

Migration

Refer back to Figure 2-3 (ecumene) for a moment. Humans have spread across Earth during the past 7,000 years. This diffusion of human settlement from a small portion of Earth's land area to most of it resulted from migration. To accomplish the spread across Earth, humans have permanently changed their place of residence—where they sleep, store their possessions, and receive legal documents. Geographers document *from where* people migrate and *to where* they migrate. They also study reasons *why* people migrate.

How many times has your family moved? In the United States the average family moves once every six years. Was your last move traumatic or exciting? The loss of old friends and familiar settings can hurt, but the experiences awaiting you at a new location can be stimulating. Think about the multitude of Americans—maybe including yourself—who have migrated from other countries. Imagine the feelings of people migrating from another country when they arrive in a new land without a job, friends, or—for many—the ability to speak the local language.

Why would people make a perilous journey across thousands of kilometers of ocean? Why did the pioneers cross the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, or the Mojave Desert to reach the American West? Why do people continue to migrate by the millions today? The hazards that many migrants have faced are a measure of the strong lure of new locations and the desperate conditions in their former homelands. Most people migrate in search of three objectives: economic opportunity, cultural freedom, and environmental comfort. This chapter studies the reasons why people migrate.

KEY ISSUES

- 1 **Why do people migrate?**
- 2 **Where are migrants distributed?**
- 3 **Why do migrants face obstacles?**
- 4 **Why do people migrate within a country?**



CASE STUDY

Migrating to Spain

Ilhami Elhoussin, one of eight children from a village near Casablanca, Morocco, decided at age 24 to migrate to Spain. He and 19 other Moroccans paid \$500 each for the boat ride to Spain across the narrow 16-kilometer (10-mile) Strait of Gibraltar that separates Africa from Europe. Arriving in Spain without proper immigration documents, the 20 were detained by the Spanish police, but Elhoussin escaped and made his way 250 kilometers (150 miles) east along the coast to the small town of El Ejido.

Although living in Spain illegally, Elhoussin had no difficulty finding work in El Ejido picking tomatoes for \$25 a day. The area around El Ejido had become a booming agricultural center in the late twentieth century. Fruits and vegetables desired by consumers in northern Europe thrived in Spain's sunny, hot climate, especially after irrigation projects brought in sufficient water. Spain's exports of vegetables increased from around 100,000 to 1.5 million tons per year between 1980 and 2000.

One-fifth of El Ejido's 55,000 inhabitants were immigrants—mostly Moroccans—working on farms. With Spain—like nearly all of Europe in stage 4 of the demographic transition—Moroccans filled uncomfortable low-paying jobs spurned by native Spaniards. For a Moroccan, a wage of \$500 a month was five times higher than the average back home—if work were even available. Elhoussin sent most of his earnings home to his father.

Elhoussin lived with a cousin in a shack without water or electricity outside El Ejido, in a field with several dozen other shacks occupied by Moroccans. He slept under a roof of plastic sheets held down by rocks on plastic crates used during the day to collect vegetables.

Three Spaniards were murdered in El Ejido, apparently by Moroccans, within 10 days in early 2000. After the third murder Spanish youths rampaged through El Ejido burning down hundreds of immigrants' shacks and pelting them with stones. Elhoussin and other Moroccans fled to nearby mountains, where they survived four days without food, until several hundred police were brought in to restore the peace in El Ejido.

Spain prided itself on its tolerance of immigrants. As one of Europe's poorest countries, Spain had for decades sent its youth away to work in Germany, Scandinavia, and other wealthy northern European countries. Knowing what it was like to be treated shabbily in a foreign country, the Spanish were committed to kind treatment of immigrants into their country. For many in Spain, the transition from an exporter of people to an importer of people has been rocky.

Diffusion was defined in Chapter 1 as a process by which a characteristic spreads from one area to another, and relocation diffusion was the spread through the bodily movement of people from one place to another. The subject of this chapter is a specific type of relocation diffusion called **migration**, which is a permanent move to a new location. Geographers document *where* people migrate to and from across the *space* of Earth.

The flow of migration always involves two-way **connections**. Given two locations, A and B, some people migrate from A to B, while at the same time others migrate from B to A. **Emigration** is migration *from* a location; **immigration** is migration *to* a location. The difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants is the **net migration**. If the number of immigrants exceeds the emigrants, the net migration is positive and the region has *net in-migration*. If the number of emigrants exceeds the immigrants, the net migration is negative and the region has *net out-migration*.

Migration is a form of **mobility**, which is a more general term covering all types of movements from one place to another. People display mobility in a variety of ways, such as by journeying every weekday from their homes to places of work or education and once a week to shops, places of worship, or recreation areas. These types of short-term, repetitive, or cyclical movements that recur on a regular basis, such as daily, monthly, or annually, are called **circulation**. College students display another form of mobility—seasonal mobility—by moving to a dormitory each fall and returning home the following spring.

Geographers are especially interested in *why* people migrate, even though migration occurs much less frequently than other forms of mobility, because it produces profound changes for individuals and entire cultures. A permanent move to a new location disrupts traditional cultural ties and economic patterns in one **region**. At the same time, when people migrate, they take with them to their new home their language, religion, ethnicity, and other cultural traits, as well as their methods of farming and other economic practices.

The changing **scale** generated by modern transportation systems, especially motor vehicles and airplanes, make relocation diffusion more feasible than in the past, when people had to rely on walking, animal power, or slow ships. However, thanks to modern communications systems, relocation diffusion is no longer essential for transmittal of ideas from one place to another. Culture and economy can diffuse rapidly around the world through forms of expansion diffusion.

If people can participate in the **globalization** of culture and economy regardless of place of residence, why do they still migrate in large numbers? The answer is that **place** is still important to an individual's cultural identity and economic prospects. Within a global economy an individual's ability to earn a living varies by location. Within a global culture people migrate to escape from domination by other cultural groups or to be reunited

with others of similar culture. Migration of people with similar cultural values creates pockets of **local diversity**.

Although migration is a form of relocation diffusion, reasons for migrating can be gained from expansion diffusion. Someone may migrate and send back a message that gives others the idea of migrating. For example, many Europeans migrated to the United States in the nineteenth century because very favorable reports from early migrants led them to believe that the streets of American cities were paved with gold.

KEY ISSUE I

Why Do People Migrate?

- Reasons for migrating
- Distance of migration
- Characteristics of migrants

Geography has no comprehensive theory of migration, although a nineteenth-century outline of 11 migration “laws” written by E. G. Ravenstein is the basis for contemporary geographic migration studies. To understand where and why migration occurs, Ravenstein’s “laws” can be organized into three groups: the reasons why migrants move, the distance they typically move, and their characteristics. Each of these elements is addressed in this section of the chapter.

Reasons for Migrating

- Most people migrate for economic reasons.
- Cultural and environmental factors also induce migration, although not as frequently as economic factors.

People decide to migrate because of push factors and pull factors. A **push factor** induces people to move out of their present location, whereas a **pull factor** induces people to move into a new location. As migration for most people is a major step not taken lightly, both push and pull factors typically play a role. To migrate, people view their current place of residence so negatively that they feel pushed away, and another place so attractive that they feel pulled toward it.

We can identify three major kinds of push and pull factors: economic, cultural, and environmental. Usually one of the three factors emerges as most important, although as will be discussed later in this chapter, ranking the relative importance of the three factors can be difficult, even controversial.

Economic Push and Pull Factors

Most people migrate for economic reasons, as was the example from Morocco to Spain discussed at the beginning of the chapter. People think about emigrating from

places that have few job opportunities, and they immigrate to places where the jobs seem to be available. Because of economic restructuring, job prospects often vary from one country to another and within regions of the same country.

An area that has valuable natural resources, such as petroleum or uranium, may attract miners and engineers. A new industry may lure factory workers, technicians, and scientists. Construction workers, restaurant employees, and public-service officials may move to areas where rapid population growth stimulates demand for additional services and facilities.

The United States and Canada have been especially prominent destinations for economic migrants. Many European immigrants to North America in the nineteenth century truly expected to find streets paved with gold. While not literally so gilded, the United States and Canada did offer Europeans prospects for economic advancement. This same perception of economic plenty now lures people to the United States and Canada from Latin America and Asia.

The relative attractiveness of a region can shift with economic change, as the introductory Case Study “migrating to Spain” demonstrated. Similarly, Scotland and Ireland have attracted migrants in recent years after decades of net out-migration. Following the discovery of petroleum in the North Sea off the coast of northeast Scotland, thousands of people have been lured to jobs in the drilling or refining of petroleum or in supporting businesses.

Cultural Push and Pull Factors

Cultural factors can be especially compelling push factors, forcing people to emigrate from a country. Forced international migration has historically occurred for two main cultural reasons: slavery and political instability. Millions of people were shipped to other countries as slaves or as prisoners, especially from Africa to the Western Hemisphere, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Large groups of people were no longer forced to migrate as slaves in the twentieth century, but forced international migration increased because of political instability resulting from cultural diversity. Boundaries of newly independent states often have been drawn to segregate two ethnic groups. Because at least some intermingling among ethnicities inevitably occurs, members of an ethnic group caught on the “wrong” side of a boundary may be forced to migrate to the other side. Wars have also forced large-scale migration of ethnic groups in the twentieth century, especially in Europe and Africa. Forced migration of ethnicities is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

According to the United Nations, **refugees** are people who have been forced to migrate from their home and cannot return for fear of persecution because of their

race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion. Refugees have no home until another country agrees to allow them in, or improving conditions make possible a return to their former home. In the interim they must camp out in tents, board in shelters, or lie down by the side of a road.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees, a nonprofit organization independent of the U.S. government, counted more than 35 million refugees in need of protection or assistance in 2001. The figure included approximately 15 million forced to migrate to another country and more than 20 million forced to migrate to another region within the same country (Figure 3-1).

The two largest groups of international refugees, according to the Committee, are Palestinians and Afghans. Palestinians are people who left Israel after the country was created in 1948, or who left territories captured by Israel in 1967 (see Chapter 6). The large number of refugees from Afghanistan resulted from a quarter century of civil war that began with the former Soviet Union’s invasion of the country in 1979 (see Chapter 8).

The two largest groups of internal refugees are in Sudan and Angola. In Sudan, an estimated 4 million internal refugees plus a half million international refugees have been generated by a two-decade-long civil war between rebel armies in the south and northern-based government forces. Religious and cultural disputes are intertwined in the southerners’ fight for autonomy (see Chapter 7). In Angola a civil war that has raged intermittently over three decades has caused an estimated 1 million deaths and 2.5 million internal refugees, according to the United Nations.

Political conditions can also operate as pull factors, especially the lure of freedom. People are attracted to democratic countries that encourage individual choice in education, career, and place of residence. This pull factor is particularly difficult to disentangle from a push factor, because the pull of democracy is normally accompanied by the push from a totalitarian country.

After Communists gained control of Eastern Europe in the late 1940s, many people in that region were pulled toward the democracies in Western Europe and North America. After permitting some emigration to the West, the Communist governments in Eastern Europe clamped down for fear of losing their most able workers. The most dramatic symbol of restricted emigration was the Berlin Wall, which the Communists built to prevent emigration from Communist-controlled East Berlin into democratic West Berlin (see Chapter 8).

With the election of democratic governments in Eastern Europe during the 1990s, Western Europe’s political pull has disappeared as a migration factor. Eastern Europeans now can visit where they wish, although few have the money to pay for travel-related expenses beyond a round-trip bus ticket. However, Western Europe pulls an increasing number of migrants from Eastern Europe for economic reasons, as discussed later in this chapter.

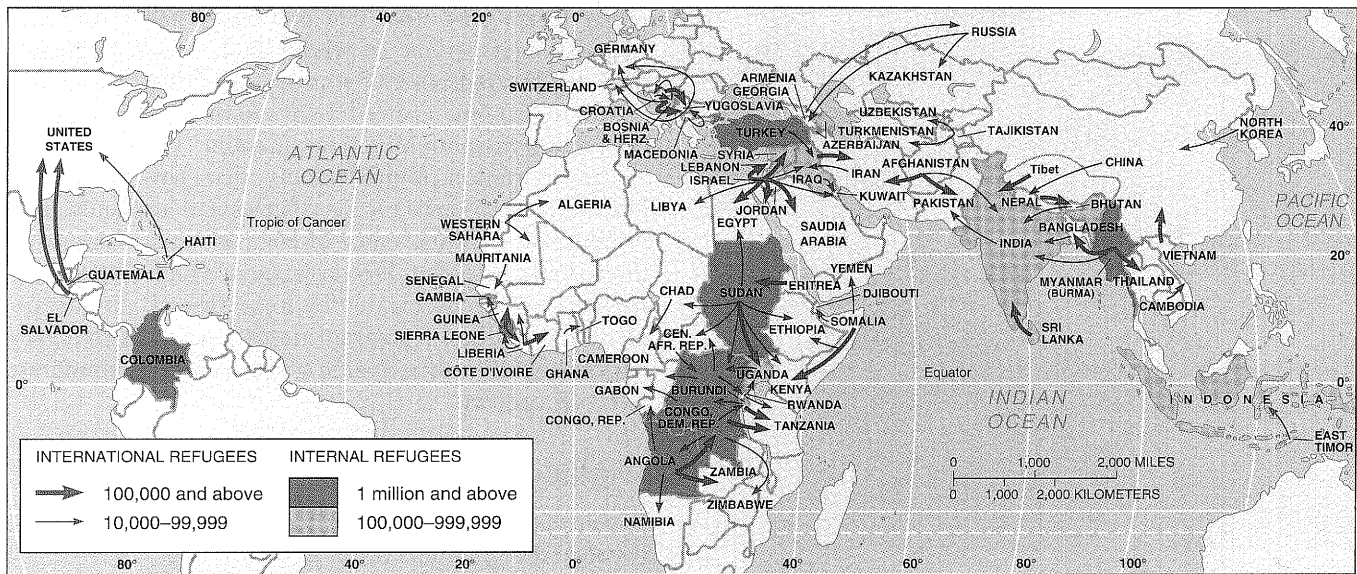


FIGURE 3-1 Major sources and destinations of refugees. A refugee is a person who is forced to migrate from a country, usually because of political reasons. The U.S. Committee for Refugees estimated that in 2001 there were 15 million refugees forced to migrate to other countries and 20 million forced to migrate to another region of the same country.

Environmental Push and Pull Factors

People also migrate for environmental reasons, pulled toward physically attractive regions and pushed from hazardous ones. In an age of improved communications and transportation systems, people can live in environmentally attractive areas that are relatively remote and still not feel too isolated from employment, shopping, and entertainment opportunities.

Attractive environments for migrants include mountains, seashores, and warm climates. Proximity to the Rocky Mountains lures Americans to the state of Colorado, and the Alps pull French people to eastern France. Some migrants are shocked to find polluted air and congestion in these areas. The southern coast of England, the Mediterranean coast of France, and the coasts of Florida attract migrants, especially retirees, who enjoy swimming and lying on the beach. One-third of all elderly people who migrate from one U.S. state to another select Florida as their destination. Regions with warm winters, such as southern Spain and the southwestern United States, attract migrants from harsher climates.

Those with bronchitis, asthma, tuberculosis, and allergies have been pulled to Arizona by the dry desert climate. Ironically, the large number of migrants has modified Arizona's environmental conditions. The pollen count in Tucson has increased 3,500 percent since the 1940s, and the percentage of people with allergies there is now twice the national average.

Local experts attribute two-thirds of the pollen count in Tucson to three types of vegetation imported by migrants: the mulberry tree, the olive tree, and Bermuda grass. Some communities have banned these three species. The mulberry tree dies after 30 years, but the

olive tree—an attractive species in Arizona because it is drought-resistant—can live for 500 years. Bermuda grass sinks deep roots and is difficult to eradicate. Arizona's recent experience shows that migration may no longer be the answer for people with allergies.

