

# WORLD SAVVY

MONITOR



## Human Migration: Six Billion on the Move in a Global Society





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## Letter from the Editor

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The story of humanity is the story of people on the move. History teaches us that great civilizations have always thrived at the crossroads of this mobility where ideas, talent and human energy coalesce. Yet, as we drew borders on maps and assigned those borders legal and political significance, this geographic dynamism was restrained by the nation states we created. Economic migrants, immigrants, refugees - voluntary, forced, documented, irregular, displaced... we have developed an entire lexicon to describe the who, why, where and how of people on the move, and the rights and protections attached to the various designations.

Counting people in motion is a difficult task; classifying them is even more difficult. How can we truly know what motivates people to leave their birthplace? How can we hope to represent the experience with a simple categorization? The term “displacement” can seem so innocuous when compared with the often violent, tragic and unfathomable sadness that characterizes the experience; this is particularly poignant for me as I explore this month’s topic. Further, if freedom of movement is considered a universal human right, how does this sync with the sovereign right of nations to regulate human migration within their borders?

In this edition of the World Savvy Monitor, we present an overview of migration in the world today and examine related, current controversial issues. ***In a world where money, goods, and services increasingly know no borders,***

***human mobility is a critical component and a fundamental challenge of globalization.***

The human experience of migration, whether in pursuit of better economic opportunity or begun under the most desperate and fearful of circumstances, is best captured by the narratives of migrants themselves. In this edition you can learn the economic, political, social, and demographic implications of migration as viewed by experts and scholars. But this is certainly only part of the story. We hope you’ll be inspired to read, listen and appreciate the stories of those people on the move.

Cate Biggs, Editor  
World Savvy Monitor

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Issue In Focus







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## Did You Know?

- Most people on the move today never leave the borders of their countries of birth. Internal migration (both voluntary and the result of displacement) far exceeds international migration.
- There are 200 million people worldwide living outside the countries in which they were born. If all international migrants were concentrated in one country, it would be the 5th largest country in the world. Approximately 120 million have left less developed countries, with half of those ending up in developed countries and half in other underdeveloped countries.
- The UN estimates that 67 million people worldwide have been displaced from their homes by war, conflict, or environmental disasters. Fifty-one million of these people are internally displaced. Sixteen million of these migrants are refugees, mainly from Afghanistan, Iraq, Colombia, Somalia, Sudan and the Palestinian territories. Up to 80% of refugees are thought to be women and children.
- The United States is the top immigrant destination, followed by Germany, France, India and Canada. The US is home to 38 million foreign-born residents making up 12% of its population. Once primarily a nation of European immigrants, the US now draws people mainly from Latin America and Asia. The US admits both the most international economic migrants and refugees/asylum seekers of any nation in the world.
- The oil-producing states of the Gulf region such as Saudi Arabia are home to the most immigrants as a percentage of total national population. This is due to the employment of millions of guest workers from Central Asia and the Middle East in the oil industry.
- Immigrants to developed countries send home an estimated \$318 billion in remittances, an amount exceeding total foreign aid.
- Two million Iraqis have fled their war-torn nation and currently seek refuge in other countries, primarily Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon; another nearly 2 million Iraqis are displaced within Iraq. Outside of the region, Sweden admits the most Iraqi refugees and asylum-seekers.
- Attempts by host nations to restrict legal immigration have not resulted in a decrease in migration, but have resulted in an increase in the percentage of immigrants who are considered illegal or irregular. Most immigrants who are considered “illegal” do not sneak over borders, but rather overstay their legal entry permits for work, education, travel, or sanctuary.
- Thirty percent of the foreign-born population of the US is considered illegal. Proposed legislation in 2007 that would have extended legal status to millions of undocumented foreign residents failed.
- Immigrants in the US pay more in taxes as a group over their lifetimes than they consume in public services. Even illegal immigrants pay sales tax and most also pay some form of income tax.

- The European Union has begun making intra-regional migration easier while fortifying its peripheral borders against immigrants from other regions, particularly those from Muslim countries.
- Europe is increasingly dependent on immigrants to maintain overall population levels and worker to dependent ratios. Japan (which is not considered immigrant-friendly) and South Korea (which is) find themselves in the same demographic bind.
- Immigration restrictions often are in conflict with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which recognizes individuals' right to freedom of movement.
- Current battles on the frontlines of the immigration debate include head scarf controversies, riots in Muslim enclaves located in the suburbs of Paris, raids and deportations of illegal Mexican workers in the US, and discrimination against internal migrants in China.



