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This paper critiques migration scholars' reliance on the ethnic group as a unit of analysis. It argues for the importance of approaching migration studies by examining non-ethnic forms of incorporation and transnational connection. Localities of departure and settlement, especially, as place has been theorized by scholars of neoliberal urban restructuring, proves to be an important entry point for an alternative approach to migration studies. To illustrate this non-ethnic approach to migrant settlement I draw on my exploratory ethnographic research of fundamentalist Christianity as an avenue of migrant local and transnational incorporation. The research was conducted in two small-scale cities, Manchester, New Hampshire, USA and Halle/Saale, Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany.

Keywords: ethnic group, unit of analysis, neoliberal restructuring, fundamentalist Christianity

Ever since Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (1963) advised us to move "beyond the melting pot" in our analysis of immigrant settlement and identity, migration researchers have tended to follow what amounts to a recipe in developing a research design. Choose an interesting gateway or global city, locate an ethnic group, add a research question and mix well. The recipe is much the same, whether the researcher's concern has been to assess the degree of integration into a new locality or to explore the cross-border relationships that migrants maintain or establish. If the research follows a transnational paradigm then there may be another site explored as well – perhaps a village in the migrant's homeland. However, whatever the analytic framework adopted, the narrative often moves between data specific to a sampled population within a specific city or set of cities to generalizations about an entire ethnic group and its pattern of settlement within a specific nation state. Researchers describe "Turks" in Germany, "Mexicans" in the United States; "Pakistanis" in England. If processes of migration settlement are compared across nation-states, then variations among different migrating populations are generally explained in terms of the different opportunity structures including public policies of different states.

The ethnic group research design leaves several key issues under-researched and under-theorized. Among these are possible non-ethnic forms of settlement and transnational connection and the significance of the locality of the city in migrant settlement. The failure to develop a theory of locality is especially ironic because one of the foundations of immigrant studies was the "Chicago School," whose scholars focused on the "ecology" of particular urban neighborhoods, structures, and localized inter-group dynamics (Park and Miller 1921).

The central concern of this chapter is to develop a conceptual framework for the study of migration, settlement, and transborder connection that is not dependent on the ethnic group as the unit of analysis. I argue that localities of departure and settlement, if analyzed within global hierarchies of power, provide a fruitful approach to the study of migration. To illustrate this non-ethnic approach to migrant settlement I draw on my exploratory ethnographic research conducted from 2001 to 2005 in two small-scale cities, Manchester, New Hampshire, USA and Halle/Saale, Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany. The broader study explores multiple pathways of local and transnational incorporation including familial, non-ethnically organized businesses, friendships, charitable, and religious networks. In this paper I use the example of fundamentalist Christian pathways of incorporation. Research on the study of migrant settlement in global or gateway cities has focused on bounded ethnic populations with a shared

identity and mode of incorporation (Clark 2004; Ley 2003; Waldinger 2001; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996). Small-scale cities are particularly important locales to obtain insights to move migration research beyond the study of ethnic groups.

The Problematics of Ethnic Groups as Units of Analysis

Studies of what researchers often call ethnic "communities" document divisions based on class, gender, generation, religion, region of origin, or politics among members of the "same" group. Building on the need to acknowledge internal diversity, recent work on "superdiversity" in British cities recognizes the impossibility of using ethnic lens for both research and policy. Yet this perspective does not offer an approach completely free from the grip of ethnic research categories (Vertovec 2005). The ethnic lens is faulted as a useful descriptive tool because the increasing fragmentation of ethnic groups in terms language, place of origin, legal status, and stratification produces too much complexity for policy development tailored to reflect ethnic cultural difference. Other researchers have contested the facile use of concepts of "ethnic community" and detailed the institutional processes through which ethnic categories and identities are constructed and naturalized (Brubaker 2004; Çaglar 1990, 1997; Erikson 1994; Glick Schiller 1977, 1999; Glick Schiller et al. 1987a, b; Hill 1989; Rath and Kloosterman 2000; Sollors 1989).

Despite the contributions of the constructionist perspectives and the manifold descriptions of diversity within what is being characterized as a culturally uniform group, most migration scholars continue to use "ethnic community" as both the object of study and the unit of analysis in migration research. Some researchers such as Stephen Castles (Castles and Miller 1993; Castles and Davidson 2000) have moved from an initial concern with the migration process as a globally shared migrant experience to discussions of "ethnic mobilization", "ethnic politics" and "ethnic minorities". The new diaspora studies perpetuate the problem by defining the unit of study as people who share an ancestry and a history of dispersal (Gillespie 1995; Aksoy and Robbins 2002; Robbins and Aksoy 2001; Sökefeld 2003). The ethnic lens used by these scholars shapes – and, in my opinion, obscures – the diversity of migrants' relationships to their place of settlement and to other localities around the world.

The use of ethnic groups as units of analysis is a logical but unacceptable consequence of the methodological nationalism of mainstream social science. I have defined methodological nationalism as an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social processes and historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of

individual nation-states. Those who adopt this stance speak as if nation-states were discrete societies whose members cohere because they share a homogeneous culture that includes common values, norms, customs and institutions (Beck 2000; Martins 1974; Smith 1983; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002a, b; Beck 2006). Some writers prefer to label this orientation the *container* theory of society to highlight the ahistorical view that the territorial borders of a nation-state are envisioned bound economic, political, and social processes (Urry 2000). I find the term *methodological nationalism* more useful, however, because it reminds us that conventional "objective" social theory harbors a political position.

To posit that it is migration that introduces diversity into the territory of a nation-state is a stance that excludes from analysis the many sources of difference within a national population as well as the shared commonalities of native and migrant. Caught in a logical loop that arises from the way they enter the study of migration in the first place, social scientists in North America and Europe continue to debate theories of migrant settlement such as the "new assimilationism" of US scholars or renewed calls for integration in Germany (Alba and Nee 2003; Brubaker 2004; Heckmann 2003; Sackmann et al. 2003). These debates are seriously disconnected from ethnographies that describe migrants' lives and from several decades of historical research documenting past transatlantic migrations.

