

Immigrants and Minorities, Politics and Policy

David L. Leal

Nestor P. Rodríguez *Editors*

Migration in an Era of Restriction and Recession

Sending and Receiving Nations in a
Changing Global Environment

 Springer

Immigrants and Minorities, Politics and Policy

More information about this series at <http://www.springer.com/series/8832>

Over the last fifty years, immigrant and minority population growth has transformed much of the global north, particularly the United States, Canada, and Europe. Understanding the political and policy consequences of such demographic change is essential to scholars and practitioners alike. On topics ranging from elections to policymaking, immigrants and minorities are – or should be – increasingly important parts of the discussion. Scholars also need to know more about migration itself, including migrant incorporation, return migration, internal migration, the implications of migration for sending nations, and the forces that structure migration. This interdisciplinary series is designed to address these interrelated topics. If you would like to propose a book or edited volume, please contact the series editor or Springer's Economics and Political Science editor.

David L. Leal • Nestor P. Rodríguez
Editors

Migration in an Era of Restriction and Recession

Sending and Receiving Nations
in a Changing Global Environment

 Springer

Editors

David L. Leal
Department of Government
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX, USA

Nestor P. Rodríguez
Department of Sociology
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX, USA

Immigrants and Minorities, Politics and Policy

ISBN 978-3-319-24443-3

ISBN 978-3-319-24445-7 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-24445-7

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015954359

© Springer International Publishing Switzerland 2016

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland

Acknowledgments

This volume contains revised versions of papers originally presented at the conference “Migration During an Era of Restriction,” held at the University of Texas at Austin from November 4 to 6, 2009.

We would first like to thank the conference sponsors, including the Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies (LLILAS) as well as the Center for European Studies; Office of the Executive Vice President and Provost; C. B. Smith Sr. Centennial Chair in US-Mexico Relations #1; Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies; Population Research Center; Irma Rangel Public Policy Institute; the Departments of Government, Geography, and Sociology; and the Law School.

The conference organizing committee consisted of Douglas Biow, Cindy Buckley, Gary Freeman, Terri Givens, Barbara Hines, David Leal, Bryan Roberts, Nestor Rodríguez, and Rebecca Torres.

We would like to thank all the conference participants, who made possible an exciting discussion of a critical policy issue from multiple perspectives. The individuals who participated in the roundtable discussion panels include:

- Francisco Alba (Professor and Researcher, El Colegio de México)
- Anne Chandler (Attorney, Immigrant Legal Clinic, University of Houston)
- Gary Freeman (Professor of Government, UT Austin)
- Barbara Hines (Attorney, Rapoport Center for Human Rights and Justice, UT School of Law)
- Daniel Kanstroom (Director, Boston College Law School International Human Rights Program)
- Mark Krikorian (Executive Director, Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, DC)
- Cecilia Menjívar (Professor of Sociology, Arizona State University)
- Rogelio Nuñez (Executive Director, Proyecto Libertad, Harlingen, Texas)
- Georg Vobruba (Senior Researcher, Universität Leipzig)

Special thanks to Alejandro Portes for giving the conference’s keynote address: “Dividing or Converging? Political Loyalties, Transnational Organizations, and the Incorporation of Latin American Immigrants in the United States.”

For those researchers who contributed a paper to the volume, the editors appreciate their willingness to revise their papers and to contribute their work. This topic is no less important today than it was during the conference, and we hope that scholars, policymakers, and students will benefit from their efforts.

Thanks also to Rachel Navarre and Ken Miller, Graduate Students in the Department of Government and Graduate Research Assistants in the Irma Rangel Public Policy Institute, and Dr. Jill Strube, former Project Coordinator of the Institute, for providing invaluable assistance in editing the chapters and preparing the manuscript for publication.

