

The place of immigration in studies of geography and race

Laura Y. Liu

Department of Geography, Rutgers University, 54 Joyce Kilmer Ave.,
Piscataway, NJ 08854-8045, USA

This paper argues that geographical research on immigration and geographical research on race and racism in the USA must be explicitly connected. Geographic processes such as globalization and urban development already link immigration with race and racism and suggest a need to conceptualize research agendas around immigration and race in relation to each other. Not only are racialized groups spatially connected in many neighbourhoods, cities and regions of the USA, but they are also linked through policies structured by the state at various scales and narratives produced about subordinated and racialized groups. In making this argument, I attempt to highlight work in geography, in related social sciences and in ethnic studies that demonstrates the necessity and usefulness of this approach. Geographers are uniquely positioned to illuminate how the construction of space, place and scale overlaps with the construction of racial-ethnic and immigrant identities and with racism itself. The paper argues that these and other research questions also benefit from linking race and immigration to gender, as some feminist geography and feminist studies have done. Likewise, ethnic studies offer a wealth of theoretical, methodological and empirical insight into linking immigration, race and racism in geographical work.

Key words: immigration, race, racism, gender.

Introduction: linking geography, race and immigration

There are numerous literatures within the social sciences that analyse and theorize race in various spatial contexts. Racial segregation in housing, schools and labour markets, for example, are well-established areas of research in geography. Within the discipline, however, geographical studies that examine the processes and effects of immigration and immigration

policy, while useful, are not always clearly linked to questions of race and racial inequality¹ (e.g. Isserman 1993). Yet changing immigration patterns and effects shape public policies on race, on immigration, and on a variety of social policy questions tied to geographical research agendas. Thus the connections between racialized immigrants, racialized 'native-born'² people of colour³ and whites⁴ require consideration, especially in the context of debates about such issues as labour compe-

tition, public benefits and urban development. Research around immigration processes, US immigration policy and immigrant groups should also be linked to many of the themes that underpin race-related research in geography. Globalization, segregation, poverty, inter-racial and inter-ethnic tensions, and political participation of racial groups, among other areas of study, should be examined in terms of 'native-born' people of colour and whites, but also with an awareness of historical and current waves of immigration. A fuller understanding of the relationship between racial inequality and immigration is too often obscured by having differently situated approaches. Pushing that understanding would forge useful linkages between geography and other disciplines.

Broadly, this paper suggests that research on the processes and effects of immigration and immigration policy be explicitly connected to research on race and racism in geography. I argue for this linkage while attempting to highlight some of the existing work in geography and related fields that exemplifies its usefulness. Some crucial areas where these intersections can be productively explored and extended include: research on economic competition, segmented labour markets, segregation, ethnic enclaves, political mobilization and environmental racism. These efforts can and do benefit greatly from the strengths of inter-disciplinary work such as that of ethnic studies. Inter-disciplinary work furthers the analysis of racial and ethnic categories within geography, but also encourages other disciplines to recognize the unique contributions geographers can make to understanding the dynamics of space, place and scale. As an example, Laura Pulido's work on environmental racism focuses explicitly on the 'spatiality of racism' by extending the concept of uneven development to include the expression of racism (1996: 36). Other literatures

on racism can also benefit from geography's understanding of its spatiality. The paper concludes with a case study that suggests future directions.

Recent immigration trends and US racial diversity

Immigration is central to the study of race and geography because immigration influences both the demographic make-up of the population and the ways that racial categories are understood and function. Over the last 35 years, immigration trends have significantly changed the racial composition of the USA. The post-1965 waves of immigrants—what many call the 'new immigrants'—reflect increased numbers of Asian and Latino/a⁵ immigrant groups following policy changes that lifted restrictions on immigration from Asian and Latin American countries. The shift has been dramatic. The US Census Bureau calculates that in 1960, 75.0 per cent of the foreign-born population reported their birthplace as Europe, 5.1 per cent as Asia and 9.4 per cent as Latin America. By contrast, in 1990, 22.9 per cent of the foreign-born reported their birthplace as Europe, 26.3 per cent as Asia and 44.3 as Latin America (Gibson and Lennon 1999). These shifts illustrate the importance of considering the racial composition of the USA in the context of immigration.

At the same time, prevailing representations of immigration, especially in the media, emphasize ever larger numbers of Asian and Latino/a migrants arriving in the USA, just as these statistics aggregated at the national scale would suggest. But these representations obscure the continuing influx of immigrants from other sending regions and the range of local variation in immigration. For example, in New York City, a major 'gateway city' for in-migration, the top sender of immigrants in 1995 and 1996

was the former Soviet Union, with an average of over 20,000 immigrants arriving annually in those two years, a 53 per cent increase for this group since the early 1990s. For this period, these immigrants outnumber those from the Dominican Republic, which had been the primary sending country prior to 1995, although the Caribbean remained the largest source region for New York City's immigrants (New York City Department of City Planning 1999). The point here is not to dispute the well-recognized 'Latinization' of New York City and of large US cities in general (Davis 1999; Jones-Correa 1998), but, by drawing attention to various spatial scales, to show that the scale at which flows of immigration are constructed produces particular understandings of those flows, just as Pulido shows that scale is implicated in producing particular conceptions of racism (2000: 19). At the same time, these figures demonstrate the importance of resisting any totalizing picture of all immigrants as 'non-white' peoples, and speak to concerns that the representation of immigration can reflect racist assumptions (see Ellis and Wright 1998 for an excellent critique of the term 'balkanization'). Examining immigration both at multiple scales and against 'native-born' racial groups is essential for understanding the ways that national, state and local level policies and discourses affect these groups differently, and for understanding the larger picture of so-called 'race relations' in general.

