# Migration and Globalization

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Introduction
Increasing flows of goods and capital are the drivers of globalization, made possible by the gradual lowering of barriers to their movement across borders. With regard to the flow of people, however, similar deregulatory trends are being firmly resisted.

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 resisted liberalizing migration policies. Many countries have extensive legal barriers preventing foreigners from entering for purposes of seeking work or residency. In fact, immigration policies across the world are getting tighter as governments attempt to limit the economic, cultural, and security impact of large movements of people from one country to another.

Despite the reluctance of governments to liberalize immigration policy, however, the number of people living outside their country of origin has risen from 120 million in 1990 to, as the United Nations estimates, about 214 million in 2011. According to the 2010 UN Human Development Report, migrants account for approximately 3.1 percent of world population (as of 2010).1

A poll conducted by Gallup Polls across 82 countries has revealed that more than one in four participants displayed a desire to move abroad. This accumulates to a median of about 26 percent. In certain countries, such as Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria, more than half of participants surveyed said they wanted to emigrate. On the lower end, participants in Thailand (8 percent), Australia (8 percent) and Saudi Arabia (1 percent) displayed nearly no desire to emigrate.

A variety of reasons lie behind migration. People may migrate in order to improve their economic situation, or in order 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 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 the developed to the developing world mitigates those factors leading to migration. In a global economy, in other words, 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 is a source of low cost labor for host countries, while the remittances of emigrant workers can be an important source of foreign exchange for sending countries. On the other hand, migration can stoke resentment and fear in receiving as immigrants are accused of lowering wages and causing crime. For the economies of sending countries migration leads to a loss of well-educated and highly productive citizens.

This Issue Brief 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 Brief addresses primarily voluntary economic migration, that is, migrants who relocate to a foreign country as temporary workers or legal 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 composition 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, as well as Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Germans. Most current U.S. citizens of European decent are a product of this period of immigration.

At the same time, Chinese and Japanese immigrants came to the West Coast of the United States and Hawaii. Elsewhere in the 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.

This wave of immigration resulted in a counter-reaction, however. In the United States, 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, at the time viewed as potential sources of foreign, socialist opposition to American capitalism. In 1919 and 1920, then-US Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer instigated numerous roundups of immigrants, labeled "Palmer's Raids," that led to the deportation of thousands of people, on the basis that they were Communist agitators.

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 could be prohibited from becoming naturalized American citizens. In 1882, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act preventing Chinese laborers from coming to the United States for ten years, and 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 government of Japan and the United States and banned entirely by the Immigration Act of 1924.

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

Most noticeable were immigrants to Germany from Turkey, who were brought into the country as “Gastarbeiter” or “guest workers” in the 1950s and 1960s as the country’s post-war “economic miracle” demanded labor. They were never intended to stay permanently, however, and the German government never granted them citizenship or tried to integrate them into German society, creating social conflict that has lasted until today. Approximately 23 percent of Turkish citizens living in Germany do not possess German nationality despite being born there. In 2000, legislation was passed, which now grants German-born children of foreigners, German citizenship.

Likewise, many workers from former colonies of European powers migrated to Europe in search of work, facilitated by still-existing ties between the colonial home countries and their colonies, such as Indians, Pakistanis, and West Indians who moved to England, and Vietnamese, Cambodians, Algerians, Tunisians, Moroccans, and other Africans who moved to France.

Thus, the previous pattern of migration was reversed. This stirred major social changes in European countries that were not used to multicultural societies. At the same time, immigration to the United States, opened up after the restrictive policies prior to World War II, came not from Europe but primarily from Latin America and Asia.

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2 http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_7057/is_1_12/ai_n53201122/
Migration Today

*The Economist* magazine states that today, “The economic conditions now seem propitious for an enormous further expansion of migration.” According to *The Economist*, the growing divide between rich and poor nations has created both push and pull factors that encourage an increase in movement. If such an increase in migration does occur, it is clear that it will be different from that of previous eras, however.