Contents

1 Introduction: The New Era of Restriction	1
David L. Leal, Nestor P. Rodríguez, and Gary P. Freeman	
Part I Setting the Stage: Background Chapters on the USA, Mexico, and Europe	
2 US Polices to Restrict Immigration	27
Nestor P. Rodríguez and Jacqueline Hagan	
3 Changing Fortunes: Mexico and Mexican–US Migration	39
Francisco Alba	
4 The Wayward Path Toward Convergence in European Immigration Policy	57
Alexander Caviedes	
Part II Restrictions and Consequences in the United States	
5 US Children with Parents in Deportation Proceedings	75
Randy Capps, Ajay Chaudry, Juan Manuel Pedroza, Rosa Maria Castañeda, Robert Santos, and Molly M. Scott	
6 The Federalization of Racism and Nativist Hostility: Local Immigration Enforcement in North Carolina	99
Deborah M. Weissman	
7 <i>Se Batalla Mucho</i>: Border Enforcement and the Story of Hilda and Julián	117
David Spener	
8 Immigration Restrictions and Political Mobilization Among Second-Generation Iranian Immigrants in the USA	147
Mohsen Mostafavi Mobasher	

Part III Restrictions and Consequences in Europe

- 9 Borders Within the Dynamism of Europe: European Migration Regimes Between Exclusion and Inclusion.....** 165
Georg Vobruba
- 10 Immigration and Immigration Policies in Spain.....** 175
Francisco Javier Ullán de la Rosa
- 11 The Evolution of Russian Migration Policy in the Post-Soviet Period.....** 211
Timothy Heleniak

Part IV Effects on Sending Nations

- 12 The Changing Patterns of Return Migration from the USA to Mexico and Their Policy Implications** 235
Claudia Masferrer and Bryan R. Roberts
- 13 A Debate Over Return Migration: The Case of Turkish Guest Workers in Germany** 259
Ahmet İçduygu and Deniz Sert
- 14 Peruvian Highland Indigenous Shepherders in the USA: A Case Study** 273
Teofilo Altamirano
- 15 The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Migration Flows: Polish Immigrants in the UK and Ireland** 291
Catherine Wihtol de Wenden

Editors and Contributors

Editor Bios

David L. Leal is Professor of Government and Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. His primary academic interest is Latino politics, and his work explores questions involving political behavior, public policy, and public opinion. He has published articles in political science and interdisciplinary journals such as *Journal of Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Behavior*, *Electoral Studies*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Policy Studies Journal*, and *Armed Forces and Society*. He has also coedited seven books, including *Immigration and Public Opinion in Liberal Democracies* (2013, Routledge) and *Latinos and the Economy* (2011, Springer). A Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer in Japan (July, 2014), he was an Associate Member of Nuffield College, University of Oxford, during Trinity Term of 2015. From 1998 to 1999, he was an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow in the office of a US senator. In 2013, he was named a Distinguished Alumni Scholar by Stanford University, where he received his undergraduate degree. He received his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University in 1998.

Nestor P. Rodríguez is Professor of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin, where he received his Ph.D. in 1984. His research and publications include the topics of international migration, relations between Latinos and African Americans/Asian Americans, impact of immigration policies on immigrant populations and sending communities, the unauthorized migration of unaccompanied minors, coercive bureaucracies, migrant deaths at the US–Mexico border, and labor migration in the context of global-historical capitalism. He has conducted collaborative international research in El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru and has lectured in China and Japan. In 2004, he received the Joseph S. Werlin Award in Latin American Studies at the University of Houston, and in 2013 he received the Distinguished Career Award of the Latino Section of the American Sociological Association. His recent publications include *Guatemala-U.S. Migration: Transforming Regions*

(University of Texas Press, 2014), coauthored with Susanne Jonas, and the volume, *The International Handbook of the Demography of Race and Ethnicity* (Springer, 2015), coedited with Rogelio Sáenz and David G. Embrick.

