

# IMMIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS

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- The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation.** Second edition. By Leo R. Chavez. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013. Pp. xi + 297. \$22.95 paper. \$70.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780804783521.
- The Immigrant Divide: How Cuban Americans Changed the US and Their Homeland.** By Susan Eva Eckstein. New York: Routledge, 2009. Pp. xi + 298. \$38.50 paper. \$156.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780415999236.
- The Diaspora Strikes Back: Caribeño Tales of Learning and Turning.** By Juan Flores. New York: Routledge, 2009. Pp. viii + 237. \$41.95 paper. ISBN: 9780415952613.
- Transnational Crossroads: Remapping the Americas and the Pacific.** Edited by Camilla Fojas and Rudy P. Guevarra Jr. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Pp. x + 478. \$45.00 paper. ISBN: 9780803237957.
- Labor and Legality: An Ethnography of a Mexican Immigrant Network.** By Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. v + 164. \$19.95 paper. ISBN: 9780199739387.
- Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban American Way.** Revised edition. By Gustavo Pérez Firmat. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012. Pp. ix + 240. \$24.95 paper. \$55.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780292735996.
- Showdown in the Sonoran Desert: Religion, Law, and the Immigration Controversy.** By Ananda Rose. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2012. Pp. vii + 186. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780199890934.

Responding to the reality of intensified worldwide migrations today, scholars from many disciplinary backgrounds and theoretical perspectives have taken up the challenge of making sense of people in motion. How are different migrant streams and stories comparable, and how do their contrasts also illuminate the larger phenomenon? In this review, I will consider a set of books that exemplify the research of many migration scholars and, I hope, illustrate the value of comparative consideration in uncovering broader patterns and questions with which all students of immigration must wrestle.

While most of these books lean toward qualitative narratives rather than enumerated policy prescription, the authors' disciplinary backgrounds include anthropology, sociology, Latino studies, literary criticism, religious and legal studies, journalism, and ethnic studies. Thus each utilizes a different set of methods, in turn generating different sorts of data, interpretation, and indeed, ethical entailments. Collectively, however, they explore the multiple ways in which mi-

gration has challenged old models of social life; the push and pull of migration; the nature of cultural hybridity; the tension between studying “the border” and borders more broadly; the underlying and evolving labor regime of neoliberal capitalism; and the multidirectional, global reality of migration today. For all scholars of contemporary migration, however, it would be wise to keep in mind Anna Tsing’s prophetic advice—that we not become so enthralled by a focus on migrants that we inadvertently create a new geography of center and margin that leaves behind those left behind, people who do not themselves migrate.<sup>1</sup> They too are profoundly affected, and effected, by the processes of migration.

*Labor and Legality*, by ethnographer Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, takes a close look at the lives of ten Mexican men working without papers in a restaurant in Chicago, as well as at their family ties and remittance practices. The revised edition of *Life on the Hyphen*, by literature professor Gustavo Pérez Firmat, is a study of the bicultural experiences and world created by and for “1.5 generation” Cuban-Americans. In *The Diaspora Strikes Back*, cultural theorist Juan Flores brings a notion of “cultural remittances” (4, 9, 11) to the fore in looking at Puerto Ricans and Caribbeans from diasporic communities who return to the islands. In the second edition of *The Latino Threat*, anthropologist Leo R. Chavez first examines the history of US myths about Latinos as “illegal aliens” and then focuses on contemporary iterations of such narratives in a variety of settings. *Transnational Crossroads*, edited by Camilla Fojas and Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., reminds us of the entanglement of Latin Americans immigrating to the United States with Asian and Pacific Islanders, principally in California and Hawaii. Susan Eva Eckstein’s sociological study *The Immigrant Divide* posits two contrasting cohorts of Cuban émigrés—“Exiles” and “New Cubans.” And in *Showdown in the Sonoran Desert*, journalist Ananda Rose tries to focus in a fair and balanced way on the lives of those in Arizona who are affected by and actively involved with border policies. I will consider first these books’ contribution to the field and second their place in current scholarship, before concluding by locating them in relation to key preceding texts informing the contemporary scholarship of migration.

