immigrant neighborhoods in Birmingham, Manchester, and London, United Kingdom. Through these processions Muslims "stamp the earth with the name of allah" and thereby "make territorial claims in their adopted cities . . . and assert their equal cultural claims within the society" (Werbner 1996: 182).[20] All of these studies challenge unidirectional theories of assimilation, add agency and fluidity to the process of incorporation, and reinforce the theory that ethnicity is culturally constructed and a fundamental dimension of the cultural politics of migration.

CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING/INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

Some anthropologists have recently argued that the transnational arrangements constructed by "ordinary migrants, their families and their friends, have undermined both the political dominance exerted by the state and its cultural authority" (Rouse 1995a: 358; see also Appadurai 1996) and are therefore beginning to address the question of citizenship and belonging (i.e. claims of identity, intimacy, and inclusion) both within and across national boundaries (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001; Reed-Danahay and Brettell 2008; Kelley 2013). Michel Laguerre (1998: 12–13), for example, has formulated a concept of diasporic citizenship to describe a situation of an individual "who lives outside the boundaries of the nation state to which he or she had formerly held primary allegiance and who experiences through transnational migration . . . the subjective reality of belonging to two or more nation-states." Similarly, in her study of Chinese immigrants in Panama, Lok Siu (2005) draws on diasporic citizenship to describe "the processes by which diasporic subjects experience and practice cultural and social belonging amid shifting geopolitical circumstances and webs of transnational relations" (5). Aihwa Ong (1999: 112) writes instead about "flexible citizenship," which she defines as the "strategies and effects of mobile managers, technocrats, and professionals seeking to both circumvent and benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investments, work, and family relocation" (see also Fong 2011). Vora (2011: 315), inspired by Ong's concept, argues that Indians in Dubai are both diasporic and latitudinal subjects who "impact the form of citizenship in both countries." On the one hand they legitimize "the UAE nation-state and its racial and religious foundations" and on the other they "recuperate classed, gendered, ethnic, caste, and religious divisions within transationalism." For some Indians, she observes "citizenship is more flexible than for others. And differently situated subjects develop different values and understandings of membership, belonging, and exclusion in relation to India and Dubai." These anthropologists approach citizenship not simply as a political or legal status or as a set of rights and obligations, but as a dynamic and contingent cultural and social process. This approach has its roots in Werbner and Yuval-Davis's (1999: 4) distinction between political science definitions of citizenship that derive from

"the relationship between the individual and the state" and those that "define citizenship as a more total relationship, inflected by identity, social positioning, cultural assumptions, institutional practices and a sense of belonging."

Important in this context is the concept of cultural citizenship which in anthropology has acquired two somewhat different meanings, one emphasizing immigrant agency and the other processes of governmentality and subject-making. As formulated by Rosaldo and Flores (1997: 57), cultural citizenship is defined as "the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes." Cultural citizenship accommodates "multicultural conceptions of political belonging" (Baker and Shryock 2009: 11) and draws attention to how people practice citizenship in their daily lives (Flores 2003; Maira 2004; Giordano 2008; Coll 2010; Brettell and Reed-Danahay 2012). These participatory forms of citizenship are often the "strategic actions" of immigrants who may or may not be legal citizens (Coutin 2003a; Brettell 2008a; Glick Shiller and Caglar 2008). In a study of migrant farm workers in Oregon, Stephen (2003: 28) argues that cultural citizenship offers "a model for understanding how Mexican migrants in the U.S. can be recognized as legitimate political subjects claiming rights for themselves and their children based on their economic and cultural contributions, regardless of their official legal status." Further, citizenship practices are not necessarily the same within and between different immigrant populations. Bloch (2013: 4) makes precisely this point in her study of Moldovan migrants in post-Soviet Russia. The ideals and practices of citizenship, she argues, are shaped by historical experience and by the prevailing politics of inclusion and exclusion.

