

Immigration as a Never-ending Saga

The last several years have witnessed a revival of a drama staged periodically in the United States and nations across the globe. The subject is immigration and its subtexts: shifting economies, the breakdown of borders, threats to national identity and public safety. Whenever the drama opens, the language is charged with conflicting elements of nostalgia and resentment, hope and fear, empathy and hatred. In the United States, the clash is especially painful as it portrays a country defined by immigration but still unable to manage it without rancorous debate and hostility, exacerbated by surges at the Mexican border and refugee crises. In Europe, a Union of 28 nations in fragile agreement over open borders among members is facing the supreme test of its unity with epic numbers of migrants fleeing war and chaos in the Middle East and Africa to nations with markedly different views of their obligations and one dramatically voting in June 2016 to leave the EU. The almost 65 million people defined in 2016 as internally displaced or refugees seeking asylum may represent the greatest humanitarian challenge of our time, especially to nations seen as capable of providing resettlement.

Managing population change is on every national agenda. In some, it has emerged over time as immigrants filled economic gaps and integrated into the national fabric in a long and largely successful history. For others, it manifests itself in intractable and seemingly endless ethnic hostilities; for still others, it is cast as simply the pragmatic economic solution to persistently low national birth rates. In the context of unprecedented mass migration from conflicts engulfing entire regions, it presents a humanitarian imperative not seen since World War II and its aftermath. As such, it demands that governments respond to the challenges that globalization—of people, technology, transportation, trade, communication, and civil war—has produced.

Immigration crises have few boundaries. In the last half-century, millions of Vietnamese fled postwar retaliation and violence, often to makeshift camps in Southeast Asia before settling in a number of receptive nations. Countless refugees from ethnic violence in southern and central Africa migrated to neighboring states or sought refuge through the United Nations High Commission for Refugees camps. In 1980, 125,000 Cubans were put on boats destined for the United States, in what was seen as an emptying of Cuban jails and mental hospitals. Religious minorities in Myanmar and Bangladesh

sought relief from persecution, arriving but not welcomed in Indonesia, Malaysia, or other nations in the area. Even larger numbers from Asia and the Middle East left their homelands with the promise of work in nations with labor needs (Dubai, Hong Kong, even Israel, Switzerland, Spain, and northern Europe). In virtually all instances, migrants confronted suspicion, hostility, and horrific working and living conditions, as only small numbers were able to settle into steady employment and stable lives. Crises can occur almost anywhere, anytime, demanding that nations find ways of dealing with them that do not create dangerous fractures in their societies.

Immigration as a Twenty-first Century Dilemma

Examples from regions most vulnerable to immigration crisis illustrate the multiple challenges facing virtually every nation. In the United States, contemporary concern has focused on the southern border. Despite unforgiving desert terrain, increased security personnel, and 670 miles of new fencing, the almost 2,000-mile border continues to provide opportunities for illegal entry and jobs in industries that have become dependent on their labor. In 2010, the Arizona state legislature passed a bill to identify and detain those in the country illegally, and several other states followed suit with similar bills. Arizona's law and other statutes were successfully challenged in the courts as inconsistent with federal law, but the resentments that inspired them have lingered, creating deep divisions of opinion, aggressive stances in many local law enforcement forces, a growth in vigilante groups, and concerns that localities would be overwhelmed by job seekers and increased demands on their services. With increasing calls for the U.S. to accept more of the world's millions of refugees, opposition continues to be fierce.

In 2013–14, a deluge of migrants crossing the Mexican border made immigration a national issue. Increased violence and poverty in Central America encouraged thousands, believing they would be welcomed as refugees, to head north, and most sought not to elude patrols but to seek them out for assistance. Border facilities were unprepared for the numbers of mothers with children or children traveling alone, and immigration offices struggled to follow procedures for asylum hearings, but the sheer volume led to inconsistent responses. The Texas governor ordered National Guard units to the border; some local opponents organized protests and blocked buses transporting migrants; legal aid groups sent volunteers to provide representation at critical hearings. Despite passionate appeals for action by both sympathizers and opponents, state legislatures and Congress appeared to be paralyzed by indecision. Months passed with no clear policy, thousands of crossers found their way to relatives, and thousands of others began long waits in detention centers. Most strikingly, Executive Orders directing officials to delay deportations and allow those waiting for hearings to leave detention centers were immediately challenged in the courts, leaving literally millions of new arrivals, as well as the long-term undocumented, in limbo. In June 2016, the eight-member U.S. Supreme Court let stand (by a tie vote) a lower court ruling repudiating President

Obama's executive order to allow large numbers of undocumented migrants to work without fear of deportation, guaranteeing that unresolved issues will continue to challenge political leaders. Despite heightened rhetoric in the 2016 election campaigns, prospects for comprehensive policy continued to be stymied by congressional resistance to any major legislative action.

If the American case illustrates inability to deal with new arrivals, events in France illustrate both issue-specific tensions and huge general concern with migrants residing legally there. A large Algerian Muslim population has lived in France for decades, and the numbers increased even after a long and costly colonial war. In 1989, what seemed a minor disagreement—three Muslim girls refusing to remove head scarves in school—precipitated a crisis over whether the scarves violated the French commitment to separation of church and state. Localities struggled, often unsuccessfully, to devise rules acceptable to all sides of the argument. After five years of conflict, the national government issued an advisory memorandum suggesting that “discreet” display of religious symbols would be permitted, but “ostentatious” ones—such as head scarves—could be prohibited. Not surprisingly, that directive failed to resolve the issue, and frequent expulsions continued to ignite crises. Fully fifteen years after the first incident, the government approved the “Veil Law,” formally prohibiting ostentatious religious symbols: veils, large Christian crosses, Jewish yarmulkes, and Sikh turbans. Resentment among Muslims reflected their belief that they have been the only real targets, a belief reinforced in 2016 by the decisions of several coastal cities to ban the “burkini,” a full-body bathing suit designed to allow Muslim women to swim while observing traditions of modesty. Politicians and large majorities of the public favor the bans, indicating a deep divide between the French and the country's largest minority.

