

Figure 3.10

Chinese in Southeast Asia. The great majority of Chinese who live in Southeast Asia migrated from southeastern China. © H. J. de Blij, P. O. Muller, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

area and establish the independent state of Israel (the original boundaries of the new state are shown in orange in Fig. 3.11). Following the division of the land between the newly created Israeli state and the state of Palestine, another migration stream began—600,000 Palestinian Arabs fled or were pushed out of Israeli territories. Many sought refuge in neighboring Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere.

Through a series of wars, Israel expanded its area of territorial control (Fig. 3.11) and actively built settlements for new Jewish immigrants in Palestinian territories (Fig. 3.12). Jewish immigrants from the Eurasian region continue to migrate to Israel. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, thousands of Jews who had been unable to practice their religion in the Soviet Union migrated to Israel. Today Israel's population of 7.4 million (including about 1 million Arab citi-

zens) continues to grow through immigration as well as substantial natural increase.

Conflict and War

At the end of World War II, as many as 15 million Germans migrated westward from their homes in Eastern Europe, either voluntarily or because they were forced to leave. Before the East German government built the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain was lowered, several million Germans fled Soviet-controlled East Germany into what was then West Germany. And millions of migrants left Europe altogether to go to the United States (1.8 million), Canada (1.1 million), Australia (1 million), Israel (750,000), Argentina (750,000), Brazil (500,000), Venezuela (500,000), and other countries. As many as 8 million Europeans emigrated from Europe in this postwar stream.

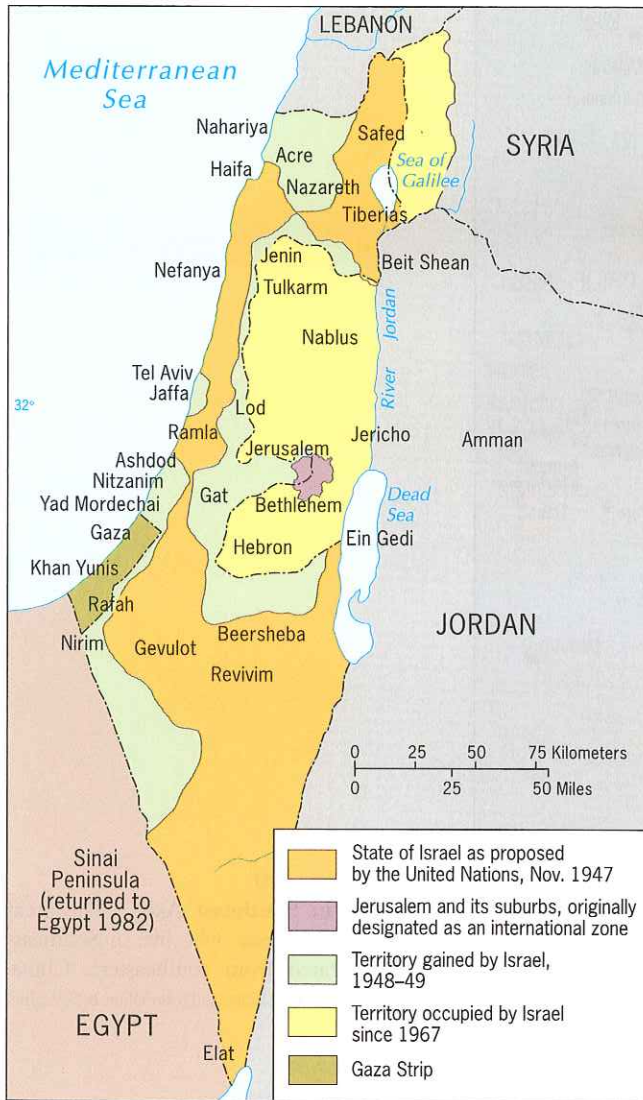


Figure 3.11
Changing Boundaries of Israel. Updated and adapted with permission from: M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, New York: Macmillan, 1974, p. 38.

Even before Cuba became a communist state, thousands of Cuban citizens applied annually for residency in the United States. Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba in 1959. During the 1960s, while the Cuban government was establishing the Communist Party of Cuba and formalizing a communist state, the number of Cuban immigration to the United States swelled. The U.S. government formalized the flow as the Cuban Airlift, an authorized movement of persons desiring to escape from a communist government. The vast majority of Cuban immigrants arrived and remained in the greater Miami area. In southern Florida they developed a core of Hispanic culture, and in 1973, Dade County, Florida declared itself bicultural and bilingual.

In 1980 another massive, organized exodus of Cubans occurred, which brought more than 125,000 Cubans to U.S. shores; the migrants qualified for refugee status under U.S. regulations. The Cuban influx persisted throughout the 1980s, and then in 1994, over 30,000 Cubans fled for the United States. By that point, the Soviet Union had collapsed, and the Soviet Union's financial support for the Cuban government had dwindled. The 1994 exodus pushed diplomats in both the United States and Cuba to come to an agreement on Cuban migration. In 1995, the U.S. government established the wet foot–dry foot policy, which stemmed the flow of Cuban migrants to the United States.

National Migration Flows

National migration flows can also be thought of as internal migration flows. Historically, two of the major migration flows before 1950 occurred internally—that is, within a single country rather than across international borders. In the United States, a massive migration stream carried the center of population west (and more recently also south, as Fig. 3.13 shows). As the American populace migrates westward, it is also shifting from north to south, to reflect migration flows from south to north and back again. After the American Civil War, and gaining momentum during World War I, millions of African Americans migrated north to work in the industrial Northeast and Midwest. This internal migration flow continued during the 1920s, declined during the depression years of the 1930s, and then resumed its upward climb.

In the 1970s, the trend began to reverse itself: African Americans began leaving the North and returning to the South. The reversal had several causes. Although the civil rights movement in the 1960s did not change conditions in the South overnight, it undoubtedly played a role in the reverse migration. Disillusionment with living conditions in the urban North and West, coupled with growing economic opportunities in southern cities, also drew African Americans southward. African Americans who lived in northern cities migrated to southern cities, not to rural areas, as the urban economies of the Sunbelt began to grow.

Russia also experienced a major internal migration, but in Russia, people migrated east, from the heartland of the Russian state (near Moscow and St. Petersburg) to the shores of the Pacific. This eastward migration significantly altered the cultural mosaic of Eurasia, and understanding this migration flow helps us understand the modern map of Eurasia. During the czarist (1800s–1910s) and communist periods (1920s–1980s), Russian and Soviet rulers tried to occupy and consolidate the country's far eastern frontier, moving industries eastward, building railroads and

Field Note

“Just a few miles into the West Bank, not far from Jerusalem, the expanding Israeli presence could not be missed. New settlements dot the landscape—often occupying strategic sites that are also easily defensible. These “facts on the ground” will certainly complicate the effort to carve out a

stable territorial order in this much-contested region. That, of course, is the goal of the settlers and their supporters, but it is salt on the wound for those who contest the Israeli right to be there in the first place.”



Figure 3.12
 Jerusalem, Israel. © Alexander B. Murphy.



Figure 3.13
 Changing Center of Population.
 Data from: United States Census Bureau,
 Statistical Abstract, 2001.

feeder lines, and establishing Vladivostok on the Pacific Coast as one of the world's best equipped naval bases. As Russia and then the Soviet Union expanded outward and to the east, the country incorporated numerous ethnic minorities into the country.

