaicans' mainstream white-collar positions and their English proficiency are two obvious factors facilitating these social interactions, but New York's multicultural character, persistent racism notwithstanding, is likely another contributor.

Middle-class Jamaican immigrant women, like men, assimilate in the ethnic-path pattern. Confronted with less direct displays of racial exclusion than men—the area of racial discrimination women experience the most are the annoying but less tangible glass ceiling barriers to occupational advancement at work—they seem to express their ethnic attachments in a less resilient fashion. The ethnicization of Jamaican women's gender identities and the tensions it creates in middle-class Jamaican immigrants' households is similar to those found in the earlier examined groups in that they are also the mainstays in the double task of preserving home-country traditions at home and introducing elements of the American culture into family lifestyles. The case of Jamaican families has differed, however, from other immigrant groups, because women in the West Indies have been significantly more socioeconomically independent than their Korean and Mexican counterparts. Jamaican immigrant women's American experience changes their self-definitions and expectations regarding first and foremost the gender roles in the household (rather than those in the public forum, especially gainful employment), and this has been reported as the primary sphere of tensions between husbands and wives living together in New York or, as often, in transnational relationships between immigrant women and their home-country kin and acquaintances. Because of Jamaican women's long-established presence in the public sphere, reported conflicts regarding their ethnic community involvement and representations seem to be less intense than in the case of Korean and Mexican immigrant women whose presence in this area is a new experience to themselves and to men.

Whereas the solid majority of New York Jamaican immigrants adapts to the host society in the middle-class in-group ethnic pattern, a minority associates and identifies with lower-class native-born African-Americans. These are mainly young men, a number of whom come from the so-called 1.5 generation, that is, immigrants who came to America at a young age (before 13), who are members of the uneducated, lower-class segment of the Jamaican population, and who survive in poverty on the edges of city ghettoes in close residential proximity to native blacks. Like their residential and economic integration, this trajectory of sociocultural assimilation into American society represents the downward mainstream pattern. And it is costly to immigrants in more than one way. As studies have shown, the opportunities for employment and decent income in New York for Jamaicans who identify themselves with African-Americans are more limited than those for their fellow nationals who keep a distinct ethnic identity. And their own people, the Jamaican ethnic community, openly distance themselves from such "deviants" in part because they do not conform to the group norms and expectations regarding proper behavior and life orientation, and in part because in the eyes of the majority of Jamaicans by a "bad" association they lower the group's status.

Like that of middle-class Jamaicans in New York, the pattern of the dimensions examined here of assimilation among first-wave Cuban refugees in Miami has represented the ethnic-path mode, but its characteristics and a cluster of the contributing circumstances have been distinct—in fact unique—in our sample among groups incorporating in the ethnic-adhesive pattern. The large size of the Cuban population in Miami, the establishment of a self-efficient ethnic economic enclave, the institutional completeness of the local Cuban community, and its enduring highly ideologized diaspora culture sustained through regular interactions of its members and supported by the U.S. government, have provided the structural context expediting the group members' integration into the receiver, American society within their ethnic enclave. First-wave émigrés' shared politicized refugee mentality and intensely homeward orientations, and—the outcome and at the same time a contributor to the emergence of the ethnic enclave—their privileged position for realizing their economic goals within the group have combined in channeling immigrants' activities toward the (re)creation of their encompassing ethnic enclave. (Information about the pattern of first-wave Cuban refugees' sociocultural and political assimilation has been compiled from Pedraza 1985; Perez 1986, 2007; Grenier and Stepick 1992; Portes and Stepick 1993; Grenier and Perez 2003; Stepick et al. 2003.)

To the extent that the culture created by first-wave Cuban exiles in their Miami enclave has been, as described by its students, *la cultura conjelada*, a transplantation from the home country frozen in time and impervious to innovation, participation in it by immigrants could not be classified as a standard ethnic mode of assimilation as defined earlier, that is, as a process of mixing home- and host-country orientations and practices. Rather, it would represent an unusual variant of the adhesive model with almost impermeable boundaries between immigrant and host cultures except for the indirect influence of the latter via the Spanish-language media, and, of course, American consumer goods. It has been within the framework of such transplanted home culture and the Miami Cuban community's institutional completeness that the daily lives of first-wave Cuban exiles have evolved: at work, in schools for children, medical services, shops, entertainment, Spanish-language newspapers, radio and TV stations, meeting places, and social relations. Cuban refugees' focused, enduring transnational political involvement in Cuba (to be examined in the next chapter) has further sustained the immigrants' identity as Cubans and as political refugees in America.

If first-wave Cuban refugees' cultural and social activities were confined to the ethnic community with the decisive predominance of home-country elements and only an indirect impact of the receiver-country, American influences, their political assimilation has fused mainstream and ethnic elements—the convergence reflecting the common anti-communist ideology and interests of Cold War U.S. foreign policy and the 1960s exile community in Miami. As they realized that their hopes for a quick collapse of the Castro government and a return to home were unrealistic, first-wave Cuban refugees naturalized in high numbers. They have engaged in American politics on several levels, including, at the national level, vigorous anti-communist lobbying by the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) in Washington, DC, and active involvement in right-wing republican state and local politics, in both of which their influence has been significant because of the block-voting concentration of Cubans in Florida and in Dade County. Because of the critical number of Florida electoral votes in presidential elections, this influence has been used by Cuban *exiliados* in shaping U.S. policy toward Cuba during the Cold War era.

Interestingly, with the passage of time and in response to the transformation of Miami into a global city with virtual control of South–North American trade in which process, as we have seen in the previous chapter, first-wave Cuban refugee businessmen played an important role, the tripod Miami Cuban community—Cuba—Washington, DC framework of their orientations and involvements has expanded to include larger parts of the world. It is, however, refugees' American-born children—we shall consider their pursuits in Chapter 6—who have acted most forcefully in transforming the assimilation trajectory of Miami Cubans.

Like Cuban refugee men, women, too, have assimilated in the ethnic-adhesive pattern, although with a much less intense involvement in exile political activities and—indicating a larger share of host-country influences in their ethnicization—more frequent engagements in local mainstream public-sphere educational and charitable causes. Like immigrant women in other groups, they also have been the primary stewards for the preservation of home-country traditions and for the introduction of American elements into family lifestyles. More than the gainfully employed immigrant women in other groups preoccupied with their double-shift jobs, middle-class Cuban housewives have been involved in gender-specific ethnic associations in the Miami Cuban community. Outside employment of middle-class married *Cubanas* departed from the traditional roles as housewives provided for by their well-to-do husbands, and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, a considerable proportion of first-wave refugee women took up jobs soon after their arrival in Miami. Perceived at that time as an obligation to the family in difficult times of rupture and resettlement, such employment was approved by the male heads of households. As the economic standing of their families improved over time, the majority of married Cuban immigrant women withdrew to their homes.

As with women in other immigrant groups, however, the experience of gainful employment outside of the home created among female Cuban émigrés a sense of autonomy and increased assertiveness. This has been enhanced by the influence of struggles for gender equality in American civic-political institutions and the media during the 1960s and 1970s on middle-class Cuban women involved in local mainstream civic activities and the echo it had in Cuban women's immigrant organizations. Transplanted into émigré homes, however, this new assertiveness of women—an assimilation of American self-perceptions and representations of gender roles that has not had an equivalent in the orientations of their male partners—has reportedly created considerable tension about the division of labor and authority in the household.

Quite differently positioned in American society and motivated by different agency considerations, the Russian Jews in Philadelphia have followed yet another path of ethnic-adhesive assimilation, which can be called a host-country-centered sub-ethnic mode of adaptation—a mode, for that matter, which differs from the middle-class mainstream trajectory of their economic integration. (Information about Philadelphia's Russian Jewish immigrants' social-cultural and political assimilation comes from Morawska 2004; see also Gold 2003; Remennick 2007.) I noted in the previous chapter a two-step civic incorporation of this group into the receiver society: first into the established Jewish American community and then as its part into the larger American society. The main structural circumstances channeling the Philadelphia Russian Jewish immigrants' sociocultural assimilation along the sub-ethnic pattern have included their relatively small numbers and their demographic composition with an unusually large proportion of retirees, and the organized assistance of the local Jewish American community delivered to the newcomers with the expectation that they would join its ranks. Immigrants' reliance on assistance from Jewish American organizations in the first phase of their settlement in Philadelphia and, with time, their intensified cultural identification as Jews (see below) combined with their habituated preferences for the company of their own people on the one hand, and, on the other, with a deeply felt sense of emancipation in and gratitude to America, have interplayed with the surrounding circumstances in (re)creating the host-country-centered sub-group ethnic-adhesive trajectory of social-cultural incorporation. An interesting contrast with the adaptation of Russian Jewish immigrants in New York may be noted here. As members of a numerically much larger, longer established, and more internally diversified group in terms of age distribution, professional pursuits (a large intellectual and artistic elite), and enjoying a much more vibrant associational and cultural life, the Russian Jewish immigrants in New York have followed their own ethnic-path mode of assimilation alongside rather than within the established Jewish American community. (On Russian Jews in New York, see Simon 1985, 1997; Markowitz 1988, 1993; Orleck 1999; Kliger 2001.)

"Jewish Russian" (the majority) and "Jewish Russian American" (on the rise) is the prevalent identity in the Philadelphia group two decades after arrival in the United States; the youngest ones who came to America as adolescents and attended American schools identify themselves as "Jewish American." Within 10 years of immigration, the solid majority of immigrants, regardless of gender and age, had "no problems" with English, because, as they explain, they learned it "the first thing" after they came to Philadelphia by enrolling in courses offered (and paid for) by the city's Jewish American agencies. The majority, nearly 80 percent of Russian Jewish immigrants in Philadelphia obtain American citizenship within the shortest period allowed by the U.S. naturalization laws. In stark contrast to Jamaican and dark-skinned Mexican immigrants who upon arrival in America are dismayed to discover that the color of their skins inescapably makes them second-rate citizens, Russian Jews (also those in New York) have been reported to feel a sense of emancipation, *osvobozhdenyie*, having arrived in America and are *blagodarnyi*, grateful, to be American citizens. Unlike New York Russian Jews who are active in local political affairs, their Philadelphia fellow ethnics stay away from such involvements. This non-engagement reflects, in part, the preoccupation of recently arrived working-age immigrants with establishing themselves in the new country (in comparison, the New York Russian Jewish community has a significant proportion of long-time American citizens), and the withdrawal of those already retired into their private circles. It also reflects the endurance among Philadelphia immigrants of the already-noted deeply habituated shared mistrust of state institutions of (post-)Soviet citizens transplanted into the receiver country which their sub-ethnic-path mode of incorporation—in this case, denoting representation by a larger American Jewish group—does not dispel.

Unlike Cuban refugees who have retained primary loyalty to their home-country, the decided majority of Russian Jews feel their *bezopasny dom*, secure home, is in America within 10 or so years of their immigration. Russian Jews' membership in the highly successful and highly visible American Jewish group seems to further contribute—an effect of their practical agentic considerations—to immigrants' strong identification with their new country. Although they maintain social contacts with members of the local American Jewish community—the younger the immigrants the more frequent these relations—their closest social involvements remain with other Russian Jewish immigrants. "I rest in Russian, I need it like air to breathe"—this explanation by a successful businesswoman of why she prefers the company of her fellow ethnics has been typical of the orientations and practices of other group members. For similar reasons, and despite their sense of relief about having left Russia, immigrants retain a keen interest in its popular culture, watch Russian films, read Russian books, and listen to Russian music. They also prefer Russian food which can be bought in Russian stores in the neighborhoods, eaten in local restaurants, and is regularly prepared at home.

As they put down roots in America, Russian immigrants are also becoming "more Jewishly Jewish." They do so by developing Jewish American identities and participating in Jewish American cultural and religious life (in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, being Jewish has been more of a political issue than a cultural category). "*V Rossii my byli Evreyami potomu chto bylo napisano v passportye*," in Russia we were Jews because it was so written in the passport, says an immigrant, "*zdies, my chuvstvuiemsia Evreyami*," here, we feel that we are Jews. Initiated through interactions with their American Jewish sponsors who invited immigrants to Jewish religious and (secular) cultural events, this new component of their identities has over time become part of Russian Jews' personal self-perceptions and increasingly habituated practices. An interesting development reflecting immigrants' incorporation into the larger American society through their identification with the American Jewish community and its concerns is that with time some of them also begin to manifest an interest in and commitment to Israel (we shall return to this form of Russian Jewish immigrants' transnational involvement in the next chapter).

Immigrant men and women have shared the (sub)ethnic path of host-country-focused assimilation in all its aspects outlined above. Some interesting gender-specific developments in this process, however, should be noted. As readers recall from Chapter 3, gainful employment of married women in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia has been customarily very high, so the immigrant wives' contributions to the family income through their independently earned income in America have not been an innovation. Within-family tensions regarding the division of labor in the households, especially among younger people, have been similar to those reported in other immigrant groups. A paradoxical development, contrary to the general tendency in middle-class immigrant women's assimilation to American society, has been a traditionalizing effect of at least one aspect of their (sub)ethnic pattern of acculturation, and deriving from Russian Jews' "becoming more Jewish." Immigrant women who join stricter Conservative (middle-of-the-road traditional) and, especially, although much less commonly, Orthodox (strictly traditional) Jewish communities in Philadelphia have reportedly become more, not less, traditional in their views regarding women's autonomy and their role in the household.[5]

Like that of Russian Jews, the pattern of sociocultural assimilation of middle-class Polish immigrants in Philadelphia also represents the ethnic-adhesive pattern, and it has differed, too, from the mainstream upward mode of this group's economic integration. Polish immigrants' acculturation, however, has been much more home- than host-country-focused in comparison with the similar development in the lives of their East European neighbors. The circumstances (re)creating the home-country-focused ethnic-path mode of incorporation of Polish immigrants have differed from the factors which generate similar outcomes among Mexicans and Jamaicans discussed earlier. And the "content" of this prevalent home-country component of Philadelphia Poles' ethnic-path assimilation process has not been identical among middle- and lower-class immigrants. (Information about the mode of assimilation of Polish immigrants in Philadelphia from Morawska 2004.)

I was not able to identify a satisfactory cluster of the surrounding-society structural circumstances contributing to the home-country-focused ethnic-adhesive pattern of assimilation of middle-class Philadelphia Poles. In Chicago, a large population, nearly 170,000 people, and residential concentration of Polish immigrants, a dense network of ethnic organizations and absorbing in-group activities, the continuous exchange of people between Poland and the city, as well as the group's vested interests and representation in local politics (Erdmans 1998) have provided the context conducive to this mode of adaptation. But in Philadelphia, Polish middle-class immigrants' small numbers and absence of group-specific political interests, residential dispersion, employment in the mainstream local economy, their English proficiency, and the color of their skins should, in view of their profound attachments to the home country (see below), channel their sociocultural and civic-political assimilation along the combined mainstream upward and ethnic-path trajectory. Unless I missed some important structural obstacles to the mainstream component of Polish middle-class immigrants' incorporation into Philadelphia society—I do not consider such a hindrance their civic invisibility discussed in the previous chapter—this case would represent an interesting instance of the structuration process primarily driven by the collective agency considerations, at least in the prolonged initial phase of immigrants' assimilation process.

Although a majority of middle-class Polish immigrants consider their emigration to America as permanent, when asked about it by a fellow national they feel a need to defensively explain these decisions as if they "betrayed" an important commitment. After 15–20 years in the United States, Polish men and women maintain, in about equal proportion, either exclusively Polish or Polish-American identity with a strong emphasis on the first segment. This shared self-perception has been sustained, on the one hand, by immigrants' deeply habituated strong nationalist attachments to Poland and, on the other hand, by their intense transnational involvements in their home country (to be examined in the next chapter) both of which are subject to normative controls by fellow immigrants with whom Poles maintain regular contacts and by their family members and friends at home. Although a majority of immigrants have obtained American citizenship, most of them, more than 80 percent, have been reported to maintain their Polish citizenship (a practice tacitly tolerated, but not legalized by the Polish government). They also retain a preference for Polish (and European) food and for the ethnic (same-wave Polish immigrants) composition of their primary social circles—because, as they typically explain, of "the similarity of the frame of mind" or shared concerns and perceptions and for practical reasons of mutual assistance.

Unlike most immigrant groups in America whose members assimilate in the ethnic-adhesive pattern, Polish immigrants' integration evolves exclusively in the informal, private circles, outside of ethnic organizations. This common reluctance of immigrants to get involved in formal associations reflects, on the one hand, their habituated, ingrained mistrust of organized participation and a general lack of civic responsibility that have endured from the communist era, and, on the other hand, the notorious in-fighting and poor reputation of the existing Polish-American organizations.

The approach toward American citizenship of middle-class Polish immigrants has been basically pragmatic rather than ideological. "Why did I take American citizenship? *To proste*, it's simple: I live and work here, and I pay taxes like everybody else. Why shouldn't I be an American citizen?"—this justification by a Polish engineer in a Philadelphia firm was a common reply to the researcher's inquiries about the reasons why immigrants adopt American citizenship. Unlike Jamaicans, however, whose "out-of-convenience" approach to American citizenship reflects a painful frustration with their host-country's racism, Polish immigrants' pragmatism in this matter is the result of their profound emotional commitment to Polish national membership understood as an either-or loyalty which is monitored, as already mentioned, in their interactions with fellow Poles in Philadelphia and at home. Unlike the more "plural" orientations vis-à-vis national membership displayed by members of other immigrant groups examined in this volume, with the possible exception of Koreans, this either-or perception of national loyalty by the Poles resembles the attitudes of their turn-of-the-century predecessors discussed in Chapter 1. A long history of subjugation to alien states and the romantic concept of the Polish nation as an innocent martyr/carrier of spiritual values heroically resisting oppression (the Soviet rule was commonly perceived as the continuation of foreign impositions) have made Polish nationalism—especially that of the educated classes, the intelligentsia—an embodiment of the ethnic-particularistic rather than civic-universalistic type, informed by dichotomizing us–them symbolic distinctions whereby the nation (Poles) was counterpoised to the alien threat/oppression. (The Korean case can probably be explained by the immigrants' home-country's modern state-national formation, also repeatedly threatened by foreign invaders, still in the making.) The highly educated immigrants transplanted this habitual conception of their exclusive national membership to America where it clashed with practical considerations recommending naturalization in the host society. The solution to this conflict that the immigrants applied has been adopting American citizenship "out of convenience" but with the recognition of the (minimum) obligations it involves, and retaining their Polish citizenship that, as immigrants see it, is their "natural right" and "nobody can take it away."

Immigrants' pragmatism regarding their American citizenship does not mean, however, that they do not perceive any obligations connected to it. These civic duties, in the opinion of middle-class Polish Philadelphians and with no significant gender differences, include "observance of the law, this is the first duty of citizen" and "paying taxes as required." Although they generally do not engage in local political affairs, two-thirds of middle-class naturalized Polish immigrants, men and women alike, declare that they take part in national election because "voting is important in a democratic society."

The lives of middle-class Polish immigrants contain, of course, other American components. They have primarily involved the extrinsic dimension of cultural assimilation whereby, as in other groups, women play the leading role regarding the introduction of Americana such as the furniture, kitchen appliances, and overall décor into the home. Men and women alike also regularly watch American TV programs and read American newspapers, attend film festivals and musical concerts in the city, and some of them observe American holidays such as Thanksgiving. But these activities are pursued mainly in the company of fellow immigrants rather than native-born American work acquaintances or neighbors.

Like the incorporation process of their fellow immigrant females in other groups, middle-class Polish women's ethnic-path assimilation has involved some extra, gender-specific developments in addition to maintaining home-country traditions in the family and pioneering the Americanization of the home's appearance and functioning. Like Jamaican, Cuban, and Russian women they come from an established home-country tradition of female employment, so taking up jobs outside of the home and earning independent income in America do not represent a new experience. Unlike their counterparts in earlier-examined immigrant groups, because they stay away from ethnic organizational life, Polish women do not acquire a sense of individual and collective empowerment through in-group public-sphere involvement. Two related developments, shared with immigrant women in other groups, mark Polish middle-class females' gender-specific assimilation-as-ethnicization of orientations and practices informing everyday life. One of them has been the increased sense of *dam radę*, a can-do approach to negotiating a new environment. As an accountant in Poland and a manager of a small electronic firm in Philadelphia put it, "I became here more *odważna*, daring, I am not as afraid of new situations as before." The other new attitude, originating from the representations of middle-class American women at work and in their homes shown on TV and read about in the magazines, has been the vocally expressed expectation of a more equitable gender division of labor in the household. Like their counterparts in other immigrant groups, Polish women talk to each other about their emergent orientations and compare their stands on the issues of gender equity, and these ongoing exchanges contribute to the gradual internalization of new self-perceptions as part of their personal action-guiding identities. Unavoidably, like in other-group immigrant families, such transformations in women's attitudes have caused considerable tensions in Polish families.

Likewise home-country-oriented, the ethnic-path sociocultural assimilation of lower-class Polish immigrants in Philadelphia has been informed by different considerations. In this case, the interplay of structural and agentic circumstances is easier to identify. Their ethnic niche employment, long hours of exhausting work as the only means of realizing the goals that brought them to the United States, and unfamiliarity with the English language make social relations with Americans and direct participation in American culture nearly impossible. In addition, political insecurity related to the undocumented status of tourist workers combined with their preference for the company of fellow nationals dictated by habitual–practical concerns keeps them confined within their own ethnic community with work contacts their sole connection to the larger society. The intentions of a majority of immigrants in this group to return to the home country, even when the duration of their sojourns in Philadelphia is repeatedly extended, further reinforce their in-group centeredness.

And yet, although their American working stays do not alter their home-country (Polish) national identities, and although in a typical display of sojourner mentality, like Mexican immigrants they projectively "count days and money" to be able to return home, from within their niches these immigrants absorb a portion of American material and symbolic culture. It happens, as the earlier-quoted Alba and Nee (2003) suggested, incidentally to migrants' everyday lives, as they make other decisions and conduct their affairs. Thus, at work they pick up generally used English words (greetings, polite exchanges) and the vocabulary related to their jobs (women, working in American homes, acquire a more extensive vocabulary than do men); American style of dress, American food, and American pastime entertainment (men—baseball, women—TV soap operas which they follow even when they do not understand what is said). More important, although they maintain their home-bred *homo sovieticus* beat-the-system/bend-the-law coping strategies well-suited to helping bring the desired income for unauthorized workers, they learn during their American sojourns a habit of hard work and frugality, both of which were uncommon orientations in communist Poland that have survived into the new era, particularly among the less-educated. Like their middle-class counterparts, lower-class immigrant women who often come to America on their own, also tend to become more self-assured. “I have become a person more of my own”—this statement of a hospital aide in Poland who found work as a babysitter in Philadelphia has been echoed by her similarly socioeconomically positioned immigrant fellow nationals.

Members of the last immigrant group to consider, professional Asian Indians, have been assimilating to the receiver American society in the mode combining mainstream upward and middle-class ethnic patterns (the latter component absent in the pattern of their economic integration). Although this composition has resembled the make-up of the incorporation trajectory of Hong Kong and Taiwanese businessmen, the contributing circumstances and their specific outcome differ. (Information about the assimilation process of Asian Indian immigrants has been compiled from Lessinger 1995; Leonard 1997; DasGupta 1999; Rangaswamy 2000; Sircar 2000; Khandelwal 2002; Rudrappa 2002; Kurien 2003; Alexander 2004; Bhatia 2007; Dhingra 2007; Bhalla 2008.)

The mix of middle-class mainstream and ethnic-path components of Asian Indians’ assimilation has been the product of the interplay of group-specific structural and agentic circumstances. Among the former, middle-class mainstream American mode of immigrants’ incorporation has been facilitated by their residential dispersion, employment in high-status occupations in the primary sector of the receiver-country’s economy, and their shared world diaspora culture which “normalizes” Asian Indians’ living outside of their home countries but does not contain the “myth of return” as a normative syndrome that has prevented other immigrant groups from putting down firmer roots in the host country. At the same time, a subtle but persistent “othering” of Asian Indians by the dominant (white) groups and institutions in America discussed in the previous chapter on the one hand, and, on the other, dense networks of immigrants’ social and cultural connections with each other and their intense transnational engagements in the homeland (see Chapter 5), have sustained the ethnic-path component of their assimilation. Asian Indians' personal features channeling their incorporation along a mixed, mainstream upward and ethnic-path trajectory have included, responsible for the former component, their professional skills very much in demand in the top echelons of the American economy, advance acculturation, and, in particular, their knowledge of English and familiarity with Western ways of business, and their shared high achievement aspirations. Immigrants' choice to preserve their ties to the Indian culture and to their fellow ethnics has been dictated by Asian Indian men and women's profound commitment to their homeland and sustained through their interactions with each other. Like members of other immigrant groups assimilating in the ethnic-path mode Asian Indians express openly the ethnic, Indian component of their integration trajectory in a quiet way signaling a shared sense of the security of their situations, without the resilience displayed by Mexicans and Jamaicans or the mix of a defensive–offensive tone displayed by Koreans.

Asian Indian middle-class immigrants' mainstream upward trajectory of economic integration has already been discussed. In their social lives assimilation has combined mainstream and ethnic engagements. Immigrants' middle-class occupations and residential dispersion have facilitated social relations with members of mainstream American society—primarily weak-tie relations in the workplace and neighborhood. Although their close friendships have remained mainly with fellow Indians dictated in part by immigrants' habitual considerations, or their unreflexive preference for cultural familiarity among their own, and in part by the distancing practices of native-born (white) Americans, studies have reported the increased frequency of personal friendships with the latter among middle-class Asian Indian men and women with longer duration of stay in the United States.

Immigrants' bicultural identities resemble, in Nirvana Man's (1997: 153) metaphor, a "salad bowl" composed of a more or less dominant Indian ingredient and other American elements, some of which the immigrants deliberately incorporate themselves and others that they absorb unselfconsciously. Asian Indians residing in large residential concentrations such as a "Little India" in the Jackson Heights area of Queens, a majority of them lower-middle class shop and service-establishment owners, have reenergized their sense of Indianness through daily interactions with fellow nationals and regular participation in Indian (American) cultural activities: festivals, celebrations, and other forms of ethnic entertainment available to immigrants. In comparison, the Indian component of residentially dispersed Asian

Indian professionals' identities is primarily reconstituted within the families and in private interactions with fellow immigrants, through the enjoyment of Indian high culture (music and literature) and by their enduring symbolic attachment to and multiple transnational involvements in the home country. At the same time, immigrants' lifestyles and expectations increasingly incorporate American ingredients, including its material components such as an increased appreciation of American food and dress, and symbolic elements such as evocations of the American dream: its values and realization of achievement in immigrants' self-representations; American professional culture and other elements of American lifestyles and self-perceptions. Other elements of the Americanization of immigrants' demeanor and ideas, particularly self-assertiveness in body language and opinion, are noticed and commented on negatively as "different" by native Indians during the émigrés' visits in India.

Asian Indians' political assimilation, shaped by immigrants' middle-class position and a mix of habitual (a sense of civic obligation transplanted from the home-country by members of the educated elite) and practical (the need to accommodate to the current situation) considerations, represents, too, a combination of middle-class mainstream American and ethnic elements. More than 70 percent of middle-class Indian immigrants are American citizens the majority of whom vote in national and (occasionally) local elections in the receiver country. Preoccupied with their professional careers and deliberately staying on the sidelines of intergroup competitions and conflicts in the cities they live in, Asian Indian professionals do not usually actively involve themselves in local politics. They have been active, however—immigrant men rather than women in this group—in mainstream political campaigns and issues concerning US–Indian relations through the Political Action Committee (PAC) of Asian Americans of Indian descent and other Indian-American organizations.

The transformation of Asian Indian women's gender identities and expectations and the accompanying tensions in immigrant and second-generation families and in the ethnic-group public space have attracted considerable attention from students of this group's adaptation to the American society. Two opposite theses seem to inform studies of gender relations among Asian Indian immigrants in the United States. According to one claim, the American experience has led to women's empowerment and greater gender equality. The contrary argument holds that Asian Indians' resettlement in America has enhanced patriarchal relations within the group as women have found themselves relegated to the role of the carriers of the Hindu culture and religion at home while men have assumed the responsibility of outside representation of the immigrant families and the ethnic group. My examination of the available studies suggests a middle-ground position on this issue regarding professional families, namely, that the attempts by immigrant men to reimpose patriarchal relations in the private and public spheres of Asian Indian lives in America are met with sustained, if not always effective, resistance by women. As in other immigrant groups, the transformation of gender relations among Asian Indians is an ongoing process which will continue throughout their lifetime. (For a critical overview of the two arguments and a somewhat differently phrased in-between position, see Kurien 2003.)

Like their counterparts in Jamaican, Cuban, Russian Jewish, and Polish immigrant groups, a considerable proportion of middle-class Asian Indian women were already gainfully employed in the home country and the majority have continued to work outside of their households in the United States. Like many arrivals from societies where, despite women's participation in the labor force, patriarchal relations have endured in the homes and the public sphere, immigrant Asian Indian women have been reported to welcome American notions of personal autonomy and gender equality much more eagerly than have men. (An important role in this development has been played by *India Abroad*, the main newspaper of Indian expatriates in the United States, which reportedly encourages the transformation of its female readers' gender-related attitudes through mediated symbolic interaction, so to speak.) Similar to other groups' middle-class households, the main area of contention between Asian Indian immigrant men and women has concerned gender division of labor in the household and, specifically, the women's unwillingness to continue carrying alone the burden of a "double shift." Indian immigrant women have also challenged men's taken-for-granted dominance in ethnic organizations. They have thus far managed to involve themselves in local-level associations where they have created their own agendas and support networks. It remains difficult, however, for Asian immigrant women to obtain positions in émigré Indian national associations that are more prestigious and involve more power, which are still the prerogative of men.

