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LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE PHOENIX METROPOLITAN AREA

by

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In the past three years I have been conducting a small, exploratory study of Latin American immigration to the Phoenix metropolitan area. Despite the fact that Phoenix is the 6th largest urban conglomorate in the United States and has been experiencing a remarkable rate of population and economic growth over the past decade, neither the popular press nor scholars have systematically examined contemporary population movements of Latin American immigrants to the city. Though there are studies about “Hispanic” immigrants in Phoenix, these tend to be limited and outdated, and to assume that all immigrants to Arizona are Mexicans, and that these immigrants are predominantly undocumented. So far, I have identified sizable concentrations of immigrants from Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Colombia, along with new arrivals from all parts of Mexico.

In this study I have used a purposive approach to identify potential study participants. With an interdisciplinary team of five graduate students, beginning in summer of 1998 we interviewed 63 Latin American immigrants—14 Mexicans, 13 Guatemalans, 14 Cubans, 17 Salvadorans, and 5 Hondurans, of whom 18 have been re-interviewed at least once. Interviews were conducted in churches, sports and social clubs, community organizations that aid migrants, and neighborhood shops and restaurants. In addition we also conducted extensive participant observation. Immigrants were selected according to two general criteria: that they were at least 18 years old at the time they left their countries; and that they arrived in Phoenix within the past ten years. All interviews have been conducted in Spanish, have lasted approximately one and a half hours, and except for four, all have been tape-recorded. More than half of the study participants are women, and their average age is 39 years. Their occupations in their homelands varied widely, from veterinarians, teachers, physical education instructors, black market dealers—mostly among the Cubans—to electricians, plumbers, agricultural workers, market vendors, soldiers, and maquila workers—mostly among the Central Americans and Mexicans. But their U.S. occupations are strikingly similar. With the exception of three Salvadoran and one Guatemalan business owners, the rest—including the Cubans—hold jobs in the low end of the service sector, such as hotel chambermaids, cafeteria servers, janitors, baby-sitters, laundromat attendants, painters, or cooks at McDonald’s. These immigrants include people enticed by jobs and/or an opportunity to reunite with family, as well as people displaced by war or natural disasters. Many newcomers arrived in the Phoenix area because they had a wife, husband, boyfriend, brother, sister, aunt, uncle, or friend already living and working here, while others came to Phoenix knowing no one. Some migrated in large groups and were accompanied by wives and children, while others traveled alone. Some have little more than the clothes on their backs, while others have established successful businesses. An important element of the new migration to Phoenix includes secondary migrants from California. Many of those believe that moving to Phoenix will provide the opportunities that are harder to find in urban centers in California, particularly Los Angeles. Several claimed that Los Angeles is too expensive and has fewer jobs, while Phoenix is “smaller,” safer, and cleaner, it offers better education for their children, provides more affordable housing, and it is relatively more favorable for entrepreneurship.

In preliminary analyses, we have found that Phoenix is unlike other major centers of immigration, with defined ethnic neighborhoods and residential segregation. In talking with community workers and business owners, and in visiting the immigrants themselves, one realizes that there is no such thing as a “Little San Salvador” or “Little Havana” or “Little Any-Other-Latin American Capital City” in the Phoenix Metropolitan area—yet. What we find instead are small groups of families and individual immigrants living together in apartment complexes scattered in the metropolitan area. Newcomers settle everywhere in Phoenix and though some pockets are distinguishable, they in no way reflect “ethnic” concentrations in the conventional sense. This dispersed pattern of settlement is primarily the result of how the metropolitan area is structured. Phoenix does not have a central core but has an abundance of affordable rental housing in all areas, which are attractive to recent arrivals. Thus new immigrants are found scattered in different areas of the city, and neighborhoods are not distinguished along ethnic lines but along socioeconomic standing—for immigrants and non-immigrants alike. And even though many of the new immigrants are poor and usually share a one-bedroom apartment with four others, there are also a handful of families living in spacious three- or four-bedroom, two-story homes with swimming pools.

