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1

Poverty, International Migration and Asylum: Introduction

George J. Borjas and Jeff Crisp

In recent years, substantial numbers of people have migrated – or sought to migrate – from regions that are afflicted by poverty and insecurity to more prosperous and stable parts of the world. By the year 2002, the United Nations estimated that about 180 million persons – or roughly 3 per cent of the world’s population – were living in a country where they were not born. Nearly 12.5 per cent of the population in Austria, 19.3 per cent in Canada, 10 per cent in France, 22.4 per cent in Switzerland and 12.3 per cent in the United States was foreign-born. Even Japan, which is thought of as being very homogeneous and geographically immune to immigrants, now reports major problems with illegal immigration.

Such population flows, involving increasingly tortuous and dangerous long-distance journeys, have been both prompted and facilitated by a variety of factors associated with the process of globalization: a growing disparity in the level of human security to be found in different parts of the world; improved transportation, communications and information technology (IT) systems; the expansion of transnational social networks; and the emergence of a commercial (and sometimes criminal) industry devoted to the smuggling of people across international borders.

These population movements have been a cause for growing concern in the industrialized states. Such states are ready to acknowledge the positive value of international migration when it meets the needs of their labour markets, and when it takes place in a controlled and predictable manner. But when it involves the irregular and ‘spontaneous’ arrival of people from other parts of the world, and when those migrants appear to bring little financial or social capital with them, the countries react with alarm.

2 Introduction

As a result of these huge population flows, the impact of immigration is now being heatedly debated globally, in both host and source countries. The political discussion is typically focused around three substantive questions:

- First, how do immigrants perform in the host country's economy?
- Second, what impact do immigrants have on the economic opportunities of workers in the host country and what impact do they have on the economic opportunities of the workers who remain behind in the source country?
- Finally, which set of immigration policies should countries pursue?

The policy significance of these questions is self-evident. For example, immigrants who have high levels of productivity can make a significant contribution to economic growth in the host country, but adversely impact economic growth in the source country. Similarly, the debate over immigration policy has long been fuelled by the widespread perception that immigrants may have an adverse effect on the employment opportunities of natives. Which native workers are most adversely affected by immigration, and how large is the decline in the native wage? Conversely, how do large outflows of workers affect the economic opportunities of workers who remain behind?

Finally, there is great diversity in immigration policies across countries. Some countries, such as the United States, award entry visas mainly to applicants who have relatives already residing in the country. Other countries, such as Australia and Canada, award visas to persons who have a desirable set of socioeconomic characteristics, and still other countries, such as Germany, encouraged the migration of 'temporary' guest workers in the 1960s, only to find that the temporary migrants became a permanent part of the German population. The choice of the 'right' immigration policy can obviously have a significant impact on economic activity and social conditions, in both the short run and in the long run.

The concerns over the resurgence of large-scale immigration have been exacerbated by the fact that a significant proportion of new arrivals in the industrialized states establish a foothold there by lodging claims to refugee status – an act that normally prevents them from being deported and which allows them to remain in a country for months or even years while their asylum applications are being processed. In the perception of many politicians and the general public, seeking asylum has become a means of circumventing legitimate immigration controls. And a very expensive means, too, given the costs involved in the administration of asylum procedures, as well as the provision of social welfare, public services and legal advice to refugee claimants.

Confronted with this phenomenon, the industrialized states have in recent years introduced a barrage of measures intended to obstruct or dissuade

people from gaining access to and seeking asylum on their territory. While such measures have in some respects achieved their intended objectives, they have also had some unintended consequences. There is now good reason to believe that the imposition of restrictive asylum practices has had the effect of diverting migrants to alternative destinations and of prompting them to resort to clandestine forms of movement. Measures that were intended to control a relatively visible and measurable flow of asylum seekers have contributed to a boom in human smuggling which is far more difficult to detect and quantify.

The UNU–WIDER project on International Migration, Refugees and Poverty consisted of two related sub-projects, one examining the economic consequences of immigration and the other examining issues associated with asylum migration. Each of these partner projects commissioned a number of studies, as well as issuing a more general call for papers. The conference, held in Helsinki in September 2002, attracted a wide array of scholars and policy-makers. This volume contains many of the studies that were presented at that conference.

