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In the history, the very personality, of New York City, few events loom larger than the wave of immigration which peaked in the first decade of the twentieth century. Between 1880 and 1920, close to a million and a half immigrants arrived and settled in the city—so that by 1910 fully 41 percent of all New Yorkers were foreign born. Today, a new wave of immigrants is again changing the face of the city. They are Asians, Latin Americans, and West Indians in the main, and they already constitute over a third of the city’s population. Not surprisingly, the commentators and analysts, popular and academic, in the press and in the journals, are comparing the new immigration with the old.

A process akin to what historians call the invention of tradition has taken place with regard to the earlier influx, a kind of invention of immigration that deeply colors how today’s arrivals are seen. Nowhere is this more apparent than when it comes to race—one of the topics I discuss in *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York’s Two Great Waves of Immigration* (Yale University Press, 2000).

Over and over, we hear that today’s immigrants are mostly nonwhite compared to white European arrivals of the past. This seems like an obvious fact—but in truth, it’s not a fact at all. Race is a changeable perception—a “social and cultural construction”—and views of race have changed enormously in the last hundred years. Although we think of European immigrants of the past as being white, they didn’t look this way to commentators at the turn of the last century. There was considerable prejudice against Jews and Italians and, to a surprising degree, it was put in racial terms.

A century ago, the difference between a “swarthy” Italian and a “white” German was as visible as the difference today between an “Asian American” and a “European American.” What Jews and Italians look like hasn’t changed much; what has changed enormously is people’s perceptions of Jews and Italians. A hundred years ago, Jews and Italians were thought to be a different race than people from northern and western Europe. They looked different to most New Yorkers, and they were believed to have distinct biological features and innate character traits. The courts recognized them as white, and they were seen as superior to black and Asian groups, yet they were not the equals of northern and western Europeans. To use the terms recently coined by historians to describe Jews’ and Italians’ ambiguous racial status, they were “inbetween peoples,” “probationary whites,” and “not-yet-white-ethnics.”

At the beginning of the twentieth century, full-blown theories about the racial inferiority of eastern European Jews and southern Italians were well within the mainstream of the scientific community—they were propounded by respected scholars and given the stamp of approval by public intellectuals and opinion leaders. Madison Grant, a patriotic New Yorker and founder of the New York Zoological Society, wrote in his influential book, *The Passing of the*...
Great Race, of southern and eastern Europeans of inferior breeding who were polluting the nation’s Nordic stock—and sweeping America toward a “racial abyss.” This theme was picked up in speeches by figures of the stature of Calvin Coolidge who wrote in a popular magazine in 1921 that “America must be kept American. Biological laws show that Nordics deteriorate when mixed with other races.”

Articles with titles like, “Are the Jews an Inferior Race?” and “Will the Jews Ever Lose Their Racial Identity?” appeared in the most frequently read periodicals. Jewish racial features, according to an article in the New York Sun (1839), made them unassimilable: “Usually a Jew is recognizable as such by sight. . . . After a few generations other immigrants to this country lose their race identity and become Americans only. . . . Generally the Jews retain theirs, undiminished, so that it is observable by all men.”

In everyday life, there was a racial vocabulary to describe the new immigrants. Italians were often described as “swarthy,” and a common epithet for them, guinea, connected them with Africa. As late as the 1930s, an American history textbook asked whether it would be possible to absorb the “millions of olive-skinned Italians and swarthy black-haired Slavs and dark-eyed Hebrews into the body of the American people.” A 1939 Life magazine article described baseball player Joe Dimaggio as speaking English without an accent: “Instead of olive oil or smelly bear grease, he [Dimaggio] keeps his hair slick with water. He never reeks of garlic. . . .”

Eventually, of course, Jews and Italians became members of an all-encompassing white community. Among the many factors involved: the end of the massive immigration in the 1920s which reduces fears about the deluge of racial inferiors and also facilitated assimilation; the economic successes of Jews and Italians and their increasing intermingling with other European groups; and the fact that Jews and Italians were in-between peoples to begin with, recognized in some contexts as white, albeit an inferior kind of white, and not subject to the same kind of systematic, legal, and official discrimination that faced black and Asian immigrants.

