Migration - Ethnicity - Nation: Cracow Studies in Culture, Society and Politics

Edited by Dorota Praszałowicz

Agnieszka Małek
Dorota Praszałowicz
(eds.)

Between the Old and the New World

Studies in the History of Overseas Migrations

PETER LANG
Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

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Volume 1

PETER LANG
Frankfurt am Main · Berlin · Bern · Bruxelles · New York · Oxford · Warszawa · Wien

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Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

Cover Design:
© Olaf Gloeckler, Atelier Platen, Friedberg

The publication of this volume was supported by
the Jagiellonian University - Faculty
of International and Political Studies.

Typesetting by **motivex**

ISSN 2191-3285

ISBN 978-3-653-01740-3 (E-Book)
DOI 10.3726/978-3-653-01740-3
ISBN 978-3-631-61757-1 (Print)

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Frankfurt am Main 2012
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Introduction

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`

> Americans have built a global society
> whose peoples' origins
> have come to look much like the world itself.
>
> (David Gerber, 2011: 134)

This volume contains papers presented at the Fourth Workshop "American Ethnicity: Rethinking Old Issues, Asking New Questions". The workshop was organized in Kraków, Poland, on May 24th–25th, 2010. It was hosted by the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora of the Jagiellonian University, and supported by the (American) Immigration and Ethnic History Society. The event was made possible thanks to the generous support of the United States General Consulate in Kraków, the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University, the Doctorate Students' Society of the Jagiellonian University, and the Kraków Chapter of the Stowarzyszenie "Wspólnota Polska" (a non-governmental organization in Poland whose aim is to stay in touch with Polish diaspora).

There is a tradition of organizing bi-annual workshops "American Ethnicity: Rethinking Old Issues, Asking New Questions" which take place in Kraków. The First Workshop (under the same title) took place at the Jagiellonian University in October 2004. It gathered eminent scholars from the US, Germany, Austria and Poland. Among the participants there were Hasia Diner, David Gerber, Victor Greene, Hartmut Keil, Dominic Pacyga, Suzanne M. Sinke, and Annemarie Steidl. Most of the participants returned to Kraków for the next workshops. The workshop proceedings were published as a special English language volume of the quarterly of the Polish Academy of Sciences: *Przegląd Polonijny* ("Polonia Review"), vol. 31, 2005, No 4. The texts in the 2005 volume deal with (among others): "Wandering Jews: Peddlers, Immigrants, and the Discovery of the <New Worlds>" (Hasia Diner), "Young, Unwed, Mobile and Female. Women on Their Way from the Habsburg Monarchy to the United States of America" (Annemarie Steidl), "Love, Sex, and Bureaucracy: The U.S. Military and Marriage to <Foreigners>" (Suzanne M. Sinke).

The Second Workshop took place in May 2006, and the third one in May 2008. Most of the participants are social historians who focus their research on the past as well as on the present migration issues, therefore the workshop presentations deal with both historical and contemporary perspective. For example, due to the presidential election of 2008, the Third Workshop (May 2008) was started with David Gerber's comments on this subject (*Ethnicity and the 2008 Elections, At This Moment, Mid-May 2008*) and Victor Greene's presentation entitled *Offering a Refuge or Refusal? : American Immigration Policy, Past & Present*. Their comments were followed by a lively discussion.

The proceedings of the third workshop were also published as a special issue of the *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny* ("Polonia Review"), vol. 35, 2009, No 3. The list of texts included "Another Look at Whiteness: The Persistence of Ethnicity in American Life" (Ronald Bayor), and "Immigration, Development, and Assimilation in the United States in a Global Perspective, 1850-1930" (Jose Moya).

A group of people who feel attached to the workshops is increasing. The first meeting, somehow improvised, was modest in comparison to the following ones. In the course of time the workshops have won a reputation and became supported by prestigious diplomatic and academic institutions. Ronald Bayor (who attended the third workshop) and Barbara Posadas (who participated in the fourth workshop, and contributed to this volume) are the leaders of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society. The Society was founded in 1965 as the Immigration History Group, and it publishes a quarterly *Journal of American Ethnic History*.