The joint themes of ‘regular’ migrants and refugees dominated the discussion. Concurrent with the resurgence of large-scale immigration, a large literature has developed that analyses the economic impact of immigration on host countries, particularly the United States. To a large extent, this literature has focused on documenting the labour market and fiscal impacts of immigration on United States-born workers and on expenditures in welfare programmes by federal, state, and local governments in the United States. Given the global nature of large-scale population flows, the project aimed to expand the focus of the studies of economic consequences of legal and illegal immigration to other host countries, to source countries, as well as to place the economic study of immigration in a global context. In doing so, we encouraged authors to examine whether the economic consequences that are now being perceived in source and host countries had a historical parallel in earlier waves of immigration. This type of analysis will surely help increase our understanding of the economic, social, and political forces that shape how immigration alters the economic well-being of populations, as well as provide some insights into how the shaping of immigration policy reacts to the perceived economic consequences. Similarly, the authors were encouraged to examine the economic consequences of immigration in the context of the increasing globalization of world trade – in particular, what do current patterns of globalization and migration imply about convergence in economic conditions across countries?

There was a similar concern about analysing illegal immigration. After all, an important aspect of the large-scale migration flows in the world today is the prevalence of large flows of illegal migrants. These large flows may well become more important in the future, and affect a wider set of industrialized economies. Finally, the project contains a number of case studies, detailing

immigration consequences and policies in various parts of the world, including such wide-ranging experiences as those of the EU, as well as Argentina, the Caribbean and Iraq.

Regarding asylum migration, it is worth noting that the increasing size of refugee flows has given rise to a voluminous literature, produced not only by the academic community, but also by international organizations, regional bodies and human rights agencies, not to mention the growing number of research and policy institutes focusing on what has become known as ‘the migration–asylum nexus’.

At this risk of excessive generalization, it can be argued that the recent literature on the migration–asylum nexus is skewed in several respects. While much has been written about the way states have responded to the issues of irregular migration and asylum migration, the changing size, direction and composition of such population movements has been subject to far less scrutiny. The existing literature has a strong institutional focus, but reveals relatively little about irregular and asylum migrants themselves – and even less about those people who are unable or unwilling to find a way out of countries where the conditions of life would appear to be intolerable. In disciplinary terms, recent writing on the migration–asylum nexus has not generally been informed by economics or development economics, especially when compared with the literature on other forms of migration.

The UNU-WIDER project was designed to enhance our understanding of those migratory movements which are undertaken for the purpose or with the consequence of seeking asylum in another state. More specifically, the project focused specifically on a number of important dimensions of asylum migration. A key component of the volume provides a historical, empirical and statistical overview of the phenomenon, focusing on the changing nature of asylum migration:

- Where do asylum migrants come from?
- Where do they go to?
- What routes do they take to get there?
- What is the demographic and socioeconomic profile of such migrants?
- And what does this data tell us about the causes of and motivation for asylum migration?

In addition, the authors were encouraged to establish a *typology of asylum migration*, focusing especially on the modes and methods by which people move from one country and region to another. This typology examines the information which people use in making their decision to migrate; the methods used to mobilize resources for the journey, as well as the role of human smuggling in the process of asylum migration. In this respect, the project will provide a critical appraisal of the widespread assumption that

human smuggling involves the deception and exploitation of migrants by organized criminal syndicates.

The authors were similarly encouraged to analyse the impact of asylum immigration for *both* receiving and sending states. The authors examined whether asylum migration, from the receiving countries' perspective, can be usefully analysed in terms of the 'costs' and benefits' which it brings to receiving states. The authors also looked more generally at the consequences of asylum migration for those countries, focusing on issues such as economic activity, social structure, popular culture, ethnic relations and foreign relations. Similarly, the project examined an issue that has received relatively little attention in the existing literature: the impact of asylum migration on countries of origin. Among the questions asked are:

- To what extent does asylum migration involve the departure of skilled and educated people, and what impact does this have on a country's labour market and potential for economic development?
- How and with what consequences does asylum migration affect household and community structures in countries of origin?
- How is asylum migration associated with the development of transnational social networks, and what functions do these networks perform?
- What remittances do asylum migrants send back to their own country, and how are such remittances used?

