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A Comparative Study**

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www.conexioncolombia.com is the webpage for a public/private partnership in the Republic of Colombia which aims at diffusing information about the country among its immigrants all over the world and at channeling their contributions to established charities and philanthropic initiatives throughout the nation. “With a simple click,” says *Conexion Colombia*’s attractive brochure, “any person in the world can donate and contribute to the country’s development. Connect yourself now!” According to the young, dynamic executive director of the organization, Diana Sanchez-Rey, its webpage is visited by thousands of Colombians all over the world every day, looking for news and stories about their country and leaving their own statement. In her words:

Mostly the older, better-off migrants in Europe and the U.S.
for whom nostalgia weighs heavier...but also the younger
professionals who have left recently and feel an obligation toward
the country that educated them.¹

Not two miles away from the plush offices of the weekly *La Semana* which houses the headquarters of *Conexion Colombia*, Sor Irene of the Vicentine Sisters of Charity operates a refuge for the homeless of Bogotá, the “inhabitants of the street”, mostly mentally disturbed and retarded persons or drug addicts. Every night, Sor Irene and her brave helpers roam the dangerous neighborhood surrounding the convent in search of the inhabitants of the street. The refuge not only offers them shelter, food, and clothing, but rehabilitation in the form of counseling and occupational therapy. All the equipment for learning new work skills – from manufacturing and selling paper made from recycled waste to baking and selling bread – has been acquired through donations from Colombians abroad.²

In the same convent lives Sor Isabel, a vigorous middle-aged nun, who helped create fifteen years ago an asylum and school for orphans in the city of Tunja. The funds for buying the land for the asylum and building the dormitories and the school were provided, in large part, by the Foundation of the Divine Child (*Fundación del Divino Niño*), a charity established by a Colombian priest, a journalist born in Tunja, and a network of immigrant volunteers in New York and New Jersey. The computers for the school were donated by IBM through the good offices of the Foundation.³

The examples could be multiplied. All over the hemisphere, countries and local communities that are sources of migrants to the developed world have come to rely on the solidarity of these persons and on their sense of obligation with those left behind, not only for the survival of families but also for the implementation of a whole array of philanthropic and civic projects. By now, it is well-known that the level of remittances sent by immigrants in the advanced countries to their respective nations easily surpasses the foreign aid that these nations receive and even match their hard currency earnings from exports. The amount of remittances in 2004 was estimated at 2 to 3 billion dollars for Guatemala and El Salvador each, 5 billion for Colombia, and a staggering 15 billion for Mexico. Continent-wide, the remittances reached 23 billion (Latin America Report 2003; Cortina and de la Garza 2004).

Less well-known is the wide variety of collective organizations among immigrants pursuing a number of diverse projects in their respective countries and communities of origin, as well as the initiatives undertaken by these communities and even nation states to motivate and channel the material contributions of their expatriates. Rising migration from the global South to the global North has become acknowledged as one of the trademarks of the contemporary capitalist world economy and of its relentless process of integration (Zolberg 1989; Castles 2004;

Portes and DeWind 2004). Less well-recognized, until recently, is that this massive displacement is not one-way, but that it plays back, with rising force, becoming an important factor in the development of sending nations and regions. By the same token, immigrant communities turn into an unexpected, but increasingly visible actor in the politics of their home towns and countries (Vertovec 2004; Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004).

“Transnationalism” is the name with which these activities and their effects have been baptized in the recent sociological literature (Portes *et. al.* 2002; Guarnizo *et. al.* 2003). While there have been some dissenting voices concerning the novelty and importance of the phenomenon (e.g. Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004), the weight of the empirical evidence provides strong proof of the novel character of these practices and of their structural importance for sending regions and for immigrant communities themselves (Smith 2003; Vertovec 2004). Most of this evidence, however, comes from case studies of specific communities or projects or from surveys of immigrants (Levitt 2001; Kyle 2000; Guarnizo *et. al.* 2003; Portes 2003). So far, there have been few systematic studies of *organizations* involved in the transnational field, their origins and effects.⁴

This study aims at making a contribution toward filling this knowledge gap with a systematic survey of immigrant organizations among three Latin American-origin immigrant groups in the East Coast of the United States. The data gathered in the course of the survey allows us to gain better understanding of the forces creating and sustaining these organizations and to test preliminary hypotheses about the effects of contexts of exit and modes of incorporation in receiving countries on the character of immigrant transnationalism. The principal focus of this study is on the implications of the phenomenon for local and national development in sending countries. Hence, interviews with leaders of organization in the United

States were supplemented with visits and interviews with government officials, community activists, and counterpart organizations in each nation of origin.

This double-perspective provides a more comprehensive understanding of the social and political dynamics at play and of the different forces impinging on the phenomenon. The brochure of *Conexión Colombia*, one of the organizations identified and studied in the course of the project, illustrates well some of these dynamics:

...to provide emotional, useful, and up-to-date information so that Colombians abroad remain in contact with their country. For that reason, the webpage of *Conexión Colombia* has become the corner of nostalgia (sic) where it is possible to see the goals in the local futbol tournament, listen to the latest music, travel through the most beautiful areas of our geography, and locate the closest Colombian restaurants the world over.⁵

Research Design

a. Building the Data Base

The first challenge confronted by the study was building an inventory of organizations created by the target immigrant groups in their respective areas of concentration. Fortunately, there are several circumstances that make possible a near complete enumeration, especially of organizations with transnational ties. First, the consulates of the respective countries generally maintain lists of these organizations as part of their efforts to keep in touch and influence their communities abroad; second, umbrella confederations based on nationality or pan-ethnicity (*i.e.* “Hispanic”) make it their business to identify and bring together the relevant organizations,

thereby increasing their visibility and power; third, leaders of organizations are generally interested in advertising their goals and achievements as a means to attract both new members and donations. Organizations are *not* individuals and, unlike the latter, most seek public exposure, with leaders are generally willing to grant interviews and provide detailed information. Because of these circumstances, the research team was able to build a database of transnational organizations in the principal areas of concentration of each national group which include all but the most fleeting and smaller associations.

b. Selected Nationalities

Colombians, Dominicans, and Mexicans were the groups selected for study. While these immigrant nationalities share a common language and culture, they are very different in contexts of exit and reception. Colombians are a relatively recent inflow, now exceeding one million persons and concentrated in New York City and Miami.⁶ Colombians tend to be urban in origin and to have higher levels of education than other Latin immigrants. Their departure has been motivated by growing violence and deteriorating economic and political conditions in their country. Thus, while the majority of Colombians are legal immigrants, there is a growing number of political asylees. Phenotypically, Colombian immigrants are mostly white or light mestizo and thus tend to escape the worst forms of discrimination experienced by non-white groups in American society (Guarnizo *et. al.* 1999; Escobar 2004).

Dominicans have been arriving in New York City and in smaller cities along the New York-Boston corridor since the 1960s. They now comprise over one million and represent the largest immigrant group in New York City (Itzigsohn *et. al.* 1999).⁷ New York is second only to the capital city of Santo Domingo in the size of its Dominican population. This is mostly a

working-class migration, but with a sizable component of middle-class professionals and entrepreneurs. Motivations for departure are mostly economic since the country of origin is at peace, and there is a dense traffic between the island and New York for family and political reasons. All major Dominican parties have representatives in New York and in cities along the New York-Boston corridor, especially in Providence. The current president of the country, Leonel Fernandez, was himself born and educated in New York City. The Dominican Republic is predominantly a mulatto country, with a white upper-class crust that does not emigrate. Dominican migrants are mostly phenotypically black or mulatto. In America, they are generally regarded as part of the black population and are discriminated against accordingly (Portes and Guarnizo 1991; Grasmuck and Pessar 1991).

Mexicans are, by far, the largest immigrant group in the United States, numbering over 10 million persons and representing, by itself, close to one-third of the foreign-born population of the United States.⁸ Historically, and at present, Mexico has effectively functioned as the principal manual labor reservoir for its powerful northern neighbor. The end of the Bracero program in 1964 led to the criminalization of this labor inflow and to the rapid growth of the category of illegal or unauthorized immigrants among the U.S. Mexican population. As is well-known, Mexican immigration has traditionally concentrated in the Southwest, and, secondarily in the Midwest. Its principal areas of urban/metropolitan concentration are in Los Angeles, San Diego, Houston, Dallas, and Chicago. More recently, the flow has moved steadily east in search of stable agricultural and urban employment in agriculture and services. As a consequence, the Mexican-origin population of states such as Georgia tripled during the last intercensal period (1990-2000) and it went from insignificance in New York City in the 1980s to an estimated 250,000 persons in 2000 (Massey *et. al.* 2002; U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001).

Phenotypically, Mexican immigrants are identifiable by their darker skin and mestizo or indigenous features. This trait, added to their low average levels of education and frequently illegal status, has led to pervasive discrimination against them both by the U.S. government and by American society at large. In the Southwest and Midwest, Mexicans have been traditionally confined to impoverished and isolated neighborhoods, called *barrios* and, like blacks elsewhere, treated as an inferior caste. In response to these conditions, Mexican-American ethnic politics has pivoted around struggles to overcome discrimination and to gain a measure of dignity and economic advancement for members of this minority. In contrast, Mexican transnational organizations, created by first generation rural immigrants, have aimed primarily at improving material and political conditions in their places of origin (Goldring 2002; Smith 2005).

Table 1 presents a summary of the characteristics of the three selected immigrant groups and of their countries of origin. Their cultural similarities and systematic structural differences provide a suitable background for analyzing the forms that transnational activities can take and their potential impact in sending countries and communities. As indicated previously, data collection on these organizations focused on their principal areas of concentration in the U.S. East Coast as follows:

Colombians: New York, New Jersey suburbs, and Miami

Dominicans: New York, New Jersey suburbs, Boston, and Providence, R.I.

