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Structuring Immigrants' Civic-Political
Incorporation into the Host Society:
An Expanded Theoretical Model and
Its Empirical Applications



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Abstract

In this article, I propose to reconceptualize immigrants' political incorporation into the host society by broadening the existing interpretations of this process in two directions. Although the political incorporation of immigrant/ethnic groups has attracted considerable attention among social scientists, existing research has focused on the "external" measures of immigrant/ethnic group members' political involvement in the host society, such as taking up citizenship (the foreign-born), voting participation, and engagement in other public-sphere activities. Shared (sub)cultural understandings of citizenship and the democratic process held by newcomers that motivate or hinder their civic-political involvement have been neglected. Reflecting the multi-dimensional nature of democracy, I propose a similarly heterogeneous notion of immigrants' political incorporation. The second proposed modification to the treatment of immigrants' civic-political incorporation is a more encompassing or two-phase assessment of this process that includes not only the adjustment of those newcomers' orientations and practices but also the reverse effect, that is, the subsequent transformation of the functioning of host-society civic-political institutions and culture under the impact of immigrants' presence. In view of the underexplored nature of the treatment of immigrants' civic-political incorporation proposed here, this article presents an explorative kind of investigation. Its underlying premise is the inevitable context dependency and, thus, diversity of outcomes of the negotiations by actors of the societal structures, resulting from immigrants' different socio-cultural backgrounds and their changing situations.

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This essay¹ consists of two parts. I propose, first, some specific reconceptualizations of immigrants' political incorporation into the host society, and a theoretical framework which informs my analysis of this process. Next, I illustrate the proposed explanatory model with empirical illustrations of past and present immigrants' political incorporation into the American society.

1. Immigrants' Civic-Political Incorporation: Reconceptualization and Theoretical Model

I propose to reconceptualize immigrants' political incorporation into the host society by broadening the existing interpretations of this process in two directions. First, although the political incorporation of immigrant/ethnic groups has attracted considerable attention among social scientists, the study of this issue has suffered important limitations. Existing research has focused on the "external" measures of immigrant/ethnic group members' political involvement in the host society, such as taking up citizenship (the foreign-born), voting participation, and engagement in other public-sphere activities. Shared (sub)cultural understandings of citizenship and the democratic process held by newcomers that motivate or hinder their civic-political involvement have been neglected. Reflecting the multi-dimensional nature of democracy (see Table 1 below), I propose here a similarly heterogeneous notion of immigrants' political incorporation, involving at least five distinct dimensions (see Model at the end of this section) : (i) acquisition of citizenship; (ii) interest in and knowledge of host-country public affairs; (iii) voting participation; (iv) involvement in other forms of host-country public activities, especially civil-society initiatives; and (v) ideas and practice of democracy and, specifically, immigrant group members' representations of a good society and their ideas regarding the meaning and purpose of civic involvement as well as the style and orientation of everyday practices in the encounters with other people and social institutions, such as civility and respect for others and the accepted rules of behaviour, reliance on negotiations and compromise (rather than head-on confrontation) in the resolution of conflicts, understanding of freedom, to use Alexis de Tocqueville's (1835-40) classic distinction, as freedom *from*

1 This article will appear in the edited volume *Immigrants' Political Incorporation: Theoretical and Empirical Directions*, eds. Michael Jones-Correa and Jennifer Hochschild, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

state (group, patriarchal order) oppression and/or as freedom *to* pursue one's desired activities, here—to participate in public-sphere civic-political affairs. Because the proposed understanding of immigrants' integration into the host society involves, besides the strictly political aspects of this process such as the acquisition of citizenship and voting participation, also some broader, or, perhaps more accurately, underlying civic orientations and practices, in the discussion I use the term 'civic-political' rather than narrowly 'political' incorporation.

The second proposed modification to the treatment of immigrants' civic-political incorporation is a more encompassing or two-phase assessment of this process that includes not only the adjustment of those newcomers' orientations and practices but also the reverse effect, that is, the subsequent transformation of the functioning of host-society civic-political institutions and culture under the impact of immigrants' presence. The standard focus of social science studies on immigrants' integration into the host society has been on the former's transformation under the impact of their experience in the new environment as they acquire receiver-country citizenship, participate in its civic affairs, and gradually change their identities. But settlement of diverse people—immigrants from around the world in towns and cities of once homogenous societies—brings multicultural ways of life into the everyday existence of particular localities, here, into the ideas and practices which form the basis of the operation of receiver-society civic-political affairs².

In view of the underexplored nature of the treatment of immigrants' civic-political incorporation proposed here, the discussion that follows represents an explorative kind of investigation. Its underlying premise is the inevitable context dependency and, thus, diversity of outcomes of the negotiations by actors of the societal structures, resulting from immigrants' different socio-cultural backgrounds and their changing situations. It derives from two theoretical and one epistemological assumption informing my analysis. The first one conceives social phenomena not as isolated events but as time- and place-contingent processes of "becoming" and, thus, inherently flexible and underdetermined (Abbott 2001). The second premise views societal structures and human actors as (re)constituting each other in the evolving processes of structuration. The basic idea informing this conceptualization can be summarized thusly. Whereas the long-term and immediate configurations and pressures of forces

2 A comprehensive conceptualization of immigrants' political incorporation should also include, not considered here because of space limitations, a parallel second-phase effect—that on their home localities—of the integration of those newcomers the majority of whom today maintain some forms of engagements in their home society.

Table 1. Constitutive elements of democracy.

I. Democracy as a political system:
1. Government is elected by citizens and responsive to them
2. Government operates by parliamentary and majoritarian or consensual rules
3. Separation of judiciary, executive, and legislative powers
4. System of laws guarantees (1), (2) and (3) and protects civil liberties of citizens (freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and protection of individual and group rights against arbitrary state action) and the fundamentals of the “Democratic Creed” [(7)(8)(9)]
II. Democracy as a form of community:
5. Existence of civil society or the plurality institutions and associations that operate independently from the state
6. Participation based on inclusion rather than exclusion and deriving from civic-universalist rather than ethnonationalist-particularistic criteria
III. Democracy as a culture or set of normatively binding concepts that inform social-political institutions and popular orientations:
7. Individualism, holding that the primary task of the government is to enable each individual to achieve the highest potential development
8. Liberty, which allows each individual the greatest amount of freedom consistent with order, and
8a. Postulating that individuals will cooperate in creating a wholesome society through the execution of their rights and duties through participation in civic-political affairs
9. Equality, maintaining that all people are created equal and have equal rights and opportunities
10. Respect for the institutions and processes of political life and for their outcomes—laws, regulations, policies, and election returns—even if they are disliked

Sources:

- S.M. Lipset. 1995. *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly. 3 vols.
- R. Dahl. 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- J. Cullen. 1996. *The Art of Democracy*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- J. Linz and A. Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- P. Birnbaum et al. 1978. *Democracy, Consensus, and Social Contract*. London: Sage Publications.
- A. Przeworski. 1995. *Sustainable Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- A. Lijphart. 1989. “Democratic Political Systems: Types, Causes, and Consequences”, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 1 (1): 33-48.

at the upper structural layers set the “dynamic limits” of the possible and the impossible within which people act, it is at the level of more proximate social surroundings that individuals and groups evaluate their situations, define purposes, and undertake actions the intended and, often, unintended consequences of which affect these local-level and, over time, larger-scope structures.³

The structuration model is particularly useful, I believe, for interpretations of the pursuits of (im)migrants who move into or between different environments and confront new circumstances. Analyzed in this framework, (im)migrants’ activities are neither simply the products of structures nor their agentic volitions but of the time- and place-specific contexts of the interactions between the two. How much agentic power individuals can derive from their socio-cultural resources is contingent on the influence of other macro- and microstructures that support particular orientations: dynamism or stagnation of the economy, an open or segmented labor market, the restrictiveness of sender and receiver state immigration policies and the “gaps” created by their imperfections, civic-political pluralism or exclusiveness of the receiving society, parochialism or cosmopolitanism of the host culture. Within these intersecting frameworks, the specific configurations of individuals’ orientations and, thus, their transformative potential are further influenced by their socio-demographic characteristics, economic resources, and social-cultural capital changing over time and, in the case of immigrants, their civic-political status in the receiving country. Thus constituted, (im)migrant actors’ orientations and practices in turn (re)constitute these very social structures. The structures-agency (re)constitution is an ongoing process; as already noted, in this essay I examine only the initial phases of this process: the shaping by societal structures of immigrants’ options and opportunities and the ways the latter act upon their situations, and the (re)constituting impact of these activities—here, immigrants’ civic-political incorporation—on the receiver society.

