

A Cross-Atlantic Dialogue: The Progress of Research and Theory in the Study of International Migration

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The articles included in this issue were originally presented at a conference on Conceptual and Methodological Developments in the Study of International Migration held at Princeton University in May 2003. The conference was jointly sponsored by the Committee on International Migration of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), the Center for Migration and Development (CMD) at Princeton, and this journal. Its purpose was to review recent innovations in this field, both in theory and empirical research, across both sides of the Atlantic. The conference was deliberately organized as a sequel to a similar event convened by the SSRC on Sanibel Island in January 1996 in order to assess the state of international migration studies within the United States from an interdisciplinary perspective. A selection of articles from that conference was published as a special issue of *International Migration Review* (Vol. 31, No. 4, Winter), and the full set of articles was published as the *Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience* (Hirschman, Kasinitz and DeWind, 1999).

The Princeton conference sought to review and update the principal concepts, lines of research, and methodological problems discussed in the *Handbook* and, in this manner, gauge what progress the field has been making and in what directions. In contrast to the earlier and more encompassing event, the Princeton conference was thematically selective, targeting only a few strategic topics. It was the first major event of its kind that deliberately sought equal representation of immigration scholars from both sides of the Atlantic. The organizers tried to extend, in this fashion, the scope of the earlier SSRC conference and subsequent publications that had focused primarily on U.S.-bound immigration and patterns of adaptation.

Consequently, this issue presents, and deliberately contrasts, the approaches taken to the same specific topics in the field of immigration studies by European and North American scholars and the lessons to be learned

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from one another. By and large, this dialogue occurred among anthropologists, political scientists, and sociologists. Economists were not included in the event for several reasons, such as the significant gap in theorizing and research styles between economics and other social sciences; the major challenge in organizing a meaningful dialogue between economists and other scholars of migration; and the relative abundance of volumes written by economists on the origins and “cost/benefit” ratios of immigration. While convening a future meeting on the economics of migration would be a worthwhile task, the Princeton conference sought instead to bring together specialists from other disciplines in Europe and North America, increasing their mutual knowledge and learning from their different orientations.

For various reasons, the paired symmetry featured in the conference between European and North American contributions could not be preserved in all instances in this final collection. Nevertheless, it presents a wealth of novel ideas and contrasting ways of understanding migration so as to give readers a clearer sense of where the field is moving on both sides of the Atlantic.

THEMATIC LINES

The editors of the *Handbook* grouped the articles from the 1996 Sanibel conference around three basic questions:

1. What motivates people to migrate across international boundaries, often at great financial and psychological costs?
2. How are immigrants changed after arrival? (Responses to this question address such issues as adaptation, assimilation, pluralism, and return migration.)
3. What impacts do immigrants have on American life and its economic, sociocultural, and political institutions? (Hirschman *et al.*, 1999:6).

These three questions aptly synthesize the main goals of the field and the bulk of the existing literature. They are, as it were, the basic pillars supporting the study of immigration. Going beyond them, the first chapter of the *Handbook* outlined a series of thematic priorities for future research grounded on the author’s perception of the state of the field back then (Portes, 1999). The chapter argued that there is no such thing as a grand theory of migration encompassing all its aspects and that seeking such a synthesis would be misguided. To encompass the very heterogeneous questions addressed in this field, a comprehensive theory would have to be pitched at such a high level of abstraction as to be useless for the explanation

and prediction of concrete processes. Instead, the chapter advocated the development of mid-range concepts and theories and presented a research agenda where this task could be fruitfully attempted. Areas included were:

- Transnationalism and Transnational Communities
- The New Second Generation
- Households and Gender
- States and State Systems
- Cross-national Comparisons

The latter area represents less a substantive field than a call to develop and test concepts and theories comparatively. A first step in this direction is to see how specific topics are approached by scholars in different social and historical contexts, which is one of the goals of the present collection. The remaining four areas above were included and extended in the topical agenda for the Princeton conference which thus offers the opportunity to examine how their analysis evolved in recent years. These topics are:

- States and supra-state entities in the governance of migration and refugee movements
- Modes of immigrant political incorporation in the United States and Europe
- New developments in the study of immigrant transnationalism
- The role of religion in the origins and adaptations of immigrant groups
- The continuing debate on immigrant entrepreneurship and ethnic enclaves
- Methodological problems in the study of the immigrant second generation
- Methodological problems in the study of undocumented migration

This substantive agenda, developed in collaboration by the SSRC Committee, the CMD at Princeton, and the *IMR* editors, attempted to identify areas at the frontier of immigration research that have garnered the attention of theorists and researchers on both sides of the Atlantic in recent years. The different approaches to each of these topics are presented in the following articles and summarized in their respective abstracts. They need not be repeated here. Instead we call attention in this introduction to what we envision as significant developments in one or more of these subfields referring, when appropriate, to articles in this collection.

STATES AND MODES OF POLITICAL INCORPORATION

The first four articles in this issue have to do, in one form or another, with

the problematic relationship between national states and international migration. By definition, states seek to regulate what takes place within their borders and what comes from the outside. International migrants are one of the most potent and most problematic of these flows because, unlike commodities or other inanimate exchanges, they are composed of people who can, by their sustained presence, alter the very character of the receiving society. For this reason, as Hollifield (2004) and Castles (2004) contend, all modern states have sought to carefully monitor and regulate such entries in order to balance demands for greater openness and restriction, although their record of performance at this task has been mixed.