First, as *The Economist* points out, opportunities for unskilled workers are dwindling and receiving countries are trying to restrict immigration of unskilled workers and give preference to workers with skills.

Second, immigrants today are more likely to demand stronger legal rights and formal recognition than those previous waves of immigration, raising their profile in the receiving countries and heightening social tension.

Third, the receiving countries are today more likely to offer social welfare services to immigrants than in the past, straining resources and often pitting native citizens against immigrants in a competition for government funds.

There has been a slowing of the absolute number of international migrants, from 41 million between 1975 and 1990, to 36 million between 1990 and 2005. Of the 36 million who migrated between 1990 and 2005, 33 million migrated to industrialized countries. About 75 percent of all migrants live in only 28 countries. One out of every four migrants live in the U.S. and one of every three live in Europe. The United Nations’ State of the World Population 2006 Report noted that this slowing may be due to a drop in the number of refugees.

The 2010 Human Development Report notes that 37 percent of the world’s migrants move from developing countries to developed countries. Most migrants, (60 percent) move within countries of the same category of development. Only three percent of migrants moved from developed countries to developing countries. Half of all migrants moved within their own region, while 40 percent moved to a neighboring country.

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<th>Figure 1: Status of Ratification of International Legal Instruments Related to International Migration</th>
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<td><strong>Instrument</strong></td>
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<td>Migrant Workers</td>
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<td>1949 ILO Convention Migration for Employment⁴ (as of 2008)</td>
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<td>1975 ILO Convention concerning Migration in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and the Treatment of Migrant Workers⁵ (as of 2008)</td>
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<td>1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families⁶ (as of January 2011)</td>
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⁴ Rights of Migrant Workers, OAS, 6, March 2008
⁵ http://www.oas.org/dil/esp/migrantes_curso_introdutorio_2008_presentaciones_armand_pereira.ppt
⁶ Ibid.

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### Smuggling and Trafficking

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<th>Protocol Description</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (as of 2010)</td>
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<td>2000 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (as of 2008)</td>
<td>2004</td>
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### Refugees

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<th>Protocol Description</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (as of 2008)</td>
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<td>147</td>
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<td>1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (as of 2008)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>147</td>
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9 http://www.unhcr.org/3b73b0d63.html  
10 http://www.unhcr.org/3b73b0d63.html
**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 see a lack of benefits at home (push factors) but also 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. Following are three examples of push factors driving people to emigrate from their home country.

**Lack of Jobs/Poverty:** Economics provides the main reason behind migration. In fact, according to the International Labour Organization, about half of the total population of current migrants, 100 million women and men migrant workers, have left home to find better job and lifestyle opportunities for their families. In some countries jobs simply do not exist for a great deal of the population. In others, the gap between the rewards of labor in the sending and receiving country are great enough so as to warrant a move. India has recently experienced a surge in emigration due to a combination of these factors.

The greatest challenge facing India is creating enough jobs for its burgeoning population. India's unemployed have never been properly estimated, but they could total 100 million, with a further annual job loss rate of around 10 million as the global recession continues to take its toll on the Indian economy. The number of skilled workers coming out of Indian universities has never been higher. Meanwhile, the number of domestic jobs available to them is minimal. Only about 0.7m jobs a year have been created in the past few years, most of them in the public sector. This will not keep skilled workers in the country.

Many instead go to the United States, where their skills and their lower wage demands are sought after by 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 corporation’s demand for Indian skilled labor. As the population grows at 20 million per year, and more and more students graduate from technical universities, India may experience a great deal more emigration.

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12 http://video.forbes.com/fvn/business/pm_non031609
13 http://books.google.com/books?id=mDGtNxfxvU&pg=PA249&dq=india+migration+america&source=bl&ots=E7lqa9rFBh&sig=zNSylN0E_DiQXcQz5L10jRgn9lY&hl=en&ei=0UeSsmBtG9tweOm9TsAw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4
Civil Strife/War/Political and Religious Persecution: Some migrants are impelled to cross national borders by war or persecution at home. Some of these migrants end up in receiving countries as refugees or asylum seekers. The 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defined the qualifications for such migrants and bound signatory countries not to return these newcomers to places where they could be persecuted.