Mexicans: New York, New Jersey suburbs, New England, Philadelphia, and North Carolina

Table 1 about here

c. Fieldwork

For each target nationality, we selected the thirty principal organizations identified in the process of building the inventory and interviewed their leaders. For budget reasons, the study was limited to the East Coast of the United States. This is not a serious limitation in the case of Colombians and Dominicans since their principal areas of concentration are known to be located in the East, but it means that Mexican organizations interviewed for the study represent mainly a recently established population, since the larger and much older Mexican immigrant concentrations are located in the cities of the West. The Mexican organizations included in the survey may be defined as representative of the early associational efforts of this population in its new areas of settlement and, as such, are likely to be different in size, age, and goals from those identified and studied in the West (c.f. Goldring 2002; Roberts *et. al.* 1999).

The one-and-a-half hour face-to-face interview with immigrant leaders gathered information on the origins of the organizations, their members, and the leaders themselves. These interviews were supplemented by meetings with consular officials and other informants knowledgeable about each immigrant community, as well as several visits to sending countries. During the latter, the project team established contact with government departments assigned responsibility for their respective immigrant populations; with private entities pursuing relationships with these populations; and with recipients of donations and assistance from the civic and philanthropic groups interviewed in the United States.

The Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME in its Spanish acronym) and the Program *Colombia Nos Une* (Colombia Brings Us Together) established by the Colombian Ministry of Foreign Relations are examples of official initiatives in this field. *Conexion Colombia* provides

an illustration of a powerful private initiative supplementing official efforts. By contacting local municipalities, established philanthropies, and religious orders such as the Vicentine Sisters of Charity in Colombia, the research team was able to ascertain, on the ground, the existence and effects of the civic/philanthropic projects organized by immigrants abroad. While the aggregate impact of such efforts is difficult to quantify, their undeniable existence and the attention paid to them by government agencies and large private institutions in each sending country offer *prima facie* evidence of their importance. We will return to this point after reviewing the theoretical literature in this field.

Theoretical Overview

a. Definition

The concept of transnationalism was coined in the early 1990s by an enterprising group of social anthropologists to refer to the “multi-stranded” activities created by immigrants across national borders (Basch *et. al.* 1994; Glick Schiller 1997; Glick Schiller and Fournon 1999). The flurry of case studies that followed documented the many forms that these activities could take and advanced the notion that immigrant assimilation, as conventionally defined, was a thing of the past. Instead of a gradual process of acculturation and integration into the host society, as described by classical assimilation theory, transnationalism evoked the imagery of a permanent back-and-forth movement in which migrants lived simultaneously in two or more societies and cultures, tying them together into “deterritorialized” communities (Basch *et. al.* 1994). The concept was then adopted by the post-modern and cultural studies literature to question the viability of the nation-state, criticize “methodological nationalism”, and point to the emergence of “post-national” societies (Appadurai 1990; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003).

The excesses of this literature led more scientifically-oriented students of immigration to reject the concept altogether and stay within the framework of conventional assimilation theory. Apart from the broad pronouncements to which it led, the concept of transnationalism had the additional difficulty of having been applied in the past to a number of disparate phenomena, thus obscuring and confusing its meaning. As early as 1916, a public intellectual, Randolph Bourne, used the term in his oft-quoted essay, “Transnational America”, to deplore precisely the relentless process of immigrant assimilation that, in his view, “create hordes of men and women without a spiritual country, cultural outlaws without taste, without standards but those of the mob...they become the flotsam of American life,” (Bourne 1916: 90-91). More recent and better-known is the use of the concept to refer to the global activities of large economic enterprises – the “transnational” corporations (Sassen 1988; Apter and Goodman 1976; Vernon 1971).

Seeing heuristic value in the concept as applied to contemporary immigrants, another group of social scientists set out to define it more rigorously so that it could be empirically measured and so that results could be distinguished from the cross-national activities of large corporate and governmental actors (Portes *et. al.* 1999; Guarnizo *et. al.* 2003). These researchers adopted a definition of transnationalism as the grassroots activities conducted across national borders by actors in civil society, independent of and sometimes in opposition to official directives and rules. Thus defined, transnationalism encompassed, among others, the efforts of activists in different countries concerned with such matters as the environment, human and labor rights, and political democracy (Evans 2000; Keck and Sikkink 1998). Immigrant transnationalism is a subset of this universe, defined by regular activities across national borders conducted by the foreign-born as part of their daily lives abroad.

This definition sought to distinguish *regular* involvement in such activities from the occasional sending of a remittance or a once-in-a-while trip to the home country, things that immigrants have always done and which, by themselves, do not justify the coining of a new term. The novel element at present, which the concept of transnationalism seeks to capture, is the frequent and durable participation of immigrants in the economic, political, and cultural life of their countries which require regular and frequent contact across national borders. Such contacts are made possible by innovations in transportation and communications technology unavailable to earlier generations of migrants (Levitt 2001; Guarnizo 2003). By extension, transnational organizations are those whose goals and activities are partially or totally located in countries other than where their members reside.

Thus defined, transnationalism is not assumed *a priori* to be a characteristic of all immigrants, nor inimical to their assimilation. These are questions to be answered by empirical research. Earlier characterizations of all immigrants as “transmigrants” and of transnationalism as an alternative to assimilation in the post-modern literature were based on extrapolation from case studies. The methodology of these studies sampled on the dependent variable by focusing on transnational entrepreneurs or political activists, to the exclusion of other immigrants not involved in these actions (Portes 2003). The more restricted definition of the concept adopted by more recent studies aims at investigating the actual extent of the phenomenon among different groups of immigrants and was accompanied by a typology that seeks to distinguish between the *international* activities conducted by governments and other nationally-based institutions; the *multinational* initiatives of U.N. agencies, global churches, and corporate actors operating in multiple countries; and the *transnational* world of grassroots enterprises and initiatives undertaken by actors in civil society, immigrants included.

The purpose of this typology is to delimit and differentiate clearly the scope of the latter concept from other phenomena also anchored in cross-border interactions but conducted by more institutionalized and far more powerful actors. Absent this distinction, the concept of transnationalism becomes a catch-all devoid of any heuristic value. Figure 1 presents this typology and illustrates it with selected examples.

Figure 1 about here

b. Involvement of National States

This typology does additional service by highlighting the possible interactions and mutual influence of the three types of cross-border activities distinguished above. It turns out that governments – in particular those of sending nations – have not remained indifferent to the presence and initiatives of their expatriates and have increasingly sought to influence them. Reasons for governments’ involvement are easy to understand: the rising volume of immigrant remittances; the investments of expatriates in housing, land, and businesses at home; and their cross-border civic and philanthropic activities. Taken together, these activities have grown to gain “structural” importance for the development of local communities and even nations (Guarnizo 2003; Vertovec 2004).

Sending country governments have responded by passing laws allowing migrants to retain their nationality even if they naturalize abroad. Those who remain citizens of their home country have become able to vote and even to run for office while living in another country. Consulates have been instructed to take a more proactive stance toward immigrant communities

and have started to provide a number of services to their co-nationals, including legal representation, health assistance, identification cards, and English and home country language training (Escobar 2003, 2004; Smith 2003; Itzigsohn *et. al.* 1999).

Through these various initiatives, governments are seeking to preserve the loyalty of their expatriates and to increase and channel their remittances, investments, and charitable contributions. The significance of these official initiatives may be seen in the fact that almost every sending country government has undertaken them: from Mexico to Turkey; from Colombia to Eritrea; and from the Dominican Republic to the Philippines (Portes 2003). In terms of the typology in Figure 1, this means that the *international* activities undertaken by diplomats and government officials of these countries become increasingly oriented toward promoting and guiding the *transnational* initiatives of their emigrant communities abroad.

The flurry of such official programs have fostered the impression that immigrant transnationalism is nothing but a reflection and a response to these initiatives. Nothing could be farther from the truth: all empirical evidence indicates that economic, political, and socio-cultural activities linking expatriate communities with their countries of origin emerged by initiative of the immigrants themselves, with governments jumping onto the bandwagon only when their importance and economic potential became evident. To date, many civic, charitable, and cultural transnational organizations remain deeply suspicious of governmental interference which, they fear, may politicize and subvert their original altruistic goals (Landolt 2001; Guarnizo *et. al.* 1999; Smith 2005).

Still the increasingly active presence of sending country governments in the transnational field cannot but have a bearing on the form and the goals adopted by these grassroots initiatives. Depending on the reach and the material resources committed by governments and the purposes

for which they are used, immigrant organizations may come to accept and toe the official line, remain independent of it, or actively resist it as unwanted interference. We will return to these varying interactions between international and transnational activities below.

c. Controversies and Hypotheses

Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) have charged that there is really nothing new about the concept of transnationalism. Immigrants have always engaged with their countries and communities of origin and abundant examples of what today is called transnationalism may be found in the literature on European immigrants to America by the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, multiple historical instances of grassroots cross-border activities exist. Yet, until the concept of transnationalism was coined and refined, the common character and significance of this phenomenon remained obscure. For instance, the theoretical linkage between Russian or Polish émigré political activism and the trading activities of the Chinese diaspora could not have been seen because there was no theoretical lens that connected them and pointed to their convergence.

In this sense, Waldinger and Fitzgerald step into what Merton (1968: Ch. 1) long ago identified as the “fallacy of adumbration” which consists of negating the value of a scientific discovery by pointing to earlier instances of it. He prefaced his analysis with Alfred W. Whitehead trenchant remark that “everything of importance has been said before by someone who did not discover it (Merton 1968: 1). Merton extended the idea, commenting that:

What is more common is that an idea formulated definitely
enough and emphatically enough that it cannot be overlooked by

contemporaries, and it then becomes easy to find anticipations of it
(Merton 1968: 16).

Robert Smith brings home the point by noting that:

If transnational life existed in the past, but was not seen as such, then the transnational lens does the new analytical work of providing a way of seeing what was there that could not be seen before (Smith 2003: 725).