During the communist period, the Soviet government also employed a policy of Russification, which sought to assimilate all the people in the Soviet territory into the Russian culture. One way the Soviets pushed for Russification was by encouraging people of Russian heritage to move out of Moscow and St. Petersburg and fill in the country. By 1980, as many as 30 million Russians had moved out toward the borders. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, some people moved back to their original homelands, but the map will long carry the impact of Russia's eastward expansion.

Mexico offers a more recent example of internal migration. As many as 1 million Mexicans successfully cross into the United States each year, both legally and illegally. Many Mexicans emigrate from the northern areas of Mexico into the southern areas of the United States. In the northern Mexican State of Zacatecas, an estimated one out of every two people is currently living in the United States. As a result, the northern areas of Mexico are experiencing a labor shortage. In response, Mexican workers from areas farther south in the country are migrating northward to fill the labor shortage, especially in Mexico's agricultural sector. Many Mexicans migrating north within the country are Huichol Indians, one of Mexico's indigenous populations. Ironically, the Huichol in northern Mexico are experiencing the same kind of substandard living conditions, lack of acceptance by locals, and exploitation by employers that the Mexicans from the north are experiencing in the United States.

Guest Workers

The countries of Europe that were major participants in World War II lost many young men in this long conflict. After the war, European countries, rebuilding their economies with the help of the U.S.-sponsored Marshall Plan, found themselves in need of laborers. Two flows of migration into Western European countries began: first within the European region, as workers from poorer European countries and regions migrated to economically growing areas, and second from outside of Europe, as millions of foreign workers immigrated from North Africa (the majority to France) and Turkey (mostly to Germany) as well as from the Caribbean region, India, and Africa (many to the United Kingdom).

Western European governments called the labor migrants **guest workers**. The laws allowing guest workers into Europe assumed the workers would fill the void left by those who died during World War II, and then they would return to their home countries. Instead, the guest workers stayed—both because they wanted to and because they were needed. Two to three generations of Turks have now been born in Germany—making them far more than “guests.” The German government, which had for decades defined German citizens as those of German descent, only recently allowed Turks to become citizens of the country.

Not only in Germany, but in countries around the world, millions of guest workers live outside of their home country and send remittances from their jobs home. Guest workers often work as agricultural laborers or in service industries (hotels, restaurants, tourist attractions). The home states of these workers are fully aware that their citizens have visas and are working abroad. In many instances, the economies of the home countries come to rely on the remittances, and the home governments work with destination countries and with the international labor organization to protect the rights of the guest workers.

Despite the legal status of guest workers and the work of governments and international organizations to protect them, many employers abuse them because many guest workers are unaware of their rights. Long hours and low pay are common, but guest workers continue to work because the money is better than they would ordinarily receive and because they are supporting families at home.

When the need for labor declines, destination governments can squeeze out guest workers. Nigeria, as noted earlier, did exactly that in the early 1980s when the Nigerian government sent foreign workers from other areas of West Africa home, often by force. Similarly, the government of the home country can pull out its guest workers, bringing them home when conditions in the destination region become perilous. For example, over 30,000 Indonesians were working in the Middle East before the 2003 Iraq War; the Indonesian government decided to pull its workers home just before the war began.

Guest workers are legal (documented) migrants who have work visas, usually short term; often the destination governments extend the visas if certain sectors of the economy still need laborers. Whether short or long term, the international flow of guest workers changes the ethnic, linguistic, and religious mosaic of the places where they go. In Europe, for example, guest workers from Turkey, North Africa, South Asia, and other former colonial holdings have altered the cultural landscape of the region. New temples, mosques, restaurants, grocery stores, shops, and service industries geared toward migrants have taken root in Europe's cultural landscape.

Refugees

You may have seen a story on the televised news showing thousands upon thousands of poor people fleeing a crisis in their home region or country by walking. They put their few earthly possessions and their babies on their backs and walk. They walk to another town. They walk beyond their country's border. They walk to a refugee camp without adequate food, water, or amenities. International agencies attempt desperate relief efforts while disease spreads, dooming infants and children and emaciating adults. As they walk, they remember all they are leaving behind—the only life they have known. But in the midst of war and persecution, it is too hard to hold onto this life. So, they walk.

The world's refugee population has grown steadily since the 1951 establishment of the Refugee Convention, which established an international law specifying who is a refugee and what legal rights they have. The main goal of the 1951 Refugee Convention was to help European refugees following the end of World War II. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) helped to repatriate (return to their homeland) most of the refugees from World War II.

In 1970, the United Nations reported 2.9 million persons were refugees; the majority were Palestinian Arabs dislocated by the creation of the state of Israel and the armed conflicts that followed. In 1980, the refugee total had nearly tripled, to over 8 million. In 2007, the UNHCR reported 11.4 million refugees (not counting Palestinian refugees in Jordan and Syria), forced from their homes and across country borders.

The United Nations agency that monitors the refugee problem is the key organization supporting refugees. It organizes and funds international relief efforts and negotiates with governments and regimes on behalf of the refugees. But UNHCR is not alone in tracking this global problem; other offices often contradict UNHCR's data, arguing that the situation, especially for IDPs, is even worse than the United Nations suggests.

The 1951 Refugee Convention defines a **refugee** as “a person who has a wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” Countries interpret this definition in different ways, especially since the phrase “wellfounded” leaves much room for judgment.

Perhaps the biggest problem with the UN definition has to do with **internally displaced persons** (called IDPs, sometimes called internal refugees). Internally displaced persons are people who have been displaced within their own countries (such as the victims of Hurricane Katrina), but they do not cross international borders as they flee. IDPs tend to remain undercounted

(if not almost invisible). In 2007, UNHCR estimated that 26 million people (in addition to the 11.4 million official refugees) are IDPs—forced to abandon their homes. The United Nations and international law distinguish between *refugees*, who have crossed one or more international borders during their move and encamped in a country other than their own, and *internally displaced persons*, who abandon their homes but remain in their own countries.

Because the status of a refugee is internationally defined and recognized and comes with legal rights, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and states in the world must distinguish between refugees and migrants who may be just as poor or desperate but who do not qualify for refugee status. When a refugee meets the official criteria, he or she becomes eligible for assistance, including possible **asylum** (the right to protection in the first country in which the refugee arrives), to which other migrants are not entitled. Such assistance can extend over decades and become the very basis for a way of life, as has happened in the Middle East. In Jordan, Palestinian refugees have become so integrated into the host country's national life that they are regarded as permanent refugees, but in Lebanon other Palestinians wait in refugee camps for resettlement and still qualify as temporary refugees.

The United Nations helps ensure that refugees and internally displaced persons are not forcibly returned to a homeland where persecution is still continuing. Once the violence subsides in a place and the conditions improve, the UNHCR helps return refugees to their homelands, a process called **repatriation**.

In the 1990s, hostilities broke out between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups in Rwanda that led to a genocide that killed hundreds of thousands and a disastrous exodus of more than one million refugees who fled to neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo (then called Zaire), Tanzania, and Uganda. The Tutsi–Hutu strife in Rwanda spread to neighboring Burundi and dislocated tens of thousands. After the civil war in Rwanda calmed down in 1996, the UNHCR and the World Health Organization watched and aided as 500,000 Rwandans returned from across the border in The Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire) (Fig. 3.14).

Regions of Dislocation

The refugee situation changes frequently as some refugees return home, conditions permitting, and as other, new streams suddenly form. Yet we can make certain generalizations about the overall geography of refugees. In the early twenty-first century, Subsaharan Africa had the largest number of refugees in the world as well as the greatest potential for new refugee flows.



