Putting Assimilation in its Place: Some Notes on the Recent Career of a Concept

By Russell A. Kazal

More than a decade has passed since scholars noted a renewal of interest among historians in questions of immigrant assimilation. The mid-1990s saw Ewa Morav ska and Elliott Barkan reconsider and rethink theoretical models of assimilation, while Gary Gerstle and this writer charted a resurgence of historical works addressing the topic. If historians by then were "revisiting assimilation," as I proposed in 1995, one might ask what they have done with it since.

Here, I offer some reflections on recent trends relating to the historiography of assimilation, sketching two of the most striking developments. The first is the maturing of a line of studies that chart the consolidation of "white" racial identities among European immigrants and their descendants. The second concerns studies of assimilatory processes among non-European groups. Such works, considered in the context of burgeoning literatures on nativism, immigrant exclusion, and transnationalism, have had the effect of putting assimilation in its place: as one of a wide range—wider than once assumed—of migrant experiences in the United States.

My 1995 article, "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History" (American Historical Review 100 [1995]: 437-471), defined "assimilation" as referring to processes that result in greater homogeneity within a society. These may operate within or across different arenas, with individuals or groups drawn together by, for example, intermarriage or shared political institutions. Within the immigrant context, assimilation is most usefully defined as referring to processes that generate homogeneity beyond the level of the ethnic group—a group with a shared sense of peoplehood tied to a specific homeland ancestry. Assimilatory processes thus bring different ethnic—or, at a broader level, racially defined—groups, or their members, together in any number of arenas, creating common ground among them or between them and a socially dominant group.

I use "ethnic group" advisedly, recognizing the term's roots in what Michael Omi and Howard Winant have called an "ethnicity paradigm" (Omi and Winant, Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s, 2nd ed. [1994]). That paradigm treated African Americans and Asian and Latino immigrant groups as equivalent to European ethnic groups, despite the former's fundamentally different—and racially structured—experiences of racial oppression, exclusion, and colonial and neocolonial domination. Any discussion of assimilatory processes must account for these different historical experiences and the ways in which race has structured group interactions. Yet homeland origin was fundamental to the group self-definition of all immigrants, as well as of such longer-settled groups as African Americans. My use of "ethnic group" is meant to convey an understanding of assimilatory processes as, at a minimum, cutting across such origin-linked "ethnic" boundaries—recognizing that such processes might or might not cut across broader boundaries of color or, say, religion, and that particular groups were racialized partly in reference to their specific homeland origins.

"Revisiting Assimilation" argued that since the early 1980s, historians had edged back toward questions of assimilation, after largely abandoning the topic in the 1960s. Scholars of European immigration had suggested viewing American society as a pluralism of constantly interacting ethnicities, some of which had waned; labor historians traced how an ethnically diverse working class gained sufficient cohesion in the twentieth century to unionize; and some scholars had begun to study how European ethnicities drew together on the common ground of "whiteness." Of these three trends, the last subsequently gained the most traction. "Whiteness" studies proliferated in the later 1990s, with a good number depicting the adoption or reworking of "white" racial identity as a central—perhaps the central—step in the assimilation of European immigrants or their children. These works ranged, to cite a few prominent examples, from Michael Rogin's Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot (1996), to James Barrett and David Roediger's "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality, and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class" (Journal of American Ethnic History 16 [1997]: 3-44), to Matthew Jacobson's Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race (1998).

Early in this decade, however, the whiteness literature hit a wall of criticism. Eric Arnesen's influential 2001 essay, "Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination" (International Labor and Working-Class History, no. 60 [2001]: 3-32), argued that whiteness, as used by labor historians, was a conceptually imprecise and "problematic category of historical analysis." The critics, including more sympathetic ones such as Peter Kolchin, did make some telling points (Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," Journal of American History 89 [2002]: 154-173). Shorthand descriptions of assimilation as a process of "becoming white" obscured the extent to which naturalization law and such institutions as the Democratic Party considered all European immigrants "white" from the start. Some studies did, at times, slight other elements of subjects' identity or define whiteness so expansively that it became little more than a metaphor for power. Yet most critics agreed on the importance of studying "racial identity in general, and white racial identity in particular," in Arnesen's words, and how these changed over time. The call was to do so with more precision. Kolchin felt such studies required (continued on p. 8)
News from Libraries, Museums and Research Institutes...

The National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, suffered severe damage in the disastrous floods in Iowa in June 2008. The museum is located on the banks of the Cedar River, which rose 12 feet above flood stage, a record high. Considerable damage was done to the building structure and to collections of books and artifacts. As the floodwaters rose, staff and volunteers were able to remove two semitrailers of books and artifacts before having to leave, but many other items were damaged or lost.