As Zolberg (1999) and Castles (2004) have pointed out, the economic distance between the global North and South has become so vast as to create a virtually inexhaustible supply of potential migrants. The gap is aggravated by the forces of capitalist globalization that expose and entice Third World populations to the benefits of modern consumption, while denying them the means to acquire them. In the developed world, meanwhile, a growing thirst for labor willing to perform the harsh and low-paid menial work that citizen workers increasingly avoid creates a powerful magnet for migrants from less developed lands. The fit between such labor needs and the motivations of citizens of the global South to improve their life chances is so powerful as to defy state efforts at controlling it (Hollifield, 2004).

Once international labor flows start, networks emerge between migrants and their places of origin that make the movement self-sustaining over time. Networks tend to develop such strength and momentum as to support continuing migration even after the original economic motives have declined or disappeared (Massey *et al.*, 2002; Massey, 2004; Portes and Bach 1985). The rapid exchange of information and flexibility of these networks can easily bypass official efforts to channel or suppress migrant flows. Governments of sending nations cannot be counted on to cooperate in such efforts either. Almost without exception, Third World countries have come to understand the significant advantages of out-migration, both as a safety valve to alleviate the pressure of domestic scarcities and as a future source of important financial contributions (Guarnizo *et al.*, 2003). There is no logical incentive for these governments to try to repress emigration and every incentive to maintain ties with large expatriate communities functioning as an increasingly important economic resource.

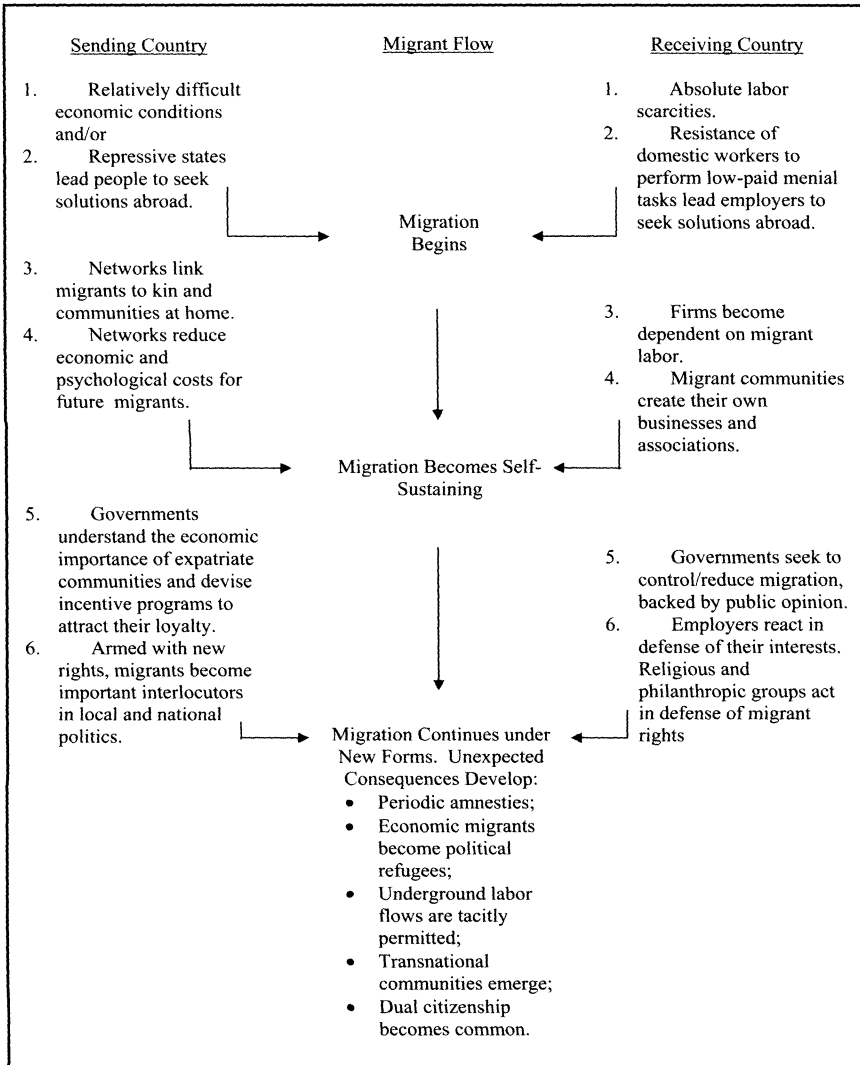
Ambivalently arraigned against these powerful forces are the governments and policies of receiving nations. While the native population of receiving countries tends to be hostile toward large-scale immigration, this

sentiment is generally diffuse, it is far from universal, and it seldom coalesces in organized or militant opposition. In contrast, as several authors have noted, the interests of those favoring the continuation of immigrant flows, including the migrants themselves and their employers, are often highly focused and determined (Freeman, 1995, 2004; Cornelius, 1998; Massey *et al.*, 2002). Governments of countries in the developed world are not impotent in the face of those pressures. Indeed, these states represent the key institutional actor enforcing the North/South divide and keeping the vast majority of would-be migrants in their respective countries (Zolberg, 1999). However, the social forces at play inevitably create a gap between regulatory intent and results, frequently leading to paradoxical outcomes. For instance, redoubling border enforcement compels migrant laborers to abandon their previous pattern of circular migration, encouraging them instead to settle in the host country and bring their families. Instead of stopping migration, these “get tough” policies end up consolidating migrants’ presence and further entrenching their support networks (Castles, 2004; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996:Ch. 8).