Today, most of the latest immigrants are considered “nonwhite” or “people of color,” but what this means in contemporary New York is staggering complexity. The new immigrants include West Indians of African ancestry who are clearly on the black side of the racial divide; Hispanics who, in public discourse, are increasingly thought of as a brown or mixed race, even though they display remarkable racial diversity, ranging from phenotypically white Latin Americans who claim strong European heritage to dark-skinned Dominicans; and Asians, neither black nor white, who appear to be moving closer to whites in the racial hierarchy. In the words of Yen Le Espiritu, Asians once seen as, “almost blacks but not blacks” are now cast as “almost whites but not whites.”

New York City’s racial order is in a state of flux as the white share of the population continues to shrink and the proportion of Hispanics and Asians increases. Although the social construction of race in black-white terms has had a grim tenacity, the centrality of the
black-white divide, which dominated New York race relations for much of the twentieth century, is being challenged and changed by the growing number of Asians and Hispanics who do not fit clearly into either category. The days when Hispanic meant Puerto Rican are over now that Puerto Ricans are only about a third of the city’s Hispanic population; Asia no longer means Chinese, now that they are only about half of the city’s Asians; and Milton Vickerman even claims the growing number of West Indians (about a third of the city’s black population is foreign-born) are “tweaking” notions of blackness and making New Yorkers more sensitive to ethnic differences within the black population.

Just as Jews and Italians were gathered under the one umbrella of “whiteness,” so, too, there is a speculation that at least some of the immigrants now viewed as “nonwhite” will eventually become white. Whereas in the past, Jews and Italians were transformed from races into white ethnics without undergoing any physical change, today, when the language of color is so pronounced in racial discourse, intermarriage and the blurring of physical differences among mixed-race offspring are often predicted to be the key agents of racial change. According to one scenario for the future, the category white will expand to include the lighter of the multiracials as well as lighter-skinned Hispanics and perhaps successful Asians as well. In another scenario, the category “white” will cease to be salient, and the current white-nonwhite division will give way to a black/non-black racial dichotomy—with a white-Asian-Hispanic melting pot offset by a minority consisting of those with African ancestry. Yet another forecast sees black-white relations evolving in a different way: increased intermarriage and intermingling will reduce the salience of current racial and ethnic boundaries, including the black-white divide.

Just which scenario will triumph is hard to say, and it may be that something altogether different will come to pass. The process of change is likely to be gradual, though it is bound to involve struggles and divisions, as some groups attempt to alter or widen the existing racial categories while others resist. It seems a safe bet, however, that the racial order will look very different in thirty or forty years from the way it does now and that the changes will have enormous implications for the children of today’s immigrants as well as for the immigrants of tomorrow.

FROM THE CHAIR’S DESK
Ivan Light
University of California, Los Angeles

The American Sociological Association requires sections to have 300 paid-up members in order to receive two sections at the annual meeting. Currently, the IM section has 309 members, down from 312 last year. Living at the margin of institutional survival, the IM section clearly needs to increase its membership into the comfort zone. I am proposing five ways to do so. First, we need to enroll more graduate students. As is, graduate students are only 20% of our membership. They could easily be half in which case our membership would be 450. It is not enough just to nag students to join the IM section, important as that
activity must be. Alex Portes has proposed, and I heartily concur, that the existing refereed round tables could help here if they were strengthened. To strengthen the round tables, I propose to assign senior IM members to each one with the aim of improving the substantive feedback and professional advice that authors receive on their papers.

This policy will be in effect at the Annual Meeting in 2002. Hopefully, if we strengthen the round tables, graduate students will understand the benefit of section membership.

Second, at its Aug. 17, 2001 meeting, the IM Council voted unanimously to substitute an electronic newsletter for the printed one we currently send members. This measure will save us approximately half our budget, releasing $1400 for other activities. I propose that anyone who wishes to receive a printed newsletter by mail can continue to do so, but such persons will be asked to pay an additional $15 annually for this service.