Contributor Bios

Francisco Alba is Professor and Researcher at El Colegio de México. He is an economist, expert in migration and in the implications of demographic change. He has published extensively on Mexican migration and migratory policy, population and development, economic integration, Mexico–US relations, and related topics. Professor Alba is a member of the Advisory Council of Mexico’s Migration Policy Unit and a former member of the Advisory Board of Mexico’s Migration Institute. He served as a member of the United Nations Committee for the Protection of Migrants as well as of the Global Commission on International Migration. He is also a former member of the Mexico/United States Bi-national Study on Migration; a member of the Board of Trustees of the Population Reference Bureau; and a member of the Committee on Population, National Research Council, the US National Academy of Sciences. He trained as an economist at San Luis Potosí Autonomous University, Mexico, and as a demographer at El Colegio de México. He also carried on graduate work in the social sciences at the Institute of Political Studies, Paris, and the University of Texas at Austin.

Teofilo Altamirano is a Former Tinker Professor at the Lozano Long Institute for Latin American Studies (LLILAS) at the University of Texas at Austin. He is currently the Summer Global College Professor at the University of Winnipeg, Canada. He was formerly Professor of Anthropology at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in Lima. He holds a Ph.D. from Durham University, a Doctorate in anthropology at the National University of San Marcos in Lima Peru, and an M.A. (economics) from Manchester University. Dr. Altamirano has taught in several US universities as well as in Canada and Spain. He has served as a consultant to the World Bank, the International Labour Organization, the International Organization for Migration, Inter-American Development Bank, and UNESCO, among other organizations. He is currently conducting research on climate change and migration in the central Peruvian sierra. His recent book is *Refugiados Ambientales: Cambio Climático y Migración Forzosa*. In addition, he has published eight books on urban anthropology and internal and international migration. Three of these are in English, addressing the topics of social exclusion and inequality, migration and remittances in times of crisis, and migrants, cities, and regions in Latin America.

Randy Capps is Director of Research for U.S. Programs at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI). He has analyzed data and conducted qualitative research on the integration of US immigrants and their families from a variety of sources. He was co-PI on a federally funded research study about the impact of parental detention

and deportation on children in unauthorized immigrant families and coauthored two earlier studies of this population based on field research. His other recent national research includes studies of the socioeconomic characteristics of unauthorized immigrants and their families, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, health insurance coverage of immigrants and implications of the Affordable Care Act, the health and well-being of children of black immigrants, the integration of children in refugee families, and the delegation of immigration enforcement to state and local law enforcement agencies. Dr. Capps has written demographic profiles of immigrants living in several states and localities, including: Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Maryland, Los Angeles, Houston, Louisville, Marin County (California), and Napa County (California). Prior to joining MPI, he was a researcher with the Immigration Studies Program at the Urban Institute. Dr. Capps received his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Texas in 1999, and received his M.P. Aff., also from the University of Texas, in 1992.

Rosa Maria Castañeda is a Senior Associate at the Annie E. Casey Foundation with a cross-cutting portfolio to advance opportunity for low income families and children. In this role, she provides strategic guidance for the foundation's investments in two generation strategies, including overseeing and coordinating its grants to support program pilots, build evidence, and promote policy and system reform. She also manages a national portfolio of grants and designs and implements initiatives and projects to advance opportunity for immigrants and refugees and to promote economic success for families in rural America. And she oversees a four-state, nineteen-college initiative to improve retention and graduation for low-income students. Prior to joining Casey, she was a Manager at Pew Charitable Trusts in the state fiscal and economic policy division and led research on child and family policy, immigration policy, and immigrant well-being at the Urban Institute.

Alexander Caviedes is Associate Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York at Fredonia. He received a Ph.D. in political science at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, a J.D. at the University of Florida, and an LL.M. in European community law at the University of the Saarland, Germany. Before pursuing a career in academia, he was a Member of the Florida Bar Association, practicing immigration law in Tampa. His research interests are in comparative political economy, industrial relations, immigration, and labor migration in Western Europe. He is the author of *Prying Open Fortress Europe: The Turn to Sectoral Labor Migration* and coeditor of *Labour Migration in Europe* together with Georg Menz. He has published in journals such the *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, *Dialectic Anthropology*, and the *Boston University International Law Review*.