The ethnic lens is a product of 20th century nation-state building processes that legitimated a political ideology that portrayed individuals as having only one country and one identity. Consequently, when assessing the implications of migration across state borders, researchers came to see differences in national origin as the most significant social and cultural divide within the population of a particular nation-state. Through a single discursive act those who were native to the territory of a nation-state were seen to have a shared and homogenous culture; those departing from one national territory to settle in another were likewise seen as sharing identity and culture so that they became identified by the nationality of their homeland (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002a, b). At the beginning of the 20th century these migrating populations were identified as "nationalities" or "races". By the end of the 20th century they had become "ethnic groups" to scholars, although the earlier discourse still remains embedded in popular narratives.

The facile use of ethnic labels for the unit of analysis in studies is problematic for several reasons. First of all, taking the ethnic group as the unit of analysis often results in the exclusion of non-ethnic forms of social settlement and connection. These other social relationships include familial, religious, economic, occupational, class, political, social, and

locally based networks of interaction, each with their concomitant forms of identity and possibilities of local, national, and transnational connection and incorporation. Such non-ethnic social relationship may preclude or be simultaneous with ethnic forms of organization. But unless we begin with a different unit of analysis, non-ethnic interactions and identifications are often routinely precluded from the final narrative (Çaglar 1997). For example, when Nina Glick Schiller and her colleagues (Glick Schiller et al. 1987a, b) studied Haitian migrants to document the forces that contributed to the emergence of a Haitian ethnic identity in New York City, she and her colleagues only followed the networks organized around Haitian identity. They neglected the ties that people had with local block associations, parent-teach school based associations, or religious organizations that chose a Christian, Daoist, or Muslim rather than Haitian identity. Similarly, when tracing transnational connections, Glick Schiller and Fouron (1999, 2001) highlighted family ties that led into political projects and identities. They were much less interested in those families enmeshed in agendas of personal or family mobility that were unmoored from identification with culture and nation.[1]

Ethnic pathways are only one of many diverse pathways of incorporation migrants establish (Werbner 1999). Non-ethnic forms of migrant incorporation connect migrants in social relationships built on factors other than a claim to common culture, peoplehood, or history given by the "ethnic" category. Political mode of incorporation, whether local or transnational, for example, can follow an ethnic pathway so that ethnic networks are used to organize social relationships with institutions such as a political party (Gerstle and Mollenkopf 2001; Guarnizo et al. 2003). However, migrants may become linked to political institutions through non-ethnic pathways that highlight other aspects of their lives including religion. In my research in both Manchester and Halle migrants generally have become members of city councils or state legislatures through their engagement in local party politics rather than through the support of an ethnic constituency.[2]

Religion also provides diverse pathways of both locally and transnational incorporation. While some migrants build religiously organized ethnic and homeland ties, others pursue religious pathways that are specifically non-ethnic. Although most research on migration and religion highlights ethnic identities and homeland ties, some scholars of religious pathways emphasize religious identities and networks (Chafetz and Ebaugh 2002; Corten and Marshall-Fratani 2001; Karagiannis and Glick Schiller 2006; Robbins 2004; Vásquez and Marquardt 2003). These researchers trace the contemporary growth of globe-spanning religious

networks and organizations to the development of unequal globalization (Vásquez in press; Vásquez and Marquardt 2003). Islam, in particular, is being studied as a global project, with its transnational networks coming under intense scrutiny (Allievi and Nielsen 2003; Schiffauer 1999). Caribbean and Latin American migrants' appropriation of conservative U.S. Pentecostalism as a response to their economic, social, or legal marginalization in urban contexts has been increasingly researched (Brodwin 2003; Gill 1990). Much of the research on migrant settlement and transnationalism in the United States and Europe, however, conflates religion and ethnicity, whether scholars have studied Christian or Muslim migrants (Hunt and Lightly 2001; van Dijk 2000; Warner and Wittner 1998; Amiraux 2001).

By assuming that a population being studied already share an ethnic identity, the analyst may neglect or obscure processes of local and transnational incorporation that eventuate in the emergence of ethnic or panethnic identities and organizations. None the less, migration scholars persist in beginning their research by defining their units of study and analysis in ethnic terms. At best, careful researchers who begin with an ethnic lens conclude that the migrants in their study chose non-ethnic forms of incorporation. This is certainly a widely reported conclusion in the literature on ethnic entrepreneurs and enclaves. Researchers have noted that manufacturers and small businessmen conducted business, sought workers and built a customer base that were varied in their ethnic backgrounds (Light et al. 1999; Portes 1995; Rath and Kloosterman 2000).[3] Yet despite the consistency of these findings, the concept of the ethnic entrepreneur as the general pattern of migrant settlement has assumed a life of its own in the literature on migration.

And finally, the scale of the particular locality of departure and settlement is rarely systematically examined, compared, and theorized because the unit of analysis is the ethnic group within or across the borders of a nation-state rather than place-based migration. I argue that an advance in studying the role of locality in migrant incorporation locally and transnationally can be made by developing and deploying the concept of city scale. As developed by Neil Brenner (1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2004), Neil Smith (1995), Erik Swyngedouw (1992, 1997), and others, working from initial formulations of Henri Lefebvre (1991), scale theory allows one to take locality into consideration but within the intersection of hierarchies of power. The term *scale* can be defined as the summary assessment of the differential positioning of cities determined by the flow and control of capital and structures of power as they are constituted within regions, states, and the globe. An assessment of scalar position is particularly

necessary in the contemporary context of neoliberal global capitalism, in which cities are no longer embedded within a nested hierarchy of power that is primarily structured by regional and nation-state institutions. Cities increasingly must compete globally and respond to global institutional forces as well as state policies, which themselves relate to cities within the national territory in a differentiated way.