In 2009, the total number of refugees reached 15.2 million, of which two-thirds were under the responsibility of the United Nations Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). The rest were under the responsibility of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA).

An example of this factor at work is the conflict in Tibet. During the first half of the 20th century, Tibet was ruled politically and religiously by the Dalai Lama, the head of the Tibetan Buddhist religion, but lived in the shadow of neighboring China. In 1950, Chinese troops took over the region, disassembling the existing political structure and persecuting religious figures, and in 1959 a Tibetan rebellion was brutally suppressed. Tibetan refugees assert that a million of their countrymen have died in the last half-century as a result of Chinese rule. To escape this fate, many Tibetans have fled over treacherous mountain terrain to India and Nepal.

In 2007, the Dalai Lama demanded from the Chinese authority "more autonomy for Tibetans to protect their culture." In early 2008, negotiations between the Chinese government and representatives of the Dalai Lama began again – with little result. The same year, the riots in Tibet once again escalated. With the protests spreading, many more Tibetans were killed in the process. March 2009 marked the 50th Anniversary of Tibet’s failed national uprising and the subsequent fleeing of the Dalai Lama and many of his compatriots across China’s borders. The political deadlock preventing these Tibetan refugees from returning to their country of origin seems to show little promise of easing any time soon. In fact, the Chinese government’s recent application of diplomatic pressure on the government of South Africa to deny a visa to the Dalai Lama is a telling example of the Chinese government’s unwillingness to budge on even symbolic gestures of religious or political freedom with regards to the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

Despite the existence of many real conflicts such as in Tibet, however, many developed countries believe that would-be refugees and asylum-seekers are in fact mere economic migrants looking for an easier way to enter a rich country. For example, the United States has declared that most people from Haiti are leaving the country because it is the most impoverished in the Western Hemisphere and deny that social and political strife is widespread enough there to justify allowing Haitians into the United States. Haitians arriving in the United States after a dangerous trip by sea are therefore detained in secure locations and have to pass a rigorous examination of their qualifications as refugees or asylum-seekers or otherwise they are returned to Haiti.

At the same time, people arriving from Cuba are generally allowed to mix in with the population while awaiting a decision on their status, which is usually granted because they come from a Communist dictatorship. Haitian-Americans and their supporters have protested what they call an unfair distinction between the treatments of the two groups, but the U.S. government maintains that Haiti, though not a perfect democracy, is not a dictatorship such that Haitians deserve immediate consideration as refugees.

In a study by economist Kalena Cortes on the differences in economic performance between economic migrants and refugees in the United States, it was found that refugees have been able to assimilate into the U.S. economy better than traditional economic migrants. According to Cortes, this is most likely due to the fact that refugees are more likely to

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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. 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 its 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, people started dying of starvation. The famine killed hundreds of thousands and forced millions of Irish to flee. 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.

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, designates “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”.

As of 1995, the last date where a thorough assessment was undertaken, the number of environmental refugees had reached 25 million, with this number expected to double by 2010. In Morocco, Libya, and Tunisia, for example, over 1,000 square kilometers of productive land is lost annually to desertification, which 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, in reality, the vast majority end up migrating to neighboring countries, which tend to be some of the poorest in the world (with the top 20 refugee migration destination having an average annual per-capita income of only $850). In many of these places, environmental refugees are seen as unwelcome guests, putting further strain on already scarce water and land supplies, with this social mistrust and competition escalating to conflict and violence in some cases.

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.” This exposure to the negative effects of global climate change will, in many cases, lead to massive waves of migration, with a striking example being 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.