Migrants are also pushed from their homes by adverse physical conditions. Water—either too much or too little—poses the most common environmental threat. Many people are forced to move by water-related disasters because they live in a vulnerable area, such as a floodplain. The **floodplain** of a river is the area subject to flooding during a specific number of years, based on historical trends. People living in the “100-year floodplain,” for example, can expect flooding on average once every century. Many people are unaware that they live in a floodplain, and even people who do know often choose to live there anyway.

A lack of water pushes others from their land. Hundreds of thousands have been forced to move from the Sahel region of northern Africa because of drought conditions. The people of the Sahel have traditionally been pastoral nomads, a form of agriculture adapted to dry lands but effective only at low population densities (see Chapter 10). The capacity of the Sahel to sustain human life—never very high—has declined recently because of population growth and several years of unusually low rainfall. Consequently, many of these nomads have been forced to move into cities and rural camps, where they survive on food donated by the government and international relief organizations.

In the United States, people were pushed from their land by severe drought as recently as the 1930s. Portions of Oklahoma and surrounding states became known as the Dust Bowl, following several years of limited rainfall.



Environmental push factor. Flooding is a frequent cause of forced migration. Flooding in India after heavy monsoon rains during July 2003 left 14 people dead and 100,000 homeless, including this woman in the village of Silguri, 600 kilometers north of Calcutta.

Strong, dry winds blew across the plains and buried farms under several feet of dust. Thousands of families abandoned their farms and migrated to California, where they were called Okies. The plight of the Okies was graphically portrayed by John Steinbeck in his novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

Intervening Obstacles

Where migrants go is not always their desired destination. The reason why is that they may be blocked by an **intervening obstacle**, which is an environmental or cultural feature that hinders migration.

In the past, intervening obstacles were primarily environmental. Before the invention of modern transportation such as railroads and motor vehicles, people migrated across landmasses by horse or on foot. Such migration was frequently difficult because of hostile features in the physical environment like mountains and deserts. For example, many migrants lured to California during the nineteenth century by the economic pull factor of the Gold Rush failed to reach their destination because they could not cross such intervening obstacles as the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, or desert country.

Bodies of water long have been important intervening obstacles. The Atlantic Ocean proved a particularly significant intervening obstacle for most European immigrants to North America. Tens of millions of Europeans spent their life savings for the right to cross the rough and dangerous Atlantic in the hold of a ship shared with hundreds of other immigrants.

Many Eastern Europeans who booked passage a century ago on ships to North America never made it. An unscrupulous shipowner would sail the boat through the Baltic Sea and North Sea and land at Liverpool or some

other British port. Told that they had reached America, the passengers—none of whom could speak English—paid for a transatlantic journey of 7,000 kilometers (4,400 miles) but received a voyage of 1,300 kilometers (800 miles) to an undesired destination.

Transportation improvements that have promoted globalization, such as motor vehicles and airplanes, have diminished the importance of environmental features as intervening obstacles. However, today's migrant faces intervening obstacles created by local diversity in government and politics. A migrant needs a passport to legally emigrate from a country and a visa to legally immigrate to a new country.

Distance of Migration

Ravenstein's theories made two main points about the distance that migrants travel to their home:

- Most migrants relocate a short distance and remain within the same country.
- Long-distance migrants to other countries head for major centers of economic activity.

Internal Migration

International migration is permanent movement from one country to another, whereas **internal migration** is permanent movement within the same country. Consistent with the principle of distance-decay presented in Chapter 1, the farther away a place is located, the less likely that people will migrate to it. Thus, international migrants are much less numerous than internal migrants.

Most people find migration within a country less traumatic than international migration because they find familiar language, foods, broadcasts, literature, music, and other social customs after they move. Moves within a country also generally involve much shorter distances than those in international migration. However, internal migration can involve long-distance moves in large countries, such as the United States and Russia.

Internal migration can be divided into two types: **interregional migration** is movement from one region of a country to another, whereas **intraregional migration** is movement within one region. Historically, the main type of interregional migration has been from rural to urban areas in search of jobs. In recent years some developed countries have seen migration from urban to environmentally attractive rural areas. The main type of intraregional migration has been within urban areas, from older cities to newer suburbs.

International Migration

International migration is further divided into two types: forced and voluntary. **Voluntary migration** implies that the migrant has *chosen* to move for economic improvement, whereas **forced migration** means that the migrant

has been *compelled* to move by cultural factors. Economic push and pull factors usually induce voluntary migration, whereas cultural factors normally compel forced migration. In one sense, migrants may also feel compelled by pressure inside themselves to migrate for economic reasons, such as to search for food or jobs, but they have not been explicitly compelled to migrate by the violent actions of other people.

Geographer Wilbur Zelinsky has identified a **migration transition**, which consists of changes in a society comparable to those in the demographic transition. The migration transition is a change in the migration pattern in a society that results from the social and economic changes that also produce the demographic transition.

According to the migration transition, international migration is primarily a phenomenon of countries in stage 2 of the demographic transition, whereas internal migration is more important in stages 3 and 4. A society in stage 1 of the demographic transition—characterized by high birth and death rates and a low natural increase rate—is unlikely to migrate permanently to a new location, although it does have high daily or seasonal mobility in search of food.

In stage 2 of the demographic transition—when the natural increase rate goes up rapidly as a result of a sharp decline in the crude death rate—international migration becomes important, as well as interregional migration from one country's rural areas to its cities. Like the sudden decline in the crude death rate, migration patterns in stage 2 societies are a consequence of technological change. Improvement in agricultural practices reduces the number of people needed in rural areas, whereas jobs in factories attract migrants to the cities in another region of the same country or in another country.

Crude birth rates begin to decline in stages 3 and 4 of the demographic transition as a result of social changes—people deciding to have fewer children. According to migration transition theory, societies in stages 3 and 4 are the destinations of the international migrants leaving the stage 2 countries in search of economic opportunities. The principal form of internal migration within countries in stages 3 and 4 of the demographic transition is intraregional, from cities to surrounding suburbs.

Characteristics of Migrants

Ravenstein noted distinctive gender and family-status patterns in his migration theories:

- Most long-distance migrants are male.
- Most long-distance migrants are adult individuals rather than families with children.

Gender of Migrants

A century ago Ravenstein theorized that males were more likely than females to migrate long distances to other countries, because searching for work was the main reason for international migration, and males were much

more likely than females to be employed. This held true for U.S. immigrants: during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, about 55 percent were male. But the gender pattern reversed in the 1990s, and women now constitute about 55 percent of U.S. immigrants.

Mexicans who come to the United States without proper immigration documents, currently the largest group of U.S. immigrants, show similar gender changes. As recently as the late 1980s, males constituted 85 percent of the Mexican migrants arriving in the United States without proper documents, according to U.S. census and immigration service estimates. But beginning in the 1990s, women accounted for about half of the undocumented immigrants from Mexico.

The increased female migration to the United States partly reflects the changing role of women in Mexican society: in the past, rural Mexican women were obliged to marry at a young age and to remain in the village to care for children. Now some Mexican women are migrating to the United States to join husbands or brothers already in the United States, but most are seeking jobs. At the same time, women also feel increased pressure to get a job in the United States because of poor economic conditions in Mexico.

Family Status of Migrants

Ravenstein also believed that most long-distance migrants were young adults seeking work, rather than children or elderly people. For the most part, this pattern continues for the United States. About 40 percent of immigrants are between the ages of 25 and 39, compared to about 23 percent of the entire U.S. population. Immigrants are less likely to be elderly; only 4 percent of immigrants are over age 65, compared to 12 percent of the entire U.S. population.

An increasing percentage of U.S. immigrants are children—16 percent of immigrants are under age 15, compared to 21 percent for the total U.S. population. With the increase in women migrating to the United States, more children are coming with their mother.

Recent immigrants to the United States have attended school for fewer years and are less likely to have high school diplomas than American citizens. The typical undocumented Mexican immigrant has attended school for four years, less than the average American but a year more than the average Mexican.

For the most part, the origin of Mexican immigrants to the United States matches the expectations of the migration transition and distance-decay theories. With Mexico in stage 2 of the demographic transition, more than three-fourths of migrants are from rural areas. The destination of choice within the United States is overwhelmingly states that border Mexico, with California receiving more than half, Texas another fifth, and other southwestern states most of the remainder.

But most immigrants originate not from Mexico's northern states but from interior states far from the U.S.

border, as the distance-decay theory would suggest. The four leading sources of Mexican migrants are the states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Chihuahua, and Zacatecas, and only Chihuahua is on the U.S. border. Residents of Mexico's border states are less likely to migrate to the United States, because jobs are relatively plentiful there (as discussed in Chapter 11), a result of increased economic integration with the United States.

Most illegal Mexican immigrants have jobs in their home village but migrate to the United States to earn more money. The largest number work in agriculture, picking fruits and vegetables, although some work in clothing factories. Even those who work long hours for a few dollars a day as farm laborers or factory workers prefer to earn relatively low wages by American standards than to live in poverty at home.

Most undocumented residents have no difficulty finding jobs in the United States. Some employers like to hire immigrants who do not have visas that permit them to work in the United States, because they can pay lower wages and do not have to provide health care, retirement plans, and other benefits. Unsatisfactory or troublesome workers can be fired and threatened with deportation.

Because farm work is seasonal, the flow of immigrants varies throughout the year. The greatest number of Mexicans head north to the United States in the autumn and return home in the spring. The money brought back by seasonal migrants is the primary source of income for many Mexican villages (and, of course, that money is removed from the U.S. economy). Shops give credit to the villagers through the winter until the men return in the spring with dollars. During the winter these villages may be inhabited almost entirely by women and children.

KEY ISSUE 2

Where Are Migrants Distributed?

- Global migration patterns
- U.S. Immigration patterns
- Impact of immigration on the United States

About 3 percent of the world's people are international migrants—that is, they currently live in countries other than the ones in which they were born. The country with by far the largest number of migrants is the United States.

Global Migration Patterns

At a global scale, Asia, Latin America, and Africa have net out-migration, whereas North America, Europe, and Oceania have net in-migration. The three largest flows of migrants are to Europe from Asia and to North America from Asia and from Latin America (Figure 3–2). Substantial in-migration also occurs from Europe to North

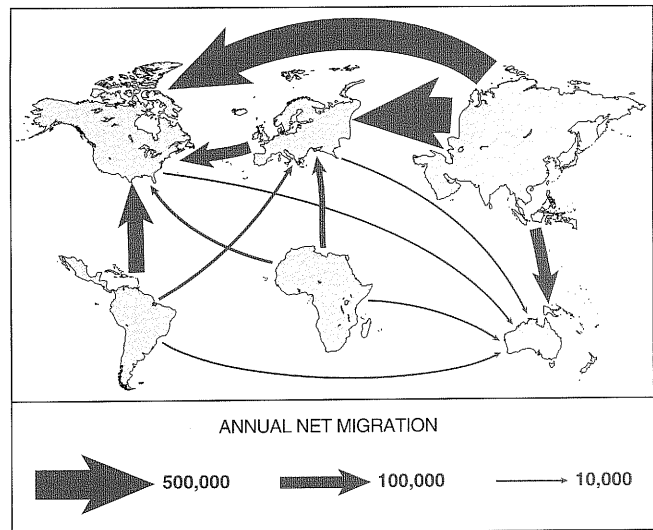


FIGURE 3–2 Global migration patterns. The major flows of international migrants are from less developed countries to more developed countries, especially from Asia and Latin America to North America and from Asia to Europe.

America and from Asia to Oceania. Lower levels of net migration occur from Latin America to Oceania and from Africa to Europe, North America, and Oceania.

The global pattern reflects the importance of migration from less developed countries to more developed countries. Migrants from countries with relatively low incomes and high natural increase rates head for relatively wealthy countries, where job prospects are brighter.

The population of the United States includes about 30 million individuals born in other countries. Nearly one-half of these immigrants were born in Latin America and one-fourth each in Asia and Europe. More than one-half of the Latin American immigrants came from Mexico. Other countries with a large number of immigrants include Australia, Canada, France, Germany, India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Kingdom (Figure 3–3).

Immigrants comprise one-tenth of the population in the United States. Although it contains the largest number of immigrants, the United States has a smaller percentage of immigrants than many other countries, especially less populous ones. One-fourth of the Australian population and one-sixth of the Canadian population are immigrants. The overall percentage of immigrants in Europe is lower than in the United States—about 6 percent in Germany and the United Kingdom, for example—but the level is comparable in France to that of the United States, and much higher in smaller countries, such as Luxembourg and Switzerland.

The highest percentage of immigrants can be found in the Middle East, about one-half of the region's total population. The United Arab Emirates contains more than 90 percent immigrants and Kuwait more than 70 percent. These countries and other petroleum-exporting countries of the Middle East attract immigrants primarily

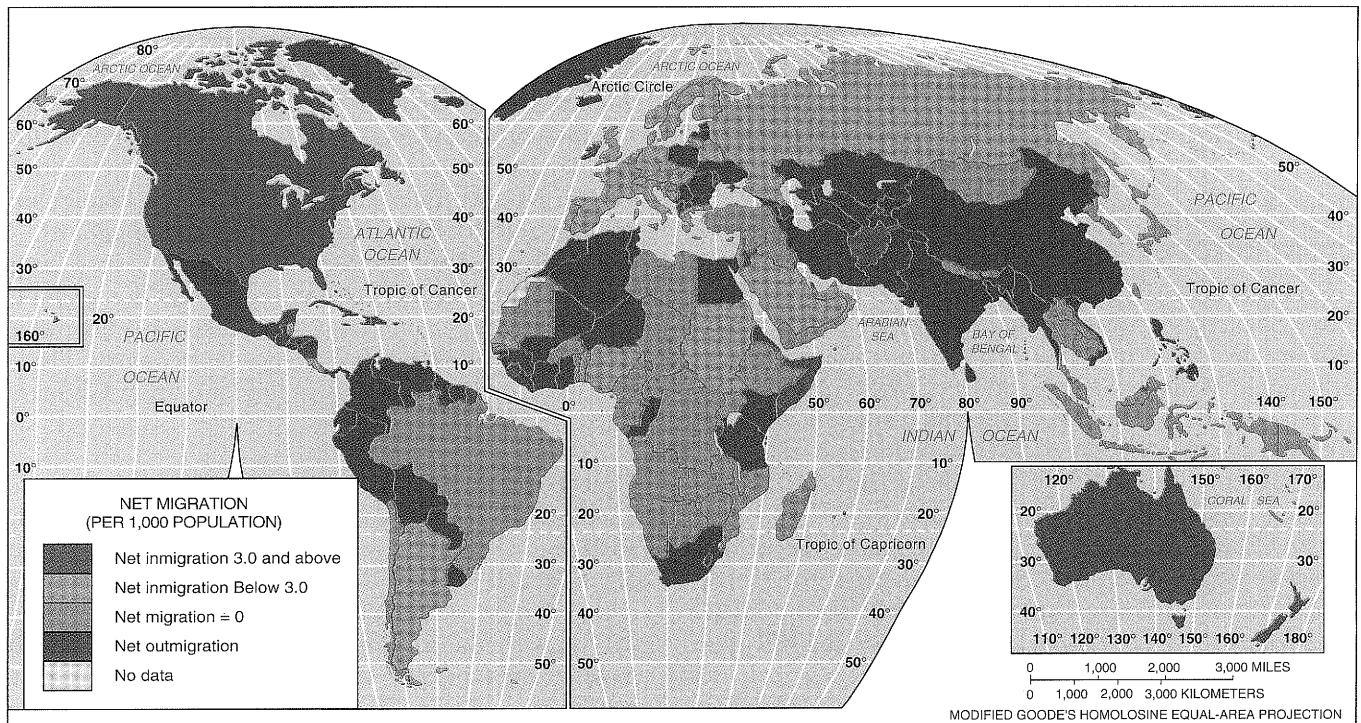


FIGURE 3-3 Immigration by country. The United States has by far the largest number of immigrants—that is, permanent residents who were born in other countries. Other more developed countries, including Australia, Canada, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, also have relatively large numbers of immigrants.

from poorer Middle Eastern countries and from Asia to perform many of the dirty and dangerous functions in the oil fields.