Third, the IM section will create a website that is oriented to external users of immigration information, especially students, journalists, politicians, and policy makers. To this end, we will collect information from section members about their individual migration expertise, and make that information available on our IM section’s website. In this way, the IM section will steer external users to appropriate IM authorities for consultation. Every section member will receive a short request for her/his expertise information in this issue of the newsletter, and this is the purpose to which we propose to turn what members provide. The advantages to our section and to individual section members are many. We increase the section’s external utility and visibility; and we steer promotional and income opportunities to section members. Both changes should increase our membership appeal. The modest set-up costs will be more than compensated in the first year savings from converting to an electronic newsletter.

Fourth, we will improve the quality of our annual reception. This party was held at Anaheim this year only with a last minute financial boost from the pocket of Victor Nee. Otherwise, there was not enough money in the budget to pay for a reception. The money we save by converting to an electronic newsletter will help pay for a reception that does not require heroic last-minute fund-raising. Nonetheless, thanks, Victor!

Finally, I will explain here the importance of keeping the IM section afloat. Hopefully, my explanation will convince some waverers to join us. If we do not have an IM section, then international migration has no structural role in the American Sociological Association. Lacking that structural role, international migration has no visibility in the ASA’s program or leadership. We have then no program space, program planning representation, journal editorships, respect, and the like. We also lack the institutional capacity to build social capital, to communicate internally with one another, to recognize and reward scholarly merit, and to control the external use of our expertise. Others then control it for us to our disadvantage.

I very much appreciate the opportunity to serve as President of the IM section in 2001-02, and I will strive during this short tenure to implement the changes outlined above. Any person who wants either to help, or to point out
the numerous mistaken ideas I promote above before they do real damage, please send me an email (light@soc.ucla.edu).

Mary Waters, *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*

Over the past forty years two of the most important social issues confronting the United States have been the issues of race and immigration. American social science has to a considerable extent examined these phenomena as separate questions. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities* moves the intersection of immigration and race to center stage in social science research examining immigration issues. Waters’ study of identity and incorporation among immigrant and second-generation West Indians living in New York shows that the race/immigration nexus is complicated and counterintuitive in its effects, at least as measured against what might be expected based on the experiences of earlier-arriving European immigrants. Because West Indians are black, and because the black/nonblack divide in the United States continues to operate as a strong discriminatory barrier to acceptance and success, second generation West Indians are more likely to achieve or maintain middle-class economic status if they reject “Americanization” and the embrace of the black/nonblack divide that it implies. Rather, they are more likely to succeed if they cling strongly to their West Indian ethnic identifications, partly as a way to emphasize their nonblack qualities. Conversely, those who develop the strongest “American” identities are more likely to adopt “oppositional” orientations and less likely to succeed economically. Her results thus show that the traditional tendency among immigrants for economic incorporation and “Americanization” to go roughly hand in hand is turned on its head in the case of the black West Indians by the operation of U.S. racial discrimination. Stated in terms that have implications for the formulation of public policy, her findings demonstrate that the distancing of West Indian immigrants and their children from American customs and values derives from the race-oriented nature of American society, not from the orientations and preferences of the West Indians themselves. This suggests that policies that would foster immigrant integration should focus more on eliminating societal discrimination toward people of color rather than on influencing immigrants.

In short, Waters’ portrait of the intersection of immigration and race in the United States is ingeniously conceptualized and designed, theoretically informed, meticulously and thoroughly
researched, and important in its implications for U.S. public policy. We are proud to honor her and her book with the Thomas and Znaniecki award.

[This is excerpted from Frank D. Bean’s presentation of the Thomas and Znaniecki Distinguished Scholarship Award to Mary C. Waters during the International Migration Section meeting at the ASA Meetings in Anaheim, CA, 2001.]

The Thomas and Znaniecki Distinguished Scholarship Award is given annually to the outstanding book or research monograph in the sociology of immigration published during the preceding two years. The Award given in August 2001 was for work published in calendar years 1999 and 2000.

