Mónica Verea

Globalization and regional integration processes have generated an advanced communications system, an exchange of information and ideas from one country to another, and the relative ease of moving from one continent to another; all of this has facilitated greater movement of persons and migrants between societies and nations in a region. In the same way, electronic communications have made it possible to disseminate knowledge about migration routes and job opportunities in different labor markets as well as more attractive living conditions in receiving countries. In 2010, the International Organization for Migrations calculated that there were 214 million migrants in the world and that by 2050, that number would nearly double: almost 400 million migrants would be spread across the main receiving nations.

One of the effects of globalization is that it has accented disparities in living standards between sending and receiving nations. As a result, the migration phenomenon has increased in magnitude. Analysts estimate that the work force in the developing countries will grow from 2.4 billion people in 2005 to 3.6 billion in 2040 and that, between 2005 and 2014, almost 1.2 billion people will have moved from their country of origin to a migrant-receiving nation attracted by more promising job opportunities, a better quality of life, and family reunification, which will create a bigger gap between labor supply and demand at a global level. The European Union, the United States, Canada, and Australia will continue to be the main poles of attraction for millions of migrants. However, emerging countries like China, India, and Brazil will also attract many others. China is the Asian country that sends and receives the greatest flow of international migrants. In 2005, 64 million migrants lived in the European Union, and in North America, 45 million. The European countries that receive the largest number of migrants today are Italy, Ireland, and Spain.

North America (Canada, the United States, and Mexico), with its 470 million people, is basically a commercial and investment region that has been constituted based on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which came into effect in 1994. This has resulted in a substantive increase in trade and investment, to Mexico's benefit. According to the World Bank, our country is not as developed as its counterparts: the United States is the world's foremost economy; Canada, the ninth; and Mexico, the fourteenth. U.S. GDP is 20 times larger than Mexico's, and enormous differences persist in development levels, and one of the consequences of this is migration. The NAFTA negotiations did not include regional mobility of labor

or the idea of establishing it in the long term. The thinking was that due to the very important increase in the flow of goods and capital from its regional partners toward Mexico, the flow of Mexican migrants to the north would diminish. This not only did not happen, but the flow increased: the push-pull factors of migration have not diminished. Quite to the contrary, they have sharpened. The interconnections have taken even deeper root than in the past and have woven a sophisticated bilateral labor market that works despite how expensive it has become to cross the border surreptitiously because of the significant increase in the area's "reborderization process." The on-going tradition of hiring Mexicans, whether with a temporary visa or clandestinely, is a mechanism for constantly integrating the regional labor market that is not very well-accepted by the receiving country, but provides invaluable though unrecognized exported human capital. In this complex regional process, agents intervene to get jobs and visas, traffickers who charge for transporting irregular migrants, and intermediaries who make a profit from transferring remittances, all of whom charge large sums of money for carrying out these services (Levine and Verea 2010).

The economic recession that began in 2008 slowed down the flow of Mexicans toward the United States; detentions along the border between the two countries dropped significantly due to the highly restrictive policies imposed, which have also triggered a record number of deportations of Mexicans located inside U.S. territory. Thus, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Canada and the United States —but mainly the latter— have set even more restrictive and rigid unilateral migratory policies than in previous years, focused exclusively on security, above all after the 2001 terrorist attacks.

Today, the project of North America as a region continues to be questionable, since, unfortunately, bilateralism has intensified between Canada and the United States, given that the Canadians want to preserve their traditional "special bilateral relationship"; and ties with Mexico continue to grow, without necessarily being regional. Nevertheless, we are aware that the ancestral bilateral relationship between Mexico and the United States will continue to be complex, and perhaps even more conflictive, given the multiple intervening factors, such as the large migratory flows of Mexicans with and without visas who find work in different sectors of the U.S. economy, fluctuating with recessions or economic upturns. For the last few years, contraband in drugs and weapons has created critical border violence on the frontier between the two countries, "re-narcotizing" the bilateral agenda and "de-migratizing" it simultaneously. This also has to do with the scant possibilities of coming to a migratory agreement between the two and the passage of the much-promised and until-now stalled comprehensive immigration reform that would favor legalizing the status of our fellow Mexicans, who make up around 60 percent of the 11.5 million undocumented migrants residing in the United States, the world's largest number of non-authorized migrants.