U.S. Immigration Patterns

The United States plays a special role in the study of international migration. The world's third most populous country is inhabited overwhelmingly by direct descendants of immigrants. About 70 million people have migrated to the United States since 1820, including the 30 million currently alive.

The United States has had three main eras of immigration. The first era was the initial settlement of colonies. The second era began in the mid-nineteenth century and culminated in the early twentieth century. The second era began in the 1970s and continues today. The three eras have drawn migrants from different regions. Most immigrants were English or African slaves during the first era, nearly all were European during the second era, and more than three-fourths were from Latin America and Asia during the third era.

Although the origins vary, the reasons for migrating have remained essentially the same: rapid population growth limited prospects for economic advancement at home. Europeans left when their countries entered stage 2 of the demographic transition in the nineteenth century, and Latin Americans and Asians began to leave in large numbers in recent years after their countries

entered stage 2. But Europeans arriving in the United States in the nineteenth century found a very different country than Latin Americans and Asians who have recently arrived.

Colonial Immigration from England and Africa

Immigration to the American colonies and the newly independent United States came from two sources: Europe and Africa. Most of the Africans were forced to migrate to the United States as slaves, whereas most Europeans were voluntary migrants—although harsh economic conditions and persecution in Europe blurred the distinction between forced and voluntary migration for many Europeans.

About 1 million Europeans migrated to the American colonies prior to independence, and another million from the late 1700s until 1840. From the first permanent English settlers to arrive at the Virginia colony's Jamestown, in 1607, until 1840, a steady stream of Europeans migrated to the American colonies (and after 1776 to the newly independent United States of America). Although early migrants included some Dutch, Swedes, French, Germans, German-Swiss, Spanish, and Portuguese, 90 percent of European immigrants to the United States prior to 1840 came from Great Britain.

Most African Americans are descended from Africans forced to migrate to the Western Hemisphere as slaves. About 400,000 Africans were shipped as slaves to the

13 colonies that later formed the United States during the eighteenth century, primarily by the British. Importing Africans as slaves was made illegal in 1808, but another 250,000 were brought to the United States during the next half-century (see Chapter 7).

Nineteenth-Century Immigration from Europe

In the 500-plus years since Christopher Columbus sailed from Spain to the Western Hemisphere, about 65 million Europeans have migrated to other continents. For 40 million of them, the destination was the United States. The remainder went primarily to the temperate climates of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, southern Africa, and southern South America, where farming methods used in Europe could be most easily transplanted.

For European migrants the United States offered the greatest opportunity for economic success. Early migrants extolled the virtues of the United States to friends and relatives back in Europe, which encouraged still others to come.

The total flow of European migrants to the United States and the number from individual countries has

varied from year to year. Among European countries, Germany has sent the largest number of immigrants to the United States, 7.2 million. Other major European sources include Italy, 5.4 million; United Kingdom, 5.3 million; Ireland, 4.8 million; and Russia and the former Soviet Union, 4.0 million. About one-fourth of Americans trace their ancestry to German immigrants, and one-eighth each to Irish and English immigrants.

Note that frequent boundary changes in Europe make precise national counts impossible. For example, most Poles migrated to the United States at a time when Poland did not exist as an independent country. Therefore, most were counted as immigrants from Germany, Russia, or Austria.

First Peak of European Immigration. The level of immigration to the United States surged during the 1840s and 1850s (Figure 3-4). More than 4 million people migrated to the United States during those two decades, more than twice as many as in the previous 250 years combined. Immigration jumped from approximately 20,000 per year during the first 50 years of independence to over one-quarter million in the peak immigration years of the 1840s and 1850s.

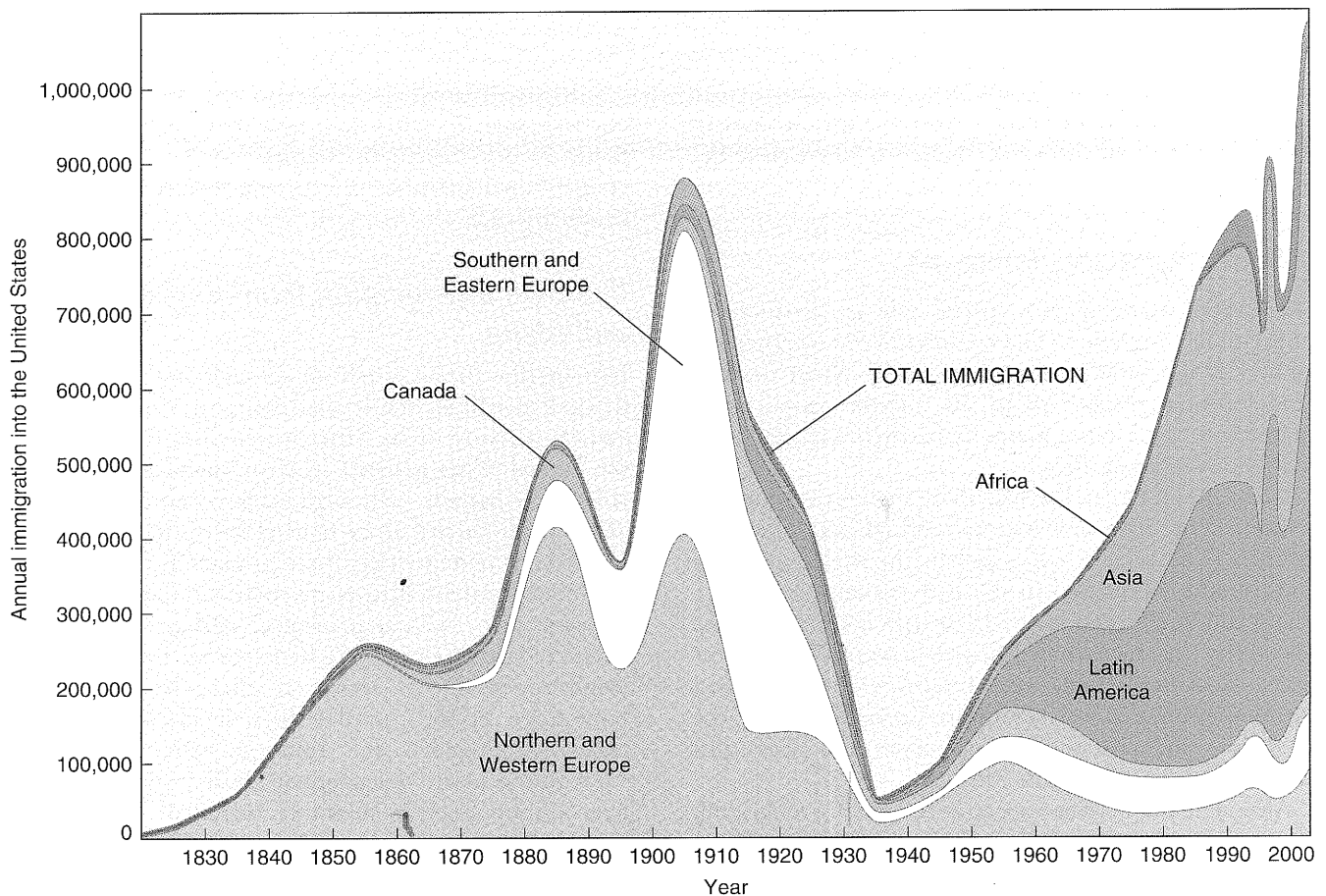


FIGURE 3-4 Migration to the United States by region of origin. Europeans comprised more than 90 percent of the immigrants to the United States during the nineteenth century and even as recently as the early 1960s still accounted for more than 50 percent. Latin America and Asia are now the dominant sources of immigrants to the United States.

CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIC TOOLS

Claiming Ellis Island

Twelve million immigrants to the United States between 1892 and 1954 were processed at Ellis Island, situated in New York Harbor. Incorporated as part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument in 1965, Ellis Island was restored and reopened in 1990 as a museum of immigration. Before building the immigration center, the U.S. Government used Ellis Island as a fort and powder magazine beginning in 1808.

An 1834 agreement approved by the U.S. Congress gave Ellis Island to New York State and the submerged lands surrounding the island to New Jersey. When the agreement was signed, Ellis Island was only 2.75 acres, but beginning in the 1890s the U.S. Government enlarged the island, eventually to 27.5 acres.

New Jersey state officials claimed that the 27.5-acre Ellis Island was part of their state, not New York. The claim was partly a matter of pride on the part of New Jersey officials to stand up to their more glamorous neighbor. After all, Ellis Island was

only 1,300 feet from the New Jersey shoreline, yet tourists—like immigrants a century ago—are transported by ferry to Lower Manhattan more than a mile away. More practically, the sales tax collected by the Ellis Island museum gift shop was going to New York rather than to New Jersey.

After decades of dispute, New Jersey asked the U.S. Supreme Court in 1993 to rule on its claim to Ellis Island. The Supreme Court in May 1998 ruled 6–3 that New York owned the original island but that New Jersey owned the rest. New York's jurisdiction was set as the low waterline of the original island.

Critical evidence in the decision was a series of maps prepared by New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection (NJDEP) officials using GIS. And after ruling in favor of New Jersey's claim, the Supreme Court directed the NJDEP to delineate the precise boundary between the two states, again using GIS.

New Jersey officials scanned into an image file an 1857 U.S. Coast map that was considered to be the most reliable from that era. The image file of

the old map was brought into ArcView, then the low waterline shown on the 1857 map was edited and depicted by a series of dots. The perimeter of the current island was mapped, using GPS surveying. Also mapped was the surviving portion of the walls of the original fort built on the island in the early nineteenth century. Overlaying the 1857 low waterline onto the current map identified New York's territory, and the rest of the current island belonged to New Jersey (Figure 3-1.1).

New Jersey officials celebrated the legal victory by raising the state flag over Ellis Island at a July 4 ceremony. The island's Zip code was changed from a New York to a New Jersey number. A footbridge was planned from Jersey City so visitors could bypass the ferry from Manhattan. Joked New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, "They're still not going to convince me that my grandfather, when he was sitting in Italy thinking of coming to the United States, getting on that ship in Genoa, was saying to himself, 'I'm coming to New Jersey.'"

FIGURE 3-1.1 Ellis Island. The large building in the foreground, which includes the Great Hall, now the Immigration Museum, is part of New York State, but the rest of the island is part of New Jersey. South of Ellis Island is the Statue of Liberty and in the distance the Verrazano Narrows bridge, which connects Brooklyn (left) and Staten Island (right).



More than 90 percent of all U.S. immigrants during the 1840s and 1850s came from Northern and Western Europe, including two-fifths from Ireland and another one-third from Germany. At first desperate economic push factors compelled the Irish and Germans to cross the Atlantic. Germans migrated to escape from political unrest, as well as from poor economic conditions.

Second Peak of European Immigration. U.S. immigration declined somewhat during the 1860s as a result of the Civil War (1861–65), but it began to climb again in the 1870s. Immigration reached second peak during the 1880s, when more than a half-million people annually immigrated to the United States.

Again, more than three-fourths of the immigrants during the late 1800s came from Northern and Western Europe. Germans accounted for one-third, and the Irish still constituted a large percentage. However, other countries in Northern and Western Europe sent increasing numbers of migrants, especially the Scandinavian countries of Norway and Sweden. The Industrial Revolution had diffused to these countries, and population was growing rapidly as a result of entering stage 2 of the demographic transition (rapidly declining crude death rates). Most of the people who could not find land to farm at home—such as those whose older siblings had inherited their parents' farm—migrated to the cities. But some decided to migrate to other countries in search of farmland or jobs in foreign cities.

Third Peak of European Immigration. Economic problems in the United States discouraged immigration during the early 1890s, but by the end of the decade the level reached a third peak. Nearly a million people each year immigrated during the first 15 years of the twentieth century. The record year was 1907, with 1.3 million immigrants.

During the third peak, more than 90 percent of the immigrants were European. But instead of coming from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany, most came from countries that previously had sent few people. Nearly one-fourth each came from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. (Austria-Hungary encompassed portions of present-day Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine.)

Immigrants came from Southern and Eastern Europe in the early twentieth century for the same reason that Northern and Western Europeans had migrated in the previous century. The shift in the primary source of immigrants coincided with the diffusion of the Industrial Revolution from Northern and Western Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe. The population of these countries grew rapidly as a result of improved technology and health care. For many, the option of migrating to the United States proved irresistible.

At the peak of immigration around 1910, 13 million U.S. residents were either born in a foreign country or

had at least one foreign-born parent. This amounted to 14 percent of the country's total population of 92 million. These recent immigrants comprised more than 20 percent of the population in northeastern states, across a northern tier between Michigan and Montana, and along the Pacific Coast.

Recent Immigration from Less Developed Regions

Immigration to the United States dropped sharply in the 1930s and 1940s during the Great Depression and World War II. During the 1930s, only 50,000 immigrants a year arrived in the United States, and the number of emigrants leaving the United States actually exceeded the number of immigrants by one-fourth. The number of immigrants to the United States steadily increased during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, then surged during the past quarter-century to historically high levels. Latin America and Asia have provided most of the recent U.S. immigrants.

Immigration from Asia. During the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, only 1 million Asians migrated to the United States, nearly all from China, Turkey, and Japan. During the last quarter of the twentieth century, about 7 million Asians arrived in the United States, and annual immigration from Asia increased from 40,000 in the 1960s to 150,000 in the 1970s, and 280,000 in the 1980s and 1990s.

Asia was the leading source of immigrants between the late 1970s and late 1980s until overtaken by Latin America. The four leading sources of U.S. immigrants from Asia during the 1990s and 2000s have been China (including Hong Kong), Philippines, India, and Vietnam, which together have accounted for nearly two-thirds of all Asian immigrants in recent years (Figure 3–5).

Asians also comprise more than 40 percent of Canadian immigrants, but, compared to the United States, Canada receives a much higher percentage of Europeans and a lower percentage of Latin Americans. Canada, however, takes in 50 percent more immigrants per capita than does the United States.

Immigration from Latin America. About 2 million Latin Americans migrated to the United States between 1820 and 1960, about 11 million between 1960 and 2000. Annual immigration from Latin America increased from 60,000 in the 1950s to 130,000 in the 1960s, 180,000 in the 1970s, 350,000 in the 1980s, and 430,000 in the 1990s.

Mexico passed Germany during the 1980s as the country that has sent to the United States the most immigrants ever, currently more than 8 million. The Dominican Republic has been the second leading source of immigrants from Latin America during the past quarter-century, followed by El Salvador (Figure 3–6).