Many of the study participants live in the same general neighborhoods, but these new arrivals have varying perceptions of their neighborhoods and define safety differently as well. For instance, whereas Cubans thought that their neighborhoods were unsafe, and commented on the danger of U.S. streets for women and children, Central
Americans tended to view their neighborhoods as generally safe. A Cuban man who lived in a gated apartment was concerned about neighborhood crime, and had acquired a rifle used for target shooting in case he needed to protect himself, he explained. In contrast, a Salvadoran man who lived in a high crime area was shot while taking a stroll in a nearby park during an altercation between police and gang members. Further, despite having several items stolen from their front porch on numerous occasions, both the respondent and his wife believed that their neighborhood was “safe” and that the gunshots they often heard at night “come from far, very far away, not from where we live.”

Immigrants usually evaluate their current situation through a bifocal frame of reference that includes their U.S. and home country experiences. Accordingly, their views about neighborhood safety and crime may be shaped by previous experiences with crime and by their relationship with authorities before migration. Although Cubans and some Central Americans come from countries whose governments have taken a (more than) firm stand against their political opponents, it can be said that “political reasons” weigh heavily in the reasons for their exit. Nevertheless, conditions in migrants’ countries of origin vary a great deal. For instance, Cubans leave a regime that, in the process of quieting the opposition, also has maintained a rigid system where common crime has been relatively low and open political violence nonexistent. Salvadorans and Guatemalans, on the other hand, originate in countries where political violence was the order of the day for decades, and practically everyone had a significant chance of being affected, even if they were not directly involved in the conflicts. Such points of reference shape migrants’ views about neighborhood crime and safety in the United States. However, those immigrants who thought of their neighborhoods as “safe” and believed that current conditions were an improvement over what they left behind—even if they were aware of the dangers in those areas—could not afford move to better neighborhoods even if they wanted to. Their material conditions do not permit them to pay the higher rents demanded for apartments in more secure areas. Thus, they rely on their bifocal frames to balance the dissonance involved in realizing the dangers where they live while accepting that they are unable to move elsewhere.

1. NEW FRONTIERS IN MIGRATION RESEARCH

Organizer and Presider: Roger Waldinger, UCLA

PAPERS:

Robert C. Smith, Barnard College
Migration, Settlement and Transnational Life

Peggy Levitt, Wellesley College
Transnational Migration: Taking Stock and Future Directions

Adrian Favell, University of Sussex
Widening not Deepening: Migration, Citizenship and the Enlargement of the EU

Ayumi Takenaka, Oxford University
Why Japanese Latin Americans Re-Migrate from Japan to the U.S.: The Role of Ethnicity in Transnational Migrations

Discussion: TBA

2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL INNOVATION IN STUDIES OF IMMIGRATION
(co-sponsored by the ASA Population Section)

Organizer and Presider: Sara R. Curran, Princeton University

PAPERS:

Zulema Valdez, University of California at Los Angeles
Evidence for a Polanyian Interpretation of Entrepreneurship: Reciprocal, Redistributive, and Market Strategies in Ethnic Enterprise

Elizabeth Fussell, University of Pennsylvania
International Migration from Urban Areas in Mexico: A Challenge to the Cumulative Causation of Migration Model

Estela Rivero-Fuentes, Princeton University
Engendering Migrant Networks: The Case of Mexican Migration

Guillermina Jasso, New York University
The Earnings of U.S. Immigrants: Skill, Transferability and Selectivity

Discussion: Robert Hummer, University of Texas, Austin
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
SECTION
REFEREED ROUNDTABLES

Organizer: Steven Gold, Michigan State University

1. Migrants’ Motives

Table Presider: Arnold Dashefsky, University of Connecticut

Arnold Dashefsky, University of Connecticut
An Overview of Size, Motivations, Dynamics and Consequences of American Emigration Abroad

Miguel Ceballos, Center for Demography and Ecology
University of Wisconsin
Social Networks and Social Capital as Mechanisms for Explaining the Initiation of International Migration

Jason Milne, University of South Carolina, Columbia
Coming to America: An Analysis of International Tourism in the United States

2. Methods

Table Presider: Deenesh Sohoni, University of Washington

Deenesh Sohoni, University of Washington
Group Assimilation During Periods of High Immigration: Methodological and Theoretical Issues

