

measure it. Thus relying on official statistics necessarily leads to either underestimating the importance of the phenomenon, or perhaps acknowledging its existence and then proceeding to ignore it. This is not to say that any individual author should have done a different kind of study, but the book as a whole would have benefited from the inclusion of chapters addressing this phenomenon. This would have been particularly beneficial in the final section on transnationalism—temporary or circular labor migration is the very definition of a transnational phenomenon. Nevertheless, *Migration, Homeland, and Belonging in Eurasia* is an excellent book, and a valuable addition to migration scholarship.

A Nation of Emigrants: How Mexico Manages its Migration, by **David Fitzgerald**. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009. 243pp. \$21.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520257054.

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The book opens with a powerful image: migrant-workers confronting an armed police blockade along the U.S./Mexico border. But contrary to what one may think, it is the Mexican police trying to stop workers from leaving. David Fitzgerald describes the picture of a man whose arms are being pulled in opposite directions: a friend pulling him into the United States, a policeman pulling him back to Mexico. This is a good metaphor for the contradictory demands put on emigrants, Mexican-Americans, and Mexican governments. The image is from 1954 when a renegotiation of the guest-worker “*Bracero Program*” (1946–1964) was stalled; the United States had lost interest in cooperating with Mexico to regulate migration because World War II was over, and a number of undocumented workers were migrating outside of the *Bracero* agreement, which provided (at least on paper) for minimum pay and living conditions. Mexico could not stop all the crossings to the welcoming U.S. labor sites, thus failing to gain leverage with Washington. This book addresses how the Mexican government, the Catholic Church, and sending communities try to manage emi-

gration. This is a must-read for migration policy scholars because it recounts the failed interventions and some unintended consequences derived from U.S. and Mexican migration policies.

Fitzgerald’s book fills a vacuum in the literature on migration and political sociology by looking at the challenges to nation-state formation faced by emigrant-sending states. How can a state control its population when 10 percent live in a neighboring country and another significant portion shuttles back and forth? How can a town keep its identity when some of its members have worked and assimilated into the United States, creating a certain cultural “dissimilarity” (a theoretically useful term provided by Fitzgerald) between those who returned and those who never left? The book is well-researched and full of little-known facts. Fitzgerald revisits a classic field-site, Los Altos, Jalisco in western Mexico, previously studied by Paul Taylor in the 1930s and many others since. Fitzgerald worked in local, state, newspaper, and church archives; carried out fieldwork, interviews, ethno-surveys; and compared the data with towns in the Mexican Migration Project.

Transnationalism reminds us of the importance of looking not only at the places of migrants’ arrival but also at those of departure. Fitzgerald looks masterfully at the different ways federal, state, and local governments keep ties with emigrants. Fitzgerald is informed by recent studies on state-formation, governmentality and nationalism; by carefully looking inside the sending-state, he nuances some of the claims of the transnationalists (p.28). He puts the sometimes-idealized, transnational Hometown Associations (HTAs) in historical perspective, showing how they initially appeared as a response to internal migration. This underlines the institutional precedents of phenomena that are often presented as a result of globalization.

The armed confrontations between liberal governments and the Mexican Catholic Church play an important role. The Cristero War (1926–29) weakened the ability of the Church to tithe its parishioners, at a time when many parishioners emigrated. This made provincial churches change the relation between territoriality and membership

by institutionalizing hometown identity. In the 1940s parishes organized domestic HTAs in major Mexican cities encouraging their sponsorship of religious celebrations. Successful emigrants would often take long trips to their hometowns to donate funds for parties and public works; in exchange, they would gain status and political influence. But as subsequent generations assimilated to city life, and as Mexico underwent a process of nation-building, becoming more homogeneous and inter-communicated, the distinctions between hometowns and cities decreased. Then the Church turned its attention to Mexicans who had decided to settle in the United States and had dollars to spend. The increasing importance of social networks after the *Bracero* era concentrated *paisanos* abroad, making it easier to meet after Mass, and to form transborder HTAs. Mexicans abroad were encouraged to attend church groups devoted to the Virgin of Guadalupe in order to keep both their Catholicism and Mexicanity.

One of Fitzgerald's most original claims is that the Mexican state has copied most of its emigrant management policies from the transnational institution *par excellence*: the Catholic Church (p.98). Following precedents set by the Vatican to minister to Italian emigrants, the Diocese of Jalisco went from an early moral denunciation of emigration to the fostering of voluntary ties with returning prodigal sons and wandering sheep. Fitzgerald appropriately uses Foucault's concept of pastoral power to analyze the change in tactics to sustain loyalty. The church has to administer in order to minister and vice versa. Both the Church and the state have a symbolic and financial interest in emigrants, taxing and tithing being classical examples of institutionalization and state formation. The great irony of the argument being that the Mexican state ended up, consciously or not, emulating the practices of its former mortal enemy: the Catholic Church.

The claim that emigrants should not vote since they may not suffer the consequences of the elected government (p.176) is interesting in terms of political theory, but differs from the data provided in the book which shows the connections and impact that emigrants have on their hometowns. Fitzgerald proposes "*citizenship à la carte*," a regime

under which potential dual-citizens choose what relationship to have with their sending and receiving states. Fitzgerald claims that this arrangement stresses rights over obligations, but this underplays new obligations (remittances, linguistic loyalty) and potential vulnerabilities faced by emigrants (discrimination, deportation, internment). This book will stimulate further research on the relation between culture, institutions, and migrant-sending and receiving states and is a welcome addition to the literature on migration and nation formation.

Metropolitan Migrants: The Migration of Urban Mexicans to the United States, by **Rubén Hernández-León**. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008. 258pp. \$21.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520256743.

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Given the vast amount written about immigration to the United States, particularly Mexican immigration, it might seem hard to cover really new intellectual ground. But in *Metropolitan Migrants*, Rubén Hernández-León does just that. Combining a decade's worth of participant observation in both Mexico and the United States with sample surveys, in-depth interviews, and historical research he paints a nuanced and comprehensive portrait of Mexicans whose origin is urban rather than rural, demonstrating both their similarities and differences from their more familiar rural counterparts.

The book opens with a delightful vignette of children in Monterrey discussing how many tamales they should bring for their upcoming trips back to the United States—those returning to Chicago need more than those only going as far as Houston. While the reader never gets to know these children as individuals, other informants recur in multiple chapters and by the end of the book, it seems as if we know them. For example, we learn how Elena Lerma's son was involved in the cross-border soccer league, which also incidentally aided migrants in crossing the border. We meet Juan González, originally an agricultural migrant from a rural area. His family moved to Monterrey, so when he