Seeing the full diversity of immigrant 'racial-ethnic'⁶ groups disrupts the predominance of the binary Black⁷-white model in the USA that underpins much of the popular and academic discussion of race relations. Moving toward a model that encapsulates the diversity of racial-ethnic groups requires that we consider the various historical and contemporary waves of forced and voluntary migration to the USA, as well as how those migrations reflect the regions

and countries where US foreign policy has been directed. Prominent geographers have already contributed to this more nuanced picture of race relations, with for example, research on California, where histories and continuing processes of immigration have long complicated the Black-white binary (e.g. Gilmore forthcoming, Davis 1990; Walker 1996). These geographical approaches reflect the notion of a 'racial formation' developed by social scientists Michael Omi and Howard Winant, by attempting to historicize and contextualize the development of racial categories and to retain a focus on the 'irreducible political aspect of racial dynamics' (Omi and Winant 1986: 4). This work suggests that, to adequately understand the various spatial scales of the USA's racial formation, we must empirically and theoretically examine the multiple racial groups that continue to immigrate and situate these groups against the backdrop of 'native-born' groups. The demographic changes resulting from immigration thus demand that racialized 'native-born' groups and racialized immigrant groups be examined in relation to each other.

Studies in urban sociology on Black immigrants, for example, demonstrate not only the value of examining immigration and race together, but also the weakness of conceptual models that assume immigrants are always separate from 'Black Americans'. Research on West Indian immigrant communities in New York City bridges the research on immigration and race and raises interesting questions about voluntary versus involuntary migration, about chosen and imposed identities, and about how racial marginalization overlaps with economic marginalization (Kasinitz 1992; Waters 1994, 2000). Focusing on some of the other areas in immigration research where these connections can be made highlights the need to bring research agendas on immigration and race together.

Challenging the model of economic competition

Much has been made lately of shifts in US racial dynamics as a result of globalization and capital mobility, deindustrialization, urban neglect and decline, and the overall transformation from a production-based economy to a predominantly service-based one. Most often we hear that African American urban residents are spatially segregated away from growth economies and jobs (see the spatial mismatch debates, although see also Kasinitz and Rosenberg 1996; Waldinger and Bailey 1991 for compelling arguments that continuing racism is the overlooked factor in these debates). These arguments, especially when examining urban economies, are frequently couched in the context of labour competition between African Americans and new immigrants. Much of the research on low-wage labour pools concentrated in urban areas claims that immigrants are able to survive the global economic shifts that supposedly explain their presence in the USA in the first place. But this survival is often cast as either the ‘bootstrapping’ success of hardworking immigrants taking jobs from ‘native-born’ workers, or the result of African American urban residents’ failure to work as hard as immigrants do. Both versions result in a simplistic model of labour competition which argues that ‘immigration harms minorities’ because ‘immigrant-dominant minorities’ (as computer science professor and anti-immigration advocate Norman Matloff calls them) take jobs from and compete with African Americans for ‘sympathetic attention from the government and the media’ (Matloff 1996: 69). This view assumes competition over resources and even sympathy, rather than alliance between immigrants and African Americans and ignores the deep segmentation of urban labour markets. (For refutations of the competition

thesis, see Waldinger 1996 and Muller 1993, among others. For a refutation of the spatial corollary to the competition thesis—the immigrant-driven flight of the ‘native-born’ from cities—see Wright, Ellis and Reibel 1997.) Mary Waters (1999), writing on the need to connect immigration and race in sociological research, pinpoints scholars’ uneasiness with immigration’s impact on the economic status of ‘native-born’ people of colour as a key reason for the gap between the literatures. She also identifies the role of intra-disciplinary boundaries and of funding agencies in shaping research agendas.

By bringing together established research agendas on race, immigration, poverty and economic exploitation, scholars can better challenge these overly simplistic portrayals of ‘cultures of poverty’ in competition with ‘model minorities’, and the veiled workings of a global white supremacy that often reaches sending countries where immigrants originate. Urban problems can be re-framed beyond inter-racial and inter-ethnic tensions between disenfranchised groups always in competition within local communities. Looking at the racial formation of immigrants and of ‘native-born’ groups suggests that the competition model is produced by particular notions of racial difference. Such an approach questions how anti-immigrant sentiments are the same as or different from the dynamics of racism against African Americans, Puerto Ricans (often cast as immigrants despite their status as US citizens), ‘native-born’ Latinos/as, Asian Americans and Native Americans, and challenges us to consider what these inter-racial and inter-ethnic group tensions mean for US whites. They also suggest that racism is a structural and socio-spatial process that must be understood as relationships ‘between places’ (Pulido 2000: 13).