In line with Smith's statement, the concept has given rise to a fertile research literature and to the formulation of subsidiary ideas and hypotheses that did not exist before in the field of immigration. Some of these hypotheses concern individual participation in transnational enterprises and activities and others deal with the character of these organizations. The single quantitative survey conducted in this field so far, the Comparative Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project (CIEP), discovered that education was positively associated with participation in transnational activities – economic, political, and cultural – and so were occupational status and marital status. Married men were far more likely to take part, while years of residence abroad actually *increased* the probability of transnationalism (Portes *et. al.* 2002; Guarnizo *et. al.* 2003).

These results are summarized in Table 2. They indicate that contrary to the conventional assimilation story, the maintenance and cultivation of ties with the home nation do not decline with time since immigration, nor are they the preserve of marginal sectors within immigrant communities. To the contrary (and in line with the observations of the director of “Conexion Colombia”, cited at the start), these activities are more common among better-established, better-educated, and wealthier migrants. The reason seems to be that these are the persons with the wherewithal to involve themselves in frequently complex and demanding cross-border ventures,

something that is commonly beyond the reach of more recent, and poorer, arrivals. In light of these findings, assimilation to the host country and participation in transnational activities are not necessarily at odds with each other, as assumed earlier by both schools.

Table 2 about here

The CIEP study also found significant differences in transnational participation depending on contexts of exit and reception of different immigrant groups: those coming from rural areas, whether immigrants or refugees, tend to form non-political hometown civic committees in support of the localities left behind; immigrants from more urban origins commonly become involved in the politics and the cultural life of their countries as a whole, especially if political parties, churches, and cultural institutions there seek to maintain an active presence among their expatriates (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Guarnizo *et. al.* 2003). Programs initiated by home country governments also can play a significant role, especially if they go beyond symbolic appeals and provide real help for their migrants abroad. In such cases, the direction and goals adopted by grassroots transnational activities can be heavily influenced by official directives (Escobar 2003; Smith 2003).

Lastly, contexts of reception can affect the onset of these activities, depending on the level of discrimination meted on the newcomers. When, for reasons of low human capital or racial stereotypes, an immigrant group finds itself discriminated against, there is every reason to expect that it will band together and adopt a defensive stance toward the host country, appealing to symbols of cultural pride brought from home. When these conditions are absent, transnational

initiatives may become more individualized and organizations, when they exist, may adopt “middle class” forms recognizable and acceptable by mainstream society. “Lions clubs”, “Kiwanis Clubs”, “Charitable Ladies Associations” are examples of this alternative mode of transnationalism. We examine next how these prior results and the hypotheses that they suggest stack up against our new evidence.

Results

a. Origins, Types, and Structure of Transnational Organizations

The Global Foundation for Democracy and Development (FUNGLODE in its Spanish acronym) is a private non-governmental organization set up by Lionel Fernandez, president of the Dominican Republic, prior to his re-election. The Foundation has established a “strategic alliance” with the Institute of Dominican Studies at the City University of New York as a means to hold a number of conferences, appoint joint task forces, and explore other avenues to give Dominicans in the U.S. a greater voice in the affairs of their country. This type of activity operates at a high level of formalization and, in terms of our typology, may be more properly termed “international” than “transnational”. The latter element is present, however, because of the large number of Dominican immigrants taking part in this alliance and because its founder, Fernandez, got the idea while growing up, as an immigrant, in New York.⁹

At the other extreme of formalization is the Cañafisteros of Bani Foundation of Boston, a grassroots association created by Dominican immigrants in New England to help their hometown and province (Bani). A counterpart committee in the town receives and distributes the regular donations in money and kind. So far, the Cañafistero migrants have bought an ambulance and funeral car for their town, provided uniforms for the local baseball team, bought an electrical

generator for the clinic, acquired various kinds of medical and school equipment, and created a fund to give \$100 a month to needy families in Cañafistol. They have literally transformed the town, which has grown increasingly reliant on the loyalty and generosity of their migrants for a number of needs unattended by the national government.¹⁰

These contrasting Dominican examples serve well to introduce our data for they highlight the notable range of transnational activities, even among migrants from the same small country. Table 3 presents an initial profile of our sample of immigrant organizations. The predominant type are those that define themselves as “civic” entities pursuing an agenda of national scope, based on several projects in their home country. Examples appear in Table 4 which include such migrant-created organizations as the Colombian Lions Club of Miami and the Association of Dominican Provinces of New York. The Mexican example is regional in scope and consists of an association of migrants in North Carolina who emerged under the sponsorship of the government of their home state, Guanajuato.

Table 3 about here

Second in importance are hometown committees whose scope of action is primarily local. Table 4 provides examples, including the previously mentioned Cañafisteros of Boston and a strong New York-based set of well-organized committees formed by Mexicans from Xochihuehuetlan, a town in the municipality of Guerrero. Next are social agencies that provide health, educational, and other services to immigrants in the United States, but which are also engaged in projects in their home country. These are commonly better funded organizations

since their budget includes monies for social services provided by U.S. municipal, county, and state governments.

Transnational political organizations represent a small minority of the sample, and they are not represented at all among Mexican immigrants whose focus of interest is primarily their home communities. Among Dominicans, however, political party representation is quite important. As seen in Table 4, the Dominican Revolutionary Party of New York (PRD) claims 23,000 affiliates in the metropolitan area and the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD) of Massachusetts, 1,500. While these figures are probably exaggerated, they signal the significance of party politics for this specific immigrant group.

Table 4 about here

Table 3 shows that most of these organizations operate informally, although 45 percent have registered their status as formal, non-profit entities. Regardless of status, the prime philanthropic concerns of the majority of these groups pertain to education and health in their home communities and countries, followed by care of children and the elderly. The data reveal vast differences in the resources available to organizations to implement these initiatives, ranging from a few thousand dollars to close to a million. As mentioned previously, social agencies are the better funded organizations and they are also most common in our sample of Dominican organizations. This accounts for the very sizable differences in average monetary resources among organizations of the three nationalities, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 about here

The fact that these differences are due to only a few well-funded organizations become evident when we examine the median of financial resources, rather than the mean. The median is influenced by frequencies and not extreme values and hence differences among nationalities in this indicator become much smaller. Still, Dominican organizations remain the best funded, with Mexican ones trailing far behind. The same story repeats itself when we consider monthly budgets or number of salaried employees. Four-fifths of immigrant transnational organizations do not have paid staff, but 25 percent of Dominican ones employ five salaried workers or more. No organization among the other two nationalities is in this category.

By and large these are organizations of volunteers with an average of 35 regular members. This number is inflated upwards to almost 1,000 among Dominicans. In this case, it is not social agencies but political party affiliates which are the outliers. The fact that political party organizations are few in number is reflected in the median which discounts extreme values. Differences in membership size become much smaller, though Dominican organizations still preserve some advantage. Like figures on monetary resources, the data on membership (both regular and occasional) indicate wide dispersal, with organizations ranging from a handful of committed activists to hundreds of members.

b. Membership Characteristics

We asked leaders of each selected organization to report on characteristics of their regular members. These data are important because they bear on contrary hypotheses concerning determinants of transnationalism. As seen previously, an orthodox assimilation perspective would regard such activities as proper of more recent immigrants who have not yet severed their

ties with their home countries and cultures and who are keener to assist those left behind. As time passes, these ties should weaken so that, when immigrants become more settled, better able to speak English, and more comfortable in their new environments they should gradually abandon active involvement in activities back home (Alba and Nee 2003; Gordon 1964; Warner and Srole 1945).

To the contrary, results from the CIEP study summarized above, indicate that it is older, better educated, and more established immigrants who are more prone to participate in these ventures. The explanation is that these are the individuals with the information, the security, and resources of time and money to dedicate to these initiatives. New immigrants are too occupied coping with their new environment; their lack of resources and frequently insecure legal status bars them from engaging actively in philanthropic enterprises in their home country (Portes *et. al.* 2002; Guarnizo *et. al.* 2003).

The organizations included in the present project have an estimated membership of 9,040 immigrants or 32,040 if affiliates to the Dominican Revolutionary Party of New York are counted. Table 6 presents relevant data on their average socio-demographic characteristics. Results consistently support the hypothesis that transnational organizations are backed by older, better-educated, and better established immigrants. About half of regular organization members are 40 years of age or more and have at least a college degree or more, in contrast with a fifth or less who are under 30 or have less than a high school education. The only exception are Mexican organizations who attracted a larger proportion of young people and who have as many poorly educated as well-educated members. This result is in line with the well-known youth and low average human capital of the Mexican immigrant population as a whole (Cornelius 1998; Lopez and Stanton-Salazar 2001; Massey *et. al.* 2002).

Table 6 about here

The figures on occupational status tell a similar story with professionals and business owners doubling the proportion of manual laborers among organization members. Again, the exception are Mexican associations where the proportion of high- and low-status participants is about the same. The figures that most decisively contradict the orthodox assimilation hypothesis pertain to knowledge of English, legal status, and length of U.S. residence. As shown in Table 6, about 60 percent of immigrants actively supporting transnational organizations speak English well or very well, as opposed to just 12 percent who speak it poorly. The pattern is clear among all nationalities, Mexicans included.

Similarly, close to 70 percent of members of these organizations have lived in the United States for 10 years or more and half are already U.S. citizens. Only one-tenth are relatively recent arrivals, or are in the country without a legal visa. A partial exception is again Mexican organizations which draw about one-fourth of their regular members from immigrants without papers, but even among them naturalized U.S. citizens outnumber the *indocumentados*.