Joseph Costanzo, US Census Bureau
Managing International Migration Statistics at the US Census Bureau

3. Religion

Table Presider: Ping Ren, University of California, Irvine

Ping Ren, University of California, Irvine
Experiencing Christianity: A Case Study of a Chinese Immigrants’ Church and Its Mechanism of Incorporation

Ethel Kosminsky, Universidade Estadual Paulista (UNESP)-Marilia, Brazil

Memories, Migration and Gender: First and Second Eastern European Jewish Generations in New York and in Sao Paulo

David Cook, UCLA
Shared Memories as Cultural Resources in a Religious Immigrant Congregation

4. Entrepreneurship, Opportunity and Housing

Table Presider, Robert T. Teranishi, UCLA

Pyong Gap Min, Queens College and Graduate Center, and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, CUNY City College and Graduate Center
Immigrant Entrepreneurship in the United States: Trends, Research and Theory

Robert T. Teranishi & Gigi G. Gomez, UCLA
‘Raced’ Perspectives on College Opportunity: The Intersectionality of Ethnicity, Immigration, and Social Class among Chinese and Filipino Youth

Byung-Soo Kim, Stanford University
Ethnic Advantage or Structural Constraint?: A Case Study of the Rotating Credit Associations in Korean-American Immigrant Community

5. Destination Choices

Table Presider: Sandra Charvat Burke, Iowa State University

Sandra Charvat Burke, Iowa State University
New Destinations: Can Iowa Become the New Ellis Island?

Eileen McConnell, Indiana University
Persistence or Change in the Locational Preferences of Mexican Immigrants to the United States: The Adaptive Strategies of Repeat Migrants

Jamie Lee, University of Texas, Austin
Disaster, Forced Migration, and Resettlement: The Impact on Women in Nueva Vida, Nicaragua

6. States and Migrants

Table Presider: Robyn Rodriguez, Manila University

Victor Zuniga, Universidad de Monterrey, Ruben Hernandez-Leon, University of Pennsylvania, Janna

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
SECTION
REFEREED ROUNDTABLES
Shadduck-Hernandez, AFSC, Maria Olivia Villarreal, Universidad de Monterrey

**The New Paths of Mexican Immigrants in the United States: Challenges for Education and the Role of Mexican Universities**

Robyn Rodriguez, Manila University

**Producing Filipino/a Workers on the "Bureaucratic Assembly Line": The Philippine State and the Politics of Filipino Migrant Workers**

7. Migrants in LA and New York

Table Presider: Georges Sabagh, UCLA

Enrico A. Marcelli, University of Massachusetts, Boston and Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA

**From the Barrio to the ‘Burbs: Immigration and Urban Sprawl in Southern California**

Norma Chinchilla, C.S.U. Long Beach and Nora Hamilton, University of Southern California

**Incorporation, Ethnic Group Identity or Transnationalism? The Adaptation of Salvadorans and Guatemalans in Los Angeles**

Georges Sabagh, UCLA and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, CUNY City College and Graduate Center

**Premier Immigrant Cities: NY and LA Compared**

8. Assimilation and Identity Formation

Table Presider: Arunas Juska, East Carolina University

Arunas Juska, East Carolina University

**The Second Generation of Russian Diaspora in Lithuania: Identity in Formation**

Soojin Yu and Anthony F. Heath, University of Oxford

**Attitudinal Assimilation in Britain?**

Ada Cheng, DePaul University

**Imagining Aliens: Foreign Labor, Undesirable Difference, and National Identity in Taiwan**

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**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES FOR INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SECTION OFFICERS' ELECTION**

Chair of Nominations Committee: Charles Hirschman

**Chair-Elect**

MARY G. POWERS


ROGER WALDINGER


Council

CARL L. BANKSTON III

Present Position: Assistant Professor, Tulane University (1999-present). Education: PhD, Louisiana State University (1995). Offices, Committee Memberships, and
Editorial Appointments Held in ASA: Editorial Board, Teaching Sociology (1999-present). Publications and Professional Accomplishments:

SARA CURRAN

ERIC FONG

MILTON VICKERMAN

REBECCA KIM

AVIVA ZELTZER-ZUBIDA
NOTE FROM THE NEWSLETTER EDITOR

After 6 years of editing *World on the Move*, I am stepping down. Jennifer Lee will be taking over the task. (Jennifer Lee, Department of Sociology, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA 92697-5100. TEL: (949) 824-7011, FAX: (949) 824-4717, e-mail: jenlee@uci.edu). Best wishes, Steve Gold.