French governments have also tightened restrictions on other minorities. Although citizens of all members of the European Union are entitled to entry and residence, Romanian and Bulgarian groups known as *Roma* for their transient life style, have been driven from makeshift camps and deported. Others, including African migrants seeking work or admission to Britain, have suffered the same fate or been forced to remain in camps, leading to condemnations by the EU and United Nations. Since the *Roma* tend to return and immigrant groups have only grown, tensions could only increase.

They did so, dramatically, in 2015 and 2016, as Europe faced millions of refugees seeking entry and work in the EU. In January 2015, Paris suffered fatal attacks on staff at a French Newspaper and hostages in a Jewish market; in November, coordinated terrorists detonated bombs and opened fire on diners in restaurants and concertgoers in a large performance venue, killing 130 and wounding scores of others. Seven months later, a Tunisian-born man wielding a gun and driving a large truck killed 86 people celebrating Bastille Day in Nice, raising fears that France would face continuing violence perpetrated by foreigners. What had been a difficult discussion of religious practices in a secular state was eclipsed by a crisis of national security, with radical Muslims cast as a threat to French society and marginalized minorities forced onto the national agenda. As the European Union continues to struggle in efforts to craft immigration policies,

French leaders face deeply rooted resentments likely to heighten partisan divisions and place new pressures on European Union policies.

A striking example of immigration tension is found in historically conflict-averse Switzerland. In November 2009, 59% of Swiss voters supported a ban on the construction of minarets, the prayer towers of Islamic mosques. Since the vote was for an addition to the national constitution, it effectively created a constitutional restriction on religious freedom. As the Swiss Constitution guarantees that freedom, the force of the vote remains unclear, because it appeared to contradict rather than amend or replace existing provisions.

Still, the vote was alarming on a number of counts. Of Switzerland's 150 existing mosques only four had minarets and none conducted the call to prayer. Moreover, Muslims are less than 5% of the population, most of whom are Turkish and Kosovo migrants who do not adhere to religious codes of dress and conduct. But most remarkable was the ferocity of a campaign that consciously demonized Muslims. One image depicted the minarets as missiles emerging through the Swiss flag, with a veiled woman glaring at the viewer. Another had three white sheep standing on the Swiss flag, one kicking a black sheep over its border, with a simple "create security" caption. The ultranationalist party advocating deportation of immigrants experienced a rare surge in popularity. In a further move to restrict immigration, a 2014 referendum measure obligating the government to institute strict quotas passed, rejecting EU principles that have allowed Switzerland to enjoy EU membership benefits without actually joining the organization. The faceoff with EU leadership over immigration issues remains unresolved.

However serious the immigration issue appears in these examples, the critical nature of the problem is most evident in the post-2013 mass migrations to Europe. Increases in Middle Eastern and African migrants had been recorded since 2010, but the sinking of a boat carrying 400–500 refugees from Eritrea, Ghana, and Somalia in 2013 portended the urgency of dangerous Mediterranean passage. In 2014, two ships carrying more than a thousand Syrian refugees were abandoned by smugglers; and another several hundred drowned when an overloaded boat sank in February 2015. Italy, suddenly host to over 100,000 migrants who survived the crossings, implored EU neighbors to assist in rescue and resettlement. At the same time, two Spanish settlements on the Moroccan coast emerged as cauldrons of frustration for thousands of refugees from central Africa, creating massive camps and frequent attempts to reach the sea. Libya effectively lost control of its coast, leaving it open to more desperate voyages and casualties at sea. By mid-2016, more than 4,500 had drowned in attempted crossings.

Even larger numbers have turned to routes initiated through the Greek island of Lesbos or the Bulgarian border. By early 2016, more than 700,000 Syrians, Iraqis, and Afghans had arrived, overwhelming small immigration offices and temporary camps. Southern and Eastern European borders became transit routes for migrants trying to reach Germany, Sweden, and Britain, and angry confrontations resulted in escalating restrictions, frequent border closures, and heightened rhetoric demanding that entry points be closed. In addition, emboldened migrants from Ukraine and Kosovo surged

into EU nations to seek better economic opportunities. The UN reported in 2016 that worldwide more than 63.5 million people were displaced—eclipsing the post-World War II figure. More than half sought refuge in Europe.

The challenge to Europe is historic. Since the rescue at Lampedusa, EU leadership made numerous efforts to gain support for managing the flow of refugees, led by Germany's pledge to accept up to a million in the next year. Expanded admission/registration centers have been set up in most member nations, but no agreement reached on allocation formulas for resettlement. The EU bought time by paying Turkey to house refugees turned back at borders in Greece, but anti-immigrant sentiment remains high in several nations, encouraged by parties that insist on national prerogatives to reject any or all refugees. Such sentiment was a major factor in the near victory of a Far-Right presidential candidate in Austria in May 2016, the rise of similar parties in the Netherlands, Germany, and France, and in Britain's June 2016 vote to leave the EU.

By 2016, conditions in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Central America culminated in what has to be seen as a continuing, even permanent immigration and refugee crisis. At stake are critical rights of destination nations to define and enforce secure borders in a time when "natural" borders are no longer sufficient to limit migration, and the critical rights of refugees to resettle in safe environments. Nations that, historically, addressed borders and immigration with short-term responses now confront pressure from both migrants and increasingly hostile public opinion, with no indication that they can or will resolve the crises. American and European responses will test their roles both as responsible national managers and as world leaders committed to humanitarian policies worldwide.

Theme and Variation in Immigration

The ubiquity of the crisis suggests that immigration cannot be explained only as related to unique national experiences. Common themes can be observed, allowing us to understand immigration more organically, as a complex phenomenon in an increasingly complex world. If that is the case, such commonalities should suggest broader explanations and, consequently, more unified responses—even multination policies addressing a global problem. Identifying such basic themes is an essential first step in that process.

Constants in Immigration Experience

Some features of immigration appear consistently over time. One is that prime movers of both immigration and national responses have been remarkably predictable over time and place. The search for safe lives and economic opportunity motivates most people who leave their homelands for the uncertainty of a future in another. The quest for such basic needs is as evident among refugees in Europe and foreign workers in the Emirates as it was in colonial America or postwar Australia.