Several discrete aspects of state policy and capitalist investment are subsumed under the rubric of the "neoliberal agenda" (Harvey 2005). These include the reduction in state services and benefits, the diversion of public monies and resources to develop private service-oriented industries from health care to housing (sometimes in arrangements called "public–private partnerships"), and the relentless push toward global production through the elimination of state intervention in a host of economic issues from tariffs to workers' rights. Each of these aspects of neoliberalism has different impacts on particular urban areas, but all affect the relationship between migrants and cities of settlement. The new and differential pressures on cities have been addressed by scholars concerned with neoliberal urban restructuring (Brenner 2004; Guldbrandsen 2005; Brenner et al. 2003). These scholars have noted that, increasingly, local officials must work to attract foreign capital and market their cities by recasting their localities as centers of knowledge, finance, tourism, and cultural industries (Çaglar 2007; Rath 2006; Guldbrandsen 2005; Henry et al. 2002; Holland et al. 2006; MacLeod and Goodwin 1999; Zukin 1991). It is also clear that in the competition between cities, there are winners and losers. Just how a city is rescaled within this continuing quest for positioning, both globally and within the state territoriality has implications for the opportunities it provides for its migrants. Within the changing geography of networked spaces in contemporary globalization, the relational inequalities between the places shape the differential livelihood possibilities of the inhabitants, including the migrants, of the cities. The demise of Keynesian economic policies that relied on the redistribution of tax revenues to reduce regional disparities within national borders and the advent of neoliberal agendas, although implemented to different degrees in different nation-states, account for the increased salience of scale factors in assessing the fate of specific cities.

Although the art of assessing city scale is relatively underdeveloped, it is possible to develop a series of measures that mark the differences between small-scale cities and global cities (Sassen 1992). Indicators of a small-scale city include relatively small finance and banking sectors, lack of corporate command and control centers, difficulty in attracting flows of capital for the growth of dynamic forms of sectoral activities such as

technology, a marked lack of employment opportunities for college-educated youth, a shrinking local tax base, and an almost complete lack of money for locally funded social programs. The size of the population of the city, rather than being an absolute measure, is a reflection of regional, national, and global relationships; it is not, in and of itself, an indicator of scale but very often interacts with the factors just listed. Proximity to other urban centers also must be considered in scalar assessment, as the latter is an outcome of the vertical as well as the horizontal connectivity of the cities in question (Sheppard 2002).

The existing literature on neoliberal urban restructuring has not addressed the relationships between migration and cities, although a few seminal studies demonstrate that urban officials and elites view questions of migration from the perspective of their city's struggle for positioning with respect to regional, national, and global flows of capital (Henry et al. 2002; MacLeod and Goodwin 1999). Migration scholars confront the challenge of situating migrants, their social relations, their local trajectories of opportunities and variations in identity politics within an analysis of the contemporary rescaling of cities. In moving in this direction Jonathan Friedman's (2001, 2002) insights into the global processes of "double polarization" will prove useful. Double polarization refers to the fluctuations in power contained within the contemporary transformations of the global system and the accompanying dislocations of wealth, hegemony, and spatial hierarchies that produce two simultaneous tensions. Friedman notes that the growing salience of a politics of identity – national, ethnic, and religious – is anchored in a worldwide shift. Whereas the vertical polarization pulls the political and cultural elites upwardly and transnationally, this very same process pushes the lower echelons of societies into a horizontal competition for resources on the basis of religious, ethnic, and cultural categories. This complex process of "double polarization" of cultural fragmentation and the formation of economic, social, and cultural transnational networks set the context for the urban transformations we observe in different parts of the world in current neoliberal times.

If scale is indeed an important variable in shaping migrant incorporation, including the establishment of transborder networks, then it is important to develop research in cities of different scale to complement what is known about the cultural politics of global cities and their migrants. If we accept that the success of places in global urban restructuration is contingent on their relational advantage in terms of economic, political an cultural characteristics, then the factor of migration must be considered as both as an outcome of and a contributor

to the scalar positioning of a city. Not only do we have to analyze the local pathways of migrant incorporation in close relationship to scalar positioning of the cities, but we also have to take the migrants into consideration in the scalar assessment of cities. Migrants are an important part of the politics of scale. Small-scale cities may contain social capital and community-building strategies that are shaped by the scarcity of economic capital, commercial opportunities, and professional employment. That is to say, cities that differ in scalar dimensions may make certain modes and pathways of incorporation more salient. For example, whereas migrants in cities of various scales are turning to forms of born-again Christian identity, this form of incorporation may have heightened importance in small-scale cities.

If scale is indeed an important variable in shaping migrant incorporation, including the establishment of transborder networks, then it is important to identify the scale factors at play in the sending and receiving localities of individual migrants. Aside from some pioneering work on global cities, this task has generally been neglected. The dominance of an ethnic model of migration analysis means that migrants from villages are lumped together with migrants from large cities under an ethnic label such as Turkish, Pakistani, or Dominican (Werbner 1995; Torres-Saillant and Hernandez 1998).[4] The ethnic model equally obscures the significance of locality of settlement. While in urban studies global cities are identified for comparative purposes as differing significantly from other cities in terms of their degree of global integration, in migration studies these same urban centers are relabeled as gateways and their reputed singularity in power hierarchies is disregarded. This single discursive move makes it legitimate to use data from cities such as New York, London, Berlin and Los Angeles as representative of the process of the settlement of an ethnic throughout an entire nation-state. Each ethnic group is assumed to have a uniform mode of incorporation throughout the national space. The ethnic lens homogenizes the differentiated opportunities, processes, and forms of migrant incorporation within the national territory.

Meanwhile, comparative studies of migrant settlement in different nation-states usually have been made by contrasting state policies and assuming that modes of migrant integration within a state vary according to the policy of each state and the culture of each ethnic group.[5] In contrast, I argue that not only the state policies but also the actual impact of public policies need to be explored in relation to the location of particular places within the national space. Local opportunity structures are influenced by city scale and in times of neoliberal globalization, they could not be considered to be homogenous within the national space.

Towards a Conceptual Vocabulary to Study Non-ethnic Forms of Simultaneous Incorporation

In the approach I am advocating, I set aside the language of integration and assimilation, whether old or new. Similarly I discard sterile debates of assimilation versus transnationalism, understanding that incorporation can be local, national, and global at the same time. The focus becomes processes and social relations rather than on culture, identity, or the "functional" domains of integration within a particular nation-state. This focus encourages the exploration of multilevel ties within and across the boundaries of nation-states and facilitates the discussion of simultaneity – incorporation both within a nation-state and transnationally (Glick Schiller 2003, 2005a; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004).