Photo Courtesy of USAID

## Understanding the Headlines

### Who and where are today's migrants?

- There is nothing new about the act of human migration – the story of humanity is one of people constantly on the move. The official designation of people into categories of migrants is a relatively new phenomenon, however, that arose with the nation-state system.
- All designations and labels for migrants– legal, illegal, forced, voluntary, economic, refugees – are inherently political, and come with certain rights and protections. Yet, migrants can change status over the course of their journey; it is often difficult to identify the primary driver of a migrant's mobility. Most human movement is motivated by intertwined social, economic and political factors.
- There are many more internal migrants than international migrants. Data is usually not collected on those who move voluntarily within their country of birth. The exception is internally displaced people (IDPs) forced to flee one area of the country for another, without crossing an international boundary. Twenty-six million people qualify as IDPs under UN guidelines, on the run from conflict or persecution. Another 25 million are thought to be internally displaced by natural or man-made environmental disasters. Asia and Africa are home to the most of the world's 51 million internally displaced migrants.
- Most international migrants originate in a developing country and travel to another developing country or to a developed nation. North America (the US and

Canada), Europe, and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) are the primary countries of destination for international migrants.

- There are currently 200 million people living outside their countries of birth, representing 3% of the world's population, or one in 35 people. Half of all international migrants are women. Sixteen million of the world's foreign-born population are refugees fleeing conflict or persecution across international borders.
- Mobile, highly educated and skilled workers are in high demand; these migrants comprise an increasing percentage of the total immigrant population today.
- High profile migrant flows today include Mexicans to the US, North Africans to Europe, and internal migration within China. The majority of refugee flows are generated by wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as civil conflicts in Africa.

### Why and how do people migrate?

- Migration is a function of “push” and “pull” factors. Some push factors include poverty, unemployment, low wages, and fear of persecution. Some pull factors include jobs, higher wages, opportunities for advancement, and family reunification.
- Modern migration is motivated by economic and demographic inequality in the world, and is facilitated by improved transportation and communication technologies. Family and ties to established

- immigrant communities as well as geographic proximity often determine where a migrant ends up.
- Human mobility is aided by a large formal and informal “migration industry,” including government officials, family members, immigrant communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), charities, employers, banks and even smugglers and traffickers. The process progresses through legal, illegal and semi-legal channels.
  - Different dispensations are made for work, education, travel, employment, family reunification and asylum. For each migrant, terms are established regarding entry, exit and length of stay; consideration is given to country of origin and circumstances of departure.
  - “Illegal” or “undocumented” immigrants enter a country without permission, or more frequently, overstay the terms of their entry permit. In the US, 30% of foreign-born residents are considered to be in the country illegally.

## What is the effect of migration on countries of origin?

- Remittance flows – earned immigrant dollars flowing back to their countries of origin – total by some estimates up to \$318 billion annually. These funds are sent home primarily by workers from developing countries that have migrated to developed countries. Remittances often exceed the amount of money a developing country receives in foreign aid. Immigrant diasporas also provide non-monetary support to their home countries, in the form of political advocacy in developed nations and in international halls of power.
- “Brain drain” is a significant cost realized by immigrant-sending nations. It is often a country’s best and brightest citizens who have the means and motivation to relocate, robbing their home countries of critical talent; this is especially prevalent in medical and engineering disciplines.

## What is the effect on countries of destination?

- Economically, the net effect of immigration on host countries is marginally positive. Immigrants often create jobs, bring entrepreneurial talent or perform labor considered undesirable by native-born workers.

