

Book Reviews

Western Hemisphere Immigration and United States Foreign Policy. Ed. Christopher Mitchell. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992. Pp. 314.

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United States foreign policymaking has always treated the Western Hemisphere as a special area in which more general immigration rules such as the restrictionist Immigration Act of 1924 or the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 had only limited application. Focusing on the regional political economy of post-1960 inter-American migration, the volume emphasizes the integral roles state action plays in shaping immigration policies. More specifically, the contributions examine the links between United States foreign policy and United States immigration policy toward Central American countries (Lars Schoultz), Mexico (Carlos Rico) and the Caribbean countries—Haiti (Alan Stepick), the Dominican Republic (Christopher Mitchell), Cuba (Jorge J. Dominguez). Thus, in placing the studies in a regional perspective, the authors lift the analysis of immigration policy out of the realm of domestic legislative politics and place it into the realm of international affairs. Yet another added advantage is that the analysis on the regional level remains more specific than global approaches.

Christopher Mitchell outlines an analytical framework of policymaking that introduces the main actors in U.S. foreign policy, such as the executive (president and bureaucracies, e.g., INS and State Department), Congress, mobilized societal pressure groups in the U.S. (important in all cases except the Dominican Republic) and the courts (especially challenging administrative action over asylum policy affecting Central Americans in the 1980s). The collaborators have chosen a time period—post-World War II—in which U.S. influence in world politics expanded and, relatedly, executive power in foreign politics increased. Thus, in many cases presidential power effectively curbed legislative immigration constraints. Nevertheless, for example, societal pressure groups such as the sanctuary movement in the mid-1980s succeeded to work through Congress and thus challenged the differential treatment of refugees from El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The framework that is applied in the rich and well-documented case studies makes similarities and differences between countries clearly visible. For example, in contrast to the

other cases, foreign policy did not play a significant role in shaping Mexican-U.S. immigration relations after 1964, partly due to strong societal domestic U.S. interests. This may partly explain the paradox why the U.S. executive crafted an almost exclusively domestic response—the 1986 Immigration Control and Reform Act (IRCA)—to the highly politicized international issue of undocumented Mexican migration. Also, the clear focus of the analysis allows the authors to trace both how the governments of sending states may have played a part in the outcomes of U.S. immigration policy and how “feedback” effects may have operated. In some instances, U.S. immigration policy eventually came full circle to influence U.S. foreign policy. For example, when the volume of Cuban migration to the United States increased, the topic of migration became more salient in U.S. politics. The Cuban government could force the Reagan Administration into negotiations over the return of the 1980 Mariel refugees. Cuban state actions thus determined the timing of U.S. policy to enter into negotiations.

One of the main findings is that immigration policy in the cases examined did not work well as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy. At times, the ideological and strategic uses led to apparent inconsistencies that also raise ethical issues, discussed in the conclusion. For example, U.S. refugee policy toward Haiti at first proclaimed humanitarian standards when refugees were mostly middle-class professionals but later dropped the same criteria when the social character of the migrants changed.

It is hoped that this first comprehensive examination of the links between foreign and immigration policy will also be fruitfully applied to other regional migration systems. Certainly, not only post-1960 inter-American relations showed a growing tendency for migration to constitute a political theme in the sending and receiving countries.

Immigration and the Work Force. Economic Consequences for the United States and Source Areas. Ed. George J. Borjas and Richard B. Freeman. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992. Pp. 281. \$45.00.

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Immigration and the Work Force is the second National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) project report on the economic effects of immigration, following closely on the heels of the 1991 publication of *Immigration, Trade, and the Labor Market*. Unlike the