Gary P. Freeman is Professor and Chair of the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. A Ph.D. of the University of Wisconsin, he specializes in the politics of immigration, comparative social policy, and politics in Western democracies. His most recent writing has been directed at understanding the form

of immigration politics in different countries and explaining the integration strategies employed by countries as they grapple with immigrant populations. He is currently working on the question of the linkage between immigration and the welfare state, especially the impact of ethnic and other forms of diversity on the solidaristic foundations of social policies. He is the author of *Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies* and *Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States, and International Migration* (edited with James Jupp), as well as many articles for such journals as *International Migration Review* and *West European Politics*.

Jacqueline Hagan is Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. Her areas of research interest are international migration between Latin America and the United States, migration and human rights, religion and migration, international migration and labor markets, and migration and gender. Dr. Hagan published the book *Migration Miracle: Faith, Hope, and Meaning on the Undocumented Journey*, which focuses on how migrants from Mexico and Central America rely on religion—their clergy, faith, cultural expressions, and everyday religious practices—to endure the undocumented journey. She also has published articles about migration in such journals as *Criminology and Public Policy*, *International Migration Review*, *Social Forces*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, and *Journal of Latino Studies*.

Timothy Heleniak is a Research Professor in the Department of Geography at George Washington University. Previously, he worked at the World Bank, UNICEF, and the US Census Bureau. He has written extensively on migration, demographic trends, and regional development in Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union. Most recently, he had done research on migration and development in the Arctic. Research for this article is part of a project titled “Polar Peoples: Past, Present, and Future” supported by a grant from the US National Science Foundation, Office of Polar Programs (award number PLR-1418272). He is the editor of the journal *Polar Geography*. Professor Heleniak received his B.A. in sociology from Eastern Washington University and his M.B.A. in finance and Ph.D. in geography from the University of Maryland, College Park.

Ahmet İçduygu is Professor of International Relations and the Director of the Migration Research Center at Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey. He holds a Ph.D. in demography from the Australian National University. He held Visiting Fellow positions at Stockholm University, the University of Warwick, the University of Manchester, and the European University Institute in Florence. İçduygu has conducted research for the international organizations such as IOM, UNHCR, EU, and ILO. He teaches on the theories and practices of citizenship, international organizations, civil society, nationalism and ethnicity, migration, and research methods. In addition to his numerous articles in scholarly journals, such as *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Citizenship Studies*, *European Review*, *International Migration*, and *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, his most recent books include *Migration and Transformation: Multi-Level Analysis of Migrant Transnationalism*, coedited with P. Pitkänen and

D. Sert (Springer, 2011), and *Countries of Migrants, Cities of Migrants: Italy, Spain, Turkey*, coedited with M. Balbo and J. P. Serrano (ISIS Press, 2013).

Claudia Masferrer is a Ph.D. student in sociology at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. She received her M.S. in statistics at the University of Texas at Austin and her B.S. in applied mathematics from the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM). Before studying at UT, Claudia worked in the Mexican Social Policy Evaluation Council (CONEVAL) as the Associate Director of Methodologies for Poverty Measurement and as a Research Analyst at the Mexican Ministry of Social Development (SEDESOL) in the Main Directorate of Geostatistics and Rosters of Beneficiaries. Her research interests focus on demography, migration, and social policy. She is currently in Montreal doing research on the comparison of recent Mexican migration to the United States and Canada.

Bryan R. Roberts is C.B. Smith Sr. Chair Emeritus in US-Mexico Relations and Professor Emeritus of Sociology. He was Director of the Mexican Center of the Director of the Mexican Center of the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies from 2006 to 2009. Dr. Roberts has published numerous articles and papers on issues of citizenship, social policy, irregular settlements, and internal and international migration, including Mexico-United States, labor markets, informal economies, community development, and urbanization. His latest publications include *Rethinking Development in Latin America* and *Ciudades Latino-americanas: Un análisis comparativo en el umbral del nuevo siglo*. Dr. Roberts received a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago and an M.A. in economics from the University of Manchester, England.