Normally, nations accept or recruit immigrants because they need them. Regional powerhouses imported manpower essential to expansion; nations more generally have sought to balance labor demand with supply, to optimize economic growth. The direction of the flow has been consistent; people from poorer nations see opportunities in growing economies, and wealthier nations in need of labor recruit immigrants from those areas. Wars and other disruptive events periodically pry open doors that would otherwise have been closed, but the continuous forces of migration have been those of opportunity and economic need. National policies have always reflected reactions to needs and crises more than humanitarian principles, but in almost all situations immigrants have relocated, found work, and settled into permanent roles.

A corollary of this constant is that even in periods of mass disruption, immigration has almost always been incremental even as it is perceived as large and disruptively dangerous. Overall, percentages have been small relative to total population growth but initial reactions have often been strident. Most prominent has been the overarching sense of threat, reflecting fear of economic, cultural, or even physical harm. The fear of economic insecurity caused by immigrants entering the United States illegally and the millions of nationals moving freely when borders were opened within the enlarged European Union was widespread, even though the jobs they took were largely those shunned by locals. Cultural threat is a product of age-old preferences for associating with people most like oneself and seeing outsiders—especially those with different ethnicities and religions—as challenging a society’s way of life. And since the first major terrorist attacks on U.S. soil in 2001, perception of physical danger has been seen as inherent in attitudes toward admitting foreigners from areas increasingly seen as hostile to the popular destinations, mostly in the West.

Underlying economic and related social fears determine how numbers of immigrants are interpreted. Growth in the number and percentage of foreign-born in the United States has varied over time. Between 1900 and 1970 the numbers remained stable as the overall population increased. After 1970 both numbers and percentages of foreign-born increased, but the percentage of the population in 2010 was still lower than that recorded in 1910. Growth has been more dramatic in Europe, mostly because it has occurred in a shorter time period. Britain saw its foreign population double (from a low base) between 1951 and 2001, then increase by another 50% in the next decade; in France, the immigrant share tripled between 1911 and 2010; in Germany the increase from 1961 to 2006 was 800% (again from a very low base) before growing by another 50% in the following five years (Figures 1.1–1.4). In all four countries, the immigrant percentage of the population remains below 15%. Those figures are part of a much larger pattern of postwar migration. Between 1945 and 1965, 15% of the world’s people sought to cross national borders, mostly to enter the United States and Europe.

The 2000–2016 figures have surpassed that level of movement, creating a modern sense of crisis. Part of the massive human movement is rooted in the continuation of a postwar pattern of migration from Africa, Asia, South America, and the Middle East, reversing earlier patterns of movement to the U.S. and Europe from cultures similar to

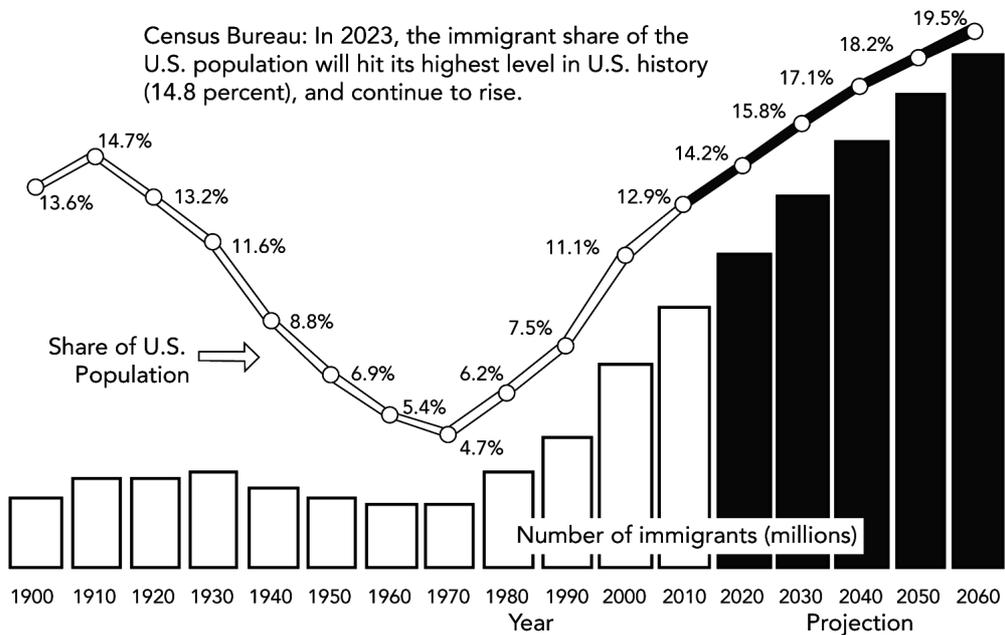


Figure 1.1. Immigrant Population as Percentage of U.S. Population. (Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, American Community Survey, Census Bureau Projections)

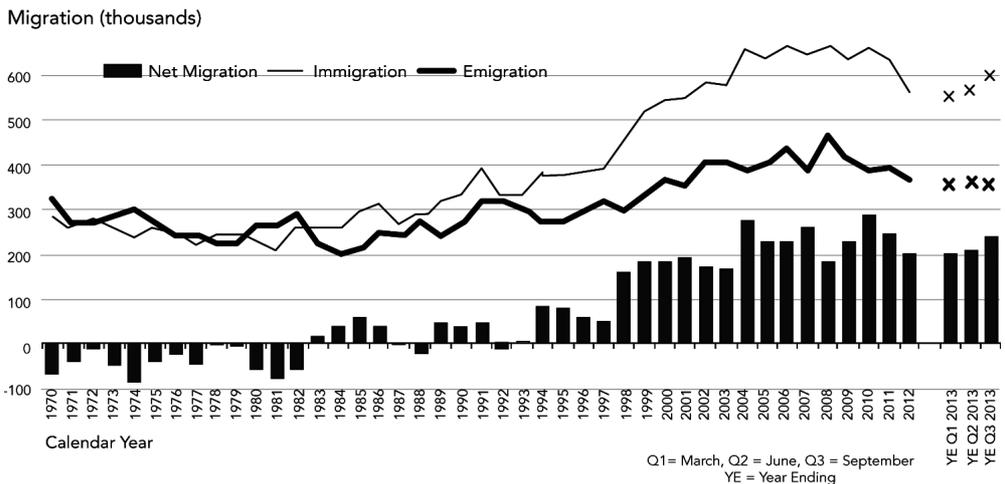


Figure 1.2. Immigration Patterns in Britain, 1970–2014. (Source: Office of National Statistics, Quarterly Report, 2014)