The European Union, for its part, with more than 500 million inhabitants, is the world's most advanced regional project. It has established the appropriate mechanisms to allow the free mobility of persons among all the member countries, a possibility that has not been put on the table in North America. Its 26 member

countries have aging societies with very low fertility levels and have shown a notable capacity to absorb foreign labor. In contrast, in the United States, this trend has been balanced by a much higher fertility rate among immigrants. The demand for foreign labor drops or climbs temporarily according to economic upturns or momentary crises, stages of unemployment due to recurring economic crises. It is difficult to understand European Union migratory policy, since it includes sovereign nations with their own migratory policies and bilateral agreements with different countries, while simultaneously, transnational non-state actors like the EU institutions intervene as do other member countries with their own public policies. This balance of power between states and supranational institutions is extremely complex; the proliferation of actors in the regulation of migratory flows has an impact on national policies and relations between neighboring and distant member states as well as non-member states. Generally speaking, the European Union has concentrated its efforts on moving toward a comprehensive migration policy, above all to control its external borders, despite the fact that each country has handled its policies individually according to its economic needs. Today, the population born outside the EU has increased significantly, reaching U.S. levels. Now, in addition to foreigners from their own former colonies, its societies are host to important numbers of non-Europeans, non-white, non-Christian migrants -the Muslim population alone is calculated at 15 million (Verea 2010a).

The similarity between the two regions' migratory policies lies in the fact that they admit an important number of immigrants relative to the size of their populations as permanent residents or temporary workers, and, in general, they apply rigid laws through police controls at borders or ports of entry in order to apprehend and deport foreigners not authorized to reside in the destination country. Despite the growing interaction of their economies and the formation of intra-regional social networks, at the same time an important demand for foreign labor has emerged in their labor markets, above all in times of economic expansion.

The severe economic recession of the end of the decade has brought with it a substantive hike in unemployment rates in practically all migrant-receiving nations. In response, they have included a series of much more restrictive measures in their migratory policies than in the immediate past. The main objective has been to put the brakes on migratory flows by securitizing their borders even more, limiting permits or work visas, admitting fewer migrants, and, in general, establishing more requirements for entry in order to protect their labor markets to benefit their nationals.

An economic crisis affects immigrants much more than the citizens of any country. It is immigrants who are most susceptible to firings and who tend to display higher unemployment rates than their national counterparts, since they are concentrated in sectors that are more sensitive to economic crisis like construction and services. One of the unfortunate consequences has been that migrants have faced more discrimination that they have had no alternative but to accept, given that they fear returning to their places of origin where they believe things will be worse than what they face currently.

The growing number of foreign residents and undocumented migrants in certain societies has made those societies more aware of who they are and how they are constituted, since they perceive migrants negatively and pressure policy-makers to adopt highly restrictive measures to control the flow. Language, physical appearance, and certain customs that are inherent characteristics and values of certain ethnic groups, embedded in a specific place, have become more visible because of their continual growth and have changed the perception receiving societies have of migrants; this has translated into more restrictive migratory policies.

These are some of the reasons an anti-immigrant environment has emerged worldwide, much more so than in the past. It has led to the proliferation of stricter and more restrictive migratory policies on a federal and local level in several countries. And this is the main aim of this work. We analyze how and why many growing xenophobic movements have come into being in both regions, movements that are extremely aggressive and intolerant of non-authorized migrants, generating an environment that has led to the imposition of highly restrictive migratory policies. We underline how nationalism has also escalated greatly in both the European countries and the United States given that their identity is constantly blurring and shifting and their citizens feel threatened by the invasion of other cultures. Many ultraconservative political groups are even promoting nationalist, xenophobic ideas in the parties' agendas. Just as the Roma peoples are seen by Italians and French as possible criminals, U.S. anti-immigrant groups also consider Mexicans undesirable and potential criminals.