Molly M. Scott is a Senior Research Associate at the Urban Institute's Center for Metropolitan Housing and Communities. During her 14 years of research experience, she has specialized in programs and policies that reach immigrants and other Americans who fall out of the traditional safety net, examining issues of access and culturally appropriate adaptation of service models. Currently, Ms. Scott serves as the Principal Investigator for two place-based projects in Langley Park, an immigrant neighborhood in Maryland outside of Washington, D.C.: the needs assessment for the local Promise Neighborhood and the formative evaluation of a community-organizing model for engaging immigrant parents in their children's education. She also works as the Process Study Director on the four-site, \$4.2 million Housing and Services Together (HOST) project, which uses a dual-generation model to wrap around diverse, low-income families in public and mixed-income housing in Chicago, Portland, and Washington, D.C. Her other work at the urban institute has included examining promising models for homelessness prevention, affordable housing generation, and housing choice and mobility. Before coming to urban, Ms. Scott spent 8 years working for UCLA and the RAND Corporation as a Quantitative Analyst, where she published extensively on health disparities and neighborhood inequality. She holds a master's degree in public policy from UCLA and a bachelor's degree in Spanish language from Loyola Marymount University and served as a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar in Chile.

Deniz Sert is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Ozyegin University. She obtained her B.A. from Koç University, Department of International Relations in 2000, M.Sc. in European Studies from the London School of Economics in 2001, and Ph.D. in political science from City University of New York in 2008. After completing her Ph.D., Dr. Sert joined Migration Research Center at Koc University, MiReKoc, where she had conducted research in different projects on international migration. Since 2008, Dr. Sert has also been lecturing at Boğaziçi, Okan, and Koc universities. Her areas of expertise are conflict, forced migration, international migration, irregular migration, transnationalism, border management, and civil society.

David Spener is Associate Professor of Sociology, Anthropology, and International Studies at Trinity University in San Antonio, where he teaches courses on race and ethnic relations, social theory, US-Mexico border studies, and international development. His areas of scholarly expertise include comparative international development, economic sociology, social inequality, international migration, and border studies. Dr. Spener has written extensively on US-Mexico border relations and Mexican migration to the United States. His new book, *Clandestine Crossings: Migrants and Coyotes on the Texas-Mexico Border*, was published by Cornell University Press in late 2009. Dr. Spener received his Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin in 1995 and became a Faculty Member at Trinity University in 1997. He is fluent in Spanish and has served on the coordinating committee for the Languages Across the Curriculum part of Trinity's International Studies Program. In 2002 he received Trinity's Junior Faculty Award for Distinguished Teaching and Research.

Francisco Javier Ullán de la Rosa is a Spanish scholar. Born in Madrid in 1970, he is currently Assistant Professor at the Universidad Alicante, Department of Sociology II. He holds a major in history and geography from Universidad Complutense (1993), an M.Sc. in social anthropology from the London School of Economics and Political Science (1996), and a Ph.D. in political science and sociology from Complutense (1998). He has specialized in the field of Latin American studies, conducting research in Colombia, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, and Mexico. In the last 10 years, he has held academic and teaching positions in several Spanish-speaking countries: Universidad Veracruzana (Mexico), Universidad Católica de Bolivia, Universidad Nacional de Chimborazo (Ecuador), Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí (Mexico), and the Universidad Alicante (Spain).