The winner of this year’s Outstanding Student Paper Award is Rebecca Kim, UCLA, for her paper, “Assimilation, Ethnicity, and Religion: Korean American Campus Evangelicals’ Ethnic Religious Participation.” Rebecca Kim’s paper is based on her dissertation. Min Zhou is her adviser. Her paper examines the trend of increased participation in ethnic evangelical Christian organizations by second generation Korean American college students. Her research addresses several questions, for example, why second generation Korean Americans are flocking to ethnically exclusive Christian organizations instead of non-ethnic religious organizations; how religious participation influences Korean ethnic or Asian ethnic identity; and the implications of this trend for minority group integration in American society. While her research is narrowly focused on the religious participation of second generation Korean American college students, a major strength is the way she draws on and connects various literatures in sociology, including those on immigration and immigrant adaptation, minority ethnicity and identity, and religion. Kim’s paper represents an exciting and innovative approach to questions that have long engaged the interest of sociologists. It should also advance our knowledge of new ethnic groups and the new second generation.

Honorable Mentions went to Stephanie Burge (Florida State University) for her paper, “Did IRCA Fail? A Policy Analysis” and to Eileen McConnell (Indiana University) for her paper, “Modeling Destinalional Choice: Mexican Immigrants in the Southwestern and Midwestern United States.”
THOMAS AND ZNANIECKI AWARD TO BE GIVEN IN 2002 FOR OUTSTANDING BOOK

The Thomas and Znaniecki Distinguished Scholarship Award is given annually to the outstanding book or research monograph in the sociology of immigration published during the preceding two years. Named after the authors of the landmark classic, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, the Award to be given in August 2002 is for works published in 2000 and 2001. Please send the name and publisher of the book you are nominating to the Committee Chair by February 1, 2002; a letter nominating the book must be sent by March 1, 2002. ALL SECTION MEMBERS ARE URGED TO SUBMIT THEIR OWN NOMINATIONS OF WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO HAVE BEEN THE MOST OUTSTANDING BOOK[S] IN THE FIELD PUBLISHED IN 2000 OR 2001.

Professor Victor Nee
Thomas and Znaniecki Award Committee
312/330 Uris Hall
Cornell University
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Vgn1@cornell.edu

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE DISTINGUISHED STUDENT SCHOLARSHIP AWARD

Submissions for the annual International Migration Section Graduate Student Paper Award are now being accepted. Papers may be published or unpublished, cannot be co-authored with a faculty member, and can be self-nominated or nominated by others. Nominees must be members of the International Migration Section of the ASA, but can become members at the time of the submission*.

The deadline for receipt of nominations is April 29, 2002. Please send one hard copy with cover letter and with a return address to:

Sara Curran
153 Wallace Hall
Department of Sociology
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544

Queries can be made to curran@princeton.edu

*Membership Information available at: http://www.asanet.org/forms/sectionform.html/

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR DISTINGUISHED CAREER AWARD FROM THE SECTION ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The Section on International Migration invites nominations for the 2002 Distinguished Career Award. The award, which is given biannually, recognizes a lifetime of contribution to the field of the sociology of international migration. The first award was given to Alejandro Portes in 1998. The letter of nomination should include a statement of the lasting significance of the research conducted by the nominated scholar over the course of her or his career. The nomination should also include a copy of the scholar’s curriculum vitae, and an assurance that the nominee has given her or his permission for the nomination for the award. To be eligible for the Distin-
guished Career Award, scholars must be members of the American Sociological Association and the Section on International Migration at the time of the receipt of the award (not required at the time of nomination). Officers and members of the Section Council are not eligible to be nominated while they are in office. All nominated candidates will remain active for at least two rounds of the award.

Nominations will be evaluated by the voting members of the Council of the Section. Please submit all nominations by March 15, 2002 to:

Ivan Light  
264 Haines Hall  
375 Portola Plaza  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1551  
Light@soc.ucla.edu

You are invited to submit papers to be presented during the 2002 ASA meeting.