This book has several limitations: one is that the articles will be discussed in a seminar once the book has been published, so we will not be able to enrich each of the essays included here with the observations and critiques of our colleagues. Another is that it does not include the analysis of all the European nations, but it at least attempts to present a general overview, exemplifying some outstanding cases in the region. Nevertheless, we try to present a very general perception of this phenomenon, which has an impact on the two regions, North America and the European Union, to allow the reader to approach this global problem.

The book is divided into three main sections: the first includes two essays that bring us closer to an understanding of the theoretical and conceptual approximations about the significance of restrictive migratory policies, xenophobia, discrimination, and therefore, the violation of human rights. The second section includes the great majority of the essays (13 out of 21). These articles describe, on the one hand, the stiffening up of migratory policies increasingly demanded by ultraconservative movements, and, on the other hand, the anti-immigrant feelings, actions, and policies applied on a federal and state level, as well as the central points in the national debates and how they are perceived in the United States, Mexico, and Canada. Lastly, the third part brings together work on the toughening of anti-immigrant border controls and nationalist feelings, and the crisis of the integration models in the European Union.

We begin the first part of the book with a general overview of anti-immigrant feelings, actions, and policies in North America and the European Union. The first

article, written by myself, puts forward the main theoretical and conceptual approaches needed for understanding the most recent xenophobic manifestations in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The article begins by explaining how migratory policy is formulated in the receiving countries, and its intrinsic relationship with public opinion and debate on the topic and the proposal of restrictive initiatives. It describes the restrictionists' positions, as currents of thought that influence the formulation of migratory policies regarding admitting migrants to a given society. It analyzes the restrictionist current's racism and its most common expression, discrimination; it looks at the current's nativism and ethnocentrism and its insistence on assimilation policies; and finally, the article examines xenophobia as a current that expresses itself through anti-immigrant attitudes, fostering segregation, and impeding the integration that would benefit society in general and immigrants in particular. It concludes by exemplifying the increase of xenophobia, nationalism, and anti-immigrant attitudes in the United States overall and in some states in particular in the last decade.

Both in North American and in Europe, criminalization of migration and discrimination and hatred spark social conflicts of differing magnitudes, from demonstrations to ethnic disturbances, the occupation of public places, and fundamentalisms. These are the object of analysis in Ariadna Estévez's article. She argues that all these actions are violations of human rights, and as a result, are an inter-subjective lack of recognition that causes conflict. Using Coutin and Honneth's theories, she examines how the criminalization of migration and the marginalization derived from discrimination make up a space of social and legal non-protection, which she illustrates with examples specifically about human rights violations in the criminalization of migration and discrimination, the causal factors for the social conflict involving migrants.

The second part of this book is dedicated to the analysis of anti-immigrant feelings in North America. We begin with a broad examination of the United States, where these sentiments have proliferated very aggressively. Thus, we have a third chapter written by Liette Gilbert and Kathy Kolnick that explains how local antiimmigrant activities have emerged as a reaction to the federal government's inability to control "illegal" immigration and securitize its borders. Local ordinances are the extension of national security policy that increasingly criminalizes immigrants. At a municipal and community level, these measures attempt to control undocumented migrants' daily practices instead of "fixing" migratory processes and policies, over which they have no jurisdiction. To do this, Gilbert and Kolnick look at how local governments use the concept of "public nuisance" to criminalize undocumented immigrants through local ordinances. They think that politicians have legitimized their actions by pointing out that it is necessary to empower the local police. This concept has been used to describe an activity that, without basis, affects or interferes with the rights of society. Thus, those who support strengthening immigration laws utilize the concept of "public nuisance" to control and repel migrants locally from their jurisdictions, despite the fact that immigration comes under federal jurisdiction, thus making this another strategy to criminalize civic offenses

of migrants, such as their "illegal" entry. Using an interdisciplinary approach, the authors argue that the use of "public nuisance" to refer to undocumented immigrants is problematic because it promotes a discriminatory "public interest" that criminalizes "others" not for any breach of local ordinances but rather solely for their presence in the urban setting. Finally they assess the ideological and legal limitations of local police authority to enforce immigration law.