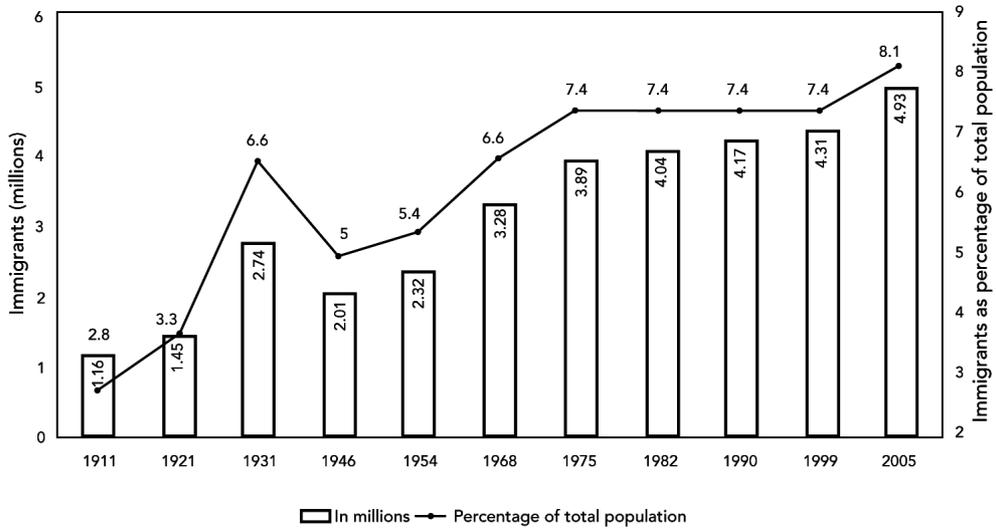


Figure 1.3. Immigrant Population in France, 1911–2005. (Source: National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), 2006)

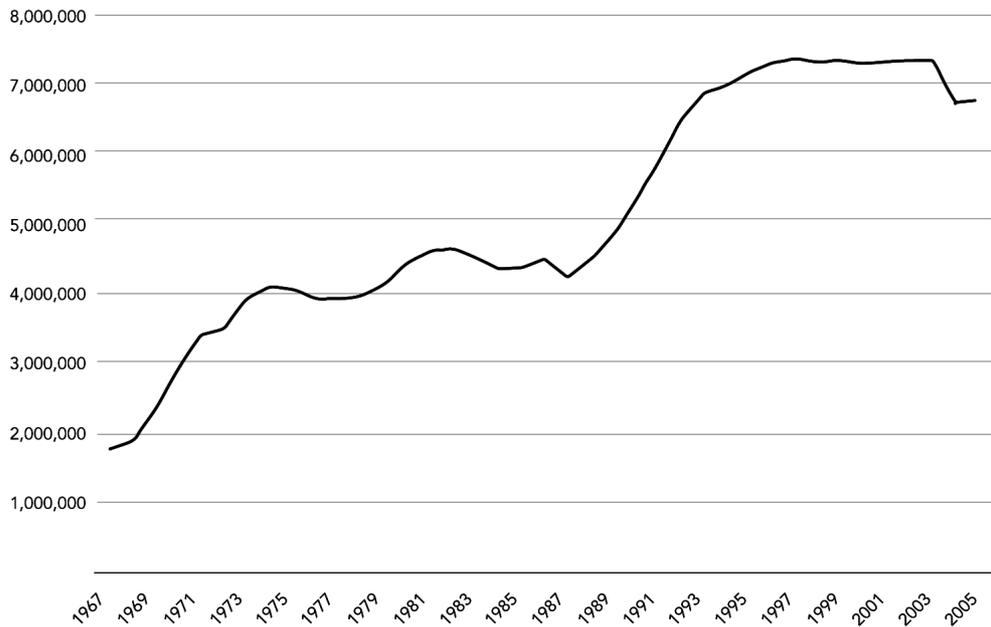


Figure 1.4. Growth of the Foreign Population in Germany, 1967–2006. (Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany)

theirs or in small numbers of culturally different groups. After the postwar breakup of its empire, Britain faced immigration pressures from former colonies, whose people the British had considered dependents but not fellow citizens. For France, primary postwar newcomers were North Africans, primarily Algerians whose independence the French had unsuccessfully fought against for eight years, and in Germany the largest number were Turkish laborers. Only the United States moved to officially widen its doors to greater numbers from Latin America, Africa, and Asia, an action largely opposed by the public at that time. Opinion across all four nations was, at best, wary of the new immigrants.

But at least the United States and the European nations were in control of admission. The major reason that twenty-first-century migration has been viewed with alarm is that borders have not prevented surges of millions seeking refuge and permanent residence. The burdens of significant numbers thus fall heavily on hosts, most of whom have been overwhelmed by the challenges posed.

A second major feature of immigration experiences has been that the push to increase immigration numbers has generally come from business and industry, who have long advanced the position that economic health and growth hinged on encouraging the growth of the workforce. That claim is supported by compelling evidence that both Europe at the time of the Industrial Revolution and contemporary Brazil and China actively recruited rural populations to centers of industry and manufacturing to fuel economic growth. Where internal migration could not meet the needs of development, both nineteenth- and twentieth-century America and postwar Europe encouraged immigration to provide labor vital to replace war casualties and facilitate economic expansion. Since resilient economies regularly boast new sectors needing new workers, recruiting labor is a constant challenge. Historically, the need has been greatest for unskilled and semi-skilled workers in new industries and then for replacement workers to fill jobs opened up by upward mobility. More recently, the need for those trained in technology and the professions has expanded recruitment even further. In both settings, national debates have moved to focus more on workforce needs than generalized immigration. In the absence of long-term plans, urgency can be a critical factor in determining admission numbers and standards.

Moreover, immigrants have consistently occupied the lower ranks of occupation and status. Most immigrants enter at the bottom rungs of society's ladder. Irish, Eastern and Southern European, then non-European newcomers have all borne the mantle of scorned new Americans; guestworkers became the underclass in postwar Germany; North Africans and gypsies have been marginalized in France. Even as growth in the number of sending nations has broadened the bases of both talent and discrimination, fear of terrorism has magnified scrutiny of long-term foreign-born residents as well as new immigrants in nations across the globe. Dealing with an immigrant class perceived as dangerous in the twenty-first century is the updated version of the theme rooted in histories of hostility to foreigners in all destination nations.