What makes environmental refugees such a difficult problem for governments and policy-makers to cope with is the fact that there are a variety of different types of environmental disaster that can have a dramatic impact on the forced migration of people. In Bangladesh, it is the rising sea-levels that have caused many people to flee across the border to India, as mass flooding has caused many coastal areas of Bangladesh to become uninhabitable. On the other hand, in the Sudan, droughts and increasing rates of evaporation have made access to water for consumption and traditional agricultural and pastoral much more difficult, leaving many people without sufficient access to food or water, thus increasing conflict over these resources.
Map 2: Areas of physical and economic water scarcity

- **Little or no water scarcity**: Abundant water resources relative to use, with less than 25% of water from rivers withdrawn for human purposes.
- **Approaching 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.
- **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.

Definitions and indicators:

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 usually drive migrants out of their countries of origin, pull factors generally decide where these travelers end up. The positive aspects of some receiving countries serve to attract more migrants than others. Following are three examples of the pull factors attracting 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 United States. Was it mainly "push" factors or "pull" factors?

Higher standards of living/Higher wages: Economics 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. Aware of this situation, migrants are drawn to those countries where they can maximize benefits.

For example, Mexican migrants coming to America do not move in order to escape unemployment at home. Rather, it has been estimated that 80 percent of those who leave Mexico have jobs before they go. But, the wage gap between American and Mexican workers has widened since the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement. U.S. wages are in fact an estimated 13 times that of Mexico. Thus, Mexican migrants come to America because they are attracted by the higher hourly wages, not simply to find any work at all.

Labor Demand: Almost all developed countries have found that they need migrants’ labor. Rich economies create millions of jobs that domestic workers refuse to fill but migrant workers will cross borders to take. In 2001, the British minister of foreign affairs, Robin Cook, gave a speech in which he argued that the country needed to continue taking in foreign workers to meet labor demand. He said, “Legitimate immigration is the necessary and unavoidable result of economic success, which generates a demand for labor faster than can be met by the birth-rate of a modern developed country.” The speech was unpopular, however, because many British citizens are concerned about immigration changing the national culture.

Former UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown sought to reconcile this concern regarding threatened national heritage with Britain’s need for immigrant labor by, on the one hand, refusing to put a limit on immigration, as “most British businesses who have faced labour shortages had benefited from being able to recruit more widely for skilled labour”, while on the other hand backing policies that emphasize immigrant assimilation through British cultural education and required involvement in community work by potential immigrants.20

Likewise, Ireland has recently seen a surge of immigration because its economy prospered during the 1990s. Ironically, Ireland, which had sent so much of its population abroad over the last two centuries, started receiving immigrants seeking work. This has caused conflict among native Irish and the newcomers, including discrimination not unlike that faced by Irish who had previously immigrated to other countries.

Political and Religious Freedom: Throughout history, Jews have faced persecution or discrimination in most parts of the world. Especially in the late 19th century, long-standing hatred against Jews in the Russian Empire exploded in “pogroms,” attacks on Jews that led to murders, rapes, and arson against Jewish homes and stores, often encouraged and assisted by the government.


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Hundreds of thousands of Jews from across Eastern Europe fled to the United States, Canada, and South America, while others joined the old Jewish community in the Holy Land, then controlled by the Turkish Ottoman Empire, to help reestablish the independent Jewish state the Roman Empire had destroyed almost 2,000 years before.

Hundreds of thousands more Jews moved to Israel in the late 1940s in the aftermath of the Holocaust and after being expelled from Arab countries as a result of the war over Israel's creation. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of Arabs fled from Israel, and they and their descendants live in neighboring Arab countries.

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 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.21

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 programs help to address skills shortages but may decrease domestic wages and add to public welfare burden. "While every mouth brings a pair of hands, these hands sometimes make more than they eat and sometimes less," noted a writer in the Financial Times.

Nevertheless, most commentators argue that the net effects of migration are generally positive. The Economist magazine, for example, claimed that loosening restrictions on labor migration "would be one of the fastest ways to boost global economic growth." The positive effects, they say, would be significantly greater than removal of any trade barriers.

For sending countries, the short-term economic benefit of emigration is found in remittances. According to the World Bank, remittances worldwide were estimated at $414 billion in 2009, a decrease of six percent from 2008. This figure though only takes into account funds sent by formal channels, so the number is much larger.