The epistemological approach informing my exploration of immigrants’ civic-political incorporation postulates that the answer to *why* social phenomena come into being, change, or persist, is revealed by demonstrating *how* they do it, that is, by showing how they have been shaped over time through changing circumstances (Abrams 1982). In order to show how/why a social phenomenon evolves, in this case immigrants’ civic-political incorporation, we need to identify the main macro-, meso- and micro-level circumstances likely to affect it. From the existing literature on the subject I have assembled

3 On current conceptualizations of the structuration model, see Sewell 1992; Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Stones 2005; for its original formulation, see Giddens 1976, 1984; Bourdieu 1977.

a list of 40-odd factors, different constellations of which have been reported to have an impact on immigrants' citizenship and voting practices and—implied in available ethnographic studies—their understandings and practice of democracy. They are presented in Table 2 below. It is important to emphasize that not all the identified factors but particular constellations of them affect immigrants' civic-political situations in concrete time- and place-specific situations.

Taking into consideration the earlier-identified five dimensions of immigrants' civic-political incorporation and its multi-level contributing circumstances, and conceptualized in the structuration framework, a theoretical model for the assessment of the two-phase process examined here is presented below. The pattern of immigrants' civic-political integration specified as “mainstream” in column 3 of the Model in the first phase (T1) of the structuration process refers to the mode of incorporation whereby newcomers' home-country ways, attachments, and identities are replaced by orientations and practices characteristic of (middle- or lower-class) strata of the mainstream receiver society. The “ethnic-path” trajectory denotes the mode of integration which occurs through mixing and blending of home- and host-country traditions and behavioural patterns; like its mainstream counterpart, it can take middle- or lower-class forms depending on immigrants' socioeconomic location. The mixed varieties represent combinations of mainstream and ethnic-path modes depending on the particular dimension of integration.⁴

The “accommodation” and “glocalization” effects of immigrants' civic-political integration specified in Column 4 of the Model in the second phase (T2) of the structuration process, which denotes the impact on host- and home-societies, refer to the following situations. The former involves the *coexistence* of different socio-cultural patterns side by side, which implies heterogenization or diversification, but no homogenization requires an exchange between members of different groups as carriers of these diverse orientations and practices. Glocalization, understood as the process of simultaneous homogenization and heterogenization of sociocultural and, of concern here, civic-political forms (Robertson 1992; Giulianotti and Robertson 2007), involves *interpenetration* of coexistent modes of operation of groups or societies resulting in their becoming simultaneously more similar to and more different from each other (I will further elaborate on this issue in the last section of the essay).

4 On segmented and multi-path trajectories of immigrants' assimilation, see Portes and Zhou 1993; Gans 1992; Zhou 1997. For a representative selection of major theoretical positions on assimilation/integration, see Kivisto 2005.

Table 2. Factors Influencing Immigrants' Civic-Political IncorporationGlobal level

transportation and communication technology

international laws and treaties regarding human rights (international migration & settlement)

international power politics, pressures and conflicts involving immigrants' home-country/region

National level

geographic proximity between immigrants' home- and host-country

Sending country

structure and dynamics of the economy

state-national model of civic-political integration

civic culture/practice of inclusion/exclusion (multiculturalism) of "others" (racial, religious, ethnic)

stage of nation-building process

state-national policies toward/relations with émigrés

patriarchal/egalitarian gender relations in private & public spheres

Receiving country

structure and dynamics of the economy

state-national model of civic-political integration

civic culture/practice of inclusion/exclusion (multiculturalism)

of (racial, religious, ethnic) "others"

immigration policies and citizenship

state policy toward/relations with sending country

patriarchal/egalitarian gender relations in private & public spheres

Local levelExternal

(i), (iii) as in Receiving country-National level

level of residential segregation

intergroup relations

Intragroup

immigrant/ethnic group size and residential concentration/
 segregation from native-born population
 immigrant/ethnic community's institutional completeness
 proportion of foreign-born
 sojourn/diasporic mentality
 immigrant/ethnic group sense of civic entitlement
 internal organization and leadership
 degree of socio-cultural enclosure
 patriarchal/egalitarian gender relations in private & public spheres

Immigrants' Characteristics

socio-economic position and prospects of mobility
 cultural capital (education, skills, advance acculturation, life goals and ambitions)
 race
 gender
 political status in host country
 residential/work isolation vs. contact (frequency & intensity) with natives
 number of years spent in host country
 sojourn or permanent (im)migration
 intensity/frequency of experience of prejudice/discrimination in host society
 sense of emancipation in and gratitude to host society
 intensity of emotional and/or ideological attachment to/engagement in home country

2. Immigrants' Civic-Political Incorporation: Empirical Illustrations of the Proposed Model

The following section illustrates the operation of the proposed theoretical model on the selected cases of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants' civic-political incorporation into American society. The examined groups include, first, Slavic and Italian arrivals who settled en masse in the rapidly growing East Coast and Midwestern industrial cities between the 1880s and 1914. Next, among

present-day arrivals I examine three groups selected to demonstrate the diversifying effects on immigrants' incorporation of socio-economic and political circumstances of their experience in the host society and their personal characteristics. They include Chinese global entrepreneurs and lower-class Mexicans in Los Angeles, and first-wave Cuban refugees in Miami.

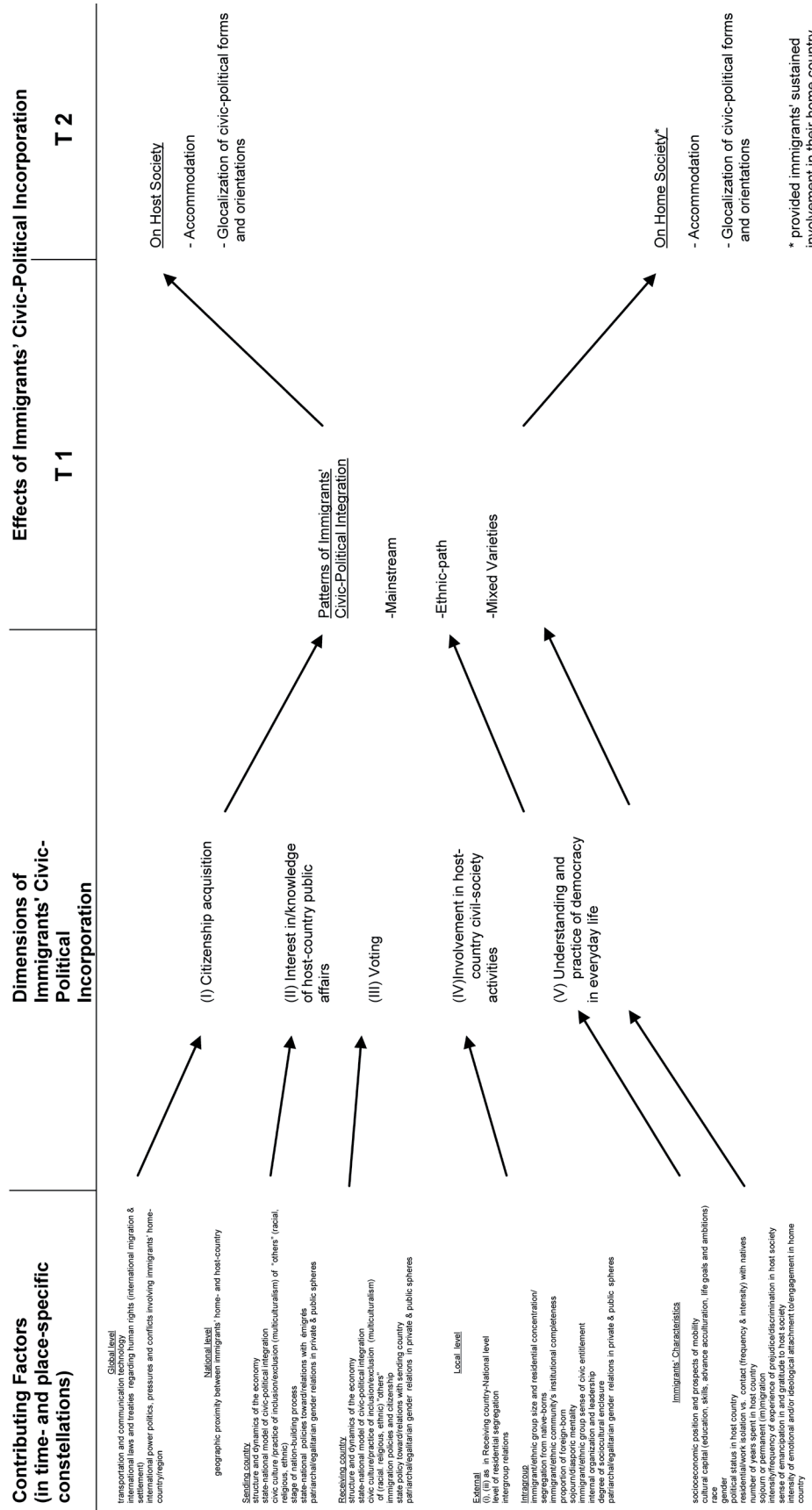
The information about these groups' cities of settlement and their adaptation to the local American societies comes, regarding turn-of-the-twentieth-century arrivals, from studies in U.S. urban history and an extensive archive of U.S. primary-source documents I have assembled during 25 years of research on the experience in America of South and East European immigrants. Regarding their present-day successors, the information comes from my comparative study, based on the available publications, of the patterns of international migration, assimilation, and transnational engagements among eight contemporary immigrant groups in the United States (Morawska 2009). The information about the emergent ideas and everyday practices related to democracy among immigrants, the inclusion of which into the notion of civic-political incorporation I postulate in this essay, is readily available in historical studies of the experience of turn-of-the-twentieth-century arrivals in America, primarily because of the traditional reliance of their authors on the analysis of immigrant letters, diaries, and local records of group organizational proceedings. Social science, especially political sociology studies of contemporary immigrants' incorporation, commonly rely on survey data that tend to focus on the earlier-noted external measures of this process. I had, therefore, made a special effort in my search for information about present-day immigrants' democratic ideas and practices to locate and carefully analyze available ethnographic studies (a boon here has been a recent entry of anthropologists into the field of American immigration studies), whose authors I also contacted in person with questions about particular issues. Nevertheless, because it is based on the available secondary material, my discussion of the situation of contemporary immigrant groups is unavoidably "gappy", reflecting specific emphases and omissions of these studies.