In late October, a temporary location for the museum was set up in the Lindale shopping mall north of the city. Roughly 3,200 square feet, it provides enough room for an exhibition gallery, event space and museum store, as well as administrative offices. A flood relief fund has been established. Information for contributors can be found on the museum's web page: http://www.ncsmi.org

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has added 29 boxes of records to the previously existing collections of the Russian Brotherhood Organization of the USA. These are part of the archival collections of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

The Jewish Museum Milwaukee opened to the public in April 2008. It contains exhibitions and archives concerning the Jewish organizations of the region. Information is on the web at http://www.jewishmuseummilwaukee.org

IEHS members attending the OAH meeting in Seattle in March may be interested in visiting the Wing Luke Asian Museum, 719 South King Street, in the city's Chinatown-International District. The museum moved to new and greatly expanded quarters in May 2008. A major exhibition, "Ho'omau Ka Huaaka'i: The Voyage Continues: Native Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest," will be at the museum Nov. 21, 2008-August 16, 2009. Another exhibit, "My Place or Yours: Embracing Mixed Identities," will be at the museum through June 14, 2009. Information at: http://www.wingluke.org/home.htm

Also in Seattle is the Nordic Heritage Museum, located at 3014 NW 67th Street, in the Ballard section of the city. The museum may be reached by the No. 17 bus, going north on Third Avenue. The museum has extensive exhibitions on Scandinavian immigration and ethnicity. Information about the museum on the web at http://www.nordicmuseum.org/

New York's Italian American Museum opened at its new location on Sept. 9, 2008. The museum is located at the corner of Grand and Mulberry Street, in what was once the heart of Little Italy. It occupies the building which once housed the Banca Stabile, a bank used by many Italian immigrants from 1882 to 1932. A special exhibit, "Banca Stabile: Cornerstone of Little Italy" is devoted to the former immigrant bank. Information about the museum: http://www.italianamericanmuseum.org/

ABC-CLIO, publishers of reference books, plans a new four-volume encyclopedia on immigration to the United States and American ethnicity. The editor is Elliott Barkan (California State University, San Bernardino). Innovations are planned for the organization, combination of group-specific and thematic essays, electronic links and cross-references between groups, group-specific essays, and articles on overarching themes, and for the inclusion of the latest inter-disciplinary research by scholars in all the major disciplines, census and immigration data (including the 2010 census), and discussions of major contemporary trends and issues. Contributors will be compensated. For further information and a list of topics to be covered, interested parties should contact Prof. Barkan at cbarkan@csusb.edu, or 951-603-0521.

M.E. Sharpe Inc., publisher of reference books, is planning a second edition of the Encyclopedia of American Immigration. The revised edition will update the work in light of changes in immigration law, policy, and statistics since 2000 and fill in a number of gaps, especially in the area of immigrant/ethnic cultures, immigration policy since 9/11, global themes, and internal migration. The editor of the second edition, John Radzilowski (University of Alaska), is seeking writers for the new edition. Writers will be compensated. For further information and a list of possible topics, contact Prof. Radzilowski at john.radzilowski@uas.alaska.edu

Greenwood Press, publisher of reference books, seeks authors for a new four-volume encyclopedia, Multicultural America: The Newest Americans, which will include essays on immigrants to the U.S. from fifty countries. Authors will be compensated. Essays are due in late summer 2009. Interested parties should contact the editor, Ronald H. Bayor, at ronald.bayor@hts.gatech.edu

A new peer-reviewed journal, Culture, Society and Masculinities, will be launched in the spring of 2009. The journal envisions bringing together synoptic as well as "micrographic" ideas and views on men/boys, masculinity and genders. The journal's interests include ethnic, cross-cultural, and trans-cultural studies, as well as globalization and migration studies. Manuscripts, review essays and book reports are currently being solicited for the second issue, to be published in Fall 2009. Further information is on the web at http://www.mensstudies.info/CSM.html

The Weisman Art Museum at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, plans an exhibit for June 20-Sept. 13, 2009: "Stories of the Somali Diaspora: Photographs by Abdi Roble."

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia offer a variety of one-month fellowships for research in either or both institutions during the academic year 2009-2010. Included are three Balch Institute fellowships to support research in the HISP/Balch collections on the ethnic and immigrant experience in the U.S. Deadline for application is March 2, 2009. Details on all the fellowship offerings are at http://www.librarycompany.org/fellowships/american.htm
FROM THE IEHS PRESIDENT...

Dear Colleagues:

The last three years have resulted in significant change for the Society in regard to the Journal of American Ethnic History. We have successfully moved our operations to the University of Illinois Press, and I hope all subscribers are pleased with the results.

