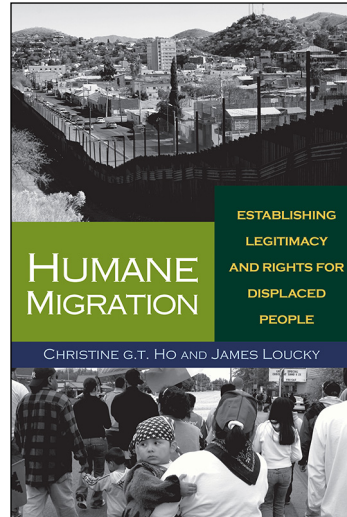


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# Humane Migration: Establishing Legitimacy and Rights for Displaced People

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and James Loucky

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# 1

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## Seeing the Humanity of Migration in the Migration of Humanity

The dog barks but the caravan moves on.  
—Arab proverb

Migration is one of the predominant and persistent characteristics of humanity, occupying a central place in the sweep of human history just as in current affairs. Often short in distance and duration, sometimes long and prolonged, movement lies at the core of our being, powerfully determining who we are as individuals and groups, and as species. It is clearly implicit in the global spread and collective impacts of *Homo sapiens*. Commonly conflated with immigration, migration is also arguably the most explosive social issue of our time. Few other dimensions of social interaction entail as many human rights and wrongs.

Anthropology reveals not only the ubiquity of migration across time and space but also its vital role in many of the critical challenges we face. The emergence of bipedalism among early humans provided enormous benefits, enabling mobility to range far and wide. From origins in Africa, our hominid ancestors spread across the planet. Food and water were tied to specific places, often varied by season, requiring foraging peoples to move according to available resources. With the shift to food production, a mere eight or 10 millennia following a lengthy foraging past, societies became more sedentary. But rarely did migration halt, as growing populations required food from beyond urban concentrations.

Today, nearly every place on Earth has been affected by, and often fundamentally transformed through, movement of people, because migration solves a host of problems. Shortages, destitution, war and conflict, and natural disasters regularly compel people to move. At the same time, migration represents new life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Simply put, if opportunities do not come to people, people move toward opportunities.

To move or not to move: has that become the question? Or are there a set of complex questions along with assertions and trajectories that must be addressed if we are to foresee a benevolent future? Population growth, ethnic and social change, and the transformations we have come to call “globalization” are all migration-related. So, too, is the looming displacement inherent in the seemingly inexorable advance of global climate change.

Movement is critical as well to how we live our daily lives. Human growth and development, along with the creation of new households with marriage, often entails movement. For all our technological sophistication, even people in industrialized societies continue to find worth and to be valued through belonging, to family groups and communities as much as to countries. We interact through social relationships as well as work, and moving is integral to both, as is evident in how we respond to shifting opportunities of education or employment.

Multiple forms of movement meet human needs, having significant social and cultural facets as well as political and economic dimensions. Thinking of migration in terms of “mobilities” rather than a singular or bounded move is useful. Facilitated by new modes of transportation and mobile communications, relations between people and places continue to be formed and reconstituted through meeting and networks, as well as through separation and dispersed trajectories. Migration, basically, is both a contemporary reality and, as we shall see, an inevitability.

The sobering implications of human capacity to affect our surroundings are everywhere being realized, provoking challenges to long-held assumptions about limitless economic growth, the inevitability of widening inequities, and the inviolability of nation-state borders. All of these are intertwined with movement in convoluted ways. As a result of intense overuse of Earth’s natural resources, humans may have spawned what some are calling the “Anthropocene”—a stage of human history marked by such profound human impact on Earth’s ecosystems and climate as to be considered a new geologic age. Migration is one of the foundations of this age. It will also be part of emerging realities that require living within nature and reaffirming commonalities and inclusion.

From this evolutionary and geographical perspective, flows of people, along with their goods and knowledge, represent diverse and powerful

means for mutually beneficial interconnectedness. But if migration is such a profound feature of evolutionary history and contemporary reality, why is it understood so poorly and negatively? One reason is that people operate not only as members of groups but also as individuals within immediate surroundings and experiences, with new ones reasonably perceived as threatening. Movement also entails disruptions, which accompany those who move and which discomfort those in areas where they settle. The proliferation and intensification of related global processes can further mask the positive role that migration plays. History and the cross-cultural record reveal how strongly and repeatedly economic and political forces drive migration, even as it may seem today to be unprecedented in origins and scope.