From these data, we conclude that the motivation to engage in civic, philanthropic, political, and other activities in the home country among Latin American immigrants is primarily found among better-educated, higher-status members of the respective communities and among those with longer periods of U.S. residence and secure legal status. Apparently, the process at play is one where recent immigrants concentrate in carving a niche in the host country rather than concern themselves with collective organization. These initiatives emerge and start bearing

on the localities and countries of origin only after the initial stages of adaptation have been successfully completed. Since half of participants in these organizations are already U.S. citizens and 70 percent have been in the country for ten years or more, we conclude that assimilation and transnationalism are not at odds, but can actually occur simultaneously. Even Mexican organizations do not contradict this conclusion since, while many members of their *Clubes de Oriundos* (hometown committees) are still undocumented, the vast majority of participants have been in the United States for a long time.

c. Determinants of Organizational Characteristics

It is possible with the data at hand to further investigate the characteristics and origins of transnational organizations. This analysis bears directly on hypotheses concerning effects of contexts of exit and incorporation on the emergence of these organizations. The dependent variables for this analysis are type of organization, whether or not it has achieved formal status, the causes of its creation, the sources of its funds, and the scope of its action. We use as predictors the nationality of the organizations and as controls the size of their membership and financial resources and the characteristics of members – age, education, visa status, and length of U.S. residence. With the exception of nationality, which stands as a proxy for characteristics of origin and reception of each immigrant group, no implication of causality is made for results involving the control variables.

Table 7 presents results of a multinomial logistic regression of type of organization and of a binomial logistic regression of whether the organization is formally incorporated as a non-profit or operates informally. Only the three main types of organizations – civic/cultural, hometown committees, and social service agencies – are included. Regressions are nested, with

the first model including characteristics of the organization – location, national origin, size of membership (logged), and size of financial resources (logged); the second equation adds characteristics of the membership. Only coefficients significant at the .10 level or lower are presented. With a sample size of just 90 cases, coefficients at this level of significance can be interpreted as substantively important.

Table 7 about here

Civic/cultural organizations, by far the main type, are not well accounted for by this set of predictors. National origins do not have a significant effect and neither does geographic location, or characteristics of members. These results indicate that civic/cultural organizations are the normative form of immigrant transnationalism and that they emerge regardless of the origins of the group, how it is received, or where it happens to concentrate. The single significant result is the logarithm of membership size which indicates that, relative to other types of organizations such as social service agencies and branches of political parties, civic/cultural entities tend to be smaller.

On the other hand, results reinforce the conclusion that hometown committees are the normative form of transnationalism among Mexican migrants. Relative to the reference category (Dominicans), the odds of an organization being a hometown committee are forty-six-to-one if it happens to be Mexican. The fact that these committees are mostly the creation of immigrants of modest origins is reflected in the negative effect of higher education: the higher the proportion of college graduates among members, the less likely the probability that a transnational organization will adopt this form.

Social service agencies are also significantly less common among Colombian and Dominican immigrants, relative to Mexicans. The odds of a social service agency engaging in transnational activities among Mexicans in the first model is sixty-to-one relative to the reference nationality. On the other hand, the fact that these are commonly the best financially endowed organizations is reflected in the positive and significant coefficient of financial resources (logged). This is not a causal effect, but a direct reflection of the fact that these organizations are more likely to receive funds from the cities and states where they are located.

The likelihood of a transnational organization becoming formal non-profit rather than operating informally is also affected by national origin. Reflecting their grassroots character and their creation by migrants of more modest background, Mexican associations tend to operate informally, their net odds of doing so relative to those created by Dominicans being less than one in ten. With nationality controlled, organizations with a higher proportion of younger members and those without papers tend to operate more formally. This unexpected result is, in part, a consequence of the formal character of social service agencies attending these needier populations and, in part, that this is a residual effect after controlling for Mexican origin – the largest source of younger and undocumented immigrants.

Other useful information can be gleaned from additional regressions on reasons why each organization was created and on its scope of action in the respective country. The relevant data come from multinomial regressions of the first (nominal) variable and a binomial regression of scope of action with “nationwide” coded 1; and “local” coded 0. Results are presented in Table 8. Transnational associations initiated by “a group of friends” are undifferentiated by nationality and most other collective and individual characteristics. This reflects the fact that such spontaneous efforts are found among *all* types of immigrants, regardless of national origins, age,

or education and that the organizations thus created are not significantly smaller or poorer than those stemming from more institutional sources. The only other noteworthy result is that immigrants with longer periods of U.S. residence tend to be less common among members of these organizations, as shown by the Column II regression. This is arguably a consequence of the preference of established immigrants for more formal or institutionalized initiatives.

Table 8 about here

As the prior descriptive results have shown, organizations created by the initiative of sending country governments tend to be exceptional, but those that emerged this way are concentrated in just one national group. As Table 8 shows, Mexican organizations are far more likely to be in this category. The corresponding coefficient is very strong in both regressions, making the corresponding odds of a Mexican transnational organization being created by government initiative far higher than among Dominicans (the reference category).¹¹ This result reflects the proactive stance of the Mexican government relative to its large expatriate population, a topic discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Organizations created in response to natural disasters are significantly more common among Colombians. The corresponding coefficient is again very strong indicating a much higher probability for Colombian organizations to have come about this way. This result may reflect, in part, the more urban origins of these immigrants and their more individualistic pattern of settlement which often requires the prodding of major national or regional emergencies to galvanize collective action (Guarnizo and Diaz 1999).¹²

Lastly, Table 8 answers the question of what factors are associated with a national scope of transnational activism as opposed to an exclusively local or regional one. The binomial regression in the Column II equation indicates that a national scope of action is primarily associated with a college educated and older membership. Organizations that bring together younger immigrants and those of more modest origins tend to focus primarily on local issues. Mexican organizations are overrepresented among those with a low-education membership so that this result is essentially a restatement of their dominance among hometown committees.

Overall these results reveal patterned differences among immigrant communities in the types of organizations that they create, the motivations for doing so, and their intended scope of action. These patterns correspond well to known differences in the human capital composition of these immigrant nationalities and their contexts of exit and incorporation. A clear divide emerges from these quantitative results in the form of transnationalism adopted by Mexican immigrants – focused on the welfare of mostly rural communities and with a heavy dose of governmental intervention – and those of Dominicans and Colombians, organizations which tend to be broader in scope, more formalized, and more often created by spontaneous grassroots initiative in response to disasters and other national emergencies. The net impact of these different forms of transnationalism on the home countries is examined next.

Impact on Sending Nations

As mentioned above, our project complemented the survey of transnational organizations in the United States with visits to each of the sending countries in order to assess, on the ground, the effect of this form of activism. This part of fieldwork included interviews with relevant government agencies, large non-governmental organizations, and the local counterparts of

groups identified and interviewed in the U.S. This part of the study was qualitative, but the balance of the interviews left no doubt as to the significance, actual and potential, of transnational initiatives. Since it is impossible to present, in detail, the information obtained from these interviews, we next summarize the results obtained in each country and illustrate them with representative examples.

a. Colombia

As mentioned previously, the principal initiative in this field by the Colombian state is the program *Colombia Nos Une*, established in the Foreign Affairs Ministry in 2003 with direct support from the current president of the Republic, Alvaro Uribe. The program has organized a series of seminars about international migration in Colombia, sponsored an empirical study of remittances, and brought together Colombian consular personnel in the United States and Europe to explore ways of taking a more proactive stance toward the respective expatriate communities. Budget limitations have prevented this program from offering actual assistance to immigrants or contacting their members directly. The latter role has been assumed by the privately-sponsored *Conexion Colombia* (CC) which uses its webpage and slick advertising material to solicit contributions from expatriates and channel them to selected philanthropies in the country.

Neither *Colombia Nos Une* nor *Conexion Colombia* have so far provided a major channel linking immigrant organizations to their home country; instead this approach has mainly focused on reaching expatriates individually through such means as internet sites. In this context, transnational immigrant organizations have established their own direct lines of communication with charities, asylums, and churches in Colombia. Figure 2 presents examples of the ways in which these connections are established. As the best educated and more urban of the three

groups studied, Colombians have created forms of transnationalism similar to well-known philanthropic institutions in the developed world. These are exemplified by the emergence of Lions and Kiwanis clubs in the United States whose leaders travel to Colombia to establish formal agreements for programmatic assistance with local charities.

Thus, the Colombian Lions of Miami and New York have donated equipment, supplies, and money to orphanages in the towns of Quindío and Valle and provided direct assistance in the wake of natural disasters in these regions through their counterpart clubs in cities like Armenia and Cali. The Kiwanis Club of Miami has done likewise, supporting, among others, an asylum and school for handicapped children in the city of Calarcá, Department of Quindío.

Figure 2 about here

Religious ties are exemplified by the projects of the Vicentine Sisters of Charity in Bogotá and their vital connection with a New Jersey parish. A final moving case is that of a group of Colombian immigrants in New York and New Jersey who helped create, consistently support, and frequently visit a school and refuge for handicapped children in their hometown of La Tebaida, Quindío. The charismatic director of the school had this to say about the “Sons of Tebaida” in New York:

They have been here twenty years and have been helping us since we started. First, they gave us a donation of 900,000 pesos which was a lot of money at that time. We did a lot with that money. Afterwards, the Sons have supported many programs: lunch for the children, electric fans, and many other things. The

floor and roof of this building were built with another donation. I send them letters telling them what we need. Sometimes I send three a year. I'm always asking because I also feel that they are part of us and we're part of them.¹³

In line with our expectations, Colombian transnationalism exemplifies the form adopted by this phenomenon among relatively educated, urban immigrants whose philanthropic activities are either conducted individually or through secular and religious organizations familiar and compatible with those in the developed world. They emerge through grassroots efforts, often in response to emergencies or dire poverty in places of origin.

b. Dominicans

Like Colombia, the Dominican state has enacted legislation granting its emigrants the right to nationalize abroad without losing their Dominican citizenship and the right to vote in national elections. Political parties and associations involved in political activities have been the most visible and the most successful at attracting a large number of migrants. This emphasis of Dominican immigrants' organizations is shaped in part by the heavy influence of political parties in the home country and, in part, by the political nature of the early waves of Dominican migration. Even if subsequent migration took place for economic reasons, the political character of the early arrivals continued to shape the associative development of this collectivity (Escobar 2005). Leonel Fernández, re-elected to the presidency, has given priority to the development of relations with the expatriate community, appointing a Secretary of Dominicans Abroad and designing a program (still to be implemented) to better integrate them into the social and political life of the country. In addition, the Fundacion Global de Desarrollo, which was also created by

President Fernandez, maintains close ties with several formal academic and political institutions in the United States.¹⁴

Immigrant initiatives in this field have taken two forms: emergency assistance following natural disasters and hometown civic associations. The largest Dominican agency in New York, Alianza Dominicana, is primarily concerned with providing social services to immigrants, but it has also been active in offering assistance to municipalities and provinces in the wake of emergencies. The river flooding of the town of Jimaní in 2004, where upwards of 700 persons lost their lives or disappeared, was the most recent occasion for Alianza's charitable activities in the island. Local churches are commonly used as conduits of this assistance in order to avoid official corruption.

