



Migration

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Migration..... | 2 |
| Introduction | 2 |
| A Brief History of Migration..... | 3 |
| Migration in an Earlier Era of Globalization..... | 3 |
| Post-World War II Migration..... | 4 |
| Migration Today | 4 |
| Why Does Migration Happen? | 4 |
| Push Factors | 5 |
| Pull Factors..... | 6 |
| Economic Effects of Migration | 7 |
| The Case of the Philippine Nurses | 8 |
| Cultural Effects of Migration | 9 |
| The European Immigration Debate | 9 |
| Challenges Ahead..... | 10 |
| Human Trafficking | 10 |
| Post-9/11 Policies | 11 |
| EU Enlargement | 11 |
| An International Organization to Plan Migration Policy?..... | 12 |
| Conclusion | 13 |
| Selected Bibliography and Further Reading..... | 13 |



Migration

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 grew during the 1990s, rising from 120 million in 1990 to more than 160 million in 2002. According to the Population Resource Bureau, migrants account for approximately 2.5% of world population. If they were to constitute a country it would be the world's sixth most populous.

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 worlds 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 twentieth 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 less than 3 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 nineteenth 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 descent 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 world-wide 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-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 Supreme Court ruled that Chinese could be prohibited from becoming naturalized American citizens. 1882, 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, Jewish 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 (discussed below). 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.

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. All these factors combine to make migration economically and culturally divisive issues.

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 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. 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. 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.

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. An example of this factor at work is the conflict in Tibet. During the first half of the twentieth 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. In order to escape this fate, many Tibetans have fled over treacherous mountain terrain to India and Nepal.

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 will be 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 treatment 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.



Environmental Problems: Environmental problems and natural disasters often cause the loss of money, homes, and jobs. In the middle of the nineteenth 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.

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.

Higher standards of living/Higher wages: Economics provide the both biggest push and pull factor 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 Area. U.S. wages are in fact an estimated 13 times Mexico's. 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. 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 the Jews have faced persecution or discrimination in most parts of the world. Especially in the late nineteenth 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. 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 2000 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.)

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 *Financial Times*, remittances worldwide are estimated at \$60-70 billion per year, larger than development aid given to poor countries. For example, Somaliland, a breakaway region of conflict-devastated Somalia, receives an estimated \$500m 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.

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 5 percent reduction in wages for the poorest 10 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. 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.



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.

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. 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 anti-immigration stance with the 2001 electoral victory of Silvio Berlusconi. The government's coalition partners and cabinet ministers include members of the Northern League, a virulent anti-immigration party. 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. Home Secretary David Blunkett's proposed *Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill* will increase conditions for citizenship, restrict the ability of migrants to apply for asylum and reside in the country.

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 world-wide coordinated effort, including a new international migration agency.

Human Trafficking

Since the 1990s human trafficking, a form of migration, has become an increasingly important international issue. Preoccupation 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 fuelled 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 can cost up to \$35,000 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. 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.

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. The United States has fortified its southern border with Mexico by adding an extra 1,000 border guards in 2002, increasing fencing, and installing high-tech motion detector systems. Several European countries have recently unveiled the 'Ulysses' operation, a joint effort to patrol the Mediterranean Sea and prevent the shipment of illegal immigrants from North Africa.

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 June 2000 in Dover, UK 58 illegal Chinese immigrants were found suffocated to death inside of truck container. Tighter U.S. border controls



in the vicinity of populated areas have increased the use of dangerous routes through the desert of the South-West 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, in order 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 some times 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.

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 INS agents along America's border with Canada has 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 facial scans or fingerprints 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.

EU Enlargement

In Europe, migration policies are complicated by the accession to the EU of 10 new members on May 1, 2004, and the possible accession of another 10 or 12 members in the future. The concern expressed by some Europeans that expansion of the EU will generate more immigration into Western Europe is supported by a recent study prepared by estimating that 335,000 workers from all of eastern Europe would migrate west right after admission into the EU, although the number would shrink to 160,000 a year by 2010.

Resistance to enlargement has therefore grown, especially in Austria and Germany, which, according to estimates would receive 80 percent of the newcomers. They have insisted that the EU prevent immigration from new eastern European members for at least two years (2005 to 2006). After this two year wait, the current 15 EU members could individually prevent freedom of movement for another three years (2007-2009), and then for another two years, for a maximum seven year wait, until 2011 according to the plan favored by Austria and Germany. Eastern European countries wanting to join the EU eventually accepted the proposed restrictions in order not to delay their admission.

Economic disparity drives this fear of EU enlargement. As mentioned earlier, an economically motivated potential for migration arises when varying levels of economic development exist between countries. According to the World Bank, of the world's 6 billion people, more than 1.2 billion live on less than \$1 a day while two billion more people are only marginally better off.



Germany, for example, has a per capita income of \$23,000 compared to neighboring Poland's \$4,240. Overall, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) measured GDP per head (adjusted for domestic purchasing power) in the countries that sent emigrants compared to the countries that received immigrants. The results showed that the annual income per person of receiving countries was nearly twice that of sending countries. Dani Rodrick, a trade economist at Harvard University, has pointed out that wages of similarly qualified individuals in developed and developing countries differ by a factor of 10 or more.

But stalling enlargement will hurt Eastern European economies, meaning slower convergence of per capita incomes between the east and west. Should the EU instead consider policies, such as increased development aid, to reduce the wage disparity in order to keep potential immigrants in their home country?

An International Organization to Plan Migration Policy?

Many international institutions and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) 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 6,000 Afghans from 37 countries have applied for slots in 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.

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 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 Bhagwati 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.