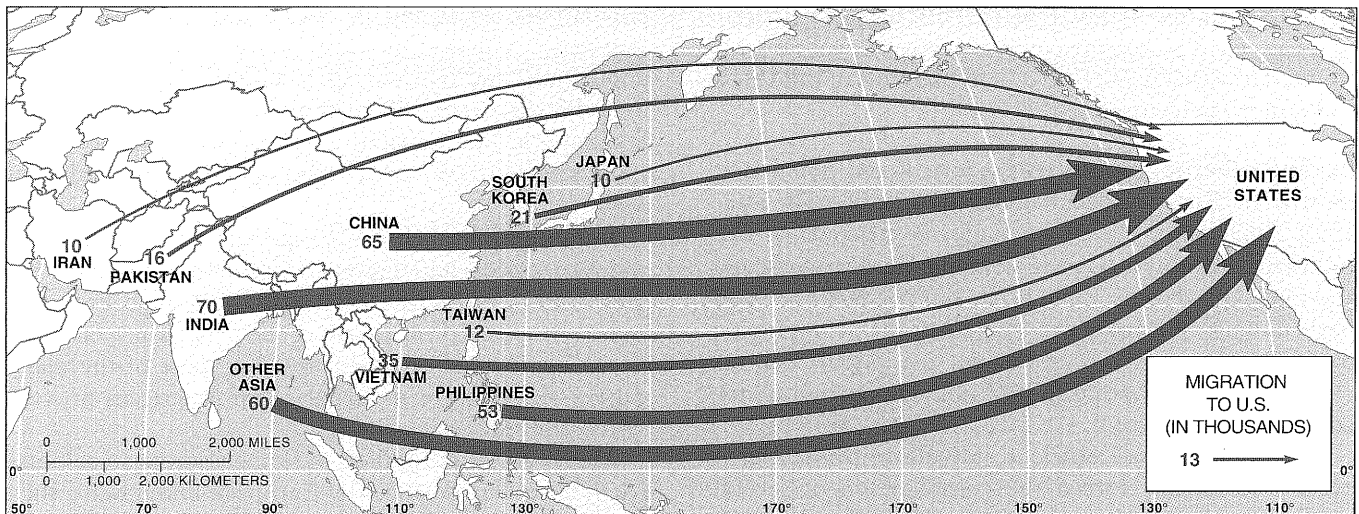


FIGURE 3-5 Migration to the United States from Asia, 2001. The largest numbers of Asians came from India, China, the Philippines, and Vietnam.

An unusually large number of immigrants came from Mexico and other Latin American countries in the early 1990s as a result of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, which issued visas to several hundred thousand who had entered the United States in previous years without legal documents. Counting those legalized under the 1986 act, the United States in 1991 admitted more immigrants—1.8 million—than any other year in history, with 1990 the second highest ever, at 1.5 million.

The pattern of immigration to the United States has changed from predominantly European to Asian and Latin American, although the reason for immigration remains the same. People are pushed by poor conditions at home and lured by economic opportunity and social advancement in the United States. Europeans came in

the nineteenth century because they saw the United States as a place to escape from the pressures of land shortage and rapid population increase. Similar motives exist today for people in Asia and Latin America. Several Caribbean countries in stage 2 of the demographic transition are transferring the equivalent of most of their annual natural increase in population to the U.S.

Although the motives for moving to the United States are similar, the country has changed over time. Unfortunately for the people in less developed countries, the United States is no longer a sparsely settled, economically booming country with a large supply of unclaimed land. In 1912, New Mexico and Arizona were admitted as the forty-seventh and forty-eighth states. Thus, for the first time in its history, all the contiguous territory of this country was a “united” state (other than the District of Columbia). This symbolic closing of the frontier meant to many Americans that the country no longer had the space to accommodate an unlimited number of immigrants.

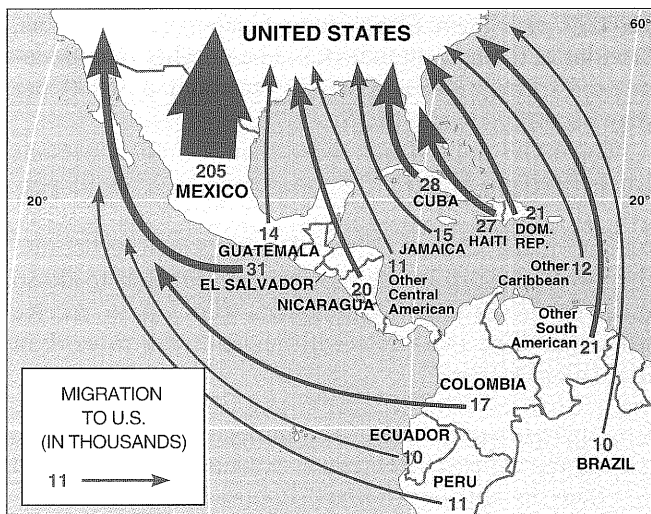


FIGURE 3-6 Migration to the United States from Latin America. Mexico has been the largest source of immigrants to the United States in recent decades. Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Jamaica, and Peru are other Latin American countries that sent at least 10,000 immigrants annually to the United States during the 1990s.

Impact of Immigration on the United States

The U.S. population has been built up through a combination of emigration from Africa and England primarily during the eighteenth century, from Europe primarily during the nineteenth century, and from Latin America and Asia primarily during the twentieth century. In the twenty-first century, the impact of immigration varies around the country.

Legacy of European Migration

The era of massive European migration to the United States ended with the start of World War I in 1914, because the war involved the most important source countries, such as Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia, as

well as the United States. The level of European emigration has steadily declined since that time. Europeans accounted for one-third of all U.S. immigrants in the 1960s and only 10 percent since 1980.

Europe's Demographic Transition. Rapid population growth in Europe fueled emigration, especially after 1800. Application of new technologies spawned by the Industrial Revolution—such as public health, medicine, and food—produced a rapid decline in the death rate and pushed much of Europe into stage 2 of the demographic transition (high growth rate). As the population increased, many Europeans found limited opportunities for economic advancement.

To promote more efficient agriculture, some European governments forced the consolidation of several small farms into larger units. Historically, family farms often had to be divided among a great number of relatives, and the average farm was becoming too small to be profitable. In England this consolidation policy was known as the “enclosure movement.” The enclosure movement forced millions of people to emigrate from rural areas. Displaced farmers could choose between working in factories in the large cities or migrating to the United States or another country where farmland was plentiful.

For several hundred years the United States was Europe's safety valve. When Europe's population began to increase rapidly because of the Industrial Revolution, migration to the United States drained off some of the growth. As a result, people remaining in Europe enjoyed more of the economic and social benefits from the Industrial Revolution.

Most European countries now have very low natural increase rates (stage 4 of the demographic transition) and economies capable of meeting the needs of their people. Countries such as Germany, Italy, and Ireland, which once sent several hundred thousand people annually to the United States, now send only a few thousand. The safety valve is no longer needed.

Diffusion of European Culture. The emigration of 65 million Europeans has profoundly changed world culture. As do all migrants, Europeans brought their cultural heritage to their new homes. Because of migration, Indo-European languages now are spoken by half of the world's people (as discussed in Chapter 5), and Europe's most prevalent religion, Christianity, has the world's largest numbers of adherents (see Chapter 6). European art, music, literature, philosophy, and ethics have also diffused throughout the world.

Regions that were sparsely inhabited prior to European immigration, such as North America and Australia, have become closely integrated into Europe's cultural traditions. Distinctive European political structures and economic systems have diffused to these regions.

However, Europeans also planted the seeds of conflict by migrating to regions that have large indigenous

populations, especially in Africa and Asia. Europeans frequently imposed political domination on existing populations and injected their cultural values with little regard for local traditions. Economies in Africa and Asia became based on extracting resources for export to Europe rather than on using those resources to build local industry.

In more tropical climates, especially in Latin America and Asia, European migrants established plantations that grew cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco for sale back in Europe. Europeans owned most of the plantations, but relatively few worked on them. Instead, most of the many workers were native Asians or Latin Americans or were slaves from Africa.

Many of today's conflicts in former European colonies result from past practices by European immigrants, such as drawing arbitrary boundary lines and discriminating among different local ethnic groups.

Undocumented Immigration to the United States

Legal immigration to the United States has reached the highest level since the early twentieth century, yet the number of people who wish to migrate to the United States is much higher than the quotas permit. Many people who cannot legally enter the United States are now immigrating illegally. Those who do so are entering without proper documents and thus are called **undocumented immigrants**.

No one knows how many people immigrate to the United States without proper documents. The U.S. Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services (BCIS) places the figure at 7 million, although others are as high as 20 million. The BCIS estimates that about 5 million undocumented immigrants are from Mexico, and at least 100,000 each from El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, Honduras, China, and Ecuador. The number of undocumented immigrants is growing by about 350,000 per year, according to the BCIS.

The BCIS apprehends more than a million persons annually trying to cross U.S. borders, more than 95 percent of whom are Mexican (Figure 3–7). People enter or remain in the United States illegally primarily because they wish to work but do not have permission to do so from the government. Foreigners who fail to receive work visas have two choices if they still wish to work in the United States:

- Approximately half of the undocumented residents legally enter the country as students or tourists and then remain after they are supposed to leave;
- The other half simply slip across the border without showing a passport and visa to a border guard.

Once in the United States, undocumented immigrants can become “documented” by purchasing forged documents for as little as \$25, including a birth certificate,

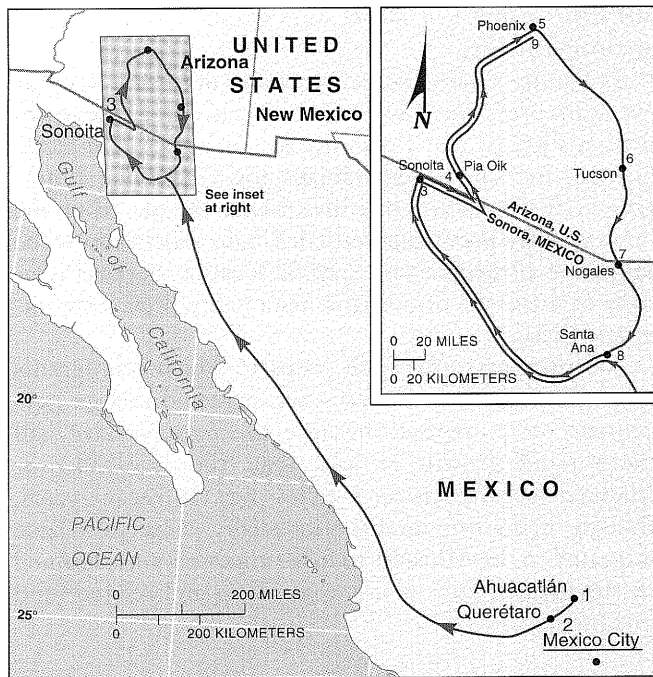


FIGURE 3-7 Crossing the U.S.-Mexican border. The route of one group of undocumented immigrants from Mexico to the United States began in Ahuacatlán, a village of 1,000 inhabitants in Querétaro State (1). The immigrants took a bus to Querétaro (2) and another bus to Sonoita (3), hired a driver to take them to a remote location on the border. Looking at the detailed right-hand map, they crossed the United States border on foot near Pia Oik, Arizona (4) and paid a driver to take them to Phoenix (5). Arrested in Phoenix by the border patrol, they were driven to Tucson (6) and then to the Mexican border at Nogales (7), where they boarded buses to Santa Ana (8) and back to Sonoita. They then repeated the same route back to Phoenix (9), where they found work.

alien registration card, and social security number. What happens to the minority of illegal immigrants who are

caught? To save time and money, the BCIS escorts most of them out of the country. However, the overwhelming majority simply retrace their steps and recross the border (see Global Forces, Local Impacts box).

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act tried to reduce the flow of illegal immigrants to the United States. Under the law, aliens who could prove that they had lived in the United States continuously between 1982 and 1987 could become permanent resident aliens and apply for U.S. citizenship after five years. Seasonal agricultural workers could also qualify for permanent residence and citizenship. However, only 1.3 million agricultural workers and 1.8 million others applied for permanent residence, far fewer than government officials estimated would take advantage of the program. Other undocumented residents apparently feared that if their applications were rejected, they would be deported.

At the same time, the law discouraged further illegal immigration by making it harder for recent immigrants to get jobs without proper documentation. An employer must verify that a newly hired worker can legally work in the United States and may be fined or imprisoned for hiring an undocumented worker.

Destination of Immigrants Within the United States

Recent immigrants are not distributed uniformly through the United States. More than one-half are clustered in four states, including more than one-fourth in California and more than one-fourth in New York, Florida, and Texas. Coastal states were once the main entry points for immigrants because most arrived by ship. Today nearly all arrive by motor vehicle or airplane, but

Global Forces, Local Impacts

Crossing the U.S.-Mexico Border

Aggregate statistics can capture the magnitude of undocumented immigration to the United States, but each immigrant must cross the border individually. Crossing the U.S.-Mexican border illegally is not difficult.

Guards heavily patrol the official border crossings, most of which are located in urban areas such as El Paso, Texas, and San Diego, California, or along highways. However, the border is 3,600 kilometers (2,000 miles) long. It runs through sparsely inhabited regions and is guarded by only a handful of agents. A fence runs along the border itself but is broken in many places.

The typical illegal immigrant from Mexico may have more difficulty reaching the U.S. border than actually crossing it. One documented case is illustrated in Figure 3-7. A group of illegal immigrants started from Ahuacatlán, a village of 1,000 in the state of Querétaro. The group first took a bus from the village to the state capital of Querétaro City, followed by another bus for the 1,800-kilometer (1,100-mile) trip to Sonoita, a town near the U.S. border. At Sonoita, the

Mexicans hired a driver to transport them to a deserted border location, where they crossed on foot to Pia Oik, Arizona.

Once inside the United States, the group contacted a smuggler, known as a *coyote*, or sometimes a *pollero* ("one who sells chickens for a living"). The smuggler took them by car to Phoenix, approximately 250 kilometers (150 miles) away. A U.S. border-patrol agent arrested them in Phoenix and took them to Tucson for processing and then across the border to Nogales. From Nogales they took a bus 110 kilometers (70 miles) to Santa Ana and a second one 260 kilometers (160 miles) back to Sonoita. Repeating their earlier moves to cross the border at Pia Oik, Arizona, they eventually reached Phoenix once more, where they remained. The entire journey cost several hundred dollars.

Illegal immigration presents a dilemma for the United States. On the one hand, allowing illegal immigrants to stay could encourage more to come, thus threatening the U.S. unemployment rate. On the other hand, most undocumented residents take very low-paying jobs that most U.S. citizens will not accept.



U.S.-Mexico border at Tijuana. A tall metal fence separates Tijuana, Mexico (left), from the United States.

coastal states continue to attract migrants. California and Texas are the two most popular states for entry of motor vehicles from Mexico, and these six states have the country's busiest airports for international arrivals.

Individual states attract immigrants from different countries. Immigrants from Mexico head for California, Texas, or Illinois, whereas immigrants from Caribbean island countries head for New York or Florida. Chinese and Indians immigrate primarily to New York or California, other Asians to California (Figure 3–8). California

attracts one-third of illegal immigrants, most of whom are from Mexico.

Proximity clearly influences some decisions, such as Mexicans preferring California or Texas, and Cubans preferring Florida. But proximity is not a factor in Poles heading for Illinois or Iranians for California. Immigrants cluster in communities where people from the same country previously settled. **Chain migration** is the migration of people to a specific location because relatives or members of the same nationality previously migrated there.

Job prospects affect the states to which immigrants head. The South and West have attracted a large percentage of immigrants because the regions have had more rapid growth in jobs than the Northeast or Midwest (see Key Issue 4 following). In recent years, though, many immigrants—especially Mexicans—have migrated to the Midwest to take industrial jobs shunned by Americans, such as in meatpacking and related food processing.