For example, Somaliland, a breakaway region of conflict-devastated Somalia, receives an estimated $500 million a year in money sent home from abroad, four times more than the income from the main export, livestock, according to a study by the researcher Ismail Ahmed reported in the Financial Times. In the case of Mexico, remittances have become the country's second most important source of foreign exchange, after oil. The income is so large that Mexicans working outside of the country were able to gain the right to vote after threatening to withhold remittances.

In Tajikistan, remittances from its cheap unskilled labor force abroad in countries like Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan has helped the country rebound from the failures of a planned economy and government instability, contributing around 50 percent of Tajikistan's GDP in recent years. Although difficult to measure the impact of remittances on developing countries, one World Bank study has concluded that a one per cent increase in the share of remittances in a country's GDP leads to a 0.4 per cent decline in poverty.

Meanwhile, for developed countries, the positive gains from immigration are a result of the infusion of cheap and eager labor into the economy. In the United States and Canada migrant workers often fill low-wage jobs for which there is not enough local supply of labor, such as farm labor. Just as cheap imports of industrial goods benefit the American economy, so too does the import of cheap labor. Economists who support the notion of these positive gains claim that immigration has little impact on wages or job availability for domestic workers.

On the other hand, the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) discounts the positive gains of immigration. One CIS study states that Mexican immigrants have a generally negative economic effect on the United States. It claims that Mexican immigrants have caused a five percent reduction in wages for the poorest ten percent of the American workforce. At the same time, impoverished immigrant households use social services at twice the rate of native-born Americans (31 percent vs. 15 percent) the study says.

Other studies, however, have found just the opposite. The British government, for example sponsored a study that found little evidence that immigrants drove down wages for native workers in the United Kingdom. It also found that immigrants contributed about 10 percent more to public finances than they took out.

At the same time, developing countries can suffer from "brain drain"—the loss of trained and educated individuals to emigration, an example of the possible negative effects of emigration for developing countries. For example, there are currently more African scientists and engineers working in the United States than there are in Africa, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), a worldwide agency that assists migrants. 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.  

Nearby in India, 100,000 skilled technology workers are expected to leave in the next three years. Since it costs India about $20,000 per student to educate these individuals, India essentially will subsidize the rest of the world for $2 billion worth of technology education.

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 most likely been further intensified by drastically changing labor market conditions. According to the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, 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.


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manufacturing, and services.

With trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) severely faltering over the past year, many migrants in the export sector have lost their jobs and have been 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.

Estimates for China have already accounted for over 10 million internal migrants from rural China who have been put out of a job due to decreasing export demand. Emigration from Mexico to the U.S. has also decreased significantly, dropping 13 percent in the first quarter of 2009 compared to the same period in 2008, with more Mexicans leaving the U.S. than coming in.

In many countries, the volatile economy has already exacerbated domestic pressures for government restrictions on immigration. In Russia, for example, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin recently 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."\(^\text{26}\)

In Australia, where violence against foreigners such as Indians has become a problem in recent years, the government has reduced its intake of migrants in order to mitigate the effects that the financial crisis is expected to have on ethnic relations in an increasingly competitive job market, 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.

With many 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 the most. In Somalia, for example, where remittances have provided a lifeline for at least a third of the population, the 25 percent downturn in the level of remittances in the wake of the financial crisis, are expected to have a devastating effect on this country already plagued by instability and drought.

**The Case of the Philippine 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 United States. With the developed world experiencing severe nursing shortages, U.S. hospitals have found a deep 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. Philippine 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. The Philippine nurses’ example thus displays the entire phenomenon of migration and its economic consequences.

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\(^{26}\)http://www.migrationdrc.org/publications/briefing_papers/BP17.pdf;  
http://www.rferl.org/content/Global_Financial_Crisis_Costs_Many_Migrant_Workers_Their_Jobs/1361209.html;  
For example, as noted, receiving countries can gain from migration when there is a shortage in domestic labor supply. The United States and other industrialized countries started to experience nursing shortages in the 1970s, 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 Philippine nurses provided the perfect replacement workforce. Without increasing wages, U.S. hospitals were able to fill necessary, but unwanted, jobs with Philippine immigrants.

