INTRODUCTION: A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOME IMPACTS OF THE RECENT ECONOMIC CRISIS ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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The global financial/economic crisis that began in 2008, the worst since the Great Depression, had an important effect in people's movement around the world. The recession dampened the movement of economic migrants to the major immigrant-receiving countries. It has been said that some emerging economies that are continuing to grow and doing better than most of the developed world are re-attracting their expatriates and, in some cases, even luring new highly-skilled citizens of the U.S. and Europe. Academics and college-educated engineers from Brazil to China to Poland have long set off for the world's more developed nations for better opportunities, sometimes in their own fields, often behind steering wheels or in fast-food or restaurant kitchens. Indeed, over time, about 75 percent of international migrants typically moved to a country with a higher level of human development than their country of origin, according to the United Nations Development Fund (Miller, Ford, and Marquand 2012). But now that tide is turning: immigrants no longer always see developed countries as a better place to be. This U-turn is a "brain gain" for developing countries. There is no doubt that the 2008 financial crisis has caused many to question whether the developed world is still the only land of opportunity worth migrating to (Miller, Ford, and Marquand 2012).

In terms of public policy, this severe economic crisis has exacerbated domestic pressures for implementing restrictions in immigration policies. In Russia, for example, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin recently enacted a policy intending to reduce the number of foreign workers in the country, while at the same time encouraging a youth section of his Unified Russia party to engage in a campaign to "reclaim jobs for Russians that are occupied by foreign migrant workers" (*Globalization 101* 2013). In Australia, where violence against foreigners, such as Indians, has become a problem in recent years, the government has reduced its intake of migrants to mitigate the effects that the financial crisis is expected to have on ethnic relations in an increasingly competitive job market. Countries like Japan and Spain have tried an

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alternative approach for lessening the political and financial burden immigrants represent by offering them cash incentives to return home.

Unfortunately, the policy response from national governments has been precisely the opposite of recommendations made by the International Organization for Migration cautioning against limiting migration. For example, in Russia, Vladimir Putin called for quotas on permits for work visas to be temporarily cut in half (Schwirtz 2009). Many other governments, such as the UK and Germany, have followed suit, stepping up deportations and implementing measures that make it difficult for migrants to enter the country. Jean-Leonard Touadi, an Italian member of Parliament, originally of Congolese descent, was quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, "You can't say all Italians are racist, but it would also be dangerous to underestimate what's happening. . . . Faced with social and economic crisis, it's easy to push rage and frustration on the foreigner. It shouldn't make this a war between poor Italians and poor immigrants" (Donadio 2008).

Sending countries have had an important impact indirectly, since migrants who have returned voluntarily or been deported are looking for jobs in a labor market negatively affected by the economic crisis. In some countries, this situation has led to economic and social instability, because they do not have the capacity to absorb all the returnees easily. One of the most disastrous impacts has been the sharp decline in remittances, which constitute an important source of income for these out-migration countries. Some of them rely heavily on money sent home from compatriots working abroad to increase the nation's GDP and promote economic development. Specifically, some communities with strong emigration traditions are the most affected, since remittances are the major source of income for them and the families living there.

Currently the biggest concentration of immigrants is in Europe, followed by Asia. As a country, the United States is home to one-fifth of world's permanent, temporary, humanitarian, or unauthorized immigrants. The United Nations estimates there are roughly 20 million to 30 million undocumented migrants worldwide, comprising 10 to 15 percent of the world's immigrants. An estimated 11 million unauthorized immigrants live in the U.S. alone, according to their official data. President Obama, who in 2008 said he would push for a law to grant many of these immigrants legal access to jobs in the United States, instead deported a record number of undocumented working immigrants who left their relatives in the U.S.[1] Enforcement efforts to remove unauthorized migrants are up in many countries. Italy and France have increased enforcement measures (including controversial deportations from France of Roma immigrants back to Eastern Europe (Mittelstadt 2010).

[1] From 2008 to 2011, for example, the Obama administration deported approximately one million undocumented migrants to their places of origin, many more than under the Bush administration. Most of the detentions took place in work places, not while crossing the border. This has coincided with the economic recession (DHS 2010).