Students of the politics of migration have been preoccupied by a second set of forces hampering official control efforts. By and large, the wealthy receiving nations are also democracies where human rights legislation applies to all those within their borders, not just citizens, preventing state attempts to deal summarily with unwelcome newcomers. Religious groups, philanthropic organizations, and associations of settled migrants stand ready to mobilize the judiciary against the executive branch in the name of migrants’ human rights. This gives rise to the “liberal paradox” in which the most powerful nations in the world are prevented by their own laws from effectively controlling or suppressing unwanted immigration (Hollifield, 2004; Freeman, 2004). Figure I summarizes the interplay of forces giving rise to these unexpected consequences.

The complex interplay of political forces supporting international migration is no better reflected than in the rise and growing recognition of dual nationality and dual citizenship. Promoted originally by the governments of sending nations as a means to sustain the loyalty of their expatriates and keep their investments and remittances flowing, dual citizenship has become accepted as well by host countries in the developed world, either explicitly or tacitly. Contradicting the previously enshrined principle in international law that every person must have one and only one nationality, dual citizenship laws are currently accepted and defended as a novel form of political incorporation that reconciles immigrants’ competing loyalties and actually facili-

Figure I. States and Immigration



tates their long-term integration to host societies. Though opponents point to the patent injustice of migrants being able to play off one set of national laws against another, something that native citizens cannot do, supporters point to the equally patent justice of giving common people the same

transnational reach and rights as those granted to multinational corporations and the wealthy. These dynamics (analyzed in detail by Faist, 2004) show, above all, how the interplay of competing forces outlined in Figure I can lead to unanticipated effects, startlingly at variance with the original expectations of actors involved in the process. The effect of regulatory regimes in state, market, welfare, and cultural domains of Western democracies in promoting the incorporation of immigrants, as described by Freeman (2004), can be offset not only by dual citizenship, but also by other ties that migrants sustain with their homeland societies.

TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND IMMIGRANT ENTERPRISE

A second area of increasing theoretical and research interest has been the rise and consolidation of transnational ties between immigrant diasporas and their respective sending countries. Dual citizenship represents the most visible political aspect of this process, but its social, economic, and cultural manifestations are equally important. Transnationalism represents, in this sense, the obverse of the canonical notion of assimilation, sustained as the image of a gradual but irreversible process of acculturation and integration of migrants to the host society. Instead, transnationalism evokes the alternative image of a ceaseless back-and-forth movement, enabling migrants to sustain a presence in two societies and cultures and to exploit the economic and political opportunities created by such dual lives.

The early literature on the topic conveyed the sense that transnationalism was becoming the normative pattern of adaptation among contemporary migrants. "Everyone was doing it," and, hence, old-style assimilation was a thing of the past. Indeed, the call for attention to this field in the first chapter of the *Handbook* argued that:

Communication facilities, added to the economic, social, and psychological benefits that transnational enterprise can bring, may turn these activities into the normative adaptation path for certain immigrant groups. . . . That path is, of course, at variance with those envisioned by the assimilation perspective. (Portes, 1999:29).

Another question at that time was whether transnational practices existed only among immigrants to the United States or were present elsewhere. The subsequent literature has answered this question affirmatively, while correcting some of the earlier excessive expectations. Indeed, though transnational practices may be as common among immigrants in Europe as among those in the United States, in neither case are they necessarily nor-

mative. An empirical, statistically representative survey of Latin American immigrants in the United States discovered that involvement in transnational activities was exceptional, with less than 15 percent of immigrant family heads taking part in them on a regular basis. Even occasional participation was not generalized and involved only a minority of the relevant populations (Portes *et al.*, 2002; Guarnizo *et al.*, 2003; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002).

Despite this numerical limitation, the same study discovered that participants were not generally the most recent or least integrated immigrants, but those who had managed to establish a more solid foothold in the receiving country. Transnational practices were found to increase with time since immigration, a result that leads to the expectation that they would continue to expand in the future. Other studies in the countries of origin demonstrated the enormous impact that remittances, regular visits, and the philanthropic activities organized by expatriates can have on the communities of origin (Smith, 1998; Landolt, 2001; Levitt, 2001). As a Salvadoran sociologist put it trenchantly: "Migration and remittances are the true economic adjustment program of the poor in our country" (Ramos, 2002).

Two of the articles in this issue review the recent literature in this subfield and highlight the potential significance of transnational activities for the identities and social lives of participants, for the political order of sending and receiving states, and for economic development (Vertovec, 2004; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). In their contribution to this issue, Levitt and Glick Schiller trace the development of knowledge in this field and distinguish between "modes of being" and "modes of belonging" as an analytic lens to clarify the organization, meaning, and implications of immigrant transnationalism.

A controversy that began prior to the publication of the *Handbook* was whether there was "anything new" in this concept since practices labeled today as "transnational" could also be found in abundance among earlier immigrant groups, such as those coming to the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That controversy was resolved by a growing consensus that transnationalism represents a new analytic perspective, not a novel phenomenon (Glick Schiller, 1999). Through this analytic lens, it becomes possible to reconceptualize a set of disparate experiences described in the early historical literature, to highlight their common features, and to compare them fruitfully to contemporary events (Smith, 2003).