At the same time, the migration of the nurses has positive economic effects in the Philippines. Once employed in the United States, the nurses can earn as much as 20 times what they were making back home. Part of this money they send home to support family and other dependents. As noted earlier, this is called a remittance. The remittances flowing back into the country from the migrant nurses help boost the Philippine economy and support the local population. Remittances have become so important for the Philippines that the country once had a program that required the nurses to remit a fixed proportion of their wages, although the program was eventually abandoned as being unenforceable.

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. 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 United States.

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 United States. Furthermore, turnover at Philippine hospitals is so high that even operating rooms are staffed with novice nurses.

There is also some negative economic effect on the United States. On the one hand, the jobs they are taking would not necessarily have been filled by domestic laborers. On the other hand, American nurses see their salaries decrease as Philippine nurses arrive and are willing to work for lower wages. In order to obtain visas for the incoming Philippine 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, it may be that the reason hospitals are unable to fill these vacancies with local help is because the wages they are offering are too low. Why are the wages so low? Because hospitals know they can find foreign nurses who are willing to accept them.

The Philippine nurses’ example thus shows the varying features of labor migration and the problems with analyzing its effects. The receiving country, the United States, gains because it fills a labor demand. The sending country, the Philippines, gains because migrants who are able to get better paying jobs in other countries are still able to help their home country by sending money back home. But the Philippines loses social capital and wastes investment in its citizens when large-scale emigration occurs. Is it responsible policy for the United States to recruit nurses and for the government of the Philippines to encourage emigration when these educated laborers are needed to build up their home country? Is it fair to nurses in the United States, whose wages may be depressed by the competition?
Cultural Effects of Migration

The European Immigration Debate

Countries like the United States, Argentina, and Brazil have always included a large immigrant population. 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 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 immigration's effect 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.

In Britain, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, and Sweden, opposition to immigration has become a central issue in many elections. France's Jean-Marie Le Pen has been Europe's most outspoken anti-immigration politician, declaring that immigration will lead to the "submersion of our country, our people, our civilization." In the 2002 presidential elections, running on an anti-immigration platform, Le-Pen garnered sufficient votes to challenge President Chirac in the second and final round.

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."

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.27

Joerg Haider's Freedom Party, a recent member of Austria's coalition government, has said it would bring a halt to immigration, regardless of the country of origin. Italy has also lurched towards an anti-immigration stance with the 2001 electoral victory of Silvio Berlusconi, where his 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.28 The government's coalition partners and cabinet ministers include members of the Northern League, a virulent anti-immigration party.

In Greece, a recent attack on a courthouse housing 600 immigrants by far-right protesters was allowed to occur unimpeded by police, who just stood there and watched. 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

28 http://www.newsweek.com/id/162305
status (thus relieving the Greek government of its responsibility to protect these asylum-seekers).29

Pim Fortuyn, a popular Dutch politician who was assassinated in 2002, had been amongst the most outspoken. "The Netherlands is not an immigration country," he said. "The annual stream of tens of thousands of newcomers, who largely end up as illegal aliens, must stop. Full is full. We're living on a small piece of land here." 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.)

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. With increasing numbers of asylum seekers Britain is imposing stricter immigration and naturalization policies.

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29 http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13652874
Challenges Ahead

While specific events are unpredictable, most experts expect to see a continued rise in migration for the coming decade. In addition to the economic and cultural issues facing countries dealing with mass migration, the coming years will then bring other, newer problems, such as illegal immigration. Dealing with the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and EU enlargement 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, a form of migration, is an important international issue. Concern with its link to criminal organizations and the exploitation of the people trafficked have prompted governments to counter it. This type of trafficking has been fueled by four global trends.