I want to thank the members of the Journal committee (Elliott Barkan, John Bukowczyk, and Barbara Posadas) for the many hours they spent on selecting a new publisher and completing the transfer from Transaction. Society members will never know the full extent of the work that went into this transfer, but it was substantial, resulting in time lost from personal research and other projects. My special thank-you goes to John Bukowczyk who has done a superb job as Journal editor during this difficult period.

There are other goals I had planned to reach by the time my presidential term was done, but Journal issues and lack of resources intervened. I would still like to see an enhanced website which would include a curriculum exchange and graduate student forum. Other projects put on hold are a digitized Newsletter, an updating of our listserv so that our members can be contacted easily, and a third IEHS conference. But I will leave this to my successor.

I am pleased to note that during my term the Society provided some long overdue recognition: Lifetime Achievement Awards to Rudi Vecoli and Roger Daniels last year, and this year to Victor Greene. Furthermore, James Bergquist will receive the Society's Distinguished Service Award at our upcoming dinner.

Ronald H. Bayor
President, IEHS

PERSONALS

Elliott Barkan (California State University, San Bernardino) was awarded the biennial Robert Athearn Book Award of the Western History Association for the best book in 20th century Western history for his book, From All Points: America's Immigrant West, 1870s-1952 (2007).

Among lecturers in the Distinguished Lectureship Program of the Organization of American Historians for 2008 are Elliott Barkan (California State University-San Bernardino), Eric L. Goldstein (Emory University), Alan Kraut (American University), Tony Michels (University of Wisconsin-Madison), Deborah Dash Moore (University of Michigan), Suzanne Sinke (Florida State University), and Beth S. Wenger (University of Pennsylvania).


David Hollinger (University of California-Berkeley) was elected vice-president of the Organization of American Historians for 2008-2009. He will serve as president of the organization in 2010-2011.

William H. Mulligan, Jr. (Murray State University) will be a Fulbright Scholar in the Department of History, University College Cork, Ireland during the spring semester 2009.

Gary Okihiro (Columbia University) lectured at the University of the Ryukus as the recipient of a short-term residency granted by the Organization of American Historians and the Japanese Association of American Studies.

M. Mark Stolarik (Ottawa University) lectured during the spring of 2008 at the Catholic University of Ruuzomberok in Slovakia.

Necrology...

RUDOLPH J. VECCI, 1927-2008

Rudolph J. Vecoli, former president of the IEHS and a stalwart of immigration history, died of leukemia June 17, 2008 in St. Louis Park, Minnesota. He was 81 years of age. Most readers will remember Vecoli as the director of the Immigration History Research Center, which he fostered through many years in the Twin Cities of Minnesota. He was well known as a scholar of Italian Americans, and worked extensively to preserve and disseminate the history of Eastern and Southern European migrants more broadly to the United States. He also served for twenty years as the chair of the history committee advising the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation.

Like many scholars of migration, Vecoli's interest came at least in part out of experience. His parents migrated from Tuscany and settled in Wallingford, Connecticut, where he was born. Vecoli grew up speaking a version of Italian in the home. After serving in the Navy, Vecoli earned his bachelor's degree in 1950 from the University of Connecticut at Storrs. A year later he completed an M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania, and then went on to earn a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1963, where he worked with Merle Curti.

As an intellectual, Vecoli did not shy from challenges. His dissertation, on Italian immigrants in Chicago, became the background for a path-breaking article: "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted," which appeared in the Journal of American History in 1964. In this, Vecoli took on the reigning model of immigration, based on Oscar Handlin's award-winning The Uprooted and on sociological models of adjustment, and demonstrated that rather than uprooted, the Italian migrants to Chicago seemed much more connected, even transplanted. Ethnicity continued to be a vibrant part of their lives. It was a sea change in scholarship that fit well with the civil rights moment of its birth. As non-elite people began to have an interest in their roots, immigration history found a ready audience. Vecoli became a key early advocate for the importance of ethnicity as a factor in U.S. history.

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Conferences and Meetings...

The National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded a $178,000 grant to the National History Center to present a four-week Summer Institute, "Revisiting American Immigration," to be held at the Library of Congress, July 9-29, 2009. Maureen Nutting and Alan Kraut will be directing the program, with the support of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society, the American Historical Association, the Community College Humanities Association, and the Library of Congress. This institute has also been designated as a "We the People" initiative by the Endowment, and many members of the Institute faculty are distinguished members of IEHS.