In addition, there is growing recognition that developments in transportation and communication technologies have qualitatively transformed

the character of immigrant transnationalism, turning it into a far more dense and dynamic cross-border exchange than anything that would have been possible in earlier times. No matter how committed and mindful of their native villages Italian or Polish immigrants of an earlier era were, they could not possibly send remittances, make investments, visit, or communicate with kin and friends with the ease and speed made possible by air travel and the internet. Figure II portrays, in synthetic form, the cumulative character of this phenomenon.

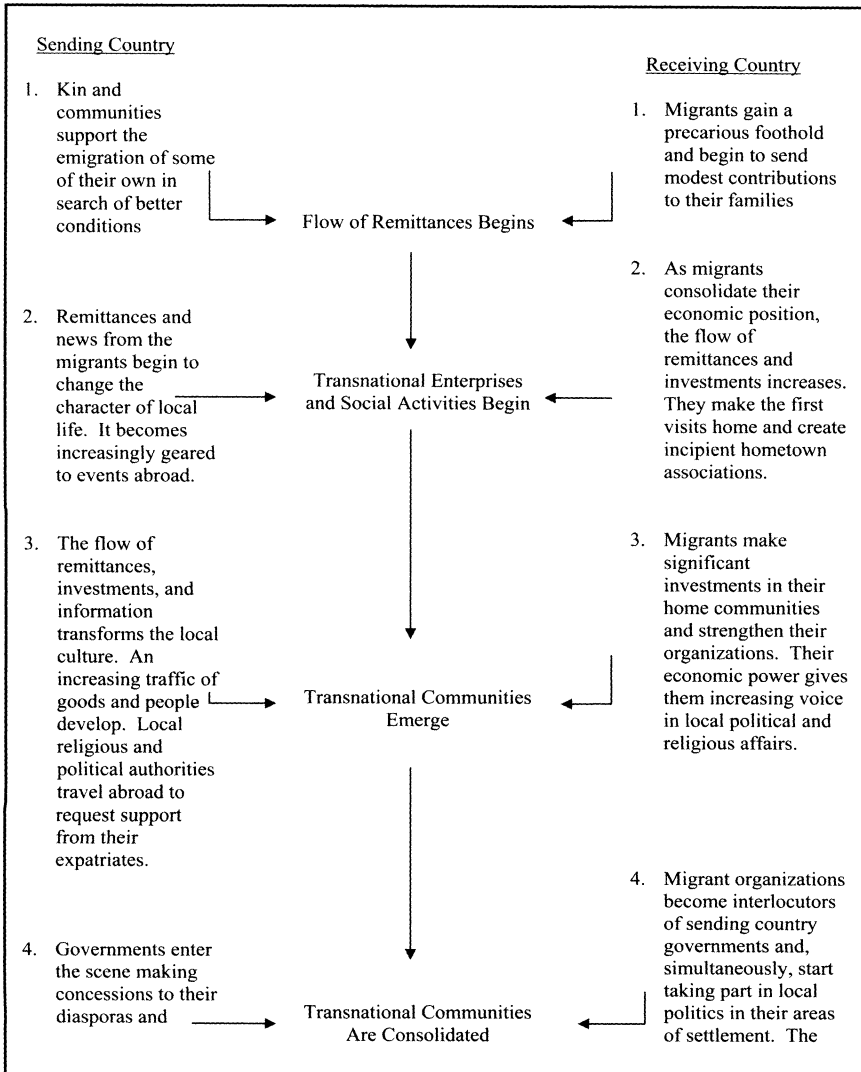
A parallel literature on immigrant self-employment and entrepreneurship developed in the past with an almost exclusive domestic focus. Publications on the topic, including those in the *Handbook*, concentrated, almost exclusively, on determinants of entrepreneurship and their economic consequences for those involved (Raijman and Tienda, 1999; Light, 1984; Light and Rosenstein, 1995; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). In her contribution to this issue, Zhou makes the important point that immigrant entrepreneurship is frequently tied to the countries of origin and it is thus transnational. This assertion is backed by empirical evidence from the survey of Latin American migrants cited earlier which shows that the majority of self-employed family heads in these communities are actually transnational entrepreneurs (Portes *et al.*, 2002). By linking together previously separate literatures, Zhou's article opens a new perspective on the topic of immigrant entrepreneurship, pointing toward possibilities for its expansion and development beyond what an exclusively domestic perspective would allow.

The same article makes a second theoretical contribution by highlighting the noneconomic consequences of immigrant enclaves (one of the three forms of entrepreneurship distinguished in the literature), especially with regard to the adaptation process of the second generation. Zhou points out that these tightly-knit communities, with a high diversity of institutional resources, promote selective acculturation and, hence, high self-esteem and a strong achievement orientation among second-generation youths. They also furnish them with the resources and information necessary to succeed, which are absent or less abundant among less entrepreneurial migrant groups. The various ways in which these resources are made available to children of immigrants are described in detail in the article.

UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRATION AND THE SECOND GENERATION

From a methodological standpoint, one of the most persistently difficult problems in this field is the measurement and analysis of determinants of

Figure II. The Process of Immigrant Transnationalism



unauthorized immigration. The illegal flow of persons across national borders wreaks havoc with national population statistics as well as with attempts to establish a measure of order and regulation in labor markets. In their contributions to this issue, Douglas Massey and Friedrich Heckmann ad-

dress the problem from different perspectives. Massey examines in detail reasons why census data, surveys, or deportation statistics provide very imperfect coverage of the phenomenon, given its elusive nature. He proposes instead the methodology of “ethnosurveys” based on detailed interviews of individuals and families in communities of origin and extensive data gathering of the characteristics of these communities themselves.