Movements of individuals and groups are intrinsic to contemporary global economic and political reality, rather than surprise or aberration. Far from being incomprehensible, the contemporary world is grounded in a set of converging factors that have identifiable roots and trajectories that operate through imbalances of power as well as impetus of synergies. Flows of people as well as of goods and knowledge have never been greater or more diverse. Yet they continue to be powerful ways that people change destinies along with destinations. If we are to design reasonable responses to what otherwise threatens to be an increasingly confrontational future, historical and comparative inquiry appear essential.

### **The Emergence of Nation-States and Borders**

For millennia, humans roamed the planet relatively freely. With the emergence of nation-states, however, freedom of movement became highly restricted as borders placed barriers to population movement. Few people are aware that borders emerged in human history only three and a half centuries ago with the rise of the nation-state in 1648. In that year the Peace of Westphalia was signed at the end of the Thirty Years War in Europe. This treaty brought into existence a new type of political entity based on the idea of sovereignty—radically different from previous forms of political organization. The notion of state sovereignty implied not only autonomy inside the political unit, but the replacement of “frontiers” by “borders” and the recognition of borders by other nation-states (Giddens 1990).

Before the birth of the nation-state, human beings lived in political arrangements such as empires, made up of many economic systems ruled by a single political authority, the emperor. They also lived in monarchies, ruled by a king, a single individual who possessed absolute power and divine rights (Castles and Miller 2009). Empires and kingdoms both had cultural

and power gaps separating aristocratic rulers from the peasants in the village, who were not citizens, but subjects of the king (Guibernau 2007). Also absent was the idea of a national culture transcending the gulf between the ruling class and villagers. The rise of the nation-state, then, was a milestone not only because it established rigid borders but because it demanded greater equality between the rulers and the ruled (Held and McGrew 2007).

The process of nation-building is made up of two parts: state formation, which is a political process, and nationalism, which is a cultural force that produces the feeling of belonging. State formation requires an economic system that provides not only access to material resources but allows greater communication and movement between social classes (Held and McGrew 2007). State formation is also necessary to legitimize the power of the ruling class and to promote loyalty to the state by providing security, order, and democratic processes for the people to achieve their goals.

Nationalism, as a cultural process, hinges on the idea of citizenship, the most important link between state and nation because it defines responsibilities as well as a set of civil, political, and social rights (Castles and Miller 2009; Guibernau 2007). However, the notion of citizenship is contradictory because, at least in principle, all citizens within a political community should be entitled to equality of rights, along with institutions guaranteeing these rights. The idea of citizenship is also problematic because it forms a mental partition between the insider (independent, responsible, trustworthy, moral) and the outsider (dependent, irresponsible, immoral, undeserving transgressor), drawing lines of inclusion and exclusion between citizen and noncitizen and creating a categorical divide between those entitled to rights and those deprived of them (Guibernau 2007; Inda 2006; Ngai 2004).

Understanding nationalism also makes it easier to understand hostility to immigrants. According to Benedict Anderson (1983), who defined a “nation” as a sovereign, “imagined community,” a nation actually exists only in our imagination and is completely dependent on the feeling of belonging. As sovereign entity, a nation is a “community” in the sense that there is brotherhood, and it is “imagined” in the sense that every member of a nation imagines fellow members to be similar, even though the vast majority do not know each other and most will never meet. In short, all communities larger than face-to-face villages are imagined.

Simply put, the emotional bonds tying members of a nation together are so deep that it feels like an extended family (Guibernau 2007). Nationalism’s sibling, patriotism, then becomes a form of political love, inspiring people to regard fighting and killing in wars as heroic deeds. Nationalism is a love so profound that dying for one’s country is seen as an act of moral purity, and the powers of nationalism and patriotism are perhaps the mightiest and



most enduring ideologies that humankind ever invented (Falk 1999). Thus, hostility toward the “foreigner” and depicting immigrants as threats to society are essential for maintaining this homogeneous imagined community.