- Not everyone benefits equally from immigration, and this is the subject of much debate. Employers generally benefit from lower labor costs and access to a flexible labor supply; certain groups of native-born workers may experience downward pressure on wages. Foremost among these are native-born workers of color without a high school diploma. On the flip side, lower labor costs make consumer goods cheaper for all domestic consumers, and some believe that this benefit, along with job creation by immigrant entrepreneurs, balances out the effect on wages overall.
- Contrary to popular belief, immigrants do not usually “steal” jobs from native-born workers. They either perform jobs natives consider undesirable (unskilled immigrants) or jobs for which natives are not qualified (highly skilled immigrants). Nor do immigrants place a burden on the overall public welfare system because they generally pay more in taxes than they consume in services during their lifetimes.
- Immigrants tend to be of working age and have higher fertility rates; this helps to counteract the population decline currently occurring in many developed countries. Immigrants also help to preserve dependency ratios in these countries, as the non-Hispanic white population ages and falls below replacement birth rates. In the long run, however immigration alone cannot solve this demographic dilemma.
- Socially and politically, immigrant populations can strain fragile community dynamics, generating nativism, nationalism and xenophobia.
- Many experts and observers have pointed out that immigration has other costs and risks to destination countries. These include security concerns, dilution of national identity, urbanization and settlement patterns that strain environmental resources.

## How can the interests of all stakeholders – sending and receiving countries, migrants and the international community – be reconciled in the policy making?

- Fundamentally, these competing interests cannot be appeased and inevitably collide, as benefits realized by some parties translate into costs for others.

- Policies can generally only try to maximize the benefits and minimize the downsides for all, through the management of migration. The responsibility for developing laws, institutions and norms guiding migration is dispersed and international, national, state and local approaches overlap and contradict each other.
- One of the biggest issues affecting migration today is the acceptance of universal human rights that recognize the freedom of individuals to leave the country of their birth and/or to seek sanctuary in another country of their choice. However, entry and asylum for migrants leaving their countries voluntarily or involuntarily is controlled by individual nation states. National sovereignty is often at odds with human rights, as nations seek to protect their interests in the face of unwanted immigration.
- Many experts wonder if **temporary or circular migration** might provide the best compromise to the above dilemma. This would give flexible labor benefits to host countries, while encouraging the return of migrants to their home countries after a period of time. This approach is seen as facilitating the exchange of human energy and ideas, without the effects of brain drain on home countries and the unwanted effects of permanent immigration on host countries. However, most experts note that enforcing constant mobility would be nearly impossible for liberal democratic societies. Others wonder about the implications of transnational citizenship on the nation-state system and on the preservation of families and communities.
- Overall, current attempts by nations to restrict immigration generally do not result in less net migration, but result in more illegal migration. Legal status is seen as key to managing immigration's effects on nations and on preventing the exploitation of migrants themselves. However, amnesty programs designed to legalize existing immigrants are politically unpopular in many developed nations.
- If reducing net migration is the goal of public policy, many believe that the only way to achieve this is to aggressively promote the economic development of immigrant-sending nations by diminishing the incentive for mobility at the source. Less poverty and conflict in developing countries should in theory produce less migration, or more manageable levels of migration.
- Migration policy is often formed without good data, and is influenced by emotional and political concerns. Both European nations and the United States must increasingly navigate different interest groups as they seek to regulate immigration. This highly charged policymaking atmosphere is expected to worsen as the current global recession impacts host countries' economies.

## Annotated Timeline

Date	Migration Events and Trends
1500s-1600s	<p>Age of Exploration: European sailors migrate to the New World along with soldiers and missionaries. Empire building follows. European colonists begin settling in the Americas. Slave trade begins transporting African populations to Europe, the Americas, and Caribbean.</p>
1700s	<p>Exploration continues; colonialism expands in the Americas, Africa and Asia. Colonists are government officials, dissidents, soldiers and those fleeing religious persecution and/or seeking a new life. Prisoners form penal colonies in Australia.</p> <p>British loyalists relocate to Canada after US independence.</p> <p>By 1770, there are 2.5 million slaves in the Americas, producing up to one-third of the total value of European commerce.</p>
1800s	<p>Colonialism continues as European powers further divide Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.</p> <p>The slave trade ends after transporting up to 15 million Africans to the Americas and Europe.</p> <p>Southern and Eastern Europeans provide indentured labor to Western Europe and North America.</p> <p>Accelerated immigration to the United States occurs between 1861 and 1920, largely driven by post-Civil War industrialization. Up to 30 million immigrants arrive in America; exclusion laws discriminate against Asians.</p> <p>In 1892 Ellis Island opens. Twelve million immigrants will pass through this processing center in NY Harbor through the 1950s.</p>