> *The Society's stated purpose is to promote the study of the history of immigration to the United States and Canada from all parts of the world, including studies of the background of emigration in the countries of origin; to promote the study of ethnic groups in the United States, including regional groups, native Americans and forced immigrants; to promote understanding of the processes of acculturation and of conflict* (...) (www.iehs.org/mission)

The Kraków workshops' objectives are consistent with the above quoted purposes. Generally speaking, the meetings gather leading scholars of American ethnic and migration studies who share basic theoretical and methodological assumptions. The aim is to give an opportunity to discuss ongoing research, and to examine new research perspectives. Most of the workshops' participants are historians, who study societies "from the bottom up", and adopt a "longue durée" perspective". American immigration, ethnicity, assimilation – the very basic notions in this field of studies – are discussed, and sometimes redefined. Most participants accept the research paradigms which inform classical immigration studies (authored among others by: Barkan 1996, Brettel 2000, Foner 2000, Gerber 2011, Hoerder 2002), and they agree, that there is a need to apply again the concept of assimilation, however in its new revised version (Morawska 1994, Barkan 1995, Alba & Nee 2003).

Moreover, the workshops provide atmosphere in which scholars feel challenged to seek a broader context. For example while discussing American immigration, Jose Moya situated the American experience in a global perspective, and asserted that *migration is a basic feature of the human species rather than an American or modern phenomenon*. (Moya 2009). Moya pointed to the level of *separation and continuity* of Arabs in East Africa, Volga Germans in Russia, and Chinese in Malaysia; the analysis led him to a conclusion that: *ethnic persistence in the U.S. and the other Neo-Europes seems, particularly after the third generation, less consequential, to put it mildly* (Moya 2009). Different, but not opposite position was taken by Ronald Bayor, who questioned the idea (popular in some studies of the 1990's) that American immigrants from Europe have adopted

identity of the white group. In his talk, Bayor gave abundant evidence to *the persistence of ethnicity in American life* (Bayor 2009). Clearly, both presentations were followed by a discussion.

Many presentations focused on the forgotten aspects of immigrants' trajectories, for instance a story of the German liberal intellectual Francis Lieber and his experience in the US South (1835-56) where he witnessed slavery (Keil 2008); Polish American youth as members of mixed-ethnic gangs in Chicago (Dominic Pacyga 2004); or the German convicts who had agreed to banishment to America as an alternative to detention in Germany (Wolfgang Helbich & Walter Kamphoefner 2008).

The discussions which start during the sessions are usually continued in private conversations during the workshops. In contrast to large conferences, which consists of many parallel sessions or huge plenary sessions, the workshops give the participants the chance to meet and hold discussions face to face. There is enough time for presentations and for comments.

The workshops are attended by the local scholars and students, especially by the students of American Studies, as well as the students of MA Migration and Ethnic Studies (both programs are carried on at the Jagiellonian University). The sessions give the students an opportunity to meet the authors of the classic works on American immigration and ethnicity. Moreover, the Fourth Workshop featured a doctorate students' session, and one of the presented papers is published in this volume (Rajski).

The current volume contains texts which provide a comparative context to immigration studies (Leslie Page Moch, Wolfgang Helbich), contribute to the gender perspective (Suzanne M. Sinke), bring up new issues like the Chicago *parks programs where* [immigrant] *youth could obtain healthful physical training* (Dominic Pacyga), and remind the most important aspects of migrants' life, eg. the remittances (Barbara Posadas & Roland Guyotte), or poverty (Stan Nadel). There is also a set of three texts on American Jewish experience, studied from a variety of angles (Hasia Diner, Tobias Brinkmann, Anna Sosnowska). The Polish-American section presents texts on local immigrant communities and their collective memories (David Jones, Agata Rajski).