KEY ISSUE 3

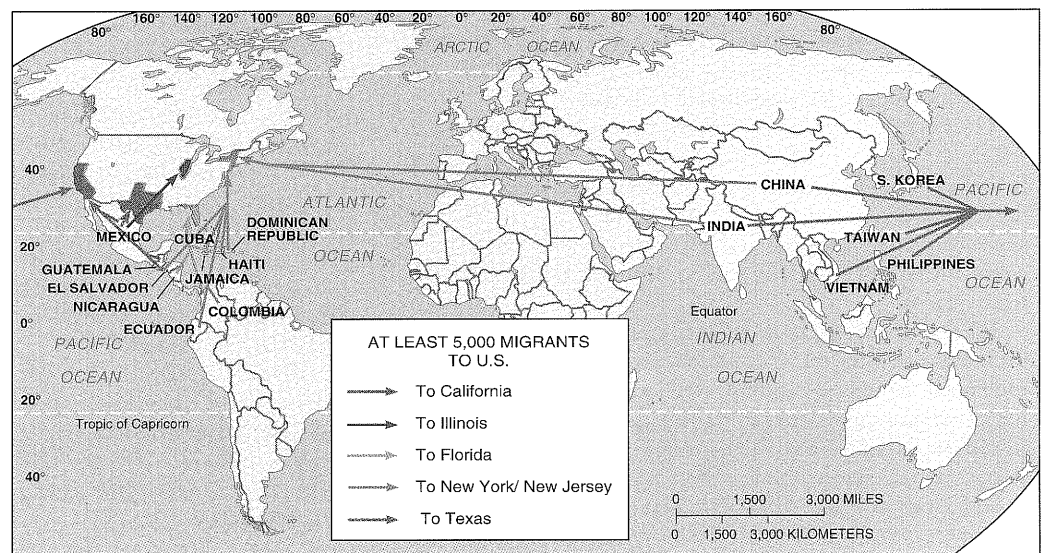
Why Do Migrants Face Obstacles?

- Immigration policies of host countries
- Cultural problems living in other countries

The principal obstacle traditionally faced by migrants to other countries was the long, arduous, and expensive passage over land or by sea. Think of the cramped and unsanitary conditions endured by nineteenth-century immigrants to the United States who had to sail across the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean in tiny ships.

Today motor vehicles and airplanes bring most immigrants speedily and reasonably comfortably to the United States and other countries. The major obstacles faced by most immigrants now begin only after they arrive at their

FIGURE 3–8 Destination of immigrants by U.S. states. California receives about one-fourth of all immigrants, with the largest numbers from Mexico, the Philippines, Vietnam, and China. New York and New Jersey receive another one-fourth of immigrants, especially from the Dominican Republic. A large number of Cubans go to Florida, Mexicans to Texas, and Mexicans and Poles to Illinois.



desired destination. Immigrants face two major difficulties—gaining permission to enter a new country in the first place and hostile attitudes of citizens once they have entered the new country.

Immigration Policies of Host Countries

Countries to which immigrants wish to migrate have adopted two policies to control the arrival of foreigners seeking work. The United States uses a quota system to limit the number of foreign citizens who can migrate permanently to the country and obtain work. Other major recipients of immigrants, especially in Western Europe and the Middle East, permit guest workers to work temporarily but not stay permanently.

U.S. Quota Laws

The era of unrestricted immigration to the United States ended when Congress passed the Quota Act in 1921 and the National Origins Act in 1924. These laws established **quotas**, or maximum limits on the number of people who could immigrate to the United States from each country during a one-year period. According to the quota, for each country that had native-born persons already living in the United States, 2 percent of their number (based on the 1910 census) could immigrate each year. This limited the number of immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere to 150,000 per year, virtually all of whom had to be from Europe. The system continued with minor modifications until the 1960s.

Quota laws were designed to ensure that most immigrants to the United States continued to be Europeans. Although Asians never accounted for more than 5 percent of immigrants during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Americans nevertheless were alarmed at the prospect of millions of Asians flooding into the country, especially to states along the Pacific Coast.

Following passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, quotas for individual countries were eliminated in 1968 and replaced with hemisphere quotas. The annual number of U.S. immigrants was restricted to 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere. In 1978 the hemisphere quotas were replaced by a global quota of 290,000, including a maximum of 20,000 per country. The current law has a global quota of 620,000, with no more than 7 percent from one country, but numerous qualifications and exceptions can alter the limit considerably.

Because the number of applicants for admission to the United States far exceeds the quotas, Congress has set preferences. The current law permits up to 480,000 family-sponsored immigrants plus 140,000 employment-related immigrants, again with numerous exceptions. About three-fourths of the immigrants are admitted to

reunify families, primarily spouses or unmarried children of people already living in the United States. The typical wait for a spouse to gain entry is currently about five years. A handful of brothers and sisters or other relatives of noncitizens are also admitted, although the chance of being selected is as slim as winning the lottery. Skilled workers and exceptionally talented professionals receive most of the remaining one-fourth of the visas. Others are admitted by lottery under a diversity category to people from countries that historically sent few people to the United States.

The quota does not apply to refugees, who are admitted if they are judged genuine refugees. Also admitted without limit are spouses, children, and parents of U.S. citizens. The number of immigrants can vary sharply from year to year primarily because numbers in these two groups are unpredictable.

Asians have made especially good use of the priorities set by the U.S. quota laws. Many well-educated Asians enter the United States under the preference for skilled workers. Once admitted, they can bring in relatives under the family-reunification provisions of the quota. Eventually, these immigrants can bring in a wider range of other relatives from Asia, through a process of chain migration.

Brain Drain. Some of today's immigrants to the United States and Canada are poor people pushed from their homes by economic desperation, but most are young, well-educated people lured to economically growing countries. Scientists, researchers, doctors, and other professionals migrate to countries where they can make better use of their abilities. After earning Ph.D.s, young scholars find more teaching positions available at American universities than at home.

Other countries charge that by giving preference to skilled workers, immigration policies in the United States and Europe contribute to a **brain drain**, which is a large-scale emigration by talented people. Three-fourths of immigrants from India to the United States and from Africa to the United Kingdom have college degrees, compared to less than 5 percent among nonmigrants. One-third of all Ghanaians and Sierra Leoneans with a college education live abroad. The average immigrant has also received more education than the typical American: nearly one-fourth of all legal immigrants to the United States have attended graduate school, compared to less than one-tenth of native-born Americans.

Temporary Migration for Work

People unable to migrate permanently to a new country for employment opportunities may be allowed to migrate temporarily. Prominent forms of temporary work migrants include guest workers in Europe and the Middle East and historically time-contract workers in Asia.

Citizens of poor countries who obtain jobs in Western Europe and the Middle East are known as **guest workers**.

In Europe, guest workers are protected by minimum-wage laws, labor union contracts, and other support programs. Foreign-born workers comprise more than one-half of the labor force in Luxembourg, one-sixth in Switzerland, and one-tenth in Austria, Belgium, and Germany. About 700,000 immigrants enter Europe legally each year, plus an estimated 500,000 illegally.

Guest workers serve a useful role in Western Europe because they take low-status and low-skilled jobs that local residents won't accept. In cities such as Berlin, Brussels, Paris, and Zurich, guest workers provide essential services such as driving buses, collecting garbage, repairing streets, and washing dishes.

While relatively low paid by European standards, guest workers earn far more than they would at home. The economy of the guest worker's native country also gains from the arrangement. By letting their people work elsewhere, poorer countries reduce their own unemployment problem. Guest workers also help their native country by sending a large percentage of their earnings back home to their families. The injection of foreign currency then stimulates the local economy.

The United Kingdom severely restricts the ability of foreigners to obtain work permits. However, British policy is complicated by the legacy of the country's former worldwide empire. When some of the United Kingdom's former colonies were granted independence, residents there could choose between remaining British citizens and becoming citizens of the new country. Millions of former colonials in India, Ireland, Pakistan, and the West Indies retained their British citizenship and eventually moved to the United Kingdom. However,

spouses and other family members who are citizens of the new countries do not have the right to come to Britain.

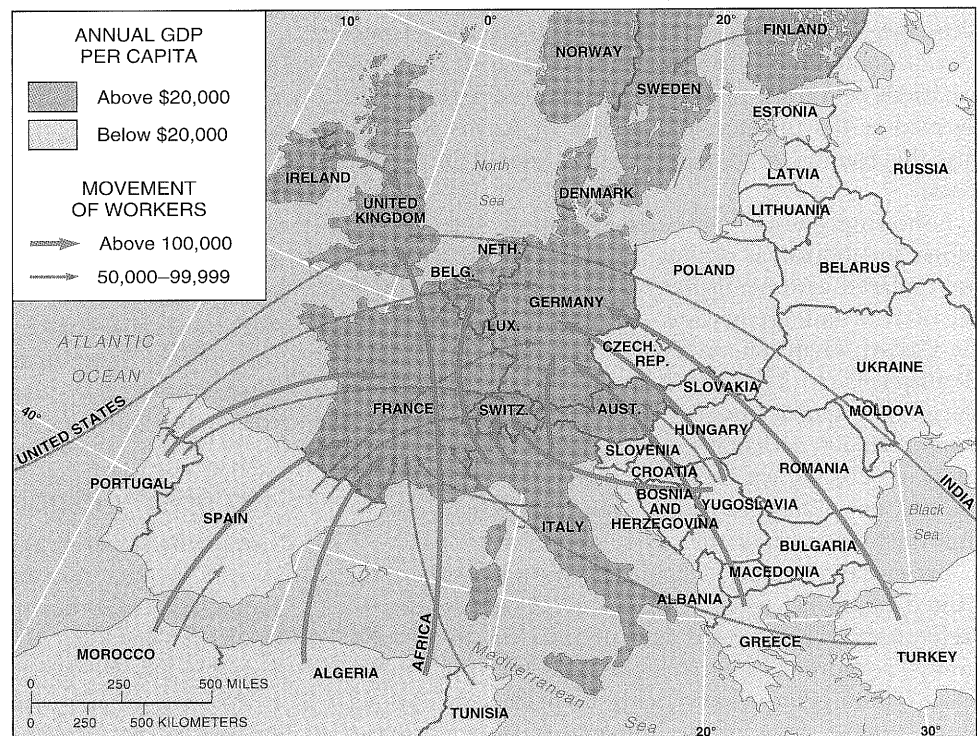
Most guest workers in Europe come from North Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Asia. Distinctive migration routes have emerged among the exporting and importing countries. Turkey sends a large number of guest workers to Northern Europe, especially to Germany as a result of government agreements. Three-quarters of a million Turks are employed in Germany, by far the largest movement of guest workers from one country to another within Europe. Many guest workers in France come from former French colonies in North Africa, such as Algeria and Morocco (Figure 3-9).

Time-Contract Workers

Millions of Asians migrated in the nineteenth century as time-contract laborers, recruited for a fixed period to work in mines or on plantations. When their contracts expired, many would settle permanently in the new country. Indians went as time-contract workers to Burma (Myanmar), Malaysia, British Guiana (present-day Guyana in South America), eastern and southern Africa, and the islands of Fiji, Mauritius, and Trinidad. Japanese and Filipinos went to Hawaii, and Japanese also went to Brazil. Chinese worked on the U.S. West Coast and helped build the first railroad to span the United States, completed in 1869.

More than 29 million ethnic Chinese currently live permanently in other countries, for the most part in Asia. Chinese comprise three-fourths of the population in Singapore, one-third in Malaysia, and one-tenth in

FIGURE 3-9 Guest workers in Europe. Guest workers emigrate primarily from Eastern Europe and North Africa to work in the wealthier, more developed countries of Western Europe. Guest workers follow distinctive migration routes. The selected country may be a former colonial ruler, have a similar language, or have an agreement with the exporting country.



Thailand. Most migrants were from southeastern China. Migration patterns vary among ethnic groups of Chinese. Chiu Chowese migrate to Cambodia, Laos, and Singapore; Hakka to Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand; and Hokkien to Indonesia and the Philippines (Figure 3-10).

In recent years people have immigrated illegally in Asia to find work in other countries. Estimates of illegal foreign workers in Taiwan range from 20,000 to 70,000. Most are Filipinos, Thais, and Malaysians who are attracted by employment in textile manufacturing, construction, and other industries. These immigrants accept half the pay demanded by Taiwanese, for the level is much higher than what they are likely to get at home, if they could even find employment.

Distinguishing Between Economic Migrants and Refugees

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between migrants seeking economic opportunities and refugees fleeing from the persecution of an undemocratic government. Distinguishing between the two reasons has

been especially difficult for emigrants from Cuba, Haiti, and Vietnam.

The distinction between economic migrants and refugees is important, because the United States, Canada, and Western European countries treat the two groups differently. Economic migrants are generally not admitted to these countries unless they possess special skills or have a close relative already there, and even then they must compete with similar applicants from other countries. However, refugees receive special priority in admission to other countries.

Emigrants from Cuba. The U.S. government has regarded emigrants from Cuba as political refugees since the 1959 revolution that brought the Communist government of Fidel Castro to power. Under Castro's leadership, the Cuban government took control of privately owned banks, factories, and farms, and political opponents of the government were jailed. The U.S. government has prevented companies from buying and selling in Cuba, and Cuba has been excluded from cooperative organizations of Western Hemisphere countries.

In the years immediately following the revolution, more than 600,000 Cubans were admitted to the United States. The largest number settled in southern Florida, where they have become prominent in the region's economy and politics.

A second flood of Cuban emigrants reached the United States in 1980, when Fidel Castro suddenly decided to permit political prisoners, criminals, and mental patients to leave the country. More than 125,000 Cubans left within a few weeks to seek political asylum in the United States, a migration stream that became known as the "Mariel boatlift," named for the port from which the Cubans were allowed to embark.

To reach the United States, most crossed the 200-kilometer (125-mile) Straits of Florida in small boats, many of which were unseaworthy and capsized. When they learned about Castro's new policy, many Cubans already living in Florida sailed from the United States to Cuba, found their relatives, and returned to Florida with them.

U.S. officials were unprepared for the sudden influx of Cuban immigrants. Most Cubans were processed at Key West, Florida, and transferred to camps. Officials identified families or social service agencies willing to sponsor the refugees. Sponsors were expected to provide food and shelter and help the people secure jobs. Most refugees quickly found sponsors, but several thousand who did not live in army camps and temporary settlements. Approximately 1,000 inhabited Miami's Orange Bowl stadium until the start of the football season, when they were transferred to tents pitched under Interstate 95 in downtown Miami.

Beginning in 1987, the United States agreed to permit 20,000 Cubans per year to migrate to the United States. Cuba also agreed to the return of 2,500 criminals or mental patients who had come in the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

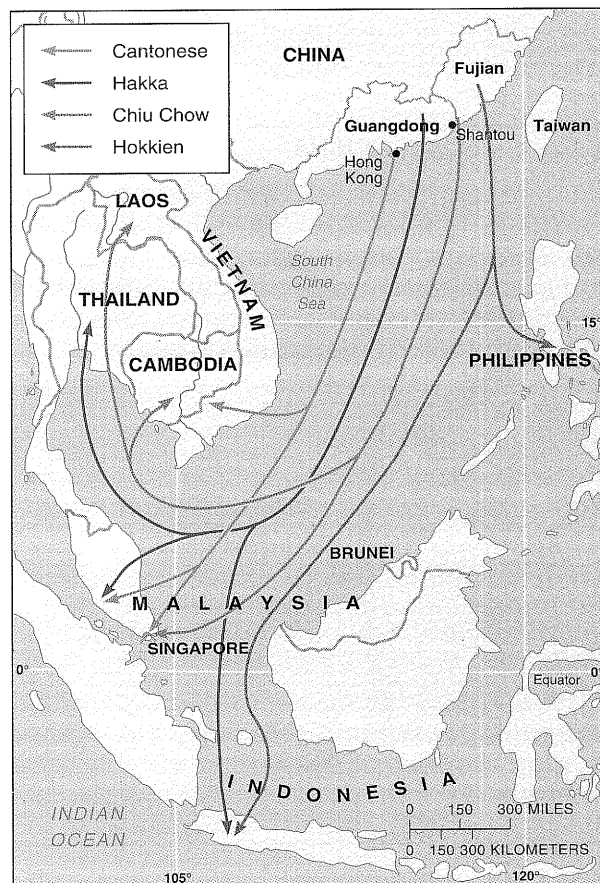


FIGURE 3-10 Emigration from China. Various ethnic Chinese peoples have distinctive streams of migration to other Asian countries. Most migrate to communities where other members of the same ethnic group have already established businesses. Most emigrate from Guangdong and Hokkien (Fujian) provinces.

