



ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY  
GENERAL STUDIES COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

**Course information:**

Copy and paste current course information from Class Search/Course Catalog.

Academic Unit Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies Department History

Subject HST Number 304 Title Studies in European History Units: 3

Is this a cross-listed course? No  
If yes, please identify course(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Is this a shared course? No If so, list all academic units offering this course \_\_\_\_\_  
Course description: \_\_\_\_\_

**Requested designation:** Social and Behavioral Sciences-SB  
*Note- a separate proposal is required for each designation requested*

**Eligibility:**

Permanent numbered courses must have completed the university's review and approval process.  
For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact [Phyllis.Lucie@asu.edu](mailto:Phyllis.Lucie@asu.edu) or [Lauren.Leo@asu.edu](mailto:Lauren.Leo@asu.edu).

**Submission deadlines dates are as follow:**

For Fall 2015 Effective Date: October 9, 2014

For Spring 2016 Effective Date: March 19, 2015

**Area(s) proposed course will serve:**

A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

**Checklists for general studies designations:**

- Complete and attach the appropriate checklist
- [Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses \(L\)](#)
  - [Mathematics core courses \(MA\)](#)
  - [Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses \(CS\)](#)
  - [Humanities, Arts and Design core courses \(HU\)](#)
  - [Social-Behavioral Sciences core courses \(SB\)](#)
  - [Natural Sciences core courses \(SO/SG\)](#)
  - [Cultural Diversity in the United States courses \(C\)](#)
  - [Global Awareness courses \(G\)](#)
  - [Historical Awareness courses \(H\)](#)

**A complete proposal should include:**

- Signed General Studies Program Course Proposal Cover Form
- Criteria Checklist for the area
- Course Catalog description
- Course Syllabus
- Copy of Table of Contents from the textbook and list of required readings/books

**Respectfully request that proposals are submitted electronically with all files compiled into one PDF. If necessary, a hard copy of the proposal will be accepted.**

**Contact information:**

Name Cindy Baade Phone 5-7183

Mail code 4302 E-mail: cynthia.baade@asu.edu

**Department Chair/Director approval: (Required)**

Chair/Director name (Typed): Matthew J. Garcia Date: 2/17/15

Chair/Director (Signature):

**Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for**  
**SOCIAL-BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES [SB]**

**Rationale and Objectives**

Social-behavioral sciences use distinctive scientific methods of inquiry and generate empirical knowledge about human behavior, within society and across cultural groups. Courses in this area address the challenge of understanding the diverse natures of individuals and cultural groups who live together in a complex and evolving world.

In both private and public sectors, people rely on social scientific findings to consider and assess the social consequences of both large-scale and group economic, technological, scientific, political, ecological and cultural change. Social scientists' observations about human interactions with the broader society and their unique perspectives on human events make an important contribution to civic dialogue.

Courses proposed for a General Studies designation in the Social-Behavioral Sciences area must demonstrate emphases on: (1) social scientific theories, perspectives and principles, (2) the use of social-behavioral methods to acquire knowledge about cultural or social events and processes, and (3) the impact of social scientific understanding on the world.

Revised April 2014

Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

<b>ASU--[SB] CRITERIA</b>			
<b>A SOCIAL-BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES [SB] course should meet all of the following criteria. If not, a rationale for exclusion should be provided.</b>			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Course is designed to advance basic understanding and knowledge about human interaction.	syllabus, toc, assignments
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Course content emphasizes the study of social behavior such as that found in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ANTHROPOLOGY</li> <li>• ECONOMICS</li> <li>• CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY</li> <li>• HISTORY</li> </ul>	syllabus, toc, assignments
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Course emphasizes: a. the distinct knowledge base of the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., sociological anthropological). OR b. the distinct methods of inquiry of the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., ethnography, historical analysis).	syllabus, toc, assignments
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Course illustrates use of social and behavioral science perspectives and data.	syllabus, toc, assignments
		<b>THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF COURSES ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE [SB] AREA EVEN THOUGH THEY MIGHT GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE CONCERNS:</b>	
		• Courses with primarily arts, humanities, literary or philosophical content.	
		• Courses with primarily natural or physical science content.	
		• Courses with predominantly applied orientation for professional skills or training purposes.	
		• Courses emphasizing primarily oral, quantitative, or written skills.	