(I) Immigrants' Civic- Political Incorporation: Different Contexts, Different Trajectories

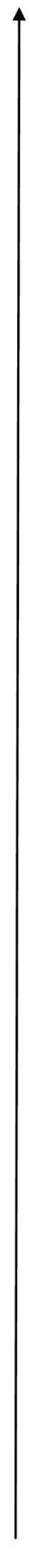
Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century Immigrants

The total volume of cross-border "comings" and "goings" of South and East Europeans, uprooted from their traditional rural habitats by the belated and protracted process of urbanization-industrialization of those regions between 1870 and 1914, is

A Model of Immigrants' Civic-Political Incorporation Into the Host Society



TIME FLOW



estimated at a staggering 35 to 45 million (Ferenczi and Willcox 1929-31; Gould 1979, 1980; Bairoch 1982). Whereas the majority of them travelled within their regions in search of a livelihood, a large proportion, or more than 30 percent, ventured out to more distant, western-more, and more highly developed parts of Europe and further yet across the Atlantic to North America. Those who came to the United States—the 1910 American census reported more than seven million (im)migrant residents from Southern and Eastern Europe—settled in tightly knit “foreign colonies” in the rapidly growing industrial cities. Ninety-odd percent of Slavic and Italian arrivals went to work as unskilled labourers in American factories, steel mills, coal mines, and in railroad and building construction⁵ (see Sheridan 1907; Balch 1910; U.S. Immigration Commission 1911).

The contemporary meaning of the concept of “race” in the United States differed from the present-day understanding in that it was more inclusive and ambiguous. During the early decades of this century the widely recognized “scholarly” racist theories and the dominant, native-born American public opinion on their authority viewed groups defined today as white as racially differentiated by physical features, skin “hues” and genetically determined mental capacities, and the “Nordic race” as superior to all others. In this scheme South and East Europeans were perceived as racially (and not just nationally or ethnically) distinct and inferior to the dominant, Anglo-Saxon and other Northwestern European groups. Made of “germ plasm” (sic), “the Slavs are immune to certain kinds of dirt. They can stand what would kill a white man”, Italians’ “dark complexion... resembles African more than Caucasian hues”. Examples of such racist pronouncements about those “suspicious aliens of inferior species” by respectable public personae in respectable American institutions such as Congress, Harvard University, the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the American Federation of Labor, and the like, were numerous. Resulting from these accepted perceptions and amply documented by immigration and ethnic historians was the exclusion of South and East European immigrants and their offspring from closer social relations with the natives and open discrimination against them at work. By 1929, nearly 80 percent of Slavic- and Italian-Americans were still employed in lower manual echelons of industrial labour.⁶ As late as 1945, referring to Americans of Slavic and Italian backgrounds, the leading American sociologists, W. Lloyd Warner

5 Not included in this discussion, East European Jews, two-thirds of whom were employed as skilled manual workers, were the exception.

6 Quotes after Taylor 1971: 239; Lieberson 1963: 25; Rieder 1985: 32; Nugent 1992: 158; Wyman 1993: 101; see also Hutchinson 1956; Jacobson 1998.

and Leo Srole, discussed dim prospects for assimilation among those more darkly skinned “mixtures of Caucasoid and Mongoloid” blood (1945). As Perlmann and Waldinger have rightly pointed out, it was only in subsequent decades that those “dark Caucasoids” became “white ethnics” (1997: 17-18, see also Novak 1975).

Prejudice and social exclusion by members of the dominant groups in America against South and East Europeans at the beginning of the twentieth century had naturally sustained the latter's focus on themselves. But several other factors also contributed to the closeted and inward-turned nature of immigrants' pursuits confined within the boundaries of their ethnic communities. The majority of Slavic and Italian migrants intended their transatlantic sojourns to be temporary. A significant proportion, between 30 and 40 percent, actually went back to their home countries or, between 15 and 30 percent according to contemporary studies, made repeated visits. Because they perceived their sojourns abroad as temporary, as indicated by (im)migrants' letters sent to home villages, diaries they wrote, and the contents of the contemporaneous immigrant press in America throughout the interwar period, most sustained close economic and social contacts with their families and friends in Europe. Because of their illiteracy, shared sojourner mentality and residential and work concentration in tightly knit ethnic communities isolated from the mainstream American society, the predominant majority of South and East European immigrants did not speak English.⁷

An important additional factor contributed to immigrants' concentration on their own communities. By the late nineteenth century most of the home countries of South and East European (im)migrants were still deeply immersed in building the encompassing national allegiance of their larger populations. Several of them, especially in eastern parts of the Continent, struggled to gain (or regain) state-national sovereignty. The overwhelming majority of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Slavic and Italian arrivals in the United States, more than 90 percent of whom were of rural backgrounds, came to this country with a group identity and a sense of belonging that extended no further than the *okolica*, the local countryside. Paradoxically, it was only after they came to America and began to create organized immigrant networks for assistance and self-expression and established group boundaries as they encountered an ethnically pluralistic and often hostile environment, that these (im)migrants developed translocal national identities with—to use a distinction of the Polish

7 See Cerase 1971; *Pamiętniki Emigrantów* 1977; Cinel 1979; *Writing Home* 1986; Morawska 1989; Nugent 1992; Wyman 1993; Hoerder and Moch 1996; Baily 1999.

sociologist, Stanislaw Ossowski (1967; see also Anderson 1983)—their old-country ideological *Vaterlands* or the imagined communities of the encompassing *Patrias* as distinct from the *Heimats* or the local homelands as Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Lithuanians, and so on. Lithuanians have referred to the United States as “the second birthplace of the[ir] nationality”, and the same may be said of the others as well (quote after Park 1922: 51; see also Wyman 1993; Hoerder and Moch 1996; Jacobson 1998.) As they absorbed the ideas of home-country nation and nationhood, which in their regions of origin were traditionally defined as the primordial, ascriptive membership treated as a moral imperative requiring exclusive loyalty, even those South and East European immigrants who extended their sojourns in America until they became “by default” permanent refrained from acquiring American citizenship because, as a Lithuanian-born resident of Detroit explained in 1921, they did not want to “forswear themselves” (quote from Morawska 1996: 239).

