

Amnon Levy and João Ricaardo Faria (Eds.)
Economic Growth, Inequality and Migration
Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2002. 365 Pages.

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Structural developments invariably accompany economic growth; these include changes in income inequality as well as earning opportunities. In turn, new earning opportunities may induce migration as people move from one place to another to secure what they perceive to be better economic prospects, either for themselves, their families, or their descendants. The relationships surrounding economic growth, income inequality, and migration of persons is, as expected, extremely complex and bewildering. Research understanding is bound to be partial, fragmented, and time- and-place specific. How to go about, then, tackling such a challenge? The editors of this volume approach the task by a "division of labour" strategy, namely, enlisting various talented experts and assembling their efforts into 18 technical studies grouped in three parts. Studies in this volume address these issues in pairs: Part 1 comprises seven essays exploring the link between economic growth and inequality; Part 2 contains six essays dealing with migration and economic assimilation; and Part 3 deals with economic growth and trade in five studies.

The studies in this volume are state-of-the-art, uniformly well written, and address important themes. There is a roughly balanced but varied mix of theoretical offerings and versatile empirical contributions, including two survey pieces, one on inequality and growth (chap. 1) and another on trade liberalization and labour markets (chap. 14). The theoretical papers at times employ abbreviated presentation that will appeal mostly to formally trained economists with skill in mathematical modeling. Many are original queries into the incentives for migration, the possible effects of globalization, or the links between trade and growth, inequality and migration, regulatory restrictions and migration, and the like. These deserve a close reading. Their genuine insights, alas, may well be lost to a wider audience until such time as the ideas percolate to mainstream research programs and are accompanied by a body of empirical testing. In sum, then, these essays are directed more at research scholars than those charged with program design or delivery.

With this understanding, which contributions from such a wide-ranging eclectic collection might one highlight? Quite arbitrarily, I assume frequent readers of *JIMI* are interested foremost in immigration matters rather than

trade liberalization or economic growth, and more from an institutional or policy perspective than a theoretical one. Thus Part 3, which focuses entirely on the relationship between economic growth and international trade, receives no commentary. Nor do I comment on most but not all, of the contributions in Part 1, which deals with growth and inequality. Part 2, "Migration: unemployment, assimilation, Expected Return and Risk," would appear most germane for a *JIMI* audience, although it must be emphasized that the papers in Parts 1 and 3 are well worth examining and will repay careful study.

Part 2 contains six essay chapters: three theoretical and three empirical. Chapter 8 (J. Faria) argues that in principle taxation policies can be designed and deployed in a dual economy to affect wages in such manner as to limit migration to levels consistent with domestic full employment. Chapter 9 (A. Levy) addresses the uneven balance in the literature that puts greater emphasis on persons wishing to relocate (supply of immigrants) than countries willing to accept newcomers (demand for immigrants). Levy combines elements of the demand for, and the supply of, immigrants to examine the logic of quota policy rules designed to stabilize domestic unemployment. He expounds on the relationship between the number of legal immigrants, the extent of illegal immigration, and the number of job vacancies in the labour market. Chapter 10 (A. Levy and Y. Tsur) investigates the neglected issue of individuals' timing of the migration decision, and suggests that the distribution of immigration dates of arrival and population ethnic structures can have important welfare implications. This is both a valuable hint and a subtle challenge for future empirical research. The remaining three essays in Part 2 are empirical, and all concern the Australian experience. Rodgers and Rodgers (chap. 11) find that Australian men are less likely than their North Americans counterparts to move for monetary incentives. Landon-Lane and Roberson (chap. 12) report only a modest increase in economic growth attributable to Australia's high level of post-war immigration. Guest and Macdonald, in Chapter 13 (only indirectly concerned with immigration), examine the wisdom of setting a foreign borrowing target against different assumptions, one of which is a lower level of immigration to Australia. All three investigations focus on Australia, which is a small, open, developed economy with a stable democratic government. Needless to say, empirical findings for Australia will not always be applicable to other countries, either the less-developed countries (LDCs) or the larger trading and industrialized nations of Europe or North America.