To conclude, the modes of incorporation among members of the eight immigrant groups examined here represent all types of assimilation trajectories specified in the Introduction: mainstream upward and downward patterns and ethnic-path integration modes of middle- and lower-class, home- and host-country-oriented, and accommodating and resilient kinds. As interesting—and rarely recognized in the literature of the subject—have been the mixed forms of integration, combining cosmopolitan or "post-national" (a novelty), mainstream upward, and middle-class ethnic-path (Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen) and mainstream upward and middle-class ethnic-path (Asian Indians and Hong Kong and Taiwanese wives of transnational traders and financiers) trajectories. The discontinuous or "sporadic" form of acculturation (seasonal Mexican migrants) and the subethnic assimilation pattern (Russian Jews) have been distinct additional modes.

Each of the identified here forms of immigrants' assimilation has been shaped by specific constellations of surrounding circumstances and immigrants' own situations and predispositions. Our examination of the trajectories of sociocultural and civic-political integration of members of eight immigrant groups (actually 11, as the Jamaican and Polish cases consisted of middle- and lower-class, and the Mexican one of permanent/long-term and seasonal groups integrating in non-identical patterns) permits the identification of more than 40 factors that in different configurations particular forms of immigrants' integration into the receiver, American society. They are listed in Table 4.1 below, grouped into six categories: global, national (sender and receiver countries), local (external and in-group), and individual.

A great diversity of contexts and trajectories of immigrants' acculturation to the host society is, then, the main conclusion of our comparative exercise. And yet, at least three common threads, or clusters of circumstances, run through the cases we examined, suggesting the necessary focus of inquiry into the basic conditions that shape the modes of immigrants' assimilation. The first is the immigrants' initial socioeconomic and cultural capital related to their country-of-origin's level of development and the degree and terms (core vs. [semi-]periphery) of its incorporation into the global capitalist system, and the socioeconomic and cultural capital they achieve in the host country. The second is immigrants' reception: political, economic, and sociocultural, by the host society, and, of particular consequence and related to the first condition, their class location as well as racial inclusion and intergroup relations. The third is the similarities and differences in immigrants' host- versus home-country experience in terms of gender relations and, especially, the position of women in private and public spheres of life.

Table 4.1 Factors Influencing Immigrants' Sociocultural and Civic-Political Assimilation

Global Level	
Transportation and Communication Technology	
Existence of Global Economy	
National Level	
Geographic proximity between home- and host-country	
Sending Country	**Receiving Country**
Level of incorporation into the global capitalist system	Level and dynamics of economic development
Civic-political culture, especially exclusive vs. inclusive national membership and loyalty	State-national model of civic-political integration
Stage in nation-building process	Civic practice/culture of inclusion/exclusion of "others," in particular racial "others"
Openness/closure of the political system/political causes of emigration	State immigration policies (permanent residence, citizenship, dual citizenship, undocumented immigrants)
Significance of race in social stratification/culture	Patriarchal/Egalitarian gender relations in private and public spheres
Patriarchal/Egalitarian gender relations in private and public spheres	State policy toward/relations with sending country
Local Level	
External	**Intragroup**
Structure and dynamics of the economy	Group's size and residential concentration/segregation from native-born Americans
Degree of embeddedness of racial/ethnic segregation (social, cultural)	Group's economic concentration/segregation
Civic-political culture and practice regarding immigrants, particularly those of different race	Group's socioeconomic profile
Native perceptions of/behavior toward immigrants, especially those of different race	Proportion of foreign-borns

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Local Level	
External	**Intragroup**
Openness/closure of local political system	Immigrant/ethnic community's institutional completeness
Intergroup relations (amicable/ tenuous)	Degree of sociocultural enclosure
Gender relations in private and public spheres	Sojourn/diasporic collective mentality
	Group's sense of civic entitlement
	Gender relations in private and public spheres
Individual Characteristics of Immigrants	
Socioeconomic position and prospects for mobility	
Cultural capital (education, skills, advance acculturation, values, goals, and ambitions)	
Social capital (networks of assimilation and assistance)	
Race	
Gender	
Political status in host-country	
Residential/work isolation or contact with native-born Americans	
Number of years spent in the United States	
Sojourn or permanent (im)migration	
Intensity/frequency of experience of prejudice/discrimination in host society	
Sense of emancipation in and gratitude toward host society	
Intensity of emotional/ideological attachment to/engagements in the home country	

(Re)constitutive effects of immigrants' assimilation on host-country local structures

In the conclusion of Chapter 2 which examined the mechanisms and effects of present-day international migration to the United States, I have identified the major directions of impact of the influx of international migrants on the receiver society: the growth of the economy, increased cultural (ethnic) diversity of the population, and the ongoing readjustments of immigration policies. Here, drawing on this and the previous chapters, we consider the main areas of (re)constitutive effects immigrant actors' integration has had on host-country local structures. The transformative influence of immigrants' incorporation into the receiver society in the form of glocalization is also noted. To recall, this is understood as implanting outside elements into the everyday existence of the inhabitants of receiver-country localities so that they become a natural part of their orientations and practices.

We begin with the impact of immigrants' incorporation on the local economies and, in this area, their contributions to both the re-creation and the transformation of the existing economic institutions, practices, and orientations through everyday work and consumer engagements. In more or less stable societies, the re-creation of the existing arrangements is the self-evident part of the structuration process which channels people's activities. Immigrants at all levels of skills, with documented or undocumented political status whose occupational assimilation occurs in the mainstream labor market, contribute (as do native-born residents) to the reconstitution of postindustrial economies in the locations where they settle by regular participation in the production/services/research/administration their employment entails and by earning and expending/investing their wages/salaries in the consumer market.[6] Immigrants who undertake employment in the already-existing ethnic niches likewise contribute through their daily working engagement to the restoration of these local economic structures. Newcomers' acculturation into the receiver society's economic value-orientations of hard work, self-discipline, and the drive for achievement and, in other cases, a cultural affinity between their home-country *Weltanschauungen* and the dominant orientations of the receiver society likewise contribute to the reconstitution of the existing economic arrangements in the localities where they live by guiding immigrants' routine work-related activities. So does their absorption of American consumer needs and lifestyles as immigrants join the natives in wanting new and newer things, obtaining credit, and constantly buying things driven by a capitalist consumer spirit. (I vividly remember my own somewhat embarrassing transformation in this regard: having come from a country with notorious shortages of consumer goods, within a few years I developed—and realized to the extent my then limited finances permitted—more and more needs I never dreamt I would harbor.)

More intriguing sociologically are the transformative effects of immigrant actors' integration into the host society—here, their everyday economic activities and the purposes which motivate them—on the functioning of latter. Four major directions of such impact can be identified. Immigrants who make large- and small-scale international business their way of life in America contribute, if successful, to the globalization of the receiver-country/city economy not only by sustaining this ongoing process but also by qualitatively changing its pace and direction. Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen's bridge-building role in the development of Los Angeles' trade and financial ties with East Asia and, specifically, mainland China, and the role of Cuban first-wave business émigrés in making Miami into a global city with primary connections to South America are excellent examples of this effect. On a much smaller scale, the function of Jamaican ethnic entrepreneurs in New York in making consumer goods trade with the West Indies an integral part of the city's international business exchange also exemplifies the alteration introduced into the receiver society's economy by immigrants' incorporation into it. The contributions of highly skilled immigrant researchers and innovators to the development of new directions in science and technology in the receiver country is another area of transformative impact well illustrated by occupational activities of Asian Indians in our sample. The creation of new ethnic economic niches by immigrants (Miami Cubans) and the shifting "ownership" of ethnic employment niches in specific sectors of receiver cities' labor markets (described by Waldinger 1996 and Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996 in New York and Los Angeles) should also be noted in this context. And, in the lower echelons of the receiver society's labor markets, unskilled and, especially, undocumented immigrants regularly working for below-minimum remuneration (e.g., Mexicans and Poles in our sample) contribute to the increased wage inequality in the localities where they live.

In the sphere of the economic culture of the receiver cities, two transformative effects of immigrants' integration into the labor markets can be pointed out, both of which also represent cases of glocalization. One such outcome involves the reported recognition by native-born (white) American leaders of transnational trade and finance in the Los Angeles area of the necessity to learn Chinese ways of conducting transnational business. As a number of them actually put it in practice, an emphasis on a collective style of management and the protocol for interpersonal relations are integrated into an important segment of this mainstream economic cultural system.

The other illustration comes from the opposite end of the receiver society's labor market and concerns the incorporation of beat-the-system/bend-the law coping strategies used by low-skilled, especially undocumented immigrants in locating and changing work into the practices of native-born American operators of the secondary and informal sectors of mainstream small-scale production and service sectors which employ such people. I only have supporting empirical evidence from my study of Polish tourist workers in Philadelphia (and also in Berlin—Morawska 2004) and from recurrent media reports about native-born Americans seeking (and finding) laborers for home construction and repairs, house cleaning and baby-sitting through informal connections in immigrant colonies. However, a similar implantation phenomenon occurs also on the West Coast where Mexicans in situations similar to those of Polish immigrants look for and find jobs outside of their ethnic niche. Breaking the law as "an American way of life" (Bell 1953) has been an enduring tradition in the United States. The novelty here is the way it happens. Rather than by individual or organized transgressions as described by Daniel Bell more than a half century ago, the opportunistic – débrouillard strategies of evading the existing laws and regulations employed by contemporary immigrants who come from un(der)developed countries with ineffective and often corrupt civic-legal systems and find themselves in economically or politically disadvantaged situations in the host country imperceptibly penetrate its structures through informal everyday interactions with the natives. A bottle of Polish vodka offered in exchange for a "connection" to the employer—"as a token of my appreciation for your kindness, it is customarily done in my culture"—is accepted without the recipient's awareness of being subtly drawn into a nepotistic *potlatch* chain of exchanges of services. In a few instances when I asked native-born Philadelphians whether they were aware of what was happening when they were offered and accepted such "small gifts" (a bottle of home-made schnapps and an amber broach) by Polish tourist workers in exchange for assistance in helping the latter to find better-paying employment, the replies were puzzled looks. This area of possible transformative impact "from below" of immigrants' engagements in the receiver society has not been investigated and I report here my findings in order to suggest an interesting venue of research.

In the political sphere, immigrants' naturalization, voting and other engagements in the local public affairs which follow existing rules, and their general observance of the laws of the country/region contribute to the reconstitution of the political system. The examination of our sample groups' assimilation patterns permits the identification of three main areas of the transformative effects of immigrants' civic-political incorporation into the localities where they live. One of them has been the increase of anti-immigrant sentiments and the restrictive political actions on the part of the native-born population who feel overwhelmed by the presence of immigrants (Mexicans in California). Second to note is intergroup competition for jobs, residence, and political representation which occasionally leads to open confrontations (Koreans vs. African-Americans in Los Angeles, Jamaicans vs. African-Americans in New York, Cubans vs. other groups in Miami, each representing a specific instance of these situations). Third and more positive has been "multiculturalization" of concerns and issues informing civic-political processes in the cities/regions where immigrants live. The case of Miami Cubans represents an extreme case of the domination by one group of local public affairs; the input of Latinos and Asians in Los Angeles politics and Jamaicans (and West Indians) in the politics of New York also illustrates this impact. As the public representation and concerns, including their transnational interests (see the next chapter), of these immigrant groups become a natural component of the city/region political life, it can be said to display elements of glocalization. The earlier-suggested implantation by immigrants located at the margins of the receiver society's "official" economic and political structures of beat-the-system/bend-the-law coping strategies into the functioning of receiver-society institutions and its native-born representatives can be classified not only as an economic-cultural but also as a civic-political transformative effect.

And in the cultural sphere, immigrants' learning and using the English language in their everyday life, their adoption of host-country customs in food, dress, entertainment, celebration of national holidays, and social relations, and their assumption of even partial American national identities, loyalties, and value orientations contribute to the re-creation of the existing host-country cultural systems (in plural because they vary by region, class, race, and, to an extent, gender).

Some transformative effects of immigrants' integration on the receiver society's symbolic culture have already been noted. Other important outcomes—here the glocalizing impact is probably the most tangible—include the spread of bi-/multilingualism in areas with large concentrations of immigrants (the nearly ubiquitous use of Spanish in Los Angeles and Miami are the extreme examples), and the incorporation into the mainstream American popular culture of ethnic—Mexican, Jamaican, Korean, Chinese, Indian—articles of clothing and jewelry, and different forms of entertainment such as films and street festivals. Available studies on the contributions of immigrants' presence in the receiver society to new developments therein also report the increase of interest in, often followed up by intensified international tourism to, faraway regions of the world—most often noted are South and East Asia—among (middle-class) native-born Americans. Two other phenomena related to immigrants' impact on the receiver-country's culture are interesting. Reflecting the two-step assimilation of this group, the impact of Russian Jewish traditions on the larger Philadelphia society has thus far been constrained to the local American Jewish community and, through its mediation, in a limited measure to the city's mainstream through theater plays, musical concerts, and festivals. And, paradoxically, the implantation of elements of Mexican traditions such as food, music, and public festivals into mainstream American culture in the Southwest seems to have occurred more quickly and to a considerably greater extent than the incorporation of Mexican immigrants themselves into the local American society. It is probably because this glocalization process is driven mainly by second-generation Mexican Americans and by mainstream native-born (white) Americans themselves whose frequent visits to nearby Mexico enhance their taste for its popular culture.

5

Looking Beyond the Host Country: Immigrants' Transnational Engagements

Next to the mechanisms of international migration and patterns of incorporation to the receiver society, immigrants' involvement in their home countries has been the third main issue informing the agenda of present-day social science studies of immigration. This subject was already addressed in a comparative assessment of the major similarities and differences of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary American immigrants' transnational engagements. Here I consider more closely the different kinds of immigrant transnationalism as identified in the subject literature and, next, comparatively examine the structure-agency mechanisms of transnational involvements of members of the eight groups in our sample, and the forms of their coexistence with immigrants' specific modes of integration into the host society. In the last section of the chapter I identify the main areas of the impact of actor-immigrants' transnational engagements in their homelands on the local- and, when relevant, national-level societal structures of these countries.

Different kinds of transnationalism

Two different interpretations of the prefix *trans* can be distinguished in the literature on the subject. According to the first interpretation, transnationalism is understood as a *shift beyond* or, as it were, vertically past (rather than horizontally across) the accustomed territorial state-/national-level memberships and civic-political claims derived therefrom. This interpretation emphasizes a movement from state-bound national identities toward more-encompassing ones such as universal humanity/human rights, suprastatal membership/entitlements (e.g., in the European Union), or panreligious solidarities (e.g., Muslim in Western Europe). Focused on the "decline of the nation-state" or the loss of its controlling and regulatory capacities, this understanding of transnationalism has been most common among political scientists/political sociologists, lawyers, and international relations specialists. (See, e.g., Jacobson 1996; Cordero-Guzman et al. 2001; Pries 2001.)

According to the second interpretation, most widely used in sociological research on immigration and also applied in this discussion, transnationalism refers to some combination of plural civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social networks, and cultural identities reaching *across* and linking people and institutions in two or more nation-states in diverse, multilayered patterns. International migrants are the main conveyors of these cross-border connections, and the "new transnational spaces" they create deterritorialize or extrapolate (rather than undermine) the nation-states interlinked by them. (See, e.g., Glick Schiller and Fouron 1998; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Foner 2000; Smith 2003; Faist and Özveren 2004; Levitt 2007. For critical assessments of social scientists' efforts to theorize immigrant transnationalism, see Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999; Kivisto 2001; Vertovec 2008; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2008.)

Immigrants' transnational engagements can take many forms, or involve different areas of life. They can be *economic* in nature including diverse activities ranging from transnational management by immigrants of their home-country households' finances, remittances, or monies sent to families at home or to local institutions (e.g., the church, school, hospital, or a committee in charge of local welfare needs), direct business investments in the home-country locality or, with more capital, at the national, regional, or global levels, to joint transnational business ventures involving immigrants and people in the home country or elsewhere around the world.

Immigrants' transnational activities can be *political* with a similar diversity of modes of engagement, including participation in or contributions to international organizations or movements with a specific cause; at the national level, participation (if allowed) in home-country elections; and at the local level, involvement in political parties, and holding offices. Immigrants' transnational engagements can also be *social*. They maintain "weak" and "strong" social ties through membership in international, home-country national and local associations, and informal social relations, usually at the (trans)local level, sustained through visits and phone calls with the family and acquaintances in the home country. These transnational connections can also be *cultural*.

They include immigrants' participation in the global culture through the media (such as artistic programs from different parts of the world) and, for the better-off, through international tourism, alongside native-born citizens of their host country. But most of all they involve immigrants' participation in their home-countries' national cultures, again mainly through the media, and the involvement, primarily through visits and information obtained through letters and phone calls, in cultural events of their home-country localities.

Immigrants' transnational engagements can involve just one or several of the above-identified areas and dimensions, and they can be realized through formal (organized or institutional) and/or informal channels. They can also be regular or situational, that is, responding to particular events in immigrants' private lives or in the public sphere. For example, to use an illustration from the past, the U.S. engagement in World War I and the accompanying redefinition of Germany as the enemy abruptly eliminated, or moved "underground," the previously loud and public contacts with their home country of German immigrant communities in America. Or, to take a more recent example, middle-class American Poles of third generation and higher, well advanced in mainstream assimilation, had suddenly (if temporarily) revived their old home-country connections in the wake of the election of the Polish Pope (1978) and the founding of the Solidarity Movement in Poland (1980).

Studies of the transnational engagements and the assimilation of immigrants into the host society have developed parallel to rather than in a dialog with each other. Until recently, the prevailing view held that the development of "transnational spaces" in the lives of contemporary immigrants either de-anchors them from both sender and receiver societies or produces "bifocal" identities and commitments—an intriguing but vague concept in need of empirical testing. A more specific proposition regarding the effects of transnational engagements on immigrants' assimilation has interpreted the emergence of "transnational fields" in immigrants' lives as resistance "from below" to the power of the receiver nation-state, or to the exclusion (racial, class, or combined) by members of the host society, via cultural hybridity, multilocal identities, and undocumented border-crossings.

Increasingly accepted, however, and better supported by a growing body of empirical studies, has been a claim that immigrants' transnational engagements and different modes of their assimilation into the receiver society are typically concurrent. (For reviews of these arguments, see Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2002; Kivisto 2003; Morawska 2003a.) This discussion is informed by a similar argument. It is empirically illustrated in the next section as we examine transnational involvements of members of the eight immigrant groups. Rather than arguing for transnational engagements "naturally" enduring in societies which recognize their ethnic pluralism or for their "unavoidable reduction/disappearance" over time as immigrants progressively integrate into the receiver society (see Waldinger 2008 for a critical overview of these positions), I hold the persistence of these transnational activities (that is, how long they are sustained after immigrants' settlement in the receiver country) to be context-dependent or contingent on the interplay of the economic, political, and social circumstances on both sides of these cross-border connections and immigrants' concerns and purposes.

Diverse forms and contexts of immigrants' transnational engagements: Empirical cases

As before, we begin with Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrant global traders and financiers in Los Angeles. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the assimilation of men and a small minority of "strong women" members of this group represents a multidirectional pattern, including postnational cosmopolitanism, mainstream upward, and world-diaspora ethnic modes. Their enduring intense transnational engagements not only coexist with but importantly contribute to this complex mode of incorporation which may be the avant-garde of future trends. (Information about these immigrants' transnational involvements has been compiled from Kao and Bibney 1993; Hu-DeHart 1999; Chang 2004; Ong and Nonini 1997; Saxenian and Quan 2005; Saxenian 2006; Holdaway 2007; also Light, Zhou, and Kim 2002 on the role of bi/multicultural immigrants in the American export operations.)

The *spiritus movens* of those immigrants' regular and intense transnational activities has been the economic sphere. They have been noted for high-intensity, institutional, and informal involvements in transnational banking and real estate investments in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other countries in South-East Asia and Western Europe, working through connections based on trust and mutual obligations within the bamboo networks of family members strategically placed in different cities/countries. They have also established transnational joint-ventures in commercial finance development in Chinatowns across the United States. Common projects include large-scale land-market developments in South Asian countries and in Manhattan by Hong Kong and Taiwanese transnational bamboo networks, including immigrant businessmen in Los Angeles and their South Asian connections. Also common are investments in manufacturing—primarily textiles, shoes, and electronics—in the People's Republic of China. Between 70 percent and 80 percent of foreign investment in communist China comes from overseas Chinese and the American Chinese global businessmen, especially Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants, play an important role in this activity.

They have also been sought as executives and managers in the South-East Asian branches of U.S.-based transnational corporations. As already noted in the previous chapter, the importance of their backgrounds and skills has been recognized by American global capitalists as well as politicians. In order to foster, specifically, American trade with and investment in China, the National Committee on US-China Relations recommended the use of Americans of Chinese origin, especially those from Hong Kong and Taiwan, as the effective messengers between these two countries.

These intense transnational engagements of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global traders, financiers, and business managers have been the outcome of the interplay of the unusually favourable structural and conducive agentic circumstances. The former include the rapid advancement of the transportation and communication technologies—the sine qua non conditions of such operations—and the expansion of the global economy to which the activities of those immigrants also contribute. Political encouragement for Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen's economic pursuits on the part of the American government and, locally, the Los Angeles municipal government has been a facilitator much beyond mere official recognition by the receiver society of the legitimacy of immigrants' transnational engagements. The welcome reception of Hong Kong and Taiwanese émigré investors' and financiers' involvements in South-East Asia by that region's, especially mainland China's, political authorities has enabled these activities from the other side. Immigrants have engaged these expedient circumstances by skilfully applying their socioeconomic resources and sociocultural capital through their practical (well-informed calculations of the business opportunities and risks involved usually performed interactively with business partners), projective (expectations of profit growth likewise derived through the exchange of information), and habitual (established business know-how and transnational connections) agentic capacities.

Although economic activities have decidedly been the main area of Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants' transnational activities, their lives as *taikongren* moving between countries naturally interconnect them as well in social and cultural terms. To the extent that they relate to immigrants' business involvements, these transnational social connections are institutional as well as informal. Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants have also sustained regular transnational family and friendship connections which, irreducible to business concerns, are motivated by habitual and practical agentic considerations. These involve primarily, although not exclusively, women whose expected and eagerly performed responsibility has been to maintain ties with family and friends abroad. These transnational social contacts are mainly informal in nature, including frequent phone calls, Internet communications, and visits. Immigrant women's and, to a lesser extent, men's involvement in the cultures of their home-country and other destinations they frequent has also been an integral part of their transnational lives. (Unfortunately, there seems to exist no information on Hong Kong and Taiwanese global immigrant businessmen's involvement in transnational politics; it can be only guessed that, just as practical considerations have dictated their participation in Los Angeles public affairs, for similar reasons they contribute to public causes in their home countries.)

The sustained commitment to their home-country by Los Angeles Korean shopkeepers has contributed to their ethnic-path assimilation trajectory, and immigrants' transnational involvements have been an important dimension of this attachment. But although Koreans' transnational engagements have been multiple and regular, like those of the Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants in the same city, the constellations of contributing circumstances and the overall profiles of these activities have been quite different in each case.

Korean immigrants' regular informal social contacts with their family and friends in the homeland are maintained through frequent telephone calls, (increasingly) Internet communication, letters, and visits (usually once in two years). Women have been reported to engage in these transnational activities more intensely than men because, as in the case of their Hong Kong and Taiwanese counterparts, keeping family together and making sure old-country friendships endure the separation has been defined as their responsibility, and also because maintaining these bonds facilitates immigrant women's job as the guardians of home-country traditions.

These transnational exchanges perform a double function. First, they fulfil immigrants' emotional needs and, at the same time, take care of the material or economic interests of the involved parties, through money and gifts sent to Korea and, in the reciprocal services performed by fellow nationals at home, by taking care of immigrants' property, supporting older members of their families, and offering customary rituals in the name of the absent kin. Second and simultaneously, these contacts provide the immigrants with information about current public events in Korea and keep them up-to-date with civic-political affairs, sustaining in this way their nationalist commitment to the homeland. Transnational social connections sustained by the immigrants, as well as Korean TV programs, films brought from the homeland, and cultural events organized in the Los Angeles Korean ethnic community, have provided channels of maintaining involvement in transnational (home-country) culture. (Information about Korean immigrants' transnational involvements comes from Min 1998, 2001; Portes, Guarnizo, and Haller 2002; Espiritu 2003; Yu et al. 2004.)

Korean shopkeepers dealing in ethnic or imported products also maintain institutionalized (firm-to-firm) supported by informal (networks or weak ties) transnational economic connections with home-country Korean suppliers, wholesalers as well as department stores, providing goods such as flowers, wigs, and grocery items. Although the main dealers in these transnational exchanges are immigrant men, their wives also participate by bookkeeping. Although Korean immigrants—men considerably more than women—maintain an avid interest in their homeland's civic-political affairs, Korean law's prohibition of dual citizenship[1] makes it impossible for those who reside permanently in the United States to participate in their home-country's national elections. Nevertheless, to encourage its diaspora to maintain involvement in the home country, Korean authorities have recently instituted new regulations facilitating émigrés' visits to and stays in Korea, enabling them to undertake temporary employment and other activities in that country from which immigrants and, especially, their native-born American children profit. However, unlike members of other groups preoccupied with making a living in the new country, and possibly also (their enduring commitment to the home-country notwithstanding) because the majority come to America with the intention of staying there permanently, Korean immigrants rarely engage in organized activities in Korea.

The structural facilitators of Korean immigrants' sustained regular and openly conducted transnational involvements include, besides easy communication and travel, political recognition by the receiver country of the legitimacy of such engagements and the Korean authorities' cooperation in making them easy, the established networks of economic exchange and social relations between Korean shopkeepers in

Los Angeles and their partners at home, and the immigrants' group culture whereby maintaining contacts with the homeland is a normative expectation. Koreans' deeply habituated strong nationalist attachment to the homeland involving a collective sense of moral duty, emotional and material ties with the kin left in Korea, and the practical business needs of storekeepers have motivated them to engage these structural circumstances by sustaining plural and regular transnational ties with their home-country.

Multilevel transnational involvements of the next group in our sample, lower-class Mexican immigrants, have been the integral component of their economic and political situation discussed in the previous chapter and, as such, of their home-oriented ethnic-adhesive mode of assimilation. These transnational activities have usually concentrated on immigrants' home-country villages. (Information about transnational activities of Mexican immigrants in the Southwest has been compiled from Kearney 1995; DeSipio 1998; Smith 1998; Goldring 1999, 2003; Alarcon 2000; Rivera-Salgado 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2003; Burgess 2005; Pozo 2007; Smith and Bakker 2008.)

Besides the important influence of the geographic proximity between sender and receiver countries and, especially, the regions of Mexican immigrants' origin and settlement in the United States, which facilitates "physical" transnationalism of back-and-forth travelers, five structural circumstances have been conducive to their intense engagements in the homeland. They include, first and obvious, facilitation of such connections created by the advancement of transportation, in particular, and also communication technologies. Next in order of importance, is the existence of transnational household economies "stretching" between immigrants' home-country villages and their residence in the United States on the one hand, and, on the other, of binational labor markets in which many immigrants participate. Active solicitation of émigrés' political loyalties and continued involvement in home-country affairs by the Mexican government (which not only recognizes dual citizenship of the departees but also encourages expatriates' voting and allows their election to local offices at home) on the side of the sender society, and the adverse native reception of Mexican immigrants combined with institutionalized racism on the receiver side, provide the remaining structural circumstances encouraging their continued involvement in the home country. An important factor deterring sustained transnational involvements of Mexican immigrants, especially those with undocumented political status, should also be noted in this context, namely, their precarious situation regarding the chances of being able to return to the United States when they wish to visit their home country or, more important, to continue employment on both sides of the border. In addition to the tightening of restrictive immigration policies, the U.S. government's project of constructing a wall along the border between Mexico and the United States poses a real threat to those immigrants' transnational lives. (Although, as the Palestinians' effectively overcoming a similar barrier constructed in Israel indicates, human actors' ingenuity in finding ways to pursue their goals has been inexhaustible.)

The shared agentic purposes and motivations which make immigrants engage in transnational activities include at least four components. First, there are financial obligations vis-à-vis their family members at home who are economically dependent on the earnings of their kin in America. Immigrants perform these obligations out of emotional commitment and a habituated sense of personal duty, and because they are judged by their significant others on the delivery of these responsibilities. The second element is the sojourner mentality of a significant proportion of immigrants who come to America mainly *para trabajar* but see their eventual futures in their home country. Third, they are genuinely attached to their homeland and to their friends there and want to sustain connections for social-emotional reasons as well as for current and future practical considerations. Fourth and related to the above, for many immigrants it is their home-country village community which bestows the most relevant social status and respect, even more so the more lowly their position is in the receiver country.