And indeed, reflecting the pressures of immigrants’ external (exclusion by the mainstream American society) and in-group (lack of English, sojourner mentality and preoccupation with their home countries) circumstances, by 1920 a mere 20-odd percent of Slavic and Italian immigrants had become naturalized in the United States. A minority of those who did become American citizens were not particularly active in the political affairs of the localities they resided in, discouraged by the anti-immigrant sentiments of American public opinion and institutions, preoccupied with improving their families’ material situation, continuously threatened by recurrent slumps in the industrial production, and choosing to invest their limited free time in the activities of their ethnic communities. This civic withdrawal abated during the 1930s when the pluralist spirit of New Deal era politics and the founding of the immigrant-friendly nationwide labour organization, the CIO, facilitated the involvement of “foreigners” in American urban politics and industrial workers’ unions. It was not, however, Italian and Slavic immigrants but their second generation American-born children who were the dominant component and driving force of this ethnic mobilization.⁸

By the measures of customary assessments of immigrants’ political incorporation, then, civic acculturation into the host, American society of turn-of-the-twentieth-century of foreign-born Slavs and Italians would appear minimal. And yet, within their closeted ethnic communities, those immigrants were acquiring new political

8 See Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Kantowicz 1975; Kolko 1976; Montgomery 1979; Nelli 1979; Brody 1980; Bodnar 1985.

ideas and developing new civic practices adapted from mainstream American society. The concept of *ethnicization* (Sarna 1978), denoting the process of mixing-and-blending in different compositions of home- and host-country traditions, renders well, I believe, the nature of this transformation evolving from within the group. Because of space limitations, I point out here only the most notable new, American elements which emerged in immigrants' civic-political orientation and practices during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants' letters sent to their families and friends in their home countries—no less than seven million of them crossed the Atlantic between 1903 and 1907 alone (Balch 1910)—contained, besides reports about living and working conditions in the American cities they settled in, enquiries about the affairs in their households and in the village, and information about travel arrangements for those willing to leave, regular references to the “freedom” the writers encountered in America, which they contrasted with the situation at home. Severely constrained as it was by immigrants' position at the bottom of the receiver country's socio-economic structure and by the exclusionary superiority felt toward them by native-born Americans, this “freedom” was still palpable to those newcomers in the form of strikingly more egalitarian social relations in the receiver country as compared to those at home (even at the beginning of the twentieth century, peasants greeting a person of higher status in Eastern Europe had to take off their hats and bow; in America, they wrote home, the bosses called them by their first names), and as an “air with the hope for the future” for themselves if they worked very hard to save as much money as possible to take back to the village, immigrants told their correspondents, and certainly for their children should they want to remain in that country (at home, in contrast, the future felt monotonously grim to growing millions of landless peasants).⁹

These reports sent home by immigrants conveyed a new sense of the “freedom from” the (post-) feudal ascriptive societal structures and the authoritarian political regimes constraining citizens' autonomy in the authors' countries of origin. As they settled in their foreign colonies in American cities, immigrants also began to develop a notion of a “freedom to”. A dense network of civil-society-type self-help, educational, and cultural associations created by immigrants was a radical innovation in their experience, shaped in their countries of origin where self-governed initiatives

9 Information about immigrant letters from Cerase 1971; *Pamiętniki Emigrantów* 1977; Cinel 1979; *Writing Home* 1986; Morawska 1989; Wyman 1993; Baily 1999.

“from below”, especially by members of the lower classes, were non-existent and, if tried, quickly suppressed by the authorities as threatening the hierarchical system. The newly founded associations adopted democratic rules of self-governance, with by-laws, majority voting procedures, and sanctions for non-compliance. Even if not always followed to the letter—minutes I inspected of organizational meetings of Slavic and Jewish associations in Johnstown, Pennsylvania in the period 1905-25 indicated frequent misunderstandings and member misconduct regarding procedures (Morawska 1985, 1996; see Greene 1975; Nelli 1979 on similar problems in early organizational activities of other South and East European groups)—these democratic rules of conducting official business and mutual relations introduced a new attitude and know-how into the experience of the members of immigrant associations, which presumably with time became the internalized components of their daily pursuits.

The important role these innovative ideas and practices played in the civic-political acculturation-qua-ethnicization of immigrant women—a small minority, between 15 and 20 percent, among Slavic and Italian arrivals, at least for a prolonged time until the sojourners decided to remain in America for good and brought their families over—deserves a separate mention here. It was only in 1923 that foreign-born women could apply for American citizenship independently of their husbands. American women were granted the right to vote in American elections in 1920; legal provisions and recourses protecting actual gender equality in public life, including political offices, were implemented much later in the post-World War II era.¹⁰ Despite these constraints in the mainstream American public sphere, turn-of-the-twentieth-century South and East European women enthusiastically engaged in local ethnic organizations, usually gender-separate women’s clubs and associations set up for specifically “feminine” purposes such as charitable activities, supervision of parochial education of children, preparation and management of the culinary aspect of all-ethnic events and the like. As they basically had no access to mainstream American organizations (except for the labour unions since the 1930s), this involvement had by the interwar period become *the* public sphere of immigrant women’s civic activities.¹¹ As with their male counterparts and perhaps even with a more acute sense of a change because it also represented a departure from the accustomed patriarchal relationships at home, immigrant women’s involvement in self-governed, public-sphere activities introduced

10 On the history of women’s suffrage in America, see Tilly and Gurin 1990.

11 On turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrant women’s involvement in ethnic-group gender-specific public-sphere activities, see Joselit 1987; Wenger 1987; Gabaccia 1994.

into their everyday practices political ideas and skills common in mainstream American society, including a newly gained sense of personal worth and autonomy.

Contemporary Immigrants

Against the comparative background of the situation of turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants, we now examine patterns of civic-political incorporation reported in studies of the experience of upper-class Chinese and lower-class Mexicans in Los Angeles, and first-wave Cuban refugees in Miami. The greatly expanded capitalist world-system has retained its profound structural inequalities in the economic development between the south/east (SE) and north/west (NW) part of the globe, which have sustained the “compass”, SE-NW, direction of the bulk of international migration characteristic of turn-of-the-twentieth-century population flows, with the highly developed United States among the most desirable destination for income-seeking transnational travellers. But the contexts of past and present immigrants' adaptation to the host, American society have been far from identical. I note here only such distinct common features of present-day immigrants' situation which have been directly relevant to the newcomers' civic-political incorporation.

On the side of the immigrants, three important differences between the old and new arrivals should be noted. The first is the class or socio-economic composition of these flows. The previous migration wave was composed primarily of uneducated, un- or low-skilled people; in contrast and reflecting a gradual economic development in sender, non-core parts of the world, a significant proportion of contemporary immigrants are highly educated with a strong human capital, including knowledge of the English language and professional skills. The second difference, the result of the rapid expansion of white-collar and service jobs in sender countries' modernizing national economies and the related increased participation of women in their labour markets accompanied by changes—in some world regions quicker than in others—in cultural norms and expectations regarding gender roles, has been a significantly changed gender composition of contemporary immigrants. Whereas the proportion of women among 1880s-1914 international travellers oscillated between 15 and 20 percent, their share among present-day arrivals in the United States is about 50 percent. Between 20 and 60 percent, depending on the immigrant group, among these women come with good education and high-level skills.¹² Related to

12 On the transformation of contemporary sender economies and gender relations, see Eyer-
man 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; on gender composition of present-day immi-
gration into the United States, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003.

the above two features of present-day immigrants and to a changed cultural-political situation in the receiver, American society (see below), the third difference between turn-of-the-twentieth-century arrivals and their contemporary successors has been the opportunity available to the latter, especially but not exclusively more highly skilled ones, to settle outside of their ethnic-group communities and to work among native-born Americans; while Slavic and Italian immigrants, unwelcome by members of the receiver society in their neighbourhoods, unable to speak English, not competent to or prevented from performing more highly skilled jobs, were confined to the company of their fellow-ethnics.

On the side of the receiver, American society, at least four post-World War II developments have made the context of contemporary immigrants' civic-political incorporation significantly different from that of Slavic and Italian settlers at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first to be noted was the postindustrial restructuring of the American economy with the segmented labour market divided into the primary sector, characterized by the demand for a highly skilled and well-paid workforce, the secondary sector offering low-paid, insecure jobs servicing the former, and, overlapping with it, a large informal sector with low- to middle-skilled service jobs unattached to the official employment infrastructure, and tax and social insurance systems.¹³ The second macro-structural transformation of consequence for contemporary immigrants' civic-political integration was the politicization of international migration and, of concern here, of the decision of who can enter the receiver country, for how long, and with what entitlements. At the turn of the twentieth century, these decisions were by and large the prerogative of the migrants themselves and their local communities. Today, international migration is intricately entangled in politics and negotiated at the "upper levels" of the contemporary global and state-national systems far above the heads of those personally interested. Of particular relevance for the issue examined here has been the creation by the receiver society's restrictive immigration policies of a large army of undocumented immigrants restricted to the notoriously unstable and underpaid informal-sector employment and deprived of health and other social protections.¹⁴

13 On the features and operation of America postindustrial economy, see Sassen 1994; O'Loughlin and Friedrichs 1996; Abu-Lughod 1999; Bean and Bell-Rose 1999.

14 On the politicization of international migration and the rise of restrictive immigration policies in the United States, see Cornelius, Martin, and Hollifield 1994; Zolberg 1999, 2006; Joppke 2005.