As a result, countries with immigrants have had to formulate policies and practices about the meaning of citizenship: who is a citizen and how newcomers can become citizens, given increasing diversity in many nation-states. Not surprisingly, members of the majority ethnic group enjoy the greatest citizenship rights. In contrast, members of ethnic minorities are usually assimilated, often marginalized and excluded, and sometimes exterminated (Castles and Miller 2009; Bodley 2008). Thus, rights differ not only according to the dominant power but also according to culture, race, class, gender, and other social attributes.

For the most part, the borders of nation-states have been beneficial over the centuries. More recently, however, borders have become dysfunctional: they promote self-interest and ethnocentrism, and they undermine any sense of community and civic engagement. Even worse, border crossing has become confused with danger, resulting in a nationalism expressed as xenophobia, policies of exclusion, the criminalization and imprisonment of immigrants, and the militarization of borders. This outcome is most unfortunate because the principle of democracy espoused by many nation-states should guarantee to all members of civil society equality of rights, whether citizen or noncitizen.

With the emergence of states and, in turn, colonial empires, people and places became even more connected through movement. The Industrial Revolution provoked mass shifts from farms to cities, while colonial expansion and wars produced mass movements in the form of scattering and resettlement, sometimes over long distances and long periods of time. Movement is also implicit in trade, which is a defining feature of human societies and omnipresent today. Both migration and immigration—movement across national borders—have accelerated to unprecedented levels with the emergence of the contemporary era of globalization. People are forced and drawn to move as never before. Revolutionary changes and accelerations in transportation and communication have so “shrunk” the world that people are now able to reach nearly every possible location, with unprecedented speed. They bring with them perspectives and potential, but also problems.

### **Mass Movements, Global Unease**

That much of the world is on the move is self-evident, in light of the proliferation of intercontinental travel, social media, and consumer goods from

every corner of the world, as well as the increasingly transboundary nature of many communities, careers, and even identities (Sheller and Urry 2006; Kaye 2010). People everywhere enjoy the bounty and product diversity of what we now call, somewhat redundantly, our “global world.” There is much less content or consent, however, about the seemingly unstoppable flows of people in this new world. Backlash in more industrialized countries, and growth of fundamentalisms elsewhere, are hardly surprising amid the increase of new unknowns and mounting unease associated with challenges to established worldviews. Researchers are confronted by global developments at least as much as the public. Assumptions and vocabularies are under scrutiny as never before. New categories and models can seem outdated almost as soon as they are proposed. Certainly this is the case for migration. Debates about benefits versus costs continue unabated, while binaries such as forced and voluntary, refugee and immigrant, and legal and illegal are increasingly open to question. The pervasiveness of fluidity and mobilities (Cresswell 2006) cast growing doubt on the viability of nation-states and justifications for separating people from places where they can sustain life.

While the scale of contemporary migration and prevalence of mobilities may be unprecedented, mass movements are nothing new. Emergence of larger population centers, sustained by agriculture, encouraged movement to cities for their perceived or real opportunities compared to the hard and often denigrated rural life. Rural-to-urban movement continues to unfold, along with flows from the global South to the global North, in the face of persistent and growing regional and global inequalities.

Today’s global political economy is grounded on axioms that encourage, and even require, migration. An assumption of growth as preferred and perpetual undergirds much modern production. Profits are realized with expansion and concentration of resources. Business practices like outsourcing, an undermining of food security (sometimes of entire countries, as well as small farmers themselves), and top-down control of labor and other forms of dispossession impose poverty—virtual slavery even—on much of the developing world (Bacon 2008). Social and psychological dislocations accompany the physical disruptions this global order generates.

Not only is migration fundamental to the elite-driven system that has evolved, so too is instability. Tremendous insecurity is inherent in a situation, as exists today, in which a person in the top one-fifth of humanity earns on average 150 times more than that of a person in the bottom quintile. The conflicts and suffering arising from such gaping and growing chasms are hardly surprising.