Seeking a conceptual vocabulary that does not obfuscate from the outset the local and transnational processes being queried, I use the term *incorporation*. *Incorporation* can be defined as the processes of building or maintaining networks of social relations through which an individual or an organized group of individuals becomes linked to an institution recognized by one or more nation-states. My entry points into the study of incorporation are individual migrants, the networks they form, and the social fields created by their networks. Social fields are networks of networks that may be locally situated or extend nationally or transnationally (Glick Schiller 2003, 2005b). Incorporation can be situated within or across nation-states and local, national, and transnational pathways of incorporation can be built simultaneously and reinforce each other (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Social fields are the aspect of social relations through which broader social forces enable, shape, and constrain individual migrants and their networks. Although the approach I am advocating provides the conceptual space to follow individuals into organized groups, it is not dependent on the study of formally organized activities. Consequently, this analysis takes into account the impact of social structures and global forces in shaping social fields while moving the study of migrant incorporation beyond the scholarly preoccupation with organized membership (formal employment, legal status, or citizenship) or subjective identification. Moreover, each mode of incorporation has multiple possibilities. I speak of "multiple modes of incorporation" and delineate diverse pathways within each mode (Glick Schiller et al. 2005). Individual migrants may incorporate using one or several modes of incorporation and follow different pathways within each mode. The same individual for example might engage in ethnically based politics and non-ethnically organized religious and business activities.

Examining a Non-ethnic Pathway of Simultaneous Incorporation: Born-again Incorporation

On first approach the two born again churches in Halle/Saale Germany in which I worked could be seen as ethnic organizations, one predominantly Congolese and the other predominantly Nigerian. But it is significant that the members of congregation did not see themselves in ethnic terms – at least in the context of prayer and of building the church. They were not building an ethnic church identified by the cultural or national identity of its members. Rather both churches in Halle, the English speaking predominantly Nigerian Miracle Healing Church and the L'Esprit Church, the French Speaking predominantly Congolese situated themselves within a global Christian mission and in organizations that linked them not to homeland churches but to a Pentecostal movement now being organized throughout Germany, Europe and globally. As is legally necessary, both were formally registered in Germany. In addition, both congregations worked with a native German Pentecostal church in Magdeburg to become formal members of a German Pentecostal organization (Bund Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden, or BFP), which provided them with access to a broad network of Pentecostal churches. In the summer of 2003 members of the English speaking church, the Miracle Healing Church, attended a large prayer conference in Berlin that sought to take Berlin for God. By 2005 the Miracle Healing church, supported by a US missionary Mennonite church and a German missionary project led by a German-Egyptian pastor, held its own prayer conference in Halle. The conference, at which many people were 'healed' and 'delivered' from demons sent by Satan, attracted more than 250 people, most of whom were German.

The pastors of both churches belonged to transnational religious networks which brought visiting preachers to their church on a regular basis. Both the fact of these networks and the sermons of the visitors reinforced for church members that they were part of a broader project of ridding the city of Satanic forces and winning Halle and Germany for God. Migrants of both churches stated 'it was not by accident that I came to this city.' They saw themselves not as ethnics but as God's missionaries being sent to do his work.

The significance of this doctrine and the transnational networks that foster and reinforce this set of beliefs becomes clear when I look at the emergence of the Resurrection Crusade, a coalition of more than eighteen born-again congregations in Manchester New Hampshire, USA.[6] The Resurrection Crusade was organized by Heaven's Gift, a Nigerian refugee, who settled in Manchester five years ago. He was able to obtain refugee status, at least in part, because of his membership in a global Christian

network and he brought those network connections to Manchester. The member churches of the Resurrection Crusade include migrants but the majority of most of the congregations were white natives of New Hampshire. In Manchester, the Crusade became significant enough that the Republican Governor of New Hampshire and the Democratic Mayor of Manchester attended their prayer breakfasts. Of the 150 people who also attended the breakfasts, most were non-immigrant white New Hampshire residents but about one fifth of the participants were immigrants from several African and Latin American countries and the Philippines. At the Breakfasts and during Prayer conferences and other events, Heaven's Gift repeatedly led those assembled to pray that God will take over Manchester.

In a city such as Manchester, NH forming a Nigerian congregation would have been difficult since there were only a handful of Nigerians in the city and they included Catholics and Muslims. However, Heaven's Gift might have had success in using a pan-ethnic African identity to form a church. There are several hundred African Protestants in Manchester and an African identity is becoming part of public discourse and these migrants' self-ascription. Instead, Heaven's Gift joined a home church that was mostly white working class but included in its ranks migrants from Ghana, Iraq, and Sudan. And he invested most of his energies into building a religious network that linked believers together on the basis of a born-again Christian rather than ethnic, national, or racial identity.[7] In Halle, there were enough migrants to organize Nigerian and Congolese churches that foregrounded a national identity and linked the congregations to homeland churches. This path of incorporation, which can be found in other larger scale cities such as London where there are Nigerian identified congregations, was not taken in Halle (Hunt and Lightly 2001).

The Resurrection Crusade belonged to a 'born again' Christian social field that extends around the world. It included a Nigerian pastor now living in England and a husband and wife evangelical team from Texas who make yearly visits to Manchester in a circuit that takes them around the world. They brought with them and infused into the prayers of the Manchester churches a militant language calling for 'spiritual warfare' by 'prayer warriors.' The Texas couple headed a US Prayer Center that produced books, videos, and DVD's and distributes them into dozens of countries. They were expert in 'spiritual housecleaning,' a process of prayer that claimed to remove demonic forces from a house. As do the pastors and members of the two churches in Halle and Heaven's Gift and members of the Crusade in Manchester, these white American Texas preachers portray world events and human sickness in terms of an ever-present battle between God and Satan. The Crusade trains "prayer intercessors"

in "strategic or city level spiritual warfare" against the devil that assigns his "territorial spirits to rule geographical territories and social networks (Smith 1999:23). In 2005 the Crusade established a Prayer Center in an office building in the business district of Manchester where Christians could come to pray or could call to speak to a spiritual counselor.

