

the national view. This international shift from racial to cultural discourse did not, however, alter the measures of national progress. That is, while enumerating the number of indigenous language speakers and Spanish speakers instead of indigenous and Mestizo people, the ultimate goal was to demonstrate the decline of cultural distinctions.

While race questions disappeared from censuses between 1940 and 1980, they reappeared at the turn of the 21st century. Chapter 7 details how the resurrection of official ethnoracial classification on Latin American censuses resulted from domestic and international processes. In the wake of democratization, indigenous and African-descent groups mobilized to demand recognition and rights. International development agencies joined the fray to pressure states to enumerate diverse and marginalized groups so that states and international development banks could attempt to address diversity and poverty. Loveman argues that these changes in ethnoracial data collection are demonstrative of recent shifts in international norms for what defines a modern nation and of international development organization criteria for promoting national progress via the protection of "cultural liberty" and the reduction of ethnoracial inequality.

National Colors unravels the politics of ethnoracial classification by demonstrating that continuity and change in these classifications in Latin America, and arguably other regions, are by-products of international politics of development and modernity. In the current era, these international politics have institutionalized the demand for ethnoracial data and have created spaces of tension and conflict for "broader political struggles over recognitions, rights, and redress for historically marginalized populations" (p. 308). While *National Colors* is remarkable for its historical breadth that is linked to global norms and broad political processes in Latin America, much about the histories of individual states and regions is lost in the scope of the project, as are the nuances of how the politics of race and ethnicity unfolded on the ground and affected individual and community lives during the selected eras of analyses. Nevertheless, by situating Latin America in a global historical context, *National Colors* is a comprehensive study that makes a significant contribution to debates concentrating on the politics of race and ethnicity and Latin America.

The Cross-Border Connection: Immigrants, Emigrants, and Their Homelands. By Roger Waldinger. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. viii + 240. \$29.95.

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In the early 1990s, social scientists discovered transnationalism, suddenly noticing that people, goods, ideas, and money were circulating back and

forth between sending and receiving nations with increasing frequency. Global capitalism, it was argued, had “deterritorialized” the state; nations were increasingly “unbound;” and migrants occupied “transnational social spaces” that connected origin and destination communities while not being fully a part of either.

Although originally heralded as something new to late 20th-century globalization, it turned out that transnationalism had actually been quite common during the first wave of globalization in the early 20th century, when people, money, and ideas circulated back and forth across the Atlantic with remarkable frequency, as Thomas and Znaniecki clearly showed in the 1918 classic *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*.

Despite the exaggerated claims and overheated rhetoric, transnational scholars in the late 20th century did firmly establish that durable transnational connections commonly arose in the course of international migration to facilitate the circulation of financial and social remittances as well as people. However, they never developed a theoretical account of what leads transnational connections to form and then endure, weaken, or fade away over time. In his new book, Roger Waldinger provides this theoretical account.

He argues that transnationalism results from an unstable dialectical balance between the imperatives of emigration and immigration. As emigrants, people move abroad and bring with them foreign practices and cultures that generate zones of “intersocietal convergence” within receiving nations. As they arrive, migrants create a social infrastructure that connects them to their homelands, thus enabling them to function as members of an emergent transnational community.

Over time, however, distance and physical separation take their toll and the “paradox of international migration” unfolds. As migrants accumulate experience abroad, they acquire more resources to support transnational activities but lose their motivation to think and act transnationally. Emigrants originally connected to communities of origin become immigrants seeking to advance their interests in communities of destination. Over time, therefore, migrant communities are transformed socially to become zones of “intersocietal divergence” that increasingly separate migrants from those left behind, socially as well as physically.

The dialectical shift from intersocietal convergence to intersocietal divergence is rooted in the inherent duality of international migration, as migrants are simultaneously emigrants and immigrants, aliens and citizens, foreigners and nationals, members and nonmembers of a community of origin. What changes over time is the relative balance between social involvement “here” and “there.” Although a small elite of “transnationals” may be able fully to live cross-border lives, this option is impractical for the vast majority of people who either remain bound to the hometown or are pulled into expatriate life.

According to Waldinger, the first connections to give way are political. However dense and resilient transnational social ties may be, they are insufficient to maintain engagement in homeland politics. Indeed, political

integration at home is often weak to begin with, as many migrants leave precisely because they view the origin state as predatory or ineffectual. As they acquire political interests in the destination society, moreover, they become more likely to demand rights abroad and shift toward ethnic lobbying. Over time, societal divergence becomes the dominant trend as migrants and their children become progressively detached politically and then socially from communities of origin.

In other words, transnationalism is not a *sui generis* condition of late 20th-century capitalism but a socially contingent process linked to the internal dynamics of international migration itself. Cross-border connections are both a cause and a consequence of international movement, and over time transnational ties may proliferate, dwindle, or disappear, with the natural tendency being toward entropy. The task of the investigator is to learn when, how, and why transnationalism comes into existence and then either persists or dissipates.

Having laid out this theoretical model, Waldinger then applies it to explain a variety of findings drawn from the research literature: the relative success of Mexico's Foreign Ministry in offering identification cards to migrants in the United States but its limited efficacy in promoting expatriate voting; the commonality of conflict and dissension between members of hometown associations and local community leaders; and the limited appeal of transnationalism to second generation immigrants.

Waldinger's model also sheds light on conditions in North America today, where formerly vibrant transnational Mexican communities have withered in recent decades. Since transnationalism is contingent, policies that increase the cost and difficulty of cross-border interaction can be expected to undermine immigrant transnationalism and curtail the circulation of social and financial remittances. The massive increase in border enforcement since 1986 has certainly increased the costs and risks of unauthorized border crossing, and, not surprisingly, movements back and forth have declined precipitously. Return trips to Mexico have all but ceased, cutting off the formerly free-flowing circulation of social and financial remittances and producing legions of half-empty towns throughout the traditional heartland for migration to the United States.

In the end, *The Cross-Border Connection* is to be commended for putting substance into the black box of transnationalism, offering scholars a dynamic model to account for the ebb and flow of transnationalism in the real world and yielding testable propositions about the circumstances under which cross-border connections can be expected to expand or contract. In Waldinger's own words, the book offers readers "both an innovative intellectual perspective and a guide to the immigrant reality unfolding before our eyes" (p. 10).