The mounting dissension that accompanies growing divisions, in turn, provokes efforts to dampen unrest by containing people within predictable and prescribed orbits. A veritable global immigration panic has emerged in recent years. People on the move tend to be blamed for moving in the first place, and for a host of ills that may or may not result. Far less common is acknowledgment of history or underlying factors. Such understanding is admittedly more difficult than simply parroting accepted models and mantras. Connections and implications are also conveniently masked by dominant political interests and media manipulation. Fear itself is a powerful motivator. When times are tough, xenophobia is easy to incite, and policing can become normal. Far easier to shoot first—metaphorically or militarily—and ask (or not ask) questions later.

Add to this “the big one,” the looming geo-ecological crisis for which climate change seems far too mild a term. Catastrophic or irreversible destabilization of climate portends more massive disruption ahead, unless (and perhaps even if) mitigated. The poor, as usual, are most affected. But this time, even the wealthy will not be spared, in part because of the numbers of people who are likely to have no option but to move. Past crises in the United States alone—the Dust Bowl, the Rust Belt, and Katrina—suggest what may lie ahead with major changes in weather patterns, melting glaciers, rising oceans, and severe degradation of ecosystems on which life depends. Forced displacement, on a scale previously unimagined, seems unavoidable. Some predict a 90% chance that 3 billion people will either move or go hungry in the next century as a result of climate change (Brahic 2009; International Organization for Migration 2008). Less foreseeable are the divisions and methods of exclusion that may accompany these prognoses.

Today, humanity faces a turning point, provoked by planetary tipping points. Transformation must be immediate and comprehensive in how we “do business”—from wise resource utilization and equitable distribution, to granting legitimacy and rights whatever people’s background and circumstances. Instead, we ominously see countries turning away immigrants and even refugees, sometimes despite long histories of migration and commendable prior policies. Border crossings are coming to be viewed as fears, rather than facts. These fears are multifaceted, ranging from perceived threat to national sovereignty to unpredictable futures. Borders liberalized not long ago are now portrayed as being out of control. From Western Europe to North America and elsewhere across the globe, apprehension and alarmism shift easily to nativism and repudiation, as they have throughout history (Chavez 2001).

But little is inexorable. Disturbing scenarios are not inevitabilities, given the power of human dignity and the synergies of strategizing and acting together. Rising popular movements are challenging the morality and continuation of the system that has become dominant, just as the massive world economic meltdown in 2008 confirmed its inherent instabilities.

### **The Beneficence of Migration**

Migration is so intertwined with the expansion of global capitalism, and so ubiquitous today as it has been historically, that it can only be understood as normative rather than as aberration or threat. Migration is both a logical outcome of macroeconomics and geopolitics and a key factor in future developments on a planetary scale. Viewing it as a common interest and solution is far more reasonable than treating it chiefly as a problem, which is the prevailing sentiment underlying recent debate. Migration falls much more in the realm of human rights than it does under criminal justice.

The pervasive characteristic of global labor is strong evidence that the nature of migration is primarily beneficial. But asserting, as we do, that freedom of movement also remains an inherent right is quite another matter.

One way to approach these controversies is to consider what motivates people to move, often over long distances and durations, at considerable financial and psychological costs. A common theme throughout human history is that most people do not move unless necessary, which explains why an element of coercion is frequently part of the reason for migration. The dynamics provoking movement may be as persuasive as they are powerful, but they are also imbued with promise as they provide avenues for creativity in the unfolding of new lives and livelihoods. People and places change through migration, often dramatically. So, too, do families and communities left behind, as do new destinations and social configurations. A multitude of life histories as well as fictionalized accounts illustrate how, although migration is frequently grounded in suffering, it can also bring out the very best in people.

We know a great deal about migration through comprehensive and long-term studies (Castles and Miller 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2006), but much is easily missed or misperceived. Rapidly changing circumstances generate a range of reactions, from anxiety in the face of unpredictability to confusion and mistrust amid crises. Through comparative and historical inquiry, as well as reflection, we can come to see ourselves on the same path as others. We can empathize since most people have experiences of migration,

and migration narratives are common to most cultural traditions. Commonalities also serve to encourage deeper recognition that whatever the contentiousness, common good is best served by working together to address the challenges at hand.