An economic crisis usually affects immigrants more than the native population, due to their economic and social vulnerability. In most immigrant-receiving nations, immigrants' economic vulnerability is a product of their occupational niches, characterized by informality and/or seasonal fluctuation. It is important to mention that undocumented workers represent the flows most closely linked to economic fluctuations and therefore are the ones most likely to be affected in poor economic times. China has the world's largest Diaspora, but it has emerged as a global power —along with the other so-called BRIC nations: Brazil, Russia, and India. Its government has made a new push to woo back the millions of citizens, mainly highly skilled professionals and businesspersons, who had left the country over the past 30 years. The array of financial and other incentives to tempt them home is unmatched anywhere else in the world and is proving to be the icing on the cake of economic growth and opportunity that Chinese expatriates are rushing home to devour. The number of people coming home each year rather than staying on to work in their host countries has risen more than 10-fold since the beginning of the century. "What we are seeing is what appears to be European skilled migration to developing countries, like BRIC countries," says Ryszard Cholewinski, a specialist on migration policy at the International Labor Organization. "Given the economic crisis in Europe," he says, especially for young people in southern Europe, "opportunity for them now exists in the developing world" (Miller, Ford, and Marquand 2012).

During the last four years, declining GDP in most developed countries had already led to a decreased demand for labor, mainly in overrepresented industries that have seen extensive job loss, which has impacted immigrants as well as nationals. Immigrant-receiving countries have registered job losses in areas such as construction, manufacturing, and services. If we add to this the fact that trade and foreign direct investment were not as dynamic as they used to be, many migrants working in the export sector lost their jobs and in some cases, have been forced to return home. For example, 10 million internal migrants from rural China have been put out of their jobs due to decreasing export demand worldwide (Castles and Miller 2009). The crisis has also caused cuts in the formal sector, often pushing people into the informal work force where there is little social protection. Since public resources have been severely reduced, in recent years, institutions have been unable to provide services at the same level as before. Overall, recent analysis reflects the fact that migrants have been associated with vulnerable occupations, informal work, and public resource restrictions during the crisis (Emesphdnetwork 2012). A recent report reveals that the toll among migrant men has been particularly high as they are often concentrated in the sectors that experienced the most serious contractions (notably construction and manufacturing), and immigrant youth (ages 15-24) (Papademetriou et al. 2010). Unemployment among foreign-born youth

has reached 41 percent in Spain, 37 percent in Sweden, and 20 percent in Canada. By contrast, immigrant women have fared better than their male counterparts in almost all wealthy countries. The report also states that certain immigrant groups and minorities have lost the most ground economically during the recession: Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the United Kingdom, North African and Andean immigrants in Spain, and Latinos in the United States. Some migrant-destination countries that historically have been countries of emigration, such as Ireland and Greece, may be reverting to earlier trends. Ireland re-emerged as a country of net emigration in 2009 for the first time since 1995, reporting the highest net outflows of both immigrants and natives in the European Union. Nearly a million people left Spain during 2011 due to the severe economic recession and unemployment that reached 24.6 percent of the work force. According to figures from the Statistical Institute, in 2012, 420 150 people left Spain, 37 539 more than in the same period of 2011. Of this total, nearly 55 000 are Spanish (21.6 percent) and the rest foreigners (*Este País* 2012).

In general terms, migrants have faced worsening employment prospects in destination countries, often coupled with tightening entry regulations. With this situation, migrant workers have been forced to accept lower wages and endure poorer working conditions in order to try to keep their jobs. Others have tended to stay instead of returning home despite the lack of jobs and increasing discrimination, because the situation is even worse in their countries of origin. This has been the case more for temporary migrants than for permanent ones. Many potential migrants from developing countries have also been deterred from making the trip across borders. For example, emigration from Mexico to the U.S. decreased significantly during the last five years, particularly for the undocumented, dropping from a net difference of approximately 300 000 a year, between entries and exits (including deportations), to being almost even.[2]

Low-skilled workers still represent the bulk of global migration flows. They are the ones most affected for several reasons: the great majority lack language skills, their educational level is not high, and they are concentrated in boom/bust sectors like construction. Irregular migrants are among the hardest hit and most vulnerable during crisis situations (Khan, Abimourched, and Ciobanu 2009).

[2] The U.S. Border Patrol apprehended 340 000 foreigners just inside U.S. borders in FY2011, including 96 percent apprehended on the Mexico-U.S. border. The number of Border Patrol apprehensions has been declining from 1.6 million in FY 2000. There were 21 400 Border Patrol agents at the beginning of 2012, of whom 86 percent were on the Mexico-U.S. border. Almost 2 million undocumented immigrants were deported between 2007 and 2011 (only 397 000 in 2011). Gradually, the priority shifted to immigrants with criminal records (55 percent in 2011) or who had been deported previously and returned. The detentions of undocumented foreigners have not stopped, though the number of immigrants who simply have no papers seems to be diminishing (Chardy 2012).