Figure 3.14
Zaire-Rwanda border region. Hundreds of thousands of mainly Hutu refugees stream out of a refugee camp in eastern Zaire, heading home to Rwanda in November 1996.
© AP/Wide World Photos.

The second-ranking geographic realm in terms of refugee numbers was Southwest Asia and North Africa, the realm that includes the Middle East, Iraq, and Afghanistan. South Asia, as a result of Pakistan's proximity to Afghanistan, ranked third (Fig. 3.15).

Most refugees move without any more tangible property than they can carry with them. When the United States and its allies began their retaliatory bombing in Afghanistan following the terrorist attack on New York and Washington in September 2001, tens of thousands of Afghan refugees climbed across mountain passes to reach the relative safety of Pakistan, unable to bring any but the barest personal belongings. Most refugees make their first "step" on foot, by bicycle, wagon, or open boat. Refugees are suddenly displaced, limiting their options, and most have few resources to invest in their journey. As a result,

the vast majority of the world's refugees come from relatively poor countries and travel to neighboring countries that are equally poor. The impact of refugee flows is certainly felt most in the poorest countries of the world.

Africa

Africa's people are severely afflicted by dislocation—and not just in terms of the 8 million "official" refugees accounted for by international relief agencies. Many millions more are internally displaced persons. Of all regions in the world, Sub-Saharan Africa is most impacted by migration because the majority of the world's migration flows are refugees, and the majority of refugees are in Sub-Saharan Africa. Add to that the extreme poverty and devastation of disease in many parts of Sub-Saharan

Africa, and each day is a humanitarian crisis in parts of the region.

During the last decade of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first, several of the world's largest refugee crises occurred in Sub-Saharan Africa. In West Africa, civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone sent columns of hundreds of thousands of refugees streaming into Guinea and Ivory Coast; in 1997, the UNHCR reported more than 1.5 million refugees in this small corner of Africa. And Angola, strife-torn ever since the days of the Cold War, still has well over 1 million internally displaced persons (some estimates put the total nearer 2 million).

Sudan, which has been in a civil war for two decades, is the site of the worst refugee crisis in Africa today. The conflict in Sudan is between the north, which is largely Arab and Muslim, and the south, which is majority black African and Christian or animist (a follower of a traditional religion). Sudan, a country drawn by European colonialism, is home to traditional religions in the south, Christianity brought by Western missionaries in the south, and Islam brought by North African traders in the north.

Intensifying the struggle between the north and the south was the decision by the Muslim-dominated regime in Khartoum to impose Islam's Shari'a religious laws (a judicial code based on the Koran, Islam's holy book) on the entire country. Shari'a laws, especially the criminal code, are harsh (prescribing, for example, the amputation of hands or limbs for theft). In the south, where people are ethnically and culturally different from those in the north, and where Christianity and traditional religions are stronger, that action eliminated any prospect of a compromise.

The war in Sudan has caused immense damage—over 2.2 million people have died in the fighting or have starved as a result of the war. More than 5 million people have been displaced, with over 1.6 million in neighboring Uganda alone. Both sides of the Sudanese civil war have interfered with the efforts of international agencies to help the refugees.

After the north-south civil war began to calm down, the conflict in Sudan moved to the Darfur region in the northwestern part of Sudan. The entire north of Sudan is largely Muslim, but only two-thirds of the northerners speak Arabic as their native language. The other one-third are Muslim but are not ethnically Arab. The non-Arab Muslims are part of at least 30 different ethnic groups in the Darfur region of western Sudan. The Arab Muslim government (located in the north) began a campaign of genocide early in this century against the non-Arab Muslims in Darfur. The government of Sudan funds the militia known as the Janjaweed. The Janjaweed is waging a genocide campaign against the non-Arab, Muslim, darker-skinned Africans in Darfur—a campaign

that includes killing over 400,000, raping women and girls, taking lands and homes from Africans, and displacing 2.5 million people (Fig. 3.16).

The U.S. government and the United Nations Security Council are calling the government's actions in Darfur **genocide** (defined in 1948 by the Convention on Genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group"). The international community is trying to negotiate an end to the government-backed campaign in Darfur at the same time that a peace accord between the north and south is close at hand.

The long-lasting refugee crisis in Sudan helps us understand the complexity of political conflict and migration flows in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Muslim against Muslim conflict in Darfur demonstrates that political conflict is not just religious—it is also ethnic and political.

Mixed into this extremely local conflict are regional and global-scale debates about what to do. Regionally, the African Union, an organization committed to finding African solutions to African problems, has committed Nigerian and Rwandan troops to Darfur to try to solve the crisis. The African Union is supported with American and European monies and military strategizing. At the global scale, the United Nations Security Council met in Kenya in 2004 trying to find a solution and eventually passed a resolution condemning the Sudanese government and threatening punitive damages against the government for their actions in Darfur. Two members of the Security Council, China and Pakistan, abstained from the vote because each of these countries relies on oil imports from Sudan. Under international pressure in 2008, China began to pressure the Sudanese government to end the violence in Darfur, but the Chinese government also refuses to recognize the Janja weed's relationship with the Sudanese government.

North Africa and Southwest Asia

This geographic region, extending from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, contains some of the world's longest-lasting and most deeply entrenched refugee problems. A particularly significant set of refugee problems center on Israel and the displaced Arab populations that surround it. Decades of United Nations subventions have more or less stabilized this situation, but many refugees are still in camps.

The Gulf War of 1991 and the current war in Iraq have generated millions of refugees in the region in the last 20 years. In 1991, in the aftermath of the Gulf War that followed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, a significant percentage of the Kurdish population of northern Iraq, threatened by the surviving military apparatus and under Baghdad's control, abandoned their villages and towns