Date	Migration Events and Trends
Early 1900 to WWI	<p>Many migrants return to Europe to serve in the military or war industries.</p> <p>The Great Migration of African Americans from the American South to Northern states occurs.</p> <p>European countries recruit labor from Africa and Southeast Asia.</p> <p>Discrimination and persecution begin to drive Jews to Palestine.</p> <p>Russian Revolution creates refugee populations.</p>
Inter-War Period: 1919-1940s	<p>The world experiences decreased migration, mostly due to worldwide depression and economic stagnation.</p> <p>Anti-immigrant sentiment and nativism is on the rise in the US and many European countries, largely related to economic hardship and competition for jobs.</p>
1940s	<p>Germany recruits and forcibly transports labor to work in massive war mobilization effort.</p> <p>Jewish, Slavic and other minorities are persecuted and deported from Germany. Many attempt to escape detainment and relocation by Nazi officials by fleeing the country and occupied territories. Millions are transported to concentration camps internally and in Poland for execution.</p> <p>Bracero program brings millions of provisional immigrants to the US from Mexico. Many of these are deported as “wetbacks” in later decades.</p>
Post WWII	<p>Twenty million people are on the move, dislocated by the war. This figure includes refugees and those returning from exile and displacement, as well as those finding their place on either side of the Iron Curtain.</p> <p>European countries actively recruiting labor to rebuild industrial economies institute guest worker programs; many migrants resettle permanently.</p> <p>Colonialism ends. Colonial officials return to Europe along with many former subjects who are granted citizenship in European countries.</p> <p>Exiles who had left former colonies years earlier return to Africa, Asia, and elsewhere upon the granting of independence and creation of new nations.</p> <p>Mass migration follows the creation of the new Jewish state of Israel – many primarily European Jews move to the former British state of Palestine; many Palestinians relocate and/or become refugees. More displacement and forced migration occurs after the first Arab-Israeli war.</p> <p>The largest migration of the century occurs in South Asia as the independent Muslim state of Pakistan and Hindu state of India are created from the British Indian colony.</p> <p>The United Nations High Commission for Refugees is formed, followed by what ultimately becomes the International Organization for Migration (IOM).</p>

Date	Migration Events and Trends
1960s	<p>Wars for independence in former colonies create displacement and refugees in Africa and South America.</p> <p>The Six-Day War leads to occupation of more Arab territory by Israel, creating another wave of displacement and refugee populations.</p> <p>US Immigration Act in 1965 is enacted as part of the Civil Rights Era. The new law eliminates discrimination against immigrants of specific national origins and paves the way for accelerated migration from Asian countries and Mexico. Family reunification is established as a priority in the new quota system, facilitating chain migration by populations from developing nations. Special quotas are established for refugees.</p> <p>Migration out of USSR and Warsaw Pact countries is restricted by Communist governments.</p>
1970s	<p>Economic decline and restructuring in Europe and North America changes the face of international migration. Southern European countries are transformed from emigrant to immigrant nations. Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) in Asia and elsewhere attract migrants as well. Immigrants begin to settle in the interior of classic recipient countries such as the US, Canada, and Australia.</p> <p>There is an influx of Southeast Asian refugees to the US following wars in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.</p> <p>Labor recruitment in North America and Europe wanes; immigration restrictions are enacted more widely.</p>
1980s	<p>The war in Afghanistan creates a massive flow of migrants and refugees, primarily to Iran and Pakistan.</p> <p>1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act grants amnesty to millions of illegal foreign-born residents, but also introduces fines and sanctions on employers hiring undocumented workers.</p>
1989-1991	<p>The Iron Curtain falls, creating massive East to Central and Central to Western migration in Europe.</p> <p>The USSR is dissolved, creating 15 independent republics. Twenty-five million ethnic Russians living outside the new Russian Federation are classified as international migrants. There is a large influx of Russian Jews to Israel and Russian exiles to the West.</p>