In the fourth article, Frederic I. Solop and Nancy A. Wonders review survey data on immigration to understand public attitudes about immigrants and immigration policies revealed in U.S. national polls. They put forward the idea that U.S. public opinion is more complex than the media would lead us to believe; to explain that, they explore reactions to a variety of immigration issues, proposals, and border strategies. Using polling data that show that public opinion is not homogeneous, particularly taking into account the Latino population living in border towns, whose opinion differs significantly from mainstream thinking. They demonstrate this by comparing attitudes nationwide, and those expressed in Arizona and California. Given the demographic changes that have been projected nationally, Solop and Wonders's analysis demonstrates the important role Latinos will play in shaping U.S. public opinion in the near future.

Robert Donnelly analyzes the multiplicity of immigration legislative statutes in several U.S. states, which have jumped in only five years from 570 in 2006 to 1374 in 2010. He considers that this trend will increase in the short term with popular bills similar to Arizona's SB1070, given the perception that federal immigration policy has failed, that the border with Mexico continues to be porous, and that there is an inability to control the increasing flows of "illegals." Counterposed to this, pro-immigrant proposals have been very modest, particularly those that include provisions for an eventual road to citizenship. Donnelly points out that other factors have influenced the timing of the introduction of other bills, such as the very tumultuous emergence of the ultra-conservative Tea Party movement, criminal offenses committed by unauthorized migrants that the media constantly shines a light on, and the recent demographic trends among Hispanics, among others. Given these factors, he examines some bills presented in 2010, puts forward possible short-term trends, and analyzes the role nativism plays in developing anti-immigrant legislation.

In the sixth article, Michal Kohout analyzes the situation in the "Inland Empire," a traditionally conservative area in Southern California and the destination for many migrants. The continual flow of migrants to this region has sparked violent reactions in the perceptions of this "white" population against a possible threat from undocumented immigrants. Conservative activists have urged several cities to restrict immigration through creating ordinances to ensure the use of the E-Verify system, for example, and supporting measures similar to Arizona's SB1070 in order to drive undocumented immigrants out. The author analyzes, first of all, transcriptions of city council meetings where anti-immigrant measures were passed, to be added to national immigration policy, to show these intentions to regulate migration. In the second part of the article, he examines secondary data on national, state, and local policies to put these "Inland Empire" anti-immigrant initiatives in context.

Anna Ochoa O'Leary and Azucena Sánchez use some of the results from a bi-national study of the reproductive health care system to show how anti-immigrant policies arise and what their impact is in "mixed-immigration-status households." This category refers to households whose members have different immigration statuses. This kind of *de facto* social organization not only complicates the enforcement of state policies, whose design singles out or excludes the undocumented, but also induces the deepening of already existing ethnically and racially based social divisions and disparities in health care, mainly in Arizona. The authors review Arizona's legislative history, which provides an anti-immigrant context for implementing measures that negate the existence of precisely these kinds of households.