Other aspects of labour studies in and outside of geography also benefit from addressing

questions of immigration in terms of racial inequality and racism. Persistent historical and geographical questions about the relationship between labour politics, racism and immigration are crucial to examine for those interested in challenging the agenda of exploitative multinational corporations and industries. Pro-labour scholar Barry Bluestone, for example, is surprisingly uncritical of proposals to shift immigration policy toward Canada's 'point-system' approach, which he suggests will produce legal immigrants with higher levels of education and counteract increasing economic polarization in the USA (1995). Recent legislative proposals to increase the number of annual H-1B temporary high-tech work visas similarly suggest that certain classes and races of sojourners are more acceptable than others, at least temporarily in times of labour market shortages.

Inter-disciplinary work in ethnic studies is particularly useful for understanding how processes of racial formation have historically and geographically operated in response to labour needs and with active shaping by the state. For example, work in the area of 'whiteness studies' traces the merging of southern and eastern European immigrant identities such as the Jews, Irish and Italians into a generalized category of 'white ethnics' (Brodtkin 1998; Ignatiev 1995; Roediger 1991; Sacks 1994). These scholars illustrate how class politics in previous historical periods have promoted the processes of 'whitening' for those European immigrants who were seen as racially different and wished to distinguish themselves from African Americans. This body of work also reveals how periods of perceived 'mass' immigration have always been tied into racial anxieties and economic fears among nativist dominant groups that have clear local and regional dimensions. George Lipsitz (1998) develops a theory of the 'possessive investment in whiteness' to describe

the continuous reproduction of invisible structural privileges for whites that spatial patterns of housing, employment and school segregation reflect particularly well. Drawing from ethnic studies, Lipsitz's work examines the construction of whiteness against African Americans, and also against immigrant groups of Asians and Latinos/as. Geographers have begun to build upon 'whiteness studies' as well, and this work suggests the potential of inter-disciplinary approaches that join geography with ethnic studies (see the discussion of 'white privilege' in Pulido 2000; see also Ware 1992 on whiteness and gender).

Spatial concentration: racial segregation and ethnic enclaves

Another critical area of overlap between studies of 'native-born' people of colour and immigrants lies in the intersections between studies of spatial concentration, residential segregation and ethnic enclaves, and the related questions about how space, place, race and ethnicity are mutually constituted. Much of the geographical work on place and racial identity focuses on the social construction of 'race' by the local state, the media, and/or immigrant and racialized communities themselves (see Anderson 1987, 1988, 1991, 1996; Jackson 1987, Jackson and Penrose 1993; Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Ruddick 1996; among others).

Some geographers have challenged many of the social scientific assumptions about ethnic enclaves, such as the notions that enclaves involve only low-end service and production niche economies, are highly spatially concentrated in urban areas, are economically insular or are racially and ethnically homogenous. This work shows that traditional assumptions about concentration and segregation must be rethought as immigrant settlement patterns re-

spond to political and economic changes in urban and suburban development and to globalizing forces. Older linear notions of urban succession can no longer be taken as a given pattern for immigrant settlement. Wei Li (1998), for example, proposes a new model of ethnic settlement and economic activity in the 'ethnoburb', a multi-ethnic, suburban, globally connected and highly class-stratified 'urban mosaic', that describes the Chinese experience in Los Angeles County (see also Alba et al. 1999; Ray, Halseth and Johnson 1997; see Lin 1998 for a discussion of globalization's effect on New York City's Chinatowns).

Other geographers have explicitly examined racism and economic antagonism within the context of immigrant streams and settlement patterns.⁸ Katharyne Mitchell's work examines the migration of wealthy Chinese to Vancouver, British Columbia, and analyses the responses to their settlement by 'native-born' Canadians, flipping the class terms that usually inform conflict over immigrant settlement (1993, 1995). Mitchell also productively engages with and critiques the literatures on diaspora, hybridity and transnationalism that have recently gained considerable academic cache (1997a, 1997b). These literatures often do deal with questions of both race and immigration, but at a level of theoretical discourse not always connected with social scientific inquiry and method. Here too, as Mitchell demonstrates, geographers have an important contribution to make to cultural studies and post-colonial studies in understanding the effects of globalization on mobility and identity in terms of space, place and scale.

These methodological and theoretical approaches push us to make important connections between the literature on racial segregation, so often limited to non-immigrant Black-white segregation (although see Wong 1998 for an attempt to model a multi-ethnic

segregation index), and the literatures on ethnic enclaves, so often conceived of as spatially, racially, culturally and economically homogeneous and self-contained. Removing the boundary that separates research on the processes of racial segregation and of enclave-formation suggests instead that institutional racism, public policy and larger global economic forces are the engines that drive both forms of spatial concentration, but in complex and geographically specific ways. Recognizing these related processes forges other linkages in geographical analyses of institutional and structural forces.

