

Migration and Globalization

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Introduction

Transnational flows of goods and capital have driven globalization during recent years. These flows have been made possible by the gradual lowering of barriers to trade and investment across national borders, thus allowing for the expansion of the global economy. However, states have often firmly resisted applying similar deregulatory policies to the international movement of people.

As noted by the World Bank in its report, "Globalization, Growth, and Poverty," while countries have sought to promote integrated markets through liberalization of trade and investment, they have largely opposed liberalizing migration policies. Many countries maintain extensive legal barriers to prevent foreigners seeking work or residency from entering their national borders. In fact, immigration policies across the world are becoming stricter as governments attempt to minimize the economic, cultural, and security impacts of large movements of people between nations.

Despite the reluctance of governments to liberalize immigration policy, however, the number of people living outside their countries of origin has risen from 120 million in 1990 to an estimated 215 million in 2012 (The World Bank, 2012), which is approximately 3.05 percent of the world population.

"Today, the number of people living outside their country of birth is larger than at any other time in history. International migrants would now constitute the world's fifth most populous country if they all lived in the same place" (UNFPA).

A 2009 study conducted by *Gallup Polls* across 135 countries reveals that 16 percent of the world's adult population would like to move permanently to another country if they had the chance. However, these numbers seem to vary by region. According to polls taken from 2007 - 2009, 38 percent of sub-Saharan Africans want to migrate, while only 10 percent of Asians want to permanently leave their home country. The U.S. is the most desirable destination country, according to those polls (Espisova, Ray, 2009).

A variety of reasons lie behind migration. People may migrate in order to improve their economic situation, or to escape civil strife, persecution, and environmental disasters. Traditionally, the reasons encouraging an individual to migrate were categorized as "**push**" or "**pull**" factors. Globalization has introduced a third set of motivations called "network" factors, which include free flow of information, improved global communication and faster and lower cost transportation. While network factors are not a direct cause of migration, they do facilitate it.

As well as encouraging migration, globalization also produces countervailing forces. For example, as businesses grow and become more internationalized they often outsource their production to developing countries where labor costs are lower. This movement of jobs from developed nations to the developing world mitigates certain economic factors leading to migration. In other words, in a global economy jobs can move to potential migrants instead of migrants moving to potential jobs.

The impacts of migration are complex, bringing both benefits and disadvantages. Immigration provides a supply of low cost labor for host countries, while remittances from emigrant workers can be an important source of foreign income for sending nations. On the other hand, immigration can stoke resentment and fear towards newcomers in receiving states, as immigrants are discriminated against, accused of lowering wages and associated with crime, among other complaints. For the economies of sending nations, emigration leads to a loss of young, able-bodied, well-educated and otherwise economically valuable citizens.

This Issue in Depth is designed to help you understand the causes of migration, the allocation of benefits, and the ways in which individual countries and the international community deal with this important subject. The Issue in Depth addresses primarily voluntary economic migration, that is, migrants who relocate to a foreign country as temporary workers or legal

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immigrants. These categories of migrants are perhaps the most controversial as governments struggle to create a migration policy that effectively acknowledges economic necessity and domestic apprehensions. Civil conflict and oppression create different patterns of migration in the form of refugees and asylum seekers. These types of migration, however, are not causally related to globalization and are only briefly discussed below.

A Brief History of Migration

Migration in an Earlier Era of Globalization

The most recent era of mass voluntary migration was between 1850 and 1914. Over one million people a year were drawn to the new world by the turn of the 20th century. A World Bank report, *International Migration and the Global Economic Order*, estimates that 10 percent of the world's population was migrating in this time period, whereas migration today is around three percent. Growing prosperity, falling transport costs relative to wages, and lower risk all helped to facilitate this era of mass migration. (A situation not unlike that of today) It was also at this earlier time that states developed a formal and regulated system of passports and visas to control the flow of people across national borders.

The effects of the first era of migration can be seen in the population compositions of many countries in the Western Hemisphere. In the latter part of the 19th century, for example, nearly 15 percent of the U.S. population was foreign born, with the overwhelming majority of these immigrants arriving from Europe. Irish and Italian immigrants came in particularly large numbers, as did Russian and East European Jews, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Germans. Most current U.S. citizens of European descent are a product of this period of immigration (O'Rourke, 2001).

At the same time that European emigration was surging during the 19th Century, Chinese and Japanese immigrants were arriving in large numbers to the West Coast of the U.S. and Hawaii (Richin, 1972). However, streams of Asian immigration to the U.S. were quickly halted by a series of restrictive policies targeting Chinese, Japanese and finally all Asian immigrants at the turn of the 20th Century (Daniels 1999). Elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere, rapidly developing countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile experienced large influxes of Spanish and Portuguese immigrants facilitated by the past colonial connection between their countries, but also received immigrants from Germany, Britain, Italy, Poland, China, and Japan (O'Rourke, 2001).

This wave of immigration to the New World resulted in moments of backlash against immigrants. In the U.S., immigrants were blamed for crime, disease, and the persistence of poverty in the urban centers of the Northeast and Midwest. Furthermore, immigrants formed a large and restless population that seemed ripe for social conflict.

Groups calling for worldwide socialist revolution found adherents among poor immigrants, and immigrants were also prominent members and leaders of labor unions, which were often viewed as potential sources of foreign, socialist opposition to American capitalism. In 1919 and 1920, U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer instigated numerous roundups of immigrants during the "Palmer's Raids," which led to the deportation of thousands of supposed Communist agitators (Daniels 2002).

At the same time, Asian immigrants were viewed with suspicion and outright racism on the West Coast. In 1878, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Chinese immigrants were prohibited from becoming naturalized American citizens. In 1882, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act preventing Chinese laborers from coming to the U.S. for ten years; later the act was amended to prohibit virtually all Chinese immigration, a situation that lasted until the mid-1900s. Similarly, Japanese immigration was restricted by the 1907 Gentleman's Agreement between the governments of Japan and the U.S. Ultimately, nearly all Asian immigration was banned by the Asiatic Barred Zone provision of the Immigration Act of 1917 (Daniels 2002). By 1924, "undesirable" European migration from Southern and Eastern Europe was also severely diminished through the implementation of a new quota system that strictly limited yearly entrants per migrant-sending country. Again, this legislation resulted largely from nativist, anti-immigrant sentiments which rose in response to historic levels of immigration. Curiously, the Western Hemisphere wasn't subject to the 1924 quotas, allowing Latin American immigrants to fill the U.S. labor demand previously met by European and Asian immigrants (Daniels 2002).

These developments and the global depression of the 1930s significantly reduced migration to the Western Hemisphere. Even as World War II and the Holocaust were on the horizon, Jews trying to get out of Germany and Austria were refused entry to other countries. At the 1938 Evian Conference in France, delegates from dozens of countries declined to increase

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quota numbers to admit the Jews fleeing persecution, with only one, the Dominican Republic, offering to take in any refugees (Laffer, 2011).

Post-World War II Migration

As the countries of Europe recovered from World War II, they again became attractive destinations for potential migrants and opened their doors to immigrants to help rebuild their economies. Furthermore, during the post-war period, technological improvements in land and air travel decreased the cost of migration. Emigration from developing countries to Western countries expanded rapidly as incomes in the developing world rose enough to make emigration feasible, but not enough to make it moot.

Turkish immigrants in Germany composed one of the most noticeable migrant groups during the post-war period. These immigrants were brought into the Germany as “Gastarbeiter,” or guest workers, during the 1950s and 1960s to supplement the country’s post-war demand for labor. However, the German government never intended for these immigrants to stay in Germany permanently, so they weren’t granted citizenship or fully integrated into German society, resulting in social conflict that has lasted until today. As of 2006, approximately 22 percent of Turkish citizens living in Germany still lacked German nationality despite being born there (Turks in Germany, 2006). In 2000, legislation was passed to grant German citizenship to German-born children of foreigners. However, this legislation doesn’t allow Turks to hold dual citizenship, causing social unrest among Turks who are being required to renounce their Turkish nationality in order to become German citizens (Today’s Zaman, 2012).



Likewise, during the post-war period many workers from former colonies of European powers migrated to Europe in search of work, facilitated by pre-existing ties between the imperial countries and their colonies. These migrant groups included Indians, Pakistanis, and West Indians who moved to England, and Vietnamese, Cambodians, Algerians, Tunisians, Moroccans, and other Africans who migrated to France.

As people began to migrate from post-colonial nations to Europe, the previous pattern of migration seen during the colonial period was reversed. This led to major social and demographic changes in European countries that were experiencing the effects of growing multicultural societies. At the same time, the strict barriers to immigration in the U.S. born out of the 1924 National Quota Act were lowered come mid-century. However, new migration to the U.S. came not from Europe, but primarily from Latin America and Asia (Daniels 2002).