Emigrants from Haiti. Shortly after the 1980 Mariel boatlift from Cuba, several thousand Haitians also sailed in small vessels for the United States. Under the dictatorship of Francois (Papa Doc) Duvalier (1957–71) and his son Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier (1971–86), the Haitian government persecuted its political opponents at least as harshly as the Cuban government. But the U.S. government drew a distinction between the governments of the two neighboring Caribbean countries, because Castro was an ally of the Soviet Union.

Claiming that they had migrated for economic advancement rather than political asylum, U.S. immigration officials would not let the Haitians aboard the boats stay in the United States. However, the Haitians brought a lawsuit against the U.S. government, arguing that if the Cubans were admitted, they should be too. The government settled the case by agreeing to admit the Haitians.

After a 1991 coup that replaced Haiti's elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, with military leaders, thousands of Haitians fled their country. In boats that often were overcrowded and unseaworthy, they headed for the U.S. Guantánamo Bay naval base in southeastern Cuba, about 160 kilometers (100 miles) across the Windward Passage from Haiti. Although situated on Cuba, Guantánamo Bay naval base has been controlled by the United States for years.

Once safely ashore at Guantánamo, the Haitians could apply as refugees for migration to the U.S. mainland. Similarly, Haitians picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard from boats drifting in the Windward Passage were eligible to claim political asylum in the United States. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (now known as BCIS) recognized the claim of political persecution made by many of the Haitians, but the U.S. State Department decided that most left Haiti for economic rather than political reasons.

The United States invaded Haiti in 1994 to reinstate Aristide as president, and a year later a United Nations peacekeeping force ensured democratic elections. Although political persecution has subsided, many Haitians still try to migrate to the United States, reinforcing the view that economic factors may always have been important in emigration from the Western Hemisphere's poorest country.

Emigrants from Vietnam. The long Vietnam War ended in 1975 when Communist-controlled North Vietnam captured South Vietnam's capital city of Saigon (since renamed Ho Chi Minh City). The United States, which had supported the government of South Vietnam, evacuated from Saigon several thousand people who had been closely identified with the American position during the war and who were therefore vulnerable to persecution after the Communist victory.

Thousands of other pro-U.S. South Vietnamese who were not politically prominent enough to get space on an American evacuation helicopter tried to leave by boat. Fleeing overland to neighboring Cambodia, China, and

Laos was unattractive because of Communist domination or political unrest in those countries. The so-called boat people drifted into the South China Sea, hoping they would be saved by the U.S. Navy.

U.S. naval officers wished to save the boat people but hesitated because of U.S. law. Once taken on board, the boat people would technically be on U.S. territory and could apply for admission to the United States as refugees. This would be unfair to the large numbers of people elsewhere in the world, as well as those still in Vietnam, who had been waiting a long time for the U.S. government to consider their claims for admission as refugees. Consequently, some boat people were not allowed to board U.S. vessels.

A second surge of Vietnamese boat people began in the late 1980s. Their most popular destinations were Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Thailand, with smaller numbers sailing to Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore (Figure 3-11). As memories of the Vietnam War faded, officials in these countries no longer considered boat people as refugees, except for a handful who could prove that they had been victims of specific incidents of political persecution. Thailand, in particular, pushed Vietnamese boats back out to sea, even though some of them capsized and many boat people drowned.

According to an international agreement, most of the Vietnamese boat people who were judged refugees were

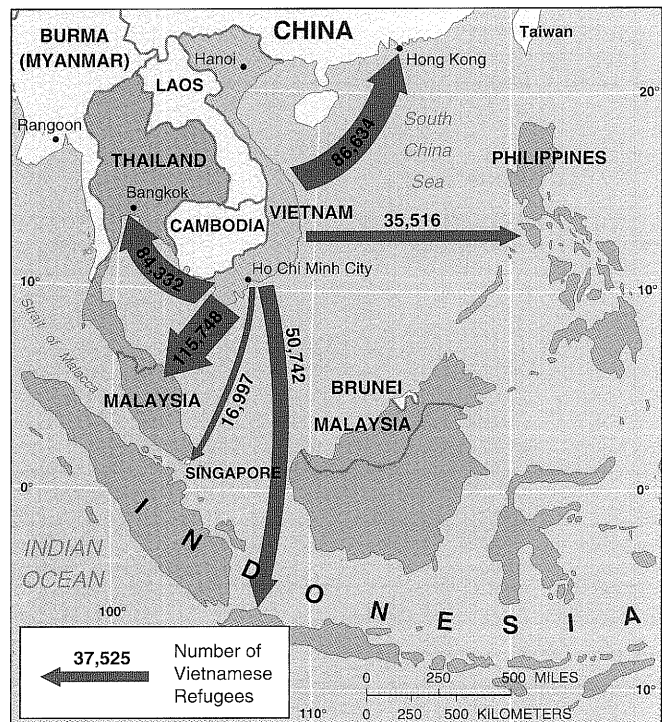


FIGURE 3-11 Destinations of Vietnamese boat people. During the 1970s, Vietnamese boat people were regarded as political refugees following the end of a long war. In recent years, neighboring countries have severely restricted the number of Vietnamese permitted to stay. Other countries have argued that the boat people can no longer make legitimate claims to be refugees from a war that ended back in 1975.

transferred to other places, especially the United States, Canada, Australia, and France. However, the majority of the boat people, who were considered economic migrants, were placed in detention camps surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by armed soldiers. The United Nations helped to fund the camps and monitor living conditions in them until 1996, when the camps were closed and the remaining boat people were sent back to Vietnam.

All together, 800,000 Vietnamese have reached the United States since the end of the Vietnam War, another 1 million in other countries. Vietnam remains a major source of immigrants to the United States, but the pull of economic opportunity in the United States is a greater incentive than the push of political persecution.

Cultural Problems Living in Other Countries

For many immigrants, admission to another country does not end their problems. Citizens of the host country may dislike the newcomers' cultural differences. More significantly, politicians exploit immigrants as scapegoats for local economic problems.

U.S. Attitudes Toward Immigrants

Americans have always regarded new arrivals with suspicion but tempered their dislike during the nineteenth century because immigrants helped to settle the frontier and extend U.S. control across the continent. European immigrants converted the forests and prairies of the vast North American interior into productive farms. By the early twentieth century, though, most Americans believed that the frontier had closed. When the U.S. frontier closed, the gates to the country partially closed as well.

Opposition to immigration intensified when the majority of immigrants ceased to come from Northern and Western Europe. German and Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century suffered some prejudice from so-called native Americans, who had in reality arrived only a few years earlier from Britain. However, Italians, Russians, Poles, and other Southern and Eastern Europeans who poured into the United States about 1900 faced much more hostility.

A government study in 1911 reflected popular attitudes when it concluded that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were racially inferior, "inclined toward violent crime," resisted assimilation, and "drove old-stock citizens out of some lines of work." (There is nothing new about racism, prejudice, fear of unknown groups, suspicion of different cultures, economic fears, and anti-immigration sentiment; only the players on the stage change.)

More recently, hostile citizens in California and other states have voted to deny undocumented immigrants access to most public services, such as schools, day-care centers, and health clinics. The laws have been difficult

to enforce and of dubious constitutionality, but their enactment reflects the unwillingness on the part of many Americans to help out needy immigrants. Whether children of recent immigrants should be entitled to attend school and receive social services is much debated in the United States.

Attitudes Toward Guest Workers

In Europe, many guest workers suffer from poor social conditions. The guest worker is typically a young man who arrives alone in a city. He has little money for food, housing, or entertainment, because his primary objective is to send home as much money as possible. He is likely to use any surplus money for a railway ticket home for the weekend.

Far from his family and friends, the guest worker can lead a lonely life. His isolation may be heightened by unfamiliarity with the host country's language and distinctive cultural activities. Many guest workers pass their leisure time at the local railway station. There they can buy native-language newspapers, mingle with other guest workers, and meet people who have just arrived by train from home.

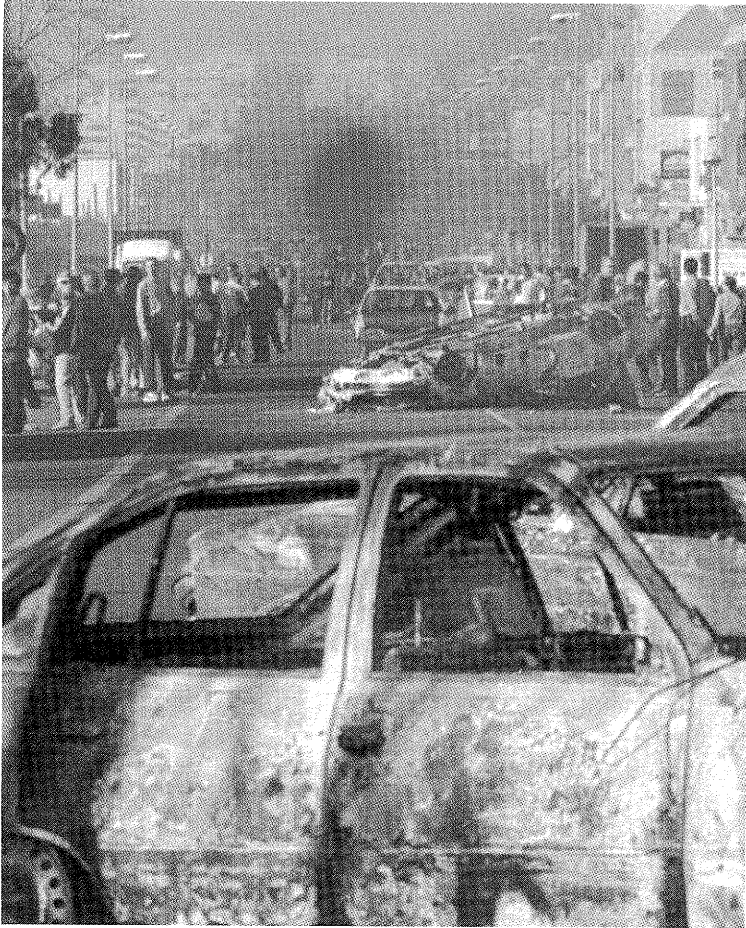
Both guest workers and their host countries regard the arrangement as temporary. In reality, however, many guest workers remain indefinitely, especially if they are joined by other family members. Some guest workers apply their savings to starting a grocery store, restaurant, or other small shop. These businesses can fill a need in European cities by remaining open on weekends and evenings when most locally owned establishments are closed.

Many Western Europeans dislike the guest workers and oppose government programs to improve their living conditions. Political parties that support restrictions on immigration have gained support in France, Germany, and other European countries, and attacks by local citizens on immigrants have increased.

In the Middle East, petroleum-exporting countries fear that the increasing numbers of guest workers will spark political unrest and abandonment of traditional Islamic customs. After the 1991 Gulf War, Kuwaiti officials expelled hundreds of thousands of Palestinian guest workers who had sympathized with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. To minimize long-term stays, other host countries in the Middle East force migrants to return home if they wish to marry and prevent them from returning once they have wives and children.

As a result of lower economic growth rates, Middle Eastern and Western European countries have reduced the number of guest workers in recent years. Several Western European governments pay guest workers to return home, but some of these countries have their own unemployment problems and sometimes refuse to take back their own nationals.

Migration by Asians nearly a century ago is producing contemporary problems in several countries. For example,



Anti-immigrant protest in El Ejido, Spain. Spanish youths attacked Moroccan immigrants and burned their homes after three Moroccan immigrants allegedly killed three Spaniards.

between 1879 and 1920, the British brought Indians as indentured laborers to the Fiji Islands in the South Pacific. Today, Fiji includes slightly more Indians than native Fijians. For many decades Fiji was a model of how two culturally diverse groups could live together peacefully under a democratically elected government. Indians controlled most of the country's businesses, whereas Fijians dominated the government and army. However, after an Indian party won the elections in 1987, rioting broke out between the two groups, and Fijian army officers seized temporary control of the government. A new constitution in 1990 ensured that Fijians would hold a majority of seats in the parliament.

The argument of anti-immigrant politicians is seductive to many voters in Western Europe, as well as the United States: if all of the immigrants were thrown out of the country, then the unemployment rate would drop, and if all of the immigrants were cut off from public programs, then taxes would drop. In an economically integrated world such arguments have little scientific basis, and in a culturally diverse world these arguments have racist overtones.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do People Migrate Within a Country?

- Migration between regions of a country
- Migration within one region

Internal migration for most people is less disruptive than international migration. International migration involves movement to a country with different cultural traditions, such as language and religion. Even migration among culturally similar countries can be disorienting in less profound ways, such as major sports and popular television programs.

Two main types of internal migration are interregional and intraregional. The principal type of interregional migration is between rural and urban areas, whereas the main type of intraregional migration is from older cities to suburbs.

Migration Between Regions of a Country

In the United States, interregional migration was more prevalent in the past, when most people were farmers. Lack of farmland pushed many people from the more densely settled regions of the country and lured them to the frontier, where land was abundant. Today most people move to a new region for a better job, although many also move for noneconomic reasons.

Migration Between Regions Within the United States

The most famous example of large-scale internal migration is the opening of the American West. Two hundred years ago the United States consisted of a collection of settlements concentrated on the Atlantic Coast. Through mass interregional migration, the interior of the continent was settled and developed.

Changing Center of Population. The U.S. Census Bureau computes the country's population center at the time of each census. The population center is the average location of everyone in the country, the "center of population gravity." If the United States were a flat plane placed on top of a pin and each individual weighed the same, the population center would be the point where the population distribution causes the flat plane to balance on the pin.

The changing location of the population center graphically demonstrates the march of the American people across the North American continent over the past 200 years. When the first U.S. census was taken, in 1790, the

population center was located in Chesapeake Bay, east of Baltimore, Maryland. Throughout the Colonial period the population center remained roughly in the same place. This location reflects the fact that virtually all settlements were near the Atlantic Coast (Figure 3-12).

Few colonists ventured far from coastal locations because they depended on shipping links with Europe to receive products and to export raw materials. Settlement in the interior was also hindered by an intervening obstacle, the Appalachian Mountains. The Appalachians blocked western development because of their steep slopes, thick forests, and few gaps that allowed easy passage. Hostile indigenous residents, commonly called Indians, also retarded western settlement.

Early Settlement in the Interior. Settlement of the interior began after 1790. By 1830 the center of population moved west of Moorefield, West Virginia. Encouraged by the opportunity to obtain a large amount of land at a low price, people moved into river valleys and fertile level lowlands as far west as the Mississippi River.

Transportation improvements helped to open the interior in the early 1800s, especially the building of canals. Most important was the Erie Canal, which enabled people to travel inexpensively by boat between New York City and the Great Lakes. When the Erie Canal opened in 1825, the fare from New York to Detroit was only \$10, yet traffic was so heavy on the canal that tolls paid for construction costs within nine years. Between 1816 and 1840 the network of new canals dug in the United States totaled 5,352 kilometers (3,326 miles). The diffusion of steam-powered boats further speeded water travel.

After 1830 the U.S. population center moved west more rapidly, to just west of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1880. The population center moved 11 kilometers (7 miles) per year during that period, compared to only 7 kilometers (4 miles) per year during the previous 40 years. The population center shifted west rapidly because most western pioneers during the mid-nineteenth century passed through the interior of the country on their way to California.

For much of the nineteenth century the continuous westward advance of settlement stopped at the 98th meridian (which runs north-south through the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas). Large numbers of migrants passed through the interior without stopping, in part because they were pulled to California, especially by the Gold Rush beginning in the late 1840s. At the same time, the interior of the country confronted early settlers with a physical environment that was unsuited to familiar agricultural practices.

Early nineteenth-century Americans preferred to start farms in forested areas that receive 100 centimeters (40 inches) or more precipitation a year. They cut down the trees and used the wood to build homes, barns, and fences. But when they crossed west of the 98th meridian, pioneers found few trees. Instead, they saw vast rolling grasslands that average less than 50 centimeters (20 inches) of precipitation annually.