Because of the unusual intensity of their connections with their home-country locations, their (trans)local character, and the home-oriented mindsets of their carriers, Mexican immigrants have been described as "transnational villagers" (Levitt 2001), a situation with no equivalent among any other groups considered in this volume (but reported for some Caribbean groups in the United States such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans). Thus, Mexican (im)migrants, men and women alike, travel back and forth between host and home countries as often as they can afford it financially and for undocumented sojourners, politically, to maintain (often seasonal or part-time) employment in both places, and to manage their households in the villages (children are often left there with kin). They send regular financial contributions to their families who rely on them for their livelihoods. They have also been reported increasingly to invest their American savings in small-scale enterprises in their hometowns and villages, often as joint ventures with family members or acquaintances there, which they personally supervise through frequent visits. They also visit regularly for cultural and, especially, religious events in their villages. In the situation of immigrants' physical transnationalism, contacts through letters and telephone serve not as the main but as the supportive channels of these translocal lives. Immigrant women's gender-specific engagements in the homeland have been reported to also include the difficult task of "transnational motherhood" (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2003), that is, caring for the children left at home while earning money in California.

Immigrants' transnational engagements also involve organized activities. Mexican mutual-aid and hometown associations in the United States regularly make financial contributions to public projects in their home-country villages (church renovations, new school buildings, road repairs) and visits there by Mexican immigrants sustain their ongoing involvement with their local communities as well. Men have played the dominant role in these functions. Immigrant men who experience a relative loss of gender and social status in the United States use Mexico-oriented public-forum activities carried out through ethnic associations as their prerogative to regain status on their home territory, and resist women's attempts to get involved in such pursuits.[2] The latter's active engagement in private-sphere informal transnational contacts has, however, been encouraged by male immigrants as well, fitting their gender roles. Although the women have succeeded in appropriating some space in the public-sphere at home, such as collection of money for current village needs among fellow immigrants or the preparation there of religious festivities, they have been reportedly much more active in organizational activities in the United States. Besides a stronger resistance to female "intrusion" on the part of the men regarding status-generating involvements in the homeland, it may well be immigrant women's more pronounced reluctance (relative to men) to return to Mexico noted in the previous chapter which tempers their interest in such engagements.

The solicitation of Mexican expatriates in America by their home-country government has been vigorous, because of the direct economic dependence on immigrants' earnings of a large segment of Mexico's population, and because immigrants living in the United States are seen to be in an excellent position to lobby for the economic and political interests of the Mexican government in its efforts to cooperate with the United States in the Republic's development. Such efforts of the Mexican government to mobilize immigrants on behalf of home-country national causes have been constrained, however, by the low education and daily preoccupation with survival of the majority of those concerned. If at all, émigrés—primarily men—engage, rather, in local politics, because of their concerns with status and their primarily "local" mindsets.

As in their assimilation trajectories, middle- and lower-class Jamaican immigrants in New York have differed regarding transnational engagements. (Information about Jamaicans' transnational activites comes from Kasinitz 1992; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001; Vickerman 2002.) We begin with middle-class immigrants employed in white-collar occupations and in small businesses. Their mostly informal transnational activities have coexisted with the ethnic-path mode of incorporation into the host society. Two circumstances, each of them with structural and agentic dimensions, have been common in the reconstitution of both immigrants' assimilation and their transnational activities. One such contributing factor has been the racial exclusion embedded in the receiver society's societal institutions and cultural practices to which immigrants have responded with sustained involvements in their home country as a defence against, or partial escape from, this situation. The other circumstance has been group culture and the social practice of the continued commitment to the home country and their families and friends there displayed by immigrants in an unreflexive and habituated manner as well as for practical reasons of social membership, not only through national identities and emotional attachments discussed in the previous chapter, but also in different forms of contacts with their home country.

The remaining elements sustaining middle-class Jamaican immigrants' transnational involvements have included, as in the case of Mexicans, a close geographic proximity of their home country to the United States which, combined with easy and inexpensive travel, has greatly facilitated the maintenance of such connections, the existence of a transnational household economy with the accompanying personal and socially sanctioned obligations of immigrants, and, in the case of immigrants engaged in small-scale ethnic businesses, the creation of transnational trade networks between the two countries and actor-entrepreneurs' vested interests in making it work.

Familial and social contacts have been the most important form of middle-class New York Jamaicans' transnational engagements. They have involved immigrant men's and women's frequent visits to the home country and multiple migrations between New York and their localities of origin, accompanied by the exchange of letters and phone calls with the families at home. Such activities, as in other groups, have been primarily conducted by women. These social involvements have also had an economic and cultural aspect. The practice of leaving one's children behind with relatives or sending them home for long sojourns "not to forget the culture" has been common. Similarly, substantial remittances have been sent home regularly by immigrant men and women alike who have also sponsored family and friends' migration to the United States. They have also made special journeys home for cultural events such as birthdays, weddings, funerals, and religious holidays. Immigrant ethnic entrepreneurs have been involved in "extra" transnational pursuits in the economic sphere, through organized- and informal-channel import—export activities (including business visits) necessary to supply their stores.

Although Jamaican immigrants' transnational involvements have been primarily informal, they have also engaged in some organized activities directed at the homeland. Interestingly, it has been women who have most commonly pursued this type of transnational engagement. Through voluntary ethnic associations founded in New York, immigrant women raise money for health and educational projects in the homeland, which they then monitor by visiting Jamaica; the results are reported back to the funding clubs. These pursuits have created a (transnational) space for immigrant women's autonomous decision-making and activities, and have enhanced their sense of participation in their group's public affairs. The contrast in this regard with Mexican women's interests and pursuits can probably be explained by Jamaican women's greater self-assuredness outside of the homes on the one hand, and, on the other, by a lesser resistance, if any, to women's public-sphere involvement, also in the homeland, on the part of Jamaican men who have been more accustomed than their Mexican counterparts to women's independent activities and whose minds, unlike Mexican men's orientations, have been set on the receiver country.

Middle-class Jamaican immigrants' political involvement in the affairs of their homeland, although facilitated by the recognition of dual citizenship by the Jamaican government, has been limited. The main reason for this relative disinterest, according to students of this group, has been the "general predictability of Jamaican politics" that does not require from immigrants a constant alertness (Vickerman 2002: 354). During the political turmoil that rocked Jamaica in the 1970s, immigrants worried about their relatives and their own possessions at home were reported to have been much more preoccupied with their homeland's politics than is the case today (the political situation in Jamaica quietened down in the 1980s and has thus far remained calm). Rather than remain on "permanent alert," middle-class Jamaican immigrants' attention to and involvement in their homeland's political affairs has fluctuated with specific events.

Compared with the activities of their middle-class counterparts, lower-class Jamaican immigrants who assimilate "downward" into the New York African-American ghetto culture have displayed no or minimal transnational engagement. Three main circumstances have contributed to this situation. First, these immigrants' economic situation does not allow for many such connections (although inexpensive, travel to Jamaica still costs money, which they do not have). Second, their identification with and social immersion in the local African-American community significantly weakens, if not eliminates, both a separate ethnic self-perception (as Jamaicans) so strongly emphasized by their middle-class fellow nationals and the emotional need to maintain contact with the homeland. And third, were such lower-class "blackened" Jamaicans try to visit their home country, they would be, as noted in the previous chapter, met with disdain and contempt as deviants and group-status spoilers.

Like their assimilation evolving in the politically home-oriented ethnic-enclave pattern, Miami's first-wave Cuban refugees' transnational engagements have been unique among the groups selected here for examination. As soon as they arrived, first-wave Cuban émigrés—primarily men with some women supporters—engaged in passionate exile politics which they sustained for the next 40 years. Cuban exiles' preoccupation with Cuba, informed by intransigent anti-communism, has been their dominant, political–ideological, transnational involvement. (Information about the homeland-directed activities of Cuban refugees comes from Grenier and Stepick 1992; Portes and Stepick 1993; Grenier and Perez 2003; Stepick et al. 2003; Perez 2007.)

The interplay of group-specific structural and agentic circumstances has shaped the direction and intensity of first-wave Cuban refugees' transnational involvements. The establishment in Cuba of the communist regime which would have destroyed those "bourgeois enemies of the people" had they tried to return there, the sustained multifaceted support they have received for their anti-Castro activities from the U.S. government motivated by its foreign policy interests in the Cold War era, and their group economic and political organization in Miami have provided a context conducive to immigrants' political engagements. They appropriated this situation to their purposes, motivated by the shared sentiment, sustained in regular interactions with each other, of an angry resentment of political exiles who despised the situation in Cuba and who envisioned at first a quick and then an eventual return home, and by applying their group socioeconomic and political resources.

Cuban political exiles, unlike other immigrants, could not retain citizenship, vote, or otherwise participate in the civic affairs of their home country. Unlike most refugee groups, however, from the failed invasion attempt in the Bay of Pigs in 1961 to the establishment of Radio Martí transmitting anti-communist propaganda into Cuba in 1985, they have received active support, open encouragement even, by the U.S. government for transnational activities aimed at subverting the Castro regime in Cuba. The impact of shifts from thaws (*El Diálogo* under the Carter administration) to freezes (under the Reagan presidency) in U.S. relations with Castro's Cuba on the possibility of visiting and sending remittances to Cuba further illustrates the dependency of this immigrant group's transnational engagements on the receiver state's foreign policy. The obstinate anti-communist and anti-Castro phobias supported by Cuban exiles' future-oriented calculations of deposing the despised regime as the primary vectors of their transnational engagements, and the dependence of these activities and expectations on the support of the U.S. government, have over time become the main source of tension between the Cuban community in Miami and its receiver-state sponsor. The downfall of Soviet-dominated communism in East Europe and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union have led to the end of the Cold War era and, with it, the long-standing priorities of U.S. foreign policy. The failure of the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) and its supporters to win the Elián Gonzáles case in American courts in 1999–2000[3] has been symptomatic of this change and, thus, of the disintegration of the foundation of Cuban exiles' transnational (and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, domestic American) politics.

Although high-intensity institutional activities (through organized agencies) in the political sphere have been the primary focus of Cuban exiles' transnational involvements, they also engaged in other kinds of activity. First, as Miami's global finance and trade connections expanded over time, Cuban businessmen (rather than women), well equipped to partake in it in terms of group and personal resources and motivated by practical and projective considerations, have increasingly engaged in transnational economic activities, especially financial investments and joint business ventures in South America. And second, as the Castro regime has somewhat mellowed with time allowing for money and goods transfers between Cuba and its exile community in Miami, and, more recently, permitting visits of (selected) Cuban Americans to their home-country, immigrants' transnational activities have diversified.

Although only a small minority of first-wave exiles, men and, especially, women, engage in actual visits in their homeland, they now maintain informal social contacts with their kin in Cuba, including family-level economic contributions.

Transnational engagements of the members of our next group, Russian Jews in Philadelphia, have been minimal or nonexistent, but for reasons quite different from those contributing to non-existent transnational activities among New York lower-class-ghetto Jamaicans. Although they identify themselves as Russians because of their native language, culture, and upbringing, it is with a distancing qualifier: they are Jewish Russians or members of an outcast minority in their country of origin and, thus, different from "Russian Russians." A transformation—Americanization we may say—of their Jewish identities as they become more assertive and personally involved in American Jewish activities has further augmented this distance. (Information about Philadelphia Russian Jews from Morawska 2004; also Remennick 2007.)

The recreation by immigrants of a Russian cultural life in Philadelphia—restaurants with Russian food, festivals of Russian music performed by local artists, Russian-language television programs and newspapers—has had an ethnic or host-country-focused rather than transnational, home-country-directed character. The majority, about 70 percent, of immigrants I interviewed said they never feel any nostalgia for Russia. Those who admit to occasionally missing it—older immigrants in particular—mean not the country as their Fatherland, the symbolic national community, but concrete local sights or places remembered from their youth. An even larger majority, 90 percent, of immigrants, do not feel they have any obligations toward Russia as their home country. "*Ia nichevo ne obiazen*, I do not have any obligations"—has been a typical reply of immigrants, men and women alike, to questions in this matter—"I left and I closed this chapter of my life." More than 70 percent of Philadelphia's Russian Jews, regardless of their age, gender, and year of emigration, have not visited Russia since their arrival in the United States. Those who have gone, primarily older immigrants, went there in remembrance of the past rather than to sustain their present lives. Fewer than half of the immigrants make occasional phone calls to their home country, and even fewer extend financial or material assistance—only if they still have close kin or acquaintances in Russia.

The circumstances responsible for Russian Jews' minimal or nonexistent involvement in their country of origin include their habituated resentment toward the home country that made them unwelcome, combined with permanent emigration of entire families with no dependants left behind, and—in a sharp contrast to lower-class Jamaicans—with the shared sense of emancipation in the new country and the expectation of a secure future. Their strongly host-country-oriented sub-ethnic path of assimilation pattern has been in this case a circumstance inhibiting immigrants' involvements in their home country. Interestingly, Russian Jewish immigrants in New York have been reported to maintain more transnational contacts, especially in the economic sphere, in their homelands than do their fellow nationals in Philadelphia. Two main reasons seem to account for this difference. The first one is a much greater number and occupational differentiation of Russian Jews in New York and, specifically, the presence among the latter of a considerable number of transnational entrepreneurs who conduct business in Russia (often in cooperation with their fellow nationals in Israel) as well as earlier-wave immigrants who have retained their apartments rented out in Russian/Ukrainian cities—economic activity they treat as a source of additional income. The second factor may well be the independent (vis-à-vis the established Jewish American community) evolution of New York Russian Jewish immigrants' assimilation process as compared with the sub-ethnic incorporation pattern of the Philadelphians whose American Jewish sponsors frown on their charges' continued involvement in the country which mistreated them.

Although for different reasons, transnational involvement in Israel—the symbolic home of the worldwide Jewish diaspora and the target of multiple, private and institutional, engagements of American Jews—has also been by and large absent in the lives of Russian Jewish Philadelphians, except for some informal contacts with family and friends who emigrated to that country. Immigrants' explanations of such non-involvement, especially in the public sphere, focus on the recency of their emigration and the necessity of concentrating on the adaptation to the new country. Some have also pointed to the fact that although they always felt Jewish (as in "Other") in Russia, because this identity was secular, the symbolic importance of Israel in Jewish life has not been familiar to them. It is likely that as Russian Jewish immigrants' ethnic-path incorporation into Jewish American society and their internalization of its values progress over time, their transnational interest in and involvement on behalf of Israel will intensify.

In contrast to their Russian Jewish fellow Philadelphians, Polish immigrants, middle- and lower-class alike, have sustained multiple and regular transnational connections with their home country which have coexisted with their ethnic-path mode of assimilation. In both cases, while these engagements have been conducted exclusively through informal channels, their contributing circumstances and the forms and intensity of these involvements have not been identical. (Information about Philadelphia Poles' transnational activities from Morawska 2004).

Middle-class Polish immigrants maintain regular social contacts with family and friends in the homeland via Internet, phone calls, and (usually) annual visits to Poland. As in other groups we examined, except for home-country visits which émigré families and, more often, just husbands and wives, commonly undertake together, the responsibility for keeping together the families and shared friendships across the Atlantic has belonged primarily to women and they seem to be content with this role. Most of the immigrants in this group came to America permanently either with their families, or, more commonly, alone, in which case they brought their families over later. Unless they have elderly parents or other close kin in Poland, members of this group do not send regular remittances to the home country, but, rather, money or other gifts to friends for special occasions. Although a number of middle-class immigrant families could afford it after 10–15 years in America, only rarely do they make business investments in their homeland. The insecure economic situation in Poland, and immigrants' lack of intention to return there has been the most common reason for this disinterest. (Such concerns, however, have not prevented members of other immigrant groups from making business investments in their homelands; it may be that middle-class Poles left their country before the "entrepreneurial spirit" of the postcommunist transformation began to take root there.)

The two other areas of transnational engagements of middle-class Polish immigrants, men and women alike, are culture and politics. Thus, they regularly watch Polish films (on cable TV) and participate in performances of Polish artists visiting Philadelphia (or New York) on a tour of the United States, but they seldom undertake an organized effort to bring someone specific, or sign up for initiatives to support cultural causes in Poland. They also avidly follow news of political events in Poland through the Internet, TV, and Polish-language newspapers, which they then discuss with friends and acquaintances at social gatherings—but they seldom involve themselves in civic actions on behalf of public causes in Poland or in defence (or support) of particular political developments in their home country. As with their assimilation into American society, immigrants' preference for informal, unorganized activities reflects the enduring privatism and lack of civic spirit among citizens of the former Soviet bloc that immigrants brought with them to the United States. Interesting here are the different circumstances responsible for non-involvement in their homeland's civic-political affairs among middle-class Jamaican and Polish immigrants: the former forgo such engagement motivated primarily by practical concerns (everything's going well, so there is no need to bother), while the latter stay away because of the enduring habituated, generalized mistrust of the public sphere.

In comparison with their middle-class fellow nationals, the main area of transnational engagements of lower-class Polish (im)migrants in Philadelphia has been economic, involving, most of all, regular financial remittances sent by immigrant men and women to their families at home. Closely related are the savings they accumulate with the hope of a much more affluent life after return to Poland. But they also maintain informal social contacts with kin and friends at home, conducted mainly through telephone calls. Few members of this group have access to the Internet, and, given that a large number of those people overstay their tourist visas and work illegally, visiting Poland would risk not being able to return to the United States. To the extent their financial means permit, but much less than middle-class immigrants, members of this group participate in cultural events imported from the homeland. In comparison with the educated, middle-class immigrants who closely follow Poland's political scene, lower-class (im)migrants have not been very or, more precisely, steadily interested in political developments in their homeland.

The structural and agentic circumstances sustaining middle- and lower-class Polish immigrants' transnational activities have contained some shared and some (sub)group-specific elements. The facilitation of continued international contacts provided by the advances in transportation and communication technologies has been one such common circumstance. The other, group characteristic has had both structural and agentic dimensions: the notion of irrevocable national membership and the obligation implied therein to maintain identity and contacts with the homeland embedded in the Polish culture have been reflected in immigrants' habituated orientations reconstituted through everyday interactions with their fellow nationals in Philadelphia and at home. Polish-language ethnic newspapers in Philadelphia read by immigrants from different socioeconomic groups clearly reflect this priority: news from and affairs in Poland occupy the most space (followed by information about local and national Polish-American life). As already noted in the discussion of the mode of assimilation of Polish immigrants in Philadelphia, the predominant majority of those who hold American passports have retained their Polish citizenship as their "natural right" into which they were born: "Wherever we live, deep down we remain Poles, *zabierzemy to ze sobą do grobu*, we'll take it to the grave with us." This habituated collective conception of inborn and, thus, undeniable national membership, the foundation of both the ethnic-path assimilation mode of Polish immigrants and their sustained transnational involvements in the homeland, resembles their Korean counterparts' notion of national identity as a "matter of blood."

Although both middle- and lower-class Polish immigrants are bound by transnational bonds of family commitments and participate in transnational friendship networks which also involve certain obligations, lower-class Poles' financial responsibilities to their families at home require much more regularity. The latter's transnational involvements have also had an additional motivation in their shared vision of return to the homeland which middle-class immigrants do not harbor. The most obvious differences between the conditions shaping the scope of and comfort with transnational involvements among middle- and lower-class Polish immigrants involve, on the one hand, the difference in their economic resources and, on the other hand, their political status. As U.S. citizens or permanent residents middle-class Poles can take full advantage of the present-day recognition of America's ethnic pluralism, including immigrants' enduring engagements in their home countries. In comparison, their lower-class counterparts, many of whom like Mexicans do not have appropriate documents to live and travel in and out of the United States, can never be sure whether their next visit to Poland will not be a no-return trip.

In comparison with those of middle-class Polish Philadelphians, professional Asian Indians' transnational engagements, likewise intense, have been more diversified involving both informal contacts and some organized economic, social, and political activities. They have coexisted with this group's mixed, mainstream upward and ethnic-path mode of assimilation, the latter, ethnic component of which has been a contributing factor to Asian Indian immigrants' enduring transnational involvements which, reciprocally, sustained the ethnic dimension of their incorporation into the receiver, American society. (Information about transnational involvements of Asian Indian immigrants has been compiled from Helweg 1986; Lessinger 1992, 2002; Khare 1997; Leonard 1997; DasGupta 1999; Vertovec 2000.)

Keeping together large transnational families—in this case, too, it has been the primary responsibility of women reflecting the deeply embedded division of gender roles assigning women the task of preserving family and home—has been the primary form of transnational engagement of Asian Indian immigrants. But they have also sustained many other connections. Regular contributions to charitable causes through Indian émigré organizations and directly to home-country agencies has been another realm of women's activities. In addition—this, in the purview of men—during the last two and a half decades economic investment in India by its well-off nationals abroad has significantly increased. It was initially a response to the liberalization by the Indian government of laws pertaining to foreign investment and, especially, to special tax incentives it offered to expatriate or, as they are officially called, Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). This was enhanced by the Indian government's appeals to immigrants to maintain a "love for their motherland." Middle-class Indian organizations in America have also strongly encouraged such transnational economic initiatives on the part of their members. Over time, based on capital resources accumulated through primary-sector employment of middle-class Indian immigrants, this "investment from within the Indian immigrant community took on a life of its own" (Lessinger 1992: 55). During the 1990s, NRIs, primarily male heads of immigrant households, invested some $500 million, about one-third from North America, in light industries and medical centers in India, and more than $10 billion in bonds and saving accounts issued by the State Bank of India. The introduction by the Indian government in 1999 of the "Persons of Indian Origin Card," enabling Indians abroad to visit India without visas and to own property, further facilitated their economic involvement in the home country.

Professional Asian Indian immigrants, men and women alike, have also actively followed cultural events in their home country: during their visits to India, of course, but also and on regular basis through TV and Internet programs, DVDs featuring Indian films and cultural festivities which they receive from their families or purchase in special stores or on the Internet. They also attend organized tours of Indian performers in the United States. Immigrants—men more intensely than women—have been reported, too, to sustain an involvement in home-country politics. In the immigrant press in America (the weeklies *India Abroad* and *News India-Times*, magazines like *Samar* and *Massala*) and, increasingly, on the Internet (at soc.culture.indian), the particulars of current political affairs in India are fervently discussed. Middle-class NRI organizations in America have repeatedly (but thus far unsuccessfully) petitioned the Indian government for dual citizenship, which would not only facilitate transnational capital operations of Indians living abroad but also give them voting rights and, thus, a direct influence on Indian politics.

At least four superimposed structural circumstances have been conducive to Asian Indians' sustained multiple involvements in their homeland. Besides the advances in communication and transportation technologies, they have included receiver- and sender-country governments' legal arrangements that are "friendly" toward such engagements; the existence of dense transnational family networks with the accompanying normatively binding obligations; and the Indian world diaspora culture founded on a prescription of continued active commitments by its members (rather than exclusive loyalty as in the case of other groups examined here).

Immigrants have engaged these conducive circumstances by acting out their shared habitual and practical motivations to sustain regular connections with their homeland. Bound by emotional attachments and by traditional norms of familial obligation and loyalty strongly sanctioned in the Indian culture, they have maintained transnational family connections by sending money, regularly exchanging current news, and making family decisions through the Internet (if accessible to home-country folk), phone calls, and by sending videos depicting family events on both sides of the world. Immigrants' strong, habituated personal identification with and commitment to "Indianness" and to India's well-being—the latter characteristic of the elites of countries in the process of modern nation-state formation—and also by practical considerations have motivated them to sustain an active interest in their home-country affairs and to make business investments there. Professional Asian Indians' integration into the primary sector of the host-country economy offering significant financial rewards and the security of their political status in the receiver society have been the basic facilitators of all these activities.

The examination of transnational involvements of members of the eight immigrant groups in our sample has revealed several—six in total—different modes of these activities if we include none or minimal engagement in the homeland. They are regular multisphere informal and organized activities, regular multisphere informal connections, regular with one predominant field of involvement: economic or political which is carried out in informal and organized or primarily organized fashion, and—an interesting case—"physical" transnationalism of (im)migrants traveling back and forth between the host- and home-country. Members of the majority—eight out of ten groups including different class sub-categories in the Jamaican and Polish cases—have maintained regular transnational involvements with their homelands, and for the majority—seven out of the eight groups displaying regular engagements—these connections have been plural in kind.

None of the immigrant groups examined in this volume, except perhaps Russian Jews classified under "[none or] minimal transnational contacts", have been reported to carry out only situational activities in their homeland. I see three possible reasons for this finding. One of them has to do with a possible bias of the studies used as the basis for this analysis, most of which have been conducted and written at a time when the issue of transnationalism was a new vogue in the American social-science studies of immigration, which could have impacted the research done on this topic. The other possible reasons concern the subjects of this examination: their relatively recent—since the 1980s (except first-wave Cuban refugees who are an unusual case anyway)—settlement in America or insufficient time for regular transnational involvements to begin to fall off on the one hand, and, on the other and related, the young-to-middle-age stage of their lives which has meant the presence, and often economic dependence, of family members in the home country. I remember my own avid (if reluctant—I voluntarily defected from Poland and asked for political asylum in the United States) interest in Polish affairs and a dense exchange first of letters than e-mail news with my family and friends which endured for more than 15 years and then waned following the death of my father who was the only remaining family member there.

This inquiry into the mechanisms of transnational engagements reported in eight immigrant groups selected here for examination has identified 30-odd factors affecting these activities. They are listed in Table 5.1 grouped into the categories of global, national (sender- and receiver-country), translocal, local (surrounding and in-group), and individual. The factors, which simultaneously impact immigrants' assimilation, have been marked with an asterisk.

As in the assimilation process, these are not single circumstances but constellations thereof that prompt or hinder immigrants' transnational involvements. The cases of lower-class Mexicans and Jamaicans demonstrate, for example, that the geographic proximity between home- and host-countries is not sufficient for immigrants to sustain transnational contacts. Immigrants' secure political status in the context of receiver-society's official acceptance of ethnic pluralism, including maintenance of homeland attachments—the factor often treated in the

Table 5.1 Factors Affecting Immigrants' Transnational Engagements

Global level	
Transportation and communication technologies*	
Existence of global economy*	
National level	
Geographic proximity between home- and host-country	
Sending country	**Receiving country**
Stage in nation-building process*	Role of home country/region in its geopolitical/economic interests
Civic-political tradition/culture, especially exclusive (ethno-) vs. inclusive civic national membership and loyalty expectations*	Immigration policies and executive institutions*
Attitudes/behavior of home government toward (e)migrants abroad (facilitating or preventing contacts and involvement)	Public discourse, legal/institutional practice and popular views and behaviors regarding national/group participation and civil rights*
Gender division of labor: norms and practice*	State policy toward/relations with sender country*
	Gender division of labor: norms and practice*
Translocal level	
Existence of transnational labor markets	
Existence of transnational household economies	
Existence of transnational business networks	
Existence of transnational family networks	
Local level	
External	**Intragroup**
Labor market conditions and prospects for upward mobility*	Group culture (normative expectations) of sustained commitment to home-country
Interethnic/racial (power) relations*	Political or economic migration (or proportions of in the group)
Degree of racial/ethnic segregation (social, cultural)*	Group size and residential concentration*
Civic-political culture and practice regarding immigrants, Particularly those of different race*	Sojourn/diasporic collective mentality*
Native perceptions of (im)migrants'/specific group's cultural proximity and degree of social exclusion*	Group sense of civic entitlement in host-country*

Table 5.1 (Continued)

Individual Characteristics of Immigrants
Intentions of (im)migrants as to purpose/duration of their stay*
Socioeconomic position and resources*
Political status in host-country*
Race*
Gender*
Presence/number of dependent family members in the home country and/or real estate/other possessions
Intensity of ideological and/or emotional attachment to home country*
Intensity/frequency of experience of prejudice/discrimination in the host country
Number of years spent in the receiver society[1]

[1] This factor has not appeared in our discussion of the eight cases but I include it here because it is a likely (although not sufficient) contributor to a gradual diminution of immigrants.

literature of the subject as the sine qua non for immigrant transnationalism (see Waldinger 2008)—is certainly very important, but is neither the necessary (Mexicans in the Southwest and Polish tourist-workers) nor a sufficient condition (Russian Jews in Philadelphia) of such involvements.

The multiplicity of factors which generate and sustain or inhibit social phenomena is more or less self-evident to social scientists. More interesting is the finding that different constellations of circumstances contribute to similar outcomes. As we have seen, the interplay of quite different structural and agentic factors has been responsible for the absence of contact with the homeland among lower(under)-class Jamaicans and Russian Jews. Regular informal transnational engagements of middle-class Poles and Jamaicans have been also the outcome of different constellations of circumstances. To note only the group-specific factors, they have been, in the case of Jamaicans, the experience of racial prejudice and discrimination, the geographic proximity of the home country, and, responsible for non-involvement in home-country political affairs, the stability of the political situation in the homeland. In the case of Polish immigrants' transnational engagements this group-specific factor has been the ethno-particularistic understanding of "unshakeable" national membership, and, responsible for their avoidance of civic-political involvements, the shared habituated mistrust of the public sphere.