**International Migration to the United States and the Location of the Native Born Population: Is Immigration Causing Any Lagged Changes?**  
Organizer William H. Frey  
Population Studies Center  
The University of Michigan  
billf@umich.edu

**New Destinations for Undocumented Migration**

Organizer Douglas S. Massey  
University of Pennsylvania  
dmassey@pop.upenn.edu

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**ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE ANNOUNCES ITS NEW CENTER ON IMMIGRATION, POPULATION AND PUBLIC POLICY**

The purpose of the Center is to generate a multidisciplinary research setting that stimulates policy-related immigration research involving teams of researchers from several UC Irvine schools and departments. The focus of the Center is to study what happens to immigrants after they arrive in the United States and on the individual, group, and aggregate effects of immigration, including effects on population change and other aspects of economy and society. Frank D. Bean is the Founding Director of the Center, and in the fall of 2002, when Rubén G. Rumbaut joins the faculty at UC Irvine, they will serve as Co-Directors.

**SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL FELLOWSHIPS TO RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FOR 2002-2003**

The International Migration Program of the Social Science Research Council announces a competition for fellowships to research international migration to the United States during 2002-2003. The goal is to foster innovative research that will advance theoretical and interdisciplinary understandings of a wide
range of subjects including, but not limited to, the causes, processes, and patterns of migration and refugee flight; economic, political, social and cultural outcomes of immigrant and refugee settlement; and the transformative impact of migration on both immigrants, refugees, and native-born Americans. Applicants are strongly encouraged to develop the theoretical implications of their research by adopting comparative area, group, and/or historical perspectives.

Fellowships are available to support twelve months of dissertation or postdoctoral research and a summer dissertation workshop for students from minority backgrounds to develop topics, methods, and proposals.

Deadline for submitting applications: January 11, 2002.

For information regarding eligibility requirements & application forms contact:

International Migration Program
Social Sciences Research Council
810 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10010 USA
Email: migration@ssrc.org
Web: http://www.ssrc.org

SARA CURRAN RECEIVES THE 2001 SWS FEMINIST MENTORING AWARD

Sara Curran received the 2001 SWS Feminist Mentoring Award. The award is given each year by Sociologists for Women in Society (SWS) to a sociologist who has done an outstanding job of feminist mentoring. Her students, former students, and peers vividly described the remarkable energy with which she approaches mentoring -- creating opportunities and connections, making others feel capable even as she provides candid criticism, and combining practical assistance with emotional support and understanding. Through what one writer called her “true generosity of spirit,” she touches those she works with profoundly.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON MIGRATION

Migration, Transnationalization, and Race in a Changing New York
Edited by Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán, Robert C. Smith, and Ramón Grosfoguel
Temple University Press

When you think of American immigration, what images come to mind? Ellis Island. East Side tenements? Pushcarts on Eight Avenue. Little Italy. Chinatown. El Barrio. New York City has always been central to the immigrant experience in the United States. In the last three decades, the volume of immigration has increased as has the diversity of immigrant origins and experiences. Contemporary immigration conjures up old images but also some new ones: the sweatshops and ethnic neighborhoods are still there, but so are cell phones, faxes, e-mails, and the more intense multilayered involvement of immigrants in the social, economic, and political life of both home and host societies. In this ambitious book, nineteen scholars from a broad range of disciplines bring our understanding of New York’s immigrant communities up to date by exploring the interaction between economic globalization and transnationalization, demographic change, and the evolving racial,
These superb essays illuminate the fascinating process of absorbing West Indian immigrants into New York City’s multicultural but racially divided social fabric. . . . They explore how gender, transnational networks, class, economic restructuring, and above all racial stereotyping have affected these black immigrants as they struggle for a better life and how their struggles have in turn influenced the contours of the larger society. The result is a model of multidisciplinary analysis.”—John Mollenkopf, co-author of Place Matters: A Metropolis for the 21st Century

Why does nativism occur in the United States? Fry’s research examines the conditions under which heightened nativistic activity occurs and reveals some of the reasons immigration activists want to restrict or expand current immigration and immigrant policies. Using historical-comparative methods, he identifies the basic elements of nativist reactions and develops a set of criteria for comparing varied cases of immigrant reception. Interviews with people involved in immigration reform, along with a provisional content analysis of immigration reform agency documents and archives, further our understanding of what immigration means to immigration activists and the roles they play in shaping public policy and opinion. The collected data are analyzed to develop a conceptual scheme for examining the different discourses, beliefs, and behaviors of immigration activists, and are compared to dominant perspectives on nativism and intergroup hostility.