Immigration issues regularly exacerbate other, deep-seated concerns. Voters may reject school budgets if they believe increased costs are due to increased numbers of

migrant children. Labor unions with opportunities to organize new groups may hesitate if they worry that the presence of foreign workers encourages lower wages. Claims that capacity has been reached often mask fears of culturally different immigrants; nationalist parties in Britain, France, Austria, Israel, Switzerland, and others seek to represent silent majorities who believe that national identity is at risk. Wariness of the foreign has a long history, and recent examples of opposition across Europe remind us that it is a permanent element in immigrant experiences.

Finally, images of nations championing the world's needy or desperate are almost always dimmed by exceptions to that role. In previous eras, France and Canada had reputations as havens for refugees; Israel was initially seen as a beacon for the persecuted; Britain once proclaimed openness to all commonwealth subjects; and the United States embraced the symbol of "huddled masses" as foreigners fueled expansion and prosperity. Yet among these only Canada has offered admission to large numbers of refugees, and many have scaled back promises of relocation. In Europe, only Germany and Sweden have been proactive in accepting refugees since 2013, and that stance has threatened leadership in both. To be fair, all nations are obliged to be attentive to border integrity, security risks, capacity, and the tension between empathy and reasonable immigration limits. The inherent randomness and size of refugee crises ensure that the tension will continue to complicate rational policy discussions.

Variations on the Theme

Differences in contemporary immigration themes are also prominent in the contemporary environment. First, immigration, once a regional phenomenon, has become truly global. Somalis settle in New England, Nepalis in Korea, Mongolians in Prague, Pakistanis in Dubai. This demographic shift has not only added to the sheer volume of applicants for admission but also complicated policy options, as governments are forced to accommodate enormous cultural, linguistic, and educational differences among applicants. In their time, Irish immigrants to the United States and Poles moving to Germany were scorned for being different; today, racially and culturally distinctive immigrants almost certainly face greater obstacles than those who preceded them, wherever they settle. Nations cannot undertake policies that encourage assimilation without intervention on the part of governments inexperienced in the host's role.

A related difference is rooted in the influence of new technology. As recently as 1965, when American policies began to facilitate immigration from non-European nations, potential migrants had access to only limited information from newspapers, television and radio transmissions, or even post from abroad. With the development of myriad new forms of communication—transportation, telecommunications, and especially the internet—travel and information have become widely available; migrants seeking passage within Europe are able to receive continuous information regarding, for instance, route guidance, from others who have negotiated the trip, through cell phones. Personal communication devices such as these grant exposure to media and

illuminate living conditions in other nations, offering assurance of secure lives and thereby encouraging people to relocate. Globalization has also eased financial transfers, facilitating both moves and remittances.

Third, a notable change has occurred in the demographic makeup of new immigrants. Whereas the typical migrant used to be an unmarried male, who was a perfect candidate to provide labor while requiring the support of few services, nearly half of the new migrants are women, often with children. When refugees and asylum seekers are included in the mix, the proportion of needy migrants with few resources increases sharply. Such shifts involve more complicated settlement in host nations, with greater adjustments on the part of the host population and increases in the use of education and social services, all of which alter popular perceptions of migrants by defining them as draining rather than adding resources.

Fourth, there is increasing evidence that while people expect their governments to bear responsibility for immigration issues, they infrequently support their actions. That expectation is a sea change. In earlier times, immigration was largely unregulated, as businesses advised governments on whom and how many to admit, and those accepted were largely on their own. Host governments now calculate labor needs, screen applicants, manage programs for settlement, and monitor potential security threats. Governments have taken on immigration responsibilities reluctantly, as opposition parties of all stripes have portrayed such services as welfare for nonnationals and made immigration a major electoral issue in all destination nations.

Finally, international organizations have steadily increased efforts to regulate treatment of refugees and immigrants. Responding to the often horrific conditions after 1945, international standards have been codified and used to pressure regimes to provide humane treatment. However widely accepted the idea of immigration as a market function might be, the realities of exploitation have generated regional and international involvement in arenas traditionally left to national management and control. That involvement is sure to increase, as the United Nations and powerful regional associations seek to fashion unified standards and policies.

Twenty-First-Century Immigration Patterns and the Role of Refugees as Triggers of Crisis

Between 1980 and 2008, attempts were made to adapt policies to changing immigration situations. The United States granted amnesty and residency to undocumented immigrants in 1986, and France encouraged foreigners who had been allowed entry outside of official channels to seek permanent status retroactively. Britain provided funds for immigrant schooling and housing and created commissions to improve race relations. Although Germany instituted tighter restrictions on asylum, it also removed barriers to naturalization. The EU continues efforts to define common standards of immigrant treatment among its members. Still, major weaknesses exposed during the post-1945 period persist, and are especially evident in piecemeal legislation aimed at managing

immediate problems rather than creating comprehensive policy, and a continuing preference for keeping immigration numbers small. Across nations, official policies continue to be minimalist, apparently assuming that issues will be resolved by market forces and eventual assimilation.

Dramatic increases in the number of refugees seeking entry into both the United States and Europe have again brought the question of numbers to the forefront of national concerns. Refugees have always confounded immigration policies, since their plight and numbers can be neither predicted nor easily managed. Seventy years after the last massive surge, nations unprepared to offer more than temporary relief find themselves caught between sympathy for refugees and resistance to what appear to be unlimited numbers. Earlier crises offer little guidance. The United States was notoriously reluctant to respond to the plight of European Jews in the 1930s and '40s, but migrants from Cuba continue to enjoy automatic acceptance 55 years after the rebellion of 1959 and more than a year after new American relations with Cuba were initiated. Iraqis and Afghans who assisted U.S. military operations expected but rarely received timely admission decisions, and refugees from civil war and famine in Somalia were required to follow application procedures for regular visas. Britain, which in 1948 proclaimed open doors for all Commonwealth citizens, moved almost immediately to

20th and 21st Century Migration Surges

Post–World War II: During the War, some 60 million people were displaced; by 1951, at least one million were still seeking places to live. Over 2 million Germans left Czechoslovakia; 500,000 left Poland to travel to the Soviet Union; 2 million Soviets returned to the Soviet Union; more than 600,000 resettled in the U.S.; even more migrated to the new state of Israel

Cuban Migration to the U.S: Since 1959, more than 1.1 million Cubans have left Cuba, entering the U.S. legally. In 1981, a boatlift of prisoners and unemployed brought 125,000; between 2013 and 2015, 100,000 entered, taking advantage of favorable federal policies dating to 1959.