Although, except in extraordinary instances, societal phenomena—here, immigrants' engagements in their homelands—are not the outcomes of single factors, some of them play a particularly important role in the configurations they form with other contributing circumstances. Four such circumstances, common in all the cases examined here, can be identified. They include, first, the presence of families, and, especially, families in need of material support, left in immigrants' homeland. Second is the security of immigrants' economic and political status in the receiver country. Regarding the latter, the receiver-country's official recognition of ethnic pluralism and, of concern here, of immigrants' and their offspring's right to maintain involvements in their former homelands does not apply equally to all interested parties or, more accurately, does not have equally beneficial implications for all. As we have seen in the foregoing discussion, the comfort it gives to people pursuing their transnational engagements depends on their economic resources and, in particular, their political status—documented or undocumented—and high or low on the preference list of the receiver-country government. In Chapter 2, I used the contemporary legitimacy of transnationalism as a contrast with the turn-of-the-twentieth-century situation where it was seen as suspicious and discouraged. Immigrants maintaining ties with their homelands is legitimate today and it does make a difference, but its utility for immigrants is not fixed, and it rather depends on their situations in the receiver country. The third common circumstance which has an impact on immigrants' transnational activities by diversifying the fields of these involvements is the gender division of roles and responsibilities. And the fourth one is the sender-country national culture containing varying intensities of normative obligations for the expatriates to sustain national loyalty and active commitments to the homeland.

The different combinations of immigrants' modes of assimilation and forms of their transnational engagements identified in this analysis are presented in Table 5.2 below.

The cases we have examined reveal nine varieties of assimilation-and-transnationalism (hereafter T/A) coexistence. If the available studies were more specific about, for example, differences in pursuits among immigrants planning to return home as compared with those who have decided to remain in the receiver-country permanently, or between immigrants living in ethnic colonies and those in residential dispersion, we would likely identify even more T/A combinations. Broadening a sample to include more and different groups, with special attention

Table 5.2 Varieties of T/A Coexistence in Eight Immigrant Groups

Assimilation →	**Global Citizenship**	**Mainstream Assimilation**		**Ethnic-Path Assimilation**			
Trasnationalism ↓		**Upward**	**Downward**	**Host-Focused**	**Host-and Home-Focused**	**House Focused**	**Ethnic Resilient**
Regular *Informal* Multiple Activities	Hong Kong & Taiwanese Chinese	Asian Indians	———	———	Middle-class Jamaicans Koreans Mexicans (Women)	Poles	Mexicans (Men)
Single Activity					Cubans		
Organised Multiple Activities	Hong Kong & Taiwanese Chinese	Asian Indians	———	———	———	———	Mexicans (Men)
Single Activity					Koreans Cubans Middle-class Jamaicans		Mexicans (Women)
Situational *Informal*	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
Multiple Activities							
Single Activity *Organised*							
	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
Multiple Activities Single Activity							
No/Minimal Transnational Involvement	———	———	Lower-class Jamaicans	Russians Jews	———	———	———

paid to immigrants' situational engagements in their homelands triggered either by special events there at the national, local, or family levels, or by changes in life situations of the actors themselves, would likely also multiply the results. As is, only a small number of possible T/A combinations created by the intersections of different assimilation and transnationalism categories are actually represented empirically by the cases examined.

The T/A combinations which have been identified in this examination permit the specification of three possible relations between immigrants' assimilation and transnational engagements. These two processes can simply coexist or evolve parallel to each other with either shared or different contributing circumstances; they can be reciprocally enhancing; immigrants' transnational involvements can constitute a factor contributing to a particular mode of assimilation, or, conversely, a specific path of immigrants' assimilation can be a contributing factor to their transnational activities.

Effects of immigrants' transnational engagements on their home societies

In the previous chapter we considered the (re)constitutive effects of immigrants' incorporation into the host, American society on its local economic, political, and cultural structures. Of interest here is primarily the transformative and, when relevant, also reconstitutive (as in maintaining the status quo) impact of immigrants' transnational engagements in their homelands on these societies. The main effects of these involvements are grouped into four spheres—the economic, political, cultural, and social—and the instances of glocalization are noted.[4] In this case, glocalization refers to the implantation of elements of American habits and ideas from different realms of life into immigrants' home societies through their activities so that local practices and attitudes there acquire new qualities.

The general directions of the impact of high and low skilled émigrés leaving their countries on the latter's economies have been identified in Chapter 2. Let us reiterate them in a somewhat more detailed fashion. Following existing assessments in the literature of the subject, this impact can be categorized into positive and debated effects as well as some with characteristics of both.

To the first, positive kind of effects belong immigrants' business and financial investments and exchange in the regions of their origin (Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese and, recently, also Cubans in our sample) and at the national or local level of their home-countries (Asian Indians, Jamaicans) which contribute to economic growth there. (World-system advocates might argue, however, that by investing in their home countries as residents of the core capitalist society, émigrés from (semi-)peripheral parts of the globe contribute to the increased dependency of these countries' economies and, thus, their activities have a negative long-term effect.) Professional immigrants' transnational activities in the form of research or teaching involvements in their home countries, assistance in organization of funds for specialized training, and recruitment of students and trainees for host-country institutions also represent a positive contribution to their homeland's long-term technological and economic development. Although they do not counterbalance the "brain drain" from these countries, such initiatives provide a tangible enhancement for growth.

The effects of immigrants' remittances on the local economies of their home countries have been subject to a debate among students of this issue (for an overview see Pozo 2007). The majority opinion has been that because macro-level conditions of economic underdevelopment and political instability which promote emigration generally discourage investment, and because "on the ground" migrants' families in these sender countries spend the received monies primarily on survival or on consumer goods, this effect is negligible. The use of remittances by their recipients simply for survival can be treated as a reconstitutive effect of immigrants' transnational activities in that they contribute to the perpetuation of the existing economic situation in their home-country localities. If these remittances allow the recipients to purchase goods beyond their survival needs, and if such "innovations" become a regular feature of the consumer habits in the families dependent on monies sent/brought from abroad by their kin, it could be considered a low-level transformative effect of immigrants' transnational involvements.

The evidence regarding the use of remittances sent by Polish, Jamaican, and Mexican immigrants in our sample, for which groups there exists sufficient information, appears to support Massey et al.'s (1998) conclusion from an overview of extensive data that these effects "vary from country to country and time to time depending on market conditions, resource endowments, and the ease and cost of foreign exchange" (p. 222). For example, in the first years after the collapse of the communist regime (1989), Philadelphia lower-class Polish immigrants' remittances had been used by their families to buy the basic necessities in order to survive. A decade later, with economic progress, émigrés' families began to use some of the remittances toward improvements in their standard of living, such as apartment furnishings, color TVs with satellite dishes, stereo systems, and better-quality clothing. It has been only in the last few years, when the capitalist reforms took root and Poles began to perceive the new situation as permanent, that the receiver families started to turn some—not much—of émigré remittances into small-scale business investments. (This information comes from this author's follow-up informal investigation of the pursuits of Philadelphia Polish immigrants in 2007.) In comparison, a much longer and better established entrepreneurial tradition in Jamaica, a relatively high status associated with these activities, and, important, legal provisions facilitating them, made émigré remittances in investment much more common in that country.

The transformative effect of immigrant transnational activities in the form of the increased economic inequality in the localities which receive large émigré remittances and where immigrants make business (and other) investments, the profits of which are appropriated by their family members, has been ambivalent. The negative effects are summarized in an observation of a student of Mexican immigrants' economic assistance to their families at home which has been echoed in reports on other groups: "A remittance economy exacerbates inequalities by 'dollarizing' the local economy, inflating prices as migrant families pay for goods in dollars and widening class differences" (Smith 2006: 50). This situation has transformed the class structure of the affected sender locations by sharpening the discrepancy between the well-off (migrants' families) and those in dire poverty or, as the same researcher calls them, a "remittance bourgeoisie" and a "transnational underclass" who have no connections in the United States (or any other highly developed immigration country). The positive results of the increased economic inequality in immigrants' home-country locations reveal themselves over a longer period of time when the children in better-off remittance-receiving families are sent to better schools, stay there longer, and obtain better jobs which enable them, if they remain in their home localities, to invest more and more systematically in the latter's economic development.

The available information about the impact of immigrants' transnational engagements on the functioning of their home-country political institutions is unfortunately spotty. It concerns almost exclusively Mexican immigrants and, to a lesser extent, Cuban refugees who, as we recall, have also been the most—if differently—engaged among the groups in our sample in their home-country politics. Through their transnational involvements Mexican immigrants have been reported to graft onto their villages political elements of American (Western) democratic procedure and the culture of democratic debate; as a result, receiver-society local political cultures become glocalized by the infusion of the external components.

The effects of first-wave Cuban refugees' anti-communist activities such as the Radio Martí programs broadcast into Cuba and political lobbying in Washington for a tough(er) U.S. government stance vis-à-vis the Castro regime and other left-leaning leaders and movements in the Caribbean and South America should be considered on two levels. The repercussions of émigrés activities on the Cubans in Cuba, to the extent they have been aware of and sympathetic to them, have reportedly helped to keep up morale at home—a reconstitutive effect of sorts whereby immigrants' transnational engagements contribute to the endurance of unspoken resistance "from below" to the authoritarian rule. The impact of Cuban refugees' lobbying with the U.S. government against socialist movements and figures in the Caribbean and South America—here, immigrants' transnational activities are directed at targets beyond their homeland—on the political situation in particular countries of this region cannot be disentangled from the effects of a threatening stance and occasional interventions of the United States itself. Assuming that first-wave Cuban refugees' advisory opinion regarding political developments in the Caribbean and South America had been taken seriously in Washington, this case would represent an indirect or mediated preventive effect of immigrants' transnational activities on the region's political situation.

Unlike the political impact of immigrants' transnational engagements, their role as emissaries of the host-country culture has received considerable attention from students of this issue. Other powerful agencies such as transnational business and advertising, films, and TV programs have been, of course, engaged in spreading around the world American-style entertainment, food habits, dress, and so forth, and so have millions of American tourists. Parallel to these influences, the implantation into local cultures of the elements of American tastes and preferences in which immigrants' activities in their homelands have played a role by providing close-by and attainable "demonstration effects" has produced tangible glocalization effects. Mexican immigrants' transnational involvements on their home towns and villages has probably been the most dramatic of such impacts, but, according to studies of other groups, not uncommon. In particular, glocalized or transformed into native Mexican-and-American "blends" have been dress habits and home furnishing preferences. Reports from Jamaica and Poland about the "Americanization" of cultural tastes, dress, and the behavior of residents in locations frequently visited by "their" émigrés in the United States have been similar. (In the latter case this impact may gradually give way to transplantations from West European countries where more and more Polish migrants travel since Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004.)

Immigrants who sustain active contacts in their homelands also mediate in transferring elements of their host-country symbolic culture such as life-orientations and styles of everyday conduct. Through their intensely transnational lives, Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrant businessmen transplant portions of middle-class American culture, especially the culture of business transactions to the equivalent class circles in their home country and other countries where they operate. Asian Indian immigrants' transnational activities in their home country bring American ways to India. Immigrants' "transnational links," noted one observer after enumerating the multitude of transnational exchanges between India and the United States carried by Indian American émigrés, "are exerting increasing pressure on Indian culture, accelerating a process of Westernization that has become increasingly American-inflected" (Lessinger 2001: 158). Students of other groups in our sample (except for first-wave Cuban refugees in Miami and Russian Jews in Philadelphia) report similar effects of immigrants' transnational activities which not uncommonly elicit concern on the part of their fellow nationals at home worried about the threatened integrity of their national cultures.

Last to consider is the transformative impact of immigrants' engagements in their homeland on social relations there. These effects could be presented as well under the cultural realm. Students of Asian Indians', Koreans', Mexicans', and Poles' transnational involvements have reported the alterations of local norms and practices regulating social relations originated by those immigrants and, especially, making these exchanges more informal and egalitarian. Perhaps more important have been the expectations brought home by émigré and returnee women regarding the rules of gender equality they have learned in America which many of them put into practice in their everyday interactions in their home countries. The confused and often angry reactions of their fellow nationals there have already been noted in the discussion of particular immigrant groups' transnational activities. The undermining of the taken-for-granted habituated ways of behavior regarding gender relations by émigré/returnee women has probably been the major effect of their activities. Once questioned, these conventions may gradually give way to more egalitarian forms of gender relations if the demonstration effect provided by the émigrés is enduring and if it is backed up by "lessons" from other sources such as TV programs and public education.

6

Immigrants' American-Born Children: Their Modes of Assimilation and Transnational Engagements

This chapter presents an overview of the experience of immigrants' American-born children, otherwise called the second generation.[1] Three reasons have dictated consideration of the American-born generation in a volume devoted to immigrants. The first one has to do with immigrants themselves, for whom the successful adaptation of their children into the society where they were born has been of primary concern, and whose important decisions, from emigrating to America to accepting inadequate living conditions in the host country, have often been motivated by hopes for a better future for their offspring. The second, related reason is the presence in the lives of second-generation Americans of their immigrant parents through the latter's multiple influences on different dimensions of their children's assimilation and transnational involvements. Assimilation is assumed here to be an ongoing process (rather than a unique "act") that extends beyond the experience of foreign-born settlers. The third reason, therefore, for considering here this population is the advantage derived from comparative knowledge: in this case, a comparison of foreign- and American-born members of the same ethnic groups who continue along a path of incorporation into the host society but whose experiences are different in several important ways producing distinct pictures.

This overview of the experience of immigrants' American-born children consists of two parts. The first one presents measurable information on second-generation numbers, educational accomplishments and occupational position by parents' national origin, and, available only for broad categories of minority groupings, their spatial assimilation, linguistic proficiency, and rates of intermarriage. Next, it identifies the general patterns of immigrants' American-born children's assimilation and transnational involvements as reconstructed from the available sociological studies. In the second part we comparatively examine modes of assimilation and forms of transnational engagements in five groups from among our eight-case sample for whom sufficient information is available: American-born Koreans in Los Angeles, Asian Indians in major American cities, Mexicans in the American Southwest, New York Jamaicans, and Russian Jews in Philadelphia.

Second-generation assimilation and transnational involvements: General trends

We first identify the dominant patterns of assimilation among the American-born offspring of immigrants, and begin with its socioeconomic dimension. Table 6.1 presents nationwide figures on educational achievement and occupational position of second-generation Americans.

The table demonstrates two important phenomena. The first one is a significant improvement of the socioeconomic status of second-generation Americans as compared with that of the immigrants. In the majority of cases, the proportion of college-educated second-generation Americans has increased twofold to threefold with respect to the immigrants, and the growth of the share of native-born children of immigrants who occupy upper-level white-collar positions, has ranged from one-third to more than double. The greatest occupational advancement relative to the situation of their parents has been recorded for Hispanic-origin immigrants' American-born children, among Asian groups, Korean Americans, and Polish-Americans.[2] The lowest proportional increase of the college-educated upper-level white-collar persons among the second versus immigrant generation has been reported for American-born Asian Indians and Filipinos, which can be explained by the already high socioeconomic status of their parents who provided financial and cultural resources toward the replication of this position by their offspring.

The second important phenomenon, reflected in the data shown in Table 6.1, is a significant diversity in the socioeconomic positions of the second-generation groups. The proportions of college-educated immigrants' American-born children vary widely from lower teens (Dominican-, Mexican-, and Haitian-Americans) to upper 60–70 or so percents (Chinese, Asian Indian, Korean Americans), and the share of upper-level white-collar occupied persons likewise displays a significant

Table 6.1 Educational Achievement and Occupational Position of Immigrants' American-Born Children, 2000

National Origin	**College Graduates (%)**[1]		**Upper White-Collar Workers (%)**		**Lower Blue-Collar Workers (%)**
Latin American, Caribbean	**Second Gener.**	**Immigrants**	**Second Gener.**	**Immigrants**	**Second Gener.**
Mexico	13	(5)	18	(8)	17
El Salvador, Guatemala	23	(6)	25	(9)	14
Cuba	38	(19)	38	(29)	6
Dominican Republic	12	(9)	22	(15)	8
Jamaica	28	(14)	34	(27)	3
Haiti	14	(9)	19	(12)	11
East and South Asia					
Philippines	51	(48)	48	(41)	5
Chinese[2]	72	(48)	58	(53)	2
India	72	(69)	62	(51)	4
Korea	69	(46)	57	(39)	1
Vietnam	–[3]	(19)	38	(27)	5
Laos, Cambodia	–	(8)	18	(15)	8
Europe					
West Europe	62	(48)	52	(42)	7
East Europe	54	(37)	48	(35)	9
Former USSR[4]	56	(38)	50	(34)	–
Poland	47	(23)	43	(26)	8

Source: 2000 U.S. Census, 5% Public Use Microdata Sample.

[1] In rounded figures.

[2] Including Hong Kong and Taiwan.

[3] Too few cases for reliable estimates.

[4] Including descendants of Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants from the former USSR.

variation from around 20 percent (same groups as above) to upper 50–60 or so percent (Asian Indian, Chinese, Korean Americans).

Generally, Hispanic- and Caribbean-origin second-generation groups score considerably lower on socioeconomic indicators than do their Asian-origin counterparts. But between-group differences within the Hispanic, Caribbean, and Asian categories are also pronounced, ranging, in terms of educational achievement, from 13 percent to 38 percent for second-generation Mexicans and Cubans, from 12 percent to 28 percent for American-born Dominicans and Jamaicans, and between 23 percent and 72 percent for American-born Laotians[3] and Chinese. These intraregional gaps and a significant intergroup diversity in the socioeconomic positioning of American-born children of immigrants represent a striking continuity with the foreign-born generation.

Reflecting the general tendency in the mainstream American society, second-generation young women tend to outperform their male counterparts in educational achievement across ethnic groups. Interestingly, as observed by a student of gender differences in second-generation achievement, "gender inequalities that [in traditional families and ethnic groups] tie girls to the home and reward female obedience and passivity, end up helping them to succeed academically [because they spend more time at home on school work; the boys, in comparison, encouraged to be independent, spend more time on the streets and study less]" and, further on, professionally. "When they go on the job market, second-generation women . . . not only have better educational qualifications than their brothers, but they are often preferred for . . . white-collar service jobs" (Foner 2000: 237). Although they tend to be better educated than young men and may be preferred for white-collar jobs, reflecting a nationwide trend American-born women confront gender barriers or so-called glass-ceiling in promotion for higher-level occupational positions.

Several micro- and macro-level structural and agentic circumstances are responsible for the enduring differences in socioeconomic achievement among American-born children of immigrants. (This and the following information about second-generation's assimilation patterns has been compiled from Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Bankston and Zhou 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Kasinitz 2004; Louie 2004; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Perlmann 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2005; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Rumbaut 2005; South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005; Zhou and Xiong 2005; Kim 2006; Foner and Kasinitz 2007; Logan 2007; Perlmann and Waters 2007; Lopez and Estrada 2007; Pessar 2007; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2007; Fernandez-Kelly and Portes 2008; Iceland and Scopilliti 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2008.)

First to note is the home: the class position of the parents and their social and cultural capital, and, in particular, role models, rules of behavior, and expectations children are socialized into. Then the school: its quality, role models, and expectations of the students. The Dominican, Haitian, and Mexican parents' low-level human capital and their limited financial and cultural resources have evidently had an impact on the relatively low positions of their children compared with the much better educated and more elevated occupational status of Asian Indian-American offspring of immigrant parents with high-level human capital and considerably more resources. Also important has been harmony or tension between parents and children. Intra-family tensions between immigrant parents and their American-born children have been reported practically in all groups. They have involved, in particular, issues of obedience (children tend to be more independent and, in addition, they often have an advantage over their non-English-speaking parents as translators and mediators in their encounters with American institutions with which the immigrants do not feel comfortable), sexual relations (both second-generation boys and girls tend to view these matters in a more relaxed way), and, of concern here, parental expectations of children's life achievements which transcend their own. In nearly all groups these parental pressures on children to achieve, especially at school, have been met with some rebellion on the part of the latter in different stages of their lives. Yet as the high-achieving second-generation groups demonstrate, this resentment is often temporary and, perhaps more important, it may be enhanced or dissipated by other circumstances. The peer groups are an important reference framework for growing children with their role models and normatively expected and sanctioned behavior and aspirations. Related to it is another circumstance which contributes to the second-generation's socioeconomic achievement, namely, the neighborhood: its class and ethnic composition, level of social cohesion with the expected and frowned-upon or punished-by-ostracism behaviors, and its segregation from the outside world.

The other factors which impact immigrants' American-born children's socioeconomic accomplishments include the following. First is race, with its enabling or hindering social implications and, especially, disparaging representations of the capabilities of minority groups in the media (with no counterbalance in the family and peer group), tracking at schools and in employment. As reported by studies of second-generation Americans, racial obstacles in individual performance tend to affect more men than women, because the (non-white) former are perceived as a greater threat by the members and institutions of the dominant society than are the latter. Second, representations and practice of gender relations at home, school, and in the neighborhood evidently affect young people's performance (as we have seen, more effectively socialized into following the rules and spending more time at home, American-born females tend to do better at school than do their male counterparts and, perceived as more acquiescent than men, they often have an easier time finding employment). The situation in the local labor market, its structure, and dynamism is of course important as are the institutionalized race and gender barriers to occupational advancement on the one hand, and, on the other, the importance of in-group, informal social networks in recruitment and promotion. Last but not least is the individual agency of members of the second-generation: their life-orientations, human capital, and aspirations—obviously shaped by the above factors but also capable of "innovations" which either advance or hinder the opportunities provided by these circumstances.

Some calculable measures of immigrants' American-born children's assimilation, reported for large minority populations rather than for particular groups, should be noted before we move on to the examination of the general modes of their sociocultural incorporation into American society. The first one is spatial assimilation or the mixing of dominant native-born white American and ethnic populations inhabiting the same residential areas. A recent study of this issue has reported that "[i]n support of spatial assimilation, we find that the foreign-born Hispanics, Asians, and blacks are more segregated from U.S.-born non-Hispanic whites than are the U.S.-born of those groups" (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008: 9). As in the case of the second-generation's educational and occupational achievement, and primarily due to immigrants' American-born children's personal/family financial resources, and racial attitudes and practices of native whites, the progress of this spatial assimilation has been distinctly uneven across groups. Levels of residential segregation from non-Hispanic whites have been systematically lower for Asians than for Hispanics and blacks.

Second-generation Americans' linguistic proficiency is the other noteworthy measure of their assimilation. Rather than the knowledge of English which by and large all of them have—clearly an evidence of linguistic assimilation in comparison with their immigrant parents—it is, according to students of this aspect of immigrants' and their children's integration into the host society, bilingualism that varies by age and gender. The available data on immigrants' American-born children 5–18 years of age indicate that while 95 percent of them are "English-adept," nearly 70 percent also speak another language. This high proportion of young bilinguals is likely to diminish as they leave their parental homes and go on to live in English-speaking milieus in their own families, friendship circles, and at work. Young women are more likely to be bilingual and to retain this capacity longer through life than men primarily, as reports indicate, because they spend more time at home with their parents who speak there their native tongue, and because they are socialized by their parents as the primary carriers of their ethnic (country of origin) traditions. There are, however, large intergroup differences in young second-generation bilingualism which is reported for 90 percent of Hispanic-origin Americans as compared with less than 70 percent of Asian-origin immigrants children (Lopez and Estrada 2007: 237–39).

Second-generation intermarriage rates indicate a similar tendency: they are higher than in the immigrant generation but differ widely across groups in the American-born population. In comparison with 11.5 percent among immigrants, the rate of out-marrying among the second-generation was estimated in the year 2000 at 26 percent or more than double the figure for the foreign-born. As with bilingualism, however, the proportions of American-born children of Hispanic, Asian, black, and white immigrants marrying out of their large groupings vary from 34 percent (Asians) and 32 percent (Hispanics), to 12 percent (blacks) and the lowest—9 percent (whites). (Information from Perlmann and Waters 2007: 116.) Interestingly, gender differences in exogamous marriages also vary from group to group, even within large regional (Asians, Hispanics) categories (see Shinagawa and Pang 1996; Lee and Fernandez 1998; Perlmann and Waters 2004; Morgan 2009; Min and Kim forthcoming).

Finally, reported in practically all studies of immigrants' American-born children have been disagreements and—varying in frequency and intensity depending on the families' socioeconomic position and the strength of traditionalist worldviews of the immigrant generation—open conflicts of second-generation youth with their parents. These confrontations usually involve the scope of children's independence in different areas of life, and, closely related, the "Americanization" of their lifestyles as displayed in consumer and entertainment habits. Reflecting the nationwide American trend, second-generation young men and women display more egalitarian attitudes and practices regarding gender roles and expectations in comparison with the immigrants—another issue which is the subject of frequently reported tensions in their families, especially between daughters and their parents.

We now review the dominant modes of sociocultural assimilation among the American-born offspring of immigrants. Although their assimilation follows diverse paths, immigrants' American-born children are generally, in the words of Miri Song, "much more invested in the wider society" than their parents or, differently put, in practically all dimensions of their assimilation process the American component is either dominant or substantially larger than in the lives of the immigrant generation (Song 2003: 105; on the most elaborated argument of the progressive course of intergenerational assimilation, see Alba and Nee 2003). And the ethnic component: Indian, Mexican, Jamaican, etc., has primarily local or American connotations rather than, as in the immigrant generation, reference to home-country. Still, common to most second-generation Americans, although felt with different intensities and not as painful to some as to others depending on their class, race, and gender positions and the specific patterns of their assimilation, has been "the feeling of not completely belonging to either an immigrant world or an American world" (Butterfield 2004: 300).

The major assimilation trajectories of second-generation Americans resemble those of their foreign-born parents discussed in Chapter 4, but each mode is more diversified and followed by different proportions of immigrants and their second-generation children. The mainstream assimilation pattern among the latter covers the entire spectrum of the middle-class, from its upper- through middle-, to lower- and underclass socioeconomic strata. Both ends, upward (middle- and upper-class) and downward (underclass), of the mainstream assimilation trajectories are significantly more common among American-born immigrants' children than among the first-generation, and so is the mainstream lower- (or working-)class assimilation pattern by and large absent among the immigrants. The ethnic-path assimilation trajectory is much more typical for immigrants than for the second generation, but in the case of the latter it involves more varieties, including middle-, lower-, and "outcast" patterns. Much more commonly than in the immigrant generation, too, their American-born children's assimilation patterns combine elements of different general trajectories. The most frequent combination of this kind is mainstream middle- or lower-class with more or less intense ethnic engagements, ranging from encompassing ethnic participation to symbolic ethnicity of the optional variety.

Second-generation Americans who follow the upward (middle- and upper-middle class) mainstream assimilation trajectory commonly display bicultural practices and orientations with the primacy of American components, such as a strong preference for the English language combined with some familiarity with their parents' native language. These are more prominent when the children are young and live in their parents' home and tend to diminish—more so among men than women—as they grow older, enter mainstream American employment and if they intermarry, and include: hyphenated identities (or, less common, all-American ones); regular participation in American popular culture and occasional involvement in (pan)ethnic-group informal and some organized activities; often an interest in the high culture (music, theater, film) of the country/region their parents came from; "fused" American/national origin values of hard work and educational (and later professional) achievement; and aspirations to—or in the case of the adult population, realization of—(upper-)middle-class economic and professional status. They also have mixed, "simply" American and ethnic or, less commonly, exclusively all-American friends. Depending on the situations they find themselves in, immigrants' children assimilating in the middle-to-upper class mainstream pattern can "switch codes" from all-American to ethnic ways of speech, behavior, even opinions and interests much more easily than their immigrant parents.

The lower-class mainstream mode of assimilation represents the next common pattern of the immigrants' children's integration into American society. The second generation in this group have significantly lower levels of education than their middle-/upper-class counterparts, and, as adults, hold low-paying, low-status jobs. Like their peers occupying higher socioeconomic positions, however, lower-class second-generation Americans share a strong preference for communicating in the English language, but they often surpass their middle-to-upper class counterparts in their commitment to the American mass-level popular culture of their age groups. Unlike the former, they have little interest in the (high) culture of their immigrant parents' home-country. While they are adept in their parents' native language at a young age, they quickly lose it—men more rapidly than women—when they come of age unless they remain in the immigrant/ethnic economic and social niches. The composition of social relations of the two groups also differs: whereas both report ethnically mixed friends, the lower-class young men and women's acquaintances are predominantly second-generation peers from other ethnic groups. Another difference concerns second-generation identities: although a majority in both groups declare bicultural identity, considerably larger proportions of immigrants' children, reportedly more boys than girls, who assimilate in mainstream lower-class pattern seem to perceive themselves either simply as "American" or in panethnic terms (as Hispanic or Asian Americans). Like their middle-and-upper-class counterparts, however, they are adept at switching codes between the lower-class panethnic and American speech modes and behaviors, although in contrast to middle-to-upper-class second-generation Americans they tend to do it collectively and occasionally use physical violence to record their protest.

The downward mainstream assimilation trajectory, although followed by a minority of American-born children of immigrants, has been common enough to attract considerable research attention among sociologists of immigration and ethnicity.[4] Indeed, this trajectory has been more prevalent among the American-born than the immigrant generation. It involves sharing a low level of education, permanent un(der)employment deriving from entrapment in the secondary sector of the bifurcated postindustrial economy, and the impoverished living conditions resulting from this situation; social activities and identification with native-born, usually black, residents of postindustrial urban ghettos and their "culture of poverty" orientations reflected in fatalism and the presentist life-philosophy which, as immigrants' children who develop this attitude learn from their peers and, over time, from their own experience, bring mainly frustration and disappointment. Immigrants' American-born offspring who assimilate along the downward mainstream trajectory—men are considerably more numerous in this population than women—are fluent in (lower-class) English, which is usually their only language of communication (although they may have some rudimentary knowledge of their parents' native language which helps them understand the immigrants), and equally "fluent" in the American popular culture of their peer groups. Reflecting their primary social associations and reference groups, second-generation immigrants' children following the mainstream downward path of assimilation tend to identify simply as "blacks." They are basically unfamiliar with and largely uninterested in their national-origin cultures.