A careful inspection of other chapters in this volume will undercover other empirical studies of interest for those concerned with migration of

peoples. For example, Chapter 4 (J. Zhang and C. Harvie) is about the effect on inequality of China's *hukou* regime, a policy prohibiting population movement and inter-sectorial migration. It is reported that income inequality increased in China despite rapid economic growth. The *hukou* policy of household registration and denial of employment and government services to those flocking to urban centres from the countryside in search of jobs is the culprit for institutionally created rural-urban inequality. Thus the authors pinpoint some of the effects of not allowing enough migration, rather than having too much, which is the commonplace worry in some circles. Although this essay has urban-rural inequality as its primary focus, the fastidious reader can easily ferret out the subsidiary theme of migration. So too can the chapter by V. Borooah (chap. 6) be studied for inspiration? Although concerned with employment discrimination in the labour market and explicated by example of the quality differences between Black and White workers, it would be an easy adaptation to apply to the study of immigrant employment and the different circumstances confronting immigrants and native-born workers in labour markets.

The shortcomings of this well-edited volume stem mainly from its limited geographical coverage. Over-weighted with Australian experience, the collection contains only Brazil, Mexico, and China as specific studies. Consequently, readers interested in immigration findings and experiences pertaining to North America, Europe, Africa, or Asia, will find no empirical sustenance to satisfy their appetite; they will have to make do with the insights gleaned from theoretical papers that are remarkably polished. But when all is said, it is these chapters that will probably stand the test of time when the particulars of the empirical studies have changed. Indeed, the survey pieces in this volume are consistent with past (and current) empirical findings that increasingly reports no systematic (statistically detectable) relationship between economic growth and income inequality. This collection will satisfy most of all serious researchers with a technical bent, those interested in economic growth and inequality, as well as those concerned with immigration issues. The theoretical pieces will have a much longer half-life than the limited assortment of empirical contributions offered. This volume deserves to be in every research holding dealing seriously with issues of migration, economic growth, and inequality.

Alex Stepick, Guillermo Grenier, Max Castro and Marvin Dunn.
This Land Is Our Land: Immigrants and Power in Miami
Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003, 192 pages.

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Borrowing the title of Woody Guthrie's populist song of the 1940s "This land is our land" and adding an ethnic spin, the authors of this book maintain that in Miami, Florida, immigrants have insisted on taking Woody at his word. Focusing on "face-to-face, daily contact between immigrants and Americans," these authors argue that models of assimilation and economic adaptation fail to capture the complexities of sociocultural realities in a city such as Miami. In one generation, immigrants (primarily Cubans) have achieved unprecedented economic and political power (in many cases without learning English). Anglos, or Whites, have become a numerical minority torn between xenophobia, frustration, and flight on one hand, and what the authors characterize as "reverse acculturation" on the other: "when established residents self-consciously adopt some traits of the newcomer culture, in particular, learning Spanish and promoting Miami as the capital of Latin America" (p. 31). African Americans are left to negotiate a precarious existence between these two competing elites.

The clear strength of this book is its subject—Miami. The authors vacillate as to whether Miami represents a harbinger or an outlier of urban ethnic relations, but they are correct that for anyone interested in the issue of immigration and integration, Miami is not to be ignored. An additional strength is that these four authors bring with them many years of experience working in and writing about Miami, and the support of grant agencies that funded the Miami project along with related studies of five other cities in the United States. Some of the material in this book has appeared elsewhere in the previously published works of the individual authors. Nonetheless, the result of this collaborative effort is valuable case study material drawn from fieldwork done in the business arena, the workplace, and the public schools. The business discussion in Chapter Two focuses on competition, and in some cases cooperation, among the elite of Miami's three major ethnic groups—Cubans, Whites, and African Americans. Chapter Three focuses on workplace interaction and relations between newcomer immigrants and established residents. Chapter Four, on African Americans and Haitians in public high school, is the most cohesive of the three empirical chapters. The fieldwork data and the analysis are clearly integrated in a

way that reveals fascinating, and sometimes tragic, complexities associated with the intersecting identities of race, nationality, and class. Parts of the other two chapters read like a series of disjointed quotations that are interesting, but do not on their own paint a clear analytical picture; and the authors do not draw one. Most disappointing, however, with regard to the empirical data that inform this book is that they are quite old. The authors emphasize "over a decade of . . . direct observation," but that decade was the 1980s. The methodological appendix explains that in every arena studied the fieldwork took place in 1988 or 1989. Given the dynamism of a city like Miami, and the access of these authors, one would hope for a more current update. The authors do use the events surrounding Elián González as a lens on ethnic realities in Miami, and do it well, but that discussion represents only a small part of the book.