The Crusade was more than an organizational nexus. It had its own individual activists who pulled members and their own personal networks into an expanding field of Christian activity and connection. Between 2002-2005, migrants from all over the world increasingly joined this social field that was constructed and expanded by Heaven's Gift and his core activists. The number of migrants in the core also increased. About twenty percent of those who attended conferences, prayer breakfasts, and prayer events sponsored by the Crusade were migrants of African, Caribbean, Latin American, and Asian origin. Most of the congregations that joined the Crusade were composed primarily of white New Hampshire natives, with a smattering of migrants. There was a Spanish speaking congregation and an African American congregation that participated in Crusade activities but these churches did not define themselves in ethnic terms but as true born-again Christians.

The transnational religious connections of the pastors in both Halle and Manchester were important for locating migrants into multilayered networks and for providing legitimacy and social ties for individual migrants. Heaven's Gift brought the US Prayer Center's leading preachers to speak at prayer conferences in Manchester. In the course of several years, the core members of the Crusade, both migrants and natives, established personal relationships with these preachers. Shaking hands with the Mayor or Governor, hosting visiting preachers who have met presidents or kings or sharing personal testimony with them during intimate prayer sessions gave the migrants who participated in activities of the Crusade a sense that they personally were part of something powerful and they had access to power. The Crusade website linked them to the website of the US Prayer Center where network members could see the same Texas preachers who prayed with them in Manchester posed with Miss America, Benny Hinn (a globally known preacher) and pastors in Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Nigeria and Indonesia (U.S. Prayer Center 2004). The mailings they received from the US Prayer Center informed them that there is now "One Superpower Under God" and promised copies of a book by President Bush if they donated money. Migrants reported that because their born-again networks stretched into the US White House and into centers of power throughout the world, they know they will obtain whatever they need.

Joshua, the pastor of the Miracle Church, aspired to provide similar experiences for his congregants. The Miracle Healing participated in the Morris Cerullo World Evangelism organization to which Heaven's Gift in Manchester had some connection. Morris Cerullo has met with important dignitaries in the Philippines, Jordon, and Russia where he claims to have preached to crowds of up to 100,000 (Morris Cerullo World Evangelism 2005). Pastor Joshua had not met Cerullo but he hopes to attend conferences in the future. Joshua has insured that the Miracle Church sent funds to Cerullo's efforts convert Jews in Israel. He and the activists of his church, both Nigerian and native German, also have developed ties to born-again Christian missions and missionaries in Halle who were themselves part of broader German or transnational religious organizations. There were several such organizations in Halle, including a US based Mennonite mission that attracted growing numbers of German converts and a mission led by an Egyptian-German man and his German wife who strove to unite born-again Christians in Halle using a rhetoric similar to that of Heaven's Gift in Manchester.

In Halle, as in Manchester, weak ties had significance in several different ways (Granovetter 1973). Through their pastors, both the migrant Christians and the German natives of the city were exposed to and experienced themselves as part of overlapping Christian globe spanning networks in ways that imparted to them a sense of belonging and connection to the city. These networks allocated to the believers the task of bringing God to the city. The validated the presence of the migrants in the city and the ability of the migrants in linking natives to religious movements and important persons beyond the city.

The ties that connected the local to the global were a form of social capital that could on occasion be shrewdly manipulated. Heaven's Gift had been able to come to the United States as a refugee through such ties. A previous pastor of the Miracle Church has used transnational ties to Belgium to obtain asylum there. Church networks facilitated employment and housing opportunities in Manchester and marriage opportunities, which open different venues of participation in Halle. Relationships to Christian projects elsewhere situate migrants in broader Christian missionary projects and reflect and reinforce their understanding and the understanding of the native church members that migrants are part of a movement that reaches far beyond the city in which the migrants settle.

How Do Scale Factors Affect Local and Transnational Incorporation?
To provide the context for the non-ethnic Christian pathways of local and global incorporation that I found in both Manchester and Halle, it is

helpful to compare these cities from the perspective of the factors of scale that shape the lives of migrants and natives. In Manchester and Halle, ethnic community formation is difficult because of the lack of a number of factors that are generally taken for granted in research on ethnic groups in large-scale or global cities. The cities lack a critical mass of migrants of a single ethnic group, resources for ethnic organizing, an ethnic niche economy, a continuity of migration, and a migrant population with an established middle class or a history of intellectual leadership.

Halle/Saale and Manchester, New Hampshire, can be understood as small-scale cities. The two cities share certain factors in their relationship to hierarchies of political and economic power that can be summarized in terms of their scalar positioning. Although they are similar in terms of the absolute size of their metropolitan area populations, each numbering under 250,000, it is their similarities of scale that are important to compare.[8] Both are, relatively speaking, marginalized cities, on the peripheries of more successful urban centers. Despite the efforts of each city to project a high-tech profile, both cities have found themselves in relatively weak competitive positions within national and global urban hierarchies. At this point, I can only begin to outline the similarities of scale, but the evidence I have assembled provides a useful perspective on what otherwise might seem puzzling aspects of the relationship between each city and its migrants.

Halle is a declining industrial city characterized by low-wage jobs and a high rate of unemployment, its scalar position considerably weakened by German unification in 1989. An arts and culture project funded by the German Federal Cultural Foundation conferred on Halle a dubious distinction by designating it as a "shrinking city," noting that it had lost 70,000 people in a decade (Long 2004). Competing with the neighboring city of Leipzig and located 100 miles from Berlin, the nearest large-scale city, Halle has had trouble attracting investments in new high-tech enterprises and institutions that oversee and service finance capital. After unification, the large industrial plants that were the base of its economy were sold to foreign investors. More than 30,000 people lost their jobs when most of the factories were closed or downsized. Some German and EU capital has been invested in Halle over the past 15 years but not in sectors that provide much employment for local people or migrants. Banking and commercial enterprises have been built, housing has been renovated, and redevelopment in the city center continues. Although there has been some investment in the modernization of Halle's industrial sector to increase productivity, this type of investment has done little for the city as a whole because the retooling has resulted in the employment of far

fewer workers (Barjak 2000). Since the 1990s, the level of unemployment in the city has been very high (just under 20 percent in 2004), leading to severe competition for even unskilled work and illegal work. In addition, construction and supply contracts often go to firms from western Germany, which means that investment capital does not provide profits for local companies or, often, even employment for local people. Most of the people who have benefited from the reconstituted financial sector have come from western Germany. The limited size of this sector has left few professional jobs for natives of the east and almost none for migrants, especially for non-EU nationals.