The third important development which makes the situation of contemporary immigrants to the United States different from that of their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors has to do with the receiver country's civic-political climate. The post-World War II era witnessed a shift from a nativist-exclusive to a pluralist political ideology and public practice of the American nation-state, programmatically tolerant of society's "egalitarian diversity". The replacement of nativist proclamations with legal provisions for and public declarations of ethnic pluralism has been accompanied by a slower and often "reluctant" but nevertheless progressive opening up of the orientations of native-born Americans towards ethnic and racial "others", and by the increased permeability of the once firm social boundaries between the (white) native and foreign-stock and "coloured" groups. Fourth and related, although the contemporary racism of Americans, if diminished, has by no means disappeared—in fact, rather vague racial perceptions regarding turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigrants have since solidified into a dichotomous black-white racial divide that systematically privileges one (white) and disadvantages the other (black) segment of the American population—the institutionalization of an array of legal provisions aimed at protecting egalitarian civil rights of the citizens temper or potentially temper racial discrimination by providing recourse in case of violations.¹⁵

I now consider the contributing circumstances and different dimensions of civic-political incorporation among members of the present-day immigrant groups selected for examination. As we shall see, the impact of the above-outlined post-World War II developments regarding international migration into the United States on those arrivals' adaptation to the host society has "worked" differently for different groups depending on their particular location and features.

We begin with Chinese global businessmen—venture capitalists, state-of-the-art technology entrepreneurs, transnational financiers and company managers—residing in Los Angeles. Mostly male, they arrived in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s from Hong Kong and Taiwan, enticed there by the then healthy dynamic of the world capitalist economy linking two sides of the Pacific, in which they occupied the upper-echelons, and – the followers of the 1980s wave - by a new "investor category" created in 1992 in the U.S. immigration system that guarantees permanent residence to 10,000 immigrants annually, with an extra allowance for spouses and children, in exchange for a U.S. \$ 1 million investment by these newcomers that results in the creation of at least 10 jobs in the United States. Los Angeles, the dynamically growing hi-tech global city with good connections with Asian economies, was an

15 On the history of American pluralism, see Higham 1975; Gleason 1992.

ideal location. In the year 2000, recently arrived Hong Kong and Taiwanese transnational investors, financiers, and high-level managers made up nearly 15 percent of the 200,000-odd Chinese immigrants who settled in that city over the last two decades of the twentieth century.¹⁶

The following discussion of the structural and personal circumstances of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global entrepreneurs in Los Angeles and of the forms of their resulting civic-political incorporation is focused on male immigrants, because very little is known about women in this group except that most of them are housewives taking care of the households and only a small minority, so-called “strong women”, participate in business along with their husbands or on their own. These global businessmen are known as *taikongren*—globe-trotters who constantly move around the world from one global city to another. The reply of an immigrant Chinese transnational investor asked by a UCLA researcher where he likes to live the most was, “I can live anywhere in the world, but it must be near the airport” (personal communication from Kol Chin to this author, September 2008). Chinese global businessmen’s lives-in-motion have been sustained by their type of employment, the established culture of migration of their (sub)group which normalizes such constant mobility, and by the existence of an extensive worldwide network of (mainly Chinese) business connections and family ties. Los Angeles’ uneasy transformation from a parochial, mostly (Anglo) white “Iowa on the Pacific” still in the early 1960s into a multicultural metropolis with 40 percent of its population foreign-born, most of them non-white, by the late 1990s, has generated vocal anti-immigrant resentments among native-born residents (Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Saxonian 2006). It has not, however, affected the reception of Chinese global entrepreneurs. American leaders of the area’s capitalism, local American politicians and the media all see these immigrants as “bridge-builders” between the United States and South Asia, instrumental in the creation of the Pacific century in the global economy and, as such, openly welcome their presence in the city. Their sustained contributions to the internationalization of the Los Angeles economy integrate them into the very core of mainstream American capitalism in the global era. Although the rank-and-file native-born American Los Angelenos have commonly been reported as unable to distinguish among (East) Asians of different national origins, they do recognize and treat in a friendly man-

16 This and the following information about this group has been compiled from Kao and Bibney 1993; Skeldon 1994; Dirlik 1996; Ng 1998; Pan 1998; Cheng 1999; Hamilton 1999; Watanabe 1999; Koehn and Yin 2002; Ma and Cartier 2003; Saxonian and Li 2003; Saxonian 2006; Holdaway 2007; Yin 2007.

ner the self-assured, English-speaking, and unmistakably affluent Hong Kong and Taiwanese residents.

The structural and (inter)personal circumstances of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global entrepreneurs have allowed them to escape, as it were, the conventional, localized assimilation categories, or perhaps represent the avant-garde of a forthcoming trend. Derived from the nature of their economic activities, the solid component of the adaptation—to the United States, Los Angeles, and to their other habitats around the world—of these globetrotting men is cosmopolitanism. Studies of these immigrants' identities and civic commitments refer to them as “pragmatic cosmopolitans” with sojourner mentalities and an “instrumental sense of nationalism” that sanctions opportunistic trading of citizenship for personal/family political security and economic advancement.

Reflecting their economic position and pragmatic concerns as global businessmen with vested interests in the Los Angeles area, Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants' incorporation into Los Angeles mainstream civic-political structures represents a mix of mainstream American, ethnic (as in local Chinese-American) and transnational concerns. A 1998 survey of naturalization of different ethnic groups in the Los Angeles area found that nearly 40 percent of immigrant men in this group had permanent residence cards, and a similar proportion were naturalized. Although they are too busy travelling around the world to hold local political offices, Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrant “globalists” have been known to give large endowments to Los Angeles hospitals, universities, and other community interests—most likely motivated by practical-projective considerations and mobilized through their interactions with each other and with American business partners and political fundraisers. Together with native corporate lobbies, they have supported local- and national-level Asian-American business groups in pressuring members of the US Congress to recruit Asian labour, capital, and knowledge. And they have been reported to endorse advocacy groups formed during the 1990s, most with offices in Washington, DC, to advance political and ethnic-cultural interests of Asian Americans (the most visible among them are the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, the Organization of Chinese Americans, and, in particular, the bipartisan Congressional Asian Pacific Caucus Institute [CAPACI]).¹⁷ As they engage in these civic-political activities in the receiver society, Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen

17 Hesitant to offer open support to a Los Angeles branch of a pro-democracy group “100”, formed after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, because of the justified concern about potential repercussions for their investments in mainland China by that country's

absorb democratic ideas informing these pursuits which differ from the operating principles of their home-country public culture. These include, from the list of constitutive elements of democracy presented in Table 1, the recognition of the need for civil society or the plurality of institutions and associations that operate independently from the state (#5), for participation based on inclusion rather than exclusion and deriving from civic-universalist rather than ethnonationalist-particularist criteria (#6), and for liberty which allows each individual the greatest amount of freedom consistent with the existing social order (#8).

The situation and, reflecting it, the pattern of adaptation into the receiver society in general, and, specifically, of civic-political incorporation of lower-class Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles has been very different from that of Hong Kong residents in the same city. In the year 2000 Los Angeles was home to about 3 million Mexican immigrants, about half of them women, with official permission to live there, and a not much smaller number of undocumented sojourners. They came there for a combination of reasons: on the “push” side of the international population movement, this included embedded poverty and lack of economic prospects in their home-country towns and villages and, on the “pull” side, the steady availability of low-skilled jobs in construction, manufacturing, and services in the global city on the other side of the border, paying miserable but nevertheless higher wages than those available at home on the one hand, and, on the other, the reassuring presence there of the already established kin and acquaintances and of large colonies of fellow-ethnics who could be relied on to provide information and practical assistance in finding work and housing as well as social company and emotional support. The geographic proximity of California to the immigrants’ home country combined with the intention of the majority of travellers that their American income-seeking sojourns be temporary, the long-established culture of northbound international migration in their communities, and the migrants’ determination, sustained by the economic necessity, to improve their standard of living, provided additional motivations to go.¹⁸

political authorities, a number of wealthy Hong Kong and Taiwanese businessmen have been secretly contributing funds to this cause.

18 This and the following information about Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles has been compiled from Ong and Lawrence 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Pachon and DeSipio 1994; Gutierrez 1995; Romo 1996; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Pardo 1997; Abu-Lughod 1999; Bean and Bell-Rose 1999; Logan and Alba 1999; Mollenkopf, Olson, and Ross 2001; Logan, Alba, and Zhang 2002; Bean and Stevens 2003; Goldring 2003; Halle 2003; South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005; Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005; Camarillo 2007; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2009.

Mostly low-skilled with limited financial resources, dark skinned, with no or little familiarity with English, and unwelcome by native-born Americans, Mexican immigrants settle mainly in the Los Angeles residentially segregated mega-barrio among their own people, largely isolated from native-born residents of the city. The 2000 census recorded more than 60 percent of (documented) male working-age Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles as employed in manual occupations and about 20 percent holding low-level service jobs; nearly 40 percent of Mexican women held manual jobs and about the same proportion were employed in low-level service occupations. As the number of Mexicans in the Los Angeles area has increased over time and prejudice and discrimination against them among native-born Americans intensified, so has the proportion of immigrants who work with their fellow nationals in ethnically homogeneous low-wage occupational niches: whereas in 1970 this figure was 58 percent, by 1990 it had grown to 72 percent, with the highest concentration in the low-wage service sector and low-skill factory work. Mexican men are found especially in wood-product and metallurgical industries, and in meat production, dyeing/finishing textiles, and transportation equipment production, while women are concentrated in small-scale labour-intensive clothing, textiles, and leather-products industries, and also in maid and cleaning services.