Georg Vobruba is Professor of Sociology at the Universität Leipzig. He studied law, economics, and sociology at the University of Vienna and the University of Freiburg (FRG). Since 1992 he has held the Chair of Sociology and Social Policy at the Universität of Leipzig. In addition to numerous German publications, some of his English publications include "The Social Construction of the European Society" in Harry F. Dahms and Lawrence Hazelrigg (Eds.), *Theorizing Modern Society as a Dynamic Process* (Emerald, 2012), and "Time Horizons of

Transformation: Lessons from the German Unification for the Eurozone” (*OpenDemocracy*, 2013). Dr. Vobruba also has worked at Austrian Television, the Science Center Berlin, and the Hamburg Institute of Social Research. From 1996 to 2002, he served as Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Humanities at the Universität Leipzig. Since 2007, he has been a Member of the Board and an Editor for the Forum of the German Sociological Association.

Deborah M. Weissman is the Reef C. Ivey II Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina School of Law. Her research, teaching, and practice interests include immigration law, human rights, civil rights, and gender and the law. Some of her publications include “Remaking Mexico: Law Reform as Foreign Policy,” (35 *Cardozo Law Rev.* April 2014); “Global Economics and Their Progenies: Theorizing Femicide in Context,” in *Terrorizing Women, Femicide in the Americas* (Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano, eds., 2010 Duke University Press); “The Legal Production of the Transgressive Family: Binational Family Relationships Between Cuba and the United States,” 88 *North Carolina Law Review* 1881 (2010); “The Moral Politics of Social Control: Political Culture and Ordinary Crime in Cuba” (with Marsha Weissman), 35 *Brooklyn J. of Int’l L.* 311 (2010); and “The Political Economy of Violence: Toward an Understanding of the Gender-Based Murders of Ciudad Juárez,” 30 *N.C. J. Int’l L. & Comm. Reg.* 795 (2005). Professor Weissman has focused on the impact of local immigration enforcement policies in North Carolina and has testified before Congress about research findings regarding federal-local immigration partnerships and their impact on local communities. Her current research project focuses on US foreign policy and Mexico’s “drug war” and its impact on US immigration enforcement.

Catherine Wihtol de Wenden is a Political Scientist and a Lawyer. She is currently Senior Researcher at CERI (Sciences-Po Paris) and teaches at Sciences-Po. She has served as a Consultant for OECD, UNHCR, the European Commission, and the Council of Europe and also as Chair for the Research Committee on Migration of the International Association of Sociology. For more than 30 years, she has been working on migration, both on field studies and on comparative, regional, or world approaches. Professor Wihtol de Wenden is the author of 13 books and 150 articles. Her most recent books are *Policing the Inner Cities in France, the United Kingdom and the United States*, with Sophie Body-Gendrot (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and *Migrations en Méditerranée*, with Hélène Thiollet and Camille Schmoll (CNRS Editions, 2015).

Chapter 1

Introduction: The New Era of Restriction

David L. Leal, Nestor P. Rodríguez, and Gary P. Freeman

Abstract We live in a paradoxical “Age of Migration” (Castles and Miller 2009) that is characterized by both unprecedented levels of migration and (perhaps not coincidentally) considerable public and political skepticism about migration and migrants. Globally, the number of people on the move is large and growing. According to the United Nations, the total number of international migrants in 2013 was 232 million. This constitutes 3.2 % of the world’s population, and if migrants constituted their own nation, it would be the fifth largest. At the same time, public and political reactions against immigrants have grown across the global north. We live in a paradoxical “Age of Migration” (Castles and Miller 2009) that is characterized by both unprecedented levels of migration and (perhaps not coincidentally) considerable public and political skepticism about migration and migrants. Globally, the number of people on the move is large and growing. According to the United Nations, the total number of international migrants in 2013 was 232 million.¹ This constitutes 3.2 % of the world’s population, and if migrants constituted their own nation, it would be the fifth largest. At the same time, public and political reactions against immigrants have grown across the global north.

This volume therefore assembles an interdisciplinary group of scholars to better understand two dimensions of contemporary immigration policy—a growing enforcement and restriction regime in receiving nations and the subsequent effects on sending nations. It begins with three background chapters on immigration politics and policies in the United States, Europe, and Mexico. This is followed by 11 chapters about specific receiving and sending nations—four for the United States, three for Europe, and four for the sending nations of Mexico, Turkey, Peru, and Poland.