For example, conceiving of both immigrant groups and 'native-born' people of colour as spatially segregated and racialized, but also always in relation to each other and to dominant structures such as the state, suggests the need to analyse multiple spatial scales of state control in relation to questions of segregation and policing. Mike Davis's discussion of the actions of various arms of the state operating at multiple scales in the aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles uprising provides a good example of the importance of understanding immigration policy in conjunction with the urban policing of 'native-born' Blacks and Latinos/as. Davis shows that the local and federal levels of the state acted in concert to 'federalize' and 'federally drive' the state's repression after the uprising (1993: 145). The Los Angeles Police Department and Sheriff's Department were joined by many federal law enforcement agencies (Immigration and Naturalization Service, Border Patrol, National Guard, FBI, Drug Enforcement Administration, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms) in mobilizing against both Black and Latino/a youth and also Central American and Mexican immigrants, even while the uprising was miscast by the mainstream media as a Black-white conflict. By showing the state's flexibility of scale and range

of repressive forces, Davis draws together important connections in domestic and international policy, and opens the way for analyses of 'structural adjustment' directed at people of colour and immigrants at 'home' (1993: 154).

Ruth Wilson Gilmore's work on the Los Angeles uprising and on the expansion of the California prison industrial complex furthers this work on the role of the state—at various spatial and institutional scales—in racial formation and repression (1993a, 1993b, 1997, 1998/99, 1999 forthcoming; see also Woods 1998 for a discussion of how regional power elites operate at multiple scales). By demonstrating the connection between the decline of Keynesianism and the tendency toward internally directed domestic militarism, Gilmore shows that the national security state polices within domestic borders as much as beyond them and reminds us that the prison system is a primary geographic site of racial, ethnic, gender and class segregation. This work illustrates the rich benefits of a complex structural analysis that considers immigration and race, together with class and gender, to understand both the problem of prison expansion and the political mobilizations against it.

Immigration, race and gender

Thus far I have argued that examining many of the crucial questions that join immigration research with research on geography and race requires understanding the different ways that various immigrant and 'native-born' groups have been racialized. In this section, I argue that such work also requires examination of the gendering of those racial dynamics and the spatiality of race and gender. In the poverty debates, for example, attention to gender enhances the analyses of race, geography and immigration. Both before and since passage of

the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (the so-called Welfare 'Reform' Act), poor single women heads of households on public assistance have been routinely represented unsympathetically by some politicians as lazy and unworthy of aid. Recall former California governor Pete Wilson's targeting of immigrant women especially and his comment that reduced welfare payments to mothers and their children would just mean 'one less six pack per week' (quoted in Lipsitz 1998: 50).

As Melissa Gilbert notes, the debates about poverty that contextualized welfare 'reform' reflect the reduction of poverty to "race," gender, unemployment, and the urban environment' (1997: 29). In critiquing the underclass debates, Gilbert notes that 'our ideas about "race," gender, and poverty are not only socially constructed but spatially constructed' through notions of the 'inner city' and 'underclass' neighbourhoods (1997: 32), and also through conceptions of spatialized entrapment for poor women (1998). I would add that, for immigrants, these notions reflect regionally, nationally and globally distinct meanings as well, and construct feminized poverty *as* immigrant poverty in particular cities, states and regions. And just as Linda Peake shows that differences of race and sexuality shape different experiences of urban poverty for women in particular locations (1993, 1995, 1997), so do differences of citizenship and immigration status.

While research on immigration and on race needs to take account of feminist work that theorizes spatial construction, the reverse is also true. Despite notable exceptions such as those above, feminist geography does not always adequately deal with issues of race and immigration. Connecting gender with race, geography and immigration reveals the important contributions, but also the gaps, in existing

bodies of geographical work on gender. Hopefully, more research in geography on gender, race, immigration, space, scale and place will also contribute to the related literatures on feminist studies and ethnic studies.

Immigrants and politicization

The ultimate benefit to making linkages between these research agendas is to attain a better understanding of and to encourage the potential for political mobilization of communities of colour, immigrant communities, working-class communities and communities that fall into more than one of these categories. Geographers can and should challenge the rhetoric behind those political initiatives, such as California's 1994 anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and 1998 anti-bilingual education Proposition 227, that pit 'native-born' people of colour, especially African Americans, against immigrants in contests over resources. While these narratives of competition between immigrant and 'native-born' groups suggest the need for comparative studies, the *hidden* narratives of racial and ethnic affinities and political alliances should also be unearthed (e.g. Gilmore 1997, 1999, forthcoming; Lipsitz 1998). Recent work in the area of geography and environmental racism demonstrates the potential for making alliances between struggles against environmental racism and other struggles among immigrants and people of colour (Pincetl 1996; Pulido 1996). Other research engaged with environmentalism may also benefit from examining racism against and between 'native-born' and immigrant groups. For example, the Sierra Club's 1998 decision not to endorse an explicitly anti-immigration position, made after contentious internal debate, highlights the need to identify overlaps and conflicts between seemingly unrelated political agendas.