The data generated by Massey’s Mexican Migration Project (MMP) and Latin American Migration Project (LMP) provide ample evidence that labor-intensive ethnosurveys can provide reliable information on the extent of unauthorized migration, its determinants, and its relationships to parallel legal flows (Massey, 1987, 2004; Massey and Espinosa, 1997). But, when financial or time constraints prevent the implementation of this measurement approach, other approximations may be necessary. Heckmann discusses several of these for the German case, including interviews with apprehended aliens, statistics regarding asylum applicants already living in Germany, and in-depth ethnographic studies of networks of people smugglers. This last approach appears uniquely suitable for the analysis of long-distance clandestine flows, such as those originating in China and the Asian successor states of the former Soviet Union that ferry people into Western Europe and the United States (Heckmann, 2004; Kyle and Koslowski, 2001).

From a theoretical standpoint, enough empirical information exists to arrive at a general understanding of the determinants of unauthorized flows. They emerge out of the clash between attempts to enforce borders by receiving states and the mutually supportive forces of migrant motivations, their networks, and employer demand for low wage labor in host societies. The networks constructed by migrants across national borders and the “migration industry” of travel agents, lawyers, people smugglers, document forgers, and the like have proven extraordinarily resilient over time. The length to which people are willing to go in order to reach the developed world is palpable proof of the wide and growing economic gap between the global North and South (Zolberg, 1989, 1999; Castles, 1986, 2004).

At the same time, however, stagnant or declining populations, growing economies, and an increasing reluctance by educated workers to engage in menial, low-wage labor creates a structural demand in the labor market of wealthy nations that migrants are more than happy to fill (Bach and Brill, 1991; Cornelius, 1998; Ballard, 2000). Common depictions of “alien invasions” in the popular literature neglect the fact that migrants in general, and unauthorized ones in particular, come not only because they want to but because they are wanted. While the general population may oppose their

presence, firms and employers in a number of sectors need and rely heavily upon this labor supply (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996:Ch. 3; Massey *et al.*, 2002).

Faced with the combined forces of migrant networks, the migration industry, and structural labor demand, receiving states have not been able to consistently and effectively control their borders. As we have seen above, a series of unexpected consequences emerge instead out of this clash. One of the most important and least noticed is the link between unauthorized migration and the fate of the second generation. The issue of illegality is generally studied as a first-generation phenomenon, in terms of the migrants' origins, their ways of overcoming legal barriers, and their impact on host labor markets. Forgotten is the fact that illegals, like other migrants, can spawn a second generation that grows up under conditions of unique disadvantage despite their legal citizenship.

The concept of segmented assimilation was coined to highlight the point that, under present circumstances, children of immigrants growing up in the United States confront a series of challenges to their successful adaptation that will define the long-term position in American society of themselves and their descendants – the ethnic groups spawned by today's immigration. Facing barriers of widespread racism, a bifurcated labor market, the ready presence of countercultural models in street gangs and the drug culture, immigrants' success depends on the economic and social resources that they, their families, and their communities can muster (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1994). Immigrant professionals and entrepreneurs commonly possess the necessary human capital and economic means to protect their children. They can face the challenges posed by the host society with a measure of equanimity.

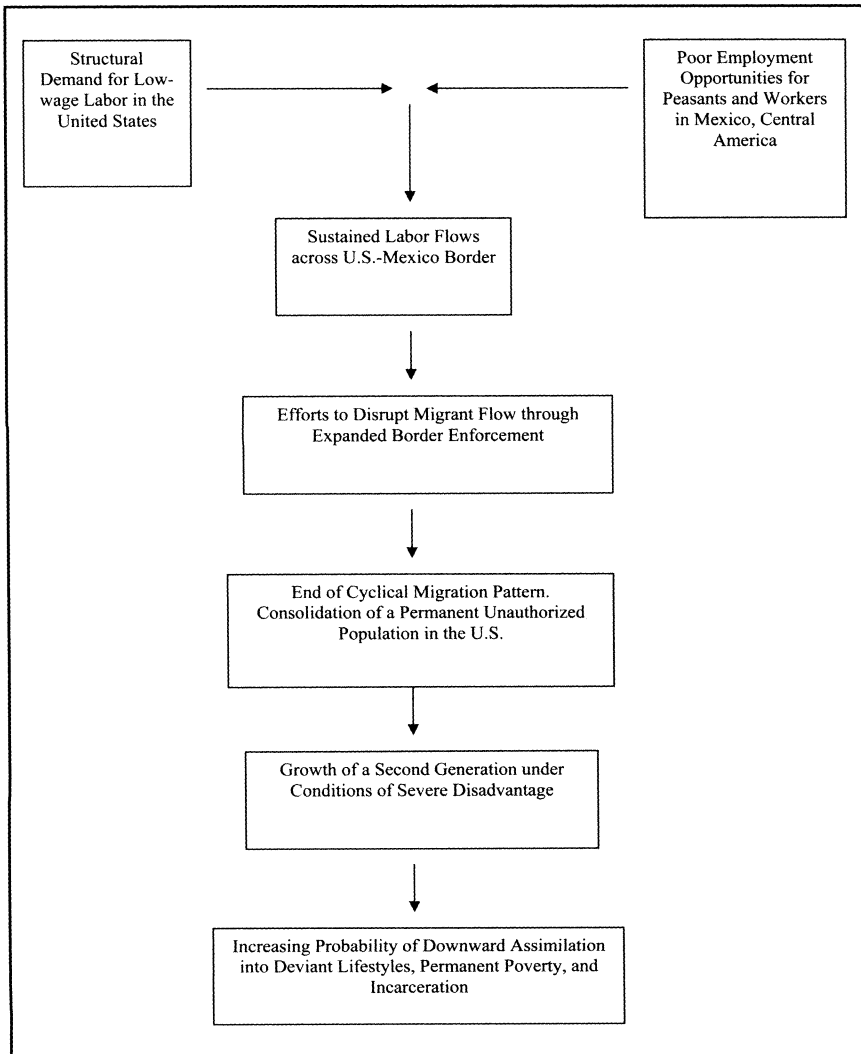
Immigrants of more modest backgrounds but who are part of strong, solidary communities can create the necessary social capital to support parental expectations and steer youths away from the lures of consumerism, drugs, and the culture of the street. In such cases, immigrant families are able to create a measure of "closure," supporting one another's expectations and steering children to success in the educational system (Coleman, 1988; Zhou and Bankston, 1996). On the other hand, poorly educated migrants who come to fill menial positions at the bottom of the labor market and who lack strong community bonds have greater difficulty supporting their youths. Because of poverty, these migrants often move into central city areas where their children are served by poor schools and are daily exposed to countercultural models and deviant lifestyles.