Date	Migration Events and Trends
1990s	<p>Post-Soviet migration in Europe and Central Asia continues.</p> <p>New waves of refugees are created by the Balkan wars and the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Ethnic minorities migrate to new states.</p> <p>The First Gulf War creates refugees among both Iraqi citizens and migrant workers from other Middle Eastern countries living in Iraq and Kuwait.</p> <p>The level of international refugee populations worldwide reaches its peak of 18.2 million. Concern about increasing waves of asylum seekers causes European countries to enact restrictions that come to be known as Fortress Europe. Schengen Agreement further restricts immigration to core EU states while facilitating movement among member nations.</p> <p>The majority of immigrants to the US now hail from Mexico, China, Vietnam, Philippines and India. Immigrants increasingly push beyond classic “gateway” states in the US (Texas, Florida, California, New Jersey, Illinois) to form communities in interior regions.</p> <p>The 1990 US Immigration Act, the 1994 Operation Gatekeeper, and the 1996 US Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act are passed; all seek to further restrict immigration by penalizing migrants who enter illegally and companies that employ them. Restrictions on welfare benefits for non-citizens are enacted in 1997, then are mostly repealed.</p> <p>NAFTA agreement seeks to address root causes of Mexican economic migration to US; it fails to reduce illegal immigration.</p> <p>Prop 187 is approved by voters in California; it limits benefits such as public education and health care to illegal immigrants and their foreign-born children.</p> <p>Two million Hutu soldiers and civilians flee Rwanda following the Hutu-perpetrated genocide on Tutsi populations in the country. The largest group becomes concentrated in Eastern Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), destabilizing the region and leading to a series of wars that extend into the present day.</p> <p>High levels of internal migration occur in China from rural communities to coastal industrial cities.</p> <p>Migrants from Central Asia, North Africa and the Middle East increasingly make up the majority of the work force in oil-producing states of the Gulf region.</p>

Date	Migration Events and Trends
2000s	<p>North African countries receive an influx of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa who use the Maghreb countries as transit nations or settle there. South Africa continues to attract migrant mine labor.</p> <p>Turkey's bid for EU membership stalls over concerns about its position as a gateway for migrants from Arab/Islamic countries.</p> <p>2000 elections of George W. Bush in US and Vicente Fox in Mexico open opportunity for intergovernmental cooperation on illegal immigration to US. High level talks are initiated and are seen as groundbreaking.</p> <p>The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 close this window and result in larger immigration restrictions under the Department of Homeland Security. Refugees and asylum seekers, particularly from Middle Eastern and Central Asian countries, encounter heightened scrutiny. The PATRIOT Act allows for detention of those awaiting the award of official status.</p> <p>The US-led NATO invasion of Afghanistan creates another Afghan refugee crisis, again borne mainly by Iran and Pakistan.</p> <p>The concept of environmental refugees gains heightened awareness following the massive displacement of largely poor populations by the Asian Tsunami, Hurricane Katrina, flooding and droughts throughout the world and earthquakes in Pakistan and China.</p> <p>Hotly debated Immigration Reform legislation dies in the US Congress in 2007. New laws would have affected border control as well as amnesty programs for illegal immigrants.</p> <p>Refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) face extreme hardship in the wake of wars in Darfur and Eastern Congo, as well as political violence in Kenya and Zimbabwe.</p> <p>A series of high profile raids of companies and factories employing illegal immigrants in the US results in employer sanctions and deportations in 2008.</p> <p>The global recession threatens the livelihood of people around the world and is expected to intensify the challenges facing migrants, refugees and naturalized minorities in developing and developed countries alike.</p>

## Migration Basics:

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Who  
Where  
Why  
How  
To What End  
Effect on Countries of Origin -  
Effect on Countries of Destination -  
The Immigrant Experience -



Photo Courtesy of USAID

## Human Migration – Who?

The story of humanity is of people constantly in movement. Anthropology, history and sociology are disciplines that study how people migrate, come into contact with others, and build and manage communities all over the world, from ancient to contemporary societies. Although human migration is ubiquitous across time, the designation of people as **certain types of migrants** is a relatively new phenomenon in history. Consider the various labels now affixed to people who leave their place of birth:

- Internal versus international migrants;
- Legal versus illegal, irregular or undocumented migrants;
- Voluntary versus forced migrants;
- Economic migrants versus refugees and asylum seekers;
- Permanent versus circular migrants;
- Primary versus secondary (or chain) migrants; and
- Smuggled and trafficked migrants

### Designations

**Because we have evolved into a world of nation-states – sovereign entities charged with defining and protecting the interests of their citizens – it is necessary to quantify and define types of migration.**

Yet, trying to categorize this phenomenon into designations like those above is extraordinarily tricky. Most migrants fit into more than one category at a fixed point in time and/or

over the course of their journey. Temporary excursions turn permanent. Refugees become economic migrants. Legally documented travel becomes illegal when a visa expires or when a third country is entered in transit. Some migrants don't make it to their intended destination; some change their original motivations, resulting in a change of their migration "status."