Examining immigrant political mobility suggests new ways of considering political mobilization more broadly. Whereas immigrant and white-ethnic political participation fundamentally shaped early twentieth-century urban machine politics, immigrants today are more likely to be disenfranchised from political participation. Perhaps, as Stephanie Pincetl suggests (1994), organizing non-citizen immigrants to vote in local elections is a strategy that takes advantage of differences between different scales of political activity. By conceptualizing the process of negotiating citizenship status as political activity, this work signals an innovative approach to the possibilities for immigrant political participation (see Coutin 2000; Hagan 1994 for accounts of Salvadoran and Mayan undocumented immigrants' negotiation of the legalization process, respectively). Pincetl's work highlights the importance of geographic contributions to research on political organizing around immigration and race and raises several provocative questions: Is there potential for politicization through the naturalization process, at different scales? What are the political possibilities for immigrants who choose to remain permanent residents or who are undocumented? Most importantly, can these struggles be linked with the struggles of other communities of colour and of poor people?

Case study on Chinese immigrant women in New York City

As a way of demonstrating potential new directions for geographical work on immigration and race, this section briefly touches on my ongoing research with Chinese immigrant women in New York City. Hopefully, this case reveals not only the necessity for inclusion of immigration into place-based studies of race, but also the need for empirical work on gender

as well. My work is concerned with drawing out the relationships between capital, the state, community groups and immigrant Chinese women workers (both documented and undocumented) in the New York City metropolitan area. The research aims to show that American nationalisms and racism at different scales strongly inform efforts to construct public knowledge about immigrants and to manage immigrant identities (see Wright 1997 for an excellent discussion of nationalism and immigration; see also Behdad 1997). Hegemonic state nationalism puts forward a superficially colour- and gender-blind view of the American populace which denies that specific groups of immigrants are exploited based on differences of race, gender, class, country of origin and citizenship status. However, institutions of the state such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service control, monitor and police particular immigrant groups, reflecting the agency's role as an arm of the US Department of Justice (Davis 1993). The INS participates in translating the immigrant subject into a racialized, gendered and classed subject. At the same time, other arms of the state constructed at other spatial scales, such as local and state police forces, construct different immigrant subjects differently, partially depending on region, state, city and neighbourhood. The state thus exhibits at least two faces toward immigrants: one that claims to have a universalistic policy toward all immigrants, and another that clearly targets certain races, classes and genders of immigrants in order to control their movement or exploit their labour.

Drawing on work that traces the historical continuity in the state's approach to Chinese and other Asian immigrants, I suggest that Chinese immigration provides an example of various scales of the state having explicitly racialized and gendered policies regarding labour (Dill 1988; Glenn 1991). As Lisa Lowe

(1996) and others have detailed, Chinese exclusion acts functioned historically to control particular groups of male labour for temporary work. The acts were also intended to stifle the reproduction of Chinese communities in the USA by prohibiting the migration of Chinese women in the nineteenth century and isolating Chinese male sojourner labourers (Dill 1988). I suggest that the family reunification policy that exists today echoes the pattern of nineteenth-century sojourner immigration in encouraging migrants to establish themselves perhaps only as temporary workers (as in the case of the H-1B high-tech visas mentioned above), before sending for their families. At the same time, Chinese immigration can be cast by the state, in the interests of American nationalism, as a part of the 'model minority' myth that assumes immigration into urban centres with viable ethnic enclave economies and immigrants' reliance on ethnic networks to establish themselves in economic niches. Drawn in contrast to underemployed groups of Black and Latino/a residents, these immigrants continue to represent the myth of 'bootstrapism'.

The case of poor and working-class Chinese immigrant women in New York City belies this success story, since they remain largely stuck in low tiers of super-exploitative informal economies, like the garment industry. Chinese immigrant men may enter into mid-level garment work, or go into restaurant, grocery store or laundry work, confirming that historically gendered labour patterns persist and are shaped by the notion of the 'non-white' family as a particular kind of economic unit. In developing her notion of American nationalism, Patricia Hill Collins (1998) suggests that the 'nation' is constructed in terms of the 'national family' which brings together ideas about gender, race, immigration and nation. Bonnie Thornton Dill (1988) details the historical relationships between the development of the USA as a state

and nation and the treatment of white versus racial-ethnic women and their families. She shows that white women were part of the 'national family' Collins describes, whereas African American, Chinese and Chicana women and their families were seen as valuable only in their capacity as reproductive workers. I argue that the patterns of Chinese immigrant women's labour confirm the continuation of this model where gendered niche economies exploit women's labour by controlling labour sites and conditions and by taking advantage of racial-ethnic and family bonds. Chinese immigrant women remain the 'private' face of immigrant labour, often doing piecework in the 'private' spaces of their homes that also serve as unregulated work-sites, like so many nineteenth-century 'white-ethnic' homeworkers before them. Much more can be said about this case in relationship to the concerns about immigration, race and gender laid out above. My intention here is merely to sketch an outline of how focused empirical and inter-disciplinary research can illuminate some of the questions I have raised.