The Fourth Workshop was inaugurated in the medieval building of the Jagiellonian University – the Collegium Maius – by Mr. Allan Greenberg, the United States General Consul in Kraków; Prof. Andrzej Mania, Deputy Rector of the Jagiellonian University; and Prof. Adam Walaszek, Director of the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora (of the Jagiellonian University). The introductory speech was given by Prof. Barbara Posadas, the President of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society who noticed that *small conferences such as this workshop provide the very best opportunities for significant scholarly dialog across nation-state boundaries.*

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Sending Money 'Home': Toward a Transnational History of Migrant Remittances

Barbara M. Posadas (Northern Illinois University, DeKalb) and Roland L. Guyotte (University of Minnesota, Morris)

On January 13, 2007, in its online edition, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* posted excerpts of letters written from Milwaukee over nearly twenty years by Irma Martinez to her family in the rural Philippines.[1] Nineteen years old when she arrived in the United States in 1985, ostensibly for medical treatment, Irma observed during her first winter: "I'm lonely, but thankfully we are sharing letters to talk to one another. No matter what I say, ma, I'm stuck in this life. . . . " Irma Martinez had been brought illegally to the United States to work as a domestic in the suburban Milwaukee home of Drs. Jefferson and Elnora Calimlim, an immigrant Filipino physician couple with three children. She initially agreed to stay for five years in return for $150 per month, and began sending remittances to her parents. Almost two years later, in September 1987, she wrote: " . . . Ma, you asked when I'm coming home. I am not sure. It could be in December 1990. I know I am going home sometime. . . . Ma, read this to Nonoy Kie and tell him what I am saying. Sing to him for me. Comfort him and say that sometime I will come home. . . ." In an undated missive written later, Irma expressed her hope for a future with her family in the Philippines, in a home paid for with her labor: "Mom, is it possible to make sure that when I go home that we will have a new house already? I want a big living room with two levels. I want the living room upstairs next to the kitchen. I will send the money in December. Please take care of the rest. Plan that the house has a gate and a fence around it, if possible." In September 2002, after a brief telephone call from her parents, Irma wrote to explain her situation:

> "I'm glad that you and papa called. Sorry if it was a short conversation. Ms. Nora is not giving me enough time. She stands and watches beside me. You might think I don't want to talk to you, but I was working when you called and I was also tired. The house is too large [actually, a massive 8,600 square feet] and I am the only servant. . . The visa that they promised me has not been arranged. . . . If I go home there without my visa, I will never be able to return here. If I go home there now, you will not have anybody to help you educate the others."

During almost two decades, Irma's remittances, estimated at about $20,000, helped to lift her impoverished farm family's economic circumstances. Ever the dutiful daughter, over time she paid for her siblings educations, her father's medicines, her mother's surgery, plots of land, a carabao, and later a Honda tractor. Letters from home pressured her with more requests for money or goods—a watch for her father and jewelry for her mother. Throughout, the

---

1 "A Life Wasted Waiting: Irma Martinez's Letters to Her Family," *JSOnline* [*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*], January 13, 2007, www.jsonline.com (accessed 4/3/2007).

Calimlims kept Irma's identity as an undocumented alien a secret by passing her off as a visiting relative or hiding her in a locked basement bedroom when others were in their home. They took her Philippine passport, forbade her to leave the house by herself, and told her to answer the telephone only after ten rings which indicated that a family member was calling. When she attended religious services with the Calimlim family, they made her sit apart from them, on the other side of the church. The Calimlims' threats—that she would be deported, that the remittances to her family would end, and that everyone would be in serious legal trouble—hung over Irma's head like a sword. How could she possibly sacrifice her family's future by contesting her plight? How could she betray the Calimlims by telephoning for help when no one else was at home?