Migration Today

Migration patterns today reflect world economic trends. For example, during the past thirty years Chinese workers have moved from inland regions to coastal cities within China in search of jobs and new economic opportunities unavailable in rural areas. Domestic Chinese migrants now account for approximately one-third of all domestic migrants worldwide, numbering almost 230 million people (The Economist 2012). These migratory trends have arisen largely in response to the surge of international capital investment and manufacturing business being funneled into China, a known hotspot for cheap land and labor. Concurrently, Chinese emigration has steadily increased since the 1970s, oftentimes resulting in the departure of the wealthy and of skilled laborers seeking professional employment in North America and Europe. Of those Chinese considered “affluent,” an astonishing 74.9 percent surveyed would consider sending their children to school abroad. Chinese emigration also includes lower skill labor groups, who may utilize unauthorized means of migration (Song, 2013).

Similarly, during the last several decades, labor migration from Latin America (particularly Mexico) to the U.S. has surged. A sizeable portion of this growing migration stream has been undocumented, a fact often called upon by immigration opponents in their quest to limit immigration rates. The backlash against immigrants from Latin America in the U.S. has resulted in the fortification of the U.S.-Mexico border, including the construction of physical walls at popular entry points. However, these efforts don't appear to have seriously limited the number of immigrants arriving in the U.S. without authorization each year; in fact, undocumented immigrants now number close to 11 million U.S. residents (Andreas 2009). Additionally, many individual states have recently passed legislation making it difficult for undocumented immigrants to receive social services and find work in the U.S, causing extensive backlash from immigrants and supporters.

Migratory patterns from Latin America have seemingly shifted in the years following the economic recession, perhaps in response to fewer employment opportunities in the U.S. In 2011, arrests made at the U.S.-Mexico border fell to lowest level since 1972. Additionally, the post-recession period has seen more migration within Latin America, not necessarily directed towards the U.S. Mexicans are now migrating within Mexico, rather than crossing the border into the U.S. and emigration streams from other Latin American countries, such as Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru, are increasingly moving towards Argentina, Brazil and Chile (Cave, 2012).

Areas in Europe have also experienced influxes of immigrants in recent years. Spain provides an interesting example; the foreign born population of the country increased by nearly 5 million people between 2000 and 2009, growing from less than four percent to nearly fourteen percent of the total population (Arango, 2013). Like immigration to the U.S, Spain's immigration is largely labor-driven, coming from areas in North Africa, Latin American and Europe. Unlike the U.S, however, increased immigration in Spain has not been the cause of extensive backlash (Arango, 2013). Alternatively, France has experience widespread resistance to immigration flows in recent years. Former President Nicolas Sarkozy pursued highly restrictive immigration policy during his term (which ended in 2012). During 2011 alone, France deported nearly 33,000 undocumented immigrants, a 17 percent increase from the previous year, and right-wing government members pushed for additional limits on legal migration as well (The Guardian, 2012)

According to the International Organization for Migration, the total number of migrants across the world has increased over the past ten years from 150 million in 2000 to 214 million in 2010. This means that 3.1 percent of the world's population is composed of migrants; this percentage has remained relatively stable over the past decade. The proportion of immigrants to total population changes vastly depending on the country being examined. Qatar and United Arab Emirates have high levels of international migrants living in their counties: 87 percent and 70 percent respectively. Conversely, Indonesia and India have very small populations of international migrants, composing just .1 percent and .4 percent of their total respective populations.

The 2009 Human Development Report notes that the vast majority of migrants move within, rather than between nations. Of those who do cross national borders, 37 percent of international migrants move from developing countries to developed countries. Far more international migrants, (60 percent) move within countries of the same category of development. Only three percent of international migrants moved from developed countries to developing countries. These numbers suggest that discussion about migration between the developed and developing world may be overstated, ignoring the more prominent phenomena of domestic migration and migration between countries of similar development.

Figure 1: Status of Ratification of International Legal Instruments Related to International Migration

<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Year Enforced</i>	<i>Parties to United Nations Instruments</i>	
		<i>No. of Countries ratifying</i>	<i>No. of Country signatories</i>
Migrant Workers			
1949 ILO Convention Migration for Employment (Revised) (No. 97) (as of June 2012) (Taran, 2012)	1952	97	50
1975 ILO Convention concerning Migration in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and the Treatment of Migrant Workers (No. 143) (as of June 2012) (Taran, 2012)	1978	143	
1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (as of June 2012) (Taran, 2012)	2003	46	16
Smuggling and Trafficking			
2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (as of 2012) (Wikipedia, n.d.)	2003	150	117
2000 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (as of 2012) (Wikipedia, n.d.)	2004	130	112
Refugees			
1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (as of 2011) (UNHCR, 2011)	1954	144	147
1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (as of 2011) (UNHCR, 2011)	1967	145	147

Why Does Migration Happen?

Sociologists have long analyzed migration in terms of the "push-pull" model. This model differentiates between *push* factors that drive people to leave home, from *pull* factors that attract migrants to a new location. Push factors occur within sending states, that is, those that send migrants abroad, while pull factors occur within receiving states, that is, states that receive immigrants from sending states abroad.

Push factors are negative aspects of the sending country, while pull factors are positive aspects of the receiving country. In fact, these differentiating factors are really two sides of the same coin. In moving migrants must not only find a lack of benefits at home (push factors) but also expect a surplus of benefits abroad (pull factors); otherwise the move would not be worthwhile.

There are also more ambiguous factors, called *network factors* that can either facilitate or deter migration. As mentioned above, network factors include cost of travel, the ease of communication, and international business trends. These factors are not related to a specific country, but still have a profound effect on international migration.

Push Factors

Push factors come in many forms. Sometimes these factors leave people with no choice but to leave their country of origin. Below are three examples of push factors that drive people to emigrate from their home countries.

Lack of Jobs/Poverty: Economic factors provide the main motivation behind migration. In fact, according to the International Labour Organization, approximately half of the total population of current international migrants, or about 100 million migrant workers, have left home to find better job and lifestyle opportunities for their families abroad (International Labour Office of the Director-General, 2008). In some countries, jobs simply do not exist for a great deal of the population. In other instances, the income gap between sending and receiving countries is great enough to warrant a move. India, for example, has recently experienced a surge in emigration due to a combination of these factors (Index Mundi 2012).

The greatest challenge facing India is creating enough jobs for its burgeoning population. India's unemployed sector has never been properly estimated, but it could total as much as 121 million people (Index Mundi 2012). The number of skilled workers graduating from Indian universities is also continuing to increase. Meanwhile, the amount of domestic jobs available to university graduates is minimal. Only about 2.7 million jobs were created between 2004-2005 and 2009-2010. Job creation has improved in recent years, but unemployment rates still remain extremely high throughout India (The Economic Times, 2013). This imbalance will not keep skilled workers in the country.

Instead, many graduates from Indian universities migrate to the U.S., where their skills and lower wage demands appeal to high-tech companies. In fact, about 40 percent of recent immigrants from India to the U.S. have been accepted due to employment-based preferences, thus showing the high degree of American corporations' demand for Indian skilled labor (Alarcon, 2007). As the Indian population grows, and more students graduate from technical universities, India may experience a great deal more emigration.

While the case of India described above represents skilled/professional labor migration, similar trends apply to low skilled migrant laborers, who may leave home countries due to lack of demand and/or low wages for their work and excess need for this kind of work elsewhere. The influx of low skilled laborers from Latin America into the U.S. to accommodate the growing service sector provides an example of this alternate form of labor migration.

Civil Strife/War/Political and Religious Persecution: Some migrants are impelled to cross national borders by war or persecution at home. These immigrants may be considered refugees or asylum seekers in receiving countries. The 1951 **Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees** defined the qualifications for such migrants and bound

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signatory countries not to return these newcomers to places where they could be persecuted. According to the text put forth by the Convention, a refugee is “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees).

In 2011, the total worldwide “population of concern,” which includes refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons and stateless persons was estimated to number 35.4 million people; 10.4 million of those people were refugees. Additionally, 80 percent of the refugee population was hosted by developing, rather than developed nations (UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2011).



The Syrian Civil War, which began in the spring of 2011, provides an extreme example of the relationship between internal violence and the emigration of refugees. The war has included horrific violence between government forces and rebel groups attempting to overthrow the Assad regime, resulting in more than 80,000 deaths as well as extensive human rights atrocities (Abedine et al, 2013). As a result of the deteriorating conditions in Syria, which include the alleged use of chemical weapons, torture, civilian massacres and so on, Syrian citizens have fled in mass numbers. As of May 2013, more than four million Syrians were internally displaced and over 1.5 million had vacated the country to neighboring states as refugees. These numbers have drastically increased as circumstances

have become more dire; one million of the total refugee population has fled during the first five months of 2013 alone, and the UNHCR suggests that these estimates may be significantly undercounted (Abedine et al, 2013).

Despite the existence of real conflicts such as the Syrian Civil War, however, the governments of many developed countries continue to treat would-be refugees and asylum-seekers as economic migrants looking for an easier way to escape poverty in the developing world. For example, the U.S. has declared that most Haitian emigrants are fleeing because of widespread impoverishment rather than the social and political strife that plague Haiti. As a result, the U.S. government does not afford certain privileges allocated to refugees to all Haitians arriving in the U.S. If Haitian immigrants come to the U.S. through unauthorized channels, which many do, they must pass a rigorous examination of their qualifications as refugees or asylum-seekers and if they fail, they are returned to Haiti.