- As previously noted ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors are important contributors to the phenomenon of migration.
- 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.
- Third, has been 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 are rising incomes in sending countries. Initially rising 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 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, are forced to pay for their passage by working in illegal sweat shops or to enter prostitution, with the latter being the result for almost half of the cases of trafficked forced labor.

The International Labour Organization estimates that there are 2.45 million trafficking victims who are living in exploitive conditions and another 1.2 million people who are trafficked across and within borders. The U.S. State Department estimates that approximately 800,000 people are trafficked across national borders every year.

Rising public opposition to illegal immigration and the increasing criminal nature of human trafficking has prompted governments of the developed world to take measures to thwart the entrance of immigrants. In 2006, the United States government enacted a bill that authorized the building of a 700-mile fence between the US and Mexico, while also

fortifying the border with extra guards. Although still not completed, the results thus far have shown no decrease in Latin American illegal migration to the US, but instead have only diverted smuggling to new, more dangerous routes, while violence and crime related to drug smuggling and human trafficking on both sides of the border has become an ever-growing problem.32

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. According to *The Economist*, “Frontex has had some success in shifting migrants from certain routes across the Mediterranean, but it is unclear how many, if any, are deterred entirely from attempting the crossing”. What is clear is that, with regards to both the American and European case, increased border enforcement has not only increased profit levels for human traffickers, but has also made the illegal migratory journey much more dangerous.33

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 fact, each year approximately 2,000 people drown in the Mediterranean on their way from Africa to Europe.34

Tighter U.S. border controls in the vicinity of populated areas have increased the use of dangerous routes through the southwestern desert where immigrants can die from heat and thirst. As criminal penalties against human trafficking have been raised, traffickers have shown to be ruthless in the treatment of their cargo when in danger of being captured. In the Adriatic, Albania traffickers often jettison people into the sea, including women and children, to evade law enforcement.

Apart from the threat to the lives of immigrants, human trafficking can often lead to exploitation. As previously mentioned those who are unable to pay for their passage are sometimes forced to work in sweat shops or forced to prostitute themselves. Curbing human trafficking, while minimizing the suffering inflicted on illegal immigrants, presents a formidable challenge to governments as they devise new immigration policies.

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[http://soderkoping.org.ua/page13897.html](http://soderkoping.org.ua/page13897.html)
34 [http://www.economist.com/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13400731](http://www.economist.com/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13400731);
Countries of Origin, as measured by the extent of reporting of trafficking

Countries of Destination, as measured by the extent of reporting of trafficking

The major policy instruments dealing with trafficking is the 2003 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. Another recent regional treaty was the 2005 Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings.

### 2011 State Department Report: Human Trafficking Statistics
- Adults and children in forced labor, bonded labor, and forced prostitution around the world: **12.3 million**
- Successful trafficking prosecutions in 2010: **3,619**
- Successful prosecutions related to forced labor: **237**
- Victims identified: **33,113**
- Ratio of convicted offenders to victims identified, as a percentage: **8.5**
- Ratio of victims identified to estimated victims, as a percentage: **0.4**
- Countries that have yet to convict a trafficker under laws in compliance with the Palermo Protocol: **62**
- Countries without laws, policies, or regulations to prevent victims’ deportation: **104**
- Prevalence of trafficking victims in the world: **1.8 per 1,000 inhabitants**
- Prevalence of trafficking victims in Asia and the Pacific: **3 per 1,000 inhabitants**

### 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 number of Immigration and Naturalization Service agents along America's border with Canada will have tripled. President Bush also ordered consular offices to tighten their scrutiny of all visa applicants.

Some in Congress are pushing for further action. They would like to see the U.S. perform extensive background checks on potential immigrants as well as a tamperproof visa containing biometric data such as a facial screens or thumbprints to prevent impostors from gaining entry. They also want the INS 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.

