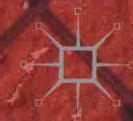# GLOBAL MIGRATION

CHALLENGES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

EDITED BY
KAVITA R. KHORY

GLOBAL MIGRATION

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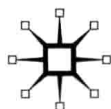
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INTRODUCTION

Kavita R. Khory

In country after country, the topic of immigration is provoking passionate debates over national identity, state sovereignty, and territorial integrity. We see how the unprecedented movement of people within and across national boundaries is severely testing the traditional connection between citizenship and territoriality. While capital, goods, and services now cross national borders easily, and information and ideas flow with far fewer impediments than ever before, human beings still cannot cross borders without scrutiny and, increasingly, resistance. Globalization and technology, on the one hand, enable travel and migration in extraordinary ways and offer new means and tools for mobilizing diasporas and social networks across national boundaries. Immigrants and their children, on the other hand, are being singled out as the source of new and deeper fears in declining welfare states, riven by economic crises and rising inequality. As the massacre in Norway in the summer of 2011, growing right-wing populism in Germany and Greece, and French and Italian fears of waves of refugees pouring in from the "Arab Spring" show, the elusive quest for absolute security, especially in times of great uncertainty and upheaval, invariably targets the "outsider," one who because of birth or circumstance cannot fully belong or lay claim to a state's resources. These examples of anti-immigrant sentiment and violence raise ethical questions and pose new policy dilemmas for scholars and policymakers alike.

Multidisciplinary in scope, this book brings together distinguished scholars of global migration. Drawing upon the authors' rich cross-regional knowledge and expertise, the chapters in this book introduce us to some of the most politically compelling issues related to migration and the opportunities and challenges it presents for twenty-first-century scholars, activists, and public officials. The volume is neither intended as an exhaustive survey of migration, nor is it devoted to a single facet of what, after all,

is a multidimensional topic. Rather, our aim is to offer different perspectives and insights into several contested areas in migration politics, such as climate-induced population movements, asylum policies and refugee resettlement, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. By mapping out the complex and shifting landscape of global migration and explaining its significance for individuals, states, and societies, the authors featured in this volume deepen our understanding of the contemporary relevance of migration and suggest possibilities for further study using a variety of methods and levels of analysis.

While each chapter reflects the author's field of inquiry and methods, together the volume makes a compelling argument for why forced and voluntary migrations are best understood in relation to broader developments in global politics, including economic crises, heightened concerns about human security, and the difficulties of immigrant settlement and integration in multicultural societies. Migration is a complexly layered process that intersects with some of the most vexing issues in international politics today, namely, human rights, development, and climate change. In order to understand and appreciate how the movement of people across boundaries affects receiving and sending countries and communities differently, the contributors situate migration—as process and experience—in specific historical, cultural, and political contexts.

Drawing from a variety of approaches and insights from political science, economics, and anthropology, the authors present a nuanced analysis of how states, societies, and individual migrants grapple with questions of identity, belonging, and citizenship in a world of growing inequality and uncertain status fueled by wars and violent conflict. Rejecting a conventional—and artificial—separation of domestic politics from international affairs, these chapters probe the power of domestic forces and interests in shaping national debates and immigration policies in local communities and regional contexts, from towns and state legislatures in the United States to the European Union, where supranational institutions are redefining state sovereignty and political authority. Political and economic forces (detailed below), challenge states, as mass migration tests European unity and models of regional governance.

Among the issues and themes explored in this volume, three in particular stand out: the political economy of migration; the nexus between migration and security; and the contested meaning of citizenship and modes of integration.

Though gender, as an analytical category, is not systematically addressed in the book, several authors analyze the experiences of women as migrants, asylum seekers, and citizens. In doing so, they alert us to the fact that aggregate data may obscure the distinct roles and experiences of women migrants, leading scholars and public officials to ignore gender bias when formulating and implementing policy and to overlook the contributions of the women themselves. Women now make up nearly half of the world's migrants. Whereas female and male migrants may share similar experiences related to national origin, ethnic identity, or class status, women often face different sorts of barriers and risks when migrating, for example, falling prey to sex trafficking or being severely abused while serving as domestic workers.