Recognizing the elements that give migration its power and pervasiveness is essential. Engaged inquiry means examining not only who moves but also who benefits from those moves. We can look for patterns that arise in new situations or emergencies requiring refuge. We can probe the critical role of social networks in successful adaptation. We can also examine social forces that enhance the formation as well as transformation of ethnic communities. In turn, the global character of migration today requires us to address dilemmas that tend to be more recent in origin: the emergence of transnational communities and identities, the importance of children and issues of youth associated with the unknowns facing new generations, and scenarios of mass displacement associated with global economic and environmental crises.

Never before have such issues been so crucial. They require frank dialogue and cooperative interchange across borders of many kinds if we are to overcome misconceptions and policy errors. Sharing what is already known about how, why, and how often people move, as well as what feelings are evoked, increases the likelihood of asking the right questions. In turn we can also make more effective responses. At the very least, grounded knowledge and opportunities for meaningful participation help prevent policies that are unilateral or myopic, and potentially counterproductive as well.

Given that migration is intrinsic to being human, it requires a time perspective that is long term rather than immediate, and an approach that encompasses the moral as well as the practical. Human and humanitarian concerns are ultimately at least as critical as any issues of national sovereignty. The world cannot be safe unless it is safe for everyone. Migration is far more than an unlikely result of global interdependence and rapid communications and transportation, although these are important drivers. Migration is both fundamental to being human and a matter of common interest. It is vital that we address whether there is—still—a right to move. Freedom of movement is implicit in human history and codified in international law. What are the consequences of jettisoning something so essential, as seems to be occurring in the assertion of a “new normal” today, and particularly following the stunning events of September 11, 2001?

What could result from considering migration within a human rights discourse? The politics of language reveals numerous accounts of misuse of power, but also possibilities for ethical reframing and civic reaffirmation.

As migration is the logical outcome of macroeconomics and geopolitics, examining movement as an entitlement is reasonable. What might be gained by speaking of people instead of units of labor, markets, and supply chains? Treating people as members of families and communities, rather than as numbers and problems, is far more likely to produce sensible responses to vexing yet unavoidable dilemmas, such as those relating to social well-being, family reunification, and the best interests of emerging generations. Compared to advancing narrow interests and unilateral national agendas, prospects are considerably brighter through prioritizing common sense and common interests.

### **From Politics of Exclusion to Communities of Inclusion**

What we focus on largely determines what we leave out. As Nobel Prize-winning Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk observes, “If you focus on clashes, you will get clashes, but if you focus on harmony, you will get harmony.” Anxiety and innuendo about how immigration either causes or deepens divisions, economic declines, or cultural deterioration disregards substantial evidence that people who move from one place to another are, in general, at least as likely to have high aspirations and valuable human and labor potential as longer-term residents. Amid the fierce and bitter debate, then, we must highlight evidence and logic that may run counter to the prevailing claims of pundits and politicians.

The United States has experienced deep challenges that come with dramatic long-term demographic and social changes associated with a long history of immigration. Europe is following suit, relatively later than the United States with respect to magnitude and consequence, but with similar public alarm over uncertainty about appropriate immigration policy (Hill 2010a; Castles and Miller 2009; Lucassen 2005). Other regions of the world are experiencing similar growing pains. Ultimately, policies and practices that make inclusion, and thereby hope, possible are far more valuable to everyone than policies and practices that exclude. Whether from the weight of evidence, or pragmatic recognition that the ominous financial implications of aging populations place tremendous value on the far younger immigrant, change toward a more favorable outlook with respect to immigration is inevitable (D. Myers 2007).

One of the main problems in visualizing, much less implementing, immigration reform is the huge divide between the worlds occupied by people living in new communities and countries and those of many native-born or

longer-term residents. The disconnect between migrants' lived experiences and public policy is larger still. Legal, language, and economic differences exacerbate the human tendency to avoid or not engage with those who are different. Authorities—whether employers, law enforcement, or those working in social or educational institutions—have considerable power to influence lives and livelihoods, all the more so for people who work in an underground economy. As a result, undocumented people tend to live “shadowed lives” (Chavez 1998), shying away from census workers, police officers, and institutions representing authority.