These enduring, superimposed structural and personal circumstances of lower-class Mexican immigrants' lives in Los Angeles, combined with the intense connections with their home villages they sustain during their American sojourns, including frequent back-and-forth travels between their host- and home-country habitats, have prevented them from moving out of their niches and up on the residential and occupational ladder, limiting the mobility of most men and women to horizontal transfers within the barrio and from one job to another within the same ethnic enclave. Reflecting this situation—in particular, the group's very large size and its high residential and economic concentration and segregation from native-born Americans; the perception of its members as “coloured” (and, by implication, inferior) by white residents and the accompanying unfriendly local civic-political system and native public opinion; the unfamiliarity with English and the sojourner mentality of a majority of low-skilled Mexicans in the area combined with their encompassing, “physical” transnational involvements in the home country—immigrants' adaptation to the receiver, American society has been evolving, like that of their similarly positioned turn-of-the-twentieth-century Slavic and Italian predecessors, in the ethnicization process defined earlier as mixing-and-blending of home- and host-country traditions from within the newcomers' ethnic communities. In the year 2000, no less than 95 percent

of Mexican immigrants in the Los Angeles area used Spanish as the language spoken at home and a similar proportion reported most of their friends to be Mexicans. The naturalization rate of (documented) immigrants with more than 10 years of residence in the United States has been a low 25 percent. Thriving ethnic activities in the form of diverse Latino (Mexican) associations include, to note only those of concern here, a myriad of self-help, educational, and civic organizations, also ones created to promote political engagement in the immigrants' home country¹⁹, which are run in a democratic fashion, their by-laws often copied from American models. The predominant majority of lower-class Mexican immigrants in the area, men and women alike, identify themselves as Mexicans.

Yet, although the constellation of present-day Mexican immigrants' structural and personal circumstances contains several elements that are similar to the situation of South and East Europeans a century ago, resulting in the process of their civic-political incorporation into American society displaying similar features to that of their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors, such as low-level naturalization rates, limited participation in local public affairs, and predominance of home-country identities, it has not been identical. The low-skilled composition, dark skins, unfamiliarity with English, and a "floating" nature of a large proportion of the Mexican population in the Los Angeles area certainly are not assets that translate into the group's empowerment in the local mainstream forums. Nevertheless—an important difference from the situation of Slavic and Italian immigrants in the past—official recognition of ethnic pluralism of the American (also local) society combined with the sheer size of the Mexican population in the area, give the immigrants a sense of civic entitlement which can be mobilized into public action in matters that concern them. A good illustration of such mainstream involvement of present-day disadvantaged immigrants, without a parallel among their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors, who did not venture out but ventilated their grievances against the host society inside their ethnic communities, were "loud" mass demonstrations of Mexican immigrants in the spring of 2006 against the US Congressional legislation that would have made it a federal crime to live in the United States without appropriate documents.²⁰

19 Such involvement by émigrés in Mexico's local political affairs has been allowed by the Mexican government since the mid-1990s.

20 This mass protest mobilization dissipated, however, by the fall of 2006, most likely because of existential preoccupation of immigrants.

Although Mexican immigrant women assimilate, like men, along the ethnic path, their ethnicization also evolves along “their own” gender-specific path. A significant proportion, about one-third, of Mexican immigrant women come to America alone. An even greater number, including married women, find independent employment and earn independent income in the receiver country—a novelty for married women, especially those from the Mexican countryside. This new experience gives Mexican immigrant women a sense of self-confidence. Like their Slavic and Italian counterparts a century ago, to the extent permitted by their preoccupation with earning a living and running households, Mexican women engage in female-run ethnic associations and, especially, in voluntary work in immigrant parishes and neighbourhoods compensating for the shortages of social and welfare services which are not performed or performed badly by the city. The creation by Mexican immigrant women of their own public space replicates the traditional separation of genders. But it also represents important new developments, namely, the entry of women into the public sphere and, through this involvement, their acquisition of new civic skills and the creation of female networks, both of which empower them in the representation of local ethnic group interests. The expansion of Mexican women activities into the public sphere through paid employment and engagement in the affairs of the ethnic community, and their new sense of confidence and autonomy resulting therefrom—the emancipatory experience of the freedom “from” and “to” in Toqueville’s terms—have produced a considerable resistance on the part of the men. “In America, *la mujer manda*, woman gives the orders”—Mexican men perceive women’s enhanced self-worth and their expectations of a more equitable division of power at home and in the community as a reversal of the accustomed order. Significantly in this context, Mexican immigrant women have been reportedly less eager than men to return home, apparently reluctant to give up their newly gained financial independence and civic empowerment.

The last group to consider, first-wave Cuban refugees in Miami—about 135,000 people who fled communist takeover in their country between 1959 and mid-1961 or almost the entire Cuban capitalist elite, its business leaders and their families—represent yet another mode of civic-political incorporation into the host, American society. A radical change of the political situation in their country was the circumstance most immediately relevant in Cuban refugees’ decisions to leave. The foremost consideration for the refugees was the danger not only to their possessions but to themselves physically (the revolutions tend, especially in their initial phase, to destroy groups perceived as the enemies of their causes). On the other hand, these members

of the Cuban pre-revolutionary business elite were convinced that the Castro regime would be eliminated by the United States in a very short time and that they would soon safely return to *Cuba libre*. The political interests of the United States greatly facilitated the refugees' choice of that country as their destination. The American government, entangled in the Cold War with the Soviet Union and its expansionist strategies, and threatened by the direct geographic proximity to the U.S. territory of a new communist surrogate, was eager to accept staunchly anti-communist Cuban refugees into the country. Just as it was instigated by the political circumstances, emigration of Cuban refugees was ended "from above" by new-regime political authorities by the mid-1960s, but only after a large, nearly 150,000 people-strong wave of working-class Cubans managed to escape to Miami.²¹

A sequence of developments between the time of arrival in Miami of the first-wave Cuban refugees and the following two and a half decades made it possible for them to turn their human capital, including financial resources and business acumen, into an impressive socio-economic success. The generous support for Cuban refugees by the United States government in the form of the Cuban Refugee Program and other federal initiatives, including direct loans, housing subsidies and guaranteed health care, helped the immigrants launch their careers in the new environment. Subsequent waves of Cuban immigrants into the Miami area supplied the same-language, same-culture work force with the diverse skills needed for the formation of a thriving ethnic enclave as the mode of incorporation into the local economy, with first-wave refugees occupying the top positions therein.

The large size of the Cuban population in Miami, the establishment of a self-efficient ethnic economic enclave, the institutional completeness of the local Cuban community, and its enduring highly ideologized diaspora culture sustained through regular interactions of its members and supported by the U.S. government, have provided the structural context expediting the group members' integration into the receiver American society within their ethnic enclave. First-wave émigrés' shared politicized refugee mentality and intensely homeward orientations, and—the outcome and at the same time a contributor to the emergence of the ethnic enclave—their

21 This and the following information about first-wave Cuban refugees has been compiled from Pedraza 1985, 1996; Perez 1986, 2007; Mohl 1989; Grenier and Stepick 1992; Portes and Stepick 1993; Stepick 1994; Smith and Feagin 1995; Masud-Piloto 1996; DeSipio 1998; Perez-Stable and Uriarte 1997; Bowie and Stepick 1998; Garcia-Zamor 1998; Grenier and Castro 1998; Jones-Correa 1998; Grenier and Perez 2003; Stepick et al. 2003; Garcia 2007.

privileged position for realizing their economic goals within the group have combined to channel immigrants' activities towards the (re)creation of their encompassing ethnic enclave. To the extent that the culture created by first-wave Cuban exiles in their Miami enclave has been, as described by its students, *la cultura conjelada*, a transplantation from the home country frozen in time and impervious to innovation, participation in it by immigrants could not be classified as a standard ethnic mode of assimilation as defined earlier, that is, as a process of mixing home- and host-country orientations and practices. Rather, it would represent an unusual variant of the adhesive model with almost impermeable boundaries between immigrant and host cultures except for the indirect influence of the latter via the Spanish-language media, and, of course, American consumer goods. It has been within the framework of such transplanted home culture and the Miami Cuban community's institutional completeness that the daily lives of first-wave Cuban exiles have evolved: at work, in schools for children, medical service, shops, entertainment, Spanish-language newspapers, radio, and TV stations, meeting places, and social relations.