The politics of inclusion and exclusion figure more strongly in Aihwa Ong's (1996: 737) formulation of cultural citizenship to describe a "process of subjectification in the Foucaldian sense of self-making and being-made by power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control, and administration." In her study of Cambodian Americans, Ong (2003: 15) describes the "social policies and practices beyond the state that in myriad mundane ways suggest, define, and direct adherence to democratic, racial and market norms of belonging." She suggests that it is in the spaces of encounter, "in the practices directed at newcomers, and the mutual daily interactions that ensue, that the meaning and exercise of citizenship happens" (16). "Feelings of belonging and a desire for inclusion in the social body," writes Leo Chavez in his book *The Latino Threat* (2008), "exist in a dialectical relationship with the larger society and the state, which may or may not find such claims for cultural citizenship convincing."

In recent years, Chavez (2001) and other anthropologists, including medical anthropologists, have explored the discourses of inclusion, exclusion, and stigma that are part of debates about immigration both in Europe and the United

States (Grillo 1985, 2005, 2010; Zinn 1994; Cole 1997; Modood and Werbner 1997; Borneman 1998; Riccio 2000; Angel-Ajani 2002; Mai 2002; Pero 2007; Ewing 2008; Wessendorf 2008; Partridge 2012). Erickson (2011), for example, compares the reception of Muslims in Switzerland and Catalonia, Spain, the former characterized by polarization and the latter by pluralism. He analyzes the role of ideas about *covivencia* that are deeply rooted in Spanish history but used as a "resource . . . for the mutual accommodation of difference" (116) in present-day Catalonia (see also Rogozen-Soltar 2012). Reviewing several ethnographic studies of local reactions to diversity in Italy, Grillo and Pratt (2002: xxi) suggest that they demonstrate "how the processes of incorporation and exclusion experienced by migrants are shaped by processes and cleavages internal to Italian society, and conversely how the migrant presence has regenerated discourses about Italian unity and diversity." Research on the reception of immigrants reveals much about issues of national identity as well as about who is deemed to be "deserving of the privileges of citizenship" (Chavez 2008: 17). This is illustrated in a particularly intriguing way by Miriam Ticktin (2011), who argues that in France a regime of care plays an important role in the politics of immigration. Battered women or immigrants who are considered deserving and hence sick can make a legitimate claim to crossing borders while those who are simply fleeing poverty, and hence undeserving, cannot.

THE STATE, THE CITY, AND MULTICULTURALISM

Anthropologists, like political scientists and legal scholars, are interested in the impact of the state and the law on the lives of immigrants.[21] However, they generally approach these questions from a post-structuralist theoretical perspective that examines critically processes of governmentality, discipline, and surveillance. Their focus has often been on "the ideologies and technologies at work in the policing of borders and the production of boundaries" (Fassin 2011: 222). Cunningham and Heyman (2004: 293, 295), for example, have formulated a mobilities-enclosure continuum to describe borders "as sites where movement is structured within the context of unequal power relations . . . Enclosures and mobilities thus join at borders, in the multifarious processes of entering, avoiding, detecting, classifying, inspecting, interdicting, facilitating, and revaluing." Borders both enable and restrict movement. They are sites at which people are identified by means of passports or visas, and inspected, surveilled, and sometimes "entrapped" (Núñez and Heyman 2007) through various forms of more or less sophisticated technology. Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013: 189) label these international regulatory and surveillance administrations "regimes of mobility" that control individual movement.

A number of studies of illegality, asylum-seeking, and deportation have emerged in association with this turning of the anthropological lens on the politics of borders and on "the processes by which states seek to control the

movement of people in particular" (Gardner 2010: 52). As they explore these issues, anthropologists often emphasize the subjective and embodied experiences of state processes of regulation (Willen 2007a, 2007b). Writing about a group of Somalis deported from the United States and Canada after 9/11, Peutz claims:

> the deportee body is doubly stigmatized—polluted and polluting—both in the host society and at home. Simply put, deportable bodies exude the danger of their transnational state(s) . . . and as aliens they are all the more outcasts. Similarly, deported bodies are suspected of carrying with them the pollution contracted abroad while also remaining anomalies at home, their forced return subverting the fetishized immigrant success story.
>
> (Peutz 2006: 223)