Migration is intrinsic to the functioning of labor markets, trade, foreign investment, and development. As a specific area of study, the political economy of migration covers a wide range of topics including the economic motivations for migration, the socioeconomic impact of immigration on destination countries and places of origin, the role of transnational diaspora networks in migrant settlement, integration, and entrepreneurship, and the transfer of remittances for development.

Shahrukh Khan, Karen Jacobsen, and James Hollifield explicitly analyze key issues in the political economy of migration. Khan explores the impact of emigration on developing economies, outlining strategies for minimizing the effects of a "brain drain" on lower income countries; Jacobsen analyzes why economic security is a crucial component in the process of refugee resettlement; and Hollifield assesses the need and prospects for multilateral regimes to regulate migration along the lines of those governing international trade and monetary policy.

Other contributors do not directly address problems of inequality, stratified labor markets, or austerity measures, but they too argue that the impact of economic forces—direct and indirect—on immigration politics and policies is unmistakable. For example, calls for more restrictive immigration and citizenship policies in the United States and Europe have intensified in the wake of a global economic crisis, rising unemployment, and deep cuts in public spending. Exploiting the fears of immigrants stealing American jobs and jeopardizing the welfare of citizens, right-wing politicians and officials in the United States have pushed for legislation that would give state and local law enforcement greater authority to target undocumented immigrants. The safety, security, and constitutional rights of undocumented

immigrants, as well as those of legal residents and citizens, are compromised as a result.

Shrinking public resources have compromised integration programs and citizenship policies as well. Even though governments in the Netherlands and Britain now require applicants to pass language and civic tests in order to qualify for citizenship, the British government, citing a budget shortfall, cut funding for English language classes in immigrant communities. By curtailing funding for civic training and language programs, the Cameron government closed off a path to incorporation and citizenship, while blaming immigrants for the failure of multiculturalism in Britain. At a security conference in Munich in February 2011, Prime Minister Cameron went so far as to claim that the failure of Europe's Muslims to absorb liberal values and assimilate into the cultures of host societies greatly increases the likelihood of terrorist attacks in the European Union.[1]

The nexus between migration and security is by no means a new one. In many ways, the association of migration with security—real and imagined—mirrors a broader transformation of the international system at the end of the Cold War and reflects a conceptual shift in our understanding of security and its implications for individuals, societies, and states. The myriad connections posited between migration and security, as contributors to this volume point out, range from the level of individual and human security to environmental and economic challenges that transcend state boundaries. As a rhetorical device, the migration-security nexus is deployed across the political spectrum to shape public opinion on issues, from climate change and migrant labor to multiculturalism and strategies for assimilation.

Politics, economics, and cultural forces set the context for how media and popular culture represent immigrants. But individual agency—often overlooked by political scientists and scholars of international relations—is responsible for framing public discourse and shaping attitudes toward immigrants.[2] For political elites seeking short-term electoral gains or policy advantage, the attacks on the United States on 9/11 and the bombings in Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005, for example, presented new opportunities for exploiting heightened suspicions and fear of migrants, especially those from Muslim-majority countries.

Regardless of the fact than none of the terrorists involved in 9/11 had actually immigrated to the United States, the "war on terror" turned immigration into a question of national security, leading many to believe that the "securitization" of migration is a direct outcome of 9/11.[3] But such claims do not hold up to historical scrutiny.

Examples in modern US and European history demonstrate that immigrants, depending on one's ethnic or national origin, have often been seen as threats to national security, especially during times of war. The internment during World War II of Japanese, among them many American citizens, is one such example. Depicting particular groups of migrants as threats to the national identity and social cohesion of modern states remains a familiar practice in the evolution of the international system and the formation of territorial states.

In this volume, security is conceptualized in two ways: one, as discourse, and two, as an analytical approach that guides the study of global migration.[4] In order to understand how security—a dynamic and contested concept—informs and shapes contemporary debates and immigration policies, we ask: Whose security is at stake? What are the consequences—sometimes unintended—of framing complex issues such as immigrant rights or refugee settlement as a security concern? Who benefits? How do depictions of immigrants as politically or culturally threatening affect the safety and livelihood of individuals and marginalized groups who may not have the resources to counter negative campaigns designed to sway public opinion?

Expanding the definition of security to include a wider range of actors and issues presents analytical challenges. But this does not deter the scholars featured in the volume from exploring why global problems like environmental degradation and human displacement are routinely classified as security threats.