Central Americans Entered the U.S. Requesting Refugee Status: Between 2013 and 2014, more than 315,000 non-Mexicans and 771,000 Mexicans crossed the border; 50,000 unaccompanied children have entered each year.

Middle Eastern and African Civil Strife and Poverty after 2013: In 2015, over 1 million refugees traveled by sea to Europe; 942,000 sought asylum; in 2014, 184 were granted refugee status. By 2016 the United Nations High Commission on Refugees reported that 65 million people worldwide were either refugees or displaced persons, a figure eclipsing the number following World War II.

prevent immigration from former colonies, even those beset by violence. Germany, with 400,000 applicants for asylum in 1993, revised its constitution to restrict entry. As compelling as refugee cases may be, nations confronted with unanticipated influxes have not been able to agree on consistent policies, trusting the UN High Commission on Refugees to provide temporary camps (in which by 2016 more than 10 million refugees were housed; another 25 million displaced persons were in protection programs) and negotiate for permanent homes with members. That process is cumbersome, resulting in long waits and multiple stages where applications can be denied. New refugee movements almost always lead to revival of media and political portrayals of immigration as crisis. Where immigration rarely ranked in the top twenty public concerns in most years since 1945, the 2013–16 refugee situation has inspired high-profile debates charged with divisive rhetoric. Two factors may be creating a more intense debate. One is the imagery made accessible by modern technology, which can present crises in bold relief: instant access to the world's trouble spots, demonstrations, border apprehensions, drug trafficking. Violence is newsworthy, everyday successes are not, and the proliferation of outlets via news media and internet has increased viewing opportunities to an ever-wider audience. If minimal contact with people who are different has historically bred indifference to them, extensive exposure has almost certainly increased resentment and fear.

Related to universal access to information and interpretation is the fact that “hot button” issues drive politics, and immigrants push that button in a variety of ways. The 9/11 terrorists were foreigners who developed their plans on American soil; the Boston Marathon bombers were identified as disgruntled immigrants. Rioting in European cities occurred in ethnic neighborhoods; the razing of Roma camps in France highlighted their makeshift living conditions, and terrorist attacks were quickly linked to foreigners with ISIS sympathies. Through the lens of media coverage, immigrants appear dangerous or a threat to jobs and cultural identity even as the vast majority live ordinary, productive, lives. Extreme politicians and parties have news value because they are extreme, even if their electoral strength is small.

Immigration is susceptible to the “hot button” tag precisely because it differs from issues about which the public is chronically indifferent. Most foreign and domestic policies do not personally affect citizens, but immigration has the ability to touch all—how we define ourselves, how safe our neighborhoods are, what kinds of schools our children will attend, what jobs will be open to us—and thus elicits highly personal opinions about noncitizens. The issue combines central national concerns (economic opportunity and stability, public safety, social welfare) with very personal priorities. In the United States, the personal element is on display at least every two years, when candidates extol the plucky immigrants in their family lineage but still manage to disparage more current newcomers. Because immigration inspires religious, humane, and patriotic sentiments as well as economic and social interpretations of society, it is both intensely personal and provocatively complex. The question might well be not why the issue is at any given moment hot, but why there are any times when it is not.

Immigration is far too complex a problem to produce easy solutions to the dilemmas described here. Durable policies have to be based on an understanding of its dynamics, and comparison of nations struggling to manage it can offer important lessons. Attempts to simplify matters invite perils of their own, but three core questions can be posed to guide the analysis here. First, how have nations reconciled their economies' needs for additional workers with perceptions that foreign labor undercuts the native workforce and burdens service programs? Second, how have nations reconciled claims of openness and humanitarian ideals with pressure to restrict regular immigration and resist admitting refugees? Third, how have nations dealt with immigrants from different cultures in the face of pressure to preserve national identity and security?

This analysis compares experiences in four destination nations: the United States, Britain, Germany, and France. It builds on a basic framework that organizes a wealth of historical, economic, social, and political research to extrapolate the determinants of policy options. Within that framework, the central chapters examine the evolution of immigration policy in four nations, seeking to shed light on questions crucial to understanding governmental responses in a challenged global environment.

A Framework for Analysis

Immigration is hardly a modern phenomenon. Civilizations, kingdoms, empires, and nation-states have all experienced major population movement—borders changed by conquest or alliance; groups absorbed or expelled; native populations taking on new definition. Literature on individual cases or eras is abundant; theoretical treatments of immigration comprehensive; data readily available; and volumes including national examples rich in detail. That said, comparing modern national experiences in the face of increasing immigration pressures requires some distillation of the extant literature and a framework for analysis.

Immigration Theory

The body of scholarly literature on immigration is vast, filled with both broadly brushed and tightly focused studies in a number of academic disciplines in the social sciences and law. Historians and anthropologists document the experiences of individuals and groups in old and new societies; economists and demographers model labor flows and their impacts; political scientists and sociologists examine admission policies and immigrant assimilation; legal scholars assess citizenship rules. It is hardly surprising that noted scholar Douglas Massey and others have noted that “social scientists do not approach the study of immigration from a shared paradigm, but from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints fragmented across disciplines, regions, and ideologies” (1994, p. 700). Moreover, disciplines differ markedly in the way they frame issues, in

the units of analysis they use, and the research methods they employ (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). An abundance of research is host to a similarly broad array of theories.

Still, disciplinary theory and research provide important guidance for those comparing immigration experiences. History and anthropology alert us to issues in earlier migrations that have shaped recent examples; political science and sociology identify policy debates and options, and document integration patterns. Within sociology, demographers define parameters of population movement; within political science, debates over critical perspectives such as realism, institutionalism, and globalization have sharpened our understanding of the challenges of traditional immigration and the growing refugee crises. A major recommendation offered in Brettell and Hollifield's *Migration Theory* is its subtitle, *Talking across Disciplines* (1994). As we argue in the following sections, each of four disciplinary approaches informs understanding of the common issues faced in the four nations examined here.