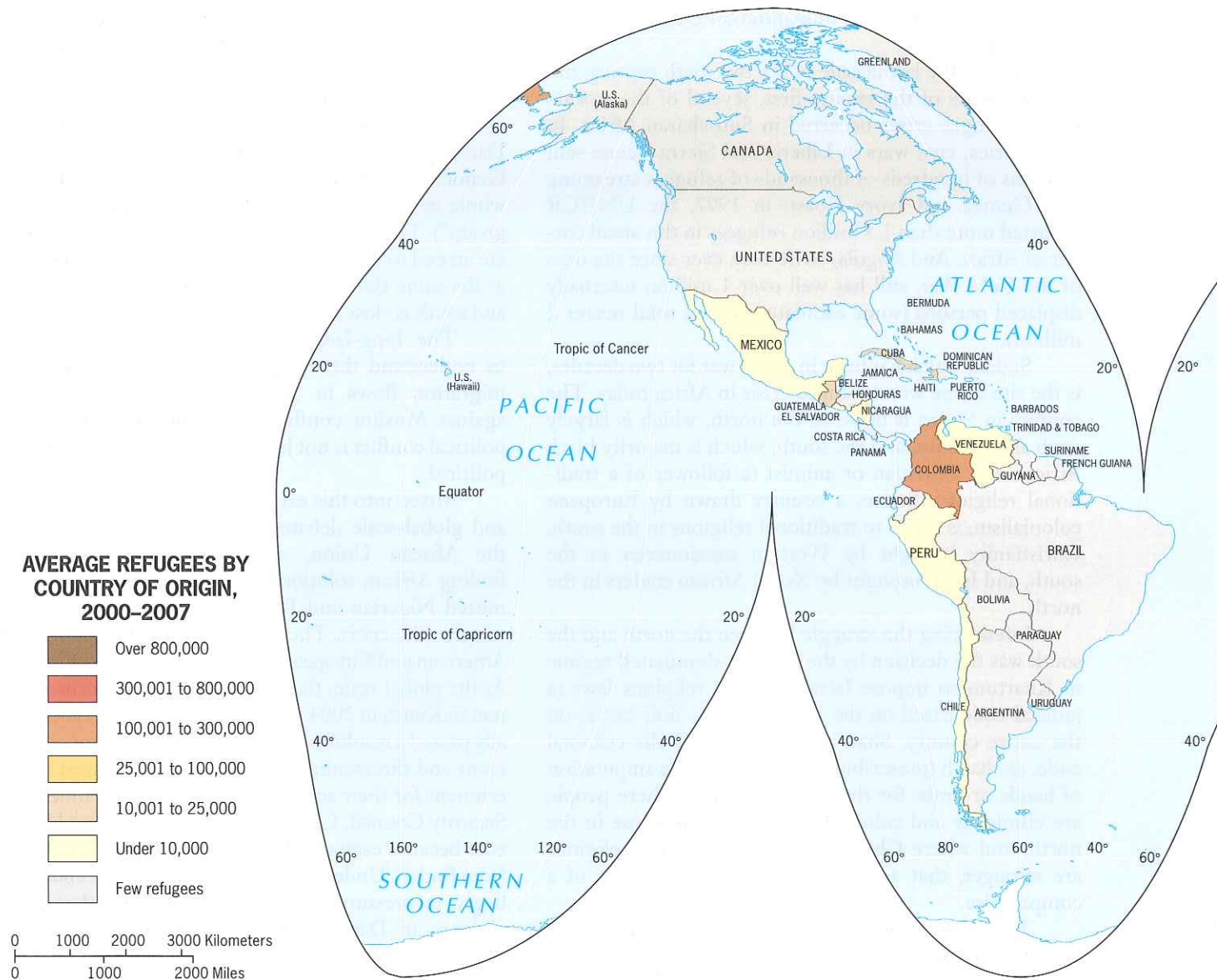


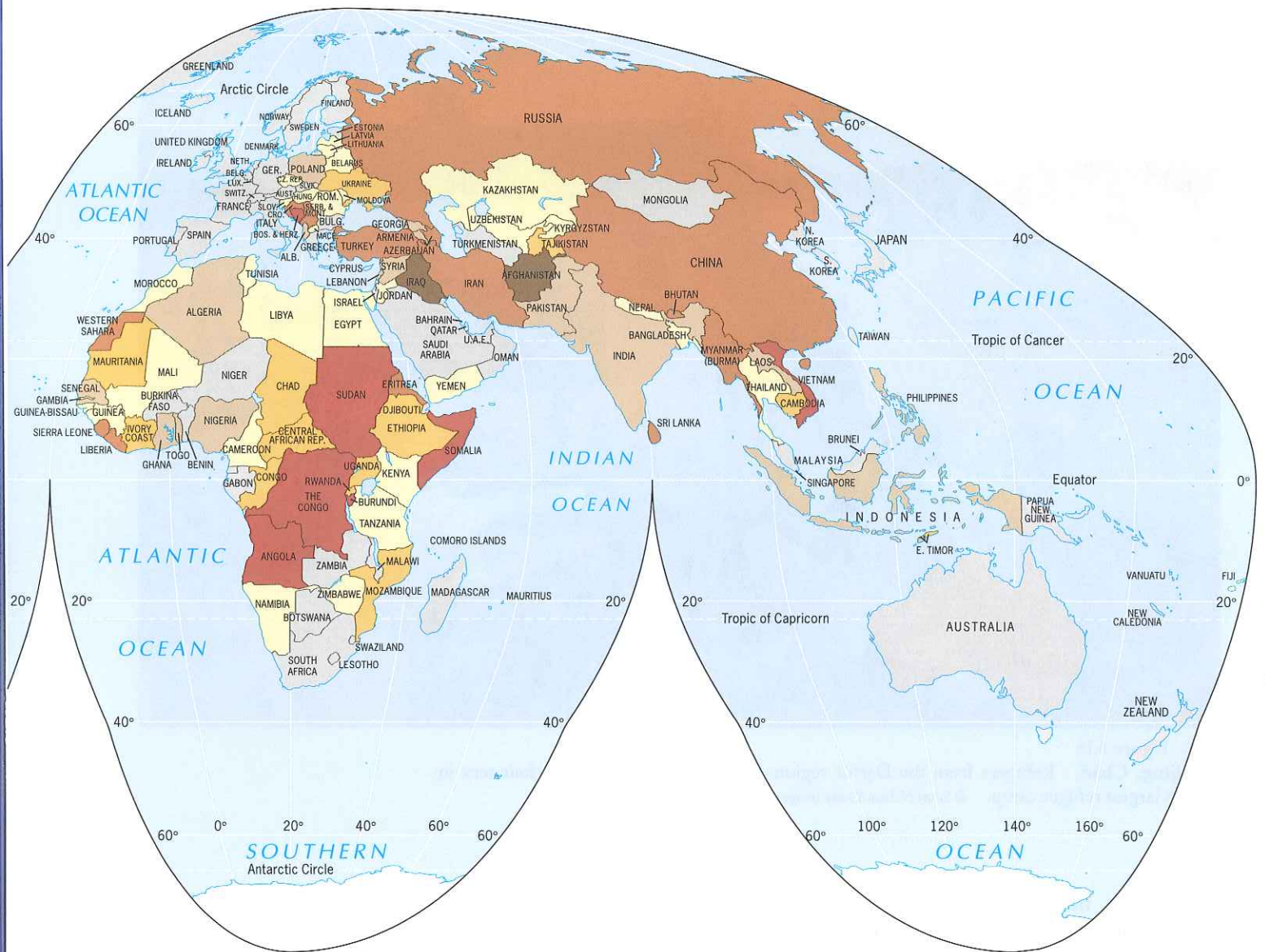
Figure 3.15

Average Refugee Population between 2000 and 2007 by Country of Origin. Data from: World Health Organization, Global Health Atlas, 2008.

and streamed toward and across the Turkish and Iranian borders. The refugee movement of Iraq's Kurds involved as many as 2.5 million people and riveted world attention to the plight of people who are condemned to such status through the actions of others. It led the United States and its allies to create a secure zone for Kurds in northern Iraq in the hope of persuading displaced Kurds in Turkey and Iran to return to their country. But this effort was only partially successful. The Kurdish people of Iraq were severely dislocated by the events surrounding the Gulf War; as Figure 3.14 shows, many remain refugees in Turkey as well as Iran. The current war in Iraq has gener-

ated upwards of 2 million refugees, most of whom are living in neighboring Syria and Jordan.

During the 1980s, Afghanistan was caught in the Soviets' last imperialist campaign and paid an enormous price for it. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979, in support of a puppet regime, as well as Afghan resistance, generated a double migration stream that carried millions westward into Iran and eastward into Pakistan. At the height of the exodus, 2.5 million Afghans were estimated to be living in camps in Iran, and some 3.7 million gathered in tent camps in Pakistan's northwestern province and in southern Baluchistan. The Soviet invasion



seemed destined to succeed quickly, but the Russian generals underestimated the strength of Afghan opposition. U.S. support for the Muslim forces in the form of weapons supplies helped produce a stalemate and eventual Soviet withdrawal, but this was followed by a power struggle among Afghan factions. As a result, most of the more than 6 million refugees in Iran and Pakistan—about one-quarter of the country's population—stayed where they were.