In the end, Irma did not initiate her own rescue. Instead, Sherry Bantug, a young Filipina American who grew up in the Milwaukee area and had graduated from Marquette University, revealed Irma's plight. While dating a Calimlim son, Sherry puzzled over the identity of the Filipina "visitor" who was always there. After she became closer to the family and married young Calimlim, she learned the truth. With her marriage in shambles in less than a year, Sherry made an anonymous call to the authorities. In September 2004, federal agents and local police raided the Calimlim home, found Irma Martinez cowering in a basement closet, and arrested the physicians.[2] Brought by the government to the United States to testify at the trial, Irma's parents revealed that in nineteen years, they had spoken with their daughter four or five times in very brief telephone conversations. The Calimlims were convicted of four felony counts of human trafficking, imposing forced labor, and harboring an illegal alien, sentenced to four years in prison—which was later increased to six years—and ordered to pay Irma $934,420 in restitution.[3] They face almost certain deportation after their release.[4]

And what of Irma? In the months that followed, she received almost $700, 000 of the money that the court ordered the Calimlims to pay, was spared deportation and received a T visa enabling her to apply for a green card in three years.[5] Almost forty years old and no longer the young girl who had hoped for a family of her own, Irma relocated to the Chicago area where she found employment in a cosmetics store, the regular hours a welcome relief from the fifteen plus hour days that she worked as a virtual slave. One wonders whether she has

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2 Joseph Lariosa, "Doctor Couple Goes to Two Federal Prisons," *The Filipino Express Online* March 19-25, 2007 (Vol. 21, #12). http://www.filipinoexpress.com/21/12_news.html (Accessed 6-23-09)

3 "Maid Lived 20 Years in Quiet Struggle," *JSOnline* [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel], January 14, 2007, (accessed 4/3/2007).

4 "Best of the Blogs www.jsonline.com/blogs," *JSOnline* [*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*], June 14, 2009, www.jsonline.com (accessed 6/16/2009).

5 Jane Huckerby, "United States of America (USA)," *Collateral Damage: The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights Around the World*, (Bangkok, Thailand: Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, 2007), 230-253. http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/resources/PDF/CollateralDamage_2007.pdf (Accessed 6-20-2009).

visited the rest of her family in the Philippines, including six siblings born after she left her homeland.[6]

Within the context of United States history, the Irma Martinez case shocks precisely because it seems so extremely atypical; it evokes incredulity and contempt despite our certain knowledge that remittances constitute a vital element in contemporary migration. Remittances sent by those who migrate to those who remain at home enrich not only individuals and families, but also the communities and the nations to which they flow. Remittances have become essential to governments that rely on them to constitute a substantial element of GDP. Consequently, remittances have also become of increasing interest to historians of immigration. This essay considers immigrant remittances sent from the United States in the context of immigrant motivation and behavior, state policies of both the sending and receiving countries, and the social consequences of the contemporary remittance stream.

* * * * *

Have remittances always loomed large, or have they generally been ignored in the scholarly literature? A brief review of historians' treatment of remittances over time can prove instructive. What does their work on remittances reveal about the development of U.S. immigration and ethnicity as a field? On most occasions when historians have written about immigrants of earlier eras sending money to the folks at home, remittances appear as positive and benign, rather than as coercive. Sending remittances suggests persistent bonds based on love and obligation, despite great distance. While they remained unmarried, Hasia Diner's devoted daughters of Erin sent money home to parents across the Atlantic in Ireland and helped siblings to join them in America. Roger Daniels pointed out that Greeks and Italians sent young men to work in Turkey or Switzerland, while the money they sent home helped sustain the impoverished villagers and peasants, a pattern repeated when Greeks and Italians migrated to the United States. As early as 1939, Carl Wittke noted: "In the eight years before 1927, it has been estimated that $5,000,000 a year were sent back to Mexico by postal money orders."[7]

But most of these historians paid rather cursory attention to remittances. For decades, historians typically emphasized instead the nature, the means, and the extent of adjustment to *life in the United States*. To be sure, most historians termed the "new social historians" have underscored the immigrants' *active* role in forging their American ethnicities in communities, work places, and families. Immigrants, despite the constraints that they faced, were *not* passive victims, as they were more likely to "transplant" than be "uprooted." Some of these historians, as well as a few of their predecessors, have highlighted ways in which im-

6 "Maid Lived 20 Years in Quiet Struggle," January 14, 2007.