The Utility of a Cross-disciplinary Framework

Comparison of national cases requires consideration of several critical perspectives: in this volume, we focus on geography, history, economics, and politics for their ability to highlight national similarities and differences. Industrial revolutions in Europe and the United States transformed their economies but differed in the role foreign labor played and how urban centers adapted to change. Internal population movement made immigration unnecessary in some, but not all, areas; language and cultural barriers arose in some but not others; the political influence of business varied widely. To understand how immigration shaped host societies and their orientations to nonnatives, attention to the complexities of place, time, economics, and politics is basic and informative.

The framework used here is meant to facilitate one course of theory building suggested by Brettell and Hollifield and others, by building bridges based on common questions asked in different settings by different disciplines. It sets out certain variables as central in most, even all, national experiences with immigration. It directs readers to those variables as they influence the timing and size of movements, obstacles, and policies that emerge. Frameworks are not theories in themselves, but set the stage for both specific and general hypotheses about immigration, thereby contributing to the creation of theories. Organizing information within the kind of framework offered here provides a basis for consideration of broader theories of sociopolitical accommodation and change critical to effective immigration policies.

Why Compare American and European Experiences?

Immigration is a ubiquitous phenomenon, fascinating in its breadth but requiring focus to make its study manageable. We have selected the United States, Britain, Germany, and France for three reasons. First, a primary goal of this study is to explain the challenges

facing destination nations, primarily advanced industrial democracies. Our four nations offer choices for workers at all skill levels, and all have current and project future gaps in their supply of available labor. All are signatories to international conventions that mandate support and fair treatment for refugees and minorities in situations they might well prefer to avoid, setting up prime situations for examining their responses.

Second, the four nations have all seen immigration become increasingly salient as a political issue, often challenging traditional party governance. Leaders and legislatures are expected to manage tensions between solving economic problems and protecting national identities. All are currently confronting refugee crises that threaten to strain resources as well as political tolerance. In the European setting, the issue is compounded by the question of how much authority the European Union should have in areas traditionally reserved to national governments. The future of the EU may well depend on how it balances national needs and the goals of an ever-greater economic and political union.

Third, a host of extensive studies on immigration in the four nations have provided data that can be compared with minimal distortion. Economic indicators and population censuses use comparable measures; election cycles are similar; public opinion institutes structure surveys according to common standards. Comparisons can thus be made with relative confidence. Those undertaken here seek to define both national cases and immigration itself, utilizing a framework based on four individual but related elements.

Geography and Its Limits

Like real estate, immigration is influenced greatly by location. For individuals, the potential for improving one's lot, situation, prospects, essential services, and security furnishes important criteria regarding relocation decisions. At a national level, geography sets natural parameters for immigration, especially regarding ease of entry, but also in structuring border relations and the capacity to serve inhabitants' needs. Nations defined by natural barriers—large bodies of water or difficult terrain—enjoy a degree of geographic isolation that has historically meant protection from foreign intrusion and development of homogeneous populations. Borders that divide similar neighbors serve as latent natural boundaries, loosely policed simply because there is little pressure to leave one country for the other. The British Isles have long been favorably isolated by geography, and the United States experienced similar security for 200 years before the porousness of its southern border created routes for uninvited migrants. In contrast, most European nations live with the effects of histories replete with border-changing conflicts. Across the continent, territorial claims and ethnic animosities linger, straining internal and external relations. Borders are only partially successful in restricting entry, and nations within the European Union have had reason to worry that variations in size, resources, and population density must necessitate differences in how populations are managed.

However critical geographic characteristics have been historically, some have become less significant over time. Population movement once limited to land crossings

and dangerous sea travel has access to faster, safer, and more elusive routes. Air travel facilitates visits that are difficult to monitor. Densely populated areas appear able to absorb new and uncounted foreign nationals, defying many analyses of capacity. The reality of a smaller globe serviced by advanced transportation and communication has reduced the role of traditional barriers. Still, Britain developed a perception of immunity from immigration by its physical isolation; others believed their size and unpopulated areas would make overpopulation unimaginable; the United States continues to focus on its southern border even as those entering by air pose a larger threat to remain illegally. Still, even with physical barriers less relevant to population movement, the rhetoric of secure borders continues to define both perceptions and political debate.

History as Guide to the Present

Although the 250-year existence of the United States has been brief by comparison to the histories of the European nations, all have long and cumulative immigration narratives, which have defined appropriate roles for foreigners. Most simply, history helps us understand how nations came to be who they are and how, therefore, they are likely to deal with current and new immigration issues. The cases studied here have distinct histories but can be compared with respect to three important themes.

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

Most obvious here are differences between Britain and the United States, on the one hand, and continental France and Germany, on the other. What is now Germany comprises areas formerly controlled by other states. Over time, many of those were conquered and their citizens forced to work to support the industrial economy, during both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; their only value was as wage labor. After 1945, a Germany desperate for workers turned once again to foreign labor despite being inexperienced in dealing with them as potential citizens. The period since 1960 reflects both the historical biases the nation encountered and its attempts to overcome them. France had more stable borders prior to 1945, having welcomed workers attracted to industry in the north and agriculture in the south since the early nineteenth century; at one point, France had the largest percentage of foreign-born residents in either Europe or North America. The number of immigrants of all backgrounds increased throughout the first half of the twentieth century, building an image of France as a haven for refugees. Since most of the new residents were motivated by either economic opportunities in France or untenable political conditions elsewhere, or both, they were welcomed as loyal new citizens. France's disastrous war against its favored colony in Algeria abruptly changed that perception to one that reflected fear of the cultural and security threats posed by immigrants whose loyalties were not guaranteed.

Despite some early conflicts with Europeans—with Portugal over control of the seas; with France over potential royal alliances—actual border conflicts did not trouble

insular Britain in its early and modern history. By the early nineteenth century it was truly a nation of emigration, having established a pattern of sending not only troops but also administrators and merchants abroad to create and rule the empire. The government's antipathy to immigration, however, was never in doubt, rejecting the idea of nonwhite entry to Britain in 1905 and retaining that stance for 200 years before facing twenty-first-century changes, with inevitable difficulty.