In terms of its contribution to its field, *The Latino Threat* is unusual for an anthropological work in that it is not located in a specific locale, or even in two related sites like *Labor and Legality*, and thus does not draw heavily upon traditional ethnographic methods of interviews and participant observation. Where it is clearly anthropological, however, is not only in its theoretical engagements but especially in its focus on meaning rather than the factors (or enumerated contributing data) related to migration and citizenship. This may prove frustrating to more quantitatively oriented scholars, but the book’s very breadth also opens new terrain for more detailed study and theorization. Chavez identifies pervasive, historically rooted myths and fears of immigrants, and specifically Latinos, in Anglo-American culture and its mainstream media. Then, turning to the present day, he is able to link seemingly disparate public stories—from exaggerated fears of Latina reproduction, to border militia activities, and debates over organ donation—to the embedded discourse he calls the “Latino threat narrative.” While this

1. Anna Tsing, “The Global Situation,” *Cultural Anthropology* 15, no. 3 (2000): 327–360.

sweeping approach inevitably risks a certain dislocatedness, by the same token it productively exposes the problematic discursive roots of much North American common sense in a way that a more narrowly focused study could never do. This is its real contribution and likely the reason the first edition proved so popular at the upper undergraduate level. The revised edition adds new material on anchor babies, the current undocumented “1.5 generation” and its DREAM Act, and recent immigration-related legislation.

More closely than *The Latino Threat* or any of the other works reviewed here, Rose’s *Showdown in the Sonoran Desert* engages with anti-immigrant groups as part of her study of the intersection of religious beliefs and legal structures along the Arizona border. As a journalist trained in both religious and legal studies, Rose has produced a book using journalistic methods with broad scope and attention to human interest stories collected from a wide range of border actors and activists. More specifically, she explores the question of how their religious faith motivates and is deployed by the “radical hospitality” Christian groups that seek to give water and aid to migrants and also by local ranchers, Border Patrol officers, and militias that seek to enforce US immigration law and further fortify the border. Focusing more on US actors than migrants themselves and intending to move beyond stereotypes, Rose provides interview-based testimonials that add nuance and complexity to understanding contemporary dynamics of this border zone.

Based on classic long-term, close ethnographic methods of participant observation and building rapport with the ten restaurant busboys with whom she worked in a pseudonymously named restaurant in Chicago, Gomberg-Muñoz’s *Labor and Legality* is a very different sort of text and one that is easily accessible. All of these men, whom she calls “the Lions” from their hometown of León, Mexico, are undocumented, and the first strength of the book is its compelling glimpse into the agentive daily lives of these men, their mostly remittance-oriented (if changing) motives and goals, and their everyday strategies for navigating work and life without papers. Beyond this, the ultimate contribution of the text is to show, implicitly rather than explicitly, how an emergent labor regime, which itself has changed over time, exploits the relatively new category of “illegal” labor to extract twice the work performed by most citizen-laborers. As Gomberg-Muñoz puts it, the illegalization of Latino immigrants increasingly serves “much of the same function that race has historically served in the United States—at once rendering certain workers more vulnerable to oppressive labor practices and justifying such oppression with an idea of inherent inferiority” (134).

Lyrical and lucid, Gustavo Pérez Firmat’s foundational *Life on the Hyphen* broke new ground when it was first published in 1994, but this edition amends some of its earlier optimistic conclusions to remind us that cohorts do age and hyphens hurt. It was this work that brought the idea of a “1.5” generation—that those who migrate as adolescents are distinctively positioned as both traditional and translational—into wide circulation within migration studies and equated that specific cohort with the hyphenated, hybrid identity “Cuban-American.” Along with the other Caribbean and Pacific work here, one important contribution of this book is its decentering of the (U.S.-Mexican) border for borders more broadly—in this case considering what Pérez Firmat, with a tone very different

from that of Chavez, calls the appositional rather than oppositional borders between the Cuban enclave in Miami and the rest of the United States (e.g., in his neologism “Cubanglo” one cannot tell where one starts and the other leaves off [6]). Adapting a model closer to traditional theorizations of immigrant assimilation than most more recent transnational frameworks, Pérez Firmat posits three stages of Cuban immigrant adaptation: substitution, or “we are there” (in Cuba); destitution, or “we are nowhere”; and institution, or “we are here” (in Miami). Finally, the sorts of material considered—from television shows such as *I Love Lucy* (the “great Cuban-American love story”) to the popularity of Cuban music in Anglo-America (from the mambo to Gloria Estefan) and the successes of Cuban-American writers—brings an astonishingly poetic flair from literary and cultural studies into theorizations of migrant experience.