7 Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (NY: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939), 467.

migrants remained involved both with kin left behind and with the lands of their birth.[8]

In one instance, Josef Hasiak, Barbara Posadas's Polish grandfather, migrated to Chicago from Rzeszów in Galicia Poland in 1903, intending like many others to return eventually to his homeland. Not long after his arrival, he married Apolonia Kemp, a young Polish woman from near Łódź, and they began raising a family while saving money to purchase more farm land near his father's in the homeland. In early 1912, he sent his pregnant wife and their three children back to Poland to do just that. Certainly, he remitted money to his wife for the family's support while they were in Poland, but instead of joining his family after a couple more years of work in the Windy City, as he had originally intended, he called his family back to Chicago in 1913. Rumors of war in Europe and the threat of his being drafted into the military changed his original plan forever. As his family in Chicago grew, his remittances to family members who remained in Poland diminished, and ceased altogether after his parents died. Neither Josef nor Apolonia Hasiak, nor any of their six children, ever visited Poland again, nor did any of their eight grandchildren—until, almost a hundred years later, when Barbara Posadas came to Krakow in 2010 to deliver the paper that has become this article.

In this account of Josef Hasiak, remittances are implicit, but they are never central to the story of the Hasiak family's life that takes place *in the United States*. Then-partitioned Poland shaped Josef and Apolonia before they arrived—social customs, cultural practices, religious beliefs, family relationships, gendered norms and behaviors, and economic skills—all of these factors affected their acculturation and adjustment, their rearing of their children, and their understanding of ethnicity—what it meant to be Polish in America. For many historians of immigration, concern with the "old country" similarly receded into the background, as did the nature and extent of ties to family and friends back "at home."

In the 1980s and 1990s, this began to change. **First**, the sweeping overhaul of U. S. immigration policy in 1965 began to be felt across the nation. Not only did immigration surge and show no sign of slowing, but also immigrants began arriving in record numbers from nations that had not previously contributed nearly so much of the migration stream. Between 1981 and 2000 almost 16.5 million immigrants came to the United States, half again as many as had arrived in the previous thirty-five years. In both decades, the Americas, excluding Canada,

8 The first synthesis of the "new social historians'" work was John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985). Works that have paid substantial attention to remittances include Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Immigration of Our Times* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1972), and Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, 2nd edition (New York: Perennial Books, 2002).

provided approximately 49 per cent, with Mexicans constituting 22.6 per cent of all immigrants in the 1980s and 24.7 per cent in the 1990s. In the 1980s, immigrants from Asia constituted 37.3 per cent of all immigrants, in the 1990s 30.7 per cent. **Second**, changes in the technology of travel reworked the process of migration, making it far easier to come—and to return. Jet planes replaced transoceanic vessels, and although being stuck like a sardine in an eight-across seat in the middle section of an economy class cabin on a 747 is no fun, it is not comparable to passage in steerage. Nor does it take weeks, as it did in 1926, when the voyage of Barbara Posadas's father Alipio Posadas from Manila to Vancouver consumed twenty-one days. **Third**, technology also revolutionized the means of keeping in touch across space. Earlier, personal letters and photographs limited contact between immigrants and kin in the homeland to paper, and even telegraph messages sent in emergencies also arrived on paper. Later, telephone calls reintroduced the nuances of verbal communication: love, anger, or sorrow in voices across the miles. Now, communication has become increasingly instantaneous, varied, and global. Cell phones are ubiquitous. In a commercial broadcast with nauseating regularity on CNN, a man rejects two cents in change—"Keep it." But the savvy clerk responds, "With two cents, I can call my brother in Argentina!" Others chime in: "For two cents, I can talk to my granddaughter in Hong Kong," "I can talk to my brother. He's stationed in Germany." With internet, computers, video cameras, and social networking sites, communication takes place in real time.