Finally, no discussion of asylum migration is complete without an analysis of the *public policy response*. How do states and other actors (regional bodies, international and non-governmental organizations, for example) respond to the phenomenon of asylum migration? What considerations have determined the response of such actors? How effective have these responses been (and in this context, what does 'effectiveness' mean anyway?) To what extent is there a consensus among these actors with regard to policy responses? And, looking to the future, can alternative responses to the asylum migration be anticipated?

We now turn to a more detailed discussion of the individual projects. The book begins with Part I, containing four chapters that analyse, from a global perspective, various issues in asylum and immigration policy. Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson (Chapter 2) offer a quantitative assessment of the economic and demographic fundamentals that have driven and are driving world migration, across different historical epochs and around the world. The chapter is organized around three questions:

1. How do the standard theories of migration perform when confronted with evidence drawn from more than a century of world migration experience?
2. How do inequality and poverty influence world migration?

3. Is it useful to distinguish between migration pressure and migration *ex post*, or between the potential demand for visas and the actual use of them?

Hatton and Williamson usefully consider the implications of their discussion for the future of world migration. They conclude that even if migration pressures increase but policy regimes harden then *ex post* world migration could be lower despite greater migration pressure. Under such conditions, we would see a further increase in illegal migration and an escalation of policies aimed at combating it. By identifying future migration pressures, we can inform those policies. Hatton and Williamson specifically examine the demographic trends on migration pressure in Africa's future and conclude that the demographic forces that drive African migration will serve as a powerful force raising emigration pressure over the next twenty years.

Stephen Castles and Sean Loughna (Chapter 3) provide a detailed examination in the trends of asylum migration over the entire twentieth century. Castles and Loughna outline trends and patterns in movements of asylum seekers to Western so-called industrialized countries from 1990 to 2001. They identify three distinct phases of asylum migration since the end of the Second World War:

- Treating refugees as migrant workers;
- Migrants with mixed motivations claiming asylum; and
- Asylum seekers moving as undocumented migrants.

They note that there is now an increasing perception that asylum seekers are really economic migrants who are abusing the asylum process. This has led to increasingly restrictive entry rules. The feedback effect of such policies is that many genuine refugees are unable to make claims, because they cannot enter a potential country of asylum. This in turn has caused some asylum seekers to enter illegally, often using the services of people smugglers. The result is that the distinction between asylum seekers and undocumented migrants has become blurred, leading to the notion of the 'asylum-migration nexus'.

Matthew J. Gibney and Randall Hansen (Chapter 4) continue the global study of asylum policy by noting that for much of the post-war period, asylum and immigration were distinct concepts and processes. Throughout the west, asylum was bound up with the Cold War, with refugees mainly originating in Communist countries. As for immigration, it meant different things in different countries: in the settler societies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, it was a permanent movement of people who sought to try their luck in the new world. In the traditional emigration countries of Europe, it referred to the putatively temporary movement of guest workers who were expected to feed the European economic machine for a few years

before returning home. The important point is that, in both cases, the two movements were everywhere separate. Gibney and Hansen note that these two processes have merged in recent decades, particularly in Europe, where 'immigration' and 'asylum seeking' are now referred to interchangeably. They note that the result is that in most Western countries asylum applications are at levels where they generate deep political controversy and are likely to remain there; that public policy reform has not enabled states to reduce these numbers and is not likely to in the future; and that the costs associated with asylum rise with non-return and non-labour market incorporation.