In his chapter on "securitizing" climate-induced migration, Gregory White, for example, argues that linking climate-induced migration with state and societal security serves as a rationale for enacting harsh border control policies and restricting immigration from some areas of the developing world. Scholars and environmental activists originally linked climate change with security to mobilize public opinion and pressure policymakers to address potential humanitarian disasters related to climate change. But anti-immigration groups and public officials in Europe, for instance, deliberately conflate climate-induced migration with security, raising fears about large numbers of migrants fleeing from impoverished, drought-ridden regions of North Africa into Europe. Asserting that climate-induced migration constitutes a security threat begs the question of whose security is at risk.

In most cases, causal connections between climate change and refugee movements cannot be easily established. While recognizing the human consequences of environmental degradation, White cautions us against concluding, without sufficient evidence, that refugee flight is driven principally by climate change. In doing so, we may overlook

a broader range of socioeconomic and political factors that account for human displacement. Linking climate change and security to justify immigration control along Europe's borders, White believes, is particularly ironic, given the environmental impact over time of Europe's economic and industrial development and its high levels of energy consumption and emissions.

Jane Freedman and Karen Jacobsen offer a broader interpretation of security to include the safety and welfare of refugees and asylum seekers. Analyzing the gendered dimensions of Europe's asylum policies, Freedman calls for applying a more nuanced conception of security to women seeking asylum. While acknowledging common threats to human security, Freedman suggests that women and men will perceive and experience threats to their physical safety and well-being differently. Women's motivations for seeking asylum may, therefore, differ as well. Recognition of a more complex set of reasons for women seeking asylum also restores a sense of political agency, which can be diminished when women are forced to present themselves simply as "victims of 'barbaric' other cultures" for their claims to be taken seriously.

Freedman concludes that Europe's increasingly restrictive asylum policies since the early 1990s are driven by national security concerns and fears of migrants misusing asylum laws. As a consequence, protection for women, seeking asylum on the grounds of gender-related persecutions, is weakened. In this example, European officials, by privileging state security, are seen as threatening the fundamental rights and security of individual migrants.

Turning her attention to the challenges that forced migration poses for thinly stretched international organizations and relief agencies, Karen Jacobsen investigates the "economic vulnerability" of refugees in countries of first asylum in Africa and Asia and suggests ways in which refugees, through social networks and remittances transferred by ethnic kin, could gain a measure of economic security in situations of protracted conflict. International agencies, she believes, underutilize refugees' human and social capital when developing durable solutions for resettlement. Drawing on a number of interviews conducted with Sudanese refugees in Cairo, she documents the structural constraints and economic opportunities offered by host states and societies, the limits of humanitarian aid in situations of protracted conflict, and the livelihood strategies adopted by refugees themselves. Jacobsen concludes the chapter by looking at how innovative mobile communications technology is facilitating remittance transfers and shaping informal economic transactions in unprecedented ways.

Mitigating economic insecurity among refugees is a worthy goal, though promoting refugee self-reliance runs the risk of further reducing the aid and assistance offered by international organizations and nongovernmental agencies. Depending on the form of economic enterprise, schemes for self-reliance may heighten tensions between refugees and local populations competing over scarce resources.

Shahrukh Rafi Khan, too, is interested in the study of ethnic kin and diaspora networks, but for different reasons. His principal concern, as an economist, is how emigrant organizations, by contributing capital, technology, and professional skills to home states, might mitigate the negative effects of a "brain drain" in lower income countries. Situating his analysis in the broader migration and development literature, Khan looks at the growing salience of diasporas in the political economy of low-income countries, and proposes several mechanisms to benefit states faced with an exodus of highly educated individuals. Networks of highly skilled individuals and organizations, in Khan's view, have the capacity to mobilize and transfer resources for development.

The impact of financial remittances on growth and poverty reduction, however, remains a contentious issue, and, as Khan points out, there are trade-offs between remittance flows and the loss of highly skilled workers.[5] But Khan believes that governments of lower income countries could do a lot more to attract diaspora investment and benefit from their knowledge and technical expertise. At a time when highly skilled professionals face fewer barriers to entry and employment in developed economies and move more freely than workers with less education and fewer technical skills, Khan's proposals merit serious consideration.