*Transnational Crossroads* decenters Latin American–US migrant links, looking at more complex hybridities between Latino and Pacific migrants and their overlapping relationships to the United States and to each other. This is its fundamental cautionary value here: migration is never unidirectional, and not all of it is between only two poles or simply between Latin and Anglo-America. The contributions to this edited volume are somewhat uneven, but valuable topics include sections on comparative Spanish-US imperialisms, recovering deep, shared histories of the Philippines and much of Latin America; comparative racialization of Asian Americans and Latinos; consideration of Asian migrations to Peru and elsewhere; and return migration from Brazil and the United States back to Japan.

In *The Diaspora Strikes Back*, New York–based Latino studies scholar Juan Flores neatly turns his gaze to those returning from the United States rather than migrating there. In the process, he develops and adapts theory and method productively. Focusing (like Pérez Firmat and Eckstein) on Caribbean border crossings, Flores principally uses first-person narratives from interviewed “reaspiricans”—diasporic Puerto Ricans who have returned or attempted to return to the island—as well as some diasporic Cuban and Dominican voices in counterpoint. This becomes a sustained reminder that there are multiple kinds of borders and that migration is multidirectional, as the consideration of doubly or triply diasporic Caribbean peoples illustrates well. By describing the betwixt-and-between status of “reaspiricans” who struggle to find acceptance back in Puerto Rico, the book raises questions of the location of home (see p. 43)—questions which easily reach far beyond the Caribbean or New York City. Finally, Flores extends earlier treatments of remittances, using the term “cultural remittances” (4, 44–45) to get at more than the cash and commodity-based changes wrought by migration and remigration. In particular, he focuses on remittances “from below” (11)—that is, the popular music, fashions, gender ideologies, and so forth that accompany working-class migrants and arguably have contributed to cultural changes at home.

The latter half of Susan Eckstein’s *Immigrant Divide* deals with strikingly similar dynamics, although her overall project is quite different in that she seeks to make sense of the diversity *within* Cuban-America by dividing emigrants into two cohorts: exiles, who largely left for political reasons early in the revolutionary process, and new Cubans, who have migrated for economic opportunities in the post-Soviet era. As Eckstein acknowledges, unfortunately the intermediate Marielito

cohort largely drops out. Using quantitative data as well as excerpted interviews, Eckstein demonstrates the different orientations toward politics and especially family and remittances of the two generations, and suggests that the new Cubans have had dramatically more impact at home. Although the interviews add nuance and narrative depth, they are deployed sociologically rather than ethnographically. In other words, they are presented out of context and without the participant observation–based balance to remind us that often—to paraphrase James Brown—sayin’ it and doin’ it are two different things. In proposing a key role for what, following Karl Mannheim (43), she calls “historically grounded generationality”—rather than foregrounding the role of migration at a certain stage of life over migration at a certain moment in time—Eckstein clearly stakes out a very different sense of Cuban America than that of *Life on the Hyphen*.

The books under review are differently situated in relation to current scholarship in the field of immigration studies. While most of the reviewed books are more directly embedded in scholarly debates, certainly *Showdown in the Sonoran Desert* targets a different audience and aims to effect cultural reflection and political action about US border policy. This is evident, for instance, in Rose’s exploration of the beliefs and practices of the faith-based groups that aid migrants within the Sonoran Desert. In linking these to the Sanctuary movement of the 1980s (see chapter 2, “Sanctuary Old and New”), Rose wants to spark increased church-based positive engagement with people crossing the border without stereotyping opposing perspectives. This is worthwhile reading, particularly for those unfamiliar with border studies, and might usefully be considered in conjunction with the contemporary genre of documentary films about the border and border crossings. The text wrestles with familiar topics within migration, such as “push” versus “pull” dynamics, as well as including a chapter on Arizona’s recent and controversial law SB 1070, but its theoretical framework is thin and outdated. Psychologizing the other in relation to Freud and Sartre (137–144), for instance, is neither necessary nor as convincing as it would be to note the role of Arizona’s privatized prison industry in drafting the neoliberal legislation of SB 1070.