¹“International Migration Report 2013.” December, 2013. United Nations, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/migration/migrationreport2013/Full_Document_final.pdf

D.L. Leal • N.P. Rodríguez
Department of Government, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA

G.P. Freeman (✉)
Austin, TX, USA

The contributors include scholars from the fields of political science, sociology, economics, law, and geography. This selection of cases and the multidisciplinary approach provides a unique perspective that supplements more standard case studies and disciplinary research. For instance, while a considerable body of literature examines enforcement dynamics, just one or two nations are typically examined—such as the United Kingdom, France, or the United States. In addition, a growing number of scholars are interested in the social and political consequences of enforcement and restriction for the global south. However, there has been relatively little work (although it is growing) on the global consequences of increased deportations, stronger border security, greater travel restrictions, stagnant economies, and the loss of remittances.

Because restriction is a global phenomenon that affects almost every region, the chapters cast a broad net in order to provide an unusually comprehensive perspective. While not all topics can be covered in a single volume, we hope this project proves useful to scholars, students, researchers, and policy professionals as they seek to understand this new migration environment. In addition, we believe an edited volume is the appropriate format for such a project, as no single author could cover such a wide range of topics and regions².

The United States, Demographic Change, and Immigration Restriction

In the United States, recent decades have seen a fourth “great wave” of migration. Even when net unauthorized migration slowed in the 2010s³—a reflection of the stalled economy and possibly increased deportations and more rigorous deterrence and enforcement efforts—legal immigration continued almost unchallenged. Relatively little of the immigration debate touches on authorized immigrants—approximately one million individuals receive legal status every year, not including nearly 40 million temporary visitors.

Since the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act, the United States has undergone a demographic transformation that reflects both legal and unauthorized immigration. This may help to explain the emergence of renewed anti-immigration politics over the last decade. While the business cycle is often assumed to underlie public views of immigrants and immigration policy, Tichenor (2002) found little connection. Periods of demographic change (such as today and the 1920s) or the lack thereof (the 1960s) may be the better explanation.

According to the US Census, the foreign born in 2010 constituted 12.9 % of the overall population, or 40 million people. This reflects continual growth since the

²For more on the contributions of edited volumes to social science research, see Leal (2013).

³Passel, Jeffrey, D’Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrér. April 23, 2012. “Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less.” Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/>

low point in 1970 of 9.6 million individuals and 4.7 %. However, the foreign-born percentage was higher in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—with the record high of 14.8 % in 1890 (US Census Bureau 2013).

This immigrant population is not evenly distributed across the United States, as it remains concentrated in California, the southwest, Florida, and urban areas such as New York and Chicago. However, the foreign-born percentage has grown considerably in many midwestern and southern states, which had relatively low baseline immigrant populations prior to recent changes (Suro and Singer 2002). Such growth in the “new destination states” may help to explain the emergence of contemporary reactions against immigrants, as many Americans now see Latinos where few previously existed, and Latino migration has become a national news story.

One of the most notable features of the contemporary immigration policy climate is the substantial increase in deportations (or removals, to use official US government terminology). In 1995, just over 50,000 individuals were removed (“the compulsory and confirmed movement of an inadmissible or deportable alien out of the United States based on an order of removal”).⁴ By FY 2013, that figure had increased to 438,421—an 8.8 times increase (Department of Homeland Security 2015).

At the same time, the number of returns (typically those apprehended by the US Border Patrol and sent back without a formal order of removal) rose but then declined. In 1995, the number was over 1.3 million, and the high point was 1.68 million in 2000. The figures then hovered around one million until steady declines starting in 2007—with the onset of the Great Recession—and was just 178,371 in 2013 (Department of Homeland Security 2015).