The long interest of anthropology and other social sciences in the dynamics and human implications of transnational migration provide considerable potential for contributing to migration reform. No longer stuck in a tradition of seeing cultures as distinct entities, researchers for decades have been emphasizing the interconnectedness of a global world as well as how differences are constructed rather than simply emerging through separation of discrete groupings. Immigration represents a significant arena for production of difference, particularly through anti-immigrant discourse and policies that perpetuate hegemonic ideals of nationhood and identity while continuing to disempower others. Attention to lived experiences, a hallmark of anthropology, seems invaluable for helping to develop fair and humane migration policy.

Opportunities for meaningful interaction, through which people get to know and trust one another, are fundamental to a healthy, democratic society. So, while uncertainties are part and parcel of migration, success in dealing with it requires comprehensive efforts that are rooted in understanding its vast and comparative history. Cross-national understanding certainly helps. Acknowledging communities and countries that pursue effective and humane paths for including newer citizens is as important as taking note of more ineffective or violent cases. Comparative and historical inquiry that considers all the elements that make up migration allows us to see how migrants experience disruption and dispersion, and how they—and those among whom they settle—then deal with transition and uncertainty. More often than not, the result is mutually beneficial syntheses in which people come together to rethink relationships and what they mean.

As people grapple with new modes and mores, their discomforts also create wider opportunities for circumspection, and even change, for wider society as well as themselves. The materialism and the erosion of primary ties and values associated with greater affluence, for example, provide lessons for all. In one case, a letter sent home to Iraq by a young man studying at Yale is as relevant today as when it was penned in the mid-1960s:

The more a society advances in a technical and material way, the more its people grow complicated and distant from one another. Everyone here . . . is an individual. The innocent, simple man who accepts things at face value, the nice guy who worries about people and not just himself, that person disappears.

—Sabar (2008, 202)

The collective experiences, stories, and codes and modeling of ethics within immigrant and refugee communities hold tremendous value far beyond those communities in themselves. Human resources and funds of knowledge are sometimes recorded, more often transmitted in intergenerational and face-to-face interactions. Anthropologists have long heralded the way in which cultural diversity reflects and builds the creative capacity that enables humanity not only to survive but also to thrive. Differences, in other words, need not be feared but can instead be seen as strengths, potentially and tangibly.

The hardships, treacherous journeys, and resilience embodied in refugee and immigrant experience are as durable as they are dramatic. The shared memories and morals to the stories are central to whom people have been and who they are becoming. They shape emerging identities and the ethnogenesis of new communities. By acknowledging these accounts, we not only affirm the basic rights of those recounting but also commonalities with those experiences. *E pluribus unum* is more than a historical motto. It continues to be the strength of a country that has been and remains fundamentally multicultural, and so also quixotically American.

Ultimately, whether perceived as “management” or as inevitability, collective responses to immigration that acknowledge the humanity and worldviews of those on the move are most likely to result in more engaged civic participation. However currently ignored or maligned, migrants themselves are a critical voice for helping to determine what is fair and wise with respect to services and settlement policies. Worldwide, in fact, the dreams as much as the demands of immigrants are provoking a rethinking of society, and indeed of the future.

### Goals and Outline of This Book

This book considers a number of pressing questions about the causes, circumstances, and consequences of global migration. As much as we believe that questions must not go unanswered, we also affirm that answers must not go unquestioned.



We address moral as well as practical aspects of migration, adopting a broadly comparative, interdisciplinary, and engaged approach. Contemporary patterns are examined in light of what has gone on before, and experiences of other countries provide a basis for evaluating our own.

Movement and settlement involve many actors and agencies, not just people on the move. Some seek shelter from violence, engendered at home or through geopolitical forces. Others embark on perilous and costly routes in response to consumer demand for products they help produce cheaply. By acknowledging the shared responsibilities for creating, perpetuating, and potentially modifying migration, we open the way for more humane alternatives to what often prevails.

We hope to challenge readers to rethink prevailing misconceptions about immigrants and to visualize them as new neighbors, working and living in cities, towns, and rural places throughout various countries. Their many contributions are evidence of the deep resilience and promise that newcomers represent, particularly for adopted communities but also for those from where they have come.