In contrast, although concise and also written for a collegiate audience, *Labor and Legality* presents a theoretically substantive argument that could be productively engaged by a wide range of migration scholars. In demonstrating the pervasive links between popular perception and work, Gomberg-Muñoz recasts the racialization of migrant bodies as linked to an effective and evolving labor regime in the United States today. For instance, in a neat critique of “positive” and even self-ascribed stereotypes, Gomberg-Muñoz writes: “In the end, the notion that working hard is attributable to ‘Mexican culture’ naturalizes Mexican immigrants’ subordination and reduces their work performance to a putative cultural inclination for socially degraded, back-breaking labor” (83). Inevitably, given the project’s subject positions and methods, it raises some questions about the ethics of an ethnographer studying and writing about people “getting papers” (54)—but again, note that each social science brings its own ethical entailments.

The greatest strength of *The Latino Threat* is the careful way in which it builds an argument about the underlying discourse that links seemingly disparate topics, from border militias (explored more closely by Rose) to struggles over organ

donation, exemplified by its gripping treatment of the Jessica Santillan case. For example, consider how Chavez treats the (mistaken) belief that Latina reproduction is out of control: "In the final analysis, the discourse surrounding Latina fertility and reproduction is actually about more than reproduction. It is also about reinforcing a characterization of whites as the legitimate Americans who are being supplanted demographically by less-legitimate Latinos" (111). Thus, like Gomberg-Muñoz, Chavez points to the actual role of labor and its increasing precariousness for working-class Americans (as well as immigrants), a reality which is obscured by the concomitantly rising discourse of illegality. He also addresses balance between integration in the United States and maintaining differentiation, noting that neither Latinos' values nor US culture are static; one can see here (e.g., 211) a more dynamic view of adaptation and cultural change than that depicted in *Life on the Hyphen*, for instance.

As mentioned above, the key contributions of *The Diaspora Strikes Back* include the analysis of return migrants and their cultural remittances (especially of salsa, hip-hop, and reggaetón music), and thus the text focuses on migration away from the United States, as well as destabilizing the location of "home" in such contexts. All of this is welcome, although it leaves basically unchallenged a model of circulating transnational migration that has existed since the seminal 1990s work of scholars such as Roger Rouse, Nina Glick Schiller, and others looking at communities sustainably divided by a border. Although that early research, along with Michael Kearney's more network-based approach, challenged older geographically based community and assimilationist models, it remains essentially bipolar—ergo the more recent move from "transnational" to "transborder" terminology.<sup>2</sup> In any case, like Pérez Firmat, Flores might productively engage with newer models considering migration spirals or serial migrations, which look at migrations extended over time and across more than two borders.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless the book is well theorized and presents compelling data about everything from remigration-related changes in racial and gender dynamics (143–145) to a clear framing of underlying labor and class dynamics of what Flores calls "diaspora from below," which he argues is harder for the home society to dismiss since its changes are introduced by "one's own" (144). The book's main weakness is in the way in which the predominant Puerto Rican case is contrasted to Dominican and Cuban diasporic-island ties in order to make a larger "Caribeño" argument (7). Neither of the latter is given equal attention, and the Cuban case is especially weak in that it is not grounded in Miami, the center of diasporic Cuba. Also, a key undertheorized distinction between Puerto Rican and Cuban migrations is that, with only limited and temporary exceptions, Cubans have not been able to return home as "re-migrants" at all; the class base of the migrant stream undercuts the

2. Roger Rouse, "Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism," *Diaspora* 1, no. 1 (1991): 8–23; M. Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 547–565; cf. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda G. Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, eds., *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992).

3. E.g., Susan Ossman, *Moving Matters: Paths of Serial Migration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013).

"diaspora from below" argument as well. Certainly cultural influences and remittances do indeed link Cuba to its diaspora: here, Eckstein's volume is much more compelling, especially in relation to her material on new Cubans. In short, the *Diaspora Strikes Back* is really about Puerto Rican re-migrants, and other Caribbean cases take a backseat to New York-based "diasporicans."

Beyond its obvious relationships to the works of Flores and Epstein, *Life on the Hyphen* could also spark a great conversation with Susan Ossman's more recent "serial migrant" thesis. Even acknowledging his increasing pessimism about the trajectory of Cuban Americans today compared to when the book was originally released in 1994, Pérez Firmat's framework still effectively presumes that assimilation happens over the *longue durée*: this is built into the basic model. For example, he writes: "My children . . . can be 'saved' from their Americanness no more than my parents can be 'saved' from their Cubanness" (4).