In 1996, the Taliban, an Islamic Fundamentalist movement that began in northwest Pakistan, emerged in Afghanistan and took control of most of the country, imposing strict Islamic rule and suppressing the factional

conflicts that had prevailed since the Soviet withdrawal. Although several hundred thousand refugees moved back to Afghanistan from Pakistan, the harsh Taliban rule created a countermigration and led to further refugee movement into neighboring Iran, where their number reached 2.5 million. Eventually, Afghanistan became a base for anti-Western terrorist operations, which reached a climax in the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001. Even before the inevitable military retaliation began, and despite efforts by both Pakistan and Iran to close their borders, tens of thousands of Afghan refugees flooded across, intensifying a refugee crisis that is now nearly a quarter-century old.

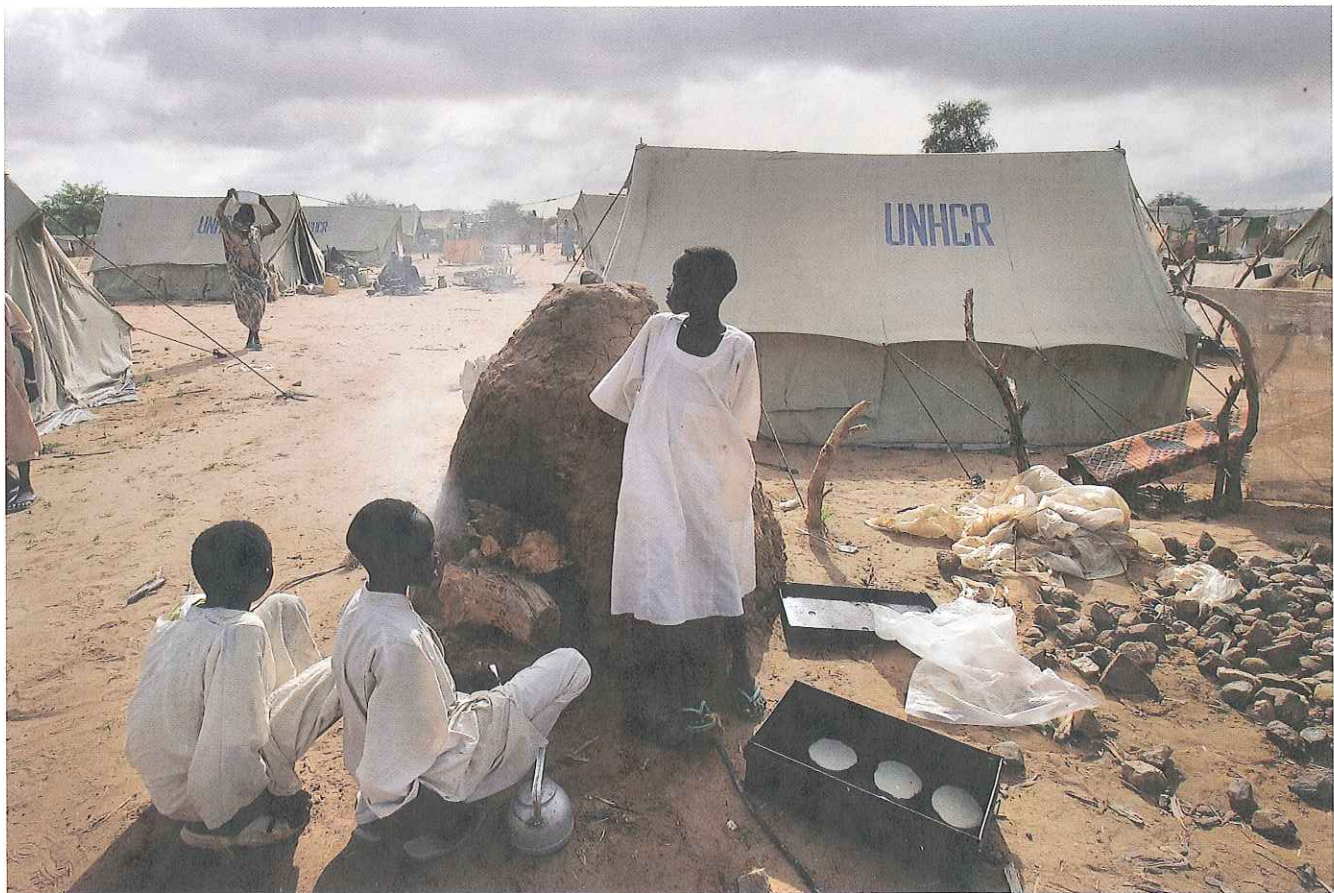


Figure 3.16
Bredjing, Chad. Refugees from the Darfur region of Sudan bake bread near their tent in Chad's largest refugee camp. © Scott Nelson/Getty Images.

Amidst the crises in Israel/Palestine, Iraq, and Afghanistan, nearly every country in Southwest Asia is currently experiencing the impact of refugees.

South Asia

In terms of refugee numbers, South Asia is the third-ranking geographic realm, mainly because of Pakistan's role in accommodating Afghanistan's forced emigrants. During the Soviet intrusion in the 1980s, the UNHCR counted more than 3 million refugees; during the 1990s, the total averaged between 1.2 and 1.5 million. That number rose when Allied retaliation against terrorist bases began in October 2001. Today, Afghanistan has an enormous refugee crisis with 3 million refugees living outside of Afghanistan, mostly in Pakistan and Iran.

The other major refugee problem in South Asia stems from a civil war in Sri Lanka. This conflict, arising from demands by minority Tamils for an independent state on the Sinhalese-dominated and -controlled island, has cost tens of thousands of lives and has severely

damaged the economy. The United Nations reports about 200,000 are now internally displaced.

Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia is a reminder that refugee problems can change quickly. Indochina was the scene of one of the twentieth century's most desperate refugee crises—the stream of between 1 and 2 million people who fled Vietnam in the aftermath of the long war that ended in 1975. In the early 1990s, it was Cambodia that produced an exodus of 300,000 refugees escaping from their country's seemingly endless cycle of violence, ending up in refugee camps on the Thailand side of the border. Today, the largest refugee camps in this realm are internal refugees in Myanmar (formerly Burma), victims of the 2004 tsunami, the 2008 cyclone, and the repressive rule of the generals who are seeking to subjugate the country's minorities. But as the UNHCR states, that figure is an estimate only; information from Myanmar's closed society is difficult to secure.

Europe

In the 1990s, the collapse of Yugoslavia and its associated conflicts created the largest refugee crisis in Europe since the end of World War II. In 1995, the UNHCR reported the staggering total of 6,056,600 refugees, a number that some observers felt was inflated by the Europeans' unusually liberal interpretations of the United Nations' rules for refugee recognition. Nevertheless, even after the cessation of armed conflict and the implementation of a peace agreement known as the Dayton Accords, the UNHCR still reports as many as 1.6 million internal refugees in the area—people dislocated and unable to return to their homes.

Other Regions

The number of refugees and internally displaced persons in other geographic realms is much smaller. In the Western Hemisphere, only Colombia has a serious internally displaced person problem, numbering between 2 and 3 million people, caused by the country's chronic instability associated with its struggle against narcotics. Large areas of Colombia's countryside are vulnerable to armed attack by "narcoterrorists" and paramilitary units; these rural areas are essentially beyond government control, and thousands of villagers have died in the crossfire. Hundreds of thousands more have left their homes to seek protection.