As well as prompting new rules, 9/11 stalled an important initiative between the United States and Mexico, who had been negotiating a bilateral plan to allow more guest workers into the United States and allow those already in the country legally to earn permanent legal status. The plan would have also legalized the status of a number of illegal Mexican workers living in America. Near completion prior to the terrorist attacks, the plan has been shelved by the administration. It is yet to be seen whether the plan can regain momentum.

http://www.truveo.com/edward-alden-how-911-transformed-american/id/1472604438

### 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.

http://www.globalization101.org
The last two countries to join the European Union (EU) on January 1st, 2007 were Bulgaria and Romania. 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 ($34,800, 2008 est.) is nearly triple that of Turkey’s ($12,000, 2008 est.), has proven to be a huge incentive for Turkish workers to move to Germany. The country’s history regarding the integration of its Turkish “Gastarbeiter” or “guest workers” is a difficult one. While Germany has opened its doors for guest workers for many years in order to fill the labour shortage caused by World War Two, the German government expects immigrants to take on an active, integrated role in society.

Berlin, Germany’s capital, now has the fifth-largest Turkish population of any city in the world. Even with such staggering numbers, the integration of Turkish immigrants into German society is often described as somewhat 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 same issues faced by Germans regarding Turkish immigrants are now being faced by the Europe as a whole, as it debates whether or not to admit Turkey into the European Union. Not only would the addition of 70 million Turkish Muslims drastically change the cultural makeup of Europe, which currently hosts over 15 million Muslim citizens already, but it would open up Europe to the possibility of a major influx of immigrants from the Middle East and Africa who would use Turkey as a stepping stone to 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.

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. On the other hand, 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.35

This is just one example of possible problems associated with the free movement of people within the EU. Many other EU member states face similar problems; for instance France, which – in a similar fashion - struggles with the integration of its many Muslim immigrants.


Migration and Globalization
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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, a recent activity of the IOM is 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 United States. 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 similar to the South Africa example noted earlier, to others it 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.36

Many other organizations deal with specific parts 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 fairness in hiring and adequate working conditions for migrants. Financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund study the economic effects of migration.

The separation of capabilities into private and public organizations and into distinct areas has led some to call for a government-supported international organization to deal with migration. Former U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services Commissioner Doris Meissner has said, "The world has multilateral regimes, agreements, and institutions that try to provide frameworks for trading goods and services. Why not a multilateral regime for the movement of people?"

Likewise, Jagdish Bhagwait of Columbia University argues the world needs "adequate institutional mechanisms to deal with [migration], the way we do with health questions at the WHO, with labor questions at the ILO, with aid and finance at Bretton Woods institutions and with trade issues at the WTO." He believes the current institutions dealing with migration are fragmented and too focused on singular forms of migration such as refugees and labor migration.

Bhagwati's first goal is to set up an "immigration scorecard" exposing each country's policy towards legal immigrants, illegal immigrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees. He hopes this scorecard will shame countries and lead to the establishment of international norms concerning migration grounded in the policies of progressive nations.

Overtures on this issue have been rejected by the EU and the United States, however, due to nervousness at the prospect of being tied down by international agreements that would specify rules on sensitive subjects such as migrant rights and immigration procedures.

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 just as reluctant—if not more so—to open their borders to people as to those items. As with trade and capital, citizens fear that their culture and their jobs are susceptible to being eliminated by uncontrolled immigration. At the same time—again, as with free trade and investment—economies and societies need input from outside their borders in order to continue economic growth.

Furthermore, some countries, most importantly the United States, are ideologically committed to open borders because of the nature of their national identity as a mix of different immigrant groups. European countries are less open to immigration and significant social conflict has developed between native citizens and new arrivals, particularly those from Africa and the Middle East. Even countries that send migrants to other countries and benefit from the remittances they send back are concerned about "brain drain" that may limit their development.

Nevertheless, migration will be a major, unstoppable fact of global life until the economic disparities between sending and receiving states are eliminated, if ever. Even when goods, services, or capital can be blocked by government action, the smuggling of human beings and the resulting population of illegal immigrants in host countries is a common feature of developed countries. 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 advice 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 United States, 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 Palestinian refugees.
Selected Bibliography and Further Reading

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