Remitting money from one country to another has also become an electronic transaction. A quick "google" search of the terms "Philippines" and "send money," yielded 338,000 hits in .26 seconds, among them:

> Send Money to Philippines for $10 Flat at remithome.com flat fee, high exchange rate, and first transfer free when you send money to Philippines online! Better Business Bureau accredited. www.remithome.com

Another online transfer service, www.xoom.com, and the Philippine National Bank announced a partnership that simplifies the remittance process: "[Overseas Filipino Workers] . . . all over the world can send money to their beneficiaries' PNB bank accounts hassle-free and at very affordable rates." When the money comes from a U.S. bank account, the fee for transferring up to $2,000 is a flat $7.99. "In addition to bank deposits in minutes, Xoom.com also provides cash pickup in over 1,900 locations in the Philippines, and home delivery in major cities and home provinces."[9]

In the early 1990s, a concept of more specific relevance to the topic of contemporary remittances—"transnationalism"—began to take center stage among anthropologists and sociologists studying migration. In 1992, Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton published "Transnationalism: A

9 "Xoom.com and PNB Launch Innovative Online Remittance Service," https://www.xoom.com/sendmoneynow/news/xoom-and-pnb-launch-innovative-online-remittance-service-11102008 (Accessed 6-21-09).

New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration," in the *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*.[10] They argued:

> Our earlier conceptions of immigrant and migrant no longer suffice. . . . Now, a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field. . . . Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously.

Based on their observations of Haitians, Grenadians, and Filipinos living in New York, Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton concluded that contemporary migrants—"transmigrants"—"actively manipulate their identities and thus both accommodate to and resist their subordination within a global capitalist system."[11] As transmigrants cross borders, they deal with the limits imposed by nation-states, but they live their lives simultaneously in both places. This, the authors argued, was fundamentally new and a reaction to the global economic demands not present in the past, either for individuals, for their families, and for their countries of origin.

While recognizing the utility of this concept and the need for a global perspective, many historians have since questioned whether transnationalism surfaced only in the late twentieth century. Were all migrants and immigrants of the past so fundamentally different from the "transmigrants" of the present?

In 2000, in *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943*, historian Madeline Hsu vigorously refuted the claim that transnationalism had appeared only among recent migrants. Chinese husbands and wives who lived for years on opposite sides of the Pacific created transnational families despite time apart and distance between. Because U.S. law prevented Chinese laborers from having their wives join them in the United States and restricted the men's movement back and forth across the Pacific, the Chinese from Taishan Province developed elaborate means for keeping contact with and supporting their families and home communities in China throughout the 1882 to 1943 "exclusion" period. Gold Mountain firms handled the sending of letters and the transfer of money, usually for a two percent commission. Remittances became the life blood of prosperity in South China: "Dependence upon remittances and declining productivity produced a society that could not do without foreign money."[12]

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10 Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* (645: 1992): 1-24, reprinted in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc., 1999): 26-49.

11 Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 37.

12 Madeline Y. Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 42.

Wives left in China, "Gold Mountain widows," became more powerful as decisions concerning expenditures and children's education fell to them. Husbands and fathers supported their families out of obligation, knowing that if they succeeded in amassing a considerable sum—at least $10,000—they could retire in comfort, at least so long as the money lasted. Their communities in South China also benefited from the money sent by overseas Chinese. Magazines directed toward the overseas population successfully targeted them for contributions to projects such as school construction, and the money they sent helped to educate poorer children. Of course, split families endured much pain and sorrow as well. We cannot do full justice here to Hsu's rich portrait of Chinese living transnationally in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, it should be clear that she has made a convincing case for the existence of transnationalism before the closing decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, her work and that of Adam McKeown in *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change* (2001) both make abundantly clear that economic necessity drove the goals of Chinese migrants long before the arrival of the "global capitalist economy." McKeown's Chinese created interwoven networks that incorporated Hawaii, Peru, and Chicago with China.