Beyond compiling some valuable ethnographic materials, these authors also aim to build theory (p. 11). In this effort they make certain useful points regarding the importance of variables such as "power, context and diversity" in understanding immigration outcomes and dynamics; but the theory and model they seek to debunk, assimilation, was discarded long ago among scholars of immigration and ethnic relations, and some of this book's concluding insights such as "perceptions can be more powerful than reality" (pp. 33, 149) have been better developed elsewhere.

Nonetheless, this close-up look at daily interactions among newcomers and established residents is a welcome respite from more quantitative analyses of census data. The text is accessible to a general audience, and there is some value in having the work of these four authors combined in one place.

Dhooleka S.Raj

Where Are You From? Middle-Class Migrants in the Modern World

Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003, 267 pages.

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The Hindu Punjabi population in the United Kingdom has received far less scholarly attention than either Sikh or Muslim Punjabis or the Gujarati Hindu community. Individual Hindu Punjabis have improved the quality of life for millions: Meera Syal through incisive comedy, Swraj Paul by rescuing London Zoo, but Hindu Punjabi remains an almost invisible subgroup of British Asians.

Dhooleka S.Raj continues the movement of Gerd Baumann and others to unsettle frameworks of ethnicity, community and culture. Her sensitively rigorous study of the lives of Hindu Punjabi families in London reveals individuals who are agents, continually negotiating multiple identities. These emerge variably in the various metropolitan and transnational contexts of contemporary diasporic experience. She relates their complex, fluid experience to the public political discourse of multiculturalism, which tends to lock people into "the framework of a nostalgia for culture" (p. 210).

Raj introduces the Kapurs, Chawlas, Kalias, and Aggarwals—her core families—then examines British India's Partition in 1947 as a catalyst for the formation of Hindu Punjabi identity. Analysis of her informants' understanding of being Hindu precedes her unravelling of marriage as the crux of a generational continuity of identity. Boundaries (including racism) and the relationship of the various designations of Asian, Black, British, and of Indian origin provide the substance for the next two chapters, before the final unpicking of "how nation-states can influence people's identification" (p. 23).

This is an important book, which should be required reading on courses in religious studies, South Asian studies, community, cultural, and diaspora studies and will certainly be high on my list for graduate students of religious education. It will provide key readings for methodological discussions of reflexivity and will help dismantle simplistic distinctions between insiders and outsiders. It is also an immensely readable book, rich with finely observed vignettes of individuals' cultural mixes.

Raj's judgments are corroborated by my own observation of the Hindu Punjabi community in a smaller UK city, although here, in the 1960s-born generation at least, many would be surprised by the title *middle-class*, and ties with Punjab are probably stronger than among Raj's London "HPs." But similar patterns are emerging: of the "six months here six months there" senior citizens, for example (pp. 172ff.).

In what I hope will be a speedy second edition a few small revisions are needed. For example, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness's acronym is ISKCON. The five rivers of Punjab include the Beas, but not the Indus of which they are all tributaries, and the 1996 partition of Indian Punjab involved the creation of Himachal Pradesh as well as Haryana.

Raj herself provides the best summary of her (impressive) achievement:

This book is a personal, political, and anthropological engagement to understand how people differently construct ethnicity, identity, difference and belonging. (p. xvii)

As such its readership should extend far beyond those whose primary focus is on the South Asian diaspora.

Nicole Constable

Romance on a Global Stage: Pen Pals, Virtual Ethnography, and "Mail-Order" Marriages

Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003, 283 pages.

Nicola Piper & Mina Roces (Eds.)

Wife or worker? Asian Women and Migration

Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, 219 pages.

————— Marian J. Rossiter
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These two books present perspectives on Asian women, migration, and marriage that run counter to much of the literature that has been generated to date. The first work explores transnational relationships between Asian women and their male American penpals; the second examines how labour, marriage, and migration are intricately interwoven in a broad range of international contexts, ranging from live-in caregiver programs to the sex trade.

Constable's study of what has historically been known as the mail-order bride industry focuses on a diverse group of Chinese and Filipina women engaged in international correspondence or in the initial stages of relationships with American men. The author describes how the Internet has facilitated the creation both of virtual communities that transcend national boundaries and of new opportunities for ethnographic research such as that reported here. By incorporating portions of the e-mail correspondence that she conducted with hundreds of participants, Constable gives voice to men and women whose relationships have often been criticized in the past. In so doing, she acquaints readers with people whose motivations and experiences contradict many of the simplistic stereotypes of international brides as Oriental dolls, dragon ladies, trafficked women, sex slaves, or victims of oppression. The author explores the role of the political economy in shaping cultural notions of love and desire. She also challenges assumptions of

global hypergamy—that Asian women “marry up” socially or geographically—and details the active agency of the women that she interviewed. She traces the history of Asian immigration to the United States and the effects of immigration policies on Asian-American correspondence relationships today. In the last chapter, Constable compares contrasting policies and attitudes toward Asian brides and Asian adopted children (which seems somewhat incongruous with the preceding chapters), and acknowledges documented cases of domestic abuse of foreign brides.