Information and application materials will be available in November from the National History Center website:

http://nationalhistorycenter.org

and from the NEH website; click on "education programs" on the NEH homepage:

http://www.neh.gov

The application deadline is March 2, 2009. For further information, contact Miriam Hauss, Project Manager and Administrative Officer at the National History Center, e-mail: hauss@historians.org or telephone 202-544-2422, ext. 103.

The Boston Seminar in Immigration and Urban History has begun its series of seven seminar meetings for the academic year 2008-2009. Meetings are held at the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston. Seminars held so far were: Oct. 2: Matthew Garcia (Brown University), "Nature’s Candy: Grapes, Immigrants, and Race in Early 20th-Century California"; Oct. 30, Lisa Maya Knauer (Univ. of Mass.-Dartmouth), "Maya in New Bedford: Politics, Community and Identity in the Wake of ICE"; Nov. 20, Charlene Mires (Villanova University), "Imagining the City at the End of World War II: Intersections of Anti-Urbanism and Civic Boosterism at the United Nations.”


Seminars meet at 5:15 Thursdays, and are followed by a light buffet supper (make supper reservations in advance). Seminar papers may be obtained in advance. Information on the web:

http://www.masshist.org/events/bshiuh.cfm

For inquiries, or to send RSVP to attend, e-mail: seminars@masshist.org

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will take place in New York City, Jan. 2-5, 2009. Theme of the meeting: "Globalizing Historiography." A variety of sessions deal with immigration and ethnicity, including two sessions sponsored by the IEHS: "Don’t Send These to Me: Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in the United States," Jan. 3, 9:30 A.M.; "Jewish Migrants in Uncharted Terrain: From Europe to Small-Town and Rural America," Jan. 4, 2:30 P.M. The complete program is available on-line at

http://www.historians.org/annual/program.cfm

The Polish American Historical Association will meet in conjunction with the AHA meeting in Washington, Jan. 2-5, 2009. A schedule of PAHA activities is listed in the AHA program, p. 40. Of particular interest to IEHS members is the session at 3:00 P.M., January 2: “American Ethnic Groups and their Response to the Cold War.” More information online at

http://www.polishamericanstudies.org/


http://www.oah.org/meetings/2009/

The Immigration and Ethnic History Society will hold its annual meeting in conjunction with the OAH. Information about the IEHS annual dinner (Saturday, March 28) will be distributed to the members along with the annual ballot in February.

The Society for German-American Studies will hold its annual meeting in New Ulm, Minnesota, April 16-19, 2009. Further information on the web at http://www.utlib.iupui.edu/kade/SGAS/sgasin.html#meetings


Necrology...
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After graduate school Vecoli taught briefly at Rutgers University as well as the University of Illinois, before taking a position in 1967 at the University of Minnesota. Vecoli came to Minnesota in part to become director of the newly established Immigration History Research Center (IHRC). In the early 1960s a group of scholars at Minnesota had started collecting historical materials related to the Iron Range in the northern part of the state. Vecoli’s own interest in anarchists and left-leaning labor activists fit well in this setting. Though the IHRC had an inadequate physical location for an archive, Vecoli made people welcome, and worked extensively to collect additional materials and funds. Good food, drinks, and stimulating scholarly talks were a regular part of the schedule at the IHRC. As scholars came from all over Europe as well as the U.S. and Canada to visit, Vecoli welcomed them, and often returned their visits with scholarly talks of his own.

The IHRC documented the histories of Southern and Eastern Europeans, with extensive collections on various groups as well as individuals. It also collected works on immigration generally, which attracted graduate students interested in other migrant groups as well. One of the keys for Vecoli was to rescue non-English language materials, and he was not above digging through attics or basements to find historical treasures. The IHRC gained sufficient private support, along with major funding from the state of Minnesota, for the creation of a new state-of-the-art building in 1999.

From the drafty old coffee warehouse on Berry Street to underground vaults built into the cliffs along the Mississippi—it was a tribute to Vecoli’s persistence.

Not yet satisfied that the stories would continue to be told, Vecoli put his fundraising skills to work to endow a new professorship in immigration history. This would mean a continuing academic presence at the University of Minnesota to match the archival one. By the time of his retirement in 2005 the funds were sufficiently in place to announce the first Rudolph J. Vecoli Chair in Immigration History.

Vecoli also maintained an active scholarly presence. He was a founding member of the American Italian Historical Association, and served as its president from 1966 to 1970. He helped found the Immigration and Ethnic History Society as well, and served as its president from 1982 to 1985. IHES awarded Vecoli a lifetime achievement award a few months before his death. As chair of the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation from 1983 to 2003 he helped oversee the renovation of Ellis Island and its establishment as a National Monument.