Grassroots hometown associations created by expatriates have adopted forms and goals quite similar to those found among Colombians. A prominent example is the previously mentioned Cañafisteros de Bani in Boston which has created its own representative group in the town and provided it with all kinds of equipment, supplies, and assistance programs for the poor and elderly. A parallel example is the Association of Jimanenses of Massachusetts (ASOJIMA), which has also given their town an ambulance, a funeral car, a clinic, school supplies and generous financial assistance after the 2004 flood. Support for women's groups fighting for women's rights and against domestic violence in cities of the interior have come from churches in New York and from immigrant agencies such as the Hermanas Mirabal Family and Child Care Network of the Bronx. Figure 3 presents a summary of these international and transnational ties.

Figure 3 about here

c. *Mexicans*

The case of Mexican immigrant transnationalism is different from the others in several key respects. Not only is the Mexican immigrant population larger than all other Latin American groups combined, but it is predominantly rural in origin. Traditional loyalties to local birth places translate into a proliferation of hometown civic associations far more numerous and durable than those created by other immigrant groups. An example of the difference is that while Colombian and Dominican associations depend on raffles, dances, and similar events for fundraising, Mexican immigrants commonly contribute regularly to their associations as a continuation of their traditional duties (*cargos*) to the hometown.

Equally important is the strong and proactive presence of the state in the transnational field. In terms of our earlier typology, this is an instance where the *international* activities of government interacting with the *transnational* initiatives of immigrants. Several Mexican states, starting with the well-studied case of Zacatecas (Goldring 2002; Gonzalez Gutierrez 1999) have moved to create federations of hometown committees and promote new ones. The governor of Zacatecas, mayors, and legislators travel frequently to Los Angeles to build ties with leaders of the immigrant federations who, in turn, visit the state regularly. Zacatecas has been a strong supporter of the *dos-por-uno* (now *tres-por-uno*) program in which each dollar donated by immigrant organizations for public works in Mexico is matched by contributions of the Mexican federal and state governments (Smith 2003; Goldring 2002).

Other migration states, such as Jalisco and Michoacan, have adopted the Zacatecan model and promoted the creation of federations in centers of Mexican migration such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston during the 1990s. The example has been followed more recently (in most

cases with the help of the Mexican consulates and the states' government) by migrants from non-traditional migration states. In the East Coast, where the Mexican immigrant population comes predominantly from Puebla, community organizations received strong support from the New York Consulate and from the state government during the 1990s to established Casa Puebla. Since 1994, the State of Guanajuato has supported the establishment of 45 Casas Guanajuato in fourteen states of the union, including five recently created in the East Coast (Escobar 2005).

Still more important has been the Mexican federal presence in this field. This has taken the form of matching programs for immigrant contributions, most recently the *tres-por-uno* launched in 2002; the creation of *plazas comunitarias* in a number of U.S. cities that provide library services, information, and language training (in English and Spanish) for Mexicans; the strengthening of legal defense programs for immigrants through 45 consulates in the U.S. and Canada; and the creation of "health windows" in several of these consulates providing basic medical services. The creation of IME (Institute of Mexicans Abroad, in its Spanish acronym) represents the culmination of these efforts. IME is housed in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Relations and includes a Consultative Council of 105 representatives of immigrant organizations in the United States and Canada, elected in the 45 consular districts, plus delegates of each of the 32 states of the Mexican Union (Gonzalez Gutierrez 2005; Escobar 2005).

While this system of representation is new and a number of problems remain to be solved, it clearly signals the commitment of the Mexican government to establish an active presence among its huge expatriate population. The state seeks to demonstrate, with concrete actions, its interest in the immigrants' welfare and, by the same token, stimulate their loyalty and their contributions. Together with the activities of the Mexican state governments, this proactive stance is transforming the character of immigrant transnationalism, from a grassroots

phenomenon to one guided and supported by the international policies and programs of the home state. Following well-established political practice in Mexico, government officials are thus seeking to incorporate immigrants and their organizations into state-sponsored structures. In this vein, current president Vicente Fox speaks of his mandate as a government for *todos los mejicanos* (for all Mexicans) regardless of where they happen to reside.

The proactive stance of the Mexican federal or state governments does not encompass the whole universe of transnational immigrant organizations. Indeed, official programs have *followed* the emergence of hundreds of grassroots organizations by Mexican immigrants in the United States and were often based on them. Such is the case of *Casas Guanajuato*, sponsored by the government of that state, many of which emerged by “re-baptizing” previously existing hometown committees or group of committees created by migrants (Escobar 2005). Yet, a multitude of independent associations linking groups in the United States with their towns or regions of origin still remain.

Mexican transnationalism is thus quite distinct and the differences can be traced back to the immigrants’ contexts of exit and incorporation. A mostly rural and frequently indigenous labor flow, these immigrants’ low human capital prevents them from joining more middle-class forms of organization. No “Lions” or “Kiwanis” clubs can be expected to emerge from migrants of such modest origins occupying positions at the bottom of the American labor market. Instead, traditional loyalties and duties are activated to bring immigrants together and sustain vibrant ties with their places of origin. In some cases, such ties are so strong that immigrants seem to have never really left the places they came from. Thus, while leaders of transnational organizations from other nationalities have to work hard to activate the latent loyalties of their compatriots, among Mexican migrants the response is natural and powerful. Even illegal immigrants think

nothing of leading a hometown committee and dedicating many hours and hard-earned dollars to it (Smith 2005; Roberts *et. al.* 1999).

An example is the town of San Miguel Comitipla, State of Guerrero, whose hometown committee in New York/New Jersey was included in the our sample. In a subsequent visit to Mexico, members to the research team traveled to Guerrero to visit the town and the surrounding area and interview its authorities. The first concrete result of immigrant transnational assistance was the impressive kiosk built in the central plaza; then the town church was repaired and redecorated; and later a big clock was bought for its tower. The *calzada* or avenue leading to the plaza was repaired and re-paved in tile. Most of these projects were accomplished with migrant monetary contributions and local voluntary labor, following long-standing indigenous tradition. The more ambitious current project is the expansion of the plaza to make room for the annual festivities. It is expected to cost about U.S. \$80,000 and, with a roof added, \$260,000. Because of its size, it will be done through the federal *tres-por-uno* program and this, in turn, means hiring a formal construction firm rather than using local voluntary labor. The municipal president of Xochihuehuetlan, to which the town belongs, described the beginnings of this transnational collaboration:

More or less in 1985, works began that benefited our town... They were of a religious character to improve the sanctuary of San Diego de Alcalá, which is the most respected patron saint here; then we bought street lights for the avenue leading to it...the avenue where the procession takes place. Today and with the help of the migrants in the U.S., public works are very advanced: the church is in good shape, redecorated and with gold

leaf in the altars; the atrium has new benches, and the avenue is paved in tile...now we are looking at rebuilding the school with support from the municipality, which I preside, and the people that we have in the U.S. with whom we always have good relations.¹⁵

Figure 4 presents an overview of Mexican international transnational ties.

Figure 4 about here

Conclusion

This study has sought to present an account of the phenomenon of immigrant transnationalism as it takes place on the ground; that is, in the daily experience of migrants and their home country counterparts. We find that, while by no means universal, transnational civic, philanthropic, cultural, and political activities are common among immigrants in the United States and, on the aggregate, they possess sufficient weight to affect the development prospects of localities and regions and to attract the attention of sending country governments. Initiators and leaders of these activities tend to be older and better-established migrants with above-average levels of education. This finding, which supports those from prior quantitative studies based on the CIEP surveys, indicate that home loyalties and nostalgia endure and, hence, that such activities can be expected to continue and expand as immigrant communities mature. Whatever else it may be, transnationalism is not a phenomenon associated with recency of arrival and destined to disappear as part of an inexorable process of assimilation (Guarnizo *et. al.* 2003).

Once this is said, however, the major finding of the study is the very different forms that these activities take across immigrant nationalities. The proposition that contexts of exit and reception determine the origin, strength, and character of transnational organizations is amply supported by our results. However, they go well beyond this general assertion to document, in detail, the forms that these initiatives take among the three nationalities included in the study. To summarize, Colombian transnationalism includes a number of hometown committees having significant impact in their localities but, by and large, it is a “middle class” phenomenon spearheaded by immigrant Lions and Kiwanis clubs, professional associations, and Catholic philanthropies in the United States.

Dominican organizations also include hometown committees and professional associations, but their defining profile is political, marked by the strong presence of Dominican parties in major areas of immigrant settlement and by the politically well-connected nature of social service agencies in this community, exemplified by the Alianza Dominicana. Lastly, the hometown committee is the norm among Mexican immigrants who have created hundreds of these organizations, supported them with regular contributions and voluntary work and generated, in the process, durable and important developmental effects in their sending localities. The bonds linking the hometown with their people abroad is much stronger in the case of these rural, frequently indigenous migrants. They tend to create “transnational communities” in the full sense of term (Levitt 2001).