Elaine Levine, in the eighth chapter, carries out a profound analysis of anti-immigrant sentiments in the state of Georgia. She starts from an examination of the fact that over the last two decades, Georgia's immigrant population has grown markedly from 173 000 in 1990 to approximately 929 000 in 2008. About two-thirds of these immigrants live in the Atlanta metropolitan area; a little over half come from Latin America: and one-third of all of them are Mexican. It is estimated that more than half the immigrants in the state are undocumented. During the economic boom of the 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century, this was not considered very problematic; it is well known that in the mid-1990s, unauthorized Mexican immigrants were actively recruited to work in the construction of Atlanta's Olympic installations, in Dalton's carpet factories, and Gainsville's chicken processing plants. However, a decade later, the economic and political climate had changed considerably. Starting in 2006, Georgia began passing restrictive, punitive laws about undocumented migrants. Four counties with high percentages of Latino immigrants have signed 287(g) agreements with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE); the result has been the deportation of thousands. The causes and effects of these anti-immigrant policies in Georgia are precisely the topic of Levine's analysis.

Claire Joysmith analyzes how anti-immigrant feelings have contributed to feeding the U.S. racist anti-(im)migrant imaginary that has gained strength above all since September 11, 2001. She puts forward several perspectives from the Chicana and Latino-U.S. communities as subjects —which she calls a "narrative of compassion"— and objects of that racist anti-immigrant imaginary. Joysmith bases herself on several testimonial voices-writings. "Godzilla con sombrero de charro" (Godzilla Wearing a *Charro* Hat) comes from a testimony-essay written by the renowned "chicalango" —a hybrid of "Chicano" and "Chilango," someone from Mexico City— performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña. It catalogues a critical, thinking, and feeling vision of the greater xenophobia that was an aftermath of September 11. This is one of the testimonies that evoked the U.S. racist anti(im)migrant imaginary, as well as the narrative of compassion by U.S. Latino communities.

In the tenth article, Julie Dufort studies the phenomenon of civilian groups that patrol the border with Mexico, one of which is the highly publicized Minutemen Project. She analyzes in great detail the actions of the presidents of this movement in the contemporary debate about immigration policies and border security.

Dufort questions the reason that this movement has become a symbol representing all those who support the enforcement of strict immigration legislation in the U.S. The author considers that they have had significant influence, the object of analysis of this study; she examines some key cases of members of this movement, like its president, Jim Gilchrist, and Chris Simcox, the president of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps, perceived as "security entrepreneurs," committed to beginning a change in policy with their own security agenda, within the contemporary movement of civilian border patrols, as well as the influence they have had on the immigration debate in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Anna Kaganiec-Kamieńska is the author of the last of the essays in the book that analyze anti-immigrant sentiments, actions, and policies in the United States. She studies the "English-only" movement, whose aim is to establish English as the United States' official language, and which is one of the most important manifestations of anti-immigrant sentiments in general, particularly anti-Hispanic feelings. Despite the fact that no federal regulation has been approved, a majority of states have adopted measures of this kind. The author explains how this movement has contributed to fostering anti-immigrant sentiments on a national level in the last decade, and sketches for the reader the broad context for analyzing attempts in different periods to restrict the use of foreign languages.

The twelfth article is the only one centered on the case of Mexico. Manuel Ángel Castillo and Germán G. Guerra analyze how the history of Mexico shows diverse attitudes and behavior vis-à-vis immigration. More recently, Mexico has been challenged by the growing number of foreigners traveling through on their way to the United States. The authors first focus on official positions contained in the legislation and regulations adopted by immigration officials at different times in contemporary history. Then, they look at the positions held by different sectors of Mexican society, a little-studied, little-known area. Because of this, they state that one of the problems they had to deal with was the lack of sources needed to systematize and conclude with some kind of generalization. This essay aspires to make a first approximation of the characteristics and importance of the phenomenon. To do that, they use the First National Survey on Discrimination, carried out in Mexico in 2005, which allows them to look at certain perceptions Mexicans have of immigrants. They analyze the debate about the relevance of some of the ideas prevailing in the imaginary about Mexican policy's treatment of immigrants in Mexico, as well as the moral legitimacy of the Mexican state for demanding respect for the law and the protection of its immigrants abroad in light of the treatment immigrants receive within its own borders. Finally, they point to the need for a migratory policy based on a human rights perspective that would eradicate xenophobia in institutional day-to-day treatment of immigrants who arrive in Mexico or cross through it toward the United States.