Most European countries were hit by the economic crisis and saw declines in employment rates. Eurostat reported that 33.3 million foreign citizens lived in the EU-27 member states in 2011. The population of the EU-27 countries was 502 million in 2011. Three-fourths of the foreigners in the EU were in five countries. The unemployment rate in the 17 euro zone nations was 11.2 percent in June 2012, meaning that almost 18 million workers were jobless. About 58 percent of non-EU foreigners aged 20 to 64 in EU member states were employed in 2011, compared with 69 percent of EU nationals in this age group. Europe has too many auto factories, and they are producing at less than 65 percent of capacity because of an insufficient demand for cars. Car sales in Europe were projected at about 12 million in 2012, down from 15 million in 2007.

Unfortunately, in the wake of the global economic crisis and labor market pressures, the debate over migration has gained momentum. The rise in anti-immigrant sentiments, xenophobic prejudices, and discrimination is often exacerbated in times of economic crisis. Migrants, chosen as the scapegoats, are often seen as either the source of the economic malaise, stealing jobs from natives, or as unnecessary expenditures for the economy, in terms of the costs they represent in health, education, and other items. European anti-migrant sentiment must be viewed as part of a larger trend of xenophobic attitudes exacerbated by the global recession. Nevertheless, new tendencies have emerged among the new extreme right, who encourage intolerance and hate, contaminating parties and democratic institutions across Europe. Their spectacular electoral rise in Austria, Sweden, and Holland confirms it: the hard ultra-right Jobbik in Hungary, the Northern League in Italy, the BNP in Great Britain, or the Islamophobes in Switzerland, and the crisis involving groups of Roma from Romania and Bulgaria in France and Italy are some examples. These tendencies represent a setback for democratic parties' historic achievements, especially the progress made toward universal human rights (Ibarra 2011).

The media has also played an important a role in this cycle; as the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights asserts, "Xenophobic and racist attacks on migrants are often a response to a distorted perception, at times fomented by the media, of the scope of irregular migration and its consequences for the host societies" (United Nations 2009). Changing public attitudes, even in times of economic prosperity, is a slow and arduous process. Reversing the economic decline would go a long way toward reducing xenophobic sentiments; however, without a concerted effort to promote integration on a community level, it is tremendously unlikely that any long-term progress will be made toward fully accepting the contributions of migrant workers to the global economy (*Globalization 101* 2013)

Economic realities often outweigh political rhetoric; thus, an increased demand for labor may prevail, in practice, over anti-immigrant discourse. Existing immigration

laws may be implemented or interpreted more strictly or more leniently depending on the overall economic conditions and/or the general political climate, which is in turn influenced by the economy and vice versa. The immigration reform debate underway in the United States in spring 2013 provides an interesting example of the interactions and mutual influences —or interference— that can take place between economics and politics when immigration is discussed.

The various attempts to get immigration-reform legislation through the U.S. Congress between 2004 and 2007 seem to have been thwarted mainly because of partisan differences. Once the recession set in at the end of 2007, the stark reality of millions of unemployed was enough to deter any serious attempt to legislate on the issue. At the end of 2010, it looked as if the DREAM Act had some chances of getting passed, which turned out not to be the case. Simultaneously, various states, among which Arizona was the most emblematic, had taken matters into their own hands and passed punitive immigration laws at the state level.

In April 2013, despite the still uncomfortably high unemployment rate and the unusually low work force participation rate, a bipartisan group of eight senators (four Democrats and four Republicans) introduced the Border Security, Economic Opportunity and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013. If it had passed, this legislation would have eventually provided a path to citizenship for many of the approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants now residing in the U.S. Some opponents of the proposal have tried to justify their position on economic grounds. Roy Beck, chief executive of Numbers-U.S.A, a group that advocates lower immigration, was quoted in the *Washington Post* as arguing, "We're in the fifth year of very high unemployment….We're in a terrible situation for [U.S.] American workers. People at the lower levels have seen real wages decline. Given that backdrop, why would you grant people amnesty?" (Nakamura 2013). Nevertheless such concerns seem to have been trumped by the fact that Obama received slightly over 70 percent of the Latino vote in the 2012 elections. As a result some prominent Republicans, like Marco Rubio, have decided to moderate their positions on immigration reform and have urged their fellow party members to do likewise. Although the bill passed the Senate, as of the and of 2013, it had not even been brought to a vote in the House.