The city leadership of Halle has spoken of developing the city as a center of knowledge and technology on the basis of its 19th-century history as a center of science and its current hosting of several German research institutions and a 500-year-old university. In an effort to boost its scientific resources, two research institutes were located in Halle in the 1990s. City leaders have been hampered in their effort to develop the profile of Halle as a knowledge center, however, because Halle is not a political center. After German reunification in 1989, Halle, although the biggest city of the new state of Sachsen-Anhalt, lost the competition to become the capital of the state. Without political power, the city leaders could not prevent the closure or restructuring of academic departments within the city's university and medical school, which impeded their ability to command the nexus of resources that might transform the city.

In 2004, on the city's own website, Halle officials described the city as "the nucleus of a wide area constituting an economic metropolis, in which service industries and technology centers predominate" (Halle die Stadt n.d.). Yet the same website reported that the "best known local products are Hallorenkugel chocolates, Kathi cake mix, and railway rolling stock built at Ammendorf," ignoring the low-tech nature of chocolate and cake-mix production and the closure of the railway-car factory. In 2005, the biggest economic news was the opening of a call center, which assured several hundred jobs, although most were neither high tech nor high salaried.

Since the 1990s, the level of unemployment in the city has been very high (just under 20 percent in 2004), leading to severe competition for even unskilled work and illegal work. Non-EU migrants with legal permission to work have found few opportunities for employment and even less chance for occupational mobility. Within this rather grim picture, some migrants have established small businesses, realizing that business development is the only path to employment for themselves and members of their families and networks. Because the native population, with its socialist background,

did not have much commercial experience or access to wholesale networks, migrants have been able to compete with natives, although the poverty of the local population sets the parameters of the types of businesses that can succeed. This was especially true of start-up retail businesses in the early 1990s. More recently, migrant businesses often have been offshoots of businesses first established elsewhere in Germany and then expanded into underdeveloped market niches.

Because of the factors that discourage migrant settlement, the number of foreigners in Halle was rather low, especially in comparison with German cities of larger scale. Although the size of the migrant population of Halle doubled between 1990 and 2000, migrants constituted only four percent of the population, with the largest number coming from the European Union. Among the non-EU foreigners, African migrants from a wide range of countries and Vietnamese constituted small but visible minorities. There were Kurdish refugees from several countries but, unlike many other German cities, there were very few Turkish residents. Given the local economy, few migrants have voluntarily come to Halle. Most have come through resettlement policies that distribute refugees among all the German states and do not permit resettlement without an offer of employment. Most refugees who can, leave and settle in western Germany, where the possibilities for both legal and "off the books" employment are much greater. The migrants who remained include people in a diverse array of legal categories: asylum seekers, who were not allowed to seek employment or move; refugees or immigrants with German partners or children through such partners; elderly refugees, either Russian Jews or "ethnic Germans" who did not believe they would be employable elsewhere in Germany; students; small business owners; and workers recruited within business networks. City leaders often portrayed migrants as uneducated and undesirable, in contrast to the technologically skilled foreigners they hope will come rebuild the city as a center of knowledge. Nevertheless, there were skilled professionals among the unemployed migrants. Some of them had even been educated in Halle. In fact, relatively few migrants actually were without some education.

Fifty-eight miles north of Boston, Massachusetts, Manchester is not a shrinking city; in fact, according to is own promotional material, Manchester was designated the seventh "Best Small City for Doing Business in America" in 2005 (Manchester Economic Development Office n.d.). And yet, like Halle, Manchester faces severe problems in terms of the competition for investment capital, for high-tech industries, and for well-paying jobs. Manchester lost most of its large-scale industry between the 1930s and the 1960s. In the 1990s, Manchester, like Halle, experienced

an influx of capital, including investment in the industrial sector. This led to a brief period of optimism in which it seemed that small, non-unionized factories with low wages and a short, flexible supply chain to high-tech and defense industries centered in the greater Boston area might contribute to an economic resurgence in Manchester (Gitell 2001). Many of these industrial shops (including operations that manufactured wire and cable, light bulbs, and other materials for defense and electronics products) were actually parts of large transnational corporations whose headquarters and primary investment centers were elsewhere. A new reversal of fortunes began with the high-tech crash in 2000, and in the following years manufacturing also declined. The percentage of the workforce employed in manufacturing in New Hampshire declined from 13.4 percent in 1998 to 9.5 percent in 2004. Because it was through this type of production that the city played a larger role within complex regional and international supply chains that triggered foreign direct investment, the decline in manufacturing in the city weakened its links to global markets. Although service industries have grown, they have done so in ways that reflect the small scale of the city. Much of the service sector is concentrated in hospitals and other charitable institutions. Meanwhile, expansion of the population provided some employment in construction. Through the short-term high-tech boom and the subsequent crash and moderate recovery, Manchester did succeed in maintaining a rate of unemployment that is lower than in much of the United States and dramatically lower than in Halle. The rate was 2.4 percent in 2000 and 4.3 percent in 2004 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2006).

Unlike Halle, which has a rapidly shrinking population, Manchester has grown in size since 1990, attracting internal migrants, both native and foreign born, from further south in New England, as well as international immigrants and refugees whose first place of settlement in the United States is Manchester. The 2000 census reported that 6.58 percent of the population of Manchester was foreign born. The foreign born who have arrived in the past 15 years make up 4.2 percent of the population of greater Manchester, a proportion similar to that of Halle. As in Halle, Africans from many different countries and Vietnamese are among the most visible migrants, but Manchester also has attracted people from throughout Latin America, the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, and Haiti. The newcomers have been attracted to Manchester because of the synergy between its industrial expansions in the 1990s and its relatively inexpensive housing costs and low crime rates. By 2005, however, housing prices had risen dramatically and rental property was priced beyond the reach of most residents.