Some of this relatively new anthropological work focuses on the documents that define the lives of regulated immigrant bodies, whether legal or illegal (Reeves 2013). One example can be found in Cabot's (2012) study of the "pink card" (*roz karta*) in Greece. This card is the identity document used by agents of the Greek state to control the movement of those seeking protection. It leaves people in a limbo status but not necessarily without agency. Hence Cabot argues that the pink card in fact

> serves to make asylum seekers *illegible* to both the state and themselves. The pink card is not simply a technology or regulation; it facilitates highly variable reconfigurations of regulatory activities, as both police and asylum seekers engage with, handle, and use the document . . . By considering how the pink card figures in a particular project of governance, and the nexus of relationships that in turn "govern" the document, we can observe multidirectional, indeterminate forms of governance that unfold within and alongside the regulatory work of the state.
>
> (Cabot 2012: 12–13)

In another context Cabot (2013) explores how service providers and applicants together negotiate and sometimes even redefine deservingness and victimhood as part of the process of seeking asylum.

In a similar vein, Fassin and d'Halluin (2005: 598) explore the role of medical certificates (that attest to torture) in applications for asylum in France. They observe that the "regime of truth" associated with these certificates has emerged "in the context of a profound delegitimization of asylum" throughout Europe. This has resulted in a dramatic increase in undocumented foreigners; in the development of "spaces of exception" at national borders to contain unwanted immigrants; and in overall suspicion of political asylum itself. Fassin and d'Halluin conclude that the governance of refugees operates through a "dual process of subjectification and subjection—in other words, of production

and submission of the subject whose body is supposed to deliver the 'ultimate truth'" (606). In that certificate, they assert, lies "the entire existence—both physical and political—of the asylum seeker."

In the United States, several anthropologists have examined the process of application for asylum as well as the ethnographic reality of deportation hearings (Coutin 2003b, 2005). Ordoñez (2008: 39), for example, argues that those seeking political asylum subject themselves to state surveillance "by making their situation visible to the very authorities they have been avoiding since entering the US." This results in both stress and fear and if the outcome and the appeal are not favorable and they face deportation, they have "indirectly caused their own expulsion by coming forward in the first place." This author also observes that in preparing their case for asylum, undocumented immigrants must redefine their identities and their memories to match the legal definition of a refugee. For many the entire process is confusing and marginalizing.

Fassin views these regulatory measures in some sense as a response to the perceived failure of the multicultural experiment, particularly in early twenty-first century Europe. Several anthropologists have engaged in a "cultural analysis of the politics of integration" (Epstein 2011: 19; see also Moodood and Werbner 1997; Vertovec 2010a; Glick Schiller 2011), exploring multiculturalism on the one hand as a set of policies that recognize difference (Grillo and Pratt 2002) and on the other as the source of fears about an "excess of alterity" (Grillo 2010). Often anthropologists focus their attention on particular incidents where difference and divisiveness come head to head. Bowen (2007), for example, offers a detailed analysis of the 2004 law in France that banned headscarves from public schools. He argues that critical principles of the French Republic and French identity (secularism and communalism) are at the center of this debate. He also notes that the media plays a powerful role in defining what kind of Muslim is accorded the right to speak (246) and therefore what kind of Muslim is deemed acceptable in a country that emphasizes assimilation rather than multiculturalism. In Britain, a country with a more multicultural approach to immigrant integration than France, controversies over Muslim dress have also erupted. One emerged from debates over the right of a young Muslim woman to wear the long black garment (*jilbab*) to a school that had already developed a Muslim-sympathetic uniform option that was approved by local Muslim religious authorities (Tarlo 2010). This case made its way to the highest court and the House of Lords, and decisions were made and reversed along the way. Tarlo effectively illustrates the political agendas embedded in the multicultural project.