Conclusion

I have attempted to show the importance of including a study of immigration processes, immigration policy and immigrants in the broader project of understanding race and geography. A review of the literature on race and geography reveals an overall lack of attention to the connections between immigration issues and the issues of 'native-born' racial groups, but also reveals examples that challenge this omission. Research on immigration can broaden and complicate the study of race in the US context in many useful ways. Methodologically and theoretically, it underscores the inadequacies of Black-white racial binaries. In

terms of policy, looking at immigration informs the debates around domestic benefits, immigration and naturalization laws and procedures, undocumented labour policy, affirmative action, etc., all of which are highly racialized debates. Equally important in terms of the broad imperatives of social science research is the possibility that immigration studies will aid not only policymakers and other theorists of race, but also those groups who organize against institutional and other forms of racism.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Bob Lake, Richard Schein, Linda Peake and the three anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

Notes

- 1 In general, Canadian geographers form an important exception (see Kobayashi 1990; Ray, Halseth and Johnson 1997; among many others). Much ethnic studies work has also extensively drawn connections between race, racism and immigration. My argument here focuses on geographical research done on the USA, and does not intend to dismiss any work that brings immigration and race together. It should also be noted that the lack of a linkage between studies of race and immigration is not limited to the discipline of geography (see Waters 1999 for a useful discussion of this absence in the discipline of sociology).
- 2 'Native-born' is placed in quotes to retain the distinctions between generations born in the USA that may be the descendents of former migrations, forced and voluntary, and colonized indigenous groups, such as Native Americans.
- 3 I use 'people of colour' despite my discomfort with its suggestions of whiteness as normative and of a lack of difference within the category. These connotations are difficult to avoid and are reinforced by other terminology as well. For example, 'minority' and 'non-white' also signal normative whiteness and 'minority' reinforces a

- quantitative inaccuracy at the global scale. Some scholars have suggested that 'emergent majority' is a better term for suggesting the demographic future of the USA's 'non-white' populations, but I find its usage esoteric.
- 4 I apply the term 'racialized' to 'non-white' immigrants and 'native-born' people of colour and not to whites to emphasize the ways that 'whiteness' is normatively invisible as a race. I do not mean to suggest that whiteness is not racialized, but rather that it is often paradoxically racialized as the absence of race.
- 5 The term 'Latino/a' is used to incorporate both genders.
- 6 The term 'racial-ethnic' is borrowed from ethnic studies and captures the racialized aspects of certain ethnic categories, such as 'Latino/a' (Dill 1988; Glenn 1991).
- 7 'Black' and 'African American' are used interchangeably in this paper.
- 8 Focusing on the British case, Susan Smith has explicitly linked immigration, segregation and the 'racialization of residential space' (1988, 1989, 1993). Her work demonstrates the value of understanding immigrant settlement as both a spatial and racializing process and one that is politically constructed.

References

- Alba, R., Logan, J., Stults, B., Marzan, G. and Zhang, W. (1999) Immigrant groups in the suburbs: a reexamination of suburbanization and spatial assimilation, *American Sociological Review* 64: 446–460.
- Anderson, K. (1987) The idea of Chinatown: the power of place and institutional practice in the making of a racial category, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77(4): 580–598.
- Anderson, K. (1988) Cultural hegemony and the race-definition process in Chinatown, Vancouver: 1880–1980, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 127–149.
- Anderson, K. (1991) *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875–1980*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Anderson, K. (1996) Engendering race research: unsettling the self–other dichotomy, in Duncan, N. (ed.) *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*. London: Routledge, pp. 197–211.
- Behdad, A. (1997) Nationalism and immigration in the United States, *Diaspora* 6: 155–178.
- Bluestone, B. (1995) *The Polarization of American Society: Victims, Suspects, and Mysteries to Unravel*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press.
- Brodin, K. (1998) *How Jews Became White Folks*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Collins, P.H. (1998) Intersections of race, class, gender and nation: some implications for Black family studies, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 29: 27–36.
- Coutin, S. (2000) *Legalizing Moves: Salvadoran Immigrants' Struggle for U.S. Residency*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Davis, M. (1990, 1992 edn) *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. New York: Vintage.
- Davis, M. (1993) Uprising and repression in L.A.: an interview with Mike Davis by the Covert Action Information Bulletin, in Gooding-Williams, R. (ed.) *Reading Rodney King: Reading Urban Uprising*. New York: Routledge, pp. 142–154.
- Davis, M. (1999) Magical urbanism: Latinos reinvent the US big city, *New Left Review* 234: 3–43.
- Dill, B.T. (1988) Our mothers' grief: racial-ethnic women and the maintenance of families, *Journal of Family History* 13: 415–431.
- Ellis, M. and Wright, R. (1998) The balkanization metaphor in the analysis of U.S. immigration, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88(4): 686–698.
- Gibson, C.J. and Lennon, E. (1999) *Historical census statistics on the foreign-born population of the United States: 1850–1990, Population Division Working Paper No. 29*. Washington, DC: US Bureau of the Census.
- Gilbert, M. (1997) Identity, space, and politics: a critique of the poverty debates, in Jones, J.P., Nast, H. and Roberts, S. (eds) *Thresholds in Feminist Geography*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 29–45.
- Gilbert, M. (1998) "Race", space, and power: the survival strategies of working poor women, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88(4): 595–621.
- Gilmore, R.W. (1993a) Public enemies and private intellectuals, *Race and Class* 35(1): 69–78.
- Gilmore, R.W. (1993b) Terror austerity race gender excess theater, in Gooding-Williams, R. (ed.) *Reading Rodney King: Reading Urban Uprising*. New York: Routledge, pp. 23–37.
- Gilmore, R.W. (1997) *From Military Keynesianism to Post-Keynesian Militarism: Land Labor, Finance Capital and Opposition in the Rising US Prison State*. PhD dissertation, Department of Geography, Rutgers University.
- Gilmore, R.W. (1998/99) Globalization and US prison growth: from military Keynesianism to post-Keynesian militarism, *Race & Class* 40(2/3): 171–188.
- Gilmore, R.W. (1999) "You have dislodged a boulder": mothers and prisoners in the post-Keynesian California landscape, *Transforming Anthropology* 8(1/2): 12–38.