Vecoli also organized numerous conferences, including one of leading immigration scholars in 1986 which resulted in the edited volume *A Century of European Migrations* (1991). Meanwhile, Vecoli wrote scores of articles and addresses, though fewer books, on aspects of the field of U.S. immigration. Within the field of immigration scholars he gained a reputation for historiographic essays on the state of the field, noting new trends. His students read the classics of the study of immigration, from Florian Znaniecki and Caroline Ware onward. Vecoli’s commitment to the voices of immigrants was steadfast, as in the publication of *Rosa: The Story of an Italian Immigrant* (1999). Though he could provide biting critique, he was also generous with praise when he thought it was due. With his passing the field of immigration history lost a major voice and good friend.

—Suzanne Sinke

Charlotte Erickson, scholar of English emigration to America, died July 9, 2008 at Cambridge, England, at the age of 84.

Born in the United States (her father was a Swedish Lutheran minister), Erickson graduated from Augustana College in Illinois in 1945. She received an M.A. and Ph.D. from Cornell University, where she studied under Paul W. Gates, then developing quantitative methods to study history. She spent the years 1948-50 at the London School of Economics, where she studied demography and economic history and took up the study of migration. She taught two years at Vassar College, then joined the faculty of the London School of Economics, where she remained until 1982; she became a Professor of Economic History there in 1979. In 1982 she went to Cambridge University as the Mellon Professor of American History and the first female fellow of Corpus Christi College. In 1990, as an emeritus professor, she was named a MacArthur Fellow (one of the prestigious "genius awards").


Arthur William Hoglund, noted scholar of Finnish Americans, died May 1, 2008 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida at the age of 81. Hoglund grew up in the Finnish-American community of Spencer-Van Etten in western New York state. He graduated from Cornell University and pursued graduate work under Merle Curti at the University of Wisconsin, receiving his Ph.D. in 1957. After four years at Muskingum College in Ohio, he spent the rest of his career at the University of Connecticut, retiring in 1997.

Hoglund’s best-known work was *Finnish Immigrants in America, 1880-1920* (1960).

Jon Gjerde, Morrison Professor of History and Dean of Social Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley, died October 26, 2008 at his home in Albany, California. He was 55 years of age.

Gjerde, a native Iowan, received his bachelor’s degree from the University of Northern Iowa in 1975 and his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1982. He became a member of the history faculty at Berkeley in 1985. He was especially known for his meticulous scholarly works. His *From Peasants to Farmers: the Migration from Balestrand, Norway to the Upper Middle West* (1985), a path-breaking study of chain migration, was awarded the IEHS’s Theodore Saloutos award for the best book on immigration in 1985. *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917* (1997) received both the Saloutos Prize of the IEHS and the other Theodore Saloutos Prize awarded by the Agricultural History Society. He served on the Executive Board of the IEHS from 1994 to 1997.

Gjerde was widely sought as a participant and consultant in programs on Scandinavian migration and chain migration.
New Publications Noted...


American Jewish History 93 (June 2007): 113-237, is a special issue on “A Sense of Place,” edited by Deborah Dash Moore and Dale Rosengarten.


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“greater attention to historical and geographical context” and “actual lived relations.”

This call, I would argue, has in fact been answered through a second generation of works that ground their analyses of immigrant racial identities in local case studies. One question addressed by this scholarship is that of how working-class descendants of European immigrants came by the 1970s to see themselves, and be seen, as “white ethnics.” That designation was forged in the urban Northeast and Midwest in part through the mobilization of European American workers and Catholics seeking to defend “white” neighborhoods against African-American homebuyers. Important elements of this story had already been laid out for the mid-twentieth century in Arnold Hirsch’s Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960 (1983), Thomas Sugrue’s The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit (1996), and John McGreevy’s Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North (1996). Thomas Guglielmo has advanced this inquiry by showing how Chicago Italians were widely accepted as white “on arrival,” yet did not openly identify as white until World War II (Guglielmo, White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945 [2003]). Hirsch’s recent work on Chicago and mine on Philadelphia have argued for pushing the roots of the “white ethnic” further back, into the 1920s (Hirsch, “E Pluribus Duo? Thoughts on Whiteness and Chicago’s ‘New Immigration as a Transient Third Tier,’ and Kazal, “The Intervar Origins of the White Ethnic: Race, Residence, and German Philadelphia, 1917-1939,” JAES 23 [2004]: 7-44, 78-131). Such works have given us a more nuanced sense of how “white” racial identities evolved in the twentieth century, of their interplay with identities defined by class, gender, religion, and nation, and of how institutions shaped these developments. These findings have likewise provided a stronger empirical basis for synthesis—most notably, Roediger’s own Working Toward Whiteness (2005), which followed the path southeastern European immigrants and their children took from a racially “inbetween” to a “white ethnic” status. One does not have to agree with every interpretation in Roediger’s book to recognize how empirically grounded it is in such local studies.