The ethnic-path or ethnic-adhesive pattern of assimilation has been, as already noted, less common in the American-born than the foreign-born generation. To be more precise, it has been less common among immigrants' children in its "holistic" form whereby the person's ethnic existence stretches in an encompassing canopy from home, social relations, and neighborhood, to workplace, but quite common in combination with elements of middle- and lower-class mainstream integration patterns. In comparison with second-generation Americans' assimilating in mainstream modes, however, the ethnic component in the identities, cultural traditions, and social relations of immigrants' children whose integration evolves along the ethnic-path trajectories has been more intense and more encompassing.

Immigrants' American-born offspring whose assimilation evolves along the middle-class variety of ethnic-path trajectory tend to locate their occupational aspirations and images of a successful life in mainstream American society rather than in the ethnic niches (if they consider them at all, it is primarily as a safety net to fall back on in case their expectations of mainstream occupational careers are not realized). They are bilingual, and both with family and friends and at ethnic social occasions they speak—often with an English accent and, young men more often than women, with limited vocabulary—their parental language. Like their peers assimilating in the mainstream mode, however, they prefer to communicate in English.

They are committed to bicultural identities wherein the American component is strong but less pronounced than in the mainstream group and the ethnic one is deeper and more encompassing, especially in the case of second-generation women who, as already noted, are more intensely, and apparently effectively, socialized by their parents as the carriers of the family/group ethnic traditions. They also maintain regular ethnic informal social relations and activities—again and for the same, above-noted reasons, women more so than men—with extended family members and other second-generation Americans who form their primary (though not exclusive) social circles. They actively participate, too, in different forms of ethnic entertainment. Participation in ethnic associations and organized (except religious) communal events appears to be the least attractive aspect of ethnic activities among American-born immigrants' children who assimilate in the ethnic-path pattern, especially as they grow up.

In comparison, the lower-class ethnic-path assimilation trajectory has been followed by second-generation men and women who live in large residential concentrations of fellow ethnics, foreign- and American-born who share low socioeconomic positions. Like their lower-class mainstream counterparts, American-born children of immigrants who assimilate in the lower-class ethnic-path fashion often do not complete their education and, when they reach adulthood, hold low-paying, low-status jobs, but, in contrast with the former, they often work with their fellow-ethnics. They are familiar with English but in their everyday lives equally, if not more often, use their parents' language—like their middle-class peers, women tend to be more fluent and to use it more often than men. Their identities are bicultural but with the primacy of those of their parents or/and panethnic.

Least common in this category—and absent among immigrants—is a downward (outcast) variant of the ethnic-path assimilation trajectory among American-born children of immigrants represented by youth gangs composed of male (predominant) and female lower- and underclass members of ethnic/racial minorities. Formed in immigrant neighborhoods in response to the multiple marginality of their young members vis-à-vis the mainstream American society and the dominant culture of their ethnic communities, these gangs have been the ethnicized version of mainstream American street gangs. Their members communicate in their parents' language, identify in ethnic and sometimes also panethnic terms, and confine their social relations to their own group.

We now consider second-generation Americans' transnational engagements. As reported in empirical studies of this issue, transnationalism of immigrants' American-born children displays three general tendencies. In comparison with the activities of the immigrants, the second generation's transnational connections are significantly less intense, more limited in scope, and more situational. They do not disappear, however, and, more importantly, they vary considerably across differently positioned second-generation groups, although women tend to display stronger and more enduring, if not unproblematic, transnational commitments than do men. (This and the following information about general features of transnational engagements of immigrants' American-born children has been compiled from Jones-Correa 1998; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Levitt and Waters 2002; Rumbaut 2002; Smith 2002; Landolt and Haller 2005; Perlmann 2005.)

Studies that address this issue permit the identification of the particular circumstances that influence the form and frequency of involvements of second-generation young Americans in the home-countries of their immigrant parents. They include parents' socioeconomic position and intensity of transnational connections plus parental expectations and/or pressure on children to sustain these ties; intergenerational consensus or conflict at home, expectations and role models of children's peer groups serving as their reference frameworks; and, both shaped by and actively responding to the above, second-generation members' personal interests and attachments. The endurance of these transnational involvements into immigrants' American-born offspring's adult lives depends primarily on their economic advancement opportunities in the United States and, related, available financial resources. It also depends on gender, and, specifically, the division of (emotional and social) labor regarding the preservation of home-country traditions which assigns this role to women more than men; and, in the case of members of racial minorities, prejudice and discrimination on the part of mainstream Americans; second-generation members' life-cycle; the practice and normative expectations in this matter in the community they live in and their primary social circles. (A jazz musician second-generation son of my Ukrainian friends in New York explains his publicly displayed ethnic identity by pointing out that "everybody is from somewhere in the world I move in".) Further, it depends on economic investment or professional engagement in the community/region of national origin.

The main forms of transnational engagements among second-generation Americans who assimilate in mainstream as compared with ethnic-path modes are identified below. The primary focus of this discussion is on the people who do maintain some, even sporadic, connections with their parents' homelands.

Transnational involvements of immigrants' American-born children who assimilate along the mainstream paths are generally less regular and intense than the activities of their peers whose process of integration evolves in the ethnic-path modes. The most common form of transnational involvement among second-generation young men and women who assimilate along the mainstream upward trajectory and who maintain contacts with their parents' home country have been cultural activities: "imported" entertainment (music, videos) and occasional visits to the national-origin country, usually for short vacations or to participate in cultural-educational programs. Studies also report maintenance by immigrants' native-born American offspring—women more often than men—of occasional transnational contacts (holidays, birthdays) with their kin as well as situational engagements, particularly by the offspring of political refugees, in transnational politics on behalf of their national-origin countries. Reported, too, have been preferences for their parents' home countries/regions among adult second-generation professionals who undertake employment abroad and among businessmen (rather than women) who consider economic investments outside of the United States.

For the majority of upwardly mobile mainstream middle-to-upper-class second-generation members who maintain transnational engagements these connections and activities are ultimately a matter of choice, although for women, to the extent that they internalize parental expectations to act as the main links to their country-of-origin people and traditions, maintaining these connections also involves a sense of obligation. And the performance of this obligation, especially visits in their parents' home-country, for American-born women often involves an unpleasant experience of vocal disapproval by family members there of the visitors' non-conformance with the accepted (traditional) norms of proper behavior for women. American-born men are confronted with such native disapprobation much less often.

For a minority of American-born children of immigrants in the middle-to-upper-class group who are confronted with prejudice and exclusionary practices on the part of the dominant society, their transnational involvements perform an important social-psychological function. "Oppositional transnationalism" has been represented most distinctly among American-born children of upwardly mobile immigrants whose skin color puts them on the "wrong" side of the American racial dichotomy and threatens their integration into mainstream middle-class American society. The intensified national-origin identities and cultural reference frameworks that weaken American ones reported in these second-generation groups serve, as in the case of their immigrant parents (and probably following their coping strategies), as an escape or a means of preserving self-esteem and social status.

In comparison, transnational participation of immigrants' children in a mainstream lower-class assimilation trajectory group has involved more frequent visits to national-origin communities for vacations, family occasions, and local religious and cultural rituals and celebrations, as well as transnational friendships and, among young adults, management of (often inherited) parental houses in the immigrants' hometowns or villages. Like their middle-to-upper-class counterparts, American-born girls in this group have been reported frequently to experience on such occasions a "cultural shock" at much more rigid gender divisions and more restrictive role prescriptions for women in their parents' home countries in comparison with the United States, and a disapprobation by the natives there of their own comportment viewed as inappropriate for their gender.

Native-born young American children of immigrants in the mainstream lower-class assimilation category have also been reported to participate in organized religious and charity groups in their parents' native communities, but to withdraw from this organized form of transnational activity as they enter adulthood and assume work and family responsibilities. In comparison with their middle/upper-class peers in the mainstream assimilation pattern whose transnational interests (in culture, history, visiting tours, educational programs, economic investment, professional exchange) are usually broader in scope, involving the entire country/region of their parents' origin, those of the lower-class immigrants' children who closely follow the connections of their back-and-forth traveling parents, have been primarily local. Like members of the immigrant generation assimilating in mainstream downward pattern, second-generation Americans who follow this path generally do not maintain any transnational connections, primarily because of the lack of financial resources, but also because of the absence or ineffectiveness of parental pressure on children's retention of old-country cultures, and no expectations from the second-generation's peer reference groups to display such interests. Minimal transnational activities, if they exist, are sometimes displayed by young American-born girls who maintain occasional contacts with families abroad "to please their parents."

In the ethnic-path assimilation category, American-born children of immigrants who assimilate in the middle-class pattern most commonly sustain plural transnational involvements, significantly more intense during their childhood and youth, but often, especially among women as the expected carriers of family and group traditions who often identify with this role, lasting, if in a weakened form, into adulthood. These engagements include, especially, social contacts through phone calls and visits in their parents' home country (where young women experience the already-noted alienating discomfort of having their American-style behavior judged as "improper") and organized and informal cultural participation by following news, cultural events, and educational programs there. Among members of the second generation in this group, transnational political involvements, such as participation in special actions on behalf of or against particular happenings in their parents' native land, are situational, and, if they take place, involve adult American-borns.

Transnational involvements of second-generation Americans who assimilate in the lower-class ethnic-path mode tend to be more regular and intense than those of their mainstream counterparts, primarily because maintaining such connections is additionally motivated by similar behavior of fellow ethnics in their primary circles, neighborhood, and at work. Like those of the mainstream lower-class members of the second generation, however, and for similar reasons, these transnational engagements have been primarily local in character. A minority of immigrants' American-born children who assimilate in this pattern have been reported to involve in an "outcast" kind of transnational activities which has no parallel among their foreign-born parents. These activities involve youth gangs, primarily composed of men, whose members transplant their dress, music, and ways of behavior to their parents' home-country communities during their visits there for shorter and longer sojourns either with their parents or on their own. In contrast to transnational gangs of American-born immigrants' children whose search for companionship and respect denied them by mainstream American society is directed toward their parents' home-country towns and villages, their domestic counterparts, although residentially located in the ethnic neighborhoods, while seeking similar rewards reject these communities and do not maintain transnational connections.

Second-generation modes of assimilation and transnational involvements: Empirical cases

In this section we consider the assimilation trajectories and forms of transnational involvements of the American-born generation in five of the eight immigrant groups examined earlier in this volume: second-generation Korean Americans in Los Angeles, Asian Indians in major metropolitan centers, Mexican Americans in the Southwest, New York Jamaican Americans, and Russian Jewish Americans in Philadelphia who are compared with their counterparts in New York. I have made a special effort to find as much information as possible about children of the particular subgroups of immigrants examined in this volume. Since the information about American-born offspring in general tends to be "gappy," however, mainly because more systematic sociological research on the immigrants' American-born children has begun only recently, the evidence presented here cannot be systematically compared across all the examined second-generation groups.

We begin with American-born offspring of Korean shopkeepers in Los Angeles whose assimilation trajectory represents the most radical departure from the integration pattern of their immigrant parents among all groups considered here. (Information about this group has been compiled from Lee and Fernandez 1998; Min 1998; Min and Kim 1999, forthcoming; Min and Hong 2002; Kibria 2002a, 2002b, 2002c; Min 2006; Sakamoto and Xie 2006.) As the available studies indicate, the majority of more than 200,000 offspring of immigrant owners of small family firms in Los Angeles, young men and women alike, assimilate in the mainstream upward mode combined with symbolic ethnicity. Alternately called a "model minority" and "Jews of the East," second-generation children of Korean shopkeepers represent a textbook case of new Americans for whom parental resources serve as the means to leave the ethnic enclave and integrate—not without hurdles—into mainstream society.

Both the educational attainment and occupational status of American-born children of Korean immigrant shopkeepers in Los Angeles are slightly higher—about two-thirds have college degrees and a similar proportion hold mainstream professional and managerial occupations—than the respective second-generation figures for the group nationwide (see Table 6.1), probably because particularly strong advancement aspirations of both parents and children give the latter an extra push toward achievement.[5] Whereas in the immigrant generation considerably more men than women hold college degrees, among their

American-born children this proportion is reversed: more women than men are college-educated, although, reflecting the nationwide trend, men have an advantage over women in terms of salaries and occupational advancement. Only 10 percent of the second-generation offspring of Korean shopkeepers are self-employed.

The second-generation Koreans' departure from the parental generation's primordial commitments to their homeland and their pursuits reflecting these attachments has been equally obvious. While the majority declare "fair" or "good" (mainly women) knowledge of Korean, only a minority regularly use this language in communicating with their parents and most admit to a strong preference for English. Most of them identify as Korean Americans and a small minority simply as Americans. Studies of ethnic commitments of second-generation offspring of Korean shopkeepers have called them "thin," implying mostly symbolic affinities with the culture of their parents that are accompanied by a practical preference for ethnic (Korean American) social relations because, as second-generation members explain, the persons involved are familiar with each other's immigrant home atmosphere and parental lifestyles and "one does not have to explain things." The majority of adult middle-class second-generation Korean Americans, with no significant gender difference, move out of their parents' neighborhoods to Los Angeles's ethnically mixed suburbs. Nearly half lists non-Koreans as their "best friends." And close to 40 percent of adult American-born children of Korean shopkeepers marry outside of their ethnic group, commonly to white Americans (unions facilitated by Korean Americans' heavily Christian background), although recently and reflecting a general tendency across Asian groups, in increasing numbers also to other Asian-Americans.

Interestingly, it is second-generation Korean American women who deviate further from their parents' exclusive ethnic (national) commitments than men: they tend to have more non-Korean close friends and they date outside of their group and intermarry considerably more often. In explaining this difference students of this group point to a greater attractiveness of Korean women than men to white Americans on the one hand,[6] and, on the other, immigrants' American-born daughters' greater awareness of and resistance to the patriarchal traditions in the Korean culture as well as in their own families and among Korean Americans in general, in comparison to their brothers. Although immigrant parents treat their sons and daughters more or less equally regarding educational attainment, they view the latter's primary role as cultivated wives and good mothers subordinate to the men, an ascription to which young women object and often express their resistance by opting for non-Korean friends, dates, and husbands.

Several superimposed circumstances have been responsible for the mainstream upward, with symbolic ethnicity, mode of assimilation among American-born children of Los Angeles Korean shopkeepers. They have included, starting with the micro-environment, parental expectations of discipline in learning and the future socioeconomic success of their children in mainstream American society which are reinforced by similar norms in the peer group and larger ethnic community. Immigrant parents' perception of their position as petty shopkeepers as a temporary occupation "of necessity" has motivated them not only to socialize their children to pursue much higher aspirations, but also to invest money in their education in good-quality schools, including after-school institutions, so-called *hagwon*, transplanted from the old country that prepare children and adolescents for exams at their respective educational levels. Replicated in other Korean homes and at *hagwons*, these parental expectations become strongly internalized by the second generation making them work very hard at their education and subsequent professional careers. In the next step, and importantly, the expanding global economy of Los Angeles has supplied primary-sector jobs for highly skilled and ambitious Korean Americans.

Their "thin" ethnic commitments reflect, on the one hand, a rejection of their parents' understanding of national membership as an inescapable, given-for-life "blood tie" requiring an unequivocal commitment which immigrants try to inculcate into their children in an authoritarian fashion. On the other hand, these perfunctory commitments reflect second-generation Korean Americans' attempts to cope "by negation" with racial/ethnic stereotyping and incidents of discrimination. This negation has not been without ambivalence however. By opting for primarily mainstream middle-class American lifestyles, Korean Americans hope to escape a pejorative stereotype of "Korean" which in the Los Angeles area is commonly associated with an impolite "shopkeeper" speaking incomprehensible "pigeon English." At the same time, though, they appreciate the image of Asians in general and their group in it as a model minority which enhances their collective self-esteem and facilitates their dealings with mainstream American institutions and members of the dominant (white) groups. The situation is further complicated in the case of second-generation women who are subject to a stereotype of Asian women as "docile," which can be detrimental at work in matters of job assignments, salary increase, and promotion.

Considering their mainly symbolic ethnic commitments at home (in America), the transnational engagements of American-born children of Los Angeles Korean shopkeepers have been, expectedly, primarily situational. They mainly involve occasional trips to their parents' homeland which, according to these visitors' relations, offer them a sense of enjoyment and cultural affinity, but at the same time reinforce their sense of difference and "empirically" undermine their parents' claim about the primordial or inborn nature of national (here, Korean) identity. As young Korean American men and women recalled their visits: "The natives looked down on us because a lot of us couldn't speak [good] Korean" and "Ever since that trip, I never think of myself as Korean; I am of Korean descent, but not Korean. Koreans are really shocked by people like me, Americanized Koreans who don't speak [fluent] Korean" (Kibria 2002c: 305–06). Korean American women, in particular, have been subject to the already-noted derision on the part of the natives for behavior seen as unbecoming their gender.

Apparently more successful, or less traumatizing, among middle-class second-generation Korean American students are sojourns at Korean universities devoted to the study of Korean history, literature, politics, and economics, and sponsored by the Korean government, which they embark on as, precisely, Americans of Korean background rather than as Koreans. A slight gender difference in these transnational engagements of second-generation Korean Americans as reported in studies has been young women's more intense or more emotional experience of these encounters with their parents' homeland. Last to note is a small minority of immigrants' American-born children in this group, primarily men, who undertake employment in transnational companies dealing with or based in Korea. To be able to conduct in an informed way bilateral dealings between the United States and their parents' home-country, they often polish their Korean and (re)learn Korean history and culture.

Compared with Korean Americans, the mode of socioeconomic integration of second-generation Asian Indians has not differed much from that of their immigrant parents in our sample. The decided majority in both groups reported university education in the year 2000, and similar proportions, about two-thirds, of immigrants and their (adult) American-born children were employed in professional and higher-level managerial occupations. Like Korean Americans, second-generation Asian Indian women's educational attainment is slightly higher than that of men. (Information about the mode of assimilation and transnational engagements of American-born children of middle-class Asian

Indian immigrants comes from Espiritu 1992; Leonard 1997; Kurien 1998, 2003; Rangaswamy 2000; Khandelwal 2002; Lessinger 2002; Kibria 2002c, 2006; Rudrappa 2002; Alexander 2004; Dhingra 2007; Min and Kim forthcoming.)

The interplay of structural and personal circumstances conducive to American-born Asian Indians' upward mainstream mode of socioeconomic integration has involved the following major factors: the already-noted elevated class position and human capital of their parents which guaranteed sufficient financial resources to send the children to good schools on the one hand, and, on the other, family socialization of sons and daughters into a discipline of learning, a strong "achievement drive," and a sense of self-worth founded on these action-guiding life-orientations. The continued demand for highly skilled workers in the postindustrial economies of the large cities where most second-generation Asian Indians live has been another important factor contributing to their socioeconomic success which has been additionally facilitated by the fact that they reportedly often choose sought-after occupational specializations pursued by their parents. American-born Asian Indians' educational and occupational capital and the symbolic resources acquired at home and re-created in contacts with the second-generation's ethnic (and other Asian) peers in the same socioeconomic position have helped to offset the negative effects of racial prejudice directed—not constantly but frequently enough to be a feature of their everyday lives—against American-born Asian Indians.

Second-generation Asian Indians' sociocultural assimilation has evolved along the combined middle-class mainstream and ethnic-path trajectory. Unlike the integration of Korean Americans, however, rather than mainly symbolic or "thin," the ethnic component in the assimilation of American-born Asian Indians has been more encompassing and more intense, although women are reportedly more eager than men to display it in public (see below). At the same time, it has been smaller in scope and weaker and, importantly, with different "contents" than in the generation of their foreign-born parents. If the prevalent bicultural identities of the immigrant generation have consisted of dominant Indian and subsidiary American components, in their children's self-perceptions these proportions are reversed: they see themselves as Americans of Indian descent. Most of them have ethnically mixed friends. Commonly, too, second-generation American Indians also, parallel to their self-perceptions as Americans of Indian descent, identify themselves in panethnic terms as South Asians—an identification without a parallel in the immigrant generation.

Although they see themselves primarily as Americans, their Indian descent and South Asian identity are a "palpable reality" for second-generation Asian Indians (Khandelwal 2002: 151). Preoccupied with establishing themselves in the new country their parents' social contacts with other Asian Indians have been, as we saw earlier, informal rather than sustained through participation in formal associations. Second-generation middle-class Americans of Indian descent, men and women alike, involve themselves in organized ethnic and panethnic activities, including college student associations, *desi* (South Asian) cultural activities such as music, film, and literature, and later in life South Asian professional associations. In addition to providing enjoyment and a sense of togetherness, these memberships also serve to compensate for experiences of racial othering on the part of white Americans. It is of interest to note in this context that second-generation Indian Americans have been reported to publicly emphasize their religious (Hindu) affiliation to deflect the attention from their race and prevent in this way their association with other racial minorities, especially blacks and Latinos (Prashad 2000). Besides offering a forum for worship, the reportedly intensified religious affiliation among the second generation performs functions of drawing group boundaries and fostering ethnic—American Indian—bonds (Kurien 1998). It is women, however, who more often than men display in public the emblems of their Indianness such as saris and other items of South Asian personal décor—according to reports increasingly carrying a positive connotation among second-generation as "Indo-Chic"—while young men tend to avoid wearing turbans and dhotis out of concern for being negatively "othered" by native-born Americans, possibly as "Muslim terrorists."

Second-generation Asian Indians' rate of intermarriage has been considerably lower than that of Korean Americans: about 20 percent, reflecting stronger family ties and ethnic (also non-Christian religious) attachments among the former. The gender proportions in exogamous marriages among native-born American children of Asian Indian immigrants have been the reverse of the general trend among immigrants' offspring in that men out-marry much more often (28 percent) than do women (10 percent). At least three factors have been responsible for this Asian Indian specificity: fewer restrictions are placed on Asian Indian men than on women regarding their roles in the physical and symbolic preservation of the people and their traditions; many upper-class immigrant Asian Indian parents continue the practice of arranged marriages for their daughters; and in South Asian societies foreign women marrying into the family are expected to "convert" to their husbands' culture, while native women who out-marry are lost to the group/nation (Lessinger 1995; Khandelwal 2002; Min and Kim forthcoming; I also thank Nazli Kibria for her suggestions regarding this issue).

American-born Asian Indians' continued identification with their Indian origins does not mean there are no intergenerational conflicts in the families. They usually concern the already-mentioned issues of disagreement between immigrant parents and their children: the latter's disobedience to parental authority and, especially, their independence and American lifestyles, and the scope of their involvement in the Indian culture. These conflicts concern the conduct of young women much more than that of their brothers: the way they dress, what time they come home, what they read and watch on TV, whom they associate with, and whom they date. While it may reflect greater attention to the issue in the available studies, Asian Indian immigrants parents seem to control—or to try to control—their daughters more than their Korean counterparts do; if indeed they do so it is probably for the reasons noted in the context of gender differences in this group regarding intermarriage. American-born Asian Indian women have been reported to "note unfavourably the yawning gap in Indian traditions in the treatment of women and men" (Khandelwal 2002: 164) and to vocally protest their parents' unequal treatment of sons and daughters. If their middle-class immigrant mothers have already gained a place in the public sphere through gainful employment, the daughters, taking for granted their professional careers, have been actively contesting the traditional gender roles in the home. I was unable, however, to find any information about the attitudes in these matters of the second-generation young men without whose participation in sharing these responsibilities American-born Asian Indian women's protests will not bring about a transformation in everyday practice.

Considerably less encompassing and intense than those of their immigrant parents, second-generation Asian Indians have nevertheless maintained transnational ties with India. These connections involved occasional visits there with their parents when they were young—an experience they found enjoyable but which, as in the case of Korean Americans, enhanced their American identities, and, among young women, the sense of disparity between their home (America) and parental countries regarding gender roles and expectations. Like Korean Americans, too, in adolescence they visited India on different cultural and educational programs, and in the United States they have participated in cultural events (films, festivals) brought from that country. Unlike second-generation Korean Americans, however, adult

American-born Asian Indians have been reported frequently to engage in professional collaboration with Indian researchers and scientists, probably because of the "global" occupations many of them undertake and perhaps also because of their greater interest in the parental homeland compared with Korean Americans. Several studies of second-generation middle-class Asian Indians note—an observation without an equivalent in reports on American-born Koreans' identities and commitments—an increase in their interest in India and pride in their Indian background as they grow up.

I have identified two major circumstances responsible for the persistence of a solid ethnic component in second-generation Asian Indians' sociocultural assimilation and their enduring transnational involvements—factors which also account for a difference with American Koreans. First, despite their darker skins, middle-class Asian Indians are accepted, more so than Koreans, by members of the dominant white American society, because of their recognized professional positions in prestigious specialities, and, in contrast to an ambiguous (if any) representation of Korea, because of the positive image of India and Indian high culture in the circles they move in. No negative stereotypes of Asian Indians exist in American popular culture comparable to those of "rude" Korean "shopkeepers" with their incomprehensible English. And second, the Indian diaspora tradition, transmitted by immigrant parents to their American-born children not only as their group's age-sanctioned and "natural" condition but also as a source of pride in the multi-perspective wisdom and useful connections it carries, and sharply contrasting with the Korean notion of an exclusive national commitment incomprehensible to the second generation, sanctions or even encourages active biculturalism.

The next group to consider are children of Mexican immigrants in the American Southwest—about 70 percent of the entire, 6 million-strong population of second-generation Mexican Americans. Like their parents', their assimilation evolves along the lower-class ethnic-path trajectory, but its fabric and working are different and so are its reconstituting circumstances. As we have seen, American-born Mexicans display more favorable socioeconomic characteristics than their immigrant parents. In the year 2000, two-thirds of them were high school graduates (in comparison with less than 40 percent in the foreign-born generation) and 13 percent (vs. 4 percent) held college degrees, with young Mexican-American women performing somewhat better on these measures than young men. And 18 percent (as compared with 5 percent among immigrants) were employed in professional and managerial occupations. At the same time, the children of Mexican immigrants lag notably behind most other second-generation Americans groups in educational attainment and occupational mobility. In our sample the proportion of college-educated second-generation Mexicans is three-and-a-half times lower than the average for all groups combined, and less than half of the average figure for those holding upper-level white-collar jobs.

A constellation of unfavorable circumstances has been responsible for second-generation Mexicans' poor socioeconomic performance. The limited economic and cultural resources of their parental homes and a weak in-group support infrastructure for educational achievement (as compared, e.g., to those of Korean Americans) translate into poor-quality schooling and residential segregation from native-born (non-Mexican) Americans. The resulting low-level personal capital of immigrants' children, combined with racial discrimination against Mexican-Americans on the part of the dominant institutions and (non-Hispanic) native whites who perceive them as inferior, and with the continued supply of low-wage service and blue-collar jobs in the postindustrial economy in the Southwest, channel most second-generation young Mexicans, men and women alike, into secondary-sector employment where almost one-third of them remain more or less permanently underemployed. (This and the following information about second-generation Mexicans' assimilation and transnational involvements has been compiled from Fernandez-Kelly 1998; Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Rumbaut 2002; Stanton-Salazar 2002; Bean and Stevens 2003; Gonzalez-Lopez 2003; Thorne et al. 2003; Itzigsohn 2004; Perlmann and Waters 2004, 2007; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Levitt and Waters 2005; Perlmann 2005; Rumbaut 2005; Telles and Ortiz 2008.)

The dominant mode of sociocultural assimilation among American-born children of Mexican immigrants in the Southwest has been the ethnic-path trajectory with three subvarieties: the lower-class ethnic adhesive pattern, panethnic mode, and in-group downward track, each of which is resilient in its own way and with varying intensity. Regardless of the particular mode of their ethnic-path assimilation, the predominant majority, nearly 90 percent, of second-generation Mexicans are "actively" bilingual, that is, use Spanish in their everyday communication, with women reported to be more fluently bilingual than men; like their peers in other groups, however, nearly three-quarters, men and women alike, prefer to speak English. Their identification as Mexican or Hispanic/Latino is a large and integral component of their self-perceptions. Most of them declare that their friends come from the same ethnic group, often in the foreign-born generation. Most of them, too, marry within their own group. The average intermarriage rate of American-born Mexicans in the Southwest was estimated at about 15 percent in 2000[7] with young men marrying outside of their group more often than young women—a gender difference explained by girls being less rebellious than boys and more attached to their families and their traditions. As in other second-generation groups frequent conflicts between immigrant parents and their American-born offspring involve children's increased independence, especially regarding sexual conduct and the endangered virginity—the *capital femenino*—of young girls, and their Americanized lifestyles. Unlike other groups considered here, however, and with varying frequency depending on the subvariety of American-born Mexicans' assimilation, the contentious issues in their families also concern the second-generation youth dropping out of school, taking drugs, engaging in street crime, and young women's underage pregnancy. Last and important, a majority of second-generation Mexicans in the Southwest have been reported to admit to having personally experienced racial discrimination on the part of the dominant society.