Fry examines the motivations and attitudes behind nativist sentiment in the U.S.; his work helps us to understand the response to the New Americans.
Contrary to popular opinion, increasing numbers of migrants continue to participate in the political, social, and economic lives of their countries or origin even as they put down roots in the United States. *The Transnational Villagers* offers a detailed account of how transnational migration between Boston, Massachusetts and the Dominican Republic transforms family ad work life, challenges migrants’ ideas about race and gender, and conventional notions about immigration by showing that assimilation and transnational lifestyles are not incompatible. In fact, in this era of increasing economic and political globalization, living transnationally may become the rule rather than the exception.

**Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation**

By Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut

One out of five Americans, more than 55 million people, are first-or-second-generation immigrants. This landmark study, the most comprehensive to date, probes all aspects of the new immigrant second generation’s lives, exploring their immense potential to transform American society for better or worse. Whether this new generation reinvigorates the nation or deepens its social problems depends on the social and economic trajectories of this still young population. In *Legacies*, Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut—two of the leading figures in the field—provide a closer look at this rising second generation, including their patterns of acculturation, family and school life, language, identity, experiences of discrimination, self-esteem, ambition, and achievement.

Based on the largest research study of its kind, *Legacies* combines vivid vignettes with a wealth of survey and school data. Accessible, engaging, and indispensable for any consideration of the changing face of American society, this book presents a wide range or real-life stories of immigrant families—from Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, the Philippines, China, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam—now living in Miami and San Diego, two of the most heavily affected by the new immigration. The authors explore the world of second—generation youth, looking at patterns of parent-child conflict and cohesion within immigrant families, the role of peer groups and school subcultures, the factors that affect the children’s academic achievement, and much more.

**Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America**

Edited by Rubén G. Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes

*Ethnicities*, a companion volume to Rubén Rumbaut’s and Alejandro Portes’ *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, brings together some of the country’s leading scholars of immigration and ethnicity to examine the lives and trajectories of the children of today’s immigrants. The emerging ethnic groups of the United States in the 21st century are being
formed in this process, with potentially profound societal impacts. Whether this new ethnic mosaic reinvigorates the nation or spells a quantum leap in its social problems depends on the social and economic incorporation of this still young population.

The contributors to this volume probe systematically and in depth that adaptation pattern and trajectories of concrete ethnic groups. They provide a close look at this rising second generation by focusing on youth of diverse national origins—Mexican, Cuban, Nicaraguan, Filipino, Vietnamese, Haitian, Jamaican and other West Indian—coming of age in immigrant families on both coasts of the United States. Their analyses draw on the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, the largest research project of its kind to date. *Ethnicities* demonstrates that, while some of the ethnic groups being created by new immigration are in a clear upward path of blocked aspirations and downward mobility. The book concludes with an essay summarizing the main findings, discussing their implications, and identifying specific lessons for theory and policy.

*Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*

By Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo

University of California Press

“*Doméstica* is a pathbreaking study. It opens our eyes to the hidden world of transnational care-work and calls on us to shape domestic and international policies that will bring basic principles of human rights and social justice into that world. Everyone who is concerned about health care and equality should read it.”—Lucie White

“Beautifully written, sensitive to all the nuances of the situation, and committed to the protection of our most vulnerable immigrants, *Doméstica* has an important, poignant story to tell, one that will appeal to anyone interested in immigration and the way it is transforming America.”—Roger Waldinger

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World On The Move welcomes your submissions. To facilitate publication, please send your submissions to Jennifer Lee, newsletter editor, on computer disk or as e-mail attachments to jenlee@uci.edu.