The whiteness literature likewise has prompted historians of European American assimilation to take race into account as a factor, if not always the factor, in their analyses. Its proposition that Americanization meant assimilation to a specifically white America has influenced studies of American nationalism, including the most important such recent work, Gary Gerstle’s American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century (2001). By tracing the twentieth-century arc of a nationalism shaped by dueling “civic” and “racial” traditions, Gerstle historicized Americanization itself, showing how the pressure immigrants faced to “become American” stretched and then receded. Other recent studies have incorporated or, at the least, acknowledged racial identity as one in a constellation of vectors shaping European American assimilation. I explored how many German Philadelphians after World War I recast themselves as “American” but lent that identity different racial meanings in line with their class and religious backgrounds (Kazal, Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity [2004]). Paul Lubotina’s important dissertation used the case of Minnesota’s Mesabi Iron Range to develop a sophisticated model of assimilation. Internal conflict rent European immigrant enclaves, leading to integration along class lines defined partly in racial terms; by the 1920s, amid a fight with mining corporations, a progressive political alliance emerged that cut across the class divide. (Lubotina, “Conflict and Community-Building: The Dichotomy of Immigrant Life on Minnesota’s Mesabi Iron Range, 1893-1930” [Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 2006]). Timothy Meagher’s Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class, and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880-1928 (2001) similarly used a case study of Worcester, Massachusetts to trace the creation of a “militant,” and Irishled, “pan-ethnic, American Catholicism” in the early twentieth century, although he saw “whiteness” as having relatively little salience for the Worcester Irish until the 1960s, given the city’s very small numbers of Chinese and African-American residents.

If these studies advanced along trajectories sketched in “Revisiting Assimilation,” that article was limited by its focus on European immigration—a focus made necessary by the extent of the literature but that has seemed ever more limiting to me since. To re-read the piece in the light of historical writing on non-European migrants is to be sharply reminded of assimilation’s shortcomings as a concept largely forged in reference to European newcomers. “Assimilation,” of course, derived some of its early meaning from the notion that Asian immigrants, among others, were not racially “assimilable,” in ultimate contrast to “inbetween” European immigrants. As Mae Ngai has argued, immigration restriction and other state actions in the 1920s worked to cast native-born Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners and persons of Mexican descent as “illegal aliens,” even as they solidified southeastern Europeans’ standing as “white” ethnics (Ngai, Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America [2004]).

This kind of differential racial formation precludes viewing the United States as simply a pluralistic system where assimilatory processes could work evenly and in the same way across all immigrant groups. One demonstration of this is Gabriela Arredondo’s fascinating study, Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916-39 (2008). Mexican transmigrants, some of whom came to interwar Chicago with continental or hemispheric “American” identities, ran into narrower definitions of U.S. “Americanism” and increasing discrimination and segregation. Racialized as alien, many constructed a racial and ethnic identity as "Mexican." In the very city Chicago School sociologists were using as a laboratory to refine a theory of immigrant assimilation, Mexican migrants, one might say, repudiated that theory by living Americanization in reverse.

At the same time, Arredondo noted that mass culture gave Mexican women in particular venues for adopting an “American” identity. Vicki Ruiz and George Sánchez have traced similar dynamics in this period, with mass culture serving as a vehicle by which U.S.-born sons and, especially, daughters of Mexican in-migrants expe-
rienced a measure of acculturation, within a largely working-class context hemmed in by discrimination. Such studies point to the co-existence of assimilatory processes with structures of segregation that made the second-generation experience of Mexican Americans and, say, Italian Americans qualitatively different.

Assimilatory processes thus need not be seen solely as occurring among European Americans or between them and others. Indeed, such processes have also created common ground among non-European groups. One clear case is the emergence since the 1960s of what sociologist Yen Le Espiritu termed Asian American panethnicity (Espiritu, Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities [1992]), a development William Wei traced historically in his The Asian American Movement (1993). More recently, a number of historians have focused on the mingling that occurred in intensely diverse neighborhoods of early- and mid-twentieth-century California, especially in Los Angeles. Mark Wild surveyed that city’s working-class “central districts,” which in the early twentieth century mixed Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, African American, and southeastern European residents. Wild found children whose lives were “saturated with multiethnic encounters,” including friendships, and Communist Party street demonstrations that to an extent reflected multiracial political alliances (Wild, Street Meeting: Multietnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles [2005]). Scott Kurashige located “a neglected history of solidarity and coalition building” between Asian and Japanese Americans in such Los Angeles neighborhoods as postwar Crenshaw (Kurashige, The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiracial Los Angeles [2008]). In Making a Non-White America, Allison Varzally explored the “panethnic affiliations” forged in multiracial, largely working-class neighborhoods across mid-twentieth-century California. These were expressed in, for example, Filipino-Mexican intermarriages, and postwar political alliances that attacked restrictive covenants (Varzally, Making a Non-White America: Californians Coloring Outside Ethnic Lines, 1925-1955 [2008]).