Course Prefix	Number	Title	General Studies Designation
HST	304	Migration in Modern European History	SB,

Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the specific designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

Criteria (from checksheet)	How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)	Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)
1	Course examines how migration impacts societies and how migrants interact with others in both their home countries and host societies.	Syllabus: see Weeks 2-6, 13-16; assignments: response papers 1-2, White Teeth paper, Headscarf Debate paper; readings: see Lucassen, Glick Schiller et al, Foner
2	Course examines social behavioral issues relevant to migration (e.g., integration, asylum policies) from the disciplinary viewpoints of history and anthropology	See syllabus (Weeks 2-6 10-16) and following assignments: response papers 2, 5; readings: see Lucassen (history), Glick Schiller et al (anthropology)
3	Course introduces students to the methods of inquiry specific to a number of social and behavioral science disciplines, especially history, anthropology, sociology, and economics	See syllabus (Weeks 1-8, 13-16) and following assignments: response papers 1-2, Torpey paper; readings: see Massey et al (sociology/economics), Glick Schiller et al (anthropology), Lucassen (history), Foner (history/sociology), Torpey (sociology)
4	Course readings and assignments show how social and behavioral science perspectives are employed to examine topics in migration studies such as transnationalism and state policies towards migrants.	See syllabus (Weeks 1-8, 13-16) and following assignments: response papers 1-2, Torpey paper; readings: see Glick Schiller et al (anthropology), Torpey (sociology)

HST 304 Studies in European History

3 SB & H

Specialized topics in European history. Explores countries, cultures, and issues in history, and their interpretation in historical scholarship.

**Allow multiple**

**Primary course**

**enrollments: Yes**

**component: Lecture**

**Repeatable for credit: Yes**

**Grading method: Student Option**

**Offered by:** College of Liberal Arts and Sciences -- Historical, Philosophical & Religious Studies, Sch

**Pre-requisites:** ENG 102, 105 or 108 with C or better; Minimum 30 hours

## HST 304: Migration in Modern European History

### Spring 2015 (Schedule Line #26666)

Prof. Anna Holian  
M W, 12-1:15 PM  
Tempe CDS 15

Office: Coor 4540  
Office Hours: M 4:30-6:30 PM  
Phone: (480) 727-9083  
E-mail: anna.holian@asu.edu

#### COURSE DESCRIPTION

Migration has always been a fundamental component of human history. Nonetheless, historians have been slow to turn their attention to migratory processes, tending to view individuals as inherently sedentary. This course examines the role that migration and mobility have played in European history from the French Revolution to the present. It considers how both immigration and emigration have transformed European societies in the modern era. Primary emphasis will be placed on the period from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present. We will consider different kinds of voluntary migration, including local, circular, chain, and career; we will also look at forced migrations, a major feature of the twentieth century. We will examine the forces that encourage migration and the barriers to movement that Europeans have encountered. We will seek to understand migration from multiple perspective, including those of migrants, host societies, and states.

Class sessions are a combination of lecture and discussion. Please note that discussion is a major component of the course and will be graded accordingly (see below).

There is a Blackboard website for this course at <http://myasucourses.asu.edu>.

#### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

You are expected to:

- attend class regularly
- complete all readings on time
- bring the readings to class with you
- participate in class discussions
- complete all assignments on time

Your final grade will be based on attendance, discussion, and written assignments. Your grade for discussion will be based on both the frequency and the quality of your contributions to discussion, including small group discussion (see rubric below). Written assignments include five short response papers and five longer papers. All assignments will be posted on the course website. Unless otherwise noted, they are due in hard copy in class on the dates listed below. If you cannot attend class on the day an assignment is due, you may submit it by email as a temporary place holder, but it will not be graded until a hard copy has been turned in. In other words, only hard copies count. All assignments will be marked down 1% for each weekday they are late (weekends excluded). Extensions will only be given in exceptional circumstances such as documented medical or family emergencies. **NO PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED AFTER FRIDAY, MAY 1.**

In addition to regular class sessions, there will be two film screenings. Each screening will replace one regular class session. Screenings will begin at 12 PM and will continue until the completion of the film. Run times are listed in the schedule. If you cannot stay until the end of a screening, you may view the rest of the film on reserve at Hayden Library. You may also skip the screening and watch the film on your own. If you miss part or all of a screening, you must provide documentation that you saw the film (library checkout slip, rental receipt, etc.); this will ensure that you are not marked as absent on the attendance sheet for that day.