If first-wave Cuban refugees' cultural and social activities have been confined to the ethnic community with the decisive predominance of home-country elements, their civic-political incorporation has represented an interesting—unique, really—case of the ethnic-mode-gone-mainstream pattern. As they realized that their hopes for a quick collapse of the Castro government and a return home were unrealistic, first-wave Cuban refugees naturalized in high numbers. They have engaged in American politics on several levels, including, at the national level, vigorous anti-communist lobbying by the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) in Washington, DC, and active involvement in right-wing Republican state and local politics, in both of which their influence has been significant because of the block-voting concentration of Cubans in Florida and in Dade County. Because of the critical number of Florida electoral votes in presidential elections, this influence has been used by Cuban *exiliados* in shaping U.S. policy toward Cuba during the Cold War era. The appropriation by Cubans of the city political establishment was a prolonged process as it met with strong resistance—eventually ending in a concession—from the native white establishment, which saw itself increasingly set aside by the Cubans who relied on their own ethnic organizations rather than, as native-born American leaders expected, integrating into the existing political system. By the late 1980s, the city of Miami and the surrounding townships all had Cuban-born mayors, and foreign-born Cubans controlled the City Commission and made up nearly 40 percent of the county delegation to the state legislature. “Nowhere else in America, not even

in American history”—Guillermo Grenier and Lisandro Perez comment on a long list of Cuban city and state officials in Miami—“have first-generation immigrants so quickly and so thoroughly appropriated political power” (Grenier and Perez 1996: 368).

The main agents involved in American *qua* diaspora politics responsible for infusing it with refugees' home-country authoritarian ways have been Cuban men. First-wave immigrant women, most of whom assumed the role of housewives after an initial period of occupational activity to help their families put down roots in the new environment, have actively engaged in local mainstream public-sphere educational and charitable causes. Through this involvement in American civil associations which, unlike their husbands in Miami politics, they do not dominate but participate in on partnership basis, foreign-born *Cubanas* have internalized democratic modes of conduct and the egalitarian style of interaction. These new orientations and practices of Cuban women involved in mainstream civic organizations, enhanced by the influence of struggles for gender equality in American civic-political institutions, have affected, in turn, the mode of operation of Cuban women's immigrant associations which, according to studies, display more American-style democratic features, such as tolerance of different opinions and compromise-seeking rather than confrontational style of discussions, than do public activities of Cuban men. Transplanted into émigré homes, however, as in the case of Mexican immigrants, these new ideas of women have reportedly created considerable tension about the style of governance and application of authority in the household.

To conclude this part of the discussion. The modes of civic-political incorporation among members of past and present immigrant groups examined here represent different assimilation trajectories shaped by the specific constellations of the surrounding circumstances and immigrants' own situations and shared orientations. Particularly interesting, because rarely recognized in the literature of the subject, have been the mixed forms of incorporation: combined cosmopolitan or “post-national” (a novelty), mainstream, and ethnic-path (Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen), and ethnic-gone-mainstream (first-wave Cuban refugees) trajectories. A diversity of contexts and trajectories of immigrants' integration into the host society is, then, the main conclusion of this comparative exercise. And yet, at least five common threads, or clusters of circumstances, run through the cases we examined, suggesting the *sine qua non* (though not exclusive) focus of inquiry into the basic conditions that shape the modes of immigrants' civic-political incorporation. The first is the immigrants' initial socio-economic and cultural capital related to their

country-of-origin's level of development and the degree and terms of its incorporation into the global capitalist system, and the socio-economic and cultural capital they achieve in the host country. The second is immigrants' civic-political reception by the host society, and, related to it and to the first condition, their group position and influence in the local public forum. The third is the group's size, residential and socioeconomic concentration and segregation from the native society and the pattern reflecting it (mainstream or ethnic-path) of its members' sociocultural assimilation. The fourth are the similarities and differences in immigrants' host- v. home-country experience in terms of gender relations and, especially, the position of women in public spheres of life. The fifth and last are immigrants' shared life orientations (in the cases examined here, instrumental cosmopolitanism, homeward-turned sojourn mentality, or ideologized diaspora *Weltanschauungen*), which co-shape the form and "contents" of their civic-political incorporation into the host society.

(II) Impact of Immigrants' Civic-Political Incorporation on the Host Society

Drawing on much skimpier information than that related to the transformation of immigrants' attitudes and behaviours under the impact of their integration into the host society, in this section I identify the reverse or, in terms of the ongoing structuration process, its subsequent-phase effects, namely, new developments emerging in the receiver-country localities where immigrants settle under the impact of those newcomers' activities. My discussion here is informed by the distinction between two modes of encounters between different groups and/or cultures: accommodation and glocalization. To recall from the introduction, the former relates to the coexistence of different sociocultural patterns side by side, which implies heterogenization or diversification, but no homogenization that requires an ongoing exchange between members of different group-carriers of these diverse orientations and practices; the latter involves interpenetration of coexistent modes of operation of groups or societies resulting in their simultaneous homogenization-and-diversification. I treat both accommodation and glocalization not as fixed types but as processes of becoming, context-dependent and, thus, inherently flexible and potentially reversible. While recognizing varying durations of the accommodation and glocalization processes, in the empirical assessments presented below I examine these effects within the span of a generation (for an elaboration of these arguments, see Morawska forthcoming).

Available studies of past and present immigrants' experiences in the United States suggest three conditions are necessary (although not always sufficient) for the glo-

calization effect to emerge: (i) the host-society's civic culture and practice of openness/inclusion vis-à-vis "others" and, in particular, acceptance of immigrants by the host-society's native residents and institutions or, at a minimum, their pragmatically motivated interest in immigrant cultures; (ii) the existence of social spaces of contact between host-society native residents and institutions; and (iii) a relatively low-level of normatively (religiously, ideologically) prescribed sociocultural enclosure of the immigrant groups themselves. The temporal dimension of these circumstances creates further contingencies in the adaptation phase in the glocalization process: receiver-society's and immigrants' openness vis-à-vis each other in attitudes and everyday practices must constitute the enduring (rather than situational—now present now gone depending on current domestic or world developments) conditions; and contacts between native residents and institutions and immigrants must be regular (rather than sporadic).

I argue that the accommodation by the host, American society of turn-of-the-last-century Slavic and Italian immigrants represented a side-by-side-coexistence type of adjustment, and even that problematic for native residents, rather than a preparatory stage for the absorption of the newcomers' "profiles of cultural orientation" (Kluckhohn 1950).²² As we have seen, a constellation of structural and personal circumstances made those immigrants into closet ethnics who lived their differences within their own communities. Hybridization processes did evolve at a slow pace as within those niches immigrants gradually incorporated the American ways into their everyday lives, but it was a one-way glocalization, not accompanied by a parallel transformation of the receiver society.

The situation today is different on several counts. As pointed out in the previous section, prejudice and discrimination against newcomers by mainstream American society and its institutions have undoubtedly been enduring features of immigrants' experience then and now. But the contemporary racism of Americans has been tempered by the shift in American civic-political ideology accompanied by the institutionalization of practical measures to realize it, including weapons to fight racial discrimination. The official recognition of pluralism as the principle of American

22 Although it lies beyond the scope of this paper, it is interesting to note that while their transformative impact on the receiver, American society was non-existent or minimal, turn-of-the-last century South and East European immigrants exerted a considerable influence, noted by historians, on their home-country local cultures and, especially, on the rise of modern national consciousness, which began to replace local, village-scope identities, and on the formation of labour unions and agricultural cooperatives (see Greene 1975; Nelli 1979; Morawska 2001).

society and its trickle-down effect on its residents through the system of laws, education at schools and in the workplaces, and the media, have created a protective shield against discrimination for its potential victims and given the immigrants a sense of civic entitlement, including the encouragement to pursue their ethnic activities and make claims in the public sphere of mainstream society. Also of importance for the matter examined here, these developments have opened the mindsets of a large segment of the native-born American population by making them view multiculturalism as a natural and welcome feature of society. The restructuring of the American economy since the 1970s has produced a bifurcated labour market with a hardened barrier between the high-skilled, well-paid workforce and the underclass composed of low-educated, low-skilled residents often of foreign birth who, like their predecessors a century ago, live isolated from mainstream society. At the same time, however, the small-scale, informal and decentralized mode of operation of post-industrial capitalism allows for much more contact among employees, especially more highly skilled ones in primary and secondary sectors of the labour market.

Next and related has been the diversification of contemporary immigrants' human capital and their increased occupational and residential dispersion throughout the dominant society. More than two-thirds of better educated immigrants employed in high-skill occupations live in residential dispersion among native-born Americans (see Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz 2002; Myles and Hou 2004; Massey 2008). In this context inter-ethnic friendships and intermarriage as an important pre-condition for multicultural exchange from below have also significantly increased (although by no means became predominant, especially across racial lines). At the closing of the twentieth century the rate of the latter was between 20 and 40 percent depending on particular groups, as compared with 2-3 percent for South and East Europeans combined in 1920.²³ Last and important, the "spirit" of contemporary consumer capitalism relies on the constant updating and diversification of the supply of merchandise and services and, on the receiver side of the game, customers' needs and lifestyles. Interest in "other" people and their cultures by increasing numbers of native residents, especially in younger and better-educated groups, represents a form of this consumer culture.