The four main circumstances responsible for the dominant ethnic-path mode of sociocultural assimilation among American-born Mexicans include their unusually large numbers and residential concentration, continued intense contact with foreign-born Mexicans in practically all areas of everyday life, persistent racial exclusion on the part of the dominant society, and structurally blocked opportunities of economic advancement.

The most common pattern, lower-class ethnic-path integration of the second generation, involves Mexican-American identity, fluency in and preference for English combined with regular use of Spanish at home and often with friends, especially those foreign-born, the symbolic location of "home" in America, and—in part voluntary and in part imposed by the demographic, economic, and civic (racial exclusion) circumstances of their lives—social and cultural immersion in the Mexican American community through residence, school and later work, social relations, and entertainment. This integration trajectory has been reportedly followed by proportionately more second-generation women than men. The second variety of Mexican Americans' ethnic-path assimilation is represented by a panethnic identity such as Latino(-a), Hispanic, or Chicano,[8] and involves primary social association with members of different Hispanic groups and participation in panethnic institutions (churches, social service agencies) and media.

The panethnic assimilation pattern also involves political action on behalf of the Hispanic population and, especially, on anti-immigration legislation. As in the case of the Mexican-American ethnic-path trajectory (and other groups we examined that assimilate in this mode), immigrants' children, men and women who integrate in a panethnic pattern, consider America to be their home, and their Hispanic (Latino, Chicano) identification is inseparable from the other, American component of the hyphenated identity. Interestingly, members of the second generation who view themselves as Mexican-American and follow the ethnic-path assimilation trajectory have been reported situationally to assume panethnic identities and to participate in civic actions.

The in-group downward trajectory has been the third subvariety of ethnic-path assimilation among American-born children of Mexican immigrants. It has been represented by domestic and transnational youth gangs (*cholos*) in ethnic Mexican settlements, composed of second-generation immigrants' offspring, men more commonly than women. These Spanish-speaking youth gangs in Mexican neighborhoods represent an ethnicized version of their mainstream equivalent in American underclass ghettos, with the American influence filtered through a long tradition going back to the 1940s of "native" Mexican gangs, the style, spirit, and networks of which are still viable. Drug use is common as is a high incidence of young men's incarceration and young women's underage pregnancies. Un(der)employed parents and homes with frequently absent parent(s) who spend part of the year in Mexico, poor schooling—this group has an unusually high proportion of dropouts—and peer groups that, feeling multiply marginalized, assume the oppositional subculture by rejecting both the mainstream American society and the Mexican community constitute the main factors contributing to this variety of ethnic-path assimilation among second-generation Mexican Americans.

Yet another variety of second-generation ethnic-path integration trajectory may be worth noting here as a potentially ascending trend, although it belongs to the Mexican American population in the Southwest only in its origins. It is the mode I named a "prospective upward" pattern, represented by a small but growing number of better-educated second-generation immigrants' offspring (with no significant gender difference) who with their parents or, when adult, independently move out of Mexican ethnic concentrations into ethnically mixed or all-American neighborhoods, including increasingly common relocations eastward to Midwestern and Northeastern parts of the country where they settle in expectation of socioeconomic upward mobility and closer integration into middle-class mainstream American society. The circumstances contributing to this mode of assimilation among second-generation Mexican Americans include parental homes with higher aspirations for the family in the new country combined with the awareness that residence in segregated all-Mexican settlements reduces the chances of realizing these goals; children's persistence in school, and, on the part of immigrants' offspring themselves, personal ambitions and a sense of "can do" in turning them into reality.

Like other second-generation groups, Mexican immigrants' children in the American Southwest are considerably less involved in transnational activities than the foreign-borns. Nevertheless, with one exception representatives of all varieties of ethnic-path assimilation examined here do sustain some forms of connection with their parents' homeland. The regularity and intensity of these transnational engagements differ depending on second-generation Mexican Americans' stage in the life-cycle. In their childhood and young adolescence most of them, following expectations of (and, if needed, pressure from) their parents and facilitated by the geographic proximity between the two countries, visit Mexico more or less with the frequency of their parents' travels there to see relatives and to participate in village cultural and religious events. They also maintain institutional engagements in Mexico by participating in national (an innovation compared to immigrants' exclusively village involvements) and local group educational and cultural programs in that country. As they advance in age, however, the organized part of American-born Mexicans' transnational involvements diminishes and eventually disappears, but they continue informal connections through phone calls, occasional visits, and remittances sent to relatives. As in other second-generation groups examined here, second-generation Mexican women maintain closer transnational connections than do men and they sustain them longer.

The *cholos* are an exception from this pattern in two ways. In one variety, like immigrants' children in other groups who assimilate in a mainstream downward pattern (e.g., New York Jamaican Americans—see below), second-generation Mexican Americans who form domestic youth gangs in their ethnic communities do not maintain transnational engagements, in part as an opposition to their parents' expectations and in part because they are concerned exclusively with their ethnic existence in America and not in Mexico. In the second variety, members of Mexican-American youth gangs do get involved in their immigrant parents' hometowns and villages, but in a way very much different from customary engagements as practiced by members of the Mexican-American ethnic community. In a typical illustration of such transnational activities specific to youngsters who follow the downward variety of ethnic-path integration, upon his return to the town of national origin of a transnational gang he was studying, a researcher was struck by the ubiquitous signs of *cholismo*: "grafitti on public buildings, houses, and newly paved streets; 'fade' haircuts with gang initials sculpted into the cut; baggy jeans and gang style clothing; and an exclusiveness and reluctance to participate in many of the traditional events of the town" (Smith 2006: 11). This transplantation to the second-generation's countries of origin of ethnic American oppositional culture is an interesting example of host-to-home-country glocalization that deserves further research attention.

Next to consider are American-born children of Jamaican immigrants—about 170,000 of them—in New York. They are not only much better educated than their foreign-born parents (see Table 6.1), but the proportion of college-educated (35 percent) exceeds the nationwide figure for this group (28 percent). More than one-third—second-generation Jamaican-American women significantly more frequently than men—hold mainstream professional and managerial occupations. Next to American-born Cubans, the indicators of second-generation Jamaicans' socioeconomic performance have been the highest in the Latin American/Caribbean population. It has been particularly impressive in comparison with American-born Mexicans in the Southwest among whom the share of the college-educated and the employed in upper-level white-collar occupations has been about half the figures for New York American-born Jamaicans. Three sets of circumstances are responsible for this difference, interesting because both groups face near-ubiquitous racial discrimination. First is a much smaller size of the Jamaican group, its greater residential dispersion—more than 40 percent of the second-generation Jamaican New Yorkers live in ethnically mixed suburbs—and the resulting absence of the institutionally complete local ethnic community. Second are the effects on immigrants' American-born children of their Jamaican parents' more and better economic and cultural resources, especially their greater English proficiency derived from homes; the habituated values of hard work and achievement aspirations successfully inculcated into their offspring by the majority of immigrants and the better schools they attended. And third is the proximity of middle-class role models in the group, among parents and peers of second-generation Jamaicans. (The information about second-generation Jamaicans' assimilation and transnational engagements comes from Waters 1999, 2001; Kasinitz and Vickerman

2001; Kasinitz et al. 2002, 2008; Vickerman 2002, 2007; Lopez 2003; Butterfield 2004; Fernandez-Kelly and Konczal 2005; Mollenkopf et al. 2005; Kasinitz 2008.)

Four different trajectories of sociocultural assimilation among American-born Jamaicans in New York can be distinguished. Three of them—middle-class mainstream combined with ethnic-path elements mode, lower-class parental home-country-oriented ethnic-path pattern, and mainstream downward trajectory—by and large coincide with the types of second-generation New York Jamaicans' identities identified by Mary Waters (1999): ethnic, national origin (Jamaican), and American, respectively. Another, fourth variety, namely, assertively black middle-class path of assimilation indicating American-born Jamaicans' integration into and identification with the upwardly mobile African-American group, resembles the "racial identity" type proposed by Milton Vickerman (2002) but with a distinctly middle-class connotation.

The most common pattern of this group's sociocultural assimilation—followed by about two-thirds of second-generation New Yorkers with no significant gender difference—has been a combination of mainstream upward and middle-class ethnic-path integration. American-born Jamaicans in this group speak native American English (rather than the "island sing-song" English, although they usually know it), and most have ethnically mixed friends. The majority, more than two-thirds, marry within the English-speaking West Indian group, and 5 percent—a lesser number of men than (more acceptable) women—intermarry with whites. Like their immigrant parents, many of them actively follow and some—more than other second-generation groups in the city (Kasinitz et al. 2008)—engage themselves in New York politics on behalf of equal rights and the government's assuring a decent standard of living and social services for all citizens. The identity of the majority of American-born Jamaicans in this group has been ethnic: Jamaican-American with an emphasis on the first component of the hybrid rather than, as in the similarly composed assimilation trajectory of their Asian Indian counterparts, on its American part. The main circumstance responsible for this difference is second-generation Jamaicans' acute perception—much sharper than among middle-class American-born Indians and more closely resembling the situation of Mexicans—of their racial membership as *the* factor which "others" them from the dominant (white) American society and which is the major hindrance to the full realization of their life expectations. Like their parents, American-born Jamaicans in this group tend to distance themselves from native African-Americans by emphasizing their ethnic distinctiveness. They actively participate in the Jamaican cultural life in the New York area through social contacts and ethnic media.

Besides racial identity-cum-alienation that plays a crucial role, the other factors responsible for a typical blend of mainstream upward and middle-class ethnic-path modes of second-generation Jamaicans' assimilation have been their middle-class background in (parental) homes that strongly emphasize the importance of education and occupational achievement combined with pride in their Jamaican cultural heritage, and the location of the group in question in cosmopolitan New York where public displays of ethnic multiculturalism thrive in everyday life, which "normalizes," if not encourages, ethnic identifications and engagements on the part of the residents.

Although their racial membership has been a major factor in ethnicizing the process of assimilation of middle-class second-generation Jamaicans, this "othering" condition is more intensely experienced by young men than women in this group. Dark skin shades attract more racial prejudice and open discrimination in everyday lives of young Jamaican men than women and it is men who resent it most forcefully. As reported in studies, whereas the issue of racism preoccupies young American-born Jamaican men (and other dark-skinned Caribbeans, for that matter), young women who personally experience racial discrimination to a lesser extent than do men tend to focus, instead, on problems of gender equality at home and in the community. Interestingly in this context, second-generation Jamaicans' views about gender roles—39 percent believe that girls should live with their parents before marriage and 64 percent agree that girls are expected not to have sex before marriage (Kasinitz et al. 2008: 208)—place them as more traditional than native whites and blacks, but considerably less traditional than Latin Americans and Asians. Although the cited study provides no data on possible gender differences in these opinions, the fact that large proportions of American-born Jamaicans, presumably including women, believe their parents should apply similar standards in matters of personal (sexual) conduct to daughters as they do to sons suggests tensions in the Jamaican families regarding young women's independence already noted in other groups.

The other three assimilation trajectories have been followed by a minority of American-born New York Jamaicans. One of them, represented by less than 10 percent of immigrants' children, predominantly young men, involves a lower-class socioeconomic position, intense transnational connections (see below), and an island-oriented "pure-Jamaican" identity focused on the ethnic community in America and the parental home-country. It is interpreted as a three-target distancing strategy directed, first, against native blacks whom American Jamaicans perceive as a low-status group; second, against mainstream American society's zero-sum black–white categorization of its residents; and third, against successful middle-class second-generation Jamaicans and their "American airs." The rate of endogamous marriages in this group is considerably higher than among middle-class American-born Jamaicans, about 80 percent, including marriages to Jamaican-born people (immigrants and partners brought over from Jamaica). Somewhat ironically considering this group's conscious focus on Jamaica and the Jamaican dimension of their ethnic lives in New York, the reported intergenerational conflicts in their families primarily concern what immigrant parents perceive as their children's Americanization, apparently internalized unselfconsciously, especially increased materialism and individualism in life-orientations.

The other, downward mainstream integration trajectory, likewise represented by no more than 10 percent of second-generation Jamaicans in New York, has been followed by lower-class immigrants, also predominantly men, who are low-educated, low-skilled, often un(der)employed, who reside in or in close proximity to African-American city ghettos, associate themselves with American blacks and assume mainstream American black identities. These black identities on the part of second-generation Jamaicans are oppositional vis-à-vis both the mainstream middle-class American society and the ethnic Jamaican-American community. Waters (2001: 198) describes the life experience of this group's members: "These teens experience being hassled by police and store owners, being denied jobs, and even being attacked if they venture into white neighbourhoods. The boys adopt black American culture in their schools, wearing flattops, baggy pants, and certain types of jewellery . . . The media also tells these young people that blacks are disvalued by American society." When parents try to impose some rules of good behavior on this youth—the pressure often delivered in the authoritarian way without pointing out the practical gains from the expected behavior—the American-born young people reject these attempts because they do not believe that finishing school and staying away from drugs and street crime will bring them any actual rewards.

Last to note among the American-born New York Jamaicans' minority assimilation patterns is a trajectory involving a middle-class socioeconomic position combined with an African-American (black) identity of an assertive kind (as opposed to the escapist type common among those with pure-ethnic identity). This mode of assimilation might be called mainstream upward minority trajectory, as it represents the enhanced racial association and identity combined with a public commitment to racial equality and justice. Although it has been identified as a mode of assimilation of American Jamaicans, this pattern of integration of minority group members has not yet been properly examined and still awaits research on its contributing factors (social class, gender, values of parental home and peer group, type of education, and role models), duration through the life-cycle, and its effects on second-generation followers' lifetime achievements.

Compared with their assimilation trajectories, New York American-born Jamaicans' transnational engagements resemble more the general features of such involvements among second generation at large rather than those of their immigrant parents. Thus, although ethnic identities of American-born Jamaicans whose assimilation fuses mainstream upward and middle-class ethnic-path trajectories are anchored in their American, and, specifically, New York, lives rather than, as in the case of their parents, in home-country attachments, most of them do maintain some transnational connections with Jamaica. These are expectedly considerably less intense and less regular than the engagements of their immigrant parents, but nevertheless involve multiple activities: different frequency visits (reported by three-quarters of second-generation members), letter writing and phone calls, and, to a much lesser extent, occasional remittances sent to family members in Jamaica by their already-employed American-born kin in New York. As in other second-generation groups and for similar reasons, women tend to engage in these activities more intensely than men.

But American-born Jamaicans, including more transnationally connected women, maintain these ties without the level of commitment shared by the immigrants. As one of them typically explained: "[When] my mother talks Jamaica, she talks about home . . . That's not my home, you know . . . I don't have that passion for it because I wasn't born and raised out there . . . . I like go there. When I go there, it's like a little vacation, but I don't think of it as home" (cited after Vickerman 2002: 350–51).

As reported in studies of this group's transnational involvements, the main factors sustaining their Jamaican connections are parental influence (and sometimes pressure) including home culture that cultivates home-country heritage, Jamaica's geographic proximity combined with quick and easy transportation to and from that country, the second-generation's stage in their life-cycles and, noted already among circumstances sustaining American-born Jamaicans' ethnic identities, the cosmopolitan, "transnational" character of New York. Among second-generation adults, having a co-ethnic spouse has also been reported to correlate positively with their transnational engagements.

In comparison with the most common pattern combining mainstream upward/middle-class ethnic-path assimilation with relatively regular and multiple if diminishing (over the life-cycle) transnational engagements, American-born New York Jamaicans who integrate along a lower-class island-oriented trajectory and who retain "pure Jamaican" identities sustain more intense and enduring social and cultural involvements in their parents' homeland. These perform a function similar to that of their mode of assimilation focused on distinction rather than fusion (whether with mainstream or black American society): a self-esteem and status-protecting strategy set against racial and class stigmatization.

Members of the two other minority subgroups—those assimilating in the mainstream downward pattern and middle-class ones who opt for primary social association and identification with African-Americans—tend to curtail their transnational connections with their parents' homeland, although motivated by different reasons. The reasons for this non-involvement among second-generation Jamaican Americans in the former, "downward" group are similar to those responsible for no or minimal home-country engagement among the immigrant generation whose members assimilate in the same pattern. As the American-born give up their ethnic affiliation, it is no longer a significant reference framework for them, and, in addition, they are ostracized in Jamaica for their defection from the fold and its cultural norms and expectations. The main reasons for non-involvement in the affairs of their parents' homeland among a majority of the second-generation Jamaicans who represent the minority-middle-class integration pattern have been their American black identities and their preoccupation with the struggle for racial justice in their own country—the United States. A small number of those who do maintain transnational involvements engage in "vertical" transnationalism as defined in Chapter 5: in this case, in political and cultural activities on behalf of global or international racial equality and justice that supersede state-national boundaries.

The last group to consider are the American-born children—about 15,000 of them—of the most recent wave of Russian Jewish immigrants in Philadelphia. Their mode of assimilation combines middle-class mainstream and ethnic-path elements. Their mainstream middle-class socioeconomic integration into the local society has not significantly differed from that of their foreign-born parents except for a considerably larger proportion of college-educated (or those pursuing higher degrees) members of the second generation: nearly 80 percent as compared with 60 or so percent in the immigrant generation. The share, about two-thirds, of foreign- and adult American-born Russian Jews holding professional and managerial occupations, men more often than women, has also been similar. Although both groups have followed the mainstream middle-class trajectory of integration, the socioeconomic position of second-generation Russian Jews in Philadelphia appears higher than that of their New York counterparts only two-thirds of whom have been reported to hold college and higher degrees and about half as employed in upper-level white-collar occupations in the year 2000. A sizeable proportion, nearly one-fourth of the latter, have been found to work with co-ethnics as compared to a few percent of the Philadelphians. These differences are most likely accounted for by a much larger and more differentiated population of Russian Jews in New York and the existence there of an ethnic economic niche, employment in which does not require high educational credentials. (This and the following information about assimilation patterns and transnational engagements among American-born Russian Jews in Philadelphia has been gathered from this author's unpublished study conducted in 2002–03; and in New York from Zeltzer-Zubida 2004; Zeltzer-Zubida and Kasinitz 2005; Remennick 2007; Kasinitz et al. 2008.)

The dominant mode of sociocultural assimilation among American-born Russian Jews in Philadelphia combines, like that of second-generation Jamaicans, elements of middle class mainstream and ethnic-path modes. This fusion, however, has had a different texture and contributing circumstances in each case. Although second-generation Russian Jewish Philadelphians' sociocultural assimilation has shared some features with the incorporation of their counterparts in New York, the overall makeup of the two processes has also been different. In comparison with the immigrant generation, the identities, commitments, and associations of their American-born children in Philadelphia consist, as in other middle-class second-generation groups examined here, of a much larger mainstream, American component and an ethnic one primarily composed of local American rather than home-country ingredients.

The cultural resources of middle-class parental homes, institutional support provided to immigrant households by the American Jewish community, including, in particular, high-quality schooling for children and engaging in-group social activities, and the immigrants' offspring's personal ambitions and life expectations, are jointly responsible for the latter's assimilation pattern in Philadelphia as well as New York. Unlike second-generation adult New Yorkers, however, a large proportion of whom continue to live in Russian Jewish neighborhoods (primarily in southern Brooklyn and central Queens), the majority of Philadelphians live in ethnically mixed (although predominantly white) middle-class suburban areas. Although most children of Philadelphia's last-wave Russian Jewish immigrants understand Russian, they do not speak it or speak it only very poorly, with young women a little more fluent in their parents' native language than young men. In comparison, and resulting from a considerable proportion of the group living among and having everyday contacts with other, also foreign-born, Russian Jews, more than three-quarters second-generation New Yorkers are actively bilingual, although, like their Philadelphia counterparts, they decidedly prefer to communicate in English.

Most of the offspring of last-wave Jewish immigrants in Philadelphia identify as Jewish Americans and some simply as Americans. Interestingly, second-generation Philadelphians in the group considered here do not seem to display uncomfortably ambivalent identities, shifting between Russian-Jewish-American, Jewish-American, and American Jewish of Russian background, reported among the American-born Russian Jews in New York. The absence of a Russian component in the young Philadelphians' identities probably results from three factors. First, Russian Jewish social and cultural life in Philadelphia is incomparably less encompassing and intense than that in the much larger Russian Jewish community in New York, and, furthermore, it is dominated by elderly immigrants with whom American-born youngsters have little in common. Second, young Philadelphians regularly hear at home, and internalize, negative stories about Russia as told by their recently emigrated parents for whom a sense of emancipation from that *proklataya strana*—cursed country—is still the lived experience. (In comparison, the New York Russian Jewish population includes the offspring of immigrants who came much earlier, in the 1970s, and for whom bad memories of Russia could have already dimmed.) And third, the two-step patterns of their parents' assimilation into American society through their incorporation into the local Jewish American community seems to have integrated their children into the latter much more closely than the "independent ethnic" or in-group Russian Jewish mode of assimilation of the New Yorkers.

Social and cultural engagements of American-born Russian Jews in Philadelphia have shifted, like their identities, from the (sub)ethnic (Russian Jewish-within-Jewish American) affiliation of their parents, to the more encompassing ethnic, Jewish American pattern. Asked about their primary social relations, second-generation Russian Jews, men and women alike, point to their Jewish American (not Russian Jewish) peers with whom they associate through religious classes and other social activities related to the synagogue their parents are members of. In comparison, and for similar reasons as noted above, American-born Russian Jews in New York report as their close friends other second-generation Russian Jews much more often than (old-time) Jewish Americans. Expectedly in these situations, the Philadelphians marry Jewish Americans much more often than do the New Yorkers, although both groups have a similar—about one-third—rate of out-marriages, primarily to native-born white Americans. In Philadelphia it is second-generation men who marry outside somewhat more frequently than women (the information for New York exists only for dating), but for different reasons than in the case of the earlier-reported groups with a similar gender pattern. One of them may well be the inclusion of second-generation Russian Jews under gender stereotypes of Jewish-Americans, popular among young people, which represent men in this group as "reliable, intelligent, and warm" and their female counterparts as "overly demanding" and manipulative "princesses."[9]

Although, like their New York peers, most second-generation Russian Jews in Philadelphia say they are "proud" to be Jewish, they are not particularly religious—in Judaism it means the self-conscious practice of religious commandments in everyday life more than synagogue attendance even though the latter is normatively prescribed for specific occasions. Like the New Yorkers, however, they tend to be more—or more "naturally" as the outcome of early childhood socialization rather than a commitment acquired late in life—religiously involved than their immigrant parents in the Jewish religious (and the deriving therefrom social) activities. Otherwise, they live the typical lives of young middle-class Americans, participating in American youth and, later, adult culture and lifestyles, unperturbed, as are their Jamaican fellow second-generation Americans, by racial prejudice and discrimination (see below). Except for a somewhat greater proportion of women than men who opt for the Orthodox variety of Jewish religious membership (if not coincidental it is an interesting phenomenon, because this is the branch of Judaism most restrictive of women's participation) I did not observe any gender differences in this assimilation pattern; it may be that they reveal themselves in later stages of American-born Russian Jews' lives.

I did not detect, either, tangible gender differences in the Philadelphia American-born Russian Jews' replies to my questions about the accepted norms of parental upbringing and expectations regarding sons and daughters. (The comparable New York data indicate a majority, about two-thirds, of second-generation Jews agreeing that it is proper for "girls [to] live with parents before marriage" and it is wrong for "girls [to] have sex before marriage," but no gender breakdown of these opinions is provided—see Kasinitz et al. 2008: 208–09.) Similar, however, to other second-generation groups and involving similar issues of young people's independence, materialism, and, generally, excessive "Americanization" of lifestyles, especially in sexual conduct (with stricter standards applied to young women), intergenerational conflicts in Russian Jewish families—in Philadelphia as much as in New York—have been quite common.

The major difference between a similar mode of middle-class mainstream combined with ethnic-path assimilation among American-born Russian Jews in Philadelphia and Jamaicans in New York has been the latter's continuous subjection to racial othering and discrimination on the part of the dominant American society, which deeply alienates them from the country they were born in. Interestingly, the Philadelphians' experience in this regard has differed from that of second-generation Russian Jewish New Yorkers, a considerable proportion of whom report encountering ethnic prejudice at school, at work, and in shops, and primarily from members of minority groups. Although not as damaging to their prospects as the racial discrimination suffered at the hands of white people and institutions by American-born Jamaicans or Mexicans, such incidents nevertheless present a nuisance which may well contribute to Russian Jewish New Yorkers' preference for the company of their fellow ethnics. The main reason for the near-absence of a similar annoyance in the experience of young Russian Jews in Philadelphia has been their more complete immersion in the white segment of that sharply racially divided city.

Last to report in the context of Philadelphia–New York comparison of the pursuits of second-generation Russian Jews are their political views and civic engagements. Although members of both groups have been rather inactive politically—probably because they have grown up in well-to-do families and perhaps because they have learned from their immigrant parents to mistrust state institutions—a larger proportion of New Yorkers than Philadelphians, nearly 50 percent against a mere 20 or so percent, reported membership in neighborhood civic, sports, and other associations. This difference may be accounted for by a larger proportion of adult (including middle-age) Russian Jews in New York than in Philadelphia, the former group including children of much earlier arrivals, and, unlike Philadelphians, second-generation New Yorkers living among their own fellow ethnics with whom they share a sense of "ownership" of the area and among whom there are some charismatic figures who mobilize the residents to engage in its activities. Probably reflecting the distinctly politically conservative bent of the Philadelphia Jewish American community with which many of them associate, and a similar persuasion of the white segment of the city's population in general, second-generation Russian Jews there also appear more conservative in their political views than their counterparts in the multi-color democratic New York.

Like their immigrant parents and for similar reasons reinforced by their strong American identities, most second-generation Russian Jews in Philadelphia do not maintain transnational involvements in Russia. More than 80 percent have never visited that country (with a slight gender difference of 78 percent women and 85 percent men). "It is of no concern to me" and "Why would I want to go there? My parents are so happy to be out" are typical replies to inquiries about American-born Russian Jews' interest in their parents' homeland. In this regard Philadelphians seem to be more intensely uninterested in sustaining any transnational engagements in Russia than are American-born Russian Jewish New Yorkers. Although considerably less "transnational" than other second-generation groups in that city, one-third of American-born Russian Jewish New Yorkers have nevertheless visited Russia at least once, more than 10 percent lived there for more than 6 months, and some even send remittances to their relatives in Russia. It may be that personal or professional interest in that part of the world will reappear in subsequent generations, as it happened with many of the grandchildren of Russian Jewish immigrants from the previous great wave of migration (1880–1914) who became renowned American specialists in Russian history, politics, and culture in the postwar era.

If American-born children of Russian Jewish immigrants display any concern with transnational matters, its focus is Israel. Unlike their parents who have no particular interest in that country, the second-generation offspring, who have been socialized into their Jewish American identities in strongly pro-Israeli American Jewish religious classes and cultural programs and who have learned to consider Israel their symbolic home through participation in Jewish religious rituals, express concern for Israel's security and well-being. Unlike their parents, too, a number of American-born Russian Jews have repeatedly visited Israel (usually on cultural or educational programs of Jewish American organizations) and feel a special affinity to that country.

As in the case of immigrant experiences, the diversity of patterns of second-generation assimilation and transnational involvements and of the clusters of circumstances that shape them is the main finding of this analysis. But both the defining features of immigrants' children's incorporation into American society and their re-constituting factors are different from the respective characteristics of their parents. As in the case of the immigrants but in a different composition, the foregoing examination permits the identification of fundamental circumstances channeling second-generation assimilation and transnational engagements along particular trajectories. They include parental economic position with the available financial resources it entails, their cultural capital, and the expectations from and pressure exerted on the offspring in matters of educational and occupational attainment and the retention of immigrants' home-country traditions; American-born children's residential location and the related ethnic composition of the neighborhoods and the quality of schools; and their own socioeconomic position and, especially, class and racial barriers to advancement. Equity of gender roles and expectations apparently plays an even more important role in the lives of the second-generation American women, and, to a lesser degree, their privileged male brothers and friends, than it does in the experience of their immigrant mothers and fathers. Except, however, for general observations about young women confronted with stricter parental standards regarding sexual conduct, their better educational performance and glass ceilings encountered in occupational careers, quickly proliferating second-generation studies have not yet provided specific information about gender differences in their subjects' modes of assimilation and transnationalism which are already available for the immigrants.

In Lieu of Conclusion: Some Lessons from the Analysis of American Immigrants' Experience, Research Agendas of (Im)Migration Studies Elsewhere in the World, and What We Can Learn from Each Other

One of the reviewers of the manuscript of this book asked "What about the rest of the world?" pointing to the general scope of the title and the American focus of empirical analyses. It was impossible to contain in one volume more comparative examinations than I already have, so I have opted for a less ambitious solution. I first point out here what I perceive as the most interesting conclusions regarding the conceptual framework(s) for the sociological study of (im)migration in the United States. Next, following an overview of the main research agendas and explanatory strategies in the study of (im)migration in other parts of the world, I offer some suggestions as to what elements of the approach presented in this volume, and akin orientations informing American studies in this field, might enrich similar investigations elsewhere around the globe and, reciprocally, what issues and approaches used in the study of (im)migration in other world regions might enhance American research.