Attendance is calculated separately from discussion. You are allowed three unexcused absences for the semester. More than three unexcused absences will result in a grade reduction of 3%. Students who do not come to class with the appropriate readings will automatically be marked absent. If you must miss class because of a medical or family emergency, I can also grant you an excused absence; however, you will need to provide documentation. You are expected to arrive and leave on time. If you are going to be more than 10 minutes late, do not come to class. If you have to leave early, please notify me before class starts. Please turn off cell phones and pagers before entering the classroom. I do not generally allow students to use their own computers in class. However, I am glad to accommodate students with disabilities who need a computer for note-taking, etc.

I do not tolerate plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty (aka cheating). **If you are caught cheating, you will at a minimum receive an E for the assignment and may, depending on the seriousness of the offense, receive an E or XE for the class. In other words, you risk failing the entire course, not just the assignment.** You are expected to familiarize yourself with the concept of plagiarism. A reading on this subject is available on the course website; it will be used as the benchmark against which all assignments will be evaluated. For more information on the university's policy on academic dishonesty, see:  
<http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity/policy>.

Grades will be calculated as follows:

Discussion participation	25%
Response papers (5 @ 5% each)	25%
Immigrant letters paper	10%
Torpey paper	10%
<u>Crabwalk</u> paper	10%
<u>White Teeth</u> paper	10%
Headscarf debate paper	10%

All grades will be based on the following scale:

A+ = 97-100	C+ = 77-79
A = 94-96	C = 74-76
A- = 90-93	C- = 70-73
B+ = 87-89	D = 60-69
B = 84-86	E = 59 or below
B- = 80-83	

Grades for discussion participation will be based on the following rubric:

- A Regularly offers comments and questions that demonstrate engagement with the reading; participates in group discussions
- B Irregularly offers comments and questions that demonstrate engagement with the reading; participates in group discussions
- C Only answers or poses questions 1-2 times per semester; participates in group discussions
- D Does not answer or pose questions but participates in group discussions
- E Does not participate in any way

**READINGS**

Readings for the course are a combination of primary and secondary sources. They include four books (see below) and various shorter readings. The books are available for purchase at the ASU bookstore. They will also be on reserve at Hayden Library. All other readings will be available on the Blackboard course website; they are marked "CW" on the schedule. Unless otherwise noted, all readings are required.

Günter Grass, Crabwalk (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, 2002)  
Leo Lucassen The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005)  
Zadie Smith, White Teeth (New York: Knopf, 2001)  
John Torpey, The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

**SCHEDULE**

<b>WEEK 1</b>	
January 12	Introduction to the Course
January 14	Migration Theory: Why Do People Migrate? Massey et al, "Theories of International Migration" (CW)

3,  
4

<b>WEEK 2</b>	
January 19	NO CLASS
January 21	Migration Theory: How Do Migrants Relate to their New Homes? Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant" (CW) Foner, "What's New about Transnationalism?" (CW) <b>RESPONSE PAPER #1 DUE</b>

1,  
2,  
3, 4



**WEEK 3**

January 26 Migration in the Age of Industrialization

Moch, Moving Europeans, 102-43 (CW)

January 28 The Immigrant Threat in the 19th Century: England

Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Introduction, Chap. 1  
Engels, "Irish Immigration" (CW)

1,  
2,  
3, 4

**WEEK 4**

February 2 The Immigrant Threat in the 19th Century: Germany

Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Chap. 2  
Speech by Ludwik Jazdzewski (CW)

February 4 The Immigrant Threat in the 19th Century: France

Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Chap. 3-4  
**RESPONSE PAPER #2 DUE**

1,  
2,  
3, 4

**WEEK 5**

February 9 From Europe to America: Transatlantic Migration

Film: The Golden Door (dir. Emanuele Crialese, Italy, 2006, 118')