The trajectory followed by a number of children of immigrants trapped in this situation has been labeled downward assimilation to denote the fact that, in their case, acculturation to the norms and values of the host society is not a ticket for material success and status advancement, but exactly the opposite. Dropping out of school, adolescent pregnancies, incidents of arrest and incarceration, injuries or death in gang fights, and increasing conflict and estrangement from parents are all consequences and indicators of this situation. Because of their situation of unique vulnerability, children of unauthorized immigrants are among the most likely to confront challenges posed by the host society unaided and, hence, to be at risk of downward assimilation (Fernandez-Kelly and Curran, 2001; Lopez and Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

In the past, it made sense to study unauthorized immigration as a one-generation phenomenon because the flow was comprised of young adults who came to the United States for cyclical work periods, such as those marked by agricultural harvests, and then returned home. As seen previously, vigorous border enforcement has encouraged unauthorized migrants and others in tenuous legal positions to bring their families along, as cyclical returns home become too costly or dangerous. This pattern appears to be common to receiving countries on both sides of the Atlantic (Cornelius, 1998; Massey *et al.*, 2002; Castles, 1984, 2004; Heckmann, 2004). A settled unauthorized population in these countries establishes the demographic basis for the emergence of a handicapped second generation and, hence, for the theoretical link between determinants of these flows and the process of segmented assimilation. Figure III graphically portrays the process, as it has taken place in the United States.

It is not clear whether this model is entirely applicable to the second generation in Western Europe. It is possible that in urban cores lacking entrenched deviant subcultures and in very different contexts of reception, immigrants follow alternative paths not contemplated in the segmented assimilation model. One such possibility, adumbrated by one of the articles discussed next, is the perpetuation across generations of institutionally diverse ethnic communities that maintain their own language and customs and create parallel hierarchies of prestige and power.

In their contributions to this issue, Rubén Rumbaut and Hartmut Esser approach the topic of the second generation from very different perspectives. Rumbaut's article is an inductive effort to disaggregate the concept of second generation by demonstrating the empirical variations in important adaptation outcomes among immigrant children arriving in the United

Figure III. Immigration Border Control and its Unexpected Consequences

States at different points of their life cycle. In distinguishing between the 1.25, 1.5, 1.75, 2.00 (U.S. born, two immigrant parents), and even 2.5 (U.S. born, one immigrant parent) generations, he finds significant differences with regard to language acquisition, education, and occupational attainments. Hartmut Esser takes the opposite tack, offering us a broad deductive

theory presumably applicable to all immigrant groups. Inspired by rational action theory, the model focuses on the utility functions that immigrants and their offspring have for investing in “host country capital” (*i.e.*, language instruction and education in the receiving country) as opposed to “ethnic community capital” (preserving the culture, language, and social networks grounded in their home nations).

Despite its proposed generality, this original effort at theory building has the historical experience of West Germany and other European countries as tacit background insofar as it takes as its main *explanandum* the possible perpetuation of cohesive and more or less institutionally complete ethnic communities across generations, which may even mobilize politically to impose their views on the host society. This possibility is difficult to conceive in the United States where immigrant communities, including the most institutionally diverse ethnic enclaves, tend to weaken and eventually disappear in the course of two or three generations. In the North American context, the question is not whether assimilation will take place, but to what segment of American society will migrants assimilate. Americans all, the descendants of today’s immigrants may find themselves in very different positions in the society’s hierarchies of prestige and power, depending on the resources that they, their families, and their communities were able to bring to the fray.

