

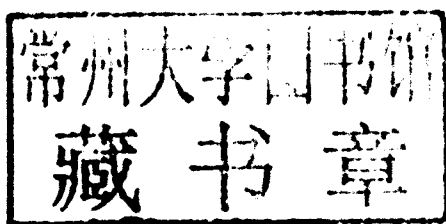


HOW IMMIGRANTS IMPACT THEIR HOMELANDS

AN EVA ECKSTEIN & ADIL NAJAM, EDITORS

HOW IMMIGRANTS IMPACT THEIR HOMELANDS

Edited by Susan Eva Eckstein & Adil Najam



DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Durham and London 2013

© 2013 Duke University Press

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞

Designed by Courtney Leigh Baker

Typeset in Warnock Pro by Keystone Typesetting, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

How immigrants impact their homelands /

edited by Susan Eva Eckstein and Adil Najam.

pages cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8223-5381-2 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-8223-5395-9 (pbk.)

1. Emigration and immigration—Economic aspects.

2. Emigration and immigration—Social aspects.

3. Emigration and immigration—Political aspects.

I. Eckstein, Susan. II. Najam, Adil.

JV6217.H69 2013

304.8—dc23

2012048646

HOW IMMIGRANTS IMPACT THEIR HOMELANDS

Globalization. It increasingly involves immigration, the movement of people, along with goods, across borders. Since 1960 the number of international migrants has more than doubled.¹ A study in 2010 showed that 215.8 million people, worldwide, lived in a country other than the one they were born in.² Many of today's immigrants who live in the so-called Global North, the rich countries, come from the Global South, the poor countries of Africa, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa. Until the mid-1900s, most immigrants to the United States, for example, had come from Europe, while Europe received few immigrants.

To date, concern with contemporary immigrants has focused mainly on how they adapted to where they resettled in the Global North, and, recently, on their transnational ties to the family and communities they left behind. Little attention has been paid to the full range of homeland impacts immigrants have had, unknowingly as well as knowingly, and to conditions accounting for cross-national variability in immigrant impacts in different countries, within individual countries at different times, and among immigrants of different social, cultural, political, and economic backgrounds. How does one account, for example, for the

Chinese who fled a communist revolution in their homeland to provide the bedrock for China's "economic miracle," while wealthy Cubans who similarly fled a communist revolution in their homeland soon after Castro took power, supported an embargo to strangle economic development on the island? And how does one account for men in the Philippines refusing to assume household responsibilities when their wives go abroad to earn money for the family, while nonmigrant wives take over household responsibilities when their husbands go abroad for work? And how does one account for return-migrants to some but not all Central American countries establishing violent gangs? This book, which focuses on the homeland impacts of immigrants to diverse regions of the world and from diverse developing countries, addresses such issues. It addresses a range of impacts far greater and more diverse than studies of immigrant transnationalism note.

The book benefits from the wisdom of scholars who are leading experts of emigration from developing countries. The chapters were commissioned to highlight the range of economic, social, and cultural impacts immigrants from and to diverse regions of the world have had in their home countries. Their impacts will be shown to hinge not merely on immigrant determination and assets, but also on conditions where they went and where they originated, state policies in both the sending and receiving countries, relations between people in the country (and community) of origin and settlement, and nonmigrants' responses to those who go abroad. Combined, these chapters enable the reader to compare how immigrants of different social classes, ethnicities, genders, and cultural backgrounds, from large and small countries, and with different overseas experiences in different regions of the world, have shaped developments in their homelands.

The first chapter provides context. In this chapter, I present an overview of the developing world on the move and then forces shaping immigrant homeland impacts which remaining chapters richly detail.

Chapter 2, by Alejandro Portes, broadly addresses the conditions under which immigrants differently impact their home countries. Often within the context of issues Portes raises, other chapters focus on specific homeland impacts that immigrants from different countries have had. The first of these, chapters 3 and 4, focus mainly on macroeconomic impacts. Min Ye's chapter focuses on China, and Kyle Eischen's on India. Next, my chapter, on Cuba, and David FitzGerald's, on Mexico,

address how the interplay between state and societal dynamics, including dynamics across country borders, have led immigrants to unleash social, cultural, and economic changes in their home countries. Chapter 7, by Riva Kastoryano, addresses how experiences in Europe transformed and transnationalized Turkish immigrant identities, values, and practices, and changed Turkey in turn. Chapter 8, by Natasha Iskander, elucidates how the Moroccan government creatively transformed remittances into an instrument of economic development, through its banking system. The final three chapters focus mainly on the homeland sociocultural transformations immigrants have unleashed. Chapter 9, by Rhacel Parreñas, focuses on the transnationalization of mothering that occurs when Filipina women emigrate, and on the effects their uprooting has had on the families they have left behind. Chapter 10, by José Miguel Cruz, focuses on the gang culture and gang life Central American immigrant youth transmitted to their homeland when U.S. officials deported them. And the final chapter, by Victor Agadjanian, Cecilia Menjívar, and Boaventura Cau, focuses on émigrés from Mozambique who, in economic despair, go to South Africa to work and return HIV infected. The authors uncover the tragic social consequences of migration on families and communities in Mozambique.