National differences are apparent in both qualitative and multivariate regression results where they are resilient predictors of the origin and type of transnational organizations, as well as of their scope of action. These differences reflect, in part, the entrance of sending country governments in the transnational field and the policies that they have so far implemented. All of

them have shown growing interest in their expatriate communities and all have legislated concessions and programs designed to renew their loyalties and make them feel part of a common imagined national community (Smith 2005). But then the differences begin. Colombian and Dominican state efforts seldom transcend the realm of the symbolic. Beyond legislating the right to dual citizenship and to vote in national elections, the *rapprochement* of governments with their nationals abroad mainly takes the form of rhetorical appeals, occasional visits, and seminars. Both governments seem too weak and too poor to implement large-scale programs providing concrete benefits to their expatriates or re-organizing and giving new direction to their transnational initiatives. In this situation, the main impulse from the sending country for the continuation and expansion of these activities comes from other actors – a private sector corporate partnership in the case of Colombia and the foreign affairs departments of political parties in the case of the Dominican Republic.

The Mexican experience is different for it features a much stronger and more proactive presence of the state which, at both the national and regional levels seeks to incorporate and guide the already strong links between a vast immigrant population and their many places of origin. Since the Mexican federal and state governments have no authority over their citizens living in the United States, they have sought to induce their participation in official programs by providing a series of benefits that go beyond those of a purely symbolic character. The result is the progressive incorporation of many hometown committees and federations into officially designed structures although, as noted before, others remain independent of these plans.

If transnational organizations and activism can be so different among three immigrant nationalities sharing the same historical roots and language, we can expect that such variations will be magnified among immigrants from other lands, religions, and cultures. It is impossible

with the data at hand to construct an exhaustive typology of immigrant transnationalism precisely because the study of the phenomenon is still in its infancy, featuring a number of case studies but little systematic, quantitative evidence. What seems clear from the existing information is that the manifold initiatives of immigrants and their home country counterparts hold the potential for aggregating into an important feature of contemporary processes of globalization running opposite to the “multinational” logic of corporate capitalism. The latter tends to exacerbate inequalities among nations and remains largely indifferent to the plight of citizens of the Global South. To the contrary, the activities of hometown committees and other immigrant organizations vigorously seek to alleviate them. As a young Salvadoran sociologist trenchantly puts it, “Migration and remittances are the true adjustment programs of the poor in our country (Ramos 2002)”.

The dialectics by which people driven from their countries by poverty, violence, and lack of opportunities then turn around and seek to reverse these conditions by using the resources acquired abroad needs to be further investigated. They offer the promise of at least slowing down the partition of the world into the increasingly rich and the desperately poor that profit-driven capitalist globalization has done precious little to reduce. In this context, the migrating poor have had no alternative but to take matters into their own hands.

Figure 1
Cross-Border Activities of Different Types of Actors

<i>Activities</i>	<i>Areas</i>		
	Political	Economic	Socio-cultural
International	Establishment of embassies and organization of diplomatic missions abroad by national governments	Export drives by farming, ranch, and fishing organizations from a particular country	Travel and exchange programs organized by universities based on a specific country
Multinational	United Nations and other international agencies charged with monitoring and improving specialized areas of global life.	Production and marketing activities of global corporations with profits dependent on multiple national markets	Schools and missions sponsored by the Catholic Church and other global religions in multiple countries
Transnational	<p>a) Non-governmental associations established to monitor human rights globally</p> <p>b) Hometown civic associations established by immigrants to improve their sending communities</p>	<p>a) Boycotts organized by grassroots activists in First World countries to compel multinationals to improve their Third World labor practices</p> <p>b) Enterprises established by immigrants to export/import goods to and from their home countries</p>	<p>a) Grassroots charities promoting the protection and care of children in poorer nations</p> <p>b) Election of beauty queens and selection of performing groups in immigrant communities to take part in annual hometown festivals</p>

Figure 2
Transnational Connections of Colombian Immigrant Organizations

<i>U.S.</i>			<i>Colombia</i>		
<i>Type</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Site (City & Department)</i>	<i>Programs</i>
Civic/ Philanthropic	Morristown, NJ	Montenegro Civico Internacional (MCI)	→ Junta de Montenegro Civico Internacional	Montenegro, Quindío	- University scholarships, assistance to church and municipal government - Direct assistance to poor families and children in the town and environs - Medical and fire-fighting supplies after natural disasters
Civic/ Philanthropic	Miami, FL	Mission for Colombia (MINICOL)	→ Asociación Sonríe Colombia (SONCOL)	La Victoria, Valle	- Orphanage and school for poor and handicapped children - Craft-training courses for poor students - Direct child sponsorship program
Civic/ Philanthropic	Miami, FL	Colombian Lions Club of Miami	→ Lions Club of Armenia	Armenia, Quindío	- Orphanage, Juan XXIII - Purchase of an ambulance for town - "Health Brigades" in poor neighborhoods - Child care center in poor neighborhood - Food, fire-fighting and medical supplies after earthquake - Program for pregnant adolescents
Philanthropic	Miami, FL	Colombian Volunteer Ladies Club	→ DAVIDA	La Tebaida, Quindio	- Large asylum, school and clinic for handicapped children and adolescents in the region
Philanthropic	Connecticut	Give a Hand to Colombia (Demos la Mano a Colombia)	→		- Health assistance to victims of earthquake in the region
Civic/ Philanthropic	New York/ New Jersey	The Sons of La Tebaida	→		
Religious	Passaic, NJ	Foundation of the Divine Child	→ Convent of the Vicentine Sisters of Charity	Bogotá and Tunja	- Orphanage for abandoned children, Tunja - Refuge and rehabilitation for homeless and drug addicts, Bogotá - Assistance and vocational training programs for families displaced by civil war, Bogotá

Figure 3
International and Transnational Connections of Dominican Organizations

<i>U.S.</i>			<i>Dominican Republic</i>			
<i>Type</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Programs</i>
Education and Research	New York	Institute of Dominican Studies, CUNY	← Global Foundation for Education and Development (FUNGLODE)	Santo Domingo	Educational/Civic	- Conferences - Joint task forces and steering committees - Promotion of civic and political participation by expatriates in home country
Political	New York	Dominican Revolutionary Party, local branch	← Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), Department for Dominicans Abroad	Santo Domingo	Political	- Fund raising for party candidates - Mobilization and campaigns for votes abroad
Political	Boston, MA	Dominican Liberation Party, local branch	← Dominican Liberation Party (PLD) Foreign Affairs Department	Santo Domingo	Political	- Fund raising for party candidates - Mobilization and campaigns for votes abroad
Social Agency	New York	Alianza Dominicana	→ - National Emergency Council → - Local parishes and NGOs	Santo Domingo	Government agency Religious/ Philanthropic	- Emergency assistance after natural disasters - Health and educational projects
Health/ Social Agency	Bronx, NY	Hermanas Mirabal Family Care Network	→ Women's Coordinating Committee of the Cibao	Santiago de los Caballeros	Civic/Health Services	- Promotion of women's rights - Campaigns against domestic violence - Provision of child health services
Church	Washington Heights, NY	San Romero Ministry (Episcopalian)	→ Villa Altagraciona Women's Center	Villa Altagraciona	Civic/Political	- Defense of women's rights - Campaign against domestic violence - Education of the authorities

Figure 3, continued

<i>U.S.</i>			<i>Dominican Republic</i>			<i>Programs</i>
<i>Type</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Type</i>	
Hometown Committee	Boston, MA	Cañafisteros de Bani en Boston	→ Cañafisteros de Bani	Cañafistol, Bani	Civic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Purchase of ambulance and other heavy equipment for the town - Donation of a clinic and a school - Financial aid to indigent families
Hometown Committee	Boston, MA	Asociacion de Jimanenses de Massachusetts (ASOJIMA)	→ Asociacion de Jimanenses	Jimaní	Civic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Purchase of ambulance, funeral car, and school bus - Water fountains and school supplies - Construction of a children's center and playground

Figure 4
International and Transnational Connections of Mexican Immigrant Organizations