People who abandon their familiar surroundings because conditions have become unlivable perform an ultimate act of desperation. In the process, the habits of civilization vanish as survival becomes the sole imperative. The Earth's refugee and internally displaced person populations are a barometer of the world's future.



Imagine you are from an extremely poor country, and you earn less than \$1 a day. Choose a country to be from, and look for it on a map. Assume you are a voluntarily migrant. You look at your access to transportation and the opportunities you have to go elsewhere. Be realistic, and describe how you determine where you will go, how you get there, and what you do once you get there.

HOW DO GOVERNMENTS AFFECT MIGRATION?

The control of immigration, legal and illegal, the granting of asylum to asylum-seeking refugees, and the fate of cross-border refugees, permanent and temporary, have become hot issues around the world. In Europe,

right-wing political parties whip up anti-immigrant sentiment. In California, the state government demands federal monies to provide services for hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants; if the federal government cannot control its borders, they argue, states should not have to foot the bill. In Cuba, the Castro regime has used migration as a threat: in August 1994, Castro threatened to open Cuba's doors to a flood of emigrants who would invariably all flee to the United States. And in the United States, the federal government faced reproach for preventing tens of thousands of Haitians from entering Florida and millions of Mexicans from illegally crossing into the United States.

Efforts to restrict migrations are nothing new. Media coverage, political debates, and political wrangling only make it seem so. In the fourteenth century, China built the Great Wall in part as a defensive measure but also as a barrier to emigration (by Chinese beyond the sphere of their authorities) and immigration (mainly by Mongol "barbarians" from the northern plains). The Berlin Wall, the Korean DMZ (demilitarized zone), the fences along the Rio Grande—all are evidence of the desire of governments to control the movement of people across their borders.

Legal Restrictions

Typically, the obstacles placed in the way of potential immigrants are legal, not physical. Restrictive legislation appeared in the United States in 1882, when Congress approved the Oriental Exclusion Acts (1882–1907). Congress designed these **immigration laws** to prevent the immigration of Chinese people to California. In 1901, the Australian government approved the Immigration Restriction Act, which ended all nonwhite immigration into the newly united country. In particular, the Australian government was targeting Japanese, Chinese, and South Asian immigrants. The act also prohibited immigration by South Pacific Islanders who worked on Australia's large sugar plantations. The Australian government furthered action against the plantation workers (the Kanakas) by deporting the South Pacific Islanders by the end of 1906. These immigration policies created what is known as the *White Australia Policy*, which remained in effect until modification in 1972 and again in 1979.

Waves of Immigration in the United States

Changes in a country's migration policies are reflected in the number of people entering the country and the origin of the immigrants (see Fig. 3.17). The United States experienced two major waves of immigration before 1930 and

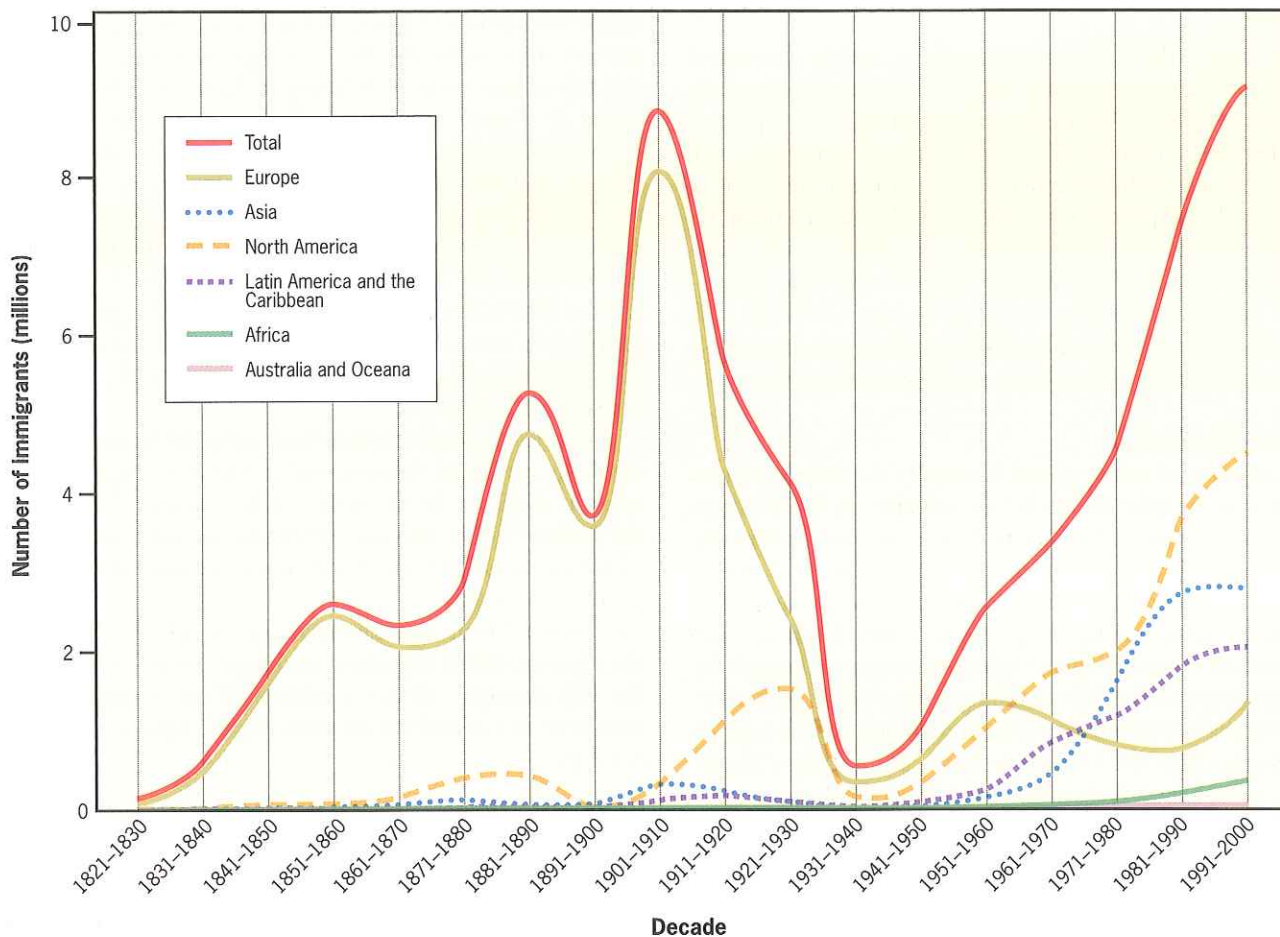


Figure 3.17
Immigration to the United States by Region, 1820 to 2001. Data from: United States Census Bureau, 2002.

is in the midst of another great wave of immigration today. Major changes in the government's migration policies are reflected in this graph. Push factors are also reflected in Figure 3.17, as people in different regions found reasons to leave their home and migrate to the United States.

During the 1800s, the United States opened its doors to immigration, and most of the immigrants arrived from Europe, especially Northern Europe (Scandinavia) and Western Europe (including Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, and France). In the later part of the 1800s, a greater proportion of Europeans who immigrated to the United States came from Southern and Eastern Europe (including Italy, Spain, Portugal, Russia, and Poland).