The following three articles analyze the situation in Canada. Yolande Pottie-Sherman and Rima Wilkes deal with how, despite the fact that Canadians distinguish themselves worldwide for having positive attitudes toward immigrants, they have been changing. In a historic review, they show how, until 1962, Canada had an explicitly "white," racist immigration policy, characterized by the selection of

immigrants according to a racial, ethnic hierarchy. As a result, historically, that policy included a ban on the entry of Chinese, as well as a refusal to accept refugees from the Holocaust and Canada's internment of the Japanese during World War II. After establishing these precedents, they analyze Canadians' attitudes toward immigration and immigrants. The authors particularly emphasize three historical stages: the period of pre-WWII policies not rescinded until 1962, the post-war period until 1988, and lastly, the contemporary stage until today. They posit that Canadians' positive perspective on immigration is the result of an official policy maintained because of the benefits migration has brought to the economy and the country's national identity. The authors especially stress the official policy on multiculturalism adopted in 1971, which has resulted in Canadian society's looking at immigration, and therefore immigrants, positively. Despite this, they point to recent fears and moral panics than have emerged and the questioning of the support the government must continue to give to humanitarian immigration and multicultural policies.

Jeffrey G. Reitz, for his part, analyzes the way in which, despite the fact that the majority of the Canadian public supports high immigration levels, some perceive this as a problem. He observes recent trends in attitudes about immigration and examines the social roots of high acceptance levels based on an analysis of a November 2010 Environics Institute for Survey Research poll. This survey came up with two findings: on the one hand, that immigration is an economic opportunity for the country without displacing Canadian nationals, and a matter of pride in multiculturalism, which shows the national identity and includes a progressive agenda on issues of LGBT rights and arms controls, among other matters. The policy also includes the desire for immigrants to fully integrate into their society and adhere to the prevailing values, although there is concern about whether they will really adopt them. This situation has been expressed by the Conservative Party, which has recently begun to emphasize the issue.

Graciela Martínez-Zalce deals with Canadian television production for the public English-language Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In her preface, she analyzes the series Border Wars, a U.S. production for National Geographic, because of the potential difference in audience ratings vis-à-vis Canadian productions. both in terms of the number of people in the audience and their geographical spread. She also contends that, despite the channel's pseudo-scientific tone and its pretensions of supposedly disseminating world cultures, this series' tone is scandalous, leading to the creation of negative stereotypes about the Mexican migrants it depicts. On the other hand, the author goes into a detailed analysis of two documentaries produced by the independent production company White Pines Pictures, as well as the fictional TV miniseries Human Cargo. Both deal with the complex situation of illegal immigrants in Canada from a perspective that attempts to be objective. Although both productions veer away from convention by not stereotyping like Hollywood border cinema did for decades, occasionally, cracks appear in the narrative through which seeps a tendency to racially profile, which then translates into a certain anti-immigrant sentiment. The analysis studies these productions' involuntarily ambiguous results.

The book's third section includes several essays about anti-immigrant actions and sentiments in the European Union as a whole, and certain countries specifically. Xavier Escandell, in the sixteenth article, describes how the European Union continues to face economic and political challenges because of the recent world economic crisis. His starting point is that in a context of economic slowdown and raging unemployment rates, the public's attitude toward immigrants and immigration policy changes. To pinpoint this change, he uses Eurobarometer 2009 data, exploring the relationship between individual and contextual predictors of confidence toward the welfare state and anti-immigrant sentiments. He examines the role played by institutions in shaping public perceptions of social-democratic policy-making and Europe's overall economic limitations and financial well-being. The author analyzes these results in the broader context of the literature about the future of European social policy and the emergence of anti-immigrant sentiments.