Conversely, refugees from Cuba have encountered a far more welcoming reception in the U.S. during much of the 20th Century, though less so in the post-1980 period. This may be due, in part, to the political strife between the U.S. and the communist government in Cuba, and the resulting willingness of the U.S. government to accept refugees of communism. Haitian-Americans and their supporters have protested what they call an unfair distinction in treatment of the two groups, while the U.S. government maintains that Haiti, though not a perfect democracy, is not a dictatorship such that Haitians deserve immediate consideration as refugees (Crosette, 1991).

Studies suggest that refugees have been able to better assimilate into the U.S. economy than traditional economic migrants. This may be due to the fact that refugees are more likely to expect a longer stay in their country of resettlement, therefore increasing the incentive to invest in skills that will allow them to take advantage of long-term economic opportunities (Cortes, 2004). However, this trend may also be related to resettlement programs and other privileges allocated to refugees (like Cuban migrants in the U.S.) that often aren't available to other immigrants (Crosette, 1991). Regardless of the reason behind it, this finding contradicts the popular notion that refugees exact a serious financial or resource-draining burden on their country of resettlement.

Environmental Problems: Environmental problems and natural disasters often cause the loss of money, homes, and jobs. In the middle of the 19th century, for example, Ireland experienced a famine never before seen in the country's history. By late fall 1845, the main staple of the Irish diet, the potato, was practically wiped out. With the government not clear on how to respond, many people died of starvation. The famine killed hundreds of thousands and forced millions of Irish to flee.

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Between 1841 and 1851, the Irish population decreased by 1.6 million people, or approximately 17% of the total population, due to starvation and emigration (Daniels 2002).

These emigrants were also encouraged to leave Ireland by their English landlords, who often rented out unseaworthy vessels that became known as "coffin ships," and by the British government, which offered cheap fares to Canada. The large population of Americans and Canadians of Irish descent, especially in Boston, New York, and Chicago, can trace its ancestry to this period (Daniels 2002). More recently, the term "environmental refugee" has been adopted to describe migrants fleeing environmental disasters. See the following section to find more information about environmental crises that have produced migration streams during the contemporary period.

Other push factors include "primitive" conditions, natural disasters, poor medical care, as well as slavery and political fear.

Environmental Refugees

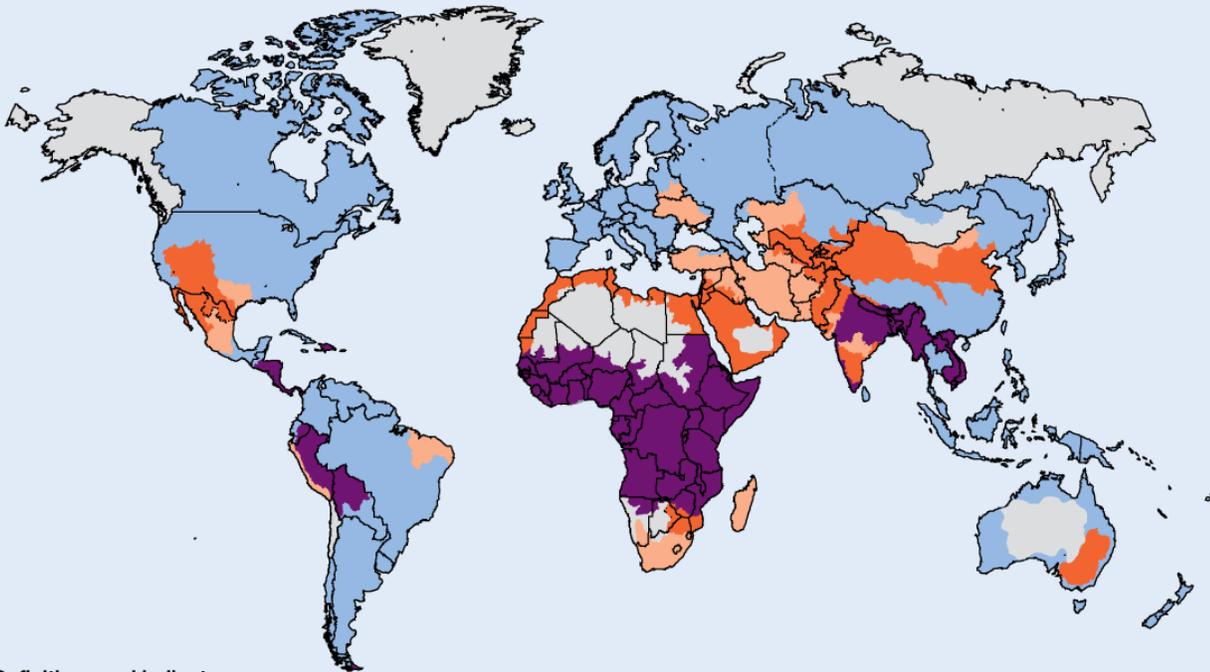
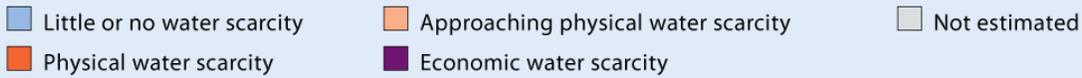
In recent years, the concept of “environmental refugees” has gained new importance, as global climate change and desertification have threatened the livelihoods of millions of people, causing many to leave home in search of new opportunities. “Environmental refugee”, a term coined by Essam El-Hinnawi, describes “*people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and/or triggered by people) that jeopardizes their existence and/or seriously effects the quality of their life*” (LISER.eu).

As of 1995, the last year when a thorough assessment was undertaken, the number of environmental refugees had reached 25 million, with this number expected to double by 2020 (Zelman, 2011). During 2012, approximately 32.4 million people were displaced by environmental disasters, including those who were forced to relocate within their countries of origin and those who sought refuge through international migration. Ninety-eight percent of this displacement was caused by climate- and weather-related disasters, especially flooding. While developing nations tend to be disproportionately affected by such displacement, often due to “compounded vulnerability” of repeated natural disasters and difficulty rebuilding infrastructure and protections for the future, wealthy countries also suffered considerable environmental-induced displacement during 2012 (IDMC, 2012).

Desertification currently affects between 100 and 200 million people worldwide. In northern Africa, the region arguably most affected by this environmental trend, desertification threatens an additional 50 million inhabitants of land at risk of becoming uninhabitable due to climate change and poor farming techniques. This trend has led to a wave of North African migrants fleeing to Western Europe in order to escape crop failure and water shortage. Although many environmental refugees would like to make it to Western Europe, the vast majority end up migrating to neighboring countries, which tend to be some of the poorest in the world. In many of these places, refugees are seen as unwelcome guests, putting further strain on already scarce water and land supplies. This social mistrust and competition may escalate to further conflict and violence (Re-thinking Policies to Cope with Desertification, 2006).

According to Oxford-based environmental migration expert Norman Myers, when global climate change takes hold, “*there could be as many as 200 million people overtaken by disruptions of monsoon systems and other rainfall regimes, by droughts of unprecedented severity and duration, and by sea-level rise and coastal flooding*” (2008). Exposure to the negative effects of global climate change will, in many cases, lead to massive waves of migration. A striking example of this is the small island of Kiribati, whose 94,000 inhabitants risk being totally submerged in water by 2070, as sea levels continue to rise. In preparation for this outcome, the President of Kiribati, Anote Tong, has proposed a gradual resettlement program, which would see the population of Kiribati slowly relocated to neighboring islands such as New Zealand (Bedford, 2009).

Environmental refugees are a particularly difficult problem for governments and policy-makers to cope with due to the variety of environmental disasters that can have dramatic impacts on the forced migration of people. For example in Bangladesh, rising sea-levels and resulting floods have caused many people to flee across the border to India. On the other hand, in the Sudan, droughts have reduced sources of water for consumption and traditional agriculture, leaving many people without sufficient access to food or water and increasing conflict over these resources. Governments must be able to foresee and respond to these environmental issues, requiring time, money and organization. Additionally, as noted above, many of the states most gravely affected by environmental disasters and resulting migration are in the developing world, meaning they may lack resources to adequately address the detrimental effects of these crises.



Definitions and indicators

- *Little or no water scarcity.* Abundant water resources relative to use, with less than 25% of water from rivers withdrawn for human purposes.
- *Physical water scarcity (water resources development is approaching or has exceeded sustainable limits).* More than 75% of river flows are withdrawn for agriculture, industry, and domestic purposes (accounting for recycling of return flows). This definition—relating water availability to water demand—implies that dry areas are not necessarily water scarce.
- *Approaching physical water scarcity.* More than 60% of river flows are withdrawn. These basins will experience physical water scarcity in the near future.
- *Economic water scarcity (human, institutional, and financial capital limit access to water even though water in nature is available locally to meet human demands).* Water resources are abundant relative to water use, with less than 25% of water from rivers withdrawn for human purposes, but malnutrition exists.

Source: International Water Management Institute analysis done for the Comprehensive Assessment of Water Management in Agriculture using the Watersim model; chapter 2.