- Gilmore, R.W. (forthcoming) *Golden Gulag*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Glenn, E.N. (1991) Racial ethnic women's labor: the intersection of race, gender, and class oppression, in Blumberg, R. (ed.) *Gender, Family and Economy: The Triple Overlap*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 173–201.
- Hagan, J.M. (1994) *Deciding to be Legal: A Maya Community in Houston*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Ignatiev, N. (1995) *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge.
- Isserman, A. (1993) United States immigration policy and the industrial heartland: laws, origins, settlement patterns and economic consequences, *Urban Studies* 30: 237–265.
- Jackson, P. (ed.) (1987) *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Jackson, P. and Penrose, J. (eds) (1993) *Constructions of Race, Place and Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jones-Correa, M. (1998) *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kasinitz, P. (1992) *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kasinitz, P. and Rosenberg, J. (1996) Missing the connection: social isolation and employment on the Brooklyn waterfront, *Social Problems* 43: 180–196.
- Kobayashi, A. (1990) Racism and law in Canada: a geographical perspective, *Urban Geography* 11(5): 447–473.
- Kobayashi, A. and Peake, L. (1994) Unnatural discourse, "Race" and gender in geography, *Gender, Place, and Culture* 1(2): 225–243.
- Li, W. (1998) Anatomy of a new ethnic settlement: the Chinese ethnoburb in Los Angeles, *Urban Studies* 35: 479–501.
- Lin, J. (1998) *Reconstructing Chinatown: Ethnic Enclave, Global Change*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lipsitz, G. (1998) *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Lowe, L. (1996) *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Matloff, N. (1996) How immigration harms minorities, *The Public Interest* 124: 61–71.
- Mitchell, K. (1993) Multiculturalism, or the United Colors of capitalism, *Antipode* 25(4): 263–294.
- Mitchell, K. (1995) Flexible circulation in the Pacific Rim: capitalisms in cultural context, *Economic Geography* 71(4): 364–382.
- Mitchell, K. (1997a) Different diasporas and the hype of hybridity, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15(5): 533–553.
- Mitchell, K. (1997b) Transnational discourse: bringing geography back in, *Antipode* 29(2): 101–114.
- Muller, T. (1993) *Immigrants and the American City*. New York: New York University Press.
- New York City Department of City Planning (1999) *The Newest New Yorkers 1995–1996: An Update of Immigration to NYC in the Mid '90s*. New York City: Department of City Planning.
- Omi, M. and Winant, H. (1986) *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Peake, L. (1993) "Race" and sexuality: challenging the patriarchal structuring of urban space, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11: 415–432.
- Peake, L. (1995) Toward an understanding of the interconnectedness of women's lives: the "racial" reproduction of labor in low-income urban areas, *Urban Geography* 16(5): 414–439.
- Peake, L. (1997) Toward a social geography of the city: race and dimensions of urban poverty in women's lives, *Journal of Urban Affairs* 19(3): 335–361.
- Pincetl, S. (1994) Challenges to citizenship: Latino immigrants and political organizing in the Los Angeles area, *Environment and Planning A* 26: 895–914.
- Pincetl, S. (1996) Immigrants and redevelopment plans in Paris, France: urban planning, equity, and environmental justice, *Urban Geography* 17: 440–455.
- Pulido, L. (1996) *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Pulido, L. (2000) Rethinking environmental racism: white privilege and urban development in Southern California, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(1): 12–40.
- Ray, B., Halseth, G. and Johnson, B. (1997) The changing "face" of the suburbs: issues of ethnicity and residential change in suburban Vancouver, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 21(1): 75–99.
- Roediger, D. (1991) *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso.
- Ruddick, S. (1996) Constructing difference in public spaces: race, class, and gender as interlocking systems, *Urban Geography* 17: 132–151.
- Sacks, K.B. (1994) How did Jews become white folks?, in Gregory, S. and Sanjek, R. (eds) *Race*. Brunswick, NJ: New Rutgers University Press, pp. 78–102.