Part II of the book contains six chapters that address various aspects of the consequences of immigration and asylum policy. Susan Martin, Andrew Schoenholtz and David Fisher (Chapter 5) provide a detailed examination of the impact of asylum policies on receiving countries. They stress the important point that government policies for handling asylum affect the impact of asylum seekers. For example, complex application systems will inevitably increase the fiscal cost of implementing asylum policy. Impacts will also vary by post-adjudication treatment of asylum applicants. In some countries, a high proportion of asylum seekers are granted asylum, as is the case in the United States and Canada, whereas in other countries the vast majority of asylum applicants are rejected. Some of those rejected for asylum are nevertheless eligible for complementary forms of protection, particularly if they cannot be returned to a country undergoing conflict. Policies on return of rejected asylum seekers, as well as individuals granted temporary protection who are no longer in need of such protection, also profoundly influence the ways in which asylum affects receiving countries. If governments find themselves unable or unwilling to repatriate rejected asylum seekers, their domestic impact will be more long-reaching than if the asylum seekers return home. Finally, the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, including the skill composition, age distribution and family structure of asylum seekers, will further influence the impact of asylum on receiving countries. Martin, Schoenholtz and Fisher conclude that the number of asylum seekers, government policies and socioeconomic characteristics all determine the impacts of asylum. The impacts of asylum can thus differ significantly from country to country.

The analysis of Khalid Koser and Nicholas Van Hear in Chapter 6 provides a mirror-image analysis to the Martin–Schoenholtz–Fisher study by examining the impact of asylum migration on the countries of origin. Their study not only provides a review of the literature, but also reports many new empirical findings. They specifically consider three distinct questions: the impact of refugees on the countries of origin, with a specific emphasis on such variables as the scale of the movement and the characteristics of the refugees; they review the evidence about the continuing influence of asylum seekers and refugees once they reach their country of destination; and, finally, they

examine the implications for countries of origin of the return of asylum seekers and refugees. An important conclusion of their study is the emphasis that exiled communities are not necessarily isolated communities. Many asylum seekers and refugees maintain links with their countries of origin and try to engender change there, and at least some have considerable potential to effect change. They also stress that physical return is not the only way to integrate refugees in post-conflict reconstruction. In particular, refugees can contribute to democratization, reconciliation and reconstruction from a distance. It is a truism of the modern world that money, goods, ideas and votes can cross international borders more easily than people.

Raimo Väyrynen in Chapter 7 examines a crucial question in the immigration debate: human trafficking and illegal immigration. He stresses the important point that the illegal and clandestine movement of people across national borders cannot be separated from issues of governmental control and enforcement. Although states have the authority to criminalize specific transnational activities, they are typically not willing fully to fund capabilities that might realistically enforce such restrictions. This creates particular problems in those countries where the market demand for illicit entry is high. The Väyrynen study also provides an important perspective to human smuggling: this activity exists because people benefit from moving to higher-income countries and the smuggler benefits because start-up costs in the business are small and profit margins are high.

Riccardo Faini in Chapter 8 examines the theoretical underpinnings and empirical evidence about the link between skilled migration, education and remittances. He argues that, even after accounting for substantial remittances, the concerns in sending countries about the economic impact of skilled migration are warranted. First, a higher skilled content of migration is found to be associated with a lower flow of remittances. He interprets this surprising result as indicating that skilled migrants tend to loosen their links with their home country, are more likely to bring their family to the host country and, therefore, have a lower propensity to remit. Second, he finds little evidence suggesting that raising the skill composition of migration has a positive effect on the educational achievements in the home country. In short, the outmigration of skilled workers is unlikely to provide many benefits to the remaining population in the source countries.

Chapters 9 and 10 examine the economic consequences of more freedom of movement by persons across countries. According to recent estimates, up to 25 per cent of the world's population lives on less than US\$1 a day. It is a well-known theorem in economic theory that greater freedom of movement (whether in goods or people) increases economic efficiency and world income. In particular, the unhampered movement of persons from low-income to high-income countries could significantly improve the well-being of many persons in the world. Jonathon Moses and Bjørn Letnes examine two specific questions: First, what sort of economic gains

might the world expect to reap by liberalizing world labour markets? And, second, how realistic is the underlying framework used for estimating these gains? The simplest model examined by Moses and Letnes yields the remarkable results that the removal of restrictions on international migration would yield both large-scale migration flows and large-scale economic gains.