The degree to which such often “fleeting” affiliations in fact made a “non-white America” might be contested. In Varzally’s account, Jewish as well as Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, and African-American residents played an important role in building these bridges. Moreover, all three books sought such multiracial neighborhoods as yielding to more monoracial ones by the late twentieth century. Yet by asking how Mexican, African-American, and Asian Californians interacted—how those groups at times found and lost common ground—these works presented among the most intriguing recent analyses of assimilatory processes.

Historiographically speaking, they also help to put assimilation in its place. My 1995 article began by asking on what terms immigrants and their descendants had come to live in the United States. I described answers that ranged from the pluralistic maintenance of autonomous communities to a pluralism with room for ethnic interaction to large-scale processes of integration through working-class or “white” racial formation. What most strikes me now about this assessment is how narrow it seems. The literature, then and currently, on Asian, Mexican, and other non-European groups, and the mushrooming literature since 1995 on immigrant transnationalism, exclusion, and racial formation, demonstrate how much broader has been the range of immigrant experiences. At the risk of stating what now seems obvious, many European, Asian, and Mexican transmigrants were indifferent to the idea of integrating—pluralistically or not—into American society. Until the mid-twentieth century, Asian immigrants, of course, faced outright exclusion from the American nation-state. As George Sánchez notes, American neo-colonialism helped to foster flows of migrants treated primarily as temporary labor, outside the rights of citizenship. (Sánchez, “Race, Nation, and Culture in Recent Immigration Studies,” JAES 18 [1999]: 78).

Immigrants and their descendants, in other words, encompassed a far broader range of experience than the short spectrum between pluralistic maintenance and assimilation can capture. That broader range hinged in part on differential, because racially structured, migration histories. In turn, recognizing those histories allows us a more realistic view of assimilation’s place in American ethnic history. It describes, on the one hand, just one of many ways in which newcomers and, for those who stayed, their children encountered American society. On the other hand, as the California literature suggests, assimilatory processes, in the form of multiracial interaction and coalition building, can be glimpsed on either side— and sometimes even across—the color lines that so structured that society in the twentieth century.

Historians should trace how and where such processes operated as they begin to explore the last quarter of that century, a period shaped by continuities in, for example, the neo-colonial context of Mexican immigration, and by such stunning changes as the civil rights revolution and the renewal of mass immigration. Sociologists have debated the extent to which children of today’s immigrants are experiencing “segmented” or “downward” assimilation (see, for example, Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, Immigrant America: A Portrait, 3rd ed. [2006]; Richard Alba and Victor Nee, Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration [2003]). But we have as yet no clear picture of the evolving balance among immigrant incorporation, exclusion, and transnationalism in the late twentieth century, especially because the direction of racial formation remains obscure—as recent events suggest. As I write this, Americans have just elected a president who can be described variously as African American, bicultural, and second-generation immigrant, and who came to power at the head of a multiracial electoral coalition. How Barack Obama’s America emerged is one question we might keep in mind as we sort out the place of assimilation in the twentieth century.

Russell Kazal is Associate Professor of History at the University of Toronto, Scarborough. In 2004 he published Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity (Princeton Univ. Press). He is currently on leave as a fellow at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
New Publications Noted...
(continued from p. 7)


Mark your calendar...

IEHS ANNUAL MEETING
Seattle, Washington
March 26-29, 2009
Activities Report for the Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter

Mail your information for the next newsletter to:
James M. Bergquist, Department of History, Villanova University, Villanova PA 19085-1699
or FAX a copy to (610) 519-4450 or send information via E-mail to: James.Bergquist@villanova.edu
Your name and affiliation:


IHS News Notes...

THEODORE SALOUTOS BOOK AWARD

Closing date for submissions for the annual Theodore Saloutos Book Award is December 31, 2008. To be eligible, a book must be copyrighted 2008. A book may be nominated by the author, the publisher, a member of the prize committee, or a member of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society. Inquiries and nominations should be submitted to the chair of the Saloutos Prize Committee, Diane Vecchio, Dept. of History, Furman University, Greenville, SC 29613-0444, e-mail: diane.vecchio@furman.edu

Copies of the book must be received by all three members of the committee by Dec. 31, 2008. Send books to Professor Vecchio at the address above, and also to Prof. Robert Rockaway, Dept. of Jewish History, PO Box 30940, Tel Aviv University, Ramat Aviv 69978, Israel; and to Prof. Maria Cristina Garcia, Dept. of History, Cornell University, Ithaca NY 14853-4601.