The strength of Constable’s book lies in its challenge of the stereotypes that have been perpetuated in the media. One of the limitations of this study is temporal, in that the research investigated only the early stages of relationships; one might hope for a follow-up study to determine how these couples fare over time. Furthermore, although Constable presents sketches of two Filipino-American couples and several Chinese women, the excerpts from correspondence and interviews with the other myriad participants in the study provide only brief glimpses of their realities.

Piper and Roces’ edited volume is a diverse collection of interesting papers that examine the close intertwining of work, marriage, and transnational migration in the lives of Asian women. McKay describes how the deskilling of Filipinas in Canada and the conflation of their domestic skills with marital values provide the impetus for entry into international marriages with Canadian men. Mix and Piper depict the situation of low- or unskilled Thai women who enter Germany as wives or as workers in the sex trade and entertainment industry. For many, their hope that marriage will enable them to avoid the sex trade has not been realized. Roces provides an illustration of Filipino brides (and workers) in Mount Isa, a mining community in Australia, where they have found empowerment as a “sisterhood” to cope with discrimination, patriarchal marriage, and loneliness. Willis and Yeoh depict Singaporean men and women of Chinese ancestry working in China, and the differing influences that their careers and overseas postings have exerted on their prospects for marriage. Another interesting chapter, by Lee and Piper, focuses on highly educated Asian women who met Malaysian men as student workers abroad and later migrated with them as wives and mothers to Malaysia. Interestingly, many of these women were considering further migration to improve their career, their standard of living, and/or their children’s education. Chee discusses the situation of Taiwanese women who accompany their children to the United States while their husbands remain in Taiwan earning money to support them. Despite the educational advantages that these moves provide, the parents who migrate—most often the mothers—are shown to suffer a downward

displacement in their careers that often jeopardizes their marriages. Pe-Pua presents another portrait of transnational families in her description of Filipina women working as domestic helpers in Spain and Italy. She compares the situations of the Filipinas who endure lengthy separation from their families in the Philippines with those of Filipinas who in smaller numbers sponsor their husbands and families to join them. The last chapter in this collection, by Nakamatsu, is an examination of the circumstances of Asian women who met Japanese men through marriage-introduction agencies. Upon marriage, they joined their husbands in their communities as a form of reproductive labour. Most of the women in this study were employed, and despite initial difficulties had actively forged strong identities for themselves in their new setting.

The studies in Piper and Roces' book provide us with a deeper understanding of the experiences of wives and workers in a variety of international contexts. The reader is struck by the resilience that they show in their process of adaptation to their host societies. The contexts, although limited in number, represent a broad range of international migration experiences and raise awareness of many neglected aspects of family migration.

Together these two books present a more balanced representation of the roles of women and transmigration. Through the use of technology, Constable's sample encompasses a wider group of participants (both female and male) than has traditionally formed the basis for such research. Her study presents a fresh, more optimistic view of relationships between international correspondents who meet via the Internet. Piper and Roces' work, an illustration of how the roles of Asian women as wives and workers are closely intertwined, also highlights the agency exercised by Asian women in the process of migration and citizenship, a perspective that has received inadequate attention in the literature and the media to date.

Yen Le Espiritu

*Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures,
Communities, and Countries*

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Home Bound is the very sort of theoretically innovative and empirically grounded work that scholars in sociology, ethnic studies, Asian American studies and other fields have come to expect from Yen Le Espiritu. Based on her long-term research on the Filipino American community in San Diego,

California, it is clearly a book that will have a substantial and lasting effect in various social science and interdisciplinary fields given the theoretical approach she employs, which incorporates transnational, historical, feminist, and race-based perspectives, and the insightful concepts she develops.