Without the technology to overcome this dry climate, lack of trees, and tough grassland sod, early explorers such as Zebulon Pike declared the region unfit for farming. Maps at the time labeled the region west of the 98th meridian as the Great American Desert. Ironically, with today's agricultural practices, the region west of the 98th meridian to the Rocky Mountains, which we call the Great Plains, is one of the world's richest farming areas.

Settlement of the Great Plains. The U.S. population center continued to migrate westward at a much slower pace after 1880. The center moved approximately 5 kilometers (3 miles) per year between 1880 and 1950, less than half the rate of the previous half-century. The rate slowed in part because large-scale migration to the East Coast from Europe offset some of the migration from the East Coast to the U.S. West.

The westward movement of the U.S. population center also slowed after 1880 because people began to fill in the area between the 98th meridian and California that earlier generations had bypassed. The Dakota Territory, for example, grew from 14,000 inhabitants in 1870 to 135,000 in 1880 and 539,000 by 1890. Advances in

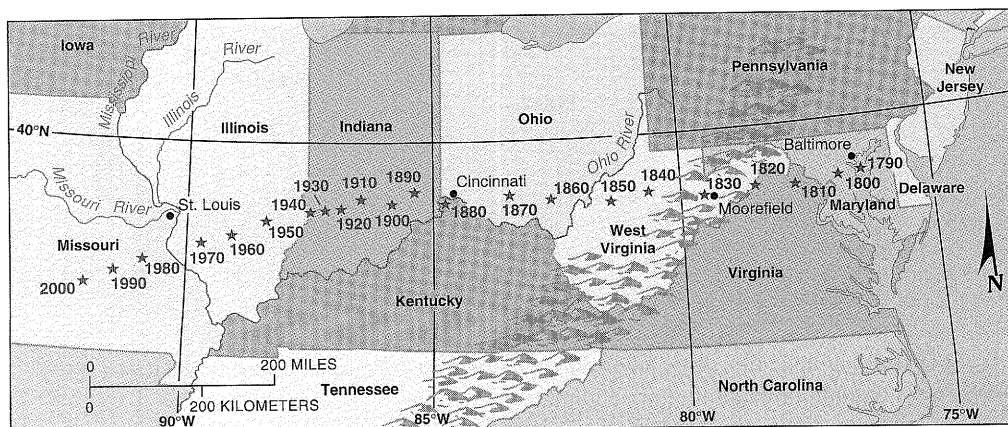


FIGURE 3-12 Changing center of population in the United States. The center has consistently shifted westward, although the rate of movement has varied in different eras. In recent decades, the center has also started to shift southward, a reflection of recent migration to the South.

agricultural technology in the late nineteenth century enabled people to cultivate the Great Plains. Farmers used barbed wire to reduce dependence on wood fencing, the steel plow to cut the thick sod, and windmills and well-drilling equipment to pump more water.

The expansion of the railroads encouraged western settlement beginning in the 1840s. By the 1880s an extensive rail network permitted settlers on the Great Plains to transport their products to the large concentrations of customers in East Coast cities. The railroad companies also promoted western settlement by selling land to farmers. Companies that built the railroad lines received large land grants from the federal government, not just narrow right-of-way strips to lay tracks. The railroad companies in turn financed construction of their lines by selling small parcels of the adjacent land to farmers. Rail companies established offices in major East Coast and European cities to sell land.

Between 1950 and 1980 the population center moved west faster, at 10 kilometers (6 miles) per year. For the first time in U.S. history the population center in 1980 jumped west of the Mississippi River. By 2000 the center had migrated 140 kilometers (88 miles) west of the Mississippi River, into south-central Missouri's Phelps County.

Recent Growth of the South. The population center moved southward more sharply during the late twentieth century. Between 1790 and 1920 the center moved almost due west. Beginning in the 1920s the center moved southward, at first slowly, but after 1950 at 4 kilometers (2 miles) per year.

The population center drifted southward because of net migration into southern states. During the 1980s and early 1990s, 4 million people a year moved into the South from the Northeast, Midwest, and West, compared to only 2 million who moved out of the South (Figure 3-13 left). Americans migrated to the South primarily for job opportunities. New jobs created each year since 1960 have averaged about 3 percent in the United States as a

whole, 5 percent in the South, but only 2 percent in the rest of the country.

People have also migrated to the South for environmental reasons. Americans commonly refer to the South as the "sunbelt," because of its more temperate climate, whereas the Northeast and Midwest are labeled the "rustbelt," because of the regions' dependency on declining steel and other manufacturing industries (as well as the ability of the regions' climate to rust out cars relatively quickly). As people gain more leisure time, they are lured to the sunbelt for outdoor recreation throughout the year.

The rapid growth in population and employment of the South has aggravated interregional antagonism. Some people in the Northeast and Midwest believe that southern states have stolen industries from them. In reality, some industries have relocated from the Northeast and Midwest, but most of the South's industrial growth comes from newly established companies.

To some extent, the regional difference in economic growth reduces a historical imbalance, because in the past people in the Northeast enjoyed higher incomes than residents of the South. Average incomes in the South were 10 percent lower than in the Northeast in 2000. By comparison, as recently as 1960, average incomes were one-third lower in the South than in the Northeast, and in 1929, at the outset of the Great Depression, average incomes were two-thirds lower in the South.

Net migration of African Americans historically followed a different pattern. A century ago most African Americans lived in the South because their ancestors had been forced to migrate to the region from Africa. During the twentieth century, large numbers of African Americans migrated from the South to take jobs in the large cities of the Northeast, Midwest, and West (see Chapter 7). During the 1990s, African Americans migrated from North to South and from South to North in about equal numbers, whereas North-to-South migration was much higher for whites. Other interregional migration patterns

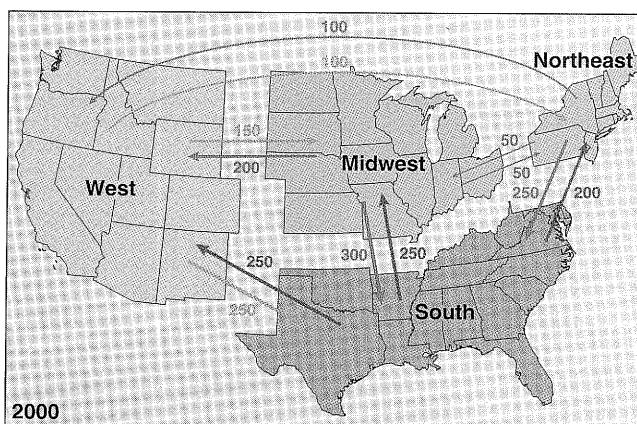
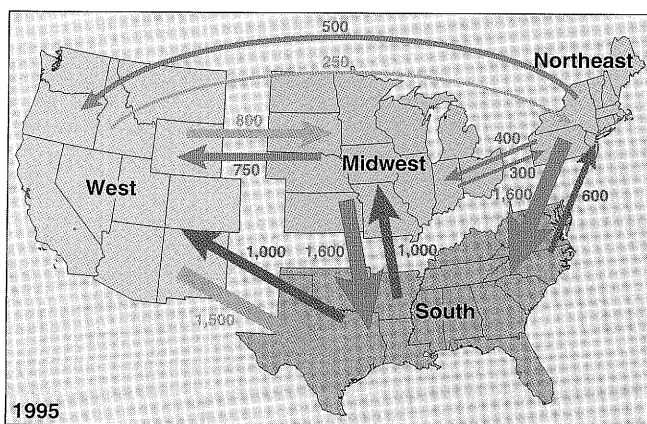


FIGURE 3-13 U.S. interregional migration. Figures show average annual migration (in thousands) in 1995 (left) and 2000 (right). Compared to 2000, the 1995 figures show much higher total interregional migration and migration into the South.

for African Americans, as well as for Hispanics, now differ little from those of whites.

Interregional migration has slowed considerably in the United States into the twenty-first century (Figure 3–13 right). Net migration between each pair of regions is now close to zero. Regional differences in employment prospects have become less dramatic within the United States. With most new jobs in the service sector of the economy, jobs are expanding and contracting at similar rates around the country (see Chapter 12).

Migration Between Regions in Other Countries

As in the United States, long-distance interregional migration has been an important means of opening new regions for economic development in other large countries. Incentives have been used to stimulate migration to other regions.

Russia. Interregional migration was important in developing the former Soviet Union. Soviet policy encouraged factory construction near raw materials rather than near existing population concentrations (see Chapter 11). Not enough workers lived nearby to fill all the jobs at the mines, factories, and construction sites established in these remote resource-rich regions. To build up an adequate labor force, the Soviet government had to stimulate interregional migration.

Soviet officials were especially eager to develop Russia's Far North, which included much of Siberia, because it is rich in natural resources—fossil fuels, minerals, and forests. The Far North encompassed 45 percent of the Soviet Union's land area but contained less than 2 percent of its people. Earlier in this century the Soviet government had forced people to migrate to the Far North to construct and operate steel mills, hydroelectric power stations, mines, and other enterprises. In later years the Soviet government reduced the use of forced migration and instead provided incentives, including higher wages, more paid holidays, and earlier retirement, to induce voluntary migration to the Far North.

However, the incentives failed to pull as many migrants to the Far North as Soviet officials desired. People were reluctant because of the region's harsh climate and remoteness from population clusters. Each year, as many as half of the people in the Far North migrated back to other regions of the country and had to be replaced by other immigrants, especially young males willing to work in the region for a short period. One method the Soviet government used was to send a brigade of young volunteers, known as *Komsomol*, during school vacations to help construct projects. An example is the Baikal-Amur Railroad, which runs for 3,145 kilometers (1,955 miles) from Taishet to Sovetskaya Gavan.

The collapse of the Soviet Union ended policies that encouraged interregional migration. In the transition to a

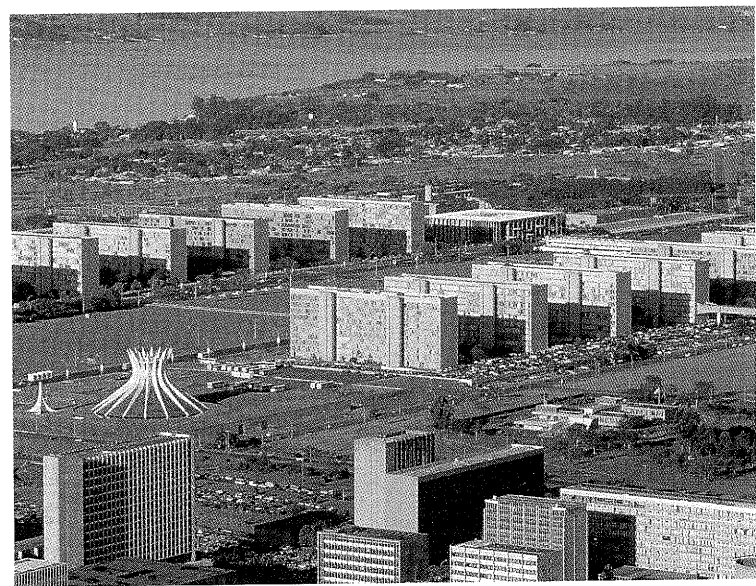
market-based economy, Russian government officials no longer dictate "optimal" locations for factories.

Brazil. Another large country, Brazil, has encouraged interregional migration. Most Brazilians live in a string of large cities near the Atlantic Coast, including Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Porto Alegre. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have become two of the world's largest cities. In contrast, Brazil's tropical interior is very sparsely inhabited.

To increase the attractiveness of the interior, the government moved its capital in 1960 from Rio to a newly built city called Brasília, situated 1,000 kilometers (600 miles) from the Atlantic Coast. From above, Brasília's design resembles an airplane, with government buildings located at the center of the city and housing arranged along the "wings."

At first Brasília's population grew slowly, because government workers and foreign embassy officials resented the forced move from Rio, one of the world's most animated cities. In recent years thousands of people have migrated to Brasília in search of jobs. In a country with rapid population growth, many people will migrate where they think they can find employment. Many of these workers could not afford housing in Brasília and were living instead in hastily erected shacks on the outskirts.

Indonesia. Since 1969 the Indonesian government has paid for the migration of more than 5 million people, primarily from the island of Java, where nearly two-thirds of its people live, to less populated islands. Under the government program, families receive 2 hectares (5 acres) of land, materials to build a house, seeds and pesticides, and food to tide them over until the crops are ready.



Brasília. Brazil's capital was moved here in 1960. Since then, thousands of migrants have arrived in search of jobs. Many live in poor-quality housing on the edge of the city, in the background of the photograph, a stark contrast to the carefully planned central area in the foreground.

The number of participants has declined in recent years, primarily because of environmental concerns. Some families moved to land that could not support intensive agriculture, whereas others disrupted the habitats of indigenous peoples. The program siphoned off only a very small percentage of Java's population growth during the past quarter century.

Europe. The pattern of interregional migration throughout Western Europe is reflected in differences in per capita income and unemployment in different regions. The regions with net immigration are also the ones with the highest per capita incomes.

Even countries that occupy relatively small land areas have important interregional migration trends. People in Italy migrate from the south, known as the *Mezzogiorno*, to the north in search of job opportunities. Compared to the *Mezzogiorno*, Italy's north benefits from relatively rich agricultural land and a strong industrial base. The *Mezzogiorno* comprises 40 percent of Italy's land area and contains 35 percent of the population, but only 24 percent of the national income. Per capita income is nearly twice as high in the north as in the south, and unemployment rates are less than 5 percent in the north, compared to more than 20 percent in the south.

Similarly, people in the United Kingdom are migrating because of regional differences in job opportunities, although the pattern is the opposite of Italy's: economic growth is in the south, whereas the north is declining. The northern regions of the United Kingdom were the first in the world to enter the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century. Today many of the region's industries are no longer competitive in the global economy. On the other hand, industries in the south and east—especially the region around London—are relatively healthy.

Regional differences in economic conditions within European countries may become greater with increased integration of the continent's economy. Regions closer to European markets, such as the south of Britain and the north of Italy, may hold a competitive advantage over more peripheral regions.

India. A number of governments limit the ability of people to migrate from one region to another. For example, Indians require a permit to migrate—or even to visit—the State of Assam in the northeastern part of the country. The restrictions, which date from the British colonial era, are designed to protect the ethnic identity of Assamese by limiting the ability of outsiders to compete for jobs and purchase land. Because Assam is situated on the border with Bangladesh, the restrictions also limit international migration.

Migration Within One Region

Although interregional migration attracts considerable attention, far more people move within the same region, which is *intraregional* migration. Since 1800 the most

prominent type of intraregional migration in the world has been from rural to urban areas. Less than 5 percent of the world's people lived in urban areas in 1800, compared to nearly half today.

Migration from Rural to Urban Areas

Urbanization began in the 1800s in the countries of Europe and North America, which were undergoing rapid industrial development. The percentage of people living in urban areas in the United States, for example, increased from 5 percent in 1800 to 50 percent in 1920. Today approximately three-fourths of the people in the United States and other more developed countries live in urban areas.

Migration from rural to urban areas has skyrocketed in recent years in the less developed countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Studies conducted in a variety of less developed countries show that migration from rural areas accounts for nearly half of the population increase in urban areas, and the natural increase (excess of births over deaths) accounts for the remainder. Worldwide, more than 20 million people are estimated to migrate each year from rural to urban areas.

Migration to one of the world's largest cities, São Paulo, Brazil, has reached 300,000 people per year. Many of these migrants cannot find housing in the city and must live in squatter settlements, known in Brazil as *favelas*. The favelas may lack electricity, running water, and paved streets (see Chapter 13).

Like interregional migrants, most people who move from rural to urban areas seek economic advancement. They are pushed from rural areas by declining opportunities in agriculture and are pulled to the cities by the prospect of work in factories or in service industries.