The 2008-2009 economic crisis has produced varied, yet in some ways similar, situations in many parts of the world in terms of changing policies and attitudes toward immigrant populations. This volume contains papers originally presented at the Metropolis International Steering Committee's Academic Forum on "Impacts of the Recent Economic Crisis on International Migration," held at CISAN-UNAM in Mexico City in March 2012. In keeping with the Metropolis Project's goal of providing "a forum for bridging research, policy and practice on migration and diversity," papers were presented by both academics and public servants involved with immi-

gration issues. Therefore, the chapters in this book are quite diverse, not only in terms of the countries represented, but also with respect to each one's length, scope, aims, perspective, and content.

This volume provides just a few examples of how immigration policies and practices in many parts of the world have inevitably been affected by the "great recession." The first five chapters explore how migration flows responded to the changing economic conditions imposed by the recession in five specific and very different country cases: the United States, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Finland. Chapter Six explains how an important remittance-receiving country, the Philippines, has tried to mitigate the impacts of continuing global economic difficulties. The two final chapters analyze how economic difficulties have kindled social backlash and anti-immigrant sentiments among some sectors of the population in both Europe (Chapter 7) and the United States (Chapter 8).

Elaine Levine's article, "The Impact of the 2008-2009 Economic Crisis on Latinos and Latino Immigrants in the U.S. Labor Market," explores labor market outcomes for Latinos and Latino immigrants in the U.S. today, in particular Mexicans and those of Mexican origin. After brief comments on the history of labor migration to the U.S., she explains how certain industries and occupations had recently become labor market niches for Latino workers. She examines job losses after 2007 and the evolution of employment between 2007 and 2010 in those industries and occupations with the highest numbers and percentages of Latino workers and discusses the increasing difficulties for Latino workers in the U.S. labor market since the onset of the 2008-2009 recession. She concludes with references to the rise in anti-immigrant sentiments in the state of Georgia, which, as she concludes, may prove even more detrimental to immigrant workers, particularly the undocumented, than lost jobs and lower wages.

Maria Lucinda Fonseca and Jennifer McGarrigle begin their article "Immigration and Policy: New Challenges after the Economic Crisis in Portugal," by explaining how Portugal —along with other southern European countries heretofore characterized by significant emigration— recently became a destination for international labor migrants. Nevertheless, in the Portuguese case, emigration persisted along with the inflow of workers from Eastern Europe and Asia, and a renewed flow from Brazil. They analyze the connections between macroeconomic performance and migratory flows and the changes taking place in what is now a much less favorable economic context. Thus far, Portugal seems to have been able to avoid significant social tensions and conflicts between national and foreign workers, or political discourses expressing anti-immigrant sentiments and attitudes, which no doubt have been dissipated to some extent by persisting emigration.

In his article "The Impact of the Recession on Migration in the United Kingdom," Jon Simmons explains why net immigration is still significant in spite of the reces-

sion. He incorporates several data sets into his analysis to show how migration flows and patterns have changed over the past few years. First of all,

> the period of the recession coincided with a sharp fall in immigration but an even sharper fall in emigration. In a period when the economy was contracting and unemployment rising, more people were still coming to reside in the UK than were leaving to go elsewhere. . . . As the recession ended in the fourth quarter of 2009, immigration recovered and began to rise again, . . . but emigration numbers for British citizens have remained low.

He points out that during the recent recession, the number of foreign students coming to the UK overtook the number of foreign migrants coming to work. He argues, therefore, that the recession has had "only a relatively modest impact on migration trends [in the UK] overall" and that this result was "due to the changed composition of the migratory flows to the UK, and specifically the significant rise in student migration over this period."

Bernd Geiss writes about "Immigration to and Emigration from Germany in the Last Few Years." His assessment is that the impacts of the recent financial and economic crisis on migration to Germany were relatively small. In contrast to events in some other European economies, the crisis in Germany lasted only for a short time. He underlines the fact that, even though economic growth did decline somewhat, the employment rate remained nearly stable because of special measures implemented by the government to maintain employment levels and workers' incomes. Thus, while he believes that Germany was "successful in managing the last economic crisis," he expresses concerns about the future. Total population will decline and the age distribution will change. He maintains that Germany will need more skilled workers. He laments, however, that migration policies are not based only on economic logic, but also "on traditions, mentalities, irrational imaginations, and, last but not least, the fear of strangers."