Following World War I, political tides in the United States turned toward *isolationism*—staying

out of entanglements abroad. In addition, Congress feared growing migration from Eastern and Southern Europe. Many whites in the United States at the time saw migrants hites from Eastern and Southern Europe as darker skinned and as an inferior race of whites. In this context, Congress passed restrictive legislation in 1921, deterring immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. Congress set immigration **quotas**, whereby each year, European countries could permit the emigration to the United States of 3 percent of the number of its nationals living in the United States in 1910. In 1910, the greatest proportion of immigrants in the United States came from Northern and Western Europe, thus the quotas allowed migration from Northern and Western Europe and severely restricted

immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe (Fig. 3.17).

In 1924, Congress altered the Immigration Act by lowering the quota to 2 percent and making 1890 the base year, further reducing the annual total to 150,000 immigrants and further discouraging Eastern and Southern European migration.

The rapid fall in total immigration to the United States is clear in Figure 3.17. Just prior to the Great Depression, Congress passed the National Origins Law in 1929, whereby Congress continued to limit immigration to 150,000 per year. Congress also tied immigration quotas to the national origins of the U.S. population in 1920. As a result of this provision, Congress in effect prevented the immigration of Asians. With these laws in effect and the Great Depression in full swing, immigration slowed to a trickle during the 1930s, and in some years emigration actually exceeded immigration in the United States.

After 1940, Congress modified the restrictions on immigration to the United States. In 1943, Congress gave China equal status to that of European countries, and in 1952 granted Japan a similar status. In 1952, immigration began to rise again (Fig. 3.17) after Congress passed a new Immigration and Nationality Act. Congress designed the act to incorporate all preceding legislation, establishing quotas for all countries and limiting total immigration to 160,000. However, far more than 160,000 immigrants entered the country as refugees, thereby filling quotas for years ahead. Estimates vary, but more than 7 million immigrants may have entered the United States as refugees between 1945 and 1970.

By 1965, Congress recognized the 1952 act as a failure and abolished the quota system. Congress set new limits, which are also reflected in Figure 3.17. The United States allowed 170,000 immigrants per year from countries outside of the Western Hemisphere and 120,000 from countries in the Americas. Refugee policies and guest worker policies over the last three decades allowed many more immigrants than these limitations.

The United States and Australia are not the only countries that have restricted immigration. Many countries practice **selective immigration**, in which individuals with certain backgrounds (criminal records, poor health, subversive activities) are barred from entering.

Other countries have specific requirements. For example, South Africa long demanded “pure” European descent; New Zealand favored persons of British birth and parentage; Australia’s assisted passage program favored immigrants from Britain, the Netherlands, Malta, and Italy; Brazil preferred people with a farming background; and Singapore courts financially secure persons of Chinese ancestry. Today South American countries place limits on the number of immigrants who may

cross their borders, and several countries are instituting quota systems.

Post-September 11

Since September 11, 2001, government immigration policies have incorporated security concerns. Prior to that date, the U.S. border patrol was concerned primarily with drug trafficking and human smuggling. The new government policies affect asylum-seekers, illegal immigrants, and legal immigrants.

Immediately after September 11, the George W. Bush administration cracked down on asylum-seekers. The U.S. government marked 33 countries as countries where al-Qaeda or other terrorist groups operate, and the government automatically detained anyone from one of these 3 countries who enters the United States looking for asylum (Fig. 3.18).

New government policies also affect illegal immigrants. The Justice Department currently has a policy that allows it to detain any illegal immigrant, even if the person has no known ties to terrorist organizations. This policy stems from the department’s concern that terrorists may use Haiti as a “staging point.” The idea behind this law is that terrorists could travel to Haiti temporarily and then illegally migrate from Haiti to the United States to commit terrorist attacks. Similarly, the government fence-building along the United States–Mexican border (discussed at the beginning of this chapter) is a response in part to the concern that terrorists will use Mexico as a staging ground to immigrate illegally and commit terrorist attacks.

In addition to focusing on asylum-seekers and illegal immigration, the post-September 11 world is concerned with legal immigration. The 9/11 Commission Report, released in 2004, discusses the issue of terrorists using fabricated or altered papers to migrate to the United States. The 9/11 terrorists entered the United States using visas. The Commission reported that the Federal Aviation Administration flagged more than half of the 9/11 hijackers with the profiling system they had in place. However, the policy at the time was to check the bags of those flagged, not the people themselves. The Commission explains, “For terrorists, travel documents are as important as weapons,” and it recommends stepping up inspections and questioning at travel checkpoints, to see these checkpoints as “a chance to establish that people are who they say they are and are seeking access for their stated purpose, to intercept identifiable suspects, and to take effective action.”

People and organizations opposed to the post-September 11 policies counter that raising fences and detaining people will not combat terrorism; rather, it will