A final example of how anthropologists interrogate the multicultural project is offered by the work of Unni Wikan, a Norwegian anthropologist who, in two intriguing and highly provocative books, argues that an excessive tolerance for difference has resulted in a "generous betrayal" of immigrants. Culture, she argues, has become like race, a concept that subverts human rights, particularly

those of women and children, as it supports ethnic difference and identity politics. "Immigrants are largely perceived as *products* of culture . . . and therefore unable to exercise independent judgment" (Wikan 2002: 81). She suggests that immigrants themselves invoke culture as an explanation or excuse for certain behaviors, thereby "belittling themselves as acting, thinking willful human beings, and they run down the very qualities that have brought them here: initiative, courage, perseverance." Wikan clearly is offering not only a powerful critique of the policy of multiculturalism, but of the concept of culture as well. Her position is even more evident in her book *In Honor of Fadime* (Wikan 2008), a poignant analysis of an honor killing and more broadly of second-generation Muslims whose identities may be more in line with their host societies than with the country of origin of their parents. Western democracies, in her view, must be sensitive to these intra-cultural variations, particularly those between parents and children.

In the United States these questions about multiculturalism have been largely explored by anthropologists in relation to the law and the so-called "cultural defense." As defined by Renteln (2004: 5), the cultural defense requires "judges to consider the cultural background of litigants in the disposition of cases before them." This defense has often been used in relation to immigrants and has been invoked for crimes ranging from homicide to rape, child abuse, custody battles, employment discrimination, and the treatment of animals and the dead. While some anthropologists view this defense as paternalistic and orientalist (Koptiuch 1996), others view it in relation to broader human rights (Renteln 2004). Still others situate it within larger debates in anthropology regarding the difference between moral and cultural relativism as well as those regarding assimilation versus multiculturalism (Shweder 2003). When such cases come to the courts they raise fundamental questions about how to manage diversity.

This diversity is mostly to be found in the cities around the world where the majority of international migrants have settled. In recent years, anthropologists have turned their attention anew to the study of cities and to the hyperdiverse neighborhoods they contain (Vertovec 2010b; Epstein 2011). There has been a renewed interest in the city as the unit of analysis and the varying contexts for immigrant settlement that cities provide (Foner 1987a; Lamphere 1992; Brettell 2003b). There has equally been a developing interest, drawing on a concept critical to geographers, in city scale (Glick Schiller and Caglar 2011; see also Caglar 2010). Rather than viewing cities as "containers, providing spaces in which migrants settle and make a living," anthropologists who have focused on city scale explore how migrants "actively contribute to the restructuring and repositioning of either their cities of settlement or those to which they are transnationally connected" (Glick Schiller and Caglar 2011: 2). Migrants, from this perspective, are "agents and subjects of the global processes that reposition localities" (3). The city-scale approach offers a comparative theoretical and

conceptual framework for understanding how the global and the local intersect and interact, and the role and experiences of migrants in these processes.

CONCLUSION

Although migrants around the globe have common experiences, migration itself is a complex and diverse phenomenon. Migrants can be differentiated by sex, class, ethnicity, the nature of their labor force participation, their reasons for migrating, the stage of the lifecycle at which they move, the form of their migration (internal, international, temporary, and so on), and the nature and impact of global economic and political policies that affect population movement. A consideration of all these factors, from a comparative perspective, offers the best understanding of the process of migration and of migrant culture. It assumes that migrants act and are "acted upon" with reference to their social, cultural, and gendered locations.

But for anthropologists whose central interest is in the human dimensions of this global process and the lived (embodied) experience of being a migrant, there are further considerations that guide their research. These considerations have their roots in several key concepts of the discipline that in turn ground anthropological theory. Thus, the distinction between nature and culture is at the foundation of theories of ethnicity that reject a primordial and inherent identity in favor of one that is socially constituted. The connections between society and culture, as well as an understanding of community that has both local (micro) and global (macro) dimensions, help to explain how migrants as transnationals can operate in or between two (or more) worlds. An acceptance of the common disjunction between the ideal and the actual permits more complex formulations of the processes of change and adaptation that are part of being a migrant. An awareness of the differences between participants' models (the emic perspective) and observers' models (the etic perspective) lends subtlety to our knowledge of similarities and differences, and solidity to our theories about the particular and the general in the experience of migration. Furthermore, an observer's model rooted in the interaction between structure and agency accepts the fact that migrants shape and are shaped by the context (political, economic, social, cultural) within which they operate, whether in the sending society or in the receiving society.[22] Finally, the holistic perspective draws anthropologists to an exploration of a range of social and cultural phenomena (religious rituals, for example) that both have an impact on and are affected by migration.