Some suggestions from the preceding analyses

The analyses presented here of the processes of international migration and settlement in the host country, different dimensions of assimilation into American society, and transnational engagements of immigrants and their offspring suggest at least five modifications to the conceptualizations used in this investigation. Two of them concern the basic assumptions and analytic concepts informing the structuration model. A comparison of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants' experience calls for a qualification of an ontological premise of this approach. As readers will recall, one of the assumptions underlying the investigation of human experience within the structuration framework has been the taken-for-granted diversity of outcomes of the negotiations by actors of the societal structures. The comparative evidence assembled in Chapter 1 suggests that the diversity of outcomes of the interplay of agency and structures should be conceived as a matter of degree rather than as a fixed state. As we have seen, because of the greater opportunities provided for immigrants' actions by the economic, political, and sociocultural structures they encounter and a more differentiated human (also social) capital with which these actors engage their environment, the overall diversity of outcomes has been significantly greater today than a century ago. This great diversity of present-day immigrants' experience notwithstanding, our investigation of the mechanisms of their international travels, patterns of settlement, trajectories of assimilation, and forms of transnational involvements has suggested the existence of some basic conditions that in different constellations shape those people's pursuits across groups. Significantly, however, they are not the same for all of the above processes suggesting that both causal analyses of different aspects of immigrants' experience and the resulting general propositions should be conducted and formulated in a context- and issue-dependent fashion rather than as unitary operations/claims.

The second modification to the ideas informing the structuration model suggested by the preceding analyses concerns the current conceptualizations of human agency as mobilized either "from the inside" by individual drives and motivations or transactionally in the process of social encounters. The examination of past and present (im)migrants' decisions to leave their countries, choosing a place to live in America, co-determining the form and extent of their integration into the host society, and the scope and frequency of involvements in the home country suggest, rather, a coexistence of these two mobilizers with the prevalence of one of them contingent on the specific contexts actors find themselves in. In particular, enabling economic, political, and sociocultural structural opportunities combined with strong human capital (including orientations and life-goals) of actor-immigrants negotiating their situations allows a significantly greater space for individual planning, decision-making, and actions on the part of the latter without eliminating the interactive mode of agency mobilization.

The remaining three alterations suggested by the analyses conducted here concern currently accepted ideas and approaches in the field of immigration studies, and, specifically, a sociology of immigration in the United States. The first of them involves the nature of assimilation of immigrants and their progeny and, specifically, a debate among scholars in this field of study between the advocates of a "bumpy" and multipath representation of this process and those who see it as a progressive evolution toward similarity. Whereas the intragenerational analysis of the integration trajectories of different immigrant groups supports the claim about the uneven and variable nature of this process, the intergenerational evidence suggests, rather, that for a majority of immigrants' children assimilation evolves along a progressive trajectory on several dimensions allowing at the same time for diverse forms of integration on others. These findings suggest that rather than either-or propositions, the "bumpy" and "progressive" assimilation claims may actually describe the dominant (not exclusive) trends in different generational units of analysis. The second, more specific modification of the conceptualization of the assimilation process suggested by the preceding analyses involves allowing for the possibility that different dimensions of the incorporation into the host society of immigrants and their offspring evolve along different trajectories (existing studies usually assign to particular [sub]groups one all-encompassing mode of assimilation from among the currently recognized types such as mainstream upward, downward, or ethnic-adhesive).

The third issue is that of the endurance of transnational engagements of immigrants and their children. As noted in the chapter devoted to this phenomenon, scholars interested in immigrant transnationalism tend to disagree as to whether this is a natural and, thus, enduring activity of residents of globally connected and self-declaredly ethnic-pluralist societies, or an involvement which unavoidably weakens and ultimately disappears as its carriers become progressively incorporated into the receiver society. As demonstrated by the evidence presented here of different patterns of transnational engagements of immigrants and, especially, their American-born children, some of whom do and some do not sustain connections with their parents' native homelands, rather than either/or arguments regarding this phenomenon, we need a recognition of its context-dependent nature calling for the investigation of the interplay of the economic, political, and social circumstances on both sides of these cross-border connections and immigrants'/their offspring's concerns and purposes.

(Im)migration studies in other regions of the world: Issues and approaches

In what follows I summarily identify the main issues constituting the research agendas and prevalent explanatory approaches in present-day (im)migration studies in West and East Europe, Southeast Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. This information will be considered in the next section where I suggest some mutual lessons immigration scholars in different parts of the world can learn from each other, including the insights offered by this book. The information about European studies comes from my own investigation of these issues (Morawska 2008 on immigration studies in Western Europe, including the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden; and my analysis of book and major specialty journal publications in the period 1998–2008 in Poland—a stand-in for East Europe—which has the largest out- and in-migrant populations and the most active immigration research centers in that region). The information about Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa has been compiled from assessments of the state of the art in (im)migration studies in those regions, respectively by Asis and Piper 2008 and Agadjanian 2008.[1]

We begin with West Europe where the study of immigration has been the most extensive in volume and diversified in content in comparison to similar research in other parts of the world. I identify, first, the issues which seem to attract as much attention of immigration scholars in that region as they do in the United States; next, problems investigated on both sides of the Atlantic but differently understood or analyzed by West European and American researchers; and finally issues which constitute the standard research agenda in West European studies without equivalent in American scholarship in the field. To the first category belong predominantly quantitative analyses of the numbers, national/regional origins, and sociodemographic characteristics of immigrants, patterns of residential concentration/dispersion, and participation in the receiver-society labor force, including occupational distribution and downward and upward mobility of newcomers over time. Receiver-state immigration policies, civic-political reception/treatment of immigrants by host institutions, and newcomers' participation in the latter (schools, health services, employment agencies, licensing bureaus) represent another cluster of issues commonly examined by West European and American studies of immigration. The sociological literature on these subjects in the two regions seems, however, to have different emphases. Whereas in the United States these issues tend to be treated primarily as important factors facilitating or hindering immigrants' opportunities for integration into the host society, in West Europe, probably because the mass immigration phenomenon there is still relatively new and ways to accommodate it are passionately debated, and because of the predominance of macro-level structural explanatory strategies in West European studies (see below), receiver-state immigration policies and institutional reception of immigrants, including comparative assessments of the situations in Europe and the United States,[2] are a research area of their own unconnected to the implications of these laws and practices for everyday lives of immigrants.

Because of their dissimilar treatment in American and West European studies, receiver-state immigration policies and newcomers' reception by host-country institutions, although equally common in the subject literature in both places, can also be located in the next category of shared but differently understood or analyzed problems. Three other issues should be noted in this group: immigrants' assimilation, ethnicity, and transnationalism. The most common conceptual equivalent of the American concept of assimilation used in West European studies is that of integration.[3] Like assimilation in the United States, integration is understood as a multidimensional phenomenon, "measured" by indicators such as the degree of immigrants' residential concentration/segregation from natives, their educational achievement and employment, familiarity with the host-country language and the use of their native tongue, self identification, composition of primary and secondary social relations, naturalization, and political participation. Like their American colleagues, West European researchers also recognize a diversity of "integration clusters" among and within immigrant groups.

As popular as in America, the issue of transnationalism in West European immigration studies has, however, a more complex or dual meaning. It refers, as it does in the United States, to the links across national boundaries forged by immigrants/ethnic group members and to the effects of these bonds on the actors' identities and memberships. Reflecting the existence of the supranational institutional body in the form of the European Union and, increasingly, of immigrants' and ethnic minorities' supranational links such as pan-European Islamism, transnationalism in European studies (thus far without parallel in American research) is also understood as a shift beyond or vertically past (rather than horizontally across) the accustomed territorial state/national-level memberships and civic-political claims and state-bound national identities derived therefrom toward more-encompassing ones such as universal humanity/human rights, suprastatal membership and entitlements, and pan-religious solidarities.

The third similar-but-different issue concerns the study of ethnicity. In this matter, West European and American studies seem to be out of synch with each other. In the former, the notion of ethnicity is very much in use in empirical research, and, interestingly, it is also more elaborated conceptually—European scholars distinguish dominant ethnicity, dormant ethnicity, competitive ethnicity, and optional ethnicity—than the idea of integration of immigrants. Most important, however, the concept of ethnicity in West European studies tends to signify *difference* from the dominant society. In comparison, with the revival of interest in assimilation in the 1990s, American scholars use this concept to denote a specific—ethnic-path or evolving within the ethnic community—trajectory of immigrants' and their offspring's *integration* into the dominant society.

Two major issues preoccupying West European immigration scholars have attracted incomparably smaller attention in American studies in this field. One of them is the problem of multiculturalism. In Western Europe, where it is a subject of intense debates and prolific publication, multiculturalism has been closely connected with the above-noted research on the growing influx of immigrants from other (non-Western) parts of the world and receiver-state immigration and integration policies toward these newcomers, and, most of all, to discussions, usually conducted in a comparative perspective with the United States figuring as an importance reference framework, about the accustomed understandings of (receiver-society) national membership and ways to "naturalize" the presence of immigrants in these discourses and, importantly, in state-institutional and native public-opinion orientations and practices toward foreign-born residents. (The volume *Multiculturalism, Muslims, and Citizenship: A European Approach* which contains a collection of essays on different EU countries is a good illustration of this theme and its "correlates" as viewed by West European scholars—see Modood, Triandafyllidou, and Zapata-Barrero 2006.) In comparison, in the United States immigration-based multiculturalism, revived in public (also scholarly) debates in the 1960s and 1970s in the context of the Civil Rights movement of African-Americans and the "white ethnic revival" that followed it, has been taken for granted for much longer and the issue, implicit in the current problem agendas of immigration and ethnic studies, does not seem to need reemphasis. Interestingly, we may add, while multiculturalism's most renowned contemporary theoretical or philosophical elaborations originate from North American political philosophers, it is in European, not American, immigration and ethnic studies where they find most systematic empirical applications.

Religion, and specifically, Islam, as an important factor shaping immigrants' and their offspring's integration into the host society and their transnational loyalties and engagements is the second issue central on the agenda of West European studies that has no equivalent in the American research. There exists here a "double gap" between European and American studies. First, unlike in the latter, religious membership and identity of immigrants and their offspring are a standard item in European research where it is treated as a factor facilitating or impeding immigrants' socioeconomic opportunities and civic reception by native-born residents, and where, because of the common overlap between racial membership and religious affiliation, it is also seen as a dimension of racial inequality. Second and important, themes of general interest to the social sciences, such as, in particular, multiculturalism, but also modernization and counter-modernization forces in British, French, Italian, Dutch, and recently also German Islam, the Islamization of political cultures in Europe, and, generally, the role of public religion in a modern democracy, have been staple topics in European immigration and ethnic research. In comparison, first, American immigration studies seem much more parochial in their concerns, unrelated to general issues of multiculturalism, multiple modernities, and democracy. And, second, the issue of religion, although in recent years of increasing interest to American immigration scholars (see, e.g., Foley 2007; Leonard 2007; Levitt 2007; Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2008; Hirschman 2008), except for among historians has thus far been a marginal theme in this field of study and, if addressed, it has been studied mainly in its in-group local expressions rather than in its broader societal implications.

We now consider the dominant explanatory strategies informing studies of immigration in Western Europe comparing them with the common approaches in the United States. The main difference in this regard between the two continents has been the prevalence in the former of what Adrian Favell (2001) has called a "one-directional" interpretation of immigrants' and their offspring's integration into, or exclusion from, the host society and their transnational engagements. It is primarily explained as the effect of the outside or receiver-side forces, such as EU, state-national and local (regional or municipal) immigration, racial, and religious minority policies, and the attitudes and behavior toward immigrants on the part of the natives, rather than, as is more common (though by no means universal) in present-day American immigration studies, in the combined context-and-actors interpretations whereby the structural and agentic circumstances are simply identified as jointly contributing to the explained phenomenon or, less often, interlinked in a theoretically coherent framework. A recent collection of essays authored by representatives of six West European countries, titled *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe* (Parsons and Smeeding 2006), well illustrates this prevalent approach of immigration scholars in that region: the taken-for-granted understanding of the transformation of Europe resulting from immigration as reflected in topics covered in the volume implies the demographic (ethnic composition) change of the EU population, the alterations of receiver-country labor markets under the impact of immigrants' entry, and the straining of welfare systems caring for foreign-born residents. Other books devoted to immigrants, to note only a few which have gained recognition among West European scholars in this field, such as Withol de Wenden (2005) or Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2007), confirm this assessment, and so does my analysis of the content of the commonly read West European journals devoted to the study of immigration and ethnicity in the period 1998–2008 which revealed a ratio of nearly 3:1 of articles devoted to macro-level institutional issues as compared to "ground-level" analyses of immigrants' experience.

Several superimposed factors seem to contribute to this host-institutional or (macro-) structural emphasis of the West European immigration/ethnic studies. First to mention is the significant dependence of their authors on public, EU, and state-national funding[4] (in comparison, a large proportion of American studies are funded by independent scholarly foundations). The second likely contributing circumstance is a considerably greater actual presence of state institutions in the lives of Europeans than of their American counterparts living in a "minimalist" state. Third and related has been the implicit European conception of multiculturalism as the domain—or responsibility—of the receiver nation-state rather than of its citizens. Two other circumstances apparently contribute to the more agentic approach of American rather than West European immigration scholars. One such factor has been the reaction to the overly structural emphasis of the study of immigration and ethnicity in the 1970s and 1980s combined, in the early 1990s, with the vocal entry into this field of research of anthropologists with their traditional concern with meanings-driven actors on the ground. Another likely contributing factor has been the insider status of a large number of American immigration and ethnic scholars who are themselves foreign-born or first-generation native-born descendants of recent immigrants, and for whom the integration (assimilation) process and racial or gender hurdles in it are an "agentic" or personal, and, as such, self-evident aspect of the immigrant/ethnic experience they study. And there are enough of them to make this issue—or the (inter)subjective dimension of integration—part of the research agenda in the field. In comparison, the field of immigration and ethnic studies in West Europe is still mostly staffed by mainstream native-born scholars who more readily deal with the external contexts of the phenomena examined than with their actors themselves. (With its "practiced" multiculturalism, Great Britain seems a noteworthy exception here: with the assistance of Tariq Modood I counted four or five recognized recent ethnic-origin scholars in the field.)

In comparison with American studies which are by and large explicitly theoretically informed, immigration research in the West European countries I examined tends to be much more problem-oriented. But when it is theoretically informed (if only through the heuristic guideposts), it reflects mainstream social-science debates, such as globalization and the resulting decline of the nation-state, multiculturalism as a doctrine, or secularization and the return of religion in the late modern world, rather than—as in the United States—field-specific theoretical models of immigrant assimilation, persistence of ethnicity, or transnational engagements and their impact on immigrants' integration into the host society popular in American studies. I see three possible reasons for this situation. First, policy-oriented sponsorship (such as different EU Committees or state-national agencies) of much of the West European immigration studies motivates researchers to find concrete answers to practical questions rather than to pursue theoretical models of the examined problems. Second, the practice of immigration and ethnic studies in Europe in multidisciplinary research centers, rather than, as in the United States, under the umbrella of traditional academic disciplines, makes it more difficult to draw on uniform, field-specific theoretical approaches. And third, because immigration and ethnic research has been a recent development in West European scholarship instituted in response to practical problems related to a rapidly expanding influx of immigrants from outside of the Continent, there has not yet been enough time to develop broader, theoretical understandings of this phenomenon.

Next to consider are the main issues and prevalent explanatory approaches informing studies of immigration in East Europe as represented by Poland. In addition to major book publications in this field that have appeared since the mid-1990s, I have analyzed the contents of the major specialty journal, *Przegląd Polonijny*, and, available on the

Web (also in English), regularly published working papers of the Centre of Migration Research affiliated with Warsaw University for the period 1998–2008.

As in West Europe and the United States, the two issues attracting proportionately the most scrutiny of Polish immigration scholars are, on the one hand, and presented mainly in quantitative reports, the numbers, sociodemographic characteristics, and labor-market participation of (im)migrants coming to that country in rapidly increasing numbers (primarily from the easternmost regions of East Europe, Asia, and, a growing volume in recent years, from Africa), and, on the other hand, receiver-country immigration policies and the reception of newcomers by the natives, often considered within the reference framework of similar processes in Western Europe and/or the United States (see, e.g., Okólski and Koryś 2004; Iglicka 2008). There are two major differences in the concerns of East European (here, Polish) immigration studies as compared with research in western parts of the Continent. First, Polish scholars devote as much, if not more, attention to macro- and micro-level mechanisms triggering out-migration of their own people—since Poland's admission to the European Union in 2004 nearly 80 percent of these large flows are directed to Western Europe—as to migrants coming to their country. Until recently, a similar preoccupation characterized Italian, Spanish, and Greek immigration research; it has only been since the 1990s that it has shifted to the study of incoming flows. (For an overview of the research agenda of immigration studies in Italy, see Caponio 2008.) Assuming that the integration of the newly admitted EU member-states from East Europe will progress as planned, especially in terms of the economic growth it promises, a similar trend can also be expected in that region.

The second feature of Polish immigration research with no equivalent in West European studies is the pronounced presence of historical investigations—such articles represented nearly 40 percent of the total publications in *Przegląd Polonijny* during the examined period—published side by side with contemporary ones. The integrated coexistence of historical and contemporary analyses of immigration in Polish research is the result, I believe, of three circumstances. One of them is a more traditional still, or less differentiated in the Durkheimian terms, practice of scholarship—here, the humanities—in Poland where disciplinary boundaries are more permeable than in sub-subfield professional specializations in the West. This fuzzy-boundaries situation is reflected in the composition of the editorial board of *Przegląd Polonijny* on which sit several renowned immigration historians. The second factor is the existence outside of Poland's boundaries of a large and relatively recent (one or two generations removed) émigré diaspora, a significant proportion of which still maintains ties with that country. In comparison, large-scale emigration from West Europe occurred much earlier, the latest a century and a half ago, and scholarly interest in it, considerably less than in East Europe/Poland, finds outlets mainly on the Continent that absorbed the majority of those old-time resettlers, in North American journals and book series devoted to immigration history. (Again, studies of immigration in Southern Europe which has only recently shifted from an emigration to an immigration region resemble East European/Polish research in that the presence of historical research is decidedly more visible there than in north-western European countries.) The third reason for the coexistence of historical and contemporary analyses of immigration in Polish studies is practical: there are simply no financial means to support more journals, conferences, and book publications in this research area than there already are. (Poland's and other East European countries' disadvantage in this regard vis-à-vis the United States which can afford several specialty journals, book series, and professional associations in each of the two fields is only too obvious.)

Two important issues informing research in Western Europe and the United States, immigrants' assimilation/integration and transnationalism, have been nearly absent in the publications I examined except for occasional investigations of Polish immigrants' remittances sent home and types of contacts they maintain with their families and localities in the home country. In a notable contrast with immigration studies in West Europe, the issue of ethnicity, rarely debated as such by Polish scholars in terms of its meanings and contexts seems implicitly narrowly understood as the study of immigrants' and their offspring's (mainly Poles' abroad) retention of home-country language, education in Polish history and culture, and, less often, rates of intermarriages. These discrepancies are surprising for two reasons. In the first place, because well-informed overviews of West European and American field-specific concepts and research agendas are regularly published in Polish speciality journals (see, e.g., Praszałowicz 2006, 2007). Secondly, and as revealing, empirical analyses authored by Polish scholars living abroad which are devoted to integration, ethnicity, and transnational engagements of their émigré-compatriots in the countries they reside in, and which reflect current West European or American research agendas, also frequently appear in these publications (see, e.g., Dutka 2006; Garapich 2006). It seems as if, except for conducting expert demographic labor market analyses which closely correspond in sophistication to those conducted by immigration scholars in the West, Polish specialists in this field of study still perceive “matters Western” as interesting and worth learning about but basically “other” and not quite applicable to their own research practices—a bit like their country at large which has not yet internalized its being part of the Western world. An issue of growing concern to Polish, and East European in general, immigration scholars which they share more with their Asian (see below) than Western colleagues is that of an expanding volume of human trafficking, particularly from Central and East Asia coming to and across the region toward western parts of the Continent.

In terms of the explanatory approaches and, again, somewhat surprisingly considering the availability of reports on Western models in the local specialty journals, Polish studies tend to be primarily descriptive and theoretically uninformed. An exception here is a visible influence of economic models of international migration in the publications of the Centre of Migration Research. The professional profile of the directorial team of the Centre on the one hand, and, on the other, the already-mentioned influential presence of historians—traditionally educated historians, we may add, who see their primary task as the reconstruction of events as they happened—among Polish students (and teachers) of immigration seem jointly to account for this by and large theory-less state of Polish immigration research. The pending retirement of the old-guard team of immigration historians, a recent affiliation of Warsaw University’s Centre of Migration Research with the International Migration, Integration, and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) research network, through which no fewer than 19 primarily West European national research centers collaborate on joint projects funded by the European Union, and increasingly frequent professional collaboration between Polish/East European and West European immigration scholars (see, e.g., the 2008 special issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* devoted to “The New Face of East-West Migration in Europe”) will likely result, as has happened in Italy, in “mainstreaming” Polish immigration research to assume the characteristics of its West European counterpart in the near future.

Next on the list is the profile of (im)migration research in South-East Asia. The study I have relied on, Maruja Asis and Nicola Piper’s (2008) assessment of the state of the art of this area of study in the region, was itself based on English-language major book-length publications by (im)migration scholars based in Asia and the articles published in the *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, and supplemented by a review of other regional journals such as *Sojourn*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, and *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*. Having collected the information and drawn conclusions, Asis and Piper checked their findings with their colleague-experts in the field in the regions asking for comments and corrections.

Since the 1970s, Asia has been a theater of large-scale, sustained population mobility, Asis and Piper state at the beginning of their overview. Indeed, of the worldwide estimate of 191 million international migrants in 2005, more than 50 million or nearly 30 percent are in Asia. Although (im)migrants in that region are a diversified population, including men, women, and children; low- and high-skilled work-seekers; refugees, voluntary and forced (trafficked) migrants; permanent settlers and sojourners; documented and undocumented residents, immigration studies in Asia have focused almost exclusively on "legal" labor migrants—the category constituting less than a half of the above-quoted estimate of the total number of international travelers—and have treated them as temporary sojourners. The majority of them, both low- and high-skilled migrants, originate from the Philippines and Indonesia, with other origin countries including Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and, increasingly, Vietnam. The oil-rich Gulf countries have been during the last decade and a half gradually replaced as the main destinations of these labor migrants by rapidly growing regional "tigers" such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. An "old tiger," Japan, has also been a receiver of large numbers of Asian economic migrants.

Asis and Piper explain an almost exclusive focus on labor migrants in the reviewed South-East Asian studies with three superimposed factors: the large volume of these cross-border population flows, their involving several countries in the region, and, importantly, the politically highly sensitive nature of refugee migrations posing access problems to scholars. The treatment in South-East Asian immigration studies of international labor migrants, also long-term sojourners who by all indications intend to remain in their destination countries as temporary sojourners, reflects, in Asis and Piper's opinion, determined policies of receiver-country governments in that region to keep intraregional population transfers temporary. The reason for inordinate research attention paid by South-East Asian (im)migration scholars to legal or documented international migrants as compared with unauthorized ones has been, Asis and Piper suggest, insufficient information about the latter.[5] Defined, then, within the above-noted parameters, international migrations within and out of the region are analyzed in terms of their generating mechanisms, numbers, gender composition (large presence of women) and other sociodemographic characteristics of migrants, and their labor force participation in receiver-countries and its relationship to the latter's economic development. When they analyze migrants' transnational engagements, primarily remittances sent to families across the borders, South-Asian scholars conceive of sojourners' transnationalism mainly as a product of structural (rather than agentic) conditions. This approach, Asis and Piper suggest, reflects the regional immigration policies making individuals' migration enforceably temporary.

Receiver-countries' immigration policies attract considerable attention from South-East Asian scholars. Regarding these issues, concerns of South-East Asian students of international migration do not deviate from those of their colleagues in West and East Europe and the United States. The well-being of migrants' families left behind, return migrants, and, on the increase since the 1990s, especially in mainland China, international human trafficking represent other issues of interest to (im)migration scholars in the region. Such investigations, however, as Asis and Piper point out, "are mostly conducted either at the origin or the destination country, rarely jointly as interacting units connected by transnational links, and even more rarely has there been a region-wide analysis" (Asis and Piper 2008: 430).

The ready availability of data such as censuses and surveys conducted by governmental and NGO agencies has resulted in the predominance of macro-level and quantitative analyses of international migration across the region. Interestingly, and resembling the situation in Poland, it is Asian scholars living in the West who publish books on South-East Asian immigrants in different parts of the world and contribute to regional journals, who bring into the regional scholarship a more varied, here, actor-oriented research agenda, ranging from analyses of immigrants' shifting identities and civic commitments to investigations of them as agents of two-way transplantations of cultural customs. As in Poland, this "demonstration effect" of diaspora scholars has not yet diversified the foci of South-East Asian (im)migration studies.

As in East Europe, too, (im)migration research in Asia "can be described as a running commentary of a phenomenon in progress… Links to theory or attempts at theory building have been sorely missing," except for implicit neoclassical-economics frameworks of the analyses of the mechanisms of international migration. Asis and Piper ascribe this situation to the practical purposes of most of the studies conducted in the region, such as policy making and pro- and anti-immigration advocacy causes—the ramifications of research similar to those in Western Europe which have a similar "flattening" effect on scholarship. The other reason for the primarily descriptive or untheorized state of South-East Asian studies, they argue (and I, again, remain unconvinced for the same, above-noted reason), have been "data limitations." Clearly, however, Asian scholars have been aware of this shortcoming of their research and seem prepared to "make a jump from the repetitive, descriptive studies to the theoretical approach, either by validating or disconfirming [existing] theories, or by formulating new ones" (Asis and Piper 2008: 427–28).

Sub-Saharan Africa is the fourth region we have information regarding research agenda of (im)migration studies. Victor Agadjanian's (2008) review of this literature, focused on intraregional cross-border population movements, has been based on books and scholarly journals devoted to the issue published by native as well as foreign, primarily Western, scholars. As in South-East Asia, international migration in sub-Saharan Africa has been large in volume and diverse. Its bulk has been directed to South Africa, and to Ghana, Nigeria, and Côte d'Ivoire in West Africa, originating mainly from impoverished neighboring countries. As in Asia, too, despite the diversity of international population flows in sub-Saharan Africa, the predominant focus of migration studies in the subcontinent investigated by Agadjanian has been on economic migrants who have also been treated by investigators as temporary sojourners except that in this case it does reflect the actual intentions of the majority of cross-border travelers who view their circular migration in search of income as part of family survival strategies. Unlike Asian research, however, studies of international migrants, including the income-seekers, in sub-Saharan Africa have been "scarce and patchy." In fact, Agadjanian's examination of available studies revealed that with the exception of studies of South Africa-bound migratory flows[6] "the amount of empirical research [in the region] has diminished in recent years, while migration—arguably—has intensified" (p. 416–17). He explains the scarcity of studies on international migration in sub-Saharan Africa by its geopolitical and economic marginalization, including, especially, the lack of financial resources and well-functioning research centers resulting in the paucity of adequate data, and the subcontinent scholars' disconnectedness from the developments in this area of study in other parts of the world.

The scarce and patchy research in the region on economic, primarily low-skilled migrants focuses on their origins, numbers, sociodemographic characteristics, and labor-force participation. This is one aspect of sub-Saharan African studies in the field which conforms to the features of similar investigations in Europe and the

United States—including, as in Asian studies, considerable attention to the large presence of women among international migrants. The other major issue attracting scrutiny of students of international migration in the region has been the host-country reception of migrants, and, specifically, rising public concerns about the economic and social impact—"burden", as it is widely perceived—of immigration and the growing xenophobia of the native residents (especially in South Africa).

Although internal and, of concern here, international large-scale refugee movements triggered by political instability, sudden and dramatic regime changes, and ethnic tensions and confrontations, have been steady elements of sub-Saharan Africa's landscape, surprisingly little systematic research has addressed this issue. Agadjanian ascribes this neglect to "access constraints," and, specifically, unavailability of information about "causes and circumstances of refugees' exodus from violence-torn areas" on the one hand, and, on the other, to the monopolization of assessments of these problems by international agencies working with the refugees, such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, a deluge of whose reports and briefs effectively drowns scarce scholarly analyses (p. 414). The most notable issue that does emerge from under a pile of these assessments—also investigations of economic migrations—is that of health implications of cross-border population movements, and, especially, the spread of HIV/AIDS; in South Africa this research has also extended to political consequences of the migration-HIV/AIDS connection, and, specifically, to the emergence in that country of stereotypes of in-migrants as carriers of the HIV virus, which further strengthens local xenophobic reactions against these people, income-seekers as well as displaced persons.

Not surprisingly, considering the scarcity of (im)migration research in sub-Saharan Africa and the enduring circumstances contributing to this situation, existing studies in this field, Agadjanian concludes in his assessment, are generally "disconnected from the body of international migration research" (p. 407) in other parts of the world, and at best descriptive and uninformed by either Western or local theoretical concepts and explanatory approaches.

What can immigration scholars in different parts of the world learn from each other (and from this book)?

I suggest here some lessons that students of (im)migration in other parts of the world might learn from American ways of investigating immigration-related issues in general and, specifically, from the approaches and insights proposed here; and, reciprocally, ideas that American scholars might take from their colleagues pursuing similar studies elsewhere around the globe. The main reasons why we need such an exchange were already noted in the Introduction to this book: it will broaden our grasp of the phenomena we study, and should enable us to conduct well-informed interregional comparative studies of (im)migration as a glocal phenomenon.