Debates on integration, among the most contentious in Europe and the United States, reveal the hopes and fears of host societies and immigrants around questions of collective identities, national ideologies, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.[6] Frustrations over economic austerity, social pressures, and governmental ineptitude in Europe have coalesced into an anti-immigrant politics that identifies diversity and difference as the principal sources of insecurity and rejects the multicultural reality of most European societies today.

From Prime Minister David Cameron to former president Sarkozy of France and Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, European leaders see Islam, despite its many schisms and culturally diverse followers, as the single most prominent symbol of Muslim identity—an identity they perceive as homogeneous, transnational in scope, and deeply resistant to assimilation.

Casting immigrants as security threats is a longstanding practice among state and nonstate actors in Europe and elsewhere. What is particularly striking, however, is the fact that virulent anti-Muslim propaganda has become more acceptable in mainstream European politics since 9/11. In several instances, centrist and left-leaning politicians in France and Germany have adopted the extreme right's anti-Muslim rhetoric, branding second- and third-generation immigrants as culturally alien, threatening the fundamental values and national identities of European states. The "mainstreaming of Islamophobia," though far more complex than simply a reaction to 9/11, as some have claimed, suggests that appealing to anti-Muslim sentiments, as a strategy for mobilizing public support, extends well beyond the realm of right-wing politics.[7] By singling out Muslims specifically, and immigrants more generally, politicians cleverly mask and obscure the deeper structural problems of poverty, inequality, and systematic discrimination that impede meaningful integration into European societies. But the question of why Muslims have become the target of anti-immigrant politics across Europe remains a particularly thorny one for analysts of the EU.

Incorporating new comers into long-established societies, bound by shared values and norms, is a dynamic and interactive process based on reciprocity. But when migration and security are linked in facile ways, the onus of incorporation falls entirely on immigrants, and any notion of reciprocity, or mutual responsibility, is largely ignored.

The challenge of integrating diverse communities—as seen through the prism of European laws and institutions—is the topic of Erik Bleich's chapter on the Danish cartoon controversy. Examining the lawsuits filed by Muslim clerics claiming that the cartoons qualified as "hate speech," Bleich asks why so few Europeans supported the lawsuits. Did the lawsuits fall outside of the bounds of European legal norms and precedents? Was the outrage against *Jyllands-Posten*, the newspaper that published the cartoons, further evidence of Muslims rejecting liberal values like the freedom of speech? Though the Muslim clerics' actions conformed to the norms and laws set by European and Danish courts, the Danish cartoon controversy illustrates the tension between European societies and their heterogeneous Muslim populations. It raises questions too about how liberal democracies can best inculcate and preserve values, like the freedom of speech, while simultaneously promoting a political culture that values inclusion and respect.

Since 9/11 Muslims in the United States, too, have been treated with suspicion and subjected to a great deal of scrutiny. But anti-immigration

groups, long before 9/11, targeted Hispanic populations, especially in border-states like Arizona and Texas. Echoing earlier examples of nativist impulses in American politics, Samuel Huntington, most famously, warned in "The Hispanic Challenge" that by not assimilating into "mainstream U.S. culture," Hispanic immigrants "threaten to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages." Though Huntington accused Hispanics of rejecting "the Anglo-Protestant values that built the American dream," he believed the immigrants' Spanish language, not their religion, posed a more serious threat to "traditional American identity."[8]

Turning to the United States, Caroline Brettell explores civic engagement as a form of political belonging and incorporation. A sense of belonging, she argues, is much more than simply adopting formal citizenship or possessing a passport. The real work of immigrant incorporation takes place at multiple sites of civic engagement, extending from community organizations and educational institutions to the workforce, professional organizations, and labor unions. Drawing from ethnographic data, she chronicles the lives of first-generation Indian women involved in civic organizations and service volunteerism in the Dallas-Forth Worth area. A sense of belonging and the meaning of citizenship for individual immigrants, we learn from Brettell, is formed through membership in local and community organizations and informal relationships—a process that macro-level studies of integration or immigration policy do not address adequately.

Brettell's finely detailed study makes two important contributions. First, it demonstrates the power of individual agency, which is easily obscured in aggregate studies of immigrant groups; and two, it suggests that integration is very much a lived experience, affecting the day-to-day lives of immigrants and citizens. Public officials and legislators, though, often underestimate the importance of local interactions, social rituals, and civic engagement for shaping public perceptions and attitudes toward immigrants and creating opportunities and mechanisms for integration.