Boston University's Frederick S. Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-Range Future helped make this book possible by sponsoring a working-group conference most authors attended, where we discussed drafts of the chapters. The center is committed to improving global understandings, to make the world a better place. I am grateful for the center's financial support and for the wonderful assistance of Theresa White and Meryum Khan, of the center. I am also grateful for the help of Zophia Edwards in the preparation of the manuscript. Most of all, I am grateful to Adil Najam, with whom I organized the conference and the book project. His wisdom, his insight, and his friendship have been invaluable to me. Indeed, he gets credit for the very conception of this book.

Ideally, this book will spark new concern with how developing countries, home to over 80 percent of the world's population, are affected by the exodus of their people. It should also contribute to policy reforms that strengthen the positive effects and minimize the negative effects that the current world on the move has set in motion.

Last but not least, I am grateful to the wonderful staff at Duke University Press. In particular, special thanks to the editor, Valerie Millhol-

land, and to Susan Albury, who shepherded the manuscript through the production process.

Susan Eckstein

Notes

I am grateful for comments by Cecilia Menjívar and Rhacel Parreñas on an earlier version of this preface.

- 1 Dilip Ratha and William Shah, "South-South Migration and Remittances" (World Bank Working Paper 102, 2007), 3.
- 2 "2008 World Population Data Sheet," Population Reference Bureau, accessed June 15, 2010, www.prb.org/Publications/Datasheets/2008/2008wpds.aspx.

CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables ix *Preface* xiii

1

Immigrants from Developing Countries
An Overview of Their Homeland Impacts

SUSAN ECKSTEIN

1

2

Migration and Development
Reconciling Opposite Views

ALEJANDRO PORTES

30

3

How Overseas Chinese Spurred the
Economic "Miracle" in Their Homeland

MIN YE

52

Immigrants' Globalization of the Indian Economy

KYLE EISCHEN

75

How Cuban Americans Are Unwittingly
Transforming Their Homeland

SUSAN ECKSTEIN

92

Immigrant Impacts in Mexico
A Tale of Dissimilation

DAVID SCOTT FITZGERALD

114

"Turks Abroad" Redefine Turkish Nationalism

RIVA KASTORYANO

138

Moroccan Migrants as Unlikely Captains of Industry
*Remittances, Financial Intermediation,
and La Banque Centrale Populaire*

NATASHA ISKANDER

156

The Gender Revolution in the Philippines
Migrant Mothering and Social Transformations

RHACEL SALAZAR PARREÑAS

191

Beyond Social Remittances
Migration and Transnational Gangs in Central America

JOSÉ MIGUEL CRUZ

213

Economic Uncertainties, Social Strains, and HIV Risks
*The Effects of Male Labor Migration on
 Rural Women in Mozambique*

VICTOR AGADJANIAN, CECILIA MENJÍVAR,

AND BOAVENTURA CAU

234

Contributors 253 *Index* 257

Immigrants from Developing Countries
An Overview of Their Homeland Impacts

SUSAN ECKSTEIN

Immigration constitutes one of the most important components of today's globalization. While not a new phenomenon, it has grown in scale and significance since World War II, especially since the mid-1980s.¹ The number of countries from and to which people have migrated has grown dramatically, with women playing an increasingly important role in the world on the move, not merely as family dependents of men who attain work abroad but as laborers in their own right.²

When moving to new countries, today's immigrants do not necessarily sever ties with their homelands. Through transnational engagement even the most humble of immigrants may transform the communities and countries they left behind. Governments and other institutions at times institute reforms to try to influence their impact. Their impact may be unintended and far greater than they realize, owing to conditions in which their home ties become embedded. Their impacts may be political, social, and cultural, even when their main impetus to migrate is economic.

This book addresses the homeland impacts that immigrants from developing countries have had. Most chapters richly detail the expe-

riences of specific immigrant groups. These chapters are written by scholars with deep understandings of the immigrants about which they write. This is the first book of such scope. This introduction provides context for understanding the immigrant experiences detailed in the other chapters. It summarizes characteristics of emigrants, why they uproot, where they mainly resettle and why, and how in moving they changed their homelands.³

Emigration from Developing Countries

WHO EMIGRATES?