As I reviewed the main research agendas of (im)migration studies in different parts of the world, I tried to identify broad institutional, political, and economic contexts which, together with scholarly interests, shape the concerns and non-concerns of these area studies. The embeddedness of research agendas and interpretative approaches in time- and place-specific environment in which scholars undertake their projects can be treated as a sociology-of-knowledge reminder to all practitioners of the study of (im)migration of the unavoidable limitations of their own scholarly pursuits. It is also an additional reason for researchers to keep themselves informed about the ways their colleagues working in different circumstances problematize our shared subject matter so as to identify the issues, concepts, and perspectives which might enhance their own investigations.

Beginning, then, with the "translatable" strengths of American studies of immigration, I would suggest two general directions for making theoretical accounts of the empirical phenomena more persuasive (West European studies) and empirical analyses theoretically informed (East Europe/Poland and South-East Asia). One of them would involve the context-and-actors interpretative approach whereby the proposed explanations combine structural (macro- and micro-level) and agentic circumstances contributing to the emergence, persistence, or transformation of the phenomena studied. The other strength of American studies which would enhance research in both parts of Europe, and also in Asia provided scholars there decide to recognize the permanent nature of at least some immigration into the region, is, in my judgment, a flexible, multiple (class, gender, race, generation) context-dependent conceptualization of the integration of immigrants and their offspring into the receiver society.[7] As suggested in the previous section, such a flexible notion of assimilation/integration should also allow, especially in long-term studies, for different—multipath and linear—theoretical representations of this process. In this context, four noteworthy advantages of the structuration model applied in this book are also transferable, I believe, to (im)migration studies elsewhere in the world. The first and most general is the encompassing structure(s)-actors' theoretically coherent framework which can be applied to different immigration-related issues. Second, it is also sufficiently supple on both its macro- and micro-level sides to accommodate in an all-encompassing account quite different interpretative models such as, used in the preceding analyses, the world-system theory and (implicitly) symbolic interactionism. Third, it presumes at the theoretical level and invites in empirical analyses a diversity of (im)migration-related phenomena resulting from their specific context(s) and actor dependency, and also, as the analyses of past and present immigrants' experience presented in this book have demonstrated, varying in degree depending on the circumstances in which these phenomena evolve; since international migration students in different regions of the world generally acknowledge contingency on the particular circumstances and diversity of the immigration-related issues they examine, the structuration model should be an attractive option in which to conceptualize their investigations. Finally, because it conceives of the examined phenomena as ongoing processes, it allows the capture of social life in motion; in this book, I reconstructed only two phases of the structuration process—a novelty in immigration studies has been the examination of the (re)constitutive effects of immigrant activities on their host and home societies—but, should anyone be equipped with enough funding and *Sitzfleisch* (persistence), the model allows for, even invites, more longitudinal analyses.

These multiple benefits of the structuration model could make it particularly attractive to immigration scholars in West Europe who deplore the predominantly macro-level institutional focus of studies in this field and the "one-sidedness" of the accustomed interpretative approaches. Because of its capaciousness the structuration framework for the study of international migration may also appeal to Asian and East European scholars who would be reluctant to abandon their economic models but may be willing to broaden their approach. Although students of international migration in sub-Saharan Africa are generally aware of the limitations of their scholarship, in this case, it is not only intellectual interest that can move scholars to undertake new projects. As Agadjanian's report forcefully suggests, (im)migration studies in sub-Saharan Africa badly need reinforcement from research centers and individual scholars from other parts of the world with greater financial and professional resources to help this field of research expand, both by incorporating into local scholarship whatever concepts and approaches used elsewhere around the globe are found to be useful, and by identifying the unique characteristics of that region's mechanisms and effects of the international population movement. Workshop and conferences involving the region's immigration scholars and joint research projects would be an obvious remedy to the academic marginalization of sub-Saharan Africa.

Just as the concepts and interpretative frameworks informing studies of American immigration, including this investigation, are worth a closer inspection by scholars in other parts of the world for the ideas they might offer for their own research, so should concerns and approaches used by students of immigration elsewhere around the globe be examined by American researchers for a similar purpose.

Specifically, American students of immigration would gain, I believe, from the incorporation into their research—partial and/or modified as suits the local contexts of studies—of the three features of immigration research in Western Europe. At the most general level, American immigration scholars might take inspiration from their West European colleagues to engage more closely in their own research mainstream social-science debates about issues such as the earlier-mentioned globalization versus glocalization, doctrines and practices of multiculturalism, secularization and the return of religion. Such engagement would bring the study of international migration/immigration more genuinely to the center of current concerns of the discipline than do somewhat fatigued customary declarations of the importance of these issues for the understanding of the contemporary world. In comparison with their West European equivalents, American immigration studies have long been recognized as a scholarly specialization on its own, and institutionalized with their own academic workshops and conferences, journals, and thematic sections of professional associations. Yet my concern is that despite—or perhaps even because of—its apparent success, this field of study is actually "nichifying" within its own field-specific agendas, meetings, journals, and research networks.

The two other issues from the West European research agenda I would recommend to the attention of American students of immigration include ethnicity and religion. As I pointed out in the previous section, just when West European scholars have taken interest in and elaborated the concept of ethnicity, their American counterparts have engaged in the reformulation of the concept/theories of assimilation of immigrants and their offspring and in the pursuit of empirical investigation of this redefined phenomenon. As the history of American study of immigration—and, for that matter, of non-cumulative branches of social sciences in general—demonstrate, specific research-informing ideas and approaches are cyclically abandoned and "revived" in modified formulations (one wants to believe that these cyclical travels happen on an inclining plane). We may, therefore, expect that sooner or later the issue of ethnicity, its meanings, forms of expression, and social correlates will make its reappearance on the research agenda of American immigration studies. It would be helpful, if only to save time and intellectual effort by not inventing what already exists, to check—either in advance or when a "new" interest in ethnicity appears on the rise again—the potential usefulness of the work done on this issue by West European scholars during the time American specialists in the field were preoccupied with other matters.

The other important issue on the research agenda of West European studies of immigration which American scholars might profit from considering in their investigation concerns religion, and, specifically, its interaction with class and race memberships, and by implication with structural advantage/disadvantage of the societal location of immigrants and their offspring, and its role in the latter's assimilation into the host society and transnational engagements. Until recently, Western, also American, sociologists, including students of immigration, apparently influenced by the widely accepted thesis of the irreversible secularization of modern society, showed little interest in the issues of religion. It has only been during the last decade that the rise of global religious fundamentalism on the one hand, and, on the other, the increasingly vocal "resilient" presence in the public forums in Western European receiver-countries of residents originating from traditional, primarily Muslim, societies that social theorists in West Europe began to question the taken-for-granted secularization thesis (for a good discussion of a "return of religion," see Martin 2005), and, of concern here, immigration scholars in that region began to focus their research attention on the issues of religion as an important factor in the newcomers' integration into the host society. The sophistication of both theoretical debates and empirical studies conducted by West European immigration scholars of the interrelationship between religious affiliation and life-orientations and other dimensions of social membership of immigrants and the implications thereof for their integration into the receiver-societies could offer interesting insights into the situation in this regard in the United States, and also provide a way to integrate international migration/immigration studies with the current concerns of mainstream social sciences.

The taken-for-granted coexistence of historical and contemporary studies of (im)migration in East European/Polish specialty journals and professional associations provides an opportunity for a dialog between representatives of these disciplines, although such conversations do not actually seem to take place there. A similar situation obtains in the United States where the *Journal of American Ethnic History*, originally devoted to historical topics, for more than a decade now regularly publishes essays by researchers of past and contemporary immigration- and ethnicity-related issues which, however, appear side by side rather in interaction with each other. In this regard, immigration research in Italy and, to a lesser extent, in other South European countries appears more genuinely collaborative. More integrated (rather than simply coexisting) with historical research, sociological studies of immigration in Italy commonly apply the historical approach to account for the examined phenomena by performing two types of work at once (after Caponio 2008). The first is primarily concerned with the question of "how it was," recreating and narrating the past through factual evidence. The second is basically devoted to discovering its sociological character—"how and why it happened." It is a controlled analysis consisting of a series of arguments that establish patternings of social reality. An idea of reviving a dialog between sociologists and historians, lively in the United States in the 1970s among scholars studying socioeconomic stratification systems and patterns of mobility, now focused on the study of international migration/immigration and going beyond standard comparisons of "old" and "new" migratory waves to consider discipline-specific agendas and approaches and possibilities of reciprocal translations, seems worthy of consideration by American specialists in this area of studies. Their Italian colleagues would be of help, and there also exist informative works by American scholars on the principles of historical-sociological analysis (see, e.g., Skocpol 1984; Calhoun 1998; Hall 1999; also Aminzade 1992; Abbott 2001).

A review of the issues and prevalent explanatory approaches of (im)migration studies in South-East Asia offers yet another sociology-of-knowledge reminder to American, and also European, scholars in the field to stay sensitive throughout the process of their study to the impact of the concepts and understandings informing scholarly projects on what they include in and exclude from examination, and to the influence of the broader societal contexts of scholarly investigations on the agendas and non-agendas of their research. As the authors of the Asian assessment point out, the prevailing conceptualization in the region of international migration as an economically driven phenomenon has effectively sidelined the social, political, and cultural dimensions of this movement, both in its causes and effects, while the prevailing immigration policies defining foreigners' work-related sojourns as temporary have "skewed" in an exclusively structural direction the earlier-noted conceptualization of (im)migrant transnationalism.

The main practical "lesson" from an overview of the state of the art of (im)migration research in sub-Saharan Africa is the already-mentioned call for a vigilance on the part of scholars in this field of study in more economically advantaged and politically stable parts of the world to make sure that South-East African researchers are included in their academic undertakings. The substantive idea conveyed by this assessment is the need to integrate the study of refugees into mainstream (im)migration research in West Europe and North America. Currently, on both sides of the Atlantic, the study of refugees *sensu stricto* usually constitutes a separate area of research conducted at special research centers with their own concerns, sponsors, and conferences. (Cf., e.g., The Refugee Studies Centre at Oxford University, Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Minnesota, Centre for Refugee Studies at York University in Canada, or a more specialized and European Commission-funded Centre for the Study of Refugee Children—a collaboration of six national centers in the United Kingdom, Italy, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, and Greece.) The incorporation of research on refugees into mainstream immigration studies would enrich investigations of the context-dependency of (im)migrant experience in particular countries as well as cross-country/region comparative analyses, including the marginalized sub-Saharan Africa.

In conclusion of this overview of research agendas in the study of immigration in different parts of the world and mutual lessons scholars can draw from each other, I would like to make three suggestions addressed to practitioners of this field of study across the globe. The most specific postulate concerns the need to make study of (im)migration genuinely gendered. Attention to the gendered nature of social phenomena we examine does not only mean investigations of the sociodemographic profiles of male and female (im)migrants in the countries/locations where they settle, and of the economic, political, and cultural contexts shaping men's and women's gender-specific orientations and activities. More broadly and, at the same time, more specifically, the term refers to the impact of particular forms of gender relations on, in our case, the specific modes of men's and women's assimilation/integration and transnational involvements on existing gender relations in their families and ethnic groups at large and, reciprocally, the effects of particular forms of gender relations on immigrant men's and women's orientations and activities. Whereas attention to the pursuits of women has become a standard component of social-science studies of immigration in all the regions of the world considered here—an undeniable progress compared to the situation not so long ago when men were the exclusive subjects of such investigations—the structural and agentic factors affecting and, in turn, affected by gender relations have thus far received little scrutiny from immigration researchers (on this issue, see Gabaccia 2006). (In this book, too, despite my best efforts, because its analyses have been based on available studies, the main focus was on the experience of men and women immigrants much more than on the impact thereon of gender relations transplanted from their home countries and changing in the host society.)

My second suggestion regarding desirable directions of immigration research is for scholars in this field of study to take up the challenge of making the international migration the integral component of the theoretical agenda of mainstream social sciences. This task is particularly critical at a time when international migration and multiculturalism are articulating the major transformations of the twenty-first century world. If (im)migration specialists do not take this initiative, it will be, I am sure, taken up by others.[8] I proposed in this book just one way of linking the analysis of immigrant experience with the current concerns of mainstream sociology through the examination of glocalizing effects of immigrants' integration and transnational engagements on, respectively, their receiver and home societies. There are obviously several other approaches to making such connections.

The last suggestion—and the justification for this concluding chapter—is for a sustained effort on the part of the scholars in different parts of the world to become and remain familiar with each other's ideas and interpretative approaches. If found useful, these concepts and approaches, some of them anyway, can be accommodated—rather than straightforwardly translated—across regional/country boundaries in consideration of context-specific differences. This position calls not only for "can do" but also for "should do" when feasible, if we agree that such mutual context-sensitive accommodations contribute not only to the enrichment of (im)migration research for all the involved parties, but also to the integration of the study of international migration and its field-specific concerns with mainstream social-science analyses of the contemporary glocal world.

Notes

Introduction

1. Studies of the impact of immigrants on receiver-society labor markets, primarily conducted by economists, have been an exception in this regard; see also Hirschman et al. 1999.

1 The Experience of Old and New Immigrants: A Comparison

1. Two European governments of that era, precursors, one might say, of the forthcoming "etatization" or dependence on state organs of international migrations—Russian on the sending side, and German on the receiving—intervened in migratory movements to a considerable extent, the former by withholding exit passports for the undesirable petitioners, and the latter by limiting the length of stay of the migrant sojourners, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe. (On German and Russian governments' restrictive immigration policies, see Bade 1992; Hoerder and Moch 1996; Morawska and Spohn 1997; Zolberg 1999; Fahrmeir, Faron, and Weil 2003.) The U.S. government that otherwise had open-door immigration policies until the introduction of Immigration Quotas in 1924 nevertheless used restrictive entry and sojourn policies against some Asian groups, in our case, the Chinese (Bernard 1980; Shanks 2001; Zeidel 2004; Zolberg 2006; Fry 2007).
2. Here and following, information of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants' agentic considerations—their concerns, preferences, and life goals—comes from contemporary ethnographic studies, immigrant letters and diaries, and foreign-language press whose large collections are available in the archives of Immigration History Research Centre at the University of Minnesota, the Balch Institute of Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia, and the YIVO Institute in New York, and from studies of American immigration historians. The latter are much too many to enumerate here so I list only the names of some authors whose studies have focused on the above issues: June Alexander, John Bukowczyk, Dino Cinel, Nancy Foner, Donna Gabaccia, Victor Greene, Deborah Moore, Ewa Morawska, Moses Rischin, Gianfausto Rosoli, Theodore Saloutos, June Alexander, Judith Smith, Rudolph Vecoli, Beth Wenger, Joseph Wyman, Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, and Robert Zecker.
3. A minority of (unmarried) women who traveled to the United States were likewise assured to find employment primarily as domestics in middle-class American homes, and also in quickly growing light industries as seamstresses, milliners, weavers, and the like (Dickinson 1975; Gabaccia 1994).

4. The economic development is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the educational and occupational advancement of people; the growth of literacy and increase of occupational skills in most (semi-) peripheral regions has also been the result of state-national programs sponsored by the governments in particular countries.
5. Although prevalent, the mainstream assimilationist discourse about immigrants in turn-of-the-twentieth-century America did not preclude a vocal presence of advocates of cultural pluralism among native-born American intellectuals. The most renowned among those "academic pluralists" were Horace Kallen (1915) and Randolph Bourne (1916) who defended the legitimacy of ethnic diversity—understood in the Eurocentric fashion—as the integral feature of the American society. On the instances of "vernacular," grassroots-level pluralist proclamations in the late-nineteenth–early-twentieth centuries, see Kazal 2008.
6. As of 1929, about 80 percent of Slavic- and Italian-Americans were still employed in lower-manual echelons of industrial labor, while East European Jews who by the interwar period had moved into colleges and white-collar jobs were met with restrictive entry quotas and outspoken anti-Semitism on campuses and in offices—see Briggs 1978; Moore 1981; Bodnar 1985; Hoerder 1985; for a review of historical studies of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants' occupational and educational mobility, see Morawska 1990.
7. East European Jews with their religiously sanctioned collective commitment to the transhistorical Israel as the spiritual *Patria* were an exception.
8. Foreign-language ethnic newspapers played an important role in this process. In addition to current news from the homeland, all these newspapers regularly carried sections devoted to their group national history, and reprinted (and advertised) novels and poetry by writer-heralds of nationalism and patriotism in their respective countries.
9. In today's small-scale, flexible postindustrial production economy with a dispensable workforce that can be easily offshored and outsourced, labor unions and, with them, this mechanism of "ethclass" assimilation (Shibutani and Kwan 1965) have by and large disappeared.
10. Confinement to home did not mean, however, that turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrant women did not contribute to the economic welfare of their families; a majority of them, in fact, contributed between 20 and 30 percent of household monthly earnings by keeping boarders, usually single immigrant men from their own ethnic group, or, in smaller American towns, by cultivating small gardens and selling their produce on the local market. (See Hareven 1982; Gabaccia 1994 on immigrant women's active involvement in the household economy.)
11. There is, of course, a range of transnational activities, such as human trafficking, drug smuggling, and, more recently, international terrorism, that a minority of contemporary immigrants involved in such pursuits keep strictly secret, but this is because of fear of criminal prosecution rather than civic ostracism.
12. On these contributions of *Amerikance*, immigrants in the United States, to the civic-political modernization of South and East European countryside a century ago, see Cerase 1971; Greene 1975; Wyman 1993; Morawska 2001.

2 Mechanisms and Effects of International Migration

1. A very good illustration of this coping strategy is a large-scale interactive agentic appropriation by undocumented Polish (im)migrants of the so-called "diversity visa lotteries" introduced by the U.S. government in the early 1990s to make available permanent residence permits to "persons selected at random from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States." In response to this opportunity, Polish tourist-workers and, after them, other unauthorized migrants obtained hundreds of lottery tickets to increase their chances of winning and, as information about this tactic spread across the Atlantic through the foreign-language press and word of mouth, thousands of undocumented (im)migrants followed suit. As a result, in the first visa lottery drawings, Poles represented about one-third of the total number of winners (their share in the total undocumented (im)migrant population in America has been a fraction of this number). The winners immediately organized the now-legitimate voyage to America of their families left at home, prioritizing those whose closest relatives could follow later and, thus, contributing to the growth of the Polish immigrant population in America. Great numbers of undocumented Mexican (im)migrants in the American Southwest made similar use of the "amnesty" law passed by the U.S. Congress in the late 1980s, granting permanent residence to unauthorized individuals—and, thus, through the Family-Based Immigration law, to their immediate family members still in Mexico—who had resided in America since 1982.
2. A massive switch in the direction of work-seeking migrations of Poles from the United States to Western Europe following Poland's admission to the European Union in 2004 well illustrates the contingency of these agentic considerations on macro-structural circumstances. According to a spring 2008 national survey, less than 15 percent of Poles who planned to seek higher earnings abroad considered going to America and the remainder said they preferred geographically closer and visa-free European countries (Ostrowski 2008).

3 Residential Settlement, Economic Incorporation, and Civic Reception of Immigrants

1. The culture-structure reciprocity implied here has not been theoretically elaborated by advocates of the segmented assimilation approach; for a discussion of this neglect, see Perlmann 1998.
2. Worth noting, although not as popular in current sociological studies on assimilation as the above two understandings of assimilation, has been the approach which rejects the notion of the presumed end-point of this process such as the mainstream middle-class, ghetto underclass, or ethnic enclave locations of the incorporated immigrants and their offspring. It proposes instead to interpret assimilation merely as the gradual "convergence around the mean" or the possibility that immigrants' descendants will attain lifestyles and standards of living that most Americans enjoy (see Waldinger 2003).

3. As stated in the Introduction, the information about both Philadelphia cases—Russian Jewish and Polish immigrants—comes from my own study of these groups conducted in 2002–03.
4. The *dissimilarity* index, ranging from 0 (complete integration) to 1 (complete segregation), gives the proportion of a group's population that would have to change residence for each neighborhood to have the same percent of that group's residents as the metropolitan area overall. A value of 60 and above indicates high segregation, and values of 40 to 50, and 30 or less represent moderate and low segregation, respectively. The other index, *isolation*, describes the extent to which minority group members are exposed only to each other. It also varies from 0 to 1, with higher levels indicating greater isolation.
5. The number of foreign-born Poles in Philadelphia provided by the 2000 U.S. Census is about two times lower than the estimate (used here) of this population found in the survey conducted in 2001 by local Polish-American parishes. The latter most likely reflects a large population of Polish tourist-workers in the area.
6. Pyong Gap Min (2007) notes, however, that self-employment figures for Korean immigrants in Los Angeles as well as in other cities as recorded by the U.S. Census are most likely lower than the actual rates because of the high frequency of unreported employment in small stores of several (unpaid) family members.
7. Apart from mentions of the initial downward occupational mobility of a number of Jamaican immigrants in the New York area I did not find in the available studies the exact figures regarding this phenomenon.
8. Foreign-born New York Jamaicans' holding government jobs in the city has had a long tradition: already in 1940 a similar proportion of them (although mainly men) were thus employed (Model 2008).
9. Students of the social history of Jamaican settlement in American do not agree on the enduring or situationally activated nature of the "entrepreneurial spirit" of the Jamaican popular culture or on the (ir)relevance for immigrants' contemporary activities of a tradition of small-business undertakings by the black Jamaican peasantry going back to the times of slavery—for a good discussion of this issue, see Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001.
10. Lisandro Perez (1986) provides empirical evidence for the claim about the active role of Cuban immigrant women in the economic success of their households in terms of labor force participation and independent earnings. His data, however, concern the years 1979–80 and represent foreign-born Cuban females in general with no specification regarding different émigré waves. I have assumed here that the wives of first-wave Cuban businessmen and managers conformed to the trend illustrated by Perez at least in the initial period of their families' settlement in Miami.
11. A good illustration of this tendency built into the New York political structures is the repeated redistricting initiatives to expand and adjust the number and allocation of seats on the City Council and in the New York State Assembly to accommodate the changing ethnic residential composition of the area.
12. The argument of preferential treatment of West Indians by native white New Yorkers (Waters 1999) has recently been contested by Suzanne Model

(2008). Specifically, Model's claim, backed by extensive empirical evidence, is that even if it takes place, this preferential treatment by whites does not translate into West Indians' economic advantage over African-Americans.

13. The accumulated anger of blacks at the enduring white and, in particular, Cuban-exile community's economic and political hegemony in the Miami area, repeated police abuses, and other disparaging incidents erupted in violence in the spring of 1980. Provoked by a Cuban man's car striking a black girl, it was then aggravated by the differential treatment accorded by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials to Cuban (welcoming and helpful) and Haitian (isolating them in camps and threatening with deportation) boat refugees arriving in Miami. Sporadic riots followed throughout the 1980s. In response to these protests local political establishments appointed some African-Americans to municipal and county offices, and special development programs were created to "rejuvenate" the black community. Their success has been limited, mainly because the rapid economic advance of the Cubans in the city overshadowed whatever progress these measures had brought about.

4 Immigrants' Sociocultural and Civic-Political Assimilation: Different Groups, Different Contexts, and Different Trajectories

1. The limitation of space permits only acknowledgment but not analysis of the reciprocal impact of immigrants' cultural identities, perceptions of other groups, and social commitments on their preference for ethnic composition of the workforce and neighborhoods they live in.
2. The concepts of resilient and accommodating ethnicity have come to immigration/ethnic studies from the literature on resistance versus acquiescence of national minorities subjugated to dominant alien nation-states—see Hechter 1975; on their application to ethnic groups in pluralistic societies, see McKay 1982; Olzak 1983; Nielsen 1985.
3. Hesitant to offer open support to a Los Angeles branch of a pro-democracy group "100," formed after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 because of the justified concern about potential repercussions for their investments in mainland China by that country's political authorities, a number of wealthy Hong Kong and Taiwanese businessmen have been secretly contributing funds to this cause.
4. I have observed this kind of spur-of-the-moment, discontinuous acculturation among undocumented Polish *Arbeitstouristen*, tourist-workers, in Berlin who would spend a few months there, go back home to nearby Poland, and return again for another 4 to 6 months (Morawska 2003b).
5. For an interesting discussion of the redefinition by Russian Jewish immigrant women in Boston of their gender roles in the areas of sexuality, contraception, and understandings of feminism, see Remennick 2007.
6. Students of the impact of immigrants, and, specifically, low-skilled laborers, on the receiver-country/city economy continue to debate its positive versus negative effects. I am more persuaded by the arguments of the advocates of

the former claim—for good overviews with evidence, see Massey et al. 1998; Lucas 2005.

5 Looking Beyond the Host Country: Immigrants' Transnational Engagements

1. This prohibition has been directed against Korean nationals in mainland China and the former Soviet Union who would like to settle in Korea.
2. Unfortunately, there seems to exist no comparable information about such concerns for other groups considered here, although one can suppose that we might find similar situations in cases where men lose status—for example, Koreans (class) and Jamaicans (race)—through emigration.
3. Elián Gonzáles was a 6-year-old Cuban boy who was rescued from the waters near the Florida coast while trying to illegally enter the United States with other refugees. After a prolonged legal and media battle to let him stay with his relatives in Miami, he was sent home to his father.
4. The information for this discussion has been compiled from studies listed in the previous section.

6 Immigrants' American-born Children: Their Modes of Assimilation and Transnational Engagements

1. Second-generation Americans refer here to American-born persons born to foreign-born parents. Space limitation does not permit consideration of either the so-called 1.5 generation or foreign-born persons who came to America at a young age (before 13) and attended American schools or the 2.5 generation or persons who were born in the United States of one foreign- and one American-born parent. (See Rumbaut 2004 for an interesting analysis of educational and occupational mobility and language proficiency of the decomposed second-generation cohorts.)
2. I do not comment on the American-Chinese and the offspring of immigrants from the former USSR because Table 6.1 does not specify the Hong Kong and Taiwanese, and Russian Jewish sub-groups in this population.
3. Not specified in Table 6.1, the figure for American-born Laotians comes from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study [CILS] conducted between 1992 and 2005 in Southern California and South Florida by Ruben Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes and their collaborators—see Portes and Rumbaut 2005.
4. The very concept of segmented assimilation and, specifically, its downward path was introduced to account for the experience of second-generation Americans—see Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993; also see the special issues of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1) 2005 and *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* (620) 2008 on empirical reassessments of the segmented assimilation thesis.
5. Dae Young Kim (1996) found proportionately more American-born children of Korean immigrant shopkeepers than of professionals in New York to hold upper-level white-collar jobs, suggesting a stronger drive toward occupational achievement in the families in the former category.

6. Dating back to the U.S. military presence in the region, Korean and East Asian women in general are stereotyped in American popular culture as hyperfeminine and eager to fulfil men's sexual fantasies.
7. This figure is considerably lower than the earlier-reported proportion for Hispanics in general because of the large numbers and concentration of Mexicans in the Southwest.
8. "Chicano" is a historical term revived in the era of public mobilization and the civil rights movement of ethnic groups in America in the 1960s and indicates political and cultural group ethnic awareness and rejection of assimilation understood as the linear-progressive "melting" into the dominant American society.
9. Interestingly, the situation in Israel is just the opposite: it is Russian Jewish women who date and marry out of their group more often than men, apparently because the former are seen by native Israeli men as pleasantly conforming to traditional role expectations for women—see Remennick 2005.

In Lieu of Conclusion: Some Lessons from the Analysis of American Immigrants' Experience, Research Agendas of (Im)Migration Studies Elsewhere in the World, and What We Can Learn from Each Other

1. Agadjanian, Asis and Piper, and Morawska overviews were first presented at the session organized by this author on "International Migration Research in Different World Regions: Issues and Approaches" held at the International Sociological Association meeting in Durban, South Africa, in July of 2006; they were subsequently updated and published under the same title in the special issue of *Sociological Quarterly* 49(3): 2008.
2. A good overview of such studies can be found at http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications.
3. Somewhat incomprehensibly, considering that American immigration scholars regularly publish in European specialty journals such as *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and *European Journal of International Migration*, when the American literature on the subject is invoked, it is long-abandoned in the United States classical notion of assimilation as a linear process of melting—as in "disappearing"—into the mainstream society and culture.
4. Germany, where scholarly research is funded by both the governmental agencies and independent foundations, departs from this West European pattern.
5. A noteworthy exception here is a cross-country study conducted in the 1990s by the participants in the Asia Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN), headquartered at the Wollongong University in Australia and sponsored by UNESCO, of unauthorized Filippino and Indonesian migrants in Malaysia and Thailand (Asis and Piper 2008: 430).
6. Studies of migratory flows into South Africa are conducted under the auspices of the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), initiated in 1996 and partially supported by funds from North America (http://www.queensu.ca/samp/).

7. Cross-country studies of second-generation educational achievement and occupational mobility in Western Europe and the United States are already underway (see Alba forthcoming). Considering that Richard Alba, the director of the research team conducting this investigation, is a renowned advocate of the flexible, context-dependent conceptualization of assimilation, the incorporation of this approach into West European immigration and ethnic studies in application to the matter examined in the project is already happening.
8. Mainstream social scientists are already taking up the issues central to (im)migration research and, based on skewed and truncated readings of the literature in this field, construct theories of immigrants' assimilation, transnationalism, and, generally, multicultural society. A good example of this development is a recent book by Jeffrey Alexander, *The Civil Sphere* (2006; for a critical review pointing to the author's lack of familiarity with (im)migration/ethnic studies, see Kivisto 2007).

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