By reframing the European experience in theoretical terms, Esser’s analysis raises the possibility of revising the concept of segmented assimilation to include refusal to assimilate and the perpetuation of autonomous ethnic social systems over generations. Overall, Rumbaut’s and Esser’s contributions highlight the contrasting perspectives that can be brought to bear on the same topic by scholars coming from different intellectual traditions and, hence, the fruitfulness of a cross-Atlantic dialogue. The same lesson is apparent in the last substantive issue covered in this chapter.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN MIGRANT INCORPORATION

Until recently, the theoretical literature on immigration imitated, unwittingly, the French state emphasis on *laïcité* by focusing on the economic, political, linguistic, and identificational parameters of immigrant incorporation, while ignoring the presence and effects of religion. This has been changing as a result of several factors that include: 1) empirical evidence pointing to the strong and growing presence of religion in the general American population (Hout and Greeley, 1998); 2) additional studies pointing to the importance of religious beliefs and communities in the emergence

of transnational communities and the successful integration of the second generation (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002; Levitt, 2003; Zhou and Bankston, 1996, 1998); and 3) the rise of Islam as an organized religious presence in Western Europe and the United States and the subsequent series of confrontations and negotiations with national states.

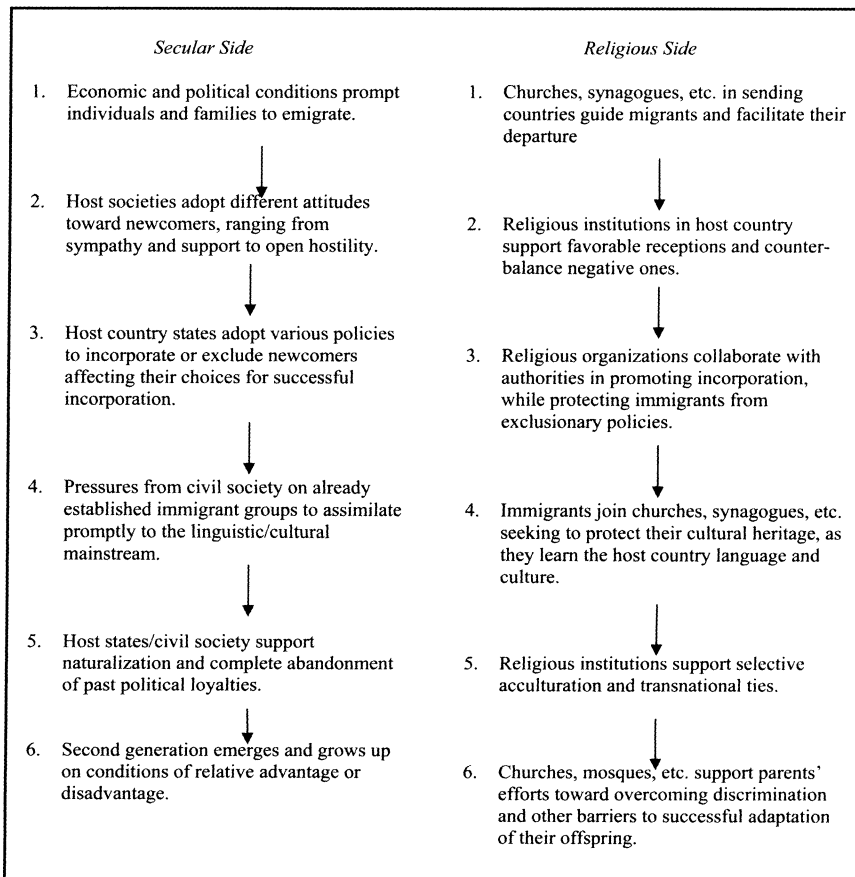
The articles by Charles Hirschman and Riva Kastoryano on religion and immigrant incorporation point, once again, to the wide differences in perspectives arising from diverse national contexts and intellectual traditions. Hirschman takes a historical, ground-up perspective in highlighting the vital significance of religious identity and the material resources of religious institutions in the early incorporation and subsequent integration of immigrant groups in the United States. The focus is resolutely on the migrants themselves and on the religious institutions which, like the Catholic Church, protected them from mainstream Protestant hostility, helped them preserve their language and customs, educated their children, and launched their second generation into successful careers and lives. The American state is, at best, a distant presence, processing and often renaming migrants at Ellis Island, but otherwise letting them fend for themselves in the new land.

By contrast, Kastoryano resolutely focuses on contemporary trends and on the role of West European states as they attempt to absorb the Muslim population in their midst and incorporate it into the national body politic. Hers is a top-down perspective with the state-religion dynamics at the core of the narrative. Those dynamics vary significantly from one case (France), where official efforts center on weakening past loyalties and incorporating migrants and their descendants into a common civic culture, to another (Germany), where the predominant orientation is toward recognition and institutionalization of distinct religious/ethnic minorities. In contrast to the American experience, where ethnicity – heavily backed by religious institutions – was allowed to play itself over the years in the private sphere, the European cases show the heavy hand of the state as it intervenes to mold and shape the course of ethnic identities and religious loyalties. Not surprisingly, such an interventionist stance has often resulted in unexpected consequences, including some that were the reverse of those intended. Kastoryano insightfully analyzes these outcomes.

Religious beliefs and the institutions that support them can play significant roles in each of the substantive areas discussed previously: state attempts to regulate migration and the “liberal paradox”; immigrant transnationalism and entrepreneurship; illegal immigration and the rise of a new second generation. By and large, religion has been less a main determinant

of migration and incorporation than one that led to a series of “interaction effects” with other factors: it seldom creates immigrant flows by itself, but accompanies them and cushions their roughest transitions; it does not dictate state policy, but helps implement it or, alternatively, resists it when seen as inimical to the interests of its members; it seldom initiates transnational activities, but strengthens them through the activities and connections of churches, mosques, and temples from “here” and “there”; it does not create the social context confronted by the second generation, but can become a vital force in guiding youths and helping integrate them successfully. Figure IV graphically portrays these relationships.