Migration from Urban to Suburban Areas

In more developed countries, most intraregional migration is from central cities out to the suburbs. Twice as many Americans migrate from central cities to suburbs each year than migrate from suburbs to central cities (Figure 3-14). Comparable rates of suburbanization are found in Canada, the United Kingdom, and other Western European countries. The population of most central cities has declined in North America and Western Europe, whereas suburbs have grown rapidly.

The major reason for the large-scale migration to the suburbs is not related to employment, as was the case with other forms of migration. For most people migration to suburbs does not coincide with changing jobs. Instead, people are pulled by a suburban lifestyle.

Suburbs offer the opportunity to live in a detached house rather than an apartment, surrounded by a private yard where children can play safely. A garage or driveway on the property guarantees space to park automobiles at no charge. Suburban schools tend to be more modern, better equipped, and safer than those in cities.

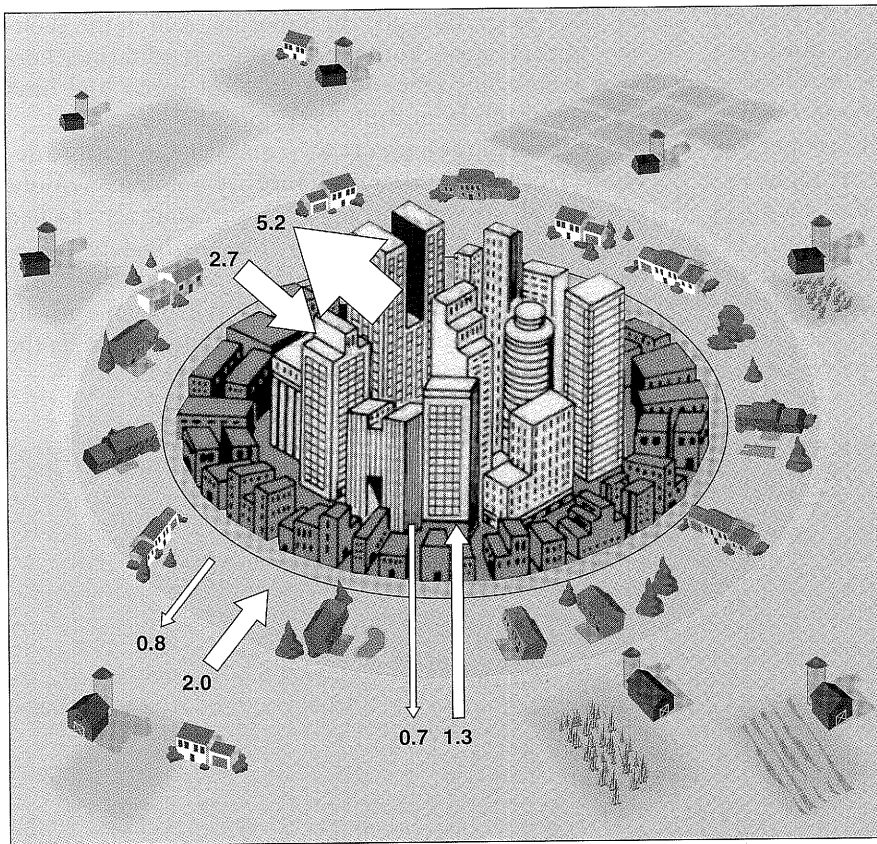


FIGURE 3-14 U.S. intraregional migration. Figures show average annual migration (in millions) during the 1990s. The largest flow by far was from central cities to suburbs. Slightly more people migrated from urban to rural areas than from rural to urban areas.

Automobiles and trains enable people to live in suburbs yet have access to jobs, shops, and recreation facilities throughout the urban area (see Chapter 13).

As a result of suburbanization, the territory occupied by urban areas has rapidly expanded (see Chapter 13). To accommodate suburban growth, farms on the periphery of urban areas are converted to housing developments, where new roads, sewers, and other services must be built.

Migration from Metropolitan to Nonmetropolitan Areas

During the late twentieth century, the more developed countries of North America and Western Europe witnessed a new trend. For the first time, more people in these regions immigrated into rural areas than emigrated out of them. Net migration from urban to rural areas is called **counterurbanization**.

Counterurbanization results in part from very rapid expansion of suburbs. The boundary where suburbs end and the countryside begins cannot be precisely defined. However, most counterurbanization represents genuine migration from cities and suburbs to small towns and rural communities.

Like suburbanization, people move from urban to rural areas for lifestyle reasons. People are lured to rural areas by the prospect of swapping the frantic pace of urban life for the opportunity to live on a farm where

they can own horses or grow vegetables. However, most people who move to farms do not earn their living from agriculture. Instead, they work in nearby factories, small-town shops, or other services.

With modern communications and transportation systems, no location in a more developed country is truly isolated, either economically or socially. Computers enable us to work anywhere and still have access to an international network. We can obtain money at any time from a conveniently located electronic transfer machine rather than by going to a bank building. We can select clothing from a mail-order catalog, place the order by telephone, pay by credit card, and have the desired items delivered within a few days. We can follow the fortunes of our favorite baseball teams on television anywhere in the country, thanks to satellite dishes.

Many migrants from urban to rural areas are retired people who are attracted by access to leisure activities, such as fishing and hiking. Retirement communities—in reality, small towns restricted to older people, typically over age 50—appeal to retired people who like to participate in recreation activities. In France some elderly people migrate from Paris to the rural village where they were born, whereas others are attracted to the mild climate in the south of the country along the Mediterranean coast.

Counterurbanization has stopped in the United States because of poor economic conditions in some rural areas. More people again migrated from nonmetropolitan into metropolitan areas in 2000 than from metropolitan to

nonmetropolitan. Many factories that located in rural areas during the 1970s are no longer competitive in a rapidly changing global economy. Industries that located in rural areas to take advantage of the lower costs of doing business are being undersold by Asian competitors who have even lower production costs. Surviving industries in some rural areas of more developed countries have become more efficient by eliminating jobs.

The economy of many rural areas has also been hurt by poor agricultural conditions. The price of farm products has declined, and many farmers have gone bankrupt. Although farmers constitute a small percentage of

the labor force, they play an important role in the economy of rural areas. For example, the typical farmer borrows large sums of money from local banks and buys expensive equipment from local stores.

Future migration trends are unpredictable in more developed countries, because future economic conditions are difficult to forecast. Have these countries reached long-term equilibrium, in which approximately three-fourths of the people live in urban areas and one-fourth in rural areas? Will counterurbanization resume in the future because people prefer to live in rural areas? Is the decline of the rural economy reversible?

SUMMARY

Migration will play an increasing role in determining population growth of countries in stages 3 and 4 of the demographic transition. In the United States the crude birth rate is approximately 15, the crude death rate is approximately 9, and the natural increase rate is approximately 0.6 percent per year. These rates translate into approximately 4.0 million births and 2.4 million deaths annually, and a natural increase of 1.6 million people each year. However, the annual population increase in the United States is approximately 3.3 million. The difference between actual growth and natural increase is due to net in-migration.

In a couple of decades the crude birth and crude death rates will be roughly equal in the United States. At that time, virtually all population growth will be attributable to net in-migration rather than to natural increase. Here again are the key issues we have raised about migration:

1. Why do people migrate? We can group the reasons into push and pull factors. People feel compelled (pushed) to emigrate from a location for political, economic, and environmental reasons. Similarly, people are induced (pulled) to immigrate because of the political, economic, or environmental attractiveness of a new location. We can also distinguish between international and internal migration.

2. Where are migrants distributed? At a global scale, the largest flows of migrants are from Asia to Europe and from Asia and Latin America to the United States. The United States receives by far the largest number of migrants, although countries in the Middle East contain the largest percentage of migrants.

3. Why do migrants face obstacles? Migrants have difficulty getting permission to enter other countries, and they face hostility from local citizens once they arrive. Immigration laws restrict the number who can legally enter the United States. In Europe and the Middle East, guest workers migrate temporarily to perform menial jobs.

4. Why do people migrate within a country? We can distinguish between interregional and intraregional migration within the same country. Historically, interregional migration was especially important in settling the frontier of large countries such as the United States, Russia, and Brazil. Today interregional migration persists because of differences among regions of a country in economic conditions, climate, and other environmental factors. The most important intraregional migration trends are from rural to urban areas within less developed countries and from cities to suburbs within more developed countries.



CASE STUDY REVISITED

Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor . . .

The most famous symbol of migration in the world is surely the Statue of Liberty. Its inscription, written by Emma Lazarus, includes the famous words, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." The statue stands at the mouth of New York Harbor, near Ellis Island, which was for many years the initial landing and processing point for millions of immigrants from Europe. The Statue of Liberty was the first

landmark seen by many European immigrants when they sailed into the United States.

European countries like Ireland no longer supply most of the migrants to the United States, and Irish people are being lured back to Ireland by an improving economy. Desire to migrate to the United States has shifted to less developed countries in Asia and Latin America.

Latin American countries in stage 2 of the demographic transition export a large percentage of their population growth to the

United States. For example, Jamaica has a population of 2.7 million, a crude birth rate of 18 (per 1,000), a crude death rate of 6, and a natural increase rate of 1.2 percent per year (calculated as crude birth rate minus crude death rate). Otherwise stated, in one year Jamaica has approximately 47,000 births, approximately 14,000 deaths, and therefore a natural increase of approximately 33,000. However, 15,000 Jamaicans have migrated to the United States annually in recent years. As a result of this emigration, Jamaica's annual population increase is actually only about 18,000, or 0.7 percent, a bit more than half of the natural increase rate.

Jamaicans claim that the large-scale emigration subsidizes the U.S. economy because most of the migrants are nurses, teachers, doctors, and other professionals who have been trained at the expense of the Jamaican government. However, many of these migrants send their savings earned in the United States back to Jamaica to help out relatives who remain in the country. In addition, Jamaicans who have immigrated to the United States often return to Jamaica for visits, taking money and goods back with them. More important, they bring back to Jamaica the cultural values acquired through living in a more developed society.

Residents of the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not greet European immigrants with open arms. However, immigrants were given the opportunity to enter the country and make new lives. Some of them were successful. Even recently arrived undocumented immigrants stand a good chance of success if given the chance.

For many people the only way to enter the United States or Canada is illegally. In the latter part of the twentieth century the tradition of universal ability to migrate to North America no longer exists. Paradoxically, in an era when human beings have invented easy means of long-distance transport, the right of free migration has been replaced by human barriers. The United States no longer asks for immigration of the world's tired, poor, huddled masses yearning to be free.



Immigration through Ellis Island. This Italian family immigrated through Ellis Island, in New York Harbor, in 1905.

KEY TERMS

Brain drain (p. 99)
Chain migration (p. 98)
Circulation (p. 85)
Counterurbanization (p. 109)
Emigration (p. 85)
Floodplain (p. 87)
Forced migration (p. 88)
Guest workers (p. 99)

Immigration (p. 85)
Internal migration (p. 88)
International migration (p. 88)
Interregional migration (p. 88)
Intervening obstacle (p. 88)
Intraregional migration (p. 88)
Migration (p. 85)
Migration transition (p. 89)

Mobility (p. 85)
Net migration (p. 85)
Pull factor (p. 85)
Push factor (p. 85)
Quotas (p. 99)
Refugees (p. 86)
Undocumented immigrants (p. 96)
Voluntary migration (p. 88)

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. Should preference for immigrating to the United States and Canada be given to individuals with special job skills, or should priority be given to reunification of family members? Should quotas be raised to meet increasing demand for both types of immigrants? Why or why not?
2. What is the impact of large-scale emigration on the places from which migrants depart? On balance, do these places suffer because of the loss of young, upwardly mobile workers, or do these places benefit from the draining away of surplus

- labor? In the communities from which migrants depart, is the quality of life improved overall through reduced pressures on local resources or is it damaged overall through the deterioration of social structures and institutions? Explain.
3. According to the concept of chain migration, current migrants tend to follow the paths of relatives and friends who have moved earlier. Can you find evidence of chain migration in your community? Does chain migration apply primarily to the relocation of people from one community

in a less developed country to one community in a more developed country, or is chain migration more applicable to movement within a more developed country? Explain.

4. Which demographic characteristics (such as rates of natural increase, crude birth, and crude death) prevail in the three regions with the largest numbers of refugees—the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan, and the Middle East? Is large-scale forced migration alleviating or exacerbating population growth in these regions? Explain.

5. At the same time that some people are migrating from less developed countries to more developed countries in search of employment, transnational corporations have relocated some low-skilled jobs to less developed countries to take advantage of low wage rates. Should less developed countries care whether their surplus workers emigrate or remain as employees of foreign companies? Why?

ON THE INTERNET

Our Internet focus in Chapter 3 (www.prenhall.com/rubenstein) is migration: where migrants come from, why they move, and the obstacles they face. For example, in one of our Short Essay questions we explore American public opinion on U.S. immigration questions, whereas another essay question examines the five preference levels for immigration into the United States. An essay question from our Reviewing Concepts section looks at the patterns and developments in various modern migration flows. There is also a set of online map exercises that focus on migration issues, as well as an opportunity to explore key terms in depth through Internet

search engines that provide examples of how these terms are used.

The U.S. Committee on Refugees web site (www.refugees.org) contains statistics and background information about each location in the world where refugees are being generated, as well as ways to help. Statistics concerning immigration to the United States are maintained by the Office of Immigration Statistics and are accessed through the U.S. Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services web (www.immigration.gov). Immigration statistics are displayed by origin of country extending back to 1820. Statistics concerning illegal immigrants are also provided.

FURTHER READINGS

- Al-Ali, Nadej, and Khalid Koser, eds. *New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Appleyard, Reginald, ed. *International Migration Today. Vol. I: Trends and Prospects*. Paris: UNESCO, 1988.
- Baily, Samuel, L., and Eduardo José Míguez, eds. *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America*. Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 2003.
- Bennett, D. Gordon, and Ole Gade. *Geographic Perspectives in Migration Research: A Bibliographic Survey*. University of North Carolina Studies in Geography, No. 12. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Berry, Brian J. L., and Lester Silverman, eds. *Population Redistribution and Public Policy*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1978.
- Brockerhoff, M., and A. E. Biddlecom. "Migration, Sexual Behavior and the Risk of HIV in Kenya." *International Migration Review* 33 (1999): 833–56.
- Brown, Larry A., and R. L. Sanders. "Toward a Development Paradigm of Migration: With Particular Reference to Third World Settings." In *Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Micro-level Studies in Developed and Developing Countries*, ed. G. F. DeJong and R. W. Gardner. New York: Pergamon, 1981.
- Cadwallader, M. *Migration and Residential Mobility: Macro and Micro Approaches*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- Champion, A. G., ed. *Counterurbanization: The Changing Pace and Nature of Population Deconcentration*. London: Edward Arnold, 1989.
- Chant, Sylvia, ed. *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. London: Belhaven Press, 1992.
- Clark, W. A. V. *Human Migration*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1986.
- Cohen, Robin, ed. *Theories of Migration*. Lyme, N.H.: Edward Elgar, 1996.
- Durand, Jorge; William Kandel, and Douglas S. Massey. "International Migration and Development in Mexican Communities." *Demography* 33 (1996) 249–64.
- Eltis, David, ed. *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Frey, William H. "Migration and Metropolitan Decline in Developed Countries: A Comparative Study." *Population and Development Review* 14 (1988): 599–628.
- Geddes, Andrew. *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. London and Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003.
- Gober, Patricia. "Americans on the Move." *Population Bulletin* 48 (3). Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1993.
- Grigg, D. B. "E. G. Ravenstein and the 'Laws of Migration.'" *Journal of Historical Geography* 3 (1977): 41–54.
- Hardill, Irene. *Gender, Migration and the Dual Career Household*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Hyndman, Jennifer. "Border Crossings." *Antipode* 29 (1997): 149–76.
- Jackson, J. D., ed. *Migration*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.