Pull Factors

Whereas push factors drive migrants out of their countries of origin, pull factors are responsible for dictating where these travelers end up. The positive aspects of some countries serve to attract more immigrants than others. Below are three examples of pull factors that draw migrants to receiving countries.

Questions for Discussion

Create a family tree. Ask your parents and grandparents about when and why your family immigrated to the U.S. Was it mainly "push" factors or "pull" factors that made your family decide to migrate?

Higher standards of living/Higher wages: Economic incentives provide both the biggest push and pull factors for potential migrants. People moving to more developed countries will often find that the same work they were doing at home is rewarded abroad with higher wages. They will also find a greater safety net of welfare benefits should they be unable to work. Migrants are drawn to those countries where they can maximize benefits.

For example, Mexican migrants coming to America do not move strictly to escape unemployment at home. In fact, during recent years the unemployment rate in Mexico has remained significantly lower than that of the U.S; in 2011, for example, the unemployment rate in Mexico was 5.2 percent, while in the U.S. it was 9 percent (Index Mundi). Even so, a sizeable wage gap exists between the U.S. and Mexico. In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement was implemented in the hopes of increasing wages in Mexico, among other goals. However, since this time there has been little evidence of wage convergence between the economies of the U.S. and Mexico, meaning that wages remain significantly higher in the U.S. for a large portion of the population (Hanson, 2003). Thus, Mexican migrants may come to the U.S. because they are attracted by the higher hourly wages, rather than the opportunity to find employment in general.

Labor Demand: Almost all developed countries have found that they need migrants' low skill labor to support their growing economies. While most manufacturing is now outsourced to developing nations, low skill employment opportunities are available in wealthy countries due to growing service sectors. These economies create millions of jobs that domestic workers may refuse to fill because of their low wages and minimal opportunity for professional advancement. Canada is an example of this trend; the country's migrant population has nearly doubled over the past couple of years (Geddes, 2012).

It was the worst imaginable way to jolt Canadians toward noticing that low-wage foreign workers are an increasingly important segment of the country's labour force. Ten workers, nine from Peru and one from Nicaragua, recruited to fill jobs vaccinating chickens, were killed, and three others badly injured, when their van ran a stop sign and collided with a truck at a rural crossroads in southwestern Ontario... When Stephen Harper's Conservatives won power in 2006, 255,440 foreign temporary workers lived in Canada. By 2010, their ranks had expanded to 432,682. (Geddes, 2012)

Political and Religious Freedom: Much like discrimination and persecution provide strong push factors for people to leave their home countries, the existence of tolerant government policies with regards to religion, race, political views and so on may make certain countries more attractive to potential migrants. This pull factor is especially relevant to those migrants who are escaping situations of persecution (and may be considered refugees, as noted above) though it can apply to other migrants as well.

With the expansion of telecommunications technology that has accompanied globalization, migrants have found it drastically easier to stay connected with the religious community that they left behind in their home country, thus making the decision to move away from home an easier one. In places where this "transnational religion" is promoted through financial institutions, sister congregations, community organizations, telecommunications infrastructure, and governmental tolerance, migration by religiously devout persons has followed. For example, a large Muslim community with strong ties

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to religious leaders and congregations in Pakistan and Bangladesh has sprung up in Britain; they have used their freedom of religious association to press local authorities for changes in religious rights and education.

Other pull factors include superior medical care or education, family links or simply a personal fondness of a certain place, whether it may be linked to culture, language, weather conditions or other influencing factors.

Economic Effects of Migration

The economic effects of migration vary widely. Sending countries may experience both gains and losses in the short term but may stand to gain over the longer term. For receiving countries temporary worker programs help to address skills shortages but may decrease domestic wages and add to public welfare burden. The economic effects of migration for both sending and receiving countries may also vary depending on who is moving, specifically with respect to migrant workers' skill levels. A Swedish Professor notes, "the problem is not immigration; it is integration, especially in the labour market. If there are no jobs, the consequences are segregation, housing problems and divided cities" (Traynor, 2010).

For sending countries, the short-term economic benefit of emigration is found in remittances. Remittances are funds that emigrants earn abroad and send back to their home countries, mainly in order to support families left behind. According to the World Bank, remittances totaled \$529 billion worldwide in 2012, with \$401 billion of that money flowing into developing nations (2013). Significantly, these figures only account for funds sent through formal channels, so the amount of remittances is likely much larger than these numbers suggest. The World Bank notes that remittances sent through informal channels could add at least 50 percent to the globally recorded flows (UNCTAD, 2011).

A recent UNCTAD report notes:

Remittances are more stable and predictable as compared to other financial flows and, more importantly, they are counter-cyclical providing buffer against economic shocks. In conflict or post-conflict situations, remittances can be crucial to survival, sustenance, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. In providing primarily for household livelihoods, remittances are spent on general consumption items in local communities that contribute to local economies by supporting small businesses. A fair share of these expenditures is directed to the construction of homes, health care and education, alongside savings in financial institutions, thereby generating employment in these critical services sectors. Moreover, in contributing to foreign exchange earnings, remittances can spur economic growth by improving sending countries' creditworthiness and expanding their access to international capital markets (UNCTAD, 2011).

In Tajikistan, remittances from its cheap, unskilled labor force working abroad in countries like Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan have helped the country rebound from the failures of a planned economy and government instability; remittances have accounted for around 50 percent of Tajikistan's GDP in recent years (IMF Working Paper, 2006). Although the impact of remittances on developing countries is difficult to measure, one World Bank study has concluded that a one percent increase in the share of remittances in a country's GDP leads to a 0.4 per cent decline in poverty (UNFPA State of the World, 2008).

At the same time, developing countries can suffer from "brain drain"—the loss of trained and educated individuals to emigration. For example, there are currently more African scientists and engineers working in the U.S. than there are in all of Africa, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM). In Zambia, emigration has reduced the number of practicing doctors from 1,600 a few years ago, to a mere 400 today. The IOM estimates Africa's brain drain has cost nearly \$9 billion in lost human capital and growth potential since 1997. According to the United Nations Population Fund, 2006 State of the World Population report, Africa only retains 1.3 percent of the world's health care practitioners. Thus, despite having over a quarter of the world's tuberculosis cases and 64 percent of the total numbers of people infected with HIV, Africa only has, on average, a mere one nurse per 1,000 people (Shiner, 2008).

In recent years, Kenya has been working hard to combat this trend. The Kenyan government, in partnership with international aid organizations, created the Emergency Hiring Plan to increase nursing staff in public health facilities. International donors helped cover the cost of workforce recruitment, employment contracts, salary subsidies and staff deployment. The plan used public-private partnerships to fund and increase health-care worker deployment. The WHO found that EHP nurses were absorbed into civil society and accounted for a 12 percent increase in nursing staff. This model increased Kenya's health service capacity in rural and underserved areas over the short-term (WHO, 2010). Recent strikes by Kenyan doctors and nurses show that the country still has a long way to go to improving pay and other

incentives that encourage health practitioners to stay and work in the country (Dogbey, 2012). Because of severe shortages, Kenyan doctors, who work for little to no pay and have limited experience, are often performing the same amount of surgical procedures that doctors in developed nations perform in one year, in just two months (Luesby 2013).

Meanwhile, for developed countries, which are often on the receiving end of migration streams, the positive economic gains from immigration are largely the result of the infusion of inexpensive and eager laborers into the economy. In the U.S. and Canada, for example, migrant workers often fill low-wage jobs for which there is not enough local supply of labor, such as in the agricultural and service sectors. Just as cheap imports of industrial goods benefit the American economy, so too does the import of low-cost labor. Economists who support the notion of these positive gains claim that immigration has little impact on wages or job availability for domestic workers and that there is no correlation between immigration and U.S. income distribution and unemployment rates (Davies, 2011).

However, the effects of immigration have also been the cause for much debate – especially in the U.S. – and not all people believe that high levels of immigration are economically beneficial. For example, the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), a controversial non-profit founded by famed anti-immigration activist John Tanton, discounts the positive gains of immigration. Using U.S. census data from 2010 and 2011, one CIS study concluded that, “immigration has dramatically increased the size of the nation’s low-income population... Moreover, many immigrants make significant progress the longer they live in the country. But even with this progress, immigrants who have been in the U.S. for 20 years are much more likely to live in poverty, lack health insurance, and access the welfare system than are native-born Americans” (2012).

Migration and the Economic Crisis

In the global economy’s current state of financial crisis, the three economically and culturally divisive aspects of migration discussed above will likely be intensified by drastically changing labor market conditions. According to a 2009 report by the Migration Policy Institute, declining GDP in most developed countries has already led to a decreased demand for labor, with migrants bearing the brunt of job loss in areas such as construction, manufacturing, and services (Fix et al, 2009).

With trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) severely faltering in the year following the financial crisis of 2008, many migrants in the export sector lost their jobs and were forced to return home, while many potential migrants from developing countries have been deterred from making the trip across borders. Although it is still too early to gauge the true impact of the crisis thus far, many economists believe that this turnaround in migration flows is potentially the biggest since the Great Depression (Fix et al, 2009).