Figure IV. Religion and Immigrant Incorporation: Interaction Effects



On the whole, religious interactions and interventions have been guided by a logic entirely at variance with the core beliefs underlying state policy and the dominant stereotypes held by the native population. That logic is well captured in Hirschman's observation that "immigrants become Americans by joining a church and participating in its religious and community life" (Hirschman, this issue). In other words, the road to successful integration passes through the creation of ethnic communities and the re-assertion of a common cultural background, with strong religious undertones. By contrast, the predominant orientation among the native-born population and often among state authorities is that immigrants' vigorous assertion of distinct ethnic identities and foreign cultures somehow undermines the unity of the nation and the preservation of its integrity.

In their time, Irish Catholics and Russian Jews were targets of such accusations and their "Popish" loyalties and Semitic clannishness denounced as un-American and contrary to national values. In 1917, Madison Grant deplored "The Passing of the Great Race" and blamed the Russian Jews, Italians, and others for the "mongrelization of America" (Grant, 1916). Riots, lynchings, exclusionary quotas and widespread discrimination followed (Handlin, 1973; Vecoli, 1977; Howe, 1976; Greeley, 1971). Mercifully, the American state was either too weak or too indifferent to take a heavy interventionist stance, letting immigrant groups develop their own social and cultural institutions, including their parishes, school, and synagogues. The long-term results of such developments are celebrated today as the success stories of European immigrant groups in the United States and of the American ability to integrate them. That "ability" was grounded precisely in the state doing rather little and religious institutions doing a great deal. The lesson can provide a salutary point of reference as Western European states and societies ponder today ways to cope with the growing Islamic population in their midst.

CONCLUSION: ADVANCING A CROSS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE

One reason that the SSRC's Committee on International Migration began its work, including the 1996 Sanibel conference and the resulting *Handbook*, by focusing on "the American experience" was that consolidating a national and interdisciplinary perspective seemed to be a necessary preliminary step toward being able to structure meaningful comparisons. The development of post-World War II migration studies in the United States, Europe, and other

countries has laid a foundation for a variety of cross-national comparisons and collaborations. The inclusion in this issue of chapters by European and North American scholars illustrates various types and benefits of such comparisons and suggests other forms of international scholarly collaborations. While this volume does not provide the basis for elaborating a full agenda for the internationalization of migration studies, we believe that a number of issues merit notice and consideration in subsequent efforts to organize international exchanges.

As objects of research, nations provide useful comparative contexts for assessing the significance of similarities and differences in migration processes and outcomes. The articles in this issue illustrate advantages that can be derived from the comparative methods of agreement and difference (Mill, 1846). Like Mill's method of comparative agreement, the approaches of Hollifield, Castles, and Faist assume the basic similarity of liberal democracies as a context and then provide unified models or frameworks for identifying and explaining cross-national differences in immigrant incorporation. Consistent with Mill's method of comparative difference, the articles of Hirschman and Kastoryano, by focusing on the distinctive roles of religion in the incorporation of immigrants in the United States and in France and Germany, respectively, highlight important dissimilarities between each state's involvement in constructing national identities and cultures.

The depth and significance of insights that can be gained from such cross-national comparisons of research findings depends in large measure, of course, on the methods upon which the research is based. The article by Rumbaut makes clear the importance of precision in defining, distinguishing, and employing analytical concepts. Similarly the article by Heckmann highlights the importance of employing a variety of methods – ranging from the qualitative to the quantitative – in adapting to the topical focus of the research and variable access to reliable information. Though scholars from different countries and disciplines might have preferences for various methodological approaches to research and analysis, there is no reason to closely identify such approaches with the nationality of scholars themselves.

Despite the existing facility and significance of cross-national comparisons in the field of migration studies, the articles by Levitt and Glick Schiller and by Vertovec on transnational aspects of migration and other global processes remind us that nation-states and national societies are not the only units or contexts for migration that ought to be the focus of internationally comparative scholarship. In defining the concept of "social fields" in order to identify the boundaries of migrants' transnational networks, Levitt and

Glick Schiller assume such cross-border relations will connect migrants on various levels – local, regional, and global, as well as national. No matter how transnational communities are bounded, their networks or social fields are also useful units for comparisons of agreement and difference. Vertovec's article goes further in suggesting how the "bi-focality" of transnational migration affects other global processes, such as economic development. Thus migration flows can not only be compared with regard to their relations with other global processes, but those relationships themselves are proper subjects for comparative research and analysis.

In this examination of only a few of the ways in which international scholarship on migration can be fruitfully linked, it becomes clear that doing so requires concepts, frameworks, and methodologies designed for this purpose. But, like the original orientation of the SSRC International Migration Program, most scholars' disciplinary training is focused on examining migration within single national contexts. This tendency suggests that internationalizing the field of migration studies so that scholars can collaborate more fully in refining concepts or advancing theoretical explanations will in the future require a different kind of training and a more explicitly comparative intellectual stance. The insights that have resulted from bringing together scholars from Europe and the United States in this issue are an indication of the potential value that promoting such international efforts can bring to the field of migration studies.

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