February 11 From Europe to America: Transatlantic Migration

Moch, Moving Europeans, 147-58 (CW)  
**RESPONSE PAPER #3 DUE**

1,  
2,  
3, 4

**WEEK 6**

February 16 From Europe to America: Transatlantic Migration

Letters from German immigrants to the United States: Lenz, Möller (CW)

February 18 From Europe to America: Transatlantic Migration

Letters from German immigrants to the United States: Wiebusch, Winkelmeier (CW)  
**PAPER ON IMMIGRANT LETTERS DUE**

1,  
2, 3,  
4

3,4

<b>WEEK 7</b>	
February 23	The State and the Control of Mobility Torpey, <u>The Invention of the Passport</u> , Introduction, Chap. 1-2
February 25	The State and the Control of Mobility Torpey, <u>The Invention of the Passport</u> , Chap. 3

3,4

<b>WEEK 8</b>	
March 2	The State and the Control of Mobility Torpey, <u>The Invention of the Passport</u> , Chap. 4
March 4	The State and the Control of Mobility Torpey, <u>The Invention of the Passport</u> , Chap. 5, Conclusion <b>TORPEY PAPER DUE</b>

<b>WEEK 9</b>	
March 9	NO CLASS: SPRING BREAK
March 11	NO CLASS: SPRING BREAK

2

<b>WEEK 10</b>	
March 16	Forced Migration: Questions of Definition Zolberg et al, <u>Escape from Violence</u> , 3-33 (CW) "Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees" (CW)
March 18	Forced Migration: World War I Marrus, "The Nansen Era," 51-68, 86-96 (CW)

2

**WEEK 11**

March 23 Forced Migration: Refugees from Nazism

Film: The Last Chance (dir. Leopold Lindtberg, Switzerland, 1945, 104')

March 25 Forced Migration: Refugees from Nazism

Kreis, "Swiss Refugee Policy, 1933-1945" (CW)

**RESPONSE PAPER #4 DUE**

2

**WEEK 12**

March 30 Forced Migration: Postwar Expulsions

Jankowiak, "'Cleansing' Poland of Germans" (CW)  
Grass, Crabwalk, 1-102

April 1 Forced Migration: Postwar Expulsions

Grass, Crabwalk, 103-234

**PAPER ON CRABWALK DUE**

1, 2,  
3, 4

**WEEK 13**

April 6 Postwar Migration: England

Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Chap. 5  
Powell, "Rivers of Blood" (CW)

April 8 Postwar Migration: England

Smith, White Teeth, 1-217

**RESPONSE PAPER #5**

1, 2,  
3, 4

**WEEK 14**

April 13 Postwar Migration: England

Smith, White Teeth, 219-339

April 15 Postwar Migration: England

Smith, White Teeth, 341-448

**PAPER ON WHITE TEETH DUE**

1, 2,  
3, 4

**WEEK 15**

April 20                    Postwar Migration: Germany

                                Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Chap. 6

April 22                    Postwar Migration: France

                                Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Chap. 7 and Conclusion

1, 2,  
3, 4

**WEEK 16**

April 27                    Postwar Migration: France

                                Scott, "Symptomatic Politics" (CW)

                                Joppke, Veil: Mirror of Identity, Preface and Chap. 2 (CW)

**PAPER ON HEADSCARF DEBATE DUE**

April 29                    The Future of Migration in Europe

                                Reading TBA

**HST 304: Migration in Modern European History**  
**Response Paper #1**

**Reading:**

- Massey et al, "Theories of International Migration"
- Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration"
- Foner, "What's New about Transnationalism?"

In their essay, Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc outline a theory of "transnational migration." What are the main postulates of this theory? How (if at all) is it different from the "world systems theory" outlined by Massey et al? How does Foner challenge Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc's conclusions about transnationalism?

**HST 304: Migration in Modern European History**  
**Response Paper #2**

**Reading:**

Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Introduction, Chaps. 1-4

Based on the three case studies Lucassen presents, what were the main factors inhibiting the integration of migrants in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? In other words, what kinds of perceived "threats" shaped the integration process? How involved was the state in the integration process? Use examples from at least two case studies to illustrate your points.