Seventy-six percent of today's immigrants were born in developing countries. Mexico, India, China, and Turkey, concerns of the chapters in this book, rank among the top ten countries from which people have emigrated.⁴ Over 10 million Mexicans and Indians, 7 million Chinese, and 4 million Turks live outside their home countries. India and China, along with Brazil and Russia, constitute the so-called BRIC countries, perceived internationally as up-and-coming. The Indians and Chinese who emigrated in such large numbers felt that their personal lives would improve even more in leaving than were they to remain in their homelands, and they have contributed to the "economic miracles" in their respective countries by moving abroad.

The Philippines and Morocco, the focus of other chapters in this book, rank not among the top ten but among the top fourteen countries in numbers of émigrés. As of 2005, 3.6 and 2.7 million people have emigrated, respectively, from the Philippines and Morocco. These countries rank among the better-off developing-country economies, but their job and earnings opportunities failed to grow apace with their populations, and they do not offer opportunities comparable to those in richer countries.

Yet, none of the twenty countries with the largest out-migrations rank among the (thirty) countries with the highest percent of their populations living abroad, countries with the greatest proportional demographic losses. Jamaica ranks the highest in the world in the portion of its population living abroad. An extraordinary 39 percent of Jamaicans have emigrated. Two other countries addressed in these chapters, El Salvador and Cuba, rank among the thirty countries in the world with the highest percent of their populations having uprooted. El Salvador and Cuba rank seventeenth and thirtieth, respectively. Sixteen percent

of Salvadorans and 11 percent of Cubans live abroad. Salvadoran out-migration spiraled as the country experienced a devastating civil war in the 1980s that made living in the country unsafe. However, other Salvadorans followed in the footsteps of those who took refuge abroad, initially for economic reasons but more recently also for security reasons, when gang violence became pervasive. They perceived their life-prospects to be better where their friends and relatives had resettled. The Cuban outmigration also began with a political exodus of opponents to the country's radical transformation after Fidel Castro took power, in 1959. However, out-migration expanded there as well to include economic migrants, especially after the country experienced a deep recession, when Soviet aid and trade abruptly ended, following the break-up of the Soviet Union. The Salvadoran and Cuban cases illustrate that motives for migration may be mixed and that they may change over time, in ways that will be shown to shape immigrant homeland impacts.

In addition, many former Soviet bloc countries, as well as countries in the Middle East, that experienced civil strife and civil wars, such as Serbia, Montenegro, and the West Bank and Gaza, rank among the countries with the highest rates of out-migration. Politically turbulent countries lose their populations to migration, if not to bullets. Refugees, persons who flee their homeland, fearful of religious, ethnic, or political persecution, were they to stay, account for 8 percent of world immigrants.

WHERE DO EMIGRANTS GO?

Where do emigrants resettle? In 2005, reports indicate that 42 percent of emigrants from developing countries, from the so-called Global South, had moved to high-income countries that were members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), in the Global North. Another 12 percent had moved to high-income non-OECD countries.⁵ Since the late twentieth century, migrants from developing countries have moved in ever-larger numbers to the United States, Australia, and Europe. This book primarily focuses on this migratory flow from the Global South to the Global North.

Most developing-country migration used to be internal, not international—from rural to urban areas. This was especially true in Latin America, until the rates of urbanization in the region reached levels nearly as high as those in industrial, well-to-do countries, even though their cities did not offer comparable economic opportunities. The urban

TABLE 1.1. Origins of International Migrants in 2005–2006

TOTAL AND PERCENT WHO MIGRATED
FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH TO THE GLOBAL NORTH

<i>Migrants from</i>	<i>Total (in millions)</i>	<i>South-to-North as % of Total Migration</i>
Latin America and Caribbean	25.9	87
East Asia and Pacific	17.7	84
South Asia	20.2	50
Europe and Central Asia	43.6	36
Middle East and North Africa	11.8	80
Sub-Saharan Africa	14.5	31
High-income Countries	34.0	0
Total	167.7	

option closed down, especially after the neoliberal restructuring of many economies in the mid-1980s, for reasons detailed below. Under these circumstances, both rural and urban residents increasingly turned to emigration as their best hope.⁶

There is a patterning to where immigrants from particular regions, and countries within regions, move. Table 1.1 summarizes this patterning. The percentage of people who have moved from poor to rich countries varies by region. Eighty percent or more of emigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, East Asia, the Pacific, the Middle East, and North Africa have moved to countries in the Global North, whereas only half of South Asian immigrants and no more than 36 percent of Central Asian and Sub-Saharan African immigrants have. In that immigration to the Global North is greatest from middle-income developing countries, the dynamics of global immigration keep peoples from the poorest regions disadvantaged.⁷ In 2005 middle-income countries accounted for 54 percent of immigrants to high-income OECD countries, low-income countries for only 12 percent.