In Chapter 17, Anthony M. Messina argues that, starting with the public policies established after the 2001 terrorist attacks, as well as the subsequent attacks in Western Europe, the liberal state's historic, traditional commitment to open immigration policies and generous policies for incorporating immigrants into the different societies came into conflict with the responsibility of safeguarding its citizens' physical safety. Messina explores the available data about public opinion in Great Britain, France, Spain, and other western countries, to pose some questions. First, has the European Union become more liberal on immigration issues since September 11? And second, does the public feel less secure economically, socially, and physically? Despite the fact that the survey shows that immigration issues have become more politically visible since 2001, the author concludes that in the majority of Western European countries, they continue to not be priority concerns, as has been the case historically.

Christophe Bertossi, for his part, in the eighteenth article, analyzes recent reactions against liberal citizenship policies in France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. Since the previous decade, these reactions have resulted in new anti-immigrant policies in countries traditionally recognized for their integration policies. Bertossi argues that understanding the policy and ideological traditions as "national integration models" prevents understanding how citizenship and immigration policies are politicalized and culturalized in Western Europe today. He stresses the shift over the last decade from a socio-economic framework to socio-cultural identitybased frames, used to define immigrants' integration and subsequent anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim parameters. Bertossi states that Europe never had "multicultural models," nor were these ever institutionalized under any kind of coherent norm. He analyzes in detail the consequences of this new culturalization of immigrants' citizenship and their integration in France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands.

In article 19, Monika Banaś starts off from the premise that since the Schengen Treaty came into effect, migration and its collateral problems have become one of the main topics in the region's socio-political discourse. The rhetoric varies from country to country, from moderate to extremely conservative and nativist. Some highly developed European Union member countries, like Great Britain, France,

Germany, and the Scandinavian nations, all immigrant receivers, are formulating their own policies in accordance with their economic interests and public and social life. Public perceptions about these policies are not always friendly, and Banaś warns that there is social resentment of immigrants that has been used by rightwing conservative parties, who fight for increasingly stringent migratory policies to slow the indiscriminant entry of immigrants, arguments that have received popular support. Banaś presents the case of three Nordic countries: Denmark, Sweden, and Finland. She analyzes politicians' speeches in these three countries, the need to reform their immigration policies, and how the media has covered them between 2005 and 2010.

The next-to-the-last article, by Guillermo Alonso and Michal Weres, describes chronologically the main landmarks in the processes in Spain, Poland, and the United States regarding the different migratory routes and flows. In recent years, Spain created barriers on some of its several land and sea borders, thus shifting migratory flows. In the case of Poland, the Iron Curtain became the European Union's eastern border; and the United States established several changes in its border policy. This essay compares the process of constructing surveillance on the three countries' respective borders and the radical changes that took place over the last two decades, and delineates the ideological and momentary differences and similarities among the three, as well as each nation's specific "local" solutions.

Pablo Nicolás Biderbost Moyano, in the book's last article, analyzes the Spanish case. He examines the political parties' stances, specifically that of the Popular Party and the Socialist Workers Party. These parties' representatives have expressed, in different ways according to the circumstances, their support for the idea of integrating immigrants into the society that has accepted them. Nevertheless, other minority parties like National Democracy and Platform for Catalonia openly raise anti-immigration slogans. In the second place, and in the light of grievance theories, the author examines how measures like the immigration rate, immigrants' scholastic levels, and unemployment rates have influenced these parties' electoral results in places where, compared with other districts, they have gotten elected to the legislature. Finally, he describes these organizations' influence in developing legislation and public policies when they have obtained parliamentary representation.

We are convinced that this book offers the reader the main guidelines and orientations for understanding what is happening today in two regions that receive an important number of immigrants: North America and the European Union. We believe that its analysis of anti-immigrant sentiments, policies, and actions in these regions is not exhaustive, but it does offer a broad overview and invite us to continue in an interdisciplinary way with the analysis of this important issue that affects millions of migrants from different regions of the world.