CALL FOR PAPERS: ASR

The American Sociological Review seeks manuscripts from members of the Section on International Migration. ASR's mission is to publish the best contemporary scholarship from all areas of sociology. Without a strong volume of submissions on international migration, this goal is seriously compromised. We thus invite members of the Section on International Migration to submit their work for possible publication in ASR.

The ASR's deputy editors and the members of the journal's editorial board for 2001 comprise the largest and most intellectually diverse editorial team in ASR's history. The editorial team joins the editors in welcoming a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches and contributions from all substantive areas of the discipline. Also, ASR's current editorial policies are highly flexible as to form and can accommodate manuscripts of various lengths and styles. (Full information about manuscript requirements is available in the February and August 2000 issues of the journal, at the ASR website [www.pop.psu.edu/ASR/asr.htm](http://www.pop.psu.edu/ASR/asr.htm), or upon request to asr@ssc.wisc.edu).

As a result of these editorial changes, we hope to publish more than our fair share of the best contemporary work on international migration. We therefore strongly encourage Section members to submit their manuscripts to the American Sociological Review.

--Charles Camic and Franklin Wilson, Editors
American Sociological Review, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison 1180 Observatory Drive, Madison, WI 53706. e-mail: asr@ssc.wisc.edu

CENSUS DATA SOURCE

Please take a moment to visit our website on the foreign-born population of the United States, "The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: March 2000 (P20-534)."

The following related items are included on the website:

- Report Data Tables Median Age and Income Tables
- Slide Show Presentation - NEW Interactive Pop Quiz
- NEW Press Release/Product Announcement
- Appendix A - Definitions and Explanations
- Appendix B - Source and Accuracy of the Data

http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/foreign.html

GLOBAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

We are pleased to announce the launch of the Global Studies Association. The Aims of the GSA: (1) without regard to nationality to advance the work of scholars, and other interested parties such as INGOs, who are interested in promoting the creation and dissemination of multi and interdisciplinary knowledge in the social and human sciences concerning global affairs, problems and changes; (2) to provide a forum for encouraging world-wide exchanges between people working in all fields of research and inquiry related to global studies by organizing regular conferences, setting up thematic, national and regional study sub-groupings and by operating in close association with a new journal to be published from January 2001 called Global Networks; (3) to facilitate the emergence of a world-wide federation of quasi-independent academic groupings yet held together by the GSA as an umbrella organization and by its shared concerns.

The Advantages of GSA membership: (a) the opportunity to participate fully in all GSA networks and activities including conferences, the meetings held by various thematic sub-groups and other events; (b) receiving two newsletters each year containing up-to-date information concerning the Association and its members; (c) reduced fees for attendance at annual or other Association conferences and events; (d) a reduced-rate subscription to four copies each year of Global Networks - A Journal of Transnational Affairs; (e) from time to time, access to selected Blackwell books at special rates.

How to Join the GSA and Membership categories: (a) concessionary members, that is undergraduate and post-graduate student members as well as those who are in part-time employment, those who are retired, the unwaged or those in receipt of benefit etc. 15 pounds sterling. (Or 30 pounds sterling if you wish to receive Global Networks). Each claim for concessionary status will be treated on its merits; (b) senior academics in the UK or overseas, or those holding equivalent positions in non-University life 72 pounds sterling; (c) junior academics in the UK or overseas, or those holding equivalent positions in non-University life 48 pounds sterling; (d) corporate members, such as NGOs, private firms etc: rates may vary between 48 and 72 pounds sterling. Cheques should
be made payable to "The Global Studies Association". If you live in an EU country please pay by Eurocheque in Pounds Sterling. If you live in a non-EU country please convert our subscription charge into your own local currency and pay by cheque. Payment should be sent to: Dr. Cath Danks, Treasurer, The Global Studies Association, Manchester Metropolitan University, Dept. of History, Geoffrey Manton Building, Oxford Road, Manchester, M15 6LL, UK. Please include the following contact details: full name, address, e-mail, telephone and fax.