Combined, all these developments in contemporary American society have created conditions facilitating glocalization as a process of reciprocal influence between

23 Information about intermarriage between foreign- and native-born Americans then and now has been compiled from Perlmann and Waters 2004, 2007.

immigrants and native-born residents and mainstream institutions and, of concern here, the transformative impact of the former on civic-political affairs of the host society. I identify here the main areas of such impact of the three immigrant groups examined in the previous section.

Beginning with the impact of the multi-million person presence in Los Angeles of low-skilled documented and undocumented Mexican immigrants on that city's mainstream civic-political climate and pursuits, two interesting effects can be noted. One of them has been the increase of anti-immigrant sentiments among native-born residents in response to the quickly growing numbers of (im)migrants. Interestingly, the mechanisms and transformative effects of the impact of this resentment on the lives of the native-born population have been different for middle-class white and lower-class black Americans. The impact on middle-class white Americans of the rapidly expanding presence of immigrants in the city, and in California in general, has been threefold. First, the increase of anti-immigrant sentiments in the native residents does not appear to have eradicated their general acceptance of multiculturalism, but has "hybridized" this attitude by introducing an element of ambivalence: immigrants are basically good for America and it is nice to have a multi-ethnic society, but there are too many of them right where we live. The primary reaction of native-born white residents to this cognitive dissonance has been the flight further and further away from areas where Hispanic residents concentrate. It has been accompanied by the political mobilization of generally laid-back middle-class Californians, with white Los Angelenos at the helm of lobbying activities, directed mainly at the local (state) authorities, for more restrictive action regarding social services to immigrants, especially undocumented ones.²⁴

The main transformative effect of Mexican immigrants' expanding presence in Los Angeles on the lives of its lower-class (the majority) African-American residents has been different. Directly confronted with these newcomers in the neighbourhoods and at work, lower-class African Americans have lacked the resources available to middle-class whites to escape their situation in the form of either the financial means to change their residence, sufficient training to obtain better employment, or the

24 A successful state-wide action in 1994 for the passage of the Proposition 187 to add a constitutional amendment denying all but emergency aid to illegal immigrants and placing an obligation on public employers to report the suspects has been the most prominent instance of these activities, but more numerous have been local (state)-level initiatives aiming at curbing immigration. Information in this paragraph compiled from Hanson 2003; Reitz 2003; Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005; Gutierrez and Zavella 2009.

political know-how and influence to try to curtail the “foreign surge”. Instead, they have experienced a sense of collective civic disenfranchisement and grievance regarding their group position vis-à-vis those immigrants and aversive attitudes toward those who are perceived as competitors for/encroachers upon the claimed resources. The shared feeling among Los Angeles blacks is that just as the Civil Rights movement removed the formal institutions of racial segregation in the 1960s and opportunities appeared for the black minority, the massive arrival of immigrants set city development on a different track. This stalling of African-American progress has made the sense of anger and disempowerment even more acute. This group aggravation has repeatedly led to open confrontations with immigrants since the 1990s.²⁵

The other new development to note in the lives of native-born—here, predominantly white—Los Angelenos emerging from their encounters with Mexican immigrants falls in the area of civic culture. It concerns the incorporation of what I call beat-the-system/bend-the-law coping strategies—used by low-skilled, especially undocumented immigrants, men and women alike, for locating and changing work—into the practices of native-born American operators of the mainstream small-scale production and service sectors that employ such people. To the extent that such transformation of the pursuits of native-born Americans involves evading/corrupting the law, this particular instance of glocalization can be classified not only as cultural but also as a civic-political transformative effect of the engagement by immigrants of host-country residents. Breaking the law as “an American way of life” (Bell 1953) has been an enduring tradition in the United States. The novelty here is the way it happens. Rather than by individual or organized transgressions as described by Daniel Bell more than a half century ago, the opportunistic-*debrouillard* strategies of evading the existing laws and regulations employed by contemporary Mexican immigrants who come from an un(der)developed country with an ineffective and often corrupt civic-legal system and who find themselves in the economically or politically disadvantaged situation in the host country imperceptibly penetrate society’s structures through informal everyday interactions with the natives.²⁶

25 On African-American Los Angelenos’ reactions to the growing presence of immigrants, see Bozorgmehr, Sabath, and Light 1996; Sonenshein 1993; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996; Morawska 2001; Mollenkopf, Olson, and Ross 2002.

26 On the implantation of Mexican immigrants’ beat-the-system/bend-the-law coping strategies into the practices of their native-born employers on the West Coast, see Hondagneu-Sotelo 1997; Hanson 2003; Gutierrez and Zavella 2009; for similar behaviour of low-skilled Polish tourist-workers in Philadelphia, see Morawska 2004.

As expected, the transformative impact on the local Los Angeles society of Hong Kong and Taiwanese global businessmen, positioned at the opposite end of its socio-economic structure and viewed by the city's middle- and upper-class native-born white residents (African Americans do not come into contact with this group) as a blessing rather than a threat, has been quite different. As we have seen, it has been primarily as powerful global traders and financiers with connections to Asia sought after by American business and political leaders that those immigrant businessmen have integrated into Los Angeles society. Hong Kong and Taiwanese transnational businessmen's powerful economic position and their importance in expanding financial and trade connections between the United States and South-East Asia—nearly half of American joint ventures and investments in that region in 2000 were sponsored either by Chinese immigrants alone or in partnership with all-American companies—also makes them important agents in the glocalization-as-hybridization of civic culture among native-born (white) American leaders of transnational trade and finance in the Los Angeles area. The latter have been reported to learn and put into practice Chinese ways of acting in public and modes of conducting business, such as the protocol for interpersonal relations, and an emphasis on a collective style of approaching issues and reaching decisions. As they do so, these modes of behaviour from a faraway part of the world are integrated into an important segment of the American mainstream economic cultural system.²⁷

The impact of the integration of first-wave Cuban refugees into Miami's civic-political structures on the operation of the latter has probably been the most spectacular among the cases considered here. Its main transformative impact has already been identified in the previous section, so I will only briefly reiterate it here. The Cuban case demonstrates the important role in facilitating glocalization of two circumstances: a high degree of institutional completeness of the immigrant/ethnic community including, in particular, the presence of the economically powerful elite who are active in the local public forum and supported by group members, and the receiver society's political interests in the country/region of origin of the immigrants which coincide with the latter's orientations. The glocalizing influence of Cuban refugees on Miami's civic-political life represents an unusual case of "hybridization" of local public affairs whereby the ethnic component prevails over the mainstream or

27 Information about Chinese global businessmen's impact on public relations and business practices of their American partners has been compiled from Dirlik 1996; Ma and Cartier 2003; Saxenian and Li 2003; Holdaway 2007.

native-born American one. Since the 1970s the intense “Cubanization” of Miami’s politics has transformed the composition of political offices, imbued the local establishment with a staunchly conservative political orientation, and sustained its active preoccupation with the Cold War and Soviet influence in South America and, especially, efforts to undermine the Castro regime in Cuba.²⁸

3. Conclusion

The main purpose of the foregoing discussion was to explore the thus far under-investigated dimensions of immigrants’ civic-political incorporation into the host society, including its longer-durée sequence in the form of the impact of those newcomers’ integration on the functioning of civic-political structures and agendas of receiver-country localities in which they settle. I have proposed to do so in the explanatory framework of the structuration model. Should this brief exercise inspire further investigations into these neglected issues, whether by using the same or a different theoretical approach, I would consider the effort a success.

Rather than repeating the main claims of the essay, I would like to suggest here some interesting research questions for future research. Thus, worthy of further attention, I believe, is a possibility of additional circumstances, whether at the macro-, micro, or individual level, which, in a constellation with other factors, shape the forms and contents of immigrants’ civic-political incorporation into the host society. Equally challenging, and requiring systematic comparative analyses, is the identification of more and different patterns, also mixed combinations, of this process. A possibility of particular dimensions of immigrants’ civic-political incorporation—I identified here five such but there may well be more—evolving along different trajectories and the potential reversal of this process also presents a promising area of investigation. Finally, the transformative impact of immigrants’ integration into the host society on the civic-political ideas and practices of its native residents and institutions—I have only signalled a few directions of such developments—is still a wide-open field awaiting research by social science immigration scholars.

28 On the Cuban immigrant elite’s ethnicizing of Miami’s civic-political life, see Smith and Feagin 1995; Bowie and Stepick 1998; DeSipio 1998; Garcia-Zamor 1998; Grenier and Castro 1998; Jones-Correa 1998.

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