Much of what is written by anthropologists on the subject of migration may, at first glance, be dismissed as largely descriptive ethnography, but a closer examination indicates that while often "located" in the study of a specific migrant community or population, most of this research is implicitly, if not explicitly, theoretical. If a theory is defined as "an explanation of a class of

events, usually with an empirical referent, providing insight into how and what is going on, and sometimes explaining why phenomena exist" (Barrett 1997: 40), then much of this ethnographic work makes a significant and sometimes unique contribution to our theoretical conversations across the disciplines.

Finally, given that anthropology has been described as the most scientific of the humanistic fields and the most humanistic of the sciences (Wolf 1964), it should not be unexpected that those anthropologists who focus their attention on the mobility of people in particular would reach out to other disciplines—sociology, geography, political science—for ideas and concepts to write with, write against, or nuance as they formulate their own understanding and interpretations of the meaning and experience of migration.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the essentializing character of Mead's work see Gewertz and Errington (1991). Lavie and Swedenburg (1996: 2) have posed the question of what Margaret Mead would have "made of Samoan gangs in Los Angeles, or of the L.A.-Samoan gansta rap group the Boo-Yah Tribe, named after the Samoan term 'boo yah!' for a shotgun blast in a drive-by shooting." For a recent study of Samoan migrants see Gershon (2012).
2. This turning point was marked by the theme of the 1970 volume of the proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, *Migration and Anthropology*, edited by Robert F. Spencer. Five years later, two volumes dealing with migration were the result of the World Anthropological Congress (Du Toit and Safa 1975; Safa and Du Toit 1975). In these volumes, migration was linked to urbanization and development.
3. The list of such monographs is now very long. Among those published since 2000 are: Rangaswamy (2000); Linger (2001); Hall (2002); Stoller (2002); Coutin (2003a); Guest (2003); Hirsch (2003); Raj (2003); Tsuda (2003); Beriss (2004); Cohen (2004); Silverstein (2004); England (2006); Zloniski (2006); Cole and Booth (2007); Constable (2007); Terrio (2009); Gardner (2010); Ticktin (2011); and Coe (2014).
4. See Foner (2003) for an assessment of anthropological approaches to the study of contemporary US migration. See Foner (2005) and Brettell (2003a, 2009) for further discussion of the importance of the comparative perspective in the anthropological study of immigration.
5. See, for example, the special issue of *Social Science and Medicine*, Volume 74 (2012). See also Sargent and Larchanché (2011).
6. See Stack (1996) for a discussion of the role of family ties in African American return migration to the south. In some cases, for example Western Europe after 1973, migrants have been encouraged to return by the host society and offered specific monetary packages to do so.
7. Arguing in support of the role of typologies in anthropological theory, Schweizer (1998: 74) claims that "types are theoretical idealizations that can be illustrated by empirical cases and that are approximated by other cases belonging to a given type. The typology is refined in light of new empirical and theoretical evidence obtained by research." This contrasts with Portes's (1997: 806) assessment that typologies simply "assert differences without specifying their origins

or anticipating their consequences." These varying points of view speak to distinctions in the nature of both theory and method in anthropology and sociology respectively.

8. See also the volume on migration and development edited by anthropologist Nina Glick Schiller and political scientist Thomas Faist (Glick Schiller and Faist 2010).
9. For a collection of essays about transnationalism by scholars trained in a breadth of disciplines, see Volume 37(3) of the *International Migration Review*. Many of those scholars who were working with return migration in the 1970s were also thinking within a transnationalist framework although they were not using the concept itself (Brettell 2003a). Foner (1997) has asked what is actually new about transnationalism in a comparative analysis of immigrants to New York at the turn of the century with those in more recent decades.
10. Laguerre defines diaspora as:

> displacement and reattachment . . . It refers to re-rootedness, that is living in another state, and implies transnationality in its relations with the homeland . . . The diasporic subject is located vis-a-vis two states: the host state where he is considered to be a hyphenated citizen, and the homeland where he is identified as an insider/outsider, not a foreigner, but someone whose allegiance is shared with another nation state.
>
> (Laguerre 1998: 8, 10)

Some scholars have addressed the conceptual distinctions between diaspora and transnational communities. Levitt (2001: 203) has suggested that "Diasporas form out of transnational communities that span sending and receiving countries and out of the real or imagined connections between migrants from a particular homeland who are scattered throughout the world. If a fiction of congregation takes hold, then a Diaspora emerges." For an attempt at a theoretical paradigm of diasporas, see Shuval (2000). For its application to refugee studies, see Wahlbeck (2002). See also Vertovec 1997 and Butler 2001.

11. J.A. Barnes (1954) first recognized the analytical utility of the concept of social networks in his research on a Norwegian fishing community. Social networks received a good deal of attention from British social anthropologists working among urban migrants in Africa in the 1960s (Epstein 1961; Gutkind 1965; Mayer 1966; Mitchell 1971, 1974).
12. See Layton (1997) for a complete discussion of this approach within anthropology.
13. This was equally true of much historical research. Several excellent monographs focusing on immigrant women have emerged to compensate for this lack of attention (for example, Diner 1983; Friedman-Kasaba 1996; Gabaccia 1994). Most recently, anthropologists have argued that gender is an analytic category that should equally be applied to an understanding of men's migration (Mahler and Pessar 2006). For comprehensive consideration of the theoretical role of gender in migration research across a range of disciplines see the special issue of the *International Migration Review*, Volume 40 (2006).
14. Examples of research that addresses how wives who remain behind manage remittances and maintain the reproductive and productive activities of the home community can be found in Connell (1984); Brettell (1986); Hammam (1986); Georges (1992); and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992). See also Donnan and Werbner (1991).
15. See Abu-Lughod (1993) for a good example of the postmodern feminist approach.
16. For other discussions of the concept of cultural identity, see Bammer (1994); Gupta and Ferguson (1992); Rouse (1995a); Williams (1989).

17. For more thorough discussions than can be offered here see Banks (1996) and Jenkins (1997). Earlier reviews can be found in Cohen (1978), Reminick (1983), and Jenkins (1986). Cohen (1978: 384), in particular, addresses the difference between "tribe" and "ethnic," the former characterized as isolated, primitive-atavistic, non-Western, bounded, systemic, and objectively identified; the latter characterized as non-isolated, contemporary, universally applicable, a unit in relation to others where the degree of systemic quality varies, and both objectively and subjectively identified. While the traditional/modern dichotomy underlies these differences, it is nevertheless apparent how the transfer from thinking about tribes to thinking about ethnic groups was influenced by a reconceptualization of the concept of culture.
18. In what is quite apparently a challenge to an outsider perspective and to the question of rights pursued by some political scientists, Rouse (1995a) suggests that few of these Mixtec migrants construed their problems in terms of prejudice and discrimination or by recourse to the language of rights.
19. For a very interesting approach to the role of material culture in studies of migration, see De León's (2012) analysis of the relationship between migrants and objects that are part of the routinized and violent process of border crossing.
20. Anthropologists have also looked at the impact of returning migrants on the revitalization of festivals in the home community. See Cruces and Diaz de Roda (1992); Kenna (1992); Levitt (1998a); and Brettell (2003a). Two ethnographic films, *Mayordomia: Ritual, Gender and Cultural Identity in a Zapotec Community* and *Oaxacalifornia*, also deal with this topic. Feldman-Bianco's film *Saudade*, about Portuguese immigrants in New Bedford, Massachusetts, opens with the celebration of the Day of Portugal in that community.
21. This interest has emerged in the context of broader interests in the anthropology of the state in the discipline. See, for example, Das and Poole (2004) and Sharma and Gupta (2006).
22. Ortner (1996: 12) conceptualizes this interaction as "the challenge to picture indissoluble formations of structurally embedded agency and intention-filled structures, to recognize the ways in which the subject is part of larger social and cultural webs, and in which social and cultural 'systems' are predicated upon human desires and projects."

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