**HST 304: Migration in Modern European History**  
**Response Paper #5**

Reading: Lucassen, The Immigrant Threat, Chap. 5  
Powell, "Rivers of Blood"

What were the main factors inhibiting the integration of black migrants in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century? In other words, what kind of perceived "threat" did Black Britons represent? What is Powell's perspective on immigration to Britain? How would you situate his perspective in the context of Lucassen's argument?

**HST 304: Migration in Modern European History**  
**Torpey Paper**

**Reading:**

Torpey, The Invention of the Passport

Based on your reading of the book, answer the following questions. Present your answers in the form of an essay. The essay should be about 4 double-spaced pages. Provide parenthetical citations for quotations and other key references to the text, using the guideline provided for the response papers.

1. How does Torpey approach the study of passports and mobility? How does he differentiate his approach from that of other scholars?
  
2. What were the major trends in the use of passports and other forms of control over movement during the nineteenth century? Sketch out the general changes during this time period and the situation in Germany more specifically.
  
3. What were the main trends in passport controls during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries? Why did countries tighten their controls over movements and develop new ways of identifying people?
  
4. What were the major trends in the control of movement in Europe during the twentieth century? Identify and briefly outline what you see as the two most important trends.



**HST 304: Migration in Modern European History**  
**French Headscarf Debate Paper**

**Reading:**

Scott, "Symptomatic Politics: The Banning of Islamic Head Scarves in French Public Schools"

Joppke, Veil: Mirror of Identity, Preface and Chap. 2

Since the 1980s, religion and gender have become focal points in discussions about immigration in Europe, replacing an earlier emphasis on men and cultural integration. Attention has focused in particular on headscarves and other headcoverings worn by Muslim women. For some, the headscarf is a symbol of the unwillingness of immigrants to integrate into their European host countries and to accept a secular, pluralistic society. For others, the hostility displayed towards women who wear the headscarf, and the concomitant lack of concern about and even privileging of symbols of Christianity, suggests that European societies are themselves intolerant of difference and privilege Christianity over other religions. Muslim women, and non-practicing women from Muslim families, have themselves taken widely different positions on the issue, some protesting and some supporting the headscarf.

Write an essay that addresses the following questions. The essay should be about 4 double-spaced pages. Provide parenthetical citations for quotations and other key references to the text, using the guideline provided for the response papers.

1. Outline each author's main points, focusing on how each author explains the ban on headscarves. What is the ban about? What larger issues in society does it relate to? How far back in time does each author go to explain it?
2. What are the main differences between the three authors, in terms of methodology, primary sources, and conclusions?
3. Which author do you find most convincing and why? Support your conclusions by pointing to logical or evidentiary flaws.

STUDIES OF WORLD MIGRATIONS

Donna R. Gabaccia and  
Leslie Page Moch, editors

*A list of books in the series appears  
at the end of the book.*

# The Immigrant Threat

The Integration of Old and  
New Migrants in Western Europe  
since 1850

LEO LUCASSEN

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS  
Urbana and Chicago

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*The vagabond is by definition a suspect.*

Daniel Nordman

THE INVENTION OF  
THE PASSPORT

Surveillance, Citizenship and the State

John Torpey  
University of California, Irvine



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## Introduction

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While I was confident from the outset that a book about "the history of the passport" was a clever idea, I was less convinced at first that this was a subject of any real significance. I therefore owe a great debt to several historians who helped persuade me very early on that this would indeed prove a worthwhile undertaking: Paul Avrich, Eric Hobsbawm, Stephen Kern, Eugen Weber, and Robert Wohl. While I had the good fortune to enjoy an extended colloquy with Robert Wohl in the context of a National Endowment for the Humanities-sponsored seminar on intellectuals and politics during the summer of 1994 when the idea for this study was first formulated, the others simply responded to an unsolicited query from a young scholar unknown to them. This generosity only increased the admiration I had for them, which was of course what had led me to write to them in the first place. Todd Gitlin also reacted with enthusiasm to the idea of the book. Todd's endorsement of the project as well as his steadfast support for me and my work have been a source of great satisfaction over the last decade and more; I feel honored to have his friendship and encouragement. Without the generosity of these people, this project would never have become more than an idle curiosity.