Manchester resembles Halle in terms of the aspirations of its city leaders, who hoped to build a new, vibrant high-tech economy. The leadership of both cities understood that their city must be competitively positioned within the global economy to succeed; to date, both cities have failed in this endeavor, although both have attracted investment focused on reconstructing the central city. In 2004, Manchester officials rather plaintively called for assistance in developing a "Strategy for the New Economy". In an Internet advertisement, they acknowledged that Manchester needed to analyze its "relative position in the world economy" (City of Manchester 2006) so that it could compete in the next decade. In fact, the city leadership did have a development strategy in the 1990s and took high political risks to implement it. In place of external capital flows, officials turned to borrowing and raising taxes to fund an entertainment industry, investing first in a new arena suitable for hockey and various concert venues on the main street of the city and then in the construction of a minor league ballpark near the central business district. Whether this gamble would be any more successful than the EU investment in the urban redevelopment of Halle was unclear. What immediately became apparent were the political costs of rejuvenating the real-estate market of the city center and making it a more attractive place for those with ready money to visit or live in. Property taxes rose, and the mayor who led the downtown revitalization lost the 2005 election.

In terms of their position on migration, both Halle and Manchester were pulled in different directions by competing sets of interests that reflect the cities' similar positioning as small-scale cities. On the one hand, foreigners were seen as a new, criminal factor in urban life and one that seriously drains local services. To make concrete the drain on city services, especially on schools, the media, political leaders, and service providers in both cities often referred to the large number of languages spoken in the city that make service provision difficult. Halle public schools reported that, among students, more than 50 languages are spoken. Manchester public schools reported that at least 76 languages are spoken among their students and that they serve approximately 1,700 children in their English as a second language (ESL) programs (Southern New Hampshire Area Health Education Center 2005).

On the other hand, both cities have had occasions during which they prefer to celebrate the new migrants. In Manchester, much of the business and political leadership, including the former mayor, has seen new immigrants as providing the diversity needed to market Manchester as a global city as well as sustain Manchester's low-wage industries. In a ten-minute videotape about the city, available in 2004 on Manchester's official

website, the diverse nature of the workforce was mentioned seven times. Celebrations of cultural diversity were organized by a community center that provides ESL classes. A Cultural Diversity Task Force circulated a monthly newsletter noting the holidays of various ethnic groups in the city, although most of these groups were not well organized if at all.

Whereas Halle certainly did not need more labor, for certain purposes it did need foreigners. In discussions with city officials, including the mayor, I learned that Halle officials wish to dispel the city's reputation as unwelcoming to foreigners because of neo-Nazi youth violence against the foreigners. The officials believed that to compete globally for investors, corporations, and highly skilled professionals, the city must be viewed as culturally diverse and open to foreigners and newcomers. The official presentation of Halle was of a city in transition from manufacturing to service industries and from service to knowledge society. The new slogan for Halle, "City in Change," signaled the substitution of the lost jobs in the industrial and manufacturing sector by jobs in service and know-how sectors. Consequently, Halle celebrated its newfound cultural diversity through public rituals. Although the asylum seekers and migrants from countries like Nigeria and Iraq are not exactly the foreigners the city is striving to embrace in this transition to a knowledge society, the migrants were part of the much-needed culturally diverse image Halle wanted to cultivate to attract the foreign investment to be globally competitive. The city endorsed the celebration of Foreigner's Week, a federal initiative that must be implemented with local resources and funding. In addition, Halle provided funding through Eine Welt Haus, a nongovernmental organization that organizes programming about foreigners or for foreigners throughout the year. The city also funded a community center dedicated to foreign–native interaction, which primarily occurs through cultural events.

Conclusions: Specific and General

In short, in both cities it seems likely that the scale of the city was linked to the way in which migrants are represented, understood, and incorporated. And in turn, the opportunities and local trajectories of participation patterns, which the cities were able to offer migrants affected the pathways of both local and transnational connection the migrants forge, pathways that constitute incorporative acts for migrant and natives alike. Both cities did have a place for migrants as part of the public representation of the city. City officials and business leaders looked to migrants to market their cities as localities of cultural diversity. While the importance of concepts of diversity changed in each city over time, reflecting the constant efforts to reinvent the city so as to reposition it globally, the city boosters in each

locality recognized that to improve its global positioning their city needed a cosmopolitan appearance, although neither has been able to build and rejuvenate their urban economy around representations of cultural difference, or on the basis cultural industries.

In both Halle and Manchester, city leaders have tried to reposition their cities through different aspects of culture–knowledge industries: scientific and high-tech knowledge in Halle and entertainment and high-tech in Manchester. Within the contemporary cultural economy of cities, the marketing of various guises of culture – tradition, ethnicity, art, crafts, cuisine, cultural production, entertainment, specialized knowledge, design, or architecture – is itself a product of the synergy between the urban economy and its successful competition for regional, national, and global capital. Cultural industries anchored in diversity may become particularly important for certain economically depressed industrial areas but only if those cities are able to attract public or private funding for such industries and thus provide renewed opportunities for migrants (Çaglar 2007; Scott 2004; Rath 2006). This has not been the case for Halle or Manchester. Both cities have been struggling with the many consequences of their weak positionality and at the same time, both have been trying to make use of migrants as representations of difference and cultural performances of diversity. In both places, migrants have a small but persistent presence in representations of the city.[9]

But underneath the public representations of the city, neither locality was able to offer any significant degree of social mobility and prosperity for the migrants. In the new geographies of governance (Peck 1998:5), both Halle and Manchester have reduced access to public monies and resources. Both have little money for city services and little or no money for services for migrants. Manchester increasingly offers low-wage service jobs with even a lower wage scale than factory work; Halle offers minimal social benefits. Neither of the cities could support most migrants' efforts to achieve social recognition and status within the city through working within city sponsored programs or through opportunities provided by an expanding economy. Unlike larger-scale cities, such as Berlin or New York, very few public or private agencies provided migrants with opportunities to develop careers as culture brokers who can represent the needs or interests of particular ethnicities. Those few migrants who worked in social-service agencies generally did not occupy paid managerial positions. Those few migrants who achieve political or public prominence advance not as ethnic leaders but on the basis of a broader non-ethnic constituency. Sometimes, they played the role of public foreigner – persons called on to be general representatives and spokespeople for foreigners in the city.

While on the one hand ethnic community formation as a form of incorporation may be less feasible in small scale cities, incorporation through Christian congregations that preach global Christianity may be more possible and more salient in small-scale cities.[10] In these cities, religion like Christianity, especially in its born-again or Pentecostal varieties, offers connections to people ranging from international preachers to political leaders who are important in local, national, or global arenas. Such forms of connection and the social capital that its weak ties provide were certainly visible in both cities, although in ways that reflect the differences between the cities.