- Smith, S. (1988) Political interpretations of "racial segregation" in Britain, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 423-444.
- Smith, S. (1989) *The Politics of Race and Residence*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Smith, S. (1993) Residential segregation and the politics of racialization, in Cross, M. and Keith, M. (eds) *Racism, the City and the State*. London: Routledge, pp. 128-143.
- Waldinger, R. (1996) *Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Waldinger, R. and Bailey, T. (1991) The continuing significance of race: racial conflict and racial discrimination in construction, *Politics and Society* 19(3): 291-323.
- Walker, R. (1996) California's collision of race and class, *Representations* 55: 163-183.
- Ware, V. (1992) *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History*. London: Verso.
- Waters, M. (1994) Ethnic and racial identities of second-generation Black immigrants in New York City, *International Migration Review* 28(4): 795-820.
- Waters, M. (1999) Sociology and the study of immigration, *The American Behavioral Scientist* 42(9): 1264-1267.
- Waters, M. (2000) *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wong, D. (1998) Measuring multiethnic spatial segregation, *Urban Geography* 19(1): 77-87.
- Woods, C. (1998) *Development Arrested: Race, Power, and the Blues in the Mississippi Delta*. New York: Verso.
- Wright, R. (1997) Transnationalism, nationalism, and international migration: the changing role and relevance of the state, in Staeheli, L., Kodras, J. and Flint, C. (eds) *State Devolution in America: Implications for a Diverse Society*. Urban Reviews Annual Review 48. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 206-220.
- Wright, R., Ellis, M. and Reibel, M. (1997) The linkage between immigration and internal migration in large metropolitan areas in the United States, *Economic Geography* 73: 234-254.

Abstract translations

La place de l'immigration dans les études de géographie et race

Ce travail soutient que les recherches géographiques sur l'immigration ainsi que celles sur la race et le racisme sont explicitement reliées. Des processus

géographiques tels que la mondialisation et le développement urbain établissent déjà un rapport entre immigration, race et racisme aux États-Unis et démontrent le besoin de conceptualiser des programmes de recherche axés sur les liens entre immigration et race. En plus d'être reliés dans l'espace à travers les quartiers, villes et régions des États-Unis, les groupes racialisés sont unis par le biais de politiques d'État appliquées à diverses échelles et la production de récits concernant les groupes 'autres' et subordonnés. Suivant cette prémisse, mon but est de souligner des travaux géographiques en sciences sociales et études ethniques qui démontrent la nécessité et l'utilité de cette approche. Les géographes sont dans une position privilégiée pour mettre en lumière comment les concepts d'espace, lieu et échelle chevauchent ceux d'identité raciale, ethnique et immigrante ainsi que le racisme lui-même. L'article soutient que différentes recherches sur ces questions, et plusieurs autres, peuvent bénéficier de la jonction entre race, immigration et gender, comme certaines géographies et études féministes l'ont largement démontré. De même, les études ethniques offrent un vaste aperçu théorique, méthodologique et empirique des contacts possibles entre immigration, race et racisme en géographie.

Mots clefs: immigration, race, racisme, gender.

El lugar de la inmigración en los estudios de geografía y raza

Este papel da las razones para que se deba unir categóricamente las investigaciones geográficas sobre la inmigración y las investigaciones que tratan de la raza y el racismo. Procesos geográficos como la globalización y el desarrollo urbano ya enlazan la inmigración con los temas de raza y racismo en los Estados Unidos y estos procesos indican la necesidad de conceptualizar asuntos de investigación para tratar juntos los temas de inmigración y raza, el uno en relación con el otro. Los grupos racializados no sólo están vinculados de manera espacial en muchos barrios, ciudades y regiones de los Estados Unidos, sino también por políticas estructuradas por el estado a varias escalas y por narrativas que se produce sobre grupos subordinados y racializados. En hacer este argumento intento destacar aquellos trabajos elaborados en los campos de geografía, ciencias sociales y estudios étnicos que demuestran lo necesario y útil que es este enfoque. Los geógrafos están

exclusivamente posicionados para explicar como la construcción del espacio, el lugar y la escala coincide en parte con la construcción de identidades raciales y étnicas, identidades de inmigrantes y también con el racismo. Sugiero que éstas y otras cuestiones de investigación se benefician de un vínculo entre los temas de raza e inmigración, a un lado, y género al otro como ya se hace en algunos campos de ge-

ografía feminista y estudios feministas. De la misma manera, los estudios étnicos ofrecen abundancia de comprensión teórica, metódica y empírica sobre como relacionar los temas de raza, racismo e inmigración en los trabajos geográficos.

Palabras claves: inmigración, raza, racismo, género.