Selected Bibliography and Further Reading

General

Philip Martin and Jonas Widgren, "International Migration: Facing the Challenge," Population Reference Bureau, March 2002

"The Longest Journey: A Survey of Migration," *The Economist*, Nov. 2, 2002

James P. Smith and Barry Edmonston, *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration*, National Research Council, 1997

James P. Smith and Barry Edmonston, *The Immigration Debate: Studies on the Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration*, National Research Council, 1998

Steven A. Camarota and Leon Bouvier, "The Impact of New Americans: A Review and Analysis of the National Research Council's *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration*," Center for Immigration Studies, December 1999

International Dialogue on Migration, International Organization for Migration, 2001

P. Stalker, *The Work of Strangers: A survey of international labour migration*, International Labor Organization, 1994

Paul Collier and David Dollar, "Globalization, Growth, and Poverty: Building an Inclusive World Economy," World Bank Report, Oxford University Press, 2001

Andres Solimano, "International Migration and the Global Economic Order," World Bank, Nov. 2001

Sharon Stanton Russell, "International Migration: Implications for the World Bank", World Bank Working Paper



Kenichi Ueda, "Implications of Migration on Income and Welfare of Nationals", IMF Working Paper, Dec., 2002

Introduction

"On the Move," *The Economist*, May 12, 2001

Ana Campoy, "Cyberspace 'Plazas' Help Mexicans Stay Connected," *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2002

Moises Naim, "The New Diaspora," *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2002

Why Migration Happens

1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees

Robert Leiken, "Border Colleagues; On Migration, Bush and Fox Belong on the Same Side," *Washington Post*, Sept. 1, 2001

Effects of Migration

Stephen Fidler, "Migration Ins and Outs," *Financial Times*, May 21, 2002

Alan Beattie, "Fear of Foreigners Fails to Match Reality," *Financial Times*, Feb. 1, 2001

Robert Taylor, "Time to Rethink Labor Migration," *Financial Times*, June 21, 2001

Stephen Fidler and Virginia Marsh, "Sense of Crisis as Migrants Keep Moving," *Financial Times*, July 25, 2002

William J. Carrington and Enrica Detragiache, "How Extensive is the Brain Drain?", *Finance and Development* (A quarterly magazine of the IMF), June 1999

Philippine Nurses Example

Cris Prystay, "US Solution Is Philippine Dilemma," *Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 2002

Grace Chang, "Importing Nurses: A Moneymaking Venture," *Dollars & Sense*, Sept. 1, 2001

Europe

Roger Cohen, "Germany Ponders Opening Door, Just a Crack, to Immigration," *New York Times*, July 5, 2001

Roger Cohen, "Papers Please; Europe's Love-Hate Affair With Foreigners," *New York Times*, Dec. 24, 2000

Keith Richburg, "Illegal Workers in W. Europe Do Continent's Heavy Lifting," *Washington Post*, Aug. 3, 2002

"Huddled Masses, Please Stay Away," *The Economist*, June 15th, 2002

Tito Boeri and Herbert Brucker, "An Opening Gambit," *Financial Times*, June 27, 2000

Peter Fray, "Might of Right," *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 27, 2002



European Union Memo, "Up-date on the Development of a Common Policy on Migration," Brussels, Oct. 7, 2002

Paul Martin, "Rising Flood," *Washington Times*, March 3, 2002

Samuel Brittan, "Let the Huddled Masses Go Free," *Financial Times*, Oct. 25, 2001

John Lloyd, "No to Brussels, No to Immigration: How Rightwing Populism Entered the Mainstream," *Financial Times*, Nov. 28, 2002

Ian Mather, "Politics That Sends Shockwaves Across Europe," *Scotland on Sunday*, April 28, 2002

Elaine Sciolino, "Sangatte Journal: Refugees Out in the Cold in Sight of Dover's Cliffs," *New York Times*, Nov 28, 2002

David White, "Britain Hails French Move on Sangatte Camp," *Financial Times*, Nov. 5, 2002

United States

Alan Greenspan, Comments before the Independent Community Bankers of America, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 13, 2002

Christopher Newton, "INS Under Pile of Backlogged Paper," *Washington Post*, Aug. 3, 2002

Heather Dewar, "New poll shows greater tolerance of immigrants in US," *Houston Chronicle*, June 15, 1997

D'Vera Cohn, "Immigrants Account for Half of New Workers," *Washington Post*, Dec. 2, 2002

Lydia Adetunji, "US Immigrants: Fifth Columnists or Entrepreneurs?," *Financial Times*, July 23, 2002

Japan

Demetrios G. Papademetriou and Kimberly A. Hamilton, "Reinventing Japan: Immigration's Role in Shaping Japan's Future," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000

Developing Countries

Ferial Haffajee, "Migration Turning the Brain Drain Into Financial Gain," *Financial Mail*, June 1, 2001

Stefan Wagstyl, "South African Leaders Do Little to Stem Exodus of Skills," *Financial Times*, July 24, 2002

Moises Naim, "The Diaspora That Fuels Development," *Financial Times*, June 10, 2002

M. Abella, *Sending Workers Abroad: A manual for low- and middle-income countries*, International Labor Organization, 1997



Challenges Ahead

James Lindsay and Gregory Michaelidis, "The Post-Sept. 11 Debate Over Immigration Policy," San Diego Union-Tribune, Nov. 8, 2001

Richard Ernsberger, "Fortress America," Newsweek, Nov. 12, 2001

Dani Rodrik, Comments at the Conference on "Immigration Policy and the Welfare State," Trieste, June 23, 2001

Jagdish Bhagwati, "Working Towards a World Migration Organization," Letter to the Editor, Financial Times, July 26, 2002