As several authors point out, immigration has long been a high priority issue for American and European governments and politicians. From recruiting or retrenching guest workers to border control and visa regimes, enduring concerns around questions of identity, political community, and power shape citizenship laws and immigration policies. As immigration impinges on almost every sector of society, efforts at reconciling incompatible goals and satisfying competing interests in a democratic polity, Tichenor argues, produce at best a series of compromises among policymakers and key stakeholders.

Tracing the broad contours of US immigration policy from the 1970s onward, Daniel Tichenor asks: "Why has major immigration reform proven so illusive in recent decades?" He argues that neither party lines nor conservative or liberal values fully explain the legislative battles and failed initiatives at comprehensive reform. The answer, rather, may be found in global and local economic and social conditions, leading to "strange alliances" of labor and border hawks on the one hand, and free-market advocates with "cosmopolitans," on the other. These coalitions of powerful interests and constituencies reflect both the constraints and opportunities of a global economy and the exigencies of American politics. Tackling the morass of US immigration policy today, Tichenor reminds us, is impossible without first understanding the public debates and legislative battles over immigration and citizenship that have shaped American identity and politics throughout the nation's history. Tichenor's chapter, most of all, demonstrates the influential role of substate actors in defining and shaping the immigration policies of a major international power.

Declining public confidence in the ability of both Republicans and Democrats to formulate an effective and comprehensive immigration policy that takes into account both the socioeconomic impact of immigration and the human rights and civil liberties of immigrants has prompted a variety of state and local initiatives, including some that violate the federal government's constitutional authority over citizenship laws and enforcement. For example, at least five states, bypassing the federal government, have introduced measures to deny citizenship to children born in the United States to undocumented parents.[9]

Without a common set of principles, institutions, and mechanisms for governing migration, addressing the pressures and demands of human mobility at the international level is even more daunting. Despite the obvious fact that states, no matter how powerful or technologically savvy, cannot unilaterally control migration, or refugee flows in times of conflict, governments, in most cases, are reluctant to cede authority to supranational organizations for border control and immigration laws.

For the twenty-first-century state, according to James Hollifield, the "regulation of international migration is as important as providing for the security of the state and the economic well-being of the population." From the perspective of a political economist, Hollifield asks why states are willing to cooperate on transboundary issues such as trade and financial regulation, but not on issues related to migration. States, in his view, are contending with the

"liberal paradox": economic forces are pushing for greater open-ness, while security concerns and political forces are pushing toward greater closure.

In order to overcome the obvious barriers to international coop-eration, Hollifield proposes that states consider migration as a "public good." The objective would be to encourage governments to reevaluate the costs and benefits of migration, identify common interests, and develop multilateral principles and organizations. The self-interest of states and the sovereign right to control territory, as Hollifield admits, remain the most serious obstacles to forming inter-national norms and institutions for regulating migration. He suggests that regional arrangements, along the lines of the EU, may be more feasible in the short run. The EU's functional approach, emphasizing incremental steps toward building cooperation among member states, could inform and guide policymakers working jointly to address socioeconomic pressures and opportunities created by human mobil-ity beyond Europe.[10]

Certainly, the EU offers important lessons for advancing multilat-eralism in other regions of the world. But replicating the European experience, distinguished by open borders between member states, is far more complicated among developing countries, or in regions of conflict, where most forced and voluntary migration takes place. The formal and legal categories and structures favored by Europeans today may not serve the needs of local populations in areas such as West Africa, where endemic conflicts, poverty, and demographic pressures drive migration across states and territorial boundaries that have been shaped by colonial forces and contemporary forms of globalization. The EU model, as Hollifield notes, assumes economic parity and a comparable level of political development among member states—conditions that are largely missing in many other regions. Despite intra-EU tensions over immigration and refugee policies,[11] we see that bilateral or multilateral agreements on border control, visa poli-cies, or refugee rights are more likely to succeed when governments not only share a consensus on common problems but also have the capacity and will to address them collectively.

The problem of collective action seems even more acute in the absence of a common understanding of what governance means in the context of international migration, and specifically, how it translates into policy and practice. In an effort to bring some clarity to ongo-ing policy debates, several scholars—Alexander Betts and Kathleen Newland, among them—have argued in favor of alternative frame-works and greater conceptual precision when analyzing and assessing