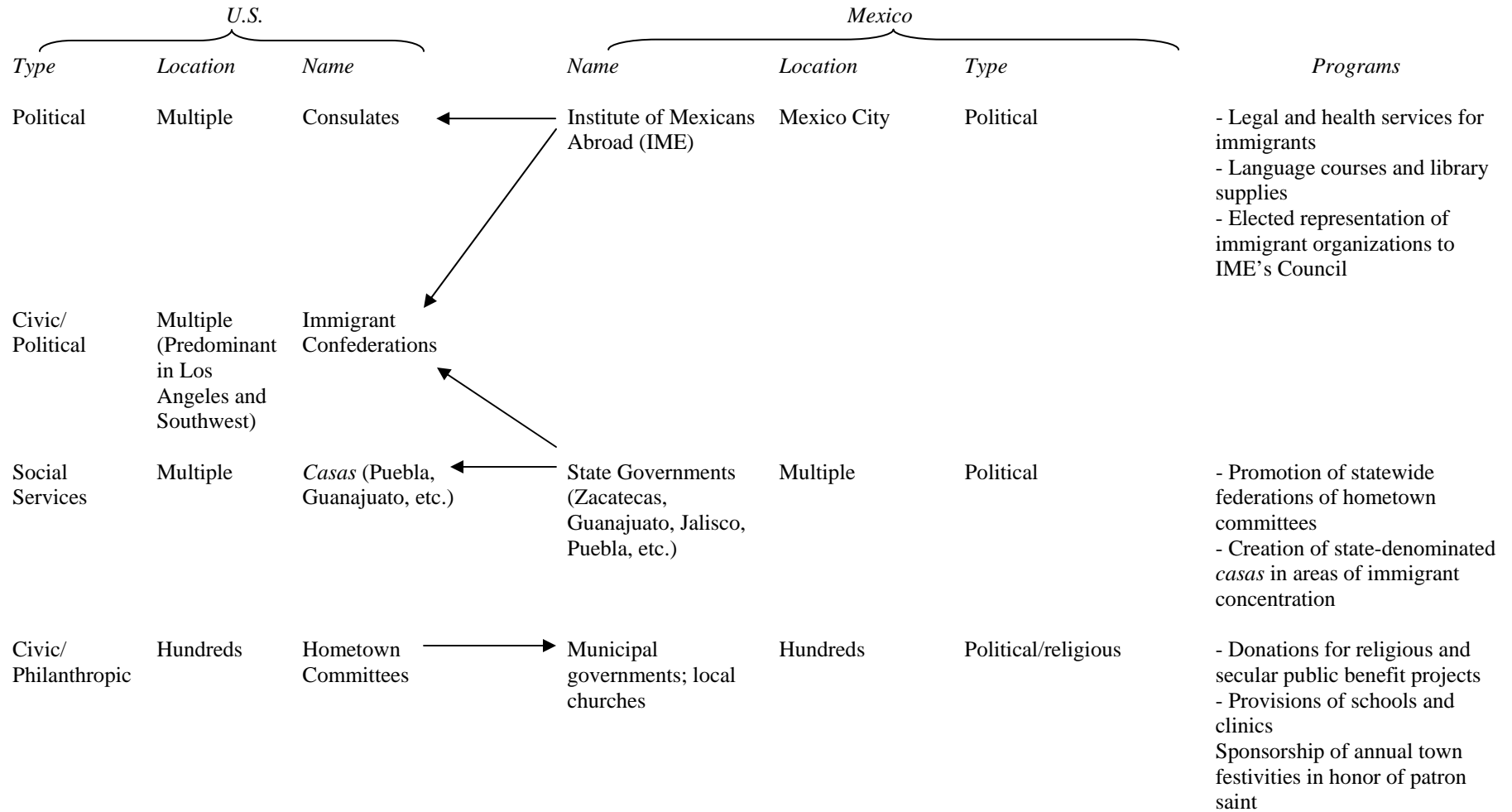


Table 1
Colombian, Dominican, and Mexican Immigration:
Characteristics of Countries of Origin and Migrant Communities

<i>Characteristics</i> Country of Origin	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>Dominican Republic</i>	<i>Mexico</i>
Population (in millions) ¹	43.0	8.5	97.5
Urban Population (%)	77.5	68.3	75.4
GDP per capita (\$)	2254	1862	4574
Gini Index of Inequality	.57	.47	.47
Income Share of Top Quintile (%)	60.9	53.3	60.2
Income Share of Bottom Quintile (%)	3.0	5.1	5.4
Average Years of Education ²	8.6	8.2	8.6
Open Unemployment (%) ²	19.8	13.8	3.7
Informal Employment (%) ²	46.3	44.0	44.1
Households below Poverty Line (%)	45.0	32.0	43.0
Homicide Rate per 100,000	65.0	15.5	19.5
Capital City	Bogotá	Santo Domingo	Mexico D.R.
Political Situation	Democracy; multiple civil wars	Democracy; no armed insurgencies	Democracy; localized rebellions

(continued on next page)

¹ Ca. 2000

² Urban areas; economically active population (ages 25-59)

Table 1, continued

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>Dominican Republic</i>	<i>Mexico</i>
Immigrants in the U.S.			
Number ³	470,684	764,945	9,177,487
Percent of U.S. Hispanic Population	1.3	2.1	58.5
Legal Immigrants, 2001	16,730	21,313	206,426
Percent of total Legal Immigration	1.6	2.0	19.4
Rank in total Legal Immigration	16	14	1
Professional Specialty Occup. (%)	16.1	9.4	4.7
High School Graduates (%)	72.0	48.1	29.7
College Graduates (%)	21.8	9.5	4.2
Median Household Income (\$)	43,242	34,311	36,004
Poverty Rate (%)	20.3	29.3	28.9
Types of Immigration	Mostly legal; increasing numbers of unauthorized immigrants and political asylees	Legal and unauthorized	Mostly unauthorized, but sizable number of legal immigrants
Principal Cities of Destination	Miami (15.8%) New York (12.3%)	New York (45.9%) Bergen-Passaic (5.9%)	Los Angeles (16.0%) Chicago (5.3%) Houston (4.8%)
Characteristics of settled U.S. Population	Mostly first generation	Mostly first generation with rising second generation	Mostly second generation and higher

³ U.S. census figures. Estimates from sending country governments put resident Colombian and Dominican populations in the U.S. at over 1 million each and the Mexican population at over 12 million.

Source: International Labor Organizations. 2003. *General Labor Statistics*

Economic Commission for Latin American and Caribbean. 2002. *Indicadores de Desarrollo Social*

World Bank. 2003. *World Bank Indicators Database*

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2003. *Public Use Microdata, 2000 Census*.

Office of Immigration Statistics; Department of Homeland Security, *2002 Annual Report*

United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects, 2001 Revision, ST/ESA/SER/A.216* New York: 2002, Table A-2

Table 2
Determinants of Transnationalism among Latin American Immigrants in the United States, 1998

<i>Predictors</i> ¹	<i>Economic (Transnational Entrepreneurs)</i> ²		<i>Political Transnationalism (Strict Definition)</i> ³		<i>Socio-cultural Transnationalism</i> ⁴
<i>Demographic</i>	<u>Coefficient</u>	<u>p</u> ⁵	<u>Coefficient</u>	<u>Percent Change</u> ⁶	<u>Coefficient</u>
Age	.013	--	.101**	10.6	-.008
Age Squared	--	--	-.001**	-0.1	--
Sex (Male)	1.035***	.08	1.209*	235.3	.697**
Marital Status	.440*	.03	.118***	12.6	--
Number of Children	-.049	--	--	--	.120**
<i>Human Capital</i>					
Education (Years)	.114***	.01	--	--	.402**
High School Graduate	--	--	1.003***	172.7	--
College Graduate	--	--	.324**	38.3	--
Professional/Executive Background	1.191***	.10	--	--	.375
<i>Assimilation</i>					
Years of US Residence	.036*	.003	.034***	3.5	.018 [#]
US Citizenship Experienced	--	--	-.041	--	.141
Discrimination in US	.308	--	--	--	.287*
Downward Mobility ⁷	.402**	-.03	-.058	--	--

(continued on next page)

¹ Predictors not included in each regression are indicated by a hyphen in the column marked "coefficient".

² Logistic regression of the log-odds of transnational entrepreneurship. Source: Portes *et. al.*, 2002.

³ Negative binomial regression of the number of political activities, electoral and civic, in which respondents are involved on a *regular* basis. Source: Guarnizo *et. al.* 2002.

⁴ Ordered logit regression of an additive index of occasional or regular participation in a set of socio-cultural transnational activities. CIEP unweighted sample. Source: Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002.

⁵ Increase/decrease in the net probability of economic transnationalism associated with a unit increase in each predictor. Non-significant effects are omitted.

⁶ Increase/decrease in the percent of regular transnational political activities in which respondents engage associated with a unit increase in each predictor. Non-significant effects are omitted.

⁷ Ratio of last country occupation to first occupation in the U.S., both coded along a 5-point hierarchical scale.

Table 2 (continued)

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Economic (Transnational Entrepreneurs)</i>		<i>Political (Strict Definition)</i>		<i>Socio-cultural</i>
	<u>Coefficient</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>
<i>Social Networks</i>					
Size	.111***	.01	.095***	10.0	--
Scope ⁸	.226	--	-.084	--	--
Expected to Return ⁹	--	--	.440***	55.3	.303*
<i>Nationality¹⁰</i>					
Colombian	-1.519***	-.05	-1.212***	-70.2	--
Dominican	--	--	--	--	.661**
Salvadoran	1.097***	.09	-.018	--	.920**
Constant	-6.235		-5.813		--
Pseudo R ²	.256		.104		.167

⁸ Ratio of non-local to local ties in respondent's city of residence.

⁹ Socially expected duration of emigration by kin and friends in home country. Respondents expected to return are coded 1; those expected to stay are coded 0.

¹⁰ Reference nationality is indicated by a hyphen in the column labeled "Coefficient". For regressions of economic and political transnationalism, "Dominican" is the reference category. For regression of socio-cultural transnationalism, "Colombian" is the reference category.

p<.10

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

Table 3¹
A Profile of Immigrant Transnational Organizations

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>National Origin:</i>	Colombian	36.0
	Dominican	35.0
	Mexican	29.0
<i>Location:</i>	New York/New Jersey	54.0
	Miami	20.2
	Philadelphia	4.5
	Other	21.3
<i>Organization Type:</i>	Civic	40.4
	Hometown Committee	18.0
	Social Agency	12.4
	Cultural	7.9
	Political	6.7
	Professional	4.6
	Religious	3.4
	Educational	2.2
	Sports	2.2
	Economic	2.2
<i>Scope of Projects in Country of Origin:</i>	Local	26.0
	Regional	13.0
	National	61.0

(continued on next page)

¹ Source: Comparative Immigrant Transnational Organization Project (CIOP)

Table 3, continued

<i>Focus of Activity in Country of Origin²:</i>	Education/Schools	53.9
	Health	40.4
	Children/Old People	30.3
	Church	13.5
	Political Parties	7.9
<i>Legal Status:</i>	Formal Non-profit Organization	45.0
	Informal/Other	55.0
<i>Frequency of Civic Events Sponsored by Organization:</i>	Occasionally	24.4
	Yearly	36.6
	Several Times a Year	26.8
	Once a Month or More	12.2
<i>Frequency of Festivals Sponsored by Organization:</i>	Occasionally	19.0
	Yearly	52.4
	Several Times a Year	28.6
<i>Sources of Funds³:</i>	Members' Dues	59.0
	Private Companies	60.3
	Churches	12.8
	Foundations	9.2
	Home Country Government	9.1
	Home Country Political Parties	2.6

N = 90

² Percentages do not add up to 100 because organizations may be engaged in multiple projects.