In China, internal, cyclical migration from rural areas to industrialized coastal regions is a widespread phenomenon; workers spend much of the year living away from home and instead in eastern provinces where they can find manufacturing work and return home briefly to celebrate the Chinese New Year with their families. In the year after the recession, however, approximately 12 million of these migrant workers were unemployed and remained in their home provinces after their yearly vacation, rather than returning to the coastal area (Fix et al, 2009).

Similarly, in the year following the economic crisis migration from Mexico to the U.S. declined notably, from 1 million immigrants annually during 2006 to just 600,000 in 2009. Much of this decrease was due to lower numbers of undocumented immigrants, while legal immigration streams remained relatively fixed. Significantly, the number of Mexican immigrants who returned to Mexico during the same period continued to be quite low, despite the high unemployment rates for Mexican immigrants during this time (Fix et al, 2009). While Mexican migration to the U.S. has not yet reached pre-recession levels, the first half of 2012 saw cautious increases in migration flows compared to the previous three years (Mexican Migration Monitor 2012).

In many countries, the volatile global economy has already exacerbated domestic pressures for government restrictions on immigration. In Russia, for example, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin enacted a policy intending to reduce the level of foreign workers in the country, while at the same time encouraging a youth branch of his Unified Russia party to engage in a campaign to “reclaim jobs for Russians that are occupied by foreign migrant workers”(Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, 2009; Synovitz, 2008).

In Australia, where violence against foreigners, primarily Indian immigrants, surged after 2009, the government reduced its intake of migrants to mitigate the effects that the financial crisis is expected to have on ethnic relations in an increasingly competitive job market (Bartlett 2010). Countries like Japan and Spain have tried an alternative approach to lessening the political and financial burden of immigrants by offering them cash incentives to return home.

In Europe migration trends between Europe, South America, and Africa reversed during the Economic Crisis. In search of work, young Portuguese are migrating to Brazil, Mozambique, and Angola, while young Spaniards are heading to Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. French, Italian and Spanish immigrants are heading to Brazil as well. In 2008 and 2009, more than 100,000 Europeans, including those with dual nationality left Europe to live in South America or the Caribbean (The Portugal News Online, 2012).

With some migrants losing their jobs and returning home, the financial crisis thus may have an indirect effect on economies in developing countries through its impact on migration remittances. As explained above, many countries, such as Mexico and Tajikistan, rely heavily on money sent home from compatriots working abroad to increase their domestic GDP and spur on economic development. As the global economic slowdown forces many of these remittance-sending migrants out of a job, it is the families and communities who rely on these payments as a major source of income who suffer as well (Fix et al, 2009).

The Case of the Filipino Nurses

A comprehensive example of migration's positive and negative economic effects on both sending and receiving countries is that of Philippine nurses who have migrated to the U.S. While the developed world is experiencing severe nursing shortages, U.S. hospitals have found a large pool of experienced nurses in the Philippines. Offering higher salaries and better living standards, U.S. hospitals have had little trouble luring Philippine nurses from their home country.

In fact, in many hospitals these immigrants make up the majority of the nursing staff. Filipino nurses have become such an integral part of the American health system that they have started their own national organization, the Philippine Nurses Association of America. In California, where Filipino immigrants compose about 6 percent of the state's population, 20 percent of all registered nurses are Filipino (Rodis 2013).

Filipino nurses began arriving in the U.S. as early as the turn of the 20th Century, under the Pesionado Act of 1903, which funded American educations for citizens of the Philippines, a U.S. colony at the time. The migration streams continued in waves throughout the 20th Century (Rodis 2013). During the 1970s, the U.S. and other industrialized countries experienced nursing shortages, as more work opportunities began to open to women, making nursing, with its long hours and high stress, a less appealing option. But well-educated and English-speaking Filipino nurses provided the perfect replacement workforce. Without increasing wages, U.S. hospitals were able to fill necessary, but unwanted, jobs with Filipino immigrants.

At the same time, the migration of the nurses has positive economic effects in the Philippines. Once employed in the U.S., the nurses can earn as much as 20 times what they were making back home (Rodis 2013). Part of these earnings is sent home to support family and other dependents. As noted earlier, these funds are called remittances. The remittances flowing back into the country from the migrant nurses help boost the Philippine economy and support the local population. Total remittances to the Philippines have grown substantially in recent years and reached \$10.7 billion in 2005, with much

of these funds coming from service workers and especially nurses, who compose the largest service sector working group of Filipino emigrants (Lorenzo et al, 2007).

On top of remittances, if and when the migrant nurses return to the Philippines they will bring with them greater amounts of training and experience contributing to social capital. The government has reacted to the potential benefits from emigration by sponsoring initiatives to ease the process. In 1982, for example, the government created a whole new department, the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency, responsible for optimizing the benefits of the country's overseas employment program (Lorenzo et al, 2007). The Philippine National Bank has also reacted with programs that encourage remittance flows, and special remittance centers have been created in various parts of the U.S.

Of course, there are negative effects as well. When the Philippine nurses come to America they leave behind nursing shortages in their home country. The Philippines is losing one of its greatest sources of social capital—educated workers. In other words, the Philippines is experiencing brain-drain. Moreover, the benefits of government expenditures on education are not coming to bear in the Philippines but rather in the U.S. Furthermore, turnover at Philippine hospitals is so high that even operating rooms are staffed with novice nurses. Because of the depletion of skilled medical workers, hundreds of hospitals in the Philippines have fully or partially closed, and medical care is disproportionately distributed, favoring industrialized cities and leaving rural areas with inadequate coverage (Lorenzo et al, 2007).

The immigration of Filipino nurses also results in certain negative economic effects for the U.S. While the jobs being taken by immigrants would not necessarily have been filled by domestic laborers, American nurses may see nursing salaries decrease as Filipino immigrants enter the labor market with lower wage requirements. In order to obtain visas for the incoming Filipino nurses, U.S. hospitals must prove that they are unable to fill their existing vacancies with American nurses. Thus, it may appear that the jobs are going unfilled. However, the reason hospitals are unable to fill these vacancies with local help may be due to the low wages they are offering. Hospitals can set wages low because they know they can find foreign nurses who are willing to accept them, meaning that domestic workers are ultimately losing out on certain employment opportunities.

Since the Economic Crisis (2007 - 2009), there are fewer nursing jobs available throughout the developed world. The U.S. and Europe have passed strict visa requirements that restrict the immigration of Filipino nurses as well as immigrant workers in general, in part to reserve job openings for domestic workers. In the Philippines, nursing schools are making it more difficult to obtain nursing degrees in order to minimize the excessive supply of nursing school graduates who are unable to find employment. Now, only about half of nursing school applicants in the Philippines passes entrance exams. The government encourages students to pursue other related careers in medical technology and pharmacology. Nurses are also encouraged to find jobs in call centers for medical related companies (McGeown, 2012).

The Filipino nurses' example thus demonstrates the varying features of labor migration and the difficulties with analyzing its effects. The sending country, the Philippines, initially gains through emigration because migrants living abroad may support their home country's economy through remittances. However, because nurses have left the country in such high numbers, the Philippines has lost social capital and wasted investment in its citizens. The receiving country – in this case the U.S – benefits from the immigration of workers because they fill a labor demand at a lower cost than domestic workers. And yet, because migrant workers often demand lower pay compared to their domestic counterparts, immigration may depress wages as a whole.

Is it responsible policy for the U.S. to recruit Filipino nurses and for the government of the Philippines to encourage emigration of nurses when these educated laborers are needed to support the medical industry their home country? Are these policies fair to nurses in the U.S, whose wages may be depressed by the competition of immigrant workers?

Cultural Effects of Migration

The European Immigration Debate

Countries like the U.S, Argentina, and Brazil have always included large immigrant populations. Citizenship in those countries is based not on ethnic grounds but on a different sort of national identity in which commitment to certain values and ideas is paramount. But for many European countries, the nation is often defined in a cultural way—by a common language, heritage, and ethnicity. This raises important questions for countries that do not have long traditions of immigration. How long does an immigrant have to live in Germany to become a German? Can a person be French without speaking French? Should immigrants be forced to take citizenship classes that teach them "how to be Dutch"?

Indeed, cultural issues are a significant factor in the response of Europeans to global migration. In recent years, the European public has questioned the effect of immigration on culture and national identity. Fear and distrust of immigrants has fueled the creation and success of anti-immigrant political parties in several European countries. Many of these parties have linked social ills, such as unemployment and crime, to immigration.

The incorporation of many European countries into the European Union (E.U.) starting in the 1980's (and continuing today) has streamlined internal migration policy in member states, so that citizens of these states may move relatively freely across national borders within the E.U. Some of these national boundaries lack any border security whatsoever. However, even within the E.U, states have maintained relatively inconsistent policies concerning "third-country nationals," or citizens of non-E.U. nations (Givens and Luedtke, 2004). The amount of immigrants from outside the E.U. varies widely by nation, as do the laws that secure those migrants rights. In many cases, legal status is tied to employment in E.U. member states. This means that high unemployment rates resulting from the economic crisis have had the effect of stripping migrants of their authorized immigration status (Jonjic and Mavrodi, 2012).