Please refer to our website www.mmu.ac.uk/gsa for our rationale for establishing the GSA as well as information concerning other important matters such as our constitution and membership rights. Specific queries may be addressed to myself or to Dr. Paul Kennedy <P.Kennedy@mmu.ac.uk>

ETHNICITIES
Editors: Stephen May and Tariq Modood University of Bristol, UK. A Journal of Sociology and Politics

Ethnicities aims to achieve a critical nexus between the disciplines of sociology and politics with respect to debates on ethnicity, nationalism and identity politics. These debates have until recently been largely constrained within disciplinary boundaries, resulting in the two disciplines 'talking past each other' with respect to such issues. Consideration of the interconnections between ethnicity and other forms of identity also lends itself to an even wider interdisciplinarity. As such, the journal aims to encourage work from a wide range of related disciplines, including anthropology, black studies, cultural studies, education, gender studies, geography, history, law, literary and media studies, philosophy and social policy.

Topics will include: minorities and the nation-state; multiculturalism; culture, class and representation; gender and ethnicity; citizenship, universalism and difference; minority rights and political representation; hybrid and multiple identities; racism and antiracism; ethnicity and socioeconomic equality; diasporic movements; transnational networks; indigenous movements; language and ethnicity; education and cultural pluralism; colonialism and postcolonialism; whiteness; religious mobilization and conflict; regulation of ethnic conflict; ethnonationalisms, ethnicity, nationalism and globalization.

The first issue of Ethnicities is to be published in April 2001. There will be 3 issues per volume, with the journal being published in April, August and December of each year.

Submission of manuscripts: Authors should retain one copy of their manuscript and send four identical copies, each fully numbered and typed in double spacing throughout, on one side only of white A4 or US standard size paper, and a disk version saved in MS Word 6/7 or RTF to: Stephen May and Tariq Modood, Editors, Ethnicities, Sociology Department, University of Bristol, 12 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8, 1UQ, UK. Fax: +44 117 954 6609 Email: ethnicities-journal@bristol.ac.uk

Books for review and manuscripts of reviews should be sent to the Editorial Assistant, Sociology Department, University of Bristol, 12 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1UQ, UK. Email: ethnicities-journal@bristol.ac.uk Website: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/Depts/Sociology

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION:
Research Committee on Sociology of Childhood
RC53 Conference on Latin American Children and Youth, Marilia (Sao Paulo), Brazil November 5-9, 2001. RC53 conference on Latin American Children and Youth is organized jointly with the Children and Youth Research Center (Nucleo de Estudos da Infancia e da Adolescencia) at the Universidade Estadual Paulista em Marilia, Brazil. Sociologists who work on Latin American Children and Youth are invited to submit session and paper proposals before May 31, 2001 to the organizer: Ethel Kosminsky, Universidade Estadual Paulista-Marilia e-mail: ethelkos@ajato.com.br

ISA RC53 and the Children and Youth Research Center intend to organize a Latin American network of sociologists who work on this subject.

TWO IMMIGRATION SECTIONS AT THIS YEAR’S ASA MEETING IN ANAHEIM

Immigration
Organizer and Presider: Vilma Ortiz, UCLA

Immigrant Residence and Immigrant Neighborhoods in New York, 1910 and 1990, Andrew Beveridge

Coming to America: Nativity, Culture, and Labor Force Participation among Arab-American Women. Jen’nan Ghazal Read, University of Texas, Austin

An American Diaspora in Jerusalem. Caryn Aviv, The Program for Collaborative Care, Carol Franc Buck Breast Care Center, University of California, San Francisco

Boundary, Bridge or Both: Translocal Dynamics and Migration on the U.S.-Mexico Border. C. Alison Newby, New Mexico State University
Nicaraguan Emigration Next Door and Abroad: A Testcase for Migration Theory. Jennifer Michelle Hickes, Population Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania

Immigrants, Second Generation
Organizer and Presider: Suzanne Model, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Papers:

The Cultural Participation of Immigrant and Minority Secondary School Students in The Netherlands. Harry Ganzeboom, Utrecht University

Integration or Segregation? Comparing Three Immigrant Cohorts in the US and Germany. Hermann Kurthen, SUNY Stony Brook

Disentangling the Myth of White Homogenity: Occupational Attainment of Whites in Britain. Yukping Choi, Nuffield College, Oxford

Educational Investments by Immigrant Families in France. Yael Brinbaum, LASMAS Institut Longitudinal, Paris

Discussant: Stenake Stenberg, Swedish Institute of Social Research, Stockholm

RECENT PUBLICATIONS
IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

David Jacobson, PLACE AND BELONGING IN AMERICA (Johns Hopkins University Press, publication date November 2001).

Mathias Albert, David Jacobson and Yosef Lapid, editors, IDENTITIES BORDERS, ORDERS (University of Minnesota Press, Borderline Series, publication date July 2001).

IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP: SPECIAL ISSUE OF JOURNAL OF ETHNIC AND MIGRATION STUDIES Volume 27, Number 2, April 2001
Guest editors: Robert Kloosterman and Jan Rath

Articles:

Robert Kloosterman and Jan Rath, “Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies. Mixed embeddedness further explored.”

Ewald Engelen, “Breaking in and breaking out. A Weberian approach to entrepreneurial opportunities.”

Karl Froschauer, “East Asian and European entrepreneur immigrants in British Columbia (Canada). Postmigration conduct and premigration context.”

Giles Barrett, Trevor P. Jones and David McEvoy, “Socio-economic and policy dimensions of the mixed embeddedness of ethnic minority business in Britain.”

Eran Razin and Dan Scheinberg, “Immigrant entrepreneurs from the former USSR in Israel. Not the traditional enclave economy.”


Marlou Schrover, “Immigrant business and niche formation in a historical perspective. The Netherlands in the nineteenth century.”


Abel Valenzuela Jr. “Day labourers as entrepreneurs?”

For further information go to http://www.cemes.org/

ARAB DETROIT FROM MARGIN TO MAINSTREAM

Metropolitan Detroit is home to one of the largest and most diverse Arab communities outside the Middle East. Arabic-speaking immigrants have been coming to Detroit for more than a century, yet the community they have built is barely visible on the landscape of ethnic America. Arab Detroit brings together the work of twenty-five contributors to create a richly detailed portrait of Arab Detroit. Memoirs and poems by Lebanese, Chaldean, Yemeni, and Palestinian writers anchor the book in personal experience, and more than fifty photographs drawn from family albums and the files of local
photojournalists provide a backdrop of vivid, often unexpected images. Students and scholars of ethnicity, immigration, and Arab American communities will welcome this diverse collection.

THE TRANSNATIONAL VILLAGERS by Peggy Levitt
University of California Press, July 2001. “The Transnational Villagers is one of the finest empirical studies available of a phenomenon that is commanding the attention of scholars and policymakers—the creation and maintenance of social ties and dual lives across national borders. In this admirable ethnography, Levitt offers a glimpse of what the world of the new century might begin to look like. This book both contributes to the vibrant research literature on international migration, and challenges it.”—Rubén G. Rumbaut, co-author of Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.

Clothbound: $50.00 0-520-22847-2  £33.50
Paperback: $19.95 0-520-22848-0  £12.95

“If Marx, Weber, and Durkheim were alive at the dawn of the 21st Century Legacies is the first book they would have to read to understand just what is at stake in the new immigration. This elegant book—theoretically precise, empirically robust, and analytically savvy—will become the standard by which all subsequent scholarship on the sociology of immigration will be measured. I am buying an extra copy today to send to the new President of the United States.”
—Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, Professor and Co-Director, The Harvard Immigration Projects, Harvard University

BE SURE TO SURF THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SECTION WEB SITE FOR LINKS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS: http://www.ssc.msu.edu/~intermig/