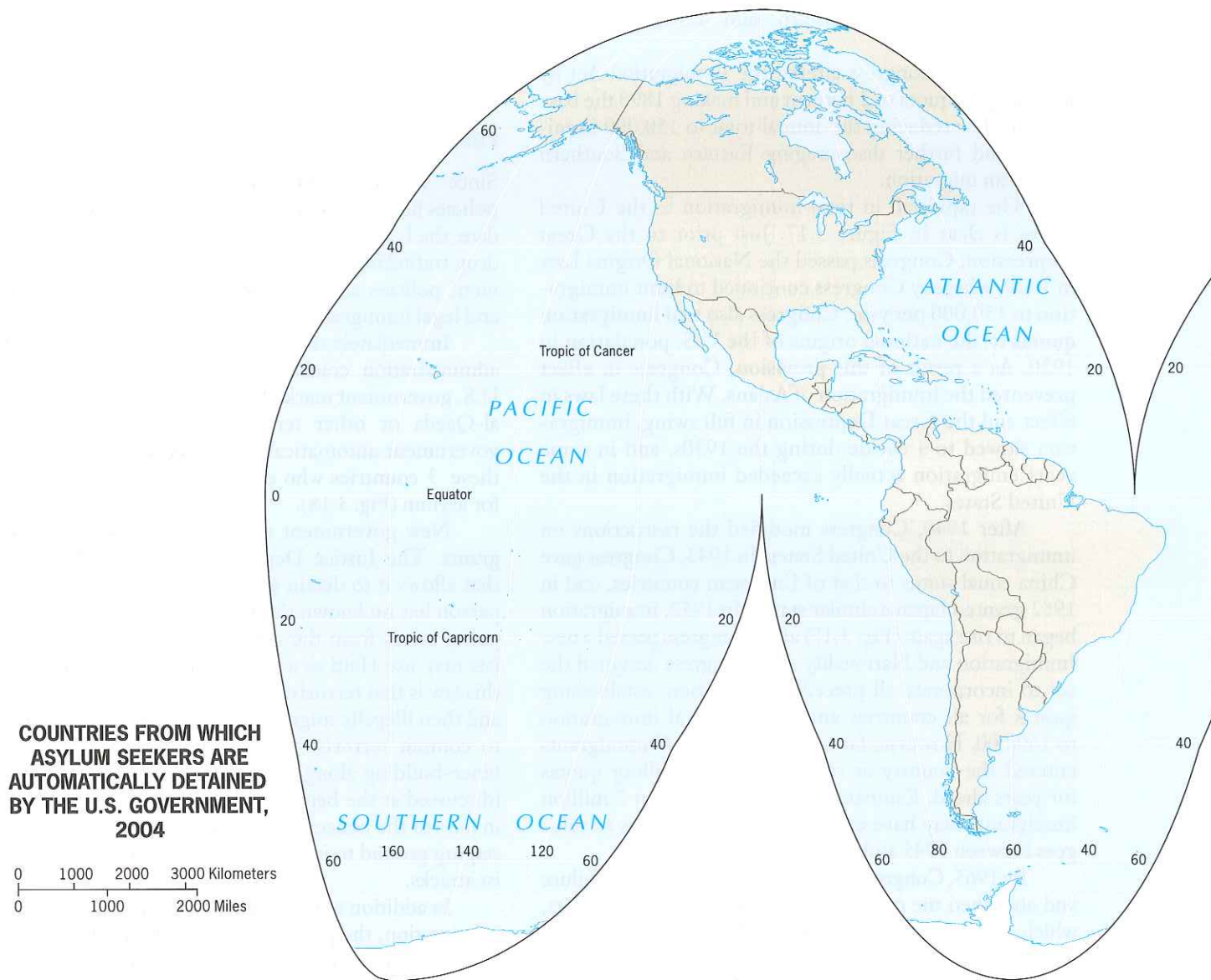


Figure 3.18

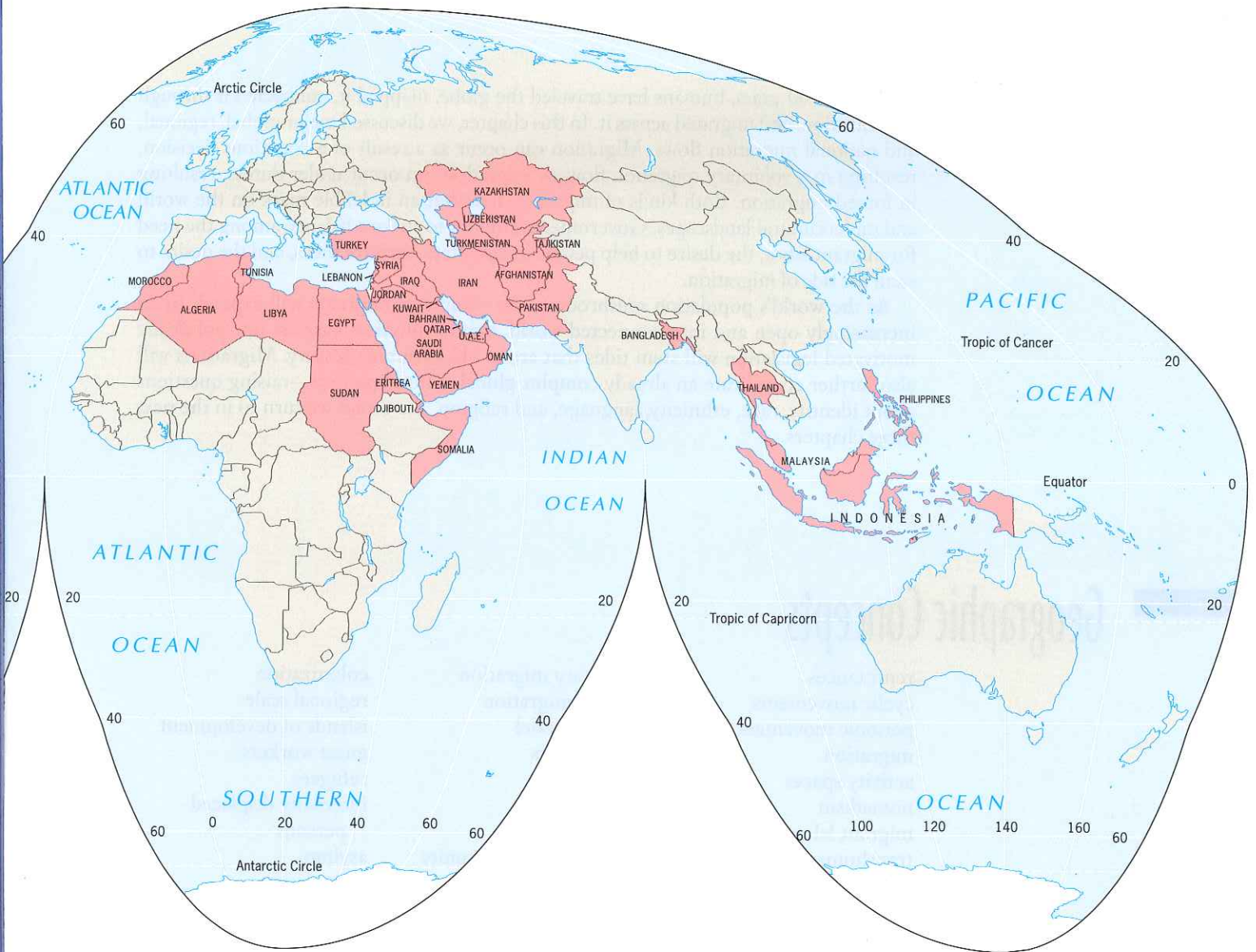
Countries from which Asylum Seekers to the United States are Automatically Detained.

Data from: National Immigration Law Center, <http://www.nilc.org/immlawpolicy/arrestdet/ad064.htm>, last accessed June 2005.

intensify hatred of the U.S. government, thus promoting terrorism. Organizations such as Human Rights First, Amnesty International, and the Migration Policy Institute claim that the new government crackdowns have violated civil liberties and have done nothing to make Americans safer. Others opposed to the new border regulations argue the crackdown has only slowed traffic and the flow of

business and tourism, and has utterly failed to slow illegal immigration, which along the United States-Mexico border is up from last year.

Regardless of which side of this debate you choose, we can all agree that concern about migration will continue to shape security policy in the United States, Europe, and beyond in the decades to come.



One goal of international organizations involved in aiding refugees is repatriation—return of the refugees to their

home countries once the threat against them has passed. Take the example of Sudanese refugees. Think about how their land and their lives have changed since they became refugees. You are assigned the daunting task of repatriating Sudanese from Uganda once a peace solution is reached. What steps would you have to take to re-discover a home for these refugees?

Summary

In the last 500 years, humans have traveled the globe, mapped it, connected it through globalization, and migrated across it. In this chapter, we discussed major global, regional, and national migration flows. Migration can occur as a result of a conscious decision, resulting in a voluntary migration flow, or migration can occur under duress, resulting in forced migration. Both kinds of migration have left an indelible mark on the world and on its cultural landscapes. Governments attempt to strike a balance among the need for migrant labor, the desire to help people in desperate circumstances, and the desire to stem the tide of migration.

As the world's population mushrooms, the volume of migrants will expand. In an increasingly open and interconnected world, neither physical barriers nor politically motivated legislation will stem tides that are as old as human history. Migrations will also further complicate an already complex global cultural pattern—raising questions about identity, race, ethnicity, language, and religion, the topics we turn to in the next three chapters.

Geographic Concepts

remittances	voluntary migration	colonization
cyclic movements	laws of migration	regional scale
periodic movement	gravity model	islands of development
migration	push factors	guest workers
activity spaces	pull factors	refugees
nomadism	distance decay	internally displaced persons
migrant labor	step migration	asylum
transhumance	intervening opportunity	repatriation
military service	deportation	genocide
international migration	kinship links	immigration laws
immigration	chain migration	quotas
internal migration	immigration wave	selective immigration
forced migration	explorers	

Learn More Online

About Immigration to the United States

www.uscis.gov

About Refugees

www.unhcr.org

About Geographic Mobility and Movement in the United States

www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/migrate.html