The principal argument of the book is that transnational practices of immigrants are a “disruptive strategy” deployed by them to challenge their subordinated “differential inclusion” into United States society. Thus the transnational activities of Filipino Americans “across cultures, communities, and countries” constitute, at least partially, an “act of resistance” that expresses their dissatisfaction with state-maintained modes of subordination based on race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. By living transnational lives, Filipino immigrants also articulate their resistance to the violence of global capitalism and their determination to remain “home bound,” even as they are dispersed throughout the world in pursuit of work. Challenging the celebratory emphasis on “transnational circuits” advanced by some scholars, Espiritu chooses not to overstate the frequency of transnational activities among Filipinos and emphasizes their local attachments of work, church, children’s schooling, and social life in San Diego.

Beginning with the title of her book, Espiritu develops concepts based on the notion of home such as *home making*, *homelessness*, and *mobile homes* that are included in the titles and contents of the book’s chapters and provide for its overall conceptual unity. As noted above, another significant concept she introduces that is central to her primary argument is “differential inclusion” (rather than exclusion) to denote “the process whereby a group of people is deemed integral to the nation’s economy, culture, identity, and power” but integral only because of their assigned subordinate status (p. 47). With this concept, Espiritu challenges the dominant theoretical approaches in US immigration studies that she contends view immigration primarily as a problem to be solved and thus focus on the social, economic, and cultural incorporation of immigrants into the larger society.

As a social anthropologist who has conducted ethnographic fieldwork with Filipino immigrants in Honolulu, Hawai’i, I very much appreciate the quality of the data Espiritu has obtained, and the considerable effort required to do so, through interviews with numerous informants in the San Diego area. These rich data lend support to the arguments she presents and make the Filipino Americans that Espiritu discusses emerge through particular individuals with specific experiences and viewpoints. As a result, readers are never in doubt that *Home Bound*, as its subtitle indicates, is indeed about Filipino American lives in all their social and cultural complexity and diversity as they are affected by race, gender, class,

and transnationalism, and not only about concepts that purport to describe and analyze their experiences and status.

I highly recommend *Home Bound* as an assigned text in upper level undergraduate and graduate courses and look forward to using it in my own courses. Besides instructional faculty, other scholars from a wide range of fields will find it of much value in applying the theoretical approach and concepts that Espiritu has introduced into their own work.

Sherene H. Razack, (Ed)
Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society
 Toronto, ON: *Between the Lines*, 2002, 310 pages.

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The 10 authors in this collection offer readers an interdisciplinary examination of how various laws and policies employ the entity of space to construct and maintain racial hierarchies in Canadian society. Editor Sherene Razack states "our concern is to tell the national story as a racial and spatial story, that is, as a series of efforts to segregate, contain, and thereby limit, the rights and opportunities of Aboriginal people and people of colour" (p. 17).

The contributing authors call on the work of poststructural theorists such as Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and Edward Soja, and scholarly approaches to research and writing from the disciplines of critical geography, sociology, law, education, and critical race and feminist studies. The dialectical relationship between spatial practices and legal practices is a common theme running through the chapters. By taking an approach the editor describes as "unmapping" and by including space in their analysis, the authors in this collection illuminate hidden and taken-for-granted aspects of this dialectical relationship and its effects on processes of identity and racism.

Mona Oikawa's chapter about the internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II is particularly useful in illuminating how spatial/legal practices are integral to the production of racialized identities. Although popular culture representations of Japanese internment camps promote the perception that they were located "somewhere in British Columbia," Oikawa points out that the internment "'camps' were in reality numerous heterogeneous carceral sites scattered across the country," from British Columbia to Ontario (p. 7). The author clearly articulates "how racial social order was historically and geographically produced in Canada, and hence how it produced Canada" (p. 75).

The introduction and nine chapters in this collection expose the violence and racism that results from setting laws and policies that regulate people in spaces across a wide range of contexts and institutions: medicine, education, criminal courts, and municipal, provincial, and federal jurisdictions. A sampling of regulations examined by the authors in this collection includes orders-in-council, legal titles to land, statutory powers, city by-laws, professional licensing policies, provincial hydro acts, compulsory university courses, royal deeds of declaration, the Indian Act, proclamations, treaties, a Concordat with the Holy See, zoning approvals, zoning by-laws, enfranchisement acts, and royal commissions.

Although many of the chapters are written in a style that would not be described as engaging, overall *Race, Space, and the Law* is a useful collection. Researchers interested in understanding and positively influencing the larger implications of policies and laws employed in a white settler society would do well to pay attention to the information presented in this collection. This volume serves to remind readers that physical, mental, and social spaces are all possible instruments in the project of surveillance and that *where* we are is always in a dialectical relationship with *who* we are.