In both Manchester and Halle, the scale of the cities marked migrants, especially African migrants, as highly visible, despite their small numbers. In both Halle and Manchester while local businesspeople and officials saw migrants as useful colorful bodies that represent a necessary component for marketing the city as a global actor, a sector of the population that was native to the city or country cast migrants as dangerous or exotic others. The migrants who joined the churches that could not be easily designated as ethnic churches were looking for a setting that did not highlight their public differentiation and brought them together with the natives in terms of commonality rather than difference. The universalistic Christian messages of the churches were welcoming on many levels. Christian born-again churches such as those in the Resurrection Crusade network or the Pentecostal churches of Halle divide the world between the saved and unsaved. This categorization allowed migrants to be among the saved, allocating them legitimacy and including them among the saviors of the city. It is interesting to note that Pentecostal and born-again Christian organizations specifically encourage identification with the local city. The global evangelizing networks to which the congregations I studied belong all made reference in their literature and their websites to the need to wage spiritual warfare in order to root out the evil within each locality.

By choosing to emphasize a Christian universalism rather than an ethnic particularism, some migrants responded by seeking ways to become incorporated as local and global actors on their own terms. The non-ethnic Christianity I have been examining offers migrants in small-scale cities a transnational network of incorporation into social relations, which gave them access to various kinds of local social, economic, or political resources and ease their social, cultural and political participation to the city life.

Migration studies tend to cast all patterns of migration settlement into the same model, arguing for a model of assimilationism, multicultural pluralism, or transnationalism. I have argued for a different approach

one that traces multiple overlapping modes of migrant incorporation adopted by migrants, each with multiple pathways. Factors of city scale may be structuring the opportunities available to migrants and the barriers they face in settling. This is a call to analyze the pathways of migrant incorporation in relation to the differentiated local trajectories of globalization. It is these trajectories, as they are shaped by the each city's vertical and horizontal connectivity beyond the national space, that shape the modes of participation and opportunities to a city's inhabitants – including their migrants

Indifference to the significance of specific urban positionality in theorizing migration is anchored in a methodological nationalism that uses ethnic groups and the nation-state as the framework of analysis rather than examining the scalar positioning of cities. In response to global restructuring, neoliberal economic agenda, coupled with neo-conservative rhetoric of morality (Harvey 2003), the modes and pathways of migrant local and transnational incorporation that predominate within particular cities may vary. It is possible that non-ethnic pathways play a greater role in overall migrant incorporation in smaller scale cities. It is also probable that non-ethnic pathways of incorporation have a greater impact on small-scale cities and their migrant populations, providing the nexus for some migrants to become prominent or to exert influence on the cultural practices, beliefs, and civic life of the city without being a "representative of" or "leader of" a particular ethnic "community".[11] However, without a careful comparative research of migrant incorporation in cities of different scale, it is not possible to do more than generate hypotheses. Comparative studies are needed to more fully theorize the frequency and distribution of different pathways of migrant incorporation, including various types of non-ethnic pathways. But, of course, the first step is to acknowledge that there are different, multiple, and simultaneous pathways, and this is the step I have taken in this article.

While this paper closes with a plea for studying migrant incorporation beyond ethnic lens, it is important to not to draw facile political lessons. I am certainly are not arguing that ethnic identities are destructive and speaking in favor of born-again Christian organizing. Although the born-again Christians among whom I worked were anti-racist and welcoming to immigrants, they were not tolerant of other belief systems and were supportive of US imperialist projects around the world (Glick Schiller 2005b, 2006). The implications of all forms of identity and religious politics must be examined as they are configured within the changing global geographies of capital. Such a global perspective on migration is only possible if we look beyond the ethnic lens.

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NOTES

1   For insightful work that traces transnational kinship connections not readily contained within ethnic identities see Chamberlin (2006) and Olwig (2007). The study of modes of incorporation has a voluminous scholarship in the United Stats. See for example Portes and Böröcz (1989).

2   In the only exception to this pattern, an "Hispanic" candidate both received support from other Hispanics and campaigned to and was supported by Democratic party loyalists of all backgrounds.

3   Even though the literature framed within the opportunity structures perspective documents that the interactions between the state institutions and immigrant entrepreneurs are not organized as ethnic businesses or enclaves but rather as immigrant entrepreneurship, the former has dominated the imaginary of scholarship on immigrant entrepreneurship.

4   Almost all the migration literature on Turkish immigrants in Germany falls into this category.

5   State policies are compared in terms of the regulation of migration, citizenship, access to work, level of employment, and public benefits. See Joppke (1999) and Castles and Miller (1993) for approaches that point to similarities in migrant patterns of incorporation in various European States and in the United States, despite differences in state policies.

6   There are ethnic congregations in Manchester but if we configure our research by focusing only on ethno-nationalist churches or transnational communities that build such churches we miss important transnational processes.

7   Manchester did have some Protestant churches that were Spanish language but Christian in identity and several Korean protestant congregations that seem to have promoted their ethnic distinctiveness. The core members of these congregations seem to have been part of a secondary migration from the Boston area where ethnic organizing is more pronounced.

8   The population of Halle was reported to be 240,119 in 2003 (Brinkhoff 2004). Halle at that time contained within its administrative boundaries the region of Halle-Neustadt, which, before the unification of Germany, had been considered a separate, suburban city. Manchester is also relatively small, with the 2004 census estimate projecting a population of 109,310 residents (Manchester Economic Development Office 2004). Greater Manchester (population 205,440 in 2000) includes towns that directly border on Manchester, and it is both a federal statistical unit and a catchment area for the provision of certain social services (Manchester Economic Development Office 2004).

9   By 2006 city publicists portrayed Halle's global connections in terms of Halle's historic prominence rather than through migrants, but they continued to maintain migrant-foreigner programs with representations of cultural diversity. In Manchester the increasing evidence of a renewed down-turn in the manufacturing sector meant that inexpensive immigrant labor was no longer featured but cultural diversity remained significant to promoting the city.

10 This may be true for other religions as well.

11 In metropoles or gateway cities, we often see non-ethnic forms of incorporation through popular (youth) culture.

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