In Chapter 2 we place migration in a wider context by probing the root causes of international migration, particularly global processes that are unprecedented in their power to encourage the crossing of borders. We also scrutinize transnational systems that transport people across national borders, such as guest worker programs and human smuggling, as well as colonial ties and military interventions that create refugees and asylum-seekers. We then turn our attention to personal motivations—such as hunger, starvation, the inability to find work, the desire to be reunited with family—that inspire migrants to make family sacrifices and risk their lives to relocate, as well as to create remarkable strategies for survival.

We shift our gaze in Chapter 3 to the climate of fear that has gripped virtually every immigrant-receiving country. We analyze groundless myths and fallacies buttressing these fears, such as job theft, welfare dependency, and the threat to American culture and identity. We also scrutinize past and present US immigration laws aimed at excluding “undesirables,” highlighting the immigration law of 1924 that set many legal precedents and Arizona’s SB1070 for racial profiling. Also examined are contemporary hate crimes and institutional racism directed at the Chinese in the nineteenth century and the Japanese in concentration camps during World War II. Most important of all, we look at how immigration has become fused with crime and terrorism in the American imagination.

Immigration overlaps closely with borders, the subject of Chapter 4. For the United States, “the border” is synonymous with our 2,000-mile marriage to Mexico. Bordering, however, is something humans do everywhere,

and in countless ways. Tremendously valuable and vibrant exchanges occur, along with problems. Growing reliance on security as solution is revealed to be rather myopic, and often draconian as well. In time, the nature and functions of borders, as well as their particular histories and advantages, have to be acknowledged if there is to be a long-lasting resolution of the dilemmas of migration, in North America and worldwide. Borders also produce suffering for migrants, requiring family sacrifices, fracturing families, and forcing many to lead “shadowed lives.”

In Chapter 5 we scrutinize the institutional processes that have resulted in immigrants, particularly the undocumented, being treated like criminals. First we examine the US immigrant detention system, whose practices violate international human rights laws, as well as the connection between skyrocketing rates of immigrant incarceration and the growth of the US prison industry. Next, we look at “technologies of governance,” the bureaucratic machinery designed to keep immigrants out, founded on a philosophy of punishment. We also compare the differences in treatment of Cubans and Haitians by the US immigration system. Last we look at how a border fixation has resulted in the needless death and suffering of immigrants at the US-Mexico border.

Nearly every human culture has a migratory narrative as part of its history or mythology, and many countries today do so as well. As perception mixes with reality, new understandings and interpretations arise, including of people and worlds that are different. Multiple challenges associated with immigration can be seen through the experiences of other countries. A comparative perspective enables us to discern what has been problematic but also what has worked and what, in turn, might work in our country. Income generation, intellectual talent, and legal arrangements that support loyalty and belonging are central to the transborder arrangements we consider in Chapter 6.

In the United States, perhaps the only aspect of immigration on which there is broad agreement is that policies in place are not working—or, as more usually stated, the current system is “broken.” Chapter 7 explores some of the basic tenets of US immigration policy, along with different explanations of what might occur. Few deny that the system in place entails enormous wasted resources, in the form of costs of enforcement as well as lower productivity, depressed wages, and uncollected tax revenues. The system is equally costly in terms of human lives and dignity. Instead of remaining hostage to laws and accepted practices that foster exclusion and exploitation, we propose instead that benefiting from the human capital represented by people who are among our most productive and youthful is both preferable and possible.

The vibrancy of immigrants in the United States and around the world, and the numerous contributions they make both to adopted communities and to those left behind, lead us to consider how we might better ensure the mutual benefits that their diversity and deep resilience represent. Chapter 8 focuses on rights, including rights of people to move and of communities to strive for some control over people and processes that emanate from afar. Movement may be inherently human, but the complexities of responsibility, legitimacy, and citizenship turn out to be anything but straightforward.

In the final chapter, as throughout the book, we look to what can emerge through recognizing immigrants as new members of society. As communities are more inclusive, they also become safer and healthier. Openness and welcome, places to meet and socialize, along with an area's aesthetics have been identified as the three main qualities that attach people to their community and to each other (Knight Foundation 2010). Our society, as others elsewhere, promises to become more vibrant and sustainable if it can continue to successfully uphold a long-standing commitment to both diversity and democracy.