Ana María Iregui in Chapter 10 continues the analysis of these important questions by examining a more general economic framework that permits various feedbacks among the economic actors. Chapter 10 computes the worldwide efficiency gains from the elimination of restrictions on labour mobility. A distinctive feature of Iregui's analysis is the introduction of a segmented labour market (i.e. skilled and unskilled labour), which allows for the introduction of non-homogeneous labour. According to Iregui's calculations, the elimination of global restrictions on labour migration generates worldwide efficiency gains ranging from 15 per cent to 67 per cent of world gross domestic product (GDP). Iregui also considers various restrictions on the type of migration that the receiving countries would allow, such as an immigration policy that allows only the migration of skilled workers. Even in this very restrictive case, worldwide efficiency gains would range from 3 per cent to 11 per cent of world GDP.

Part III of the book contains eight case studies that examine immigration and asylum in particular geographic settings. George J. Borjas in Chapter 11 examines the factors that determine economic integration of immigrants in the United States. He stresses that there is an important link between the notion of economic assimilation stressed in studies of the economic consequences of immigration and the cultural issues that are traditionally emphasized in the debate over assimilation in many host countries. In particular, to experience economic assimilation, an immigrant will often have to acquire skills that are valued by employers in the host country, such as learning the language and adopting the norms of the new workplace. Each of these decisions helps weaken the link between the immigrant's foreign past and his or her future in the new country. Borjas also points out that the economic integration experienced by a particular immigrant wave is strongly dependent on historical circumstances. As a result, the historical experience of past waves of immigrants provides little guidance for predicting the future integration prospects of current waves.

Andrés Solimano in Chapter 12 examines the case of international migration in Argentina, a country that during the twentieth century changed from being a net importer to a net exporter of labour. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a large number of Europeans, mostly from Italy and Spain, left their homelands and headed to the shores of Argentina in response to the good economic opportunities, fertile land and hopes for a better future that were to be found there. At the time, Argentina was one of the most vibrant world economies. European migration to Argentina virtually stopped in the 1950s and in the next thirty years or so the country became

a net exporter of professionals who were fleeing economic decline, poor opportunities and authoritarian regimes. Argentinians are still leaving in large numbers, to Spain, Italy and other destinations. This outmigration is associated with the collapse of the country's currency experiment of the 1990s which left a legacy of massive output decline, high unemployment, financial crisis and lost hopes. Solimano investigates the impact of lagging economic growth and modest development performance on the direction of migration flows to and from Argentina. The empirical evidence summarized in his chapter shows that two key factors help explain the pattern of labour flows to and from Argentina: the *per capita* income differential between Argentina and the potential source and destination countries, and the presence of authoritarian regimes.

Philip Martin in Chapter 13 examines the case of Mexico, the country that is now responsible for the largest-volume migration relationship in the world. About 9 million of the 109 million persons born in Mexico have migrated to the United States. Martin examines the expected impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on Mexico–United States migration flows. NAFTA lowered barriers to trade and investment in Canada, Mexico and the United States, and was expected to spur job and wage growth in the three member countries. Most of the benefits of this freer trade were expected to accrue to Mexico, and most of the adjustments to freer trade were also expected there. Virtually all of the available evidence concludes that most of the additional jobs due to NAFTA would be in Mexico. Martin's examination of NAFTA's likely impacts on Mexican migration implies that the flow of Mexicans to the United States, running at about 200,000 settlers and 1–2 million sojourners a year in the early 1990s, would likely increase by 10–30 per cent for five–fifteen years, producing a 'migration hump'. However, Mexico–United States migration should then decline for demographic and economic reasons. Martin's chapter provides a valuable description of the evolution and effects of Mexico–United States migration, and highlights the NAFTA approach to economic integration – namely, free up trade and investment while stepping up efforts to prevent unauthorized migration.

Elizabeth Thomas-Hope in Chapter 14 focuses on migration in the Caribbean region. She stresses that present-day Caribbean societies were largely formed through immigration, both forced migration and free migration. In more recent decades, outmigration from Caribbean countries has played an increasingly important role, with continuing and overlapping episodes of emigration within the wider Caribbean, and also to other regions, notably Europe and North America. The policy concerning most Caribbean irregular migrants is typically based on the needs of the potential destination countries, and typically stresses the perspective that the migrants are economic immigrants. Irregular migration and the issue of asylum from Caribbean countries typically reflect various aspects of poverty and the vast

economic disparities that exist within the region. Thomas-Hope stresses that irregular migration and the question of asylum greatly affect diplomatic relations between Caribbean countries of migration source and destination.