President Nicolas Sarkozy
Credit: PicApp

In many European countries, including Britain, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, and Sweden, opposition to immigration has become a central issue in many elections. France has also followed this trend. In 2007, Nicolas Sarkozy, son of a Hungarian immigrant, was elected new President by his French voters. In the words of Sarkozy: "Immigration will be among (our) priorities. [...] In all the world's great democracies, immigration presents the possibility of bringing in new skills, new talents, new blood" (The Economist, 2008).

Despite these words of acceptance, Sarkozy has been the main driving force behind the EU's more restrictive stance towards immigration in the past two years. In October of 2008, Sarkozy's political "pact" on immigration and asylum was adopted by the European Union, which seeks to not only make migratory entry into Europe more limited and selective, emphasizing the acceptance of more high-skilled workers, but also to repeal mass amnesties and unconditional asylum for illegal immigrants, through mechanisms as strict as enforcing departures, in an attempt to discourage incentives for illegal immigration (The Economist, 2008).

In May 2012, Sarkozy lost the presidency to François Gérard Georges Nicolas Hollande. Hollande's new Interior Minister Manuel Valls wants to get rid of many of Sarkozy's controversial immigration policies. Valls wants to re-centralize decision-making on naturalization (as was the situation before 2010) so that there is one policy that applies to all immigrants. The learning of French culture and history will no longer be required (Hamza, 2012). However, as recently as June 2013, former French Prime Minister Francois Fillon has spoken out against what he considers to be an overabundance of immigrants in France, and resulting economic hardship and lack of "national cohesion" in the country (Bamat 2013). This discourse demonstrates that even as the politics around immigration have slowly shifted to become more welcoming, anti-immigrant sentiments are still strongly felt by certain sectors of the French population.

Italy also lurched towards an anti-immigration stance with the 2001 electoral victory of Silvio Berlusconi, whose ruling coalition has gone as far as to stand solidly behind “one of the toughest anti-immigrant crackdowns in Europe, mobilizing troops to control crime attributed to foreigners”, according to *Newsweek* (Nordland, 2008). The government's coalition partners and cabinet ministers include members of the Northern League, a virulent anti-immigration party. Despite the tough stance against immigration, inflows into Italy rose between 200 to 400 percent from 2000 - 2010 (Bozzo, 2012). Italy now ranks in the top 25 around the world for net migration (Bozzo, 2012).

In Greece, a 2009 attack on a courthouse housing 600 immigrants by far-right protesters was allowed to occur unimpeded by police. This is a reflection of the Greek government's policy of discouraging immigration and asylum-seeking through both discontinuing temporary work permits and social security benefits to those seeking work opportunities, as well as granting less than one percent of applicants immediate refugee status (thus relieving the Greek government of its responsibility to protect these asylum-seekers) (The Economist, 2009).

Despite the Euro Crisis, Greece continues to face illegal immigration problems that impact the rest of Europe as well. In 2011, 140,980 people entered Europe illegally, a 35 percent increase from 2010. Of those who came illegally, 40 percent came through Greece. The country's economic problems and budget restrictions hamper its efforts to stem the tide of illegal immigrants. Greece's border with Turkey is particularly problematic and many migrants come there fleeing Afghanistan or Pakistan (Stevis, 2012).

An ultranationalist/far-right party in Greece called Golden Dawn won seats in parliament for the first time during 2012. The party has since pushed a heavily anti-immigration platform, blaming migration for societal ills and even going so far as to draft a “racism against Greeks” bill in response to Grecian parliament's anti-racism law proposals (Maltezou, 2013). Members of Golden Dawn are implicated in racially motivated attacks against immigrants though no charges have been filed against the members. Greece's immigrant centers are known for their deplorable conditions. Unfortunately, Greece cannot return illegal immigrants to Turkey because the EU and Turkey have no readmission agreement (Stevis, 2012).

Pim Fortuyn, a popular Dutch politician who was assassinated in 2002, had been amongst the most outspoken against immigration. Fortuyn was particularly concerned that immigrants—mainly from the Muslim world—were eroding Dutch national identity and threatening the traditional liberal Dutch tolerance for homosexuality and commitment to equality for women. Indeed, Fortuyn was not a “conservative” politician in the standard sense of the word; openly homosexual, he was actually a radical libertarian, who believed in no government regulation over individual citizen's private lives (Carrera, 2013).

In response to these types of concerns, the Dutch government has embarked on a program called “inburgering” (literally “citizen-making”), in which potential immigrants cannot become citizens until they have passed courses in Dutch culture and societal norms. Tough policies toward immigrants are still in place in the Netherlands. Immigrants must be able to speak Dutch to receive welfare and must be in the country for seven years before they can apply for nationality (Carrera, 2013).

With increasing numbers of asylum seekers, Britain is imposing stricter immigration and naturalization policies. With the austerity measures in place, many Britons would like to see immigration reduced, though socially beneficial immigrants would be welcome (BBC, 2012).

Challenges Ahead

While specific events are unpredictable, most experts predict a continued rise in international migration during the coming decade. In addition to the economic and cultural issues already facing countries dealing with mass migration, persistent migration streams will bring new problems in the years ahead, such as illegal immigration. Dealing with the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the expansion of the EU will also pose significant challenges to migration policy. Meanwhile, growing world economic disparity will serve to intensify push and pull factors.

In response, both developed and developing countries will be forced to craft migration policies that address security, economic, and humanitarian concerns. Some commentators have therefore called for a worldwide coordinated effort, including a new international migration agency.

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking, another – often times involuntary – form of migration, is an important international issue. The UN defines human trafficking as, “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation” (UNODC.org)

Concern over the links between human trafficking, criminal organizations and the exploitation of trafficked people has prompted governments and organizations to actively counter trafficking activities. Even so, human trafficking forms the third largest illegal industry worldwide, following illicit drugs and arms trafficking and generating more than \$32 billion in revenue annually (dosomething.org). The illegal trafficking of people (rather than of goods) has been fueled by four global trends.

- As previously noted, 'push' and 'pull' factors are important contributors to the phenomenon of migration as a whole.
- A second contributory trend has been increased mobility due to improved transportation networks and technology. This facilitates human trafficking as faster and cheaper forms of transportation increase the mobility of people.
- The third trend is the increasing involvement of international criminal organizations in the illegal movement of people. During the 1990s criminal organizations from a variety of countries have created sophisticated networks to illegally funnel migrants to developed countries. This new activity has been driven by the relatively low risks compared to other criminal activities and the high profitability. A passage from the Fujian province in China to the United States, where an increase in US Coast Guard boat patrols in response to 9/11 has led to a crackdown on maritime illegal migration, can cost up to \$75,000 per person. More mundane passages across the northern Mexican border cost a mere \$400, but with tens of thousands of illegal crossings, revenue to human traffickers totals millions of dollars.
- A rather paradoxical fourth trend facilitating increases in human trafficking is rising incomes in sending countries. Initially increasing prosperity in developing countries does not reduce the need for migration by mitigating the 'push' factors. Instead rising incomes allow a greater number of people to afford the steep fees charged by traffickers. This factor primarily applies to migrants who are voluntarily smuggled across borders in order to migrate without necessary legal documents. The related income phenomenon is known as the “migration hump”, as potential migrants must overcome the obstacle of having enough income to afford the transportation costs before they can make their journey abroad. Migration however, is not relegated to the relatively better off. Much like the 'indentured servants' of U.S. colonial times, thousands of illegal immigrants, upon reaching their country of destination through use of professional smugglers, are forced to pay for their passage by working in illegal sweat shops or to enter prostitution.

The International Labour Organization estimates there are 20.9 million victims of forced labor worldwide (2012). This number covers a reference period of 2002-2011 and means that 20.9 million people were in positions of forced labor at any given point during those years. Forced labor includes labor imposed by the State, and labor imposed in the private economy either for sexual or for labor exploitation.

Rising public opposition to illegal immigration and the increasingly criminal nature of human trafficking has prompted governments of the developed world to take measures to thwart the entrance of immigrants, specifically those employing professional smugglers. In 2006, the U.S. passed a bill that authorized the building of a 700-mile fence between the US and Mexico, while also fortifying the border with extra guards. In May 2011, President Obama declared that the fence was

now basically complete though the vast majority was met with vehicle barriers and a single -layer pedestrian fence, rather than the double-layered fence that was requested (Politifact, 2011).

An article in the liberal *American Prospect* (2012) notes that the fence has increased the chances of dying when crossing the border from Mexico to Arizona have increased significantly since the erection of the fence. The number of illegal aliens caught along the border has decreased from 1.6 million in 2000 to 340,000 in 2011 and the number of unauthorized immigrants from Mexico living in the U.S. decreased by one million over the past five years. It is unclear whether these reductions are related to the fence or the economic crisis (Clifford, 2012).

In 2004, in order to control recurring flows of illegal migrants traveling through the Mediterranean and Atlantic to Europe, the EU created Frontex, a “specialised and independent body tasked to coordinate the operational cooperation between Member States in the field of border security”. Through independent and joint naval operations with African countries, Frontex has attempted to block or repatriate Africans attempting to migrate to Europe. Its success thus far has been ambiguous at best. Similar to the U.S. illegal immigration into Europe has decreased overall due to the economic crisis, though as noted before illegal immigrants are still going into Greece. The spokesperson for the European Union Agency Frontex commented that border management alone cannot solve the illegal immigration problem (Tsolakidou, 2012). Increased border enforcement has not only increased profit levels for human traffickers, but has also made the illegal migratory journey much more dangerous.