Once I had seriously embarked on the project, two other people, Gérard Noiriel and Jane Caplan, lent their enthusiasm and provided shining examples of the kind of scholarship I wanted to produce. Noiriel's writings on the history of immigration, citizenship, and identification documents in France have been a major inspiration for me; the citations of his work in the text point only to the visible peak of an iceberg of scholarly debt. Jane Caplan's support for this project quickly led to a collaborative undertaking on related issues concerning the practices that states have developed to identify individuals in the modern period, to be published elsewhere. Working with her has been both a real pleasure and an extended private tutorial (entirely unrecompensed) in scholarly professionalism. I feel profoundly fortunate and grateful that David Abraham put us in touch, somehow intuiting – as a result of my work on passports and Jane's on tattooing – that "you're working on the same kind of stuff."

## What's New About Transnationalism? New York Immigrants Today and at the Turn of the Century<sup>1</sup>

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Transnationalism is not new, even though it often seems as if it were invented yesterday. Contemporary immigrant New Yorkers are not the first newcomers to live what scholars now call transnational lives. While there are new dynamics to immigrants' transnational connections and communities today, there are also significant continuities with the past.

One would not know this from reading the scholarly literature. In much of what has been written on the subject, transnationalism is treated as a contemporary phenomenon; a common assumption is that earlier European immigration cannot be described in the transnational terms that apply today. Transnationalism refers to the processes by which immigrants "forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al. 7). In a transnational perspective, contemporary immigrants are seen as maintaining familial, economic, political, and cultural ties across international borders, in effect making the home and host societies a single arena of social action.

Perhaps, as Nina Glick Schiller notes, the excitement over the "first flurry of discovery of the transnational aspects of contemporary migration" led to a "tendency to declare ... transnational migration ... a completely new phenomenon" (4). A few years earlier, she and her colleagues had argued that transnationalism was a new type of migrant experience and that, therefore, a new conceptualization—indeed, the new term "transmigrant"—was needed to understand the immigrants of today (Glick Schiller et al., "Transnationalism" 1; Basch et al. 7). Comments like Elsa Chaney's—that new Caribbean immigrants "apparently differ from the settler immigrants of another era who left their homelands permanently"—are typical, Glick Schiller says, of the way ethnographers of the post-1965 migration have viewed the past (4). For example, anthropologist Constance Sutton suggests that, unlike earlier European arrivals, recent Third World immigrants forge social practices and ethnic identities that have a transnational character; rather than becoming hyphenated Americans, they operate with a transnational bilocal identity. Alejandro Portes has

## FROM IMMIGRANT TO TRANSMIGRANT: THEORIZING TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

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*Contemporary immigrants can not be characterized as the "uprooted." Many are transmigrants, becoming firmly rooted in their new country but maintaining multiple linkages to their homeland. In the United States anthropologists are engaged in building a transnational anthropology and rethinking their data on immigration. Migration proves to be an important transnational process that reflects and contributes to the current political configurations of the emerging global economy. In this article we use our studies of migration from St. Vincent, Grenada, the Philippines, and Haiti to the U.S. to delineate some of the parameters of an ethnography of transnational migration and explore the reasons for and the implications of transnational migrations. We conclude that the transnational connections of immigrants provide a subtext of the public debates in the U.S. about the merits of immigration. [transnationalism, immigration, nation-state, nationalism, identity]*

In the United States several generations of researchers have viewed immigrants as persons who uproot themselves, leave behind home and country, and face the painful process of incorporation into a different society and culture (Handlin 1973[1951]; Takaki 1993). A new concept of transnational migration is emerging, however, that questions this long-held conceptualization of immigrants, suggesting that in both the U.S. and Europe, increasing numbers of immigrants are best understood as "transmigrants." Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state (Glick Schiller *et al.* 1992a; Basch *et al.* 1994). They are not sojourners because they settle and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions, localities, and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside. However, at the very same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated.

Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. In identifying

a new process of migration, scholars of transnational migration emphasize the ongoing and continuing ways in which current-day immigrants construct and reconstitute their simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society. The purpose of this article is to delineate the parameters of an ethnography of transnational migration and use this anthropology to explore the ways in which the current debate on immigration in the U.S. can be read as a nation-state building project that delimits and constrains the allegiances and loyalties of transmigrants. Once we reframe the concept of immigrant and examine the political factors which have shaped the image of immigrants as the uprooted, a whole new approach to understanding immigrants and the current debate about immigration becomes possible.

Three vignettes of discontinuities we have observed between the transnational practices of immigrants and common assumptions about immigrants made by scholars, members of the public, the media and public officials experts illustrate the myopic view of immigrants demonstrated in much public debate. The vignettes point to the need to redefine our terminology and reformulate some of our basic conceptualizations of the current immigrant experience.



# Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal

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J. EDWARD TAYLOR

OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS, immigration has emerged as a major force throughout the world. In traditional immigrant-receiving societies such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, the volume of immigration has grown and its composition has shifted decisively away from Europe, the historically dominant source, toward Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In Europe, meanwhile, countries that for centuries had been sending out migrants were suddenly transformed into immigrant-receiving societies. After 1945, virtually all countries in Western Europe began to attract significant numbers of workers from abroad. Although the migrants were initially drawn mainly from southern Europe, by the late 1960s they mostly came from developing countries in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Middle East.

By the 1980s even countries in southern Europe—Italy, Spain, and Portugal—which only a decade before had been sending migrants to wealthier countries in the north, began to import workers from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. At the same time, Japan—with its low and still declining birth rate, its aging population, and its high standard of living—found itself turning increasingly to migrants from poorer countries in Asia and even South America to satisfy its labor needs.

Most of the world's developed countries have become diverse, multiethnic societies, and those that have not reached this state are moving decisively in that direction. The emergence of international migration as a basic structural feature of nearly all industrialized countries testifies to the strength and coherence of the

underlying forces. Yet the theoretical base for understanding these forces remains weak. The recent boom in immigration has therefore taken citizens, officials, and demographers by surprise, and when it comes to international migration, popular thinking remains mired in nineteenth-century concepts, models, and assumptions.

At present, there is no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries. Current patterns and trends in immigration, however, suggest that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions.

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The purpose of this article is to explicate and integrate the leading contemporary theories of international migration. We begin by examining models that describe the initiation of international movement and then consider theories that account for why transnational population flows persist across space and time. Rather than favoring one theory over another a priori, we seek to understand each model on its own terms in order to illuminate key assumptions and hypotheses. Only after each theory has been considered separately do we compare and contrast the different conceptual frameworks to reveal areas of logical inconsistency and substantive disagreement. In undertaking this exercise, we seek to provide a sound basis for evaluating the models empirically, and to lay the groundwork for constructing an accurate and comprehensive theory of international migration for the twenty-first century.

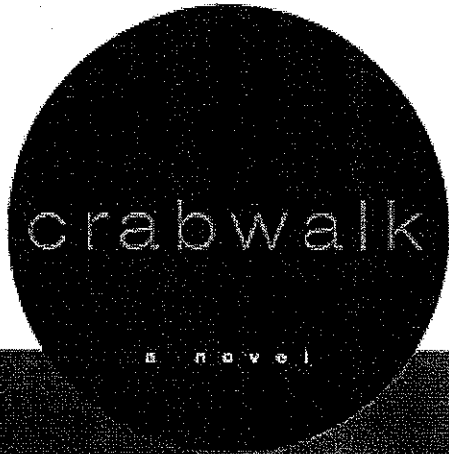
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### The initiation of international migration

A variety of theoretical models has been proposed to explain why international migration begins, and although each ultimately seeks to explain the same thing, they employ radically different concepts, assumptions, and frames of reference. Neoclassical economics focuses on differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries, and on migration costs; it generally conceives of movement as an individual decision for income maximization. The "new economics of migration," in contrast, considers conditions in a variety of markets, not just labor markets. It views migration as a household decision taken to minimize risks to family income or to overcome capital constraints on family production activities. Dual labor market theory and world systems theory generally ignore such micro-level decision processes, focusing instead on forces operating at much higher levels of aggregation. The former links immigration to the structural requirements of modern industrial economies, while the latter sees immigration as a natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration across national boundaries.

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