Examining ties and overlaps between Latin American, Asian, and Pacific immigrants, *Transnational Crossroads* provides an important counterweight to the risk that, in focusing largely on books dealing with migration within the Americas, we could too easily lose sight of the reality of migration as a global phenomenon. Thus a strength of the book is the way it illustrates the daily entanglements of immigrants from the Americas, the Pacific, and Asia in new contexts (Hawaii and Los Angeles, for instance) and adds to contemporary rethinking of hybridity—the dilemma being, of course, that "hybrids" always imagine or presume unhybridized "wholes" (from elsewhere), which relies on a certain historical amnesia about previous hyphenated hybrids in favor of a distilled, arguably invented, mixable essence. One might wish the volume had moved away from the term "transnational" toward the more contemporary "transborder," but it would be surprising to find that level of theoretical synchronicity in an edited volume with some nineteen contributors.

Although the definition of remittances in *The Immigrant Divide* is much more conventionally circumscribed than Juan Flores's more expansive definition of cultural remittances, Eckstein's engagement with historically distinctive waves of migrants fills an until-now undertheorized and sometimes ignored complexity in the cultural and political landscape of Cuban America. Thus, although Cubans are only one part of the complexities of the state, this work should be required reading for anyone with an interest in Florida politics, for instance. It would complement the work of sociologists such as Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, as well as make an interesting contrast to Yolanda Prieto's recent *Cubans of Union City*.<sup>4</sup> But Eckstein's work goes beyond Florida politics or the US context to argue that the new Cuban cohort, although neither as wealthy nor as politically organized as the exile generation, has effected more change on the island, and much more quickly, through strong remittance ties and ongoing contact with family and friends than the exiles' focus on exclusion and isolation has in five decades. Thus Eckstein's view of remittances is more overtly political than, say, that of Gomberg-Muñoz, and the detail of her data relative to Flores's rather thin Cuban

4. Yolanda Prieto, *The Cubans of Union City: Immigrants and Exiles in a New Jersey Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009).

“cultural remittance” material is so impressive that one might overlook the possibilities of his approach more oriented to cultural production.

How are the books under review located in relation to key preceding texts that inform contemporary scholarship? *Labor and Legality* both builds on and provides a welcome update to Leo Chavez’s classic, but now dated monograph on the lives of undocumented migrants in the United States, *Shadowed Lives*. Interestingly, it also echoes sociologists Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone’s well-known eight “basic scientific truths” of migration almost point by point, particularly demonstrating that migration is a response to demand in the receiving society, that migrants initially do not intend to settle permanently, that their motives change over time, and especially that migration tends to build its own infrastructure of support over time. In focusing on the changes wrought within a transborder remittance economy between the United States and Mexico, the work also dovetails with Robert Courtney Smith’s comprehensive *Mexican New York* and Alyshia Gálvez’s *Guadalupe in New York*.<sup>5</sup>

The core theoretical engagements of *The Latino Threat* are with Michel Foucault’s work on biopower as well as on spectacle and surveillance. Chavez also builds on the more recent theoretical work of Renato Rosaldo and Aihwa Ong on “cultural citizenship,” which is obviously relevant to his focus on popular US discourses that mistakenly and systematically, he argues, treat Latinos as an outside threat to citizens—whether or not they are in fact citizens or, indeed, from communities that predate the United States entirely.<sup>6</sup> To combat this discourse Chavez deploys substantial, convincing data illustrating contemporary Latino cultural changes that belie the threat discourse; one can only hope that his message can shine a light on the pervasive presumptions of these Latino threat narratives. In this edition, he also engages with the DREAM Act as a project by and for an undocumented “1.5 generation,” illustrating how widely that notion has traveled. *Showdown in the Sonoran Desert* fits most closely within the genres of contemporary border documentaries and of US-Mexico border investigative reportage—particularly Luis Alberto Urrea’s *Devil’s Highway* and many other works of journalism from and of the border; Kathryn Ferguson, Norma A. Price, and Ted Parks’s *Crossing with the Virgin*; and Margaret Regan’s *Death of Josseline*. Leah Sarat’s *Fire in the Canyon* is also located at the intersection of religion and migration from Mexico but not specifically in Arizona or utilizing journalistic methods.<sup>7</sup>

5. Leo R. Chavez, (1992). *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992). Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002); Robert Courtney Smith, *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Alyshia Gálvez, *Guadalupe in New York: Devotion and the Struggle for Citizenship Rights among Mexican Immigrants* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

6. Renato Rosaldo, “Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 402–411; Aihwa Ong, “Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States,” *Current Anthropology* 37 (5): 737–762.