³ Percentages do not add up to 100 because organizations may receive multiple sources of funds.

Table 4
Examples of Transnational Organizations

<i>Type</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>
<i>Civic:</i>	Miami Colombian Lions Club	Colombian	Miami	32
	Association of Dominican Provinces	Dominican	New York/New Jersey	48
	Casa Guanajuato	Mexican	Carrboro, North Carolina	26
<i>Hometown Committee:</i>	Fundacion Quimbaya	Colombian	New York/New Jersey	28
	Cañafisteros de Bani en Boston	Dominican	Boston	25
	San Miguel Comitipla (Xochihuehuetlan, Guerrero)	Mexican	New York/New Jersey	260
<i>Social Agency:</i>	Las Americas Community Center	Colombian	Miami	95
	Mirabal Sisters Child and Family Care Network	Dominican	New York/New Jersey	20
	Mexican House of New Jersey – Development Corporation	Mexican	New Jersey	20
<i>Religious:</i>	Committee of the Divine Child	Colombian	New York/New Jersey	11
	Dominican Sunday	Dominican	New York/New Jersey	9
<i>Political:</i>	Colombian-American Political Action Committee	Colombian	Miami	25
	Revolutionary Dominican Party (PRD)	Dominican	New York/New Jersey	23,000
	Dominican Liberation Party (PLD)	Dominican	Boston	1,500

Source: Comparative Immigrant Transnational Organization Project (CIOP)

Table 5
Quantitative Characteristics of Immigrant Organizations

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Colombian</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	<i>Mexican</i>	<i>Total</i>
Mean Number of Members	44	939	69	356
Median Number of Members	25	34	23	26
Mean Number of Occasional Members	65	1061	144	492
Median Number of Occasional Members	23	20	25	20
Mean Monetary Funds	\$24,056	\$695,737	\$24,470	\$247,493
Median Monetary Funds	\$20,000	\$24,000	\$5,000	\$20,000
Monthly Expenses:				
No Expenses, %	46.7	10.0	60.0	37.7
Less than \$1,000, %	33.3	23.3	20.0	25.9
Less than \$5,000, %	16.7	43.3	16.0	24.8
\$5,000 or more, %	3.3	23.4	4.0	10.6
Salaried Employees:				
None, %	87.1	70.0	82.6	79.8
Less than 5, %	12.9	3.3	17.4	10.7
Less than 10, %	0.0	16.7	0.0	6.0
10 or more, %	0.0	10.0	0.0	3.5
N	31	30	29	90

Source: Comparative Immigrant Transnational Organizations Project (CIOP)

Table 6
Characteristics of Members of Transnational Organizations

	<i>Colombian</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	<i>Mexican</i>	<i>Total</i>
Age:				
30 years or less, %	12.1	11.1	24.8	15.2
40 years or more, %	53.2	53.8	33.6	48.3
Education:				
Less than high school, %	7.4	29.7	28.7	20.9
College degree or more, %	52.3	50.5	27.0	45.7
Occupation:				
Manual laborer, %	18.0	26.4	40.1	26.6
Professional/Business owner, %	49.8	61.5	36.0	50.3
Knowledge of English:				
Very little, %	11.9	18.7	5.0	12.4
Well or very well, %	64.2	49.7	60.9	58.5
Legal status:				
Does not have entry visa, %	6.3	3.5	27.9	10.7
U.S. citizen, %	56.3	48.5	38.4	49.1
Length of U.S. Residence:				
Less than 5 years, %	10.1	5.8	10.4	8.7
Ten years or more, %	68.9	66.8	69.5	69.3
Average Trips to Home Country for Organizational Matters:				
Never or rarely, %	6.7	3.6	30.0	11.5
At least three trips a year, %	40.0	35.7	20.0	33.3

Source: Comparative Immigrant Transnational Organizations Project (CIOP).

Table 7
Characteristics Defining Principal Transnational Organizations

Predictors	Type of Organization							
	Civic/Cultural ¹		Hometown Committees ¹		Social Service Agencies ¹		Formal Non-Profits ²	
	I	II	I	II	I	II ³	I	II
<u>Nationality:</u> ⁴								
Colombian	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mexican	--	--	3.83** (2.8)	4.49* (2.3)	4.10** (2.6)	7.51* (2.1)	-2.26** (3.2)	-4.07*** (3.5)
<u>Location:</u> ⁵								
New York/New Jersey	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Philadelphia	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>Characteristics of Organizations:</u>								
Financial Resources (logged)	--	--	--	--	1.25** (3/0)	2.24* (2.0)	--	--
Number of Members (logged)	--	-.635* (2.2)	--	--	-.738# (1.8)	-1.48# (1.9)	--	--
<u>Characteristics of Members:</u>								
Percent less than 20 years of age	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.027* (2.2)
Percent 40 years of age or more	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Percent less than high school education	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Percent college graduates or more	--	--	--	--	-.071* (2.3)	--	--	--
Percent without legal entry visa	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.052* (2.5)
Percent U.S. citizens	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Percent less than 5 years of U.S. residence	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Percent 10 years or more of U.S. residence	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Constant	2.10	3.94	-3.77	-1.01	-10.92	-24.36	1.60	2.05
N	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89
Pseudo R ²	.234***	.450***	.234***	.450***	.234***	.450***	.124*	.257**

¹ Multinomial logistic coefficients. Z-ratios in parentheses. Coefficients not significant at the .10 level are excluded.

² Binomial logistic coefficients. Z-ratios in parentheses. Coefficients not significant at the .10 level are excluded.

³ Maximum likelihood iterations did not converge due to limited degrees of freedom.

⁴ "Dominican" is the reference category.

⁵ "Elsewhere" is the reference category.

p<.10

* p<.05

** p<.01

***p<.001

Table 8
Origins and Scope of Transnational Organizations

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Origins¹</i>						<i>Scope²</i>	
	<i>Group of Friends</i>		<i>Government Sponsorship</i>		<i>Natural Disasters</i>		<i>Nationwide</i>	
	I	II	I	II	I	II ³	I	II
<u>Nationality:</u> ⁴								
Colombian	--	--	--	--	24.778** (2.7)	--	--	--
Mexican	--	--	22.901*** (7.2)	45.036** (3.3)	--	--	--	--
<u>Location:</u> ⁵								
New York/New Jersey	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Philadelphia	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>Characteristics of Organizations:</u>								
Financial resources (logged)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number of members (logged)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>Characteristics of Members:</u>								
Percent less than 20 years of age		--	--	--				--
Percent 40 years of age or more		--	--		.279# (1.7)			.126# (1.7)
Percent less than a high school education		--	--	--				--
Percent college graduates or more		--	--	--				.033* (2.5)
Percent without legal entry visa		--	--	--				--
Percent U.S. citizens		--	--	--				--
Percent less than 5 years of U.S. residence		--						--
Percent 10 years or more of U.S. residence		.034* (2.1)						--
Constant	.409	-.193	18.343	59.493	-34.633		-.717	-4.77
N	89		89				89	
Pseudo R ²	.293***	.530***	.293***	.530***	.293***		.068	.316***

¹ Multinomial logistic coefficients. Z-ratios in parentheses. Coefficients not significant at the .10 level are excluded.

² Binomial logistic coefficients. Z-ratios in parentheses. Coefficients not significant at the .10 level are excluded.

³ Maximum likelihood iterations did not converge due to limited cases.

⁴ "Dominican" is the reference category.

⁵ "Elsewhere" is the reference category.

p<.10

* p<.05

** p<.01

***p<.001

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END NOTES

¹ Field interview conducted by the senior author in Bogotá, Colombia, March 15, 2005. Personal names are fictitious.

² Field interview in Bogotá, Colombia, March 16, 2005. Personal names are fictitious.

³ Field interview in Bogotá, Colombia, March 16, 2005. Personal names are fictitious.

⁴ An exception is the detailed study of Mexican hometown associations by Manuel Orozco. The study is based on interviews with 100 such associations and field visits to more than 20 communities in Mexico receiving assistance from these groups (see Orozco 2003).

⁵ Materials gathered during field interview. See also the website of the organization www.conexioncolombia.com.

⁶ The U.S. Census count for 2000 is less than half of this figure. Based on figures from the Colombian government and independent calculations from various specialists, we believe that this is a serious underestimate based on failure to count unauthorized immigrants and potential asylees. We report the Census estimate in Table 2.

⁷ The U. S. Census puts the number of Dominicans at less than 800,000 in 2000. However, estimates from the Dominican government and specialized research centers indicate that the number of immigrants, including the unauthorized, easily exceeds the million mark. See Table 2.

⁸ The U.S. Census puts the resident Mexican population in 2000 at 9 million. The Mexican government, on the other hand, estimates it at 12 million based on the latest Mexican census. We opt for an intermediate estimate which, based on the U.S. census likely undercount, appears conservative (see Rumbaut 2005 and Passel 2004).

⁹ Field interviews conducted by the research team in New York and in the Dominican Republic in 2004.

¹⁰ Field interviews, 2004.

¹¹ The corresponding odds are higher than what would be credible, this being a result of limited number of cases and the consequent difficulty of the maximum likelihood iterative routine to estimate the models. For this reason, results should be interpreted with caution as preliminary figures.

¹² The possibility cannot be ruled out, however, that a greater relative frequency of such emergencies in Colombia in recent years may also (partially) account for this result.

¹³ Field interviews conducted by the research team in New York and Colombia, 2004.

¹⁴ Field interviews in the Dominican Republic, 2004.

¹⁵ Field interview conducted by the research team in Mexico, 2005.