In her article "Employment of the Immigrant Population and Managing Labor Migration in Finland," Paula Kuusipalo explains that Finland has only recently changed from an emigrant-sending to an immigrant-receiving country. The transformation started in the 1980s, first attracting Finnish returnees, and gradually, as a result of economic growth and a rising demand for labor, becoming more and more work-related. She points out that the current public discussion on immigration issues is framed, on one hand, by concerns over a declining population and future labor force needs and, on the other hand, by the fairly recent populist opinions against foreign influences, some of which also have racist overtones. Studies show that getting settled, learning the language and other new skills, and finding one's place in the community takes time. The government has implemented various measures to facilitate immigrants' social and economic integration. Nevertheless,

in some instances new arrivals suffer from high unemployment rates, while certain industries and rural areas experience labor shortages. Kuusipalo concludes that the levels of integration achieved over the past 30 years have served to increase trust between immigrant populations and receiving communities despite the populist political movement's negative rhetoric.

In her article "The Economic Crisis and Overseas Filipinos' Remittances: Learning to Build a Future Back Home," Imelda Nicolas points out that the Philippines has emerged as one of the major migrant-sending countries in the world today. Remittances from Filipinos abroad constitute over 10 percent of GDP, clearly outranking investment flows and official development assistance. Official data show that remittances rose steadily between 2005 and 2011. She attributes this sustained remittance growth to the following factors:

> diversity of overseas Filipinos' skills and expertise in more than 200 countries all over the world, new and expanded markets for labor migration, expansion of bank and non-bank services tailor-fitted for overseas Filipinos, and the various efforts by the government and civil society organizations in mitigating the effects of the global economic crisis.

She concludes, "Migration is a complicated and complex issue and concern. It is a development challenge but one that proposes a wide spectrum of opportunities for learning and growth."

Jan Rath, in his article "Europe's Backlash against Multiculturalism," explores some fears Europeans have expressed lately about immigration. He questions whether Europe has been taken hostage by political entrepreneurs trying to gain political influence by trampling on immigrant ethnic and religious minorities, or if they have been too naive accepting individuals and groups from countries that are —or are seen as— culturally distant from the imagined national centers. He states that the recent "cultural backlash" is not confined exclusively to Europe, where he analyses different cases, but that several traditional receiving countries are experiencing these anti-immigrant attitudes. He points out different examples of the "classical countries of immigration." Some examples are the Tea Party in the United States, with their swipes at minorities and some recent electoral campaigns; Australia, known for its unconditional embrace of multiculturalism, where they now fear being swamped by Asians; and Canada, which has supported cultural pluralism as a core element of its identity, and has now come up against the limits of multiculturalism, calling for "reasonable accommodation." Rath highlights that, while ethnic and cultural diversity is becoming commonplace, in many receiving countries, general discontentment has emerged that is more critical of the state's role and immigration and diversity.

Finally, "The Rise of Anti-immigrant Sentiments in the U.S.: Arizona and Alabama, Emblematic Cases," by Mónica Verea, explores how the severe economic

recession, exacerbated by domestic pressure, has encouraged the U.S. government to implement a series of much more restrictive measures in its migratory policy than in the immediate past. She believes that the rise of anti-immigrant actions, xenophobic pressures, and discriminatory attitudes are often aggravated in times of economic crisis. In order to understand these attitudes, she presents the main legal frameworks that the U.S. government and Congress approved to manage undocumented migrant flow from the 1980s to the Obama administration and the recent proposal in Congress from "The Gang of Eight" to reform their broken immigration system. The growing number of foreign residents and undocumented migrants in the United States during the last decade has made society more aware of who the immigrants are and what their make-up is. Language, physical appearance, and certain customs that are inherent characteristics and values of some ethnic groups, embedded in a specific place, have become more visible and evident because of their continual —and in some cases sudden— growth. These changes have also contributed to fostering anti-immigrant attitudes, especially in certain states that have played an increasing role in controlling irregular migration, filling the vacuum the federal government has created by its reluctance to approve an immigration reform. Verea explains how Arizona and Alabama have become emblematic cases, because of their anti-immigrant movement and harsh measures proposed, approved, and in some cases implemented during the last few years.

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