And within regions, immigrants tend to gravitate to specific countries. Migrants on which chapters of the book focus illustrate the selectivity of migration. Mexicans, Philippines, Cubans, and Salvadorans have moved mainly to the United States, while Turks have moved mainly to Germany and Moroccans to France. South Asian Indians, however, have immigrated in large numbers to countries in diverse regions of the world, and

shifted their destination countries over the years. They mainly migrated to Great Britain, after it colonized India, and to South Africa, and those who were Muslims fled to Pakistan after it became an autonomous country in 1947. In more recent times, Indians immigrated to Middle Eastern countries and the United States, with different classes of Indians moving to the two regions, laborers to the Middle East and high-skilled workers, on which Kyle Eischen's chapter focuses, to the United States.

The United States has been the magnet for the most immigrants. In 2005, 38.4 million foreign-born lived there, more than three times as many as lived in Russia, the country with the second-largest number of immigrants. Most immigrants to the United States (as well as to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) used to come from Europe, until opportunities there expanded, first with reconstruction after World War II and then with the formation of the European Union (EU), which allowed labor to move freely among member countries. A dramatic decline in the fertility rate in Europe led to a further drop in transatlantic immigration, and contributed to Europe's shift from a net exporter to a net importer of labor.

Against this backdrop, several European countries, including Germany, France, and Spain, as well as oil-rich Saudi Arabia and Canada, came to rank among the top ten immigrant-receiving countries. The immigration to Saudi Arabia reflects the growing complexity and diversity of destination countries, as select developing countries have become new nodes of economic development. Sparsely populated Saudi Arabia, along with other Gulf oil states, has come to rely on foreign labor for oil-related activity, construction, and service work.⁸

The demographic importance of immigrants in receiving, as well as sending, countries depends not merely on the absolute number of people involved, but also on the size of the native-born populations. Although immigrants have come to constitute about 10 percent of the population in high-income OECD countries (involving European countries, including some former Soviet bloc countries in Central Europe, and countries such as Canada, New Zealand, Turkey, and Japan), and 13 percent in the United States, they account for more than triple that percentage in some of the smaller, high-income non-OECD countries (Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Israel, and other wealthy Middle Eastern countries) and in several former Soviet bloc countries.⁹

To a certain extent, refugee flows also differ when viewed in absolute numbers and relative to the size of the population of the country where

they move. As of 2005, Germany and the United States ranked among the ten countries with the most refugees. But neither Germany nor the United States, nor any other high-income OECD country, ranked among the thirty countries with refugees accounting for most of their immigrants. Refugees accounted for 6 percent of German immigrants and for 1 percent of U.S. immigrants. In contrast, refugees accounted for 14 percent of immigrants to developing countries in general, and for 23 percent of immigrants to the least developed countries. Thus, the countries that can best afford to absorb the humanitarian costs of accommodating displaced persons do not assume their “fair share.” Moreover, rich countries tend to acquire refugees in a regularized manner, by criteria they establish, whereas poor countries receive refugees mainly by default, their governments too weak to control who enters their borders. Because most refugees need to flee their homeland quickly when their lives are at risk, they mainly move to neighboring countries. Most such relocations transpire within the Global South. Nine of the ten countries with refugees accounting for the highest percentage of their immigrants are located in the Middle East and Africa. The other country is Armenia, in Eurasia.¹⁰ Also, the partitioning of India and Pakistan, within the Global South, unleashed one of the largest population movements in recorded history, as tens of millions of Hindus and Muslims (and, secondarily, other ethnic and religious groups) relocated across the newly formed borders, to find a safe religious haven, Hindus in India, Muslims in Pakistan.

HOW TO EXPLAIN THE PATTERNING OF IMMIGRATION?

While refugees demonstrate that the motivation for migration may be political, the key driving force is typically economic, rooted in differences in global opportunities. But whatever the reason inducing specific individuals to uproot, immigration must be understood in the context of macrohistorical and institutional processes. State policies, changing demographics, colonial legacies, and transnational social dynamics that immigrants themselves put in place all influence from where and to where people in today's world move.

The economic forces behind migration to the Global North have shifted over the years, as the world economy, and the role of specific countries within it, has changed. In some countries, immigrants have been central to how economies evolved, and in so doing they influenced subsequent migration flows.¹¹ The massive migration to the United