7. Luis Alberto Urrea, *The Devil’s Highway : A True Story* (New York: Little Brown, 2004); Kathryn Ferguson, Norma A. Price, and Ted Parks, *Crossing with the Virgin: Stories from the Migrant Trail* (Tucson:



As evident in its title and like most of these volumes, *Transnational Crossroads* is indebted to the cited work of Rouse, Schiller, and Kearney on transnationalism, as well as Arjun Appadurai's theoretical reframing of global ethnoscaples.<sup>8</sup> More immediately, the work of Massey and Durand and of others noted above resonates throughout the volume. As suggested above, *Life on the Hyphen* in effect fits more traditional assimilationist or melting pot theories, in that "1.5 generations"—an idea adapted by Pérez Firmat from the work of Rumbaut—are uniquely bicultural in ways that the following generations cannot be. This is ironic given how Miami is often taken to be the paragon of the post-melting pot America—(e.g., see the classic *City on the Edge*).<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the question here is of finding the appropriate time frame and measuring by generations rather than decades; but in any case, diverging interpretations are offered. Pérez Firmat's work also fits particularly well with the book *ReMembering Cuba*.<sup>10</sup>

Beyond its already noted roots in the work of Karl Mannheim, *Immigrant Divide* principally engages with moderate US-based Cuban American scholarship rather than with a current generation of scholars—ethnographers, historians, and others—whose primary research focus has been within the Republic itself and who have generally been less policy oriented and more culturally oriented. Again, Eckstein's historically grounded generationality thesis clearly contrasts to Pérez Firmat's very different treatment of generations within the Cuban diaspora, both due to these authors' differing theoretical frameworks and because Pérez Firmat's focus remains on what Eckstein calls the exile cohort as well as their children and grandchildren. Nevertheless, it is surprising that Eckstein does not cite Pérez Firmat at all, given how well established his work is on the matter. Regarding the argument about changes effected by new Cubans in Cuba, like many scholars Eckstein notes the intensified re-racialization accompanying an emerging remittance economy in which a disproportionate percentage of diasporic Cubans are white. One might, however, wish for more: for instance, complementary work such as that of fellow sociologist Robert Smith (see above) would also direct our attention to other grim effects of a remittance economy at home, including the displaced care of the elderly and the young, increased local hierarchization, and potentially increased trouble with the education and formation of youth in light of an absent intermediate emigrant generation.

Last but not least, Flores's *Diaspora Strikes Back* is richly located in academic discourse. The title, of course, references the British Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies volume *The Empire Strikes Back*, but the text draws especially on the

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University of Arizona Press, 2010); Margaret Regan, *The Death of Josseline: Immigration Stories from the Arizona-Mexico Borderlands* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010); Leah Sarat, *Fire in the Canyon: Religion, Migration, and the Mexican Dream* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

8. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

9. Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

10. Andrea O'Reilly Herrera, ed., *ReMembering Cuba: Legacy of a Diaspora* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

work of Paul Gilroy as well as Benedict Anderson.<sup>11</sup> More immediately, Flores's notion of cultural remittances is adapted from Peggy Levitt's earlier concept of "social remittances" (44–45);<sup>12</sup> Robert Smith's work is also cited. *The Diaspora Strikes Back* adroitly builds on questions of hyphenation and hybridity that we have already encountered; at a certain point, particularly in a Caribbean context, perhaps the more interesting question would be to ask if there is anything that is *not* diasporic.

Taken as a wider conversation about immigration and its effects, these scholarly contributions exemplify but do not exhaust the topic. In their distinctive ways, these books challenge and reframe older scholarly models, wrestle with the nature of hyphenation and hybridity, look for the appropriate balance between the push and pull forces impelling migrants, examine different directionalities of migration and their resulting racializations, and consider conventional and cultural remittances and their effects in diaspora and at home. Finally they lead us to ask, where is home anyway, anymore?

11. University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (London: Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1982); Paul Gilroy, *"There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack": The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (1987; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

12. Peggy Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).