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Remittances can be thought about is several ways. At their most basic, they are monetary payments to family members in the country of origin. This form of remittance is clearly linked to the absence of those family members from the destination country. Government policies, "there" and "here" often have influenced who comes and goes. In the case of the Chinese during the exclusion era, families remained split because of discriminatory policies enacted by the United States. Indeed, the exclusion era really begins in 1875 when the Page Act codified measures intended to keep Chinese women—ostensibly only "prostitutes" but in reality virtually all Chinese women who were not merchants' wives—from migrating to the United States. Hence, the married Chinese working men studied by Hsu had no choice about becoming transnational, and their remittances continued so long as they lived apart from their families.

Restrictions applied to the Chinese also targeted other Asians in the early twentieth century. In 1917, the United States enacted a geographically-defined Asiatic Barred Zone and forbade the immigration of Asians from within these bounds, exempting only Japanese who were not laborers, and Filipinos who were from an American colony and defined as U.S. nationals. In 1924, under terms of the National Origins Act, all Japanese also came under the total ban. Filipinos became the last Asian group to be restricted. The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which promised the Philippines independence in ten years, reduced immigration from the Islands to a fifty-per-year quota during the transition to independence, to be followed by a total prohibition once Philippine independence became reality. Those Asians who had come legally were denied naturalization and family reunification, and no doubt sent remittances home as they were able. To illustrate, from the late 1920s through the 1940s, life-long bachelor

Philip Vera Cruz, a leader in the 1960s of the California farm workers movement, sent regular remittances to his mother that helped to educate his younger siblings in the Philippines.[13]

By contrast to Asians, immigrants whom the government permitted to enter and become naturalized citizens had more control over whether they would send remittances *or* send for their wives and children and encourage other family members to join them. Of course, remittances might still flow when those working in the United States sent money to parents, siblings, and other kin. But faced with the needs of their own families in the United States, it is rather likely that married immigrants who lived with their spouses typically sent less in remittances to parents and siblings than married immigrants sent to spouses and children living abroad. Hasia Diner notes that Irish women stopped working outside the home after they married and began having children. Their remittances back to Ireland likely contracted.

To a great extent, such strictures still govern migration to the United States and the flow of remittances. Think about their implications with respect to both legal and illegal migration to contemporary America. Policies and laws relating to immigration define *who* may come, who may *not*, and, very importantly, *when and if* they may be joined by other family members. Under *occupational* preferences in force since 1965, immigrants whose skills the United States needs have been able to qualify for admission. Numerous Filipino physicians (such as the Calimlims) and nurses have migrated legally because the United States has sought their medical skills. These immigrants have been able to utilize *family* preferences to bring spouses, children, parents, and siblings—newcomers who then become the next links in that family's migration chain. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, skillful use of the preference system enabled Filipinos to become the second largest group of newly naturalizing citizens.

The eagerness of Philippine, Mexican, South Asian, and Mainland Chinese nationals to immigrate has already put great strains on the preference system's annual numerical quotas and helped keep alive the remittance stream as successful immigrants try to help kin to live more comfortably in the homeland, even as some wait to migrate. Of these groups, Filipinos had the longest standing interest in using government policy to promote the chain migration of family members. Those Filipinos who had come to the United States by 1934 became eligible for naturalized citizenship in 1946.[14] They, along with the Filipina wives that some married after World War II, could also file immigrant visa petitions for their brothers and sisters after 1965. Early on, the wait to bring adult children and brother and sisters from the Philippines to the United States was relatively short. Now, family reunification can take many years. In June 2009, the Filipino

13 Craig Scharlin and Lilia V. Villanueva, *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants the the Farmworkers Movement* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2000), 69-70

14 Filipinos already living in the United States who served in the military during World War II became eligible for naturalization in 1943. Earlier, Filipinos who served during World War I were permitted a very brief period of time during which they could naturalize.