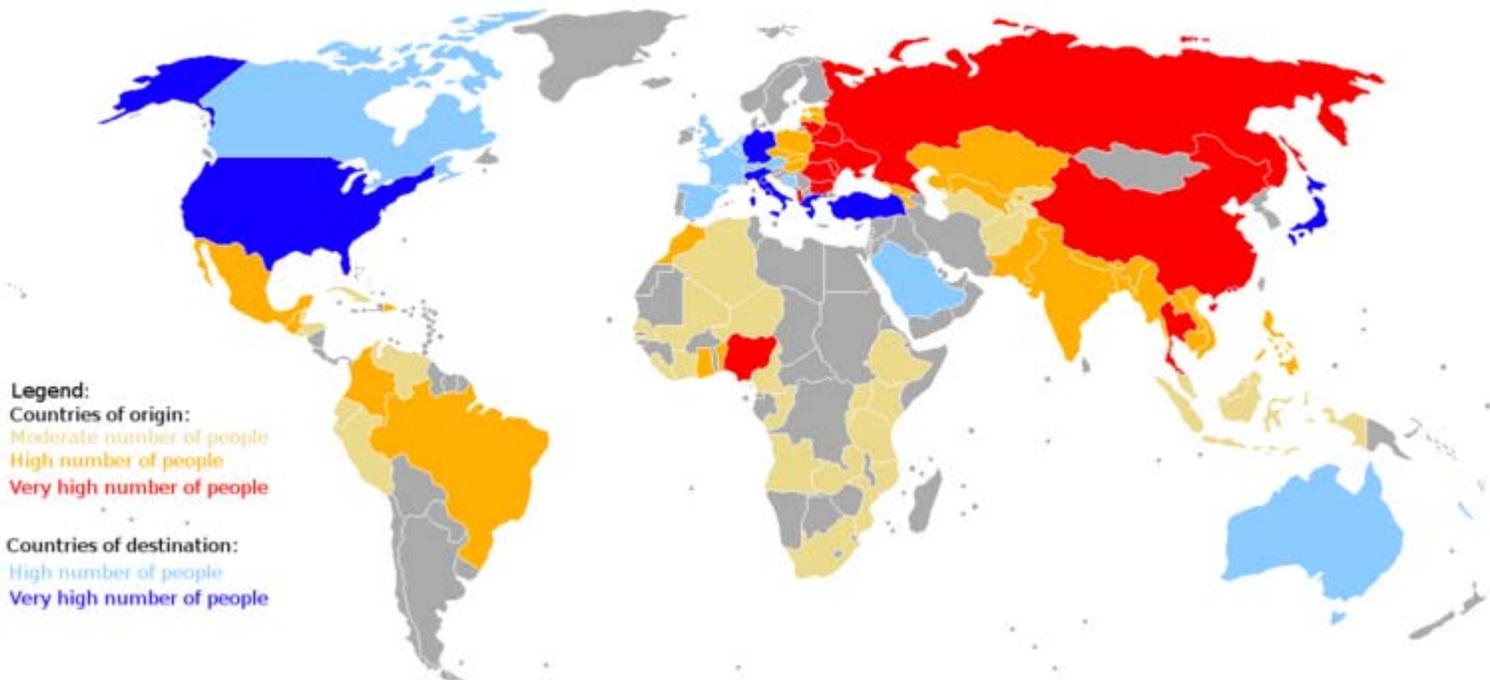
The most serious repercussions of human traffickers often fall upon those who are being trafficked. Increased border controls have driven traffickers to use more dangerous and ruthless means to smuggle immigrants into countries. In March 2009, an ill-equipped boat from Libya carrying over 350 passengers in almost unbearably cramped and harsh conditions capsized on its way to Europe, drowning all of those on board. In 2011, 2,000 people drown in the Mediterranean on their way from Africa to Europe (AlertNet, 2012).

Apart from the threat to the lives of immigrants, human trafficking can often lead to serious exploitation. As previously mentioned, those who are unable to pay for their passage are sometimes forced to work in sweat shops or to prostitute themselves in order to settle their debts with their traffickers. Often times, potential migrants may be promised employment opportunities in legal industries to help them repay their trafficking fees, only to find out once they’ve arrived in their destination country that they will be forced to work in prostitution.

In some cases, traffickers may steal migrants’ personal documents, such as their passports, in order to bind them into positions of forced labor (manhattanda.org). Additionally, estimates suggest that more than 50 percent of trafficked peoples are children, and more than 80 percent of human trafficking exists for sexual exploitation, meaning that many of those people who are trafficked internationally are children who are being forced to participate in the illegal sex trade. Perhaps even more alarming, reports claim that children have been trafficked for purposes of war and/or terrorism. The Taliban, specifically, has been charged with purchasing child slaves to train as suicide bombers (randomhistory.com). Curbing human trafficking, while minimizing the suffering inflicted on illegal immigrants, presents a formidable challenge to governments as they devise new immigration policies.

Globalization 101

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Map of Human Trafficking (2011)

The 2003 *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* was developed by the United Nations to address the need for stricter restrictions and harsher punishments against people and organizations that engage in human trafficking activities. The protocol formalized the definition of human trafficking (detailed above) to assist various nations in streamlining their policies to address this issue (UNODC.org). The 2005 Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings is a similar treaty implemented on a regional scale.

According to the 2012 State Department Report on Human Trafficking, the Child Soldiers Prevention Act of 2008 requires annual reports of foreign governments that have governmental armed services or government-supported armed groups that recruit and use child soldiers. In 2012, seven countries were named: Burma, Libya, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen. In April 2011, the EU passed a new comprehensive anti-trafficking directive that set standards for member states and requires member states to extend certain protections to trafficking victims, among other things.

2011 State Department Report: Human Trafficking Statistics

- Adults and children victims of trafficking around the world: **27 million**
- Successful trafficking prosecutions in : **4,239 (7,206 cases)**
- Successful prosecutions related to forced labor: **320 (508 cases)**
- Victims identified: **41,210**
- Prevalence of trafficking victims in Central and South Eastern Europe and Commonwealth of Independent States: **4.2 per 1,000 inhabitants**
- Victims of State Imposed Labor: **2.2 million**
- Victims of Sexual Exploitation; **4.5 million**
- Victims of Labor Exploitation: **14.2 million**

Migration and Globalization
<http://www.globalization101.org>

- Cost of trafficking worldwide: **\$20 billion** (lost wages and benefits to migrant workers)

Post-9/11 Policies

In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, many Americans became hostile toward immigration because the terrorists who perpetrated the attacks exploited gaping security holes in the U.S. immigration system. Border security became both an immediate and long-term concern, as the borders with Canada and Mexico were closed for days. Since then, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which handled immigration prior to 9/11, has been subsumed under the Department of Homeland Security, and reformulated into several new agencies, including the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Miller, 2005).

By bringing immigration control under the header of Homeland Security, the U.S. government has reaffirmed its understanding of uncontrolled immigration as a threat to the nation. The government has pursued strategies to contain undocumented immigration primarily through the fortification of border enforcement at the US-Mexico border, but also by implanting increasingly restrictive legislation targeting “criminal” immigrants, undocumented or otherwise (Miller, 2005).

Some members of Congress are pushing for further action. They would like to see the U.S. perform extensive background checks on potential immigrants as well as create a tamperproof visa containing biometric data such as facial scans or thumbprints to prevent impostors from gaining entry. They also want the Department of Homeland Security to move ahead with two major technology initiatives, an automated entry-exit system at border crossings and a Student Exchange Visitor Information System, also known as SEVIS, an Internet-based system that will make it easier for universities to monitor their foreign students more closely.

During the spring of 2013, eight members of congress proposed a new comprehensive immigration bill, meant to address the estimated 11 million immigrants who currently live in the U.S. without authorization and to handle continuing flows, documented or otherwise, of immigrants into the nation. Included in the bill is a 13 year pathway to citizenship for currently undocumented immigrants, a stricter set of employer sanctions to discourage the hiring of undocumented immigrants, guest worker programs to bring desirable laborers into the nation, and the continued and heightened use of border enforcement to control cross-border movement, among many other provisions (Matthews, 2013). The bill was approved by the Senate on June 27th, 2013.

EU Integration

In Europe, migration and integration policies are complicated by the fact that the European Union (EU) now comprises twenty-seven member states. The concern expressed by some Europeans is that this continuous expansion of the EU will generate more immigration into Western Europe, bringing with it numerous problems, such as inadequate integration.



The last two countries to join the European Union (EU) on January 1st, 2007 were Bulgaria and Romania. Despite their membership in EU, migrant workers from Bulgaria and Romania still face restrictions in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Ireland, France, Luxembourg, Austria, the UK and Malta, which are set to be lifted in 2014. Immigrants from these two countries cannot receive welfare or vote in local elections for the first seven years of residency. Italy lifted all restrictions against Bulgarians and Romanians on January 1, 2012. Germany and France have eased access for immigrants from both countries, while Switzerland will not lower restrictions until 2014 (Sofia News Agency, 2012).