Finally, early American history was one of territorial expansion, without extended conflict, and such growth encouraged settlement by immigrants in sparsely populated areas as well as rapidly growing cities. Conflict with other nations over territory ended with the Mexican-American war, and even there disputes over travel or relocation did not reach the level of major concern until the second half of the twentieth century, when postwar immigration demands forced the revisions of U.S. policies discussed in the next chapter.

COLONIALISM

The histories of Britain and France have been significantly influenced by colonialist experience. In each case, empire created a relationship of domination based on the conviction that colonies were incapable of either self-governance or independent economic development. In each case, colonial rule led to local resentment, most notably of the French in Algeria and Indochina and of the British in East Africa and South Asia. The end of World War II hastened the end, of colonialism and both controlling powers struggled with transitions to independence in more than 50 colonies and territories. Thousands of citizens of former colonies sought to migrate to Britain and France, creating unanticipated challenges for both. As a lens through which Britain and France viewed those seeking entry, colonialism can explain much of the resistance to all immigration. Both avoided responsibility for colonies as parents might deal with children not ready for adulthood but too costly to support, much less house, and in both the repercussions were severe.

Neither Germany nor the United States had a comparable history. Germany lost its few colonies in the World War I settlements, and the U.S. expanded territory without creating colonies even as it took over Native American land and acquired territory from other nations. However aggressive many of those campaigns were, they never instituted a structure of foreign rule without incorporation. In this important historical experience, legacies of colonialism would be critical for France and Britain but not Germany and the United States.

IMMIGRATION HISTORY AS PLURALISM OR SEGREGATION

Immigration has been assigned very different national definitions in the countries studied here. Among them, only the United States has had a long history of large-scale immigration, in cycles dominated initially by Europeans before shifting to include natives of

other continents. Despite persistent hardship and considerable discrimination, immigrants persevered to assume roles in a society seen as a great melting pot. Skids were greased for them by opportunistic political parties, and they inhabited urban centers where jobs were plentiful and citizenship easy to attain. As new nationalities arrived, older ones were accepted; and, increasingly, younger generations consistently embraced an American culture with a hybrid population and widespread mobility. Despite contentious periods, the longer pattern has been one of general assimilation, leading to the retrospective boast that the U.S. is a “nation of immigrants.”

Experiences in Europe have been less positive. Britain and Germany officially insisted for decades that they were not immigrant nations, and newcomers were marginalized socially and politically there, and later in France as well. Multiculturalism as a goal has been rejected by native populations increasingly supportive of nationalist parties, and claims of geographic limits have resonated with all, adding tension to already fractious political environments. Whether the bases for hostility are common or variable, their historical roots are central to the framework utilized here.

Like geography, history can play both direct and indirect roles in defining immigration issues. The most obvious direct roles are evidenced by the legal agreements by which Britain and France defined their relationships with their colonies during and after independence. Independence documents revised definitions created during the colonial regimes that had granted a sort of subaltern citizenship to subject peoples, changing favorable classifications that at least implied access to England and France to categories that rendered the newly freed subjects not eligible for entry into either nation. Indirect roles appear in the histories of all four of the countries examined, primarily in perceptions that have persisted over time and perpetuated beliefs that immigrants—especially those who are racially, ethnically, and culturally different from their hosts—are poor candidates for a future in the West.

Economic Factors in Immigration

Many analysts argue that whatever other factors may exist, economics is always trump in the game of immigration. Provided with evidence that demand for labor exceeds available supply, governments reverse or temporize previous positions, politicians play to the needs of the day, and citizens accept policies they previously opposed. From the perspective of migrants, economic opportunity has been a universal magnet for relocation, over time outpacing even forces of natural and man-made disasters.

Economics as the foundation of human relocation is at the heart of basic push-pull theories of immigration. People are pushed to move when work is scarce or non-existent; nations accept or even “pull” them when their own workforces are insufficient to meet the needs of their economies. Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack allude to the simplicity of economic forces with the observation that “[l]abor migration is a form of development aid given by the poor countries to the rich countries” (1985, p. 428). Economic factors that define this relationship are the most straightforward elements in

our framework. In most simple terms, both long- and short-term labor demand are calculated regularly by governments and businesses in all developed nations. Contributions to the economy are easily estimated by productivity of industry, immigrant spending, and taxes; costs are quantifiable expenses in training, education, and public services.

Germany relied on such an economic calculus in defining its postwar guestworker programs, reasoning that temporary workers contributed significantly to economic growth while consuming few resources. Only after a generation did the limits of the simple economic model become evident (as was also documented in earlier programs in the United States). Mandatory rotation of workers after arbitrary lengths of employment was resisted by employers in strong economic times and proved embarrassingly difficult to apply when recessions hit. Single workers recruited without dependents sought permits for relatives or started families in their new home. As workers stayed for longer periods, questions about competition with local labor, costs of instruction and support services, and what rights their children should enjoy all revealed that issues of long-term employment, mobility, and integration had not been anticipated, making what had been simple policies politically controversial.

Although economic variables are by nature precise in definition and measurement, they are commonly generalized in political discourse (immigrants depress working-class wages) or cast as broad patterns in unspecified contexts (immigrants overwhelm localities with their need for services). Economics is also often cited when the underlying concern is cultural (immigrant ghettos are incubators of unemployment and crime). Far from being simple push and pull forces, economic factors are used to bolster all manner of social and political arguments. But even as they are conflated with social and cultural issues, economic variables remain central to understanding immigration and its policy alternatives. We thus include review of economic patterns—market and supply conditions, costs and benefits to the host economies, role in sustaining workforce numbers—in our comparisons. If immigration is at base about economics, other variations among nations should be less influential in defining policies.

Political Actors and Alignments

However important geography, history, and economics are as influences, policies are ultimately the responsibility of political institutions. Politics is the crucible within which the needs of competing groups are weighed, national and regional differences balanced, and the enthusiasm or limits of public acceptance registered. In this arena, formal institutions (political parties, legislatures, executives) as well as an array of nongovernmental forces (lobbies, citizens' groups, public opinion), play roles, often decisively. Their ability to define policy is thus essential to the framework employed here.

FORMAL ACTORS: INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND THEIR PARTISAN BASES

In all four nations the center of decision making is the national legislature. In Britain and Germany, parliamentary and executive leadership are constitutionally linked;