Much of the rhetoric, and justification, for these removals involves “criminal aliens.” The offenses that qualify for removal range from “dangerous drugs” to “criminal traffic offense” to “immigration offenses” to “family offenses.”⁵ In all years, the number of criminal removals is lower than the number of noncriminal removals, sometimes more than twice although in recent years the figures have moved closer to parity.⁶

⁴Department of Homeland Security. 2012. “Table 39: Aliens Removed or Returned: Fiscal Years 1892 to 2011.” *2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2011/ois_yb_2011.pdf%20. Accessed February 20, 2013

⁵Simanski, John, and Lesley M. Sapp. 2012. “Table 7: Criminal Aliens Removed by Crime Category: Fiscal Years 2009 to 2011.” *Annual Report Immigration Enforcement Actions: 2011*. DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics: Washington DC. http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/enforcement_ar_2011.pdf. Accessed February 20, 2012

Dangerous Drugs includes “the manufacturing, distribution, sale, and possession of illegal drugs”; traffic offenses include “hit and run and driving under the influence”; immigration offenses include “entry, reentry, false claims to citizenship, and alien smuggling”; and family offenses include “child and domestic abuse.”

⁶Department of Homeland Security. 2012. “Table 41: Aliens Removed By Criminal Status and Region and Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2002 to 2011.” *2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2011/ois_yb_2011.pdf%20. Accessed February 20, 2013

As the background chapter for the United States will discuss, the individuals removed were caught up in a variety of federal programs aimed at “criminal aliens,” sometimes in cooperation with state and local officials. These include Secure Communities, 287(g), the Criminal Alien Program (CAP), and the National Fugitive Operations Program (NFOP). For many, these efforts are controversial because they can ensnare individuals who have committed either no specific crime (aside from immigration violations) or relatively minor crimes in the distant past (Alonzo et al. 2011).

In June of 2011, the Obama administration announced an immigration enforcement reprioritization that would focus on the removal of individuals who present the greatest threat to “national security, border security, public safety, and the integrity of the immigration system.” Because of limited resources, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) would use “prosecutorial discretion” in stopping, questioning, arresting, detaining, releasing, or removing individuals (US Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2011). This discretion would be based on 19 factors (“not exhaustive”) such as length of presence, ties to the community, age, US citizen relatives, pregnancy of spouse, and individual and family military service. As White House Director of Intergovernmental Affairs Cecilia Muñoz noted, “There are more than 10 million people who are in the U.S. illegally; it’s clear that we can’t deport such a large number. So the Administration has developed a strategy to make sure we use those resources in a way that puts public safety and national security first” (Muñoz 2011).

One year later, the Obama administration would introduce “deferred action” for certain unauthorized immigrants brought to the United States as children (US Department of Homeland Security 2012b). For many advocates of the DREAM Act, this was a welcome, if long overdue, decision. While not providing a path to citizenship or legal permanent residence, it would ease the fears of arrest and deportation for approximately 800,000 individuals (Preston and Cushman 2012). For others, this was a troubling development. According to US Representative Lamar Smith (R-TX), this decision amounted to “backdoor amnesty” and ignored “the rule of law.” He concluded that “The administration’s amnesty agenda is a win for illegal immigrants but a loss for Americans” (Aguilar 2012).

Despite these changes to the policy environment, deportation numbers have not declined. The administration responded to critics by noting the increasing percentage of deportees with criminal records or who otherwise fit ICE’s higher priority classifications (Gomez 2012).

In addition, the federal government is expanding two programs that seek to break the link between unauthorized immigration and employment—E-Verify and workplace audits. These programs have largely replaced the more dramatic, and controversial, workplace raids. For example, the 2008 ICE raid in Postville, Iowa, resulted in significant media coverage and considerable negative publicity (Jones 2012). The Obama administration moved away from this strategy and toward paperwork “silent raids” that target businesses and business owners but do not indict the workers (Preston 2011). In addition, when workplaces are raided, the results are very different than in 2008. As the *New York Times* noted, almost 300 unauthorized Postville workers were convicted of federal offenses and spent time in federal prison. By