The entry into the EU brings with it many advantages for the joining countries, such as trade, cultural exchange and economic growth. However, for the existing member states, this expansion tends to trigger certain fears, most notably the issues of migration and integration. Many richer member states are worried about being overrun by workers from poorer member states. While the free movement of its citizens is one of the basic liberties of the EU, it is often associated with political anxiety.

In order to combat these fears of being overwhelmed by the inflow of 'poorer workers', the treaties overseeing the accession of new member states have put in place a **'transitional clause'**, which allows existing member states to restrict the free movement of labor from EU accession countries for a period of up to seven years. In 2004, the majority of the original fifteen EU member states applied this clause towards joining Eastern European countries. However, with the exception of Austria and Germany, most of the countries lifted the ban after the first two years of the transitional period.

Perhaps in the case of Germany, this decision can be explained by taking a closer look at Germany's relationship with its Turkish immigrants. The fact that Germany's per capita income (\$39,100, 2012 est.) is nearly triple that of Turkey's (\$15,000, 2012 est.), has proven to be a huge incentive for Turkish workers to move to Germany (CIA.gov). The country's history regarding the integration of its Turkish "Gastarbeiter" or "guest workers" is a complex one. While Germany has opened its doors for guest workers for many years in order to fill the labor shortage caused by World War Two, the German government expects immigrants to take on an active, integrated role in society (Turks in Germany, 2006).

Even with such staggering population numbers, the integration of Turkish immigrants into German society is often described as having failed. In many cases, Turkish citizens do not speak the language (even after having lived in the country for many years), while others do not leave the district they live in and spend most of their time with other Turkish immigrants, ultimately leading to a widening gap – and inevitable clash – of the two cultures.

The European Union, as a whole, is now facing similar issues regarding Turkish immigration that Germany has been encountering for some time, as it debates whether to admit Turkey as an EU member. Not only would the addition of 74 million Turkish citizens, most of whom are Muslim, drastically change the cultural makeup of the EU, but it would open the possibility of a major influx of immigrants from the Middle East and Africa who may use Turkey as a gateway into Europe. As it currently stands, tens of thousands of illegal migrants are thought to cross Turkey every year, while large amounts of refugees and asylum-seekers from Iraq and Africa have entered Turkey, as conflict in these regions have created an increase in displaced persons in recent years (Tzanis and Tokyay, 2012).

Thus, in order to gain EU membership, Turkey has been pressured by many European countries to enact asylum and refugee-recognition legislation and step up its border patrol enforcement in order to limit the impact on EU countries of Turkish inclusion (Tzanis and Tokyay, 2012). More recently, Turkey's EU bid has been challenged by the outbreak of civilian protests in the nation, which have been harshly oppressed by government forces. These state actions have created renewed friction between the Turkish government and certain member-states of the EU, including Germany, who claim that the repression of protests has been undemocratic (Birnbbaum, 2013). On the other hand, as is the case with most instances of labor migration, it has been argued that the vast number of young unemployed male Turkish citizens could serve as a dynamic labor force that could be the antidote to the labor scarcity problem currently facing many European countries with aging populations, such as Italy.

The case of Turkey is just one example of potential problems associated with the free movement of people within the EU. Many other EU member states face similar concerns; for instance, France has struggled with the integration of its population of Muslim immigrants traveling primarily from North Africa.

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All Member States of the European Union (EU) are affected by the flow of international migration. They have agreed to develop a common immigration policy at EU level. The European Commission has made proposals for developing this policy, most of which have now become EU legislation. The main objective is to better manage migration flows by a coordinated approach which takes into account the economic and demographic situation of the EU (*European Commission*).

An International Organization to Plan Migration Policy?

Many international institutions and nongovernmental organizations help both developed and developing countries deal with migration, such as the previously mentioned International Organization for Migration (IOM). For example, the IOM has recently instituted the "return of qualified nationals" program in Afghanistan. During the years of internal conflict in Afghanistan, many of the country's most skilled workers fled to Europe or the U.S. The IOM, therefore, is arranging to place college-educated professionals in private-sector and government jobs in Afghanistan.

More than 7,600 Afghans from a multitude of countries have successfully been assisted with returns home through the program, which matches candidates with jobs in government ministries, NGOs, and international agencies. The program pays for each refugee's journey home and adds \$200 to the monthly salary paid to returning Afghans by their new employers. Some emigrants are reluctant to give up the luxuries of the West, but to others, returning to Afghanistan is a matter of patriotism. This program has expanded to include the repatriation of skilled workers from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, Sierra Leone, and Sudan (International Organization for Migration, 2006).

Other organizations deal with specific aspects of migration. The **United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)** provides assistance to those fleeing their native countries for fear of persecution. The **International Labor Organization (ILO)** promotes fair hiring standards and adequate working conditions for migrants. Financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund study the economic effects of migration.

The division of oversight of international migration between various governments, private corporations and non-profit organizations has led to calls for the creation of an international authority on migration policy. While a formal organization has yet to be established, there have been several global conferences over the past decade aimed at streamlining migration policies and ensuring fair treatment of migrants. Examples include the Berne Initiative, which resulted in the International Agenda for Migration Management to encourage cooperation between nations, and the Conference on Migration and Development, which highlighted the need for multinational collaboration in forming migration policies (Perspectives and Experiences of the International Organization for Migration, 2006). While these conferences and others like them have set forth protocols regarding migration policy and urged nations to participate, few binding international laws have been implemented to dictate how nations handle migration.

Conclusion

The wide-scale movement of people is as much a defining feature of globalization as the movement of goods, services, and capital. And countries are often just as reluctant—if not more so—to open their borders to people as they are to those items. As with trade of goods and capital, citizens may fear that their culture and jobs are susceptible to being eliminated by uncontrolled immigration. At the same time—again, similarly to free trade and investment—economies and societies need migration in order to sustain economic growth.

Furthermore, some countries, the U.S. being an example, are ideologically committed to open borders because their national identities are imbued with long histories of immigration. Those countries that haven't historically experienced immigration, primarily in Europe, tend to be less open to immigration. In these instances, social conflict may develop between native citizens and new arrivals, which may be understood as "polluting" national culture. It should be noted that regardless of their histories of immigration, the majority of migrant-receiving states tend to experience some backlash to large waves of immigration. On the other end, migrant-sending nations often benefit from remittances that result from higher wages in emigrant destination countries. However, these nations tend to experience "brain drain" of qualified and educated professionals, which negatively impacts their populations as well as their economic development.

Nevertheless, migration will continue to be a major, unstoppable factor of global life until the different push and pull factors associated with migration, including economic disparities between sending and receiving states are eliminated. Even as governments have attempted to limit cross-border flows of goods, services, capital and migration, the smuggling of human beings and resulting populations of illegal immigrants in both developed and developing nations have assumed a growing importance. Concerns over undocumented immigration have been tempered by the need for migrant labor, specifically in developed nations, as well as the existence of growing refugee populations, further complicating the creation of efficient migration policy. Dealing with both legal and illegal immigration, then, is one of the pressing issues facing governments and societies across the world.

Glossary

Brain drain: the loss of trained and educated individuals to emigration

Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees: this international agreement was approved at the United Nations in 1951 and initially was used to protect European refugees after World War II. The document defines who is a refugee, and the rights of individuals who are granted asylum, as well as the responsibilities of a host country toward asylum seekers. The convention was approved in Geneva, which is why the reason for its name.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP): A statistical measure of “the total value of the goods and services produced by the residents of a nation” less the “value of net income earned abroad.” This is usually the measurement cited to describe the size of a nation’s economy.

Human trafficking: the process includes recruiting, transporting, transferring, harboring individuals for exploitation. Trafficking often uses illicit means, such as bribery, coercion, force, abduction, fraud, and deception to achieve its goals.

International Labour Organization: the specialized UN Agency that brings together governments, employers and workers of its member states in common action to promote decent work throughout the world. It seeks to promote social justice and recognized human and labor rights.

International Organization for Migration (IOM): this intergovernmental organization works with governmental, intergovernmental, and non-government organizations (NGOs) to promote humane and orderly migration. The organization also provides services and advices to its members.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD): A group of the world’s most advanced and wealthiest economies that is both a forum for and an active participant in debates about international economic policies. It was established in 1961 and now has 30 members, including the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Japan, South Korea, and most members of the European Union.

Pull Factors: factors that drive people to leave home. Push factors occur within sending states, that is, those that send migrants abroad.

Push Factors: factors that attract migrants to a new location. Pull factors occur within receiving states, that is, states that receive immigrants from sending states abroad.

United Nations Commission for Refugees (UNHCR): The agency is mandated to lead and co-ordinate international action to protect refugees and resolve refugee problems worldwide. Its primary purpose is to safeguard the rights and well-being of refugees.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA): UNRWA was established in 1949, after Israel’s War of Independence to carry out direct relief and works programs for Palestine refugees.

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