Krøen Blume, Björn Gustafsson, Peder J. Pedersen and Mette Verner in Chapter 15 examine the well-being of immigrants in Denmark and Sweden. They begin by noting that low-skill immigration to the rich Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries has been of increasing importance in recent years. Many of the European OECD countries were open to immigration of people from outside the rich OECD area until the first oil price shock in the mid-1970s. At that time, many countries, including Denmark and Sweden, enacted legislation to stop the flow of guest workers, and these have been in effect since then. Immigrants in these countries have had a difficult time in integrating into the labour market. The chapter uses a comparable panel data set of immigrants in Denmark and Sweden to examine the problem of low income and poverty in the immigrant population. For example, the ratio of the unemployment rates for immigrants and natives hovers around 2–3 in a number of European countries, including Denmark and Sweden, as compared to a ratio of roughly 1.0 for the United States and Canada. Blume *et al.* argue that these differences are the net outcome of differences not only of labour market institutions, but also of immigration policies.

Géraldine Chatelard in Chapter 16 examines the process of migration for Iraqis into Jordan. In 1996, 4 million Iraqis were reported to live abroad, of whom over 600,000 were recognized as refugees. Following a first wave of forced migration during the Iran–Iraq war (1980–88), the majority of Iraqis currently living abroad as refugees or asylum seekers fled their country during the 1991 Gulf War or in the following decade. Most left Iraq in 1991–92, mainly because of two episodes of failed uprising against the regime of Saddam Hussein. In 1991, the Kurds in the Northern provinces and the Shiites in the central area revolted and both uprisings were crushed. Chatelard describes the case of Iraqis who arrived in Jordan in the 1990s as forced migrants, and continued to Western Europe or Australia as asylum migrants. She argues that this pattern in asylum migration cannot be understood without looking at a set of interrelated issues in the countries of *first* reception of the forced migrants: reception standards, the migrants' poor socioeconomic conditions, further violations of their human rights and the functioning of the migrants' social networks and of human smuggling rings.

Claudia Tazreiter in Chapter 17 examines asylum policy in Australia, a country that because of its relative geographic isolation has not experienced the large-scale influxes of asylum seekers seen in many parts of the world. Nevertheless, the Australian government has implemented harsh policy and administrative measures directed at asylum seekers with a substantial measure of public support. In August 2001, for example, an incident involving

433 asylum seekers was branded in popular discourse an 'asylum crisis'. Tazreiter argues that the implications of the Australian response to asylum seekers are significant not only in the Asia/Pacific region, but further afield, as policy responses toward asylum seekers by receiving states have converged in the recent past. The 'security state' remains central in driving the political and social construction of refugees and in particular of asylum seekers as 'irregular' arrivals. In particular, irregular (illegal) arrivals are perceived as a threat to the cohesion of the nation, while also providing a focus for resentment, readily exploited by politicians searching for simplistic ways of communicating about complex social and political problems to their constituents. The issue of people smuggling and the illegal status of arrivals, has caused enormous tension, particularly as this form of entry is perceived as a security threat. In addition, refugee entry causes local anxiety due to the perceived change it causes in the receiver society culturally, and in terms of the resources needed to administer the claims of such entrants.

Catherine Phuong in Chapter 18 examines the impact of accession on the candidate countries' asylum and immigration laws and policies. Phuong examines the ways in which candidate countries are responding to increasing asylum migration from the east and argues that recent changes in asylum and immigration laws in candidate countries have been largely affected by current EU efforts to devise a common immigration policy and a possible common asylum system. Instead of devising their own response to asylum migration, candidate countries are merely aligning their asylum policies with EU practice and expectations. Because of their geographical location, the new member states will be responsible for policing the new eastern border of the EU and receiving asylum seekers travelling from further east.

As this diverse set of chapters illustrates, the debate over poverty, international migration and asylum raises issues of fundamental policy importance, not only for the sending and receiving countries but also for the larger global community. The chapters collected in this book illustrate that a greater understanding of the underlying issues can be attained by systematically applying the thought processes of various disciplines to a common set of questions.

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