JOHN HIGHAM TRAVEL GRANT

Applications are now being received for the 2009 John Higham travel grants, which provide three $500 grants for graduate students to attend the 2009 meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Seattle. OAH and the Immigration and Ethnic History Society have created a fund to award these grants in memory of John Higham (1920-2003), past president of both organizations, and a towering figure in immigration, ethnic, and intellectual history. The successful candidates will have a preferred area of concentration in American Immigration and/or American Ethnic and/or American Intellectual history. Applications must be filed electronically, and should be received by December 1, 2008. For full information and guidelines for application, consult the OAH web-page at www.oah.org/activities/awards/highham/

Visit the IEHS web page at www.iehs.org

GEORGE POZZETTA DISSERTATION AWARD

The Immigration and Ethnic History Society invites applications for the 2009 George E. Pozzetta Award. Eligible are Ph.D. candidates who will have completed qualifying examinations by Dec. 1, 2008, and whose thesis focuses on American immigration, emigration, or ethnic history. The award provides $500 for expenses to be incurred in researching the dissertation. Applicants must submit a 3-5 page descriptive proposal in English, discussing the significance of the work, the methodology, sources, and collections to be consulted. The application must also include a proposed budget, brief curriculum vitae, and a supporting letter from the major advisor. All materials must be received by each committee member by December 15, 2008, which is the submission deadline.

Send materials in hard copy (no FAXes accepted) to Russell Kazal, The Huntington Library, 1151 Oxford Road, San Marino, CA 91108; to Raymond Mohl, Department of History, University of Alabama at Birmingham, Birmingham, AL 35294-1152; and to Nancy Green, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 105, Boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris, France. Inquiries may be sent to Prof. Kazal at rkazal@utsc.utoronto.ca.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

The IEHS Nominating Committee invites IEHS members to recommend colleagues for leadership positions in the organization. In Spring 2009 the IEHS will elect a Vice-President, who will succeed to the IEHS presidency in Spring 2012, and three Executive Board members, whose terms will extend to 2012. To ensure that the organization’s leadership represents the diversity of its members, the nominations committee will pair candidates for the different Executive Board positions. Please forward your suggestions for nominees to Maureen Nutting, committee chair (mnutting@sccd.ctc.edu), or to any other member of the committee: Rachel Kranon, (Rachel@honksandsirens.com); David Mauk, (d.mauk@ilos.uio.no), or Charles Zappia, (czappia@sdcct.edu). The deadline for nominations is January 5, 2008.
THE IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC HISTORY SOCIETY

...was founded in 1965 as the Immigration History Group. It was chartered in 1972 as the Immigration History Society. In 1998 the Society, which had traditionally dealt with ethnicity as well as immigration, changed its name to the Immigration and Ethnic History Society.

The purpose of the Society is to promote the study of the history of immigration to the United States and Canada from all parts of the world, including studies of the background of emigration in the countries of origin; to promote the study of ethnic groups in the United States, including regional groups, native Americans and forced immigrants; to promote understanding of the processes of acculturation and of conflict; to furnish through the Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter information about research, organizations, meetings and publications in the field of immigrant history; to help organize sessions on immigration and ethnicity at meetings of learned societies; and generally to serve the field of immigration/ethnic history with special reference to professional scholarship.

MEMBERSHIP

...in the Society includes subscriptions to the quarterly Journal of American Ethnic History and the semiannual Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter. Annual dues for individuals: $45 ($65, non-U.S.), print or electronic; $55 ($75, non-U.S.), print and electronic. For institutions: $200 ($225, non-U.S.), print or electronic, $225 ($245, non-U.S.), print and electronic. Students: $25 ($45, non-U.S.), print or electronic; $35 (non-U.S., $55), print and electronic. For air-mail delivery of the Journal outside the U.S., add $35/year. Membership renewals should be sent to Journals, University of Illinois Press, 1325 S. Oak St., Champaign, IL 61820. They may also be sent via the web-page:

http://www.press.uillinois.edu/journals/jaeh.html

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Inquiries about the Society should be directed to the appropriate officer. Newsletter submissions and questions about editorial matters should be sent to the editor at the address above. Requests for back issues of the newsletter should be sent to the editor; send $2.00 per copy (by check made out to Villanova University).

Subscriptions to the Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter are part of membership in the Society. Members' changes of address should be sent to Journals, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1325 S. Oak St., Champaign IL 61820, or via the web at

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