Is someone whose crops fail in one country, causing him to move to another country to find work, a voluntary or forced migrant? Is he an economic migrant or an environmental refugee? If he intends to return home at some undesignated time, is he a permanent migrant, temporary migrant or circular migrant? Will he be considered legal or illegal? What if he experienced persecution of some kind in addition to economic hardship in his country of origin – is he a migrant or an asylum-seeker? What if his travel takes him across disputed international borders or into contested territories – is he an internal or international migrant? Is he an internally-displaced person or refugee? The migrant's designation is up to officials in his country (or countries) of destination (which may differ from each other).

In the migration lexicon, relocation is not even necessary for a status-change to occur. Consider the case of people living in territories that become independent. An ethnic Russian living in Ukraine was simply an internal migrant within the Soviet Union before 1991. With the dissolution of the USSR, he became an international migrant without even moving. People living in the former Yugoslavia met the same fate as new borders formed. Similarly, Arabs

of Palestinian descent became overnight international refugee-designees when the state of Israel was formed. Some of these Palestinian refugees who move within Israeli territories daily to work then also become economic migrants.

These labels are more than merely descriptive. Specific rights, responsibilities and benefits come with different designations, resulting in the regulation and politicization of human movement. Below is a sampling of how human migration is now labeled:

- **Internal migration** describes people on the move within a country; **international migration** involves crossing a recognized international border.
- **Voluntary migration** describes people who move of their own free will in search of a better life, usually motivated by economic reasons. This category describes **migrant labor**, as well as **chain migration** that results when families and community members follow the primary migrant to the country of destination.
- **Forced migration** refers to **refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and asylum seekers**. Refugee status is conferred on international migrants when a particular set of conditions linked to oppression and fear of persecution in one's home country are satisfied. Asylum-seekers are those awaiting the award of refugee status. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are forced internal migrants.
- **Legal migration** is undertaken with the consent of the destination country, given through official visas and permits. The terms of the consent usually include entry, stay and exit parameters for the purpose of travel, work, education, family reunification or asylum. Migrants may be designated as temporary or given "**permanent foreign resident**" status and may choose to pursue a path toward **naturalization**, or citizenship.
- **Illegal or irregular migration** occurs when a migrant crosses an international border without documentation showing the consent of the destination country, or when a legal migrant's documentation expires or status changes while in-country. The latter occurs when a person "overstays" a travel, work or education visa. Many migrants are in constant transition between legal and illegal status.
- **Permanent migration** is one-way movement, although many of those who seek permanent migration undergo many temporary migrations before achieving settlement. **Temporary migration** may be seasonal or motivated by specific labor demands in destination countries; it may be the result of dislocation from conflict or natural disasters. It may be undertaken in pursuit of education or special training. **Circular migration** involves return, and often repetition. Circular migrants keep connections in two or more countries and are considered to be more transnational in character, often holding dual citizenship.
- **Skilled migrants** are courted by industrialized nations with special visas and other dispensations. Engineers and software technicians from India and China are examples of skilled migrants in high demand. **Unskilled migrants** are those who can be employed with minimum training and education.
- **Environmental migrants or environmental refugees** are relatively new designations and have yet to be officially defined. These can be the victims of acute natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, storms and droughts. They can also be people who are forced by gradual climate change to permanently relocate as the viability of their land erodes. Examples include residents of the Maldives and other low-lying island areas projected to be affected by rising sea levels and farmers in the increasingly dry Sahel region of Africa.
- **Smuggled migrants** are voluntary illegal migrants who pay for the services of a middle-man to avoid detection and gain irregular entry. **Trafficked migrants** are those who are illegally and involuntarily transported against their will or by trickery for slave labor (often in the sex trade). Eighty percent of trafficked persons are women; 50% are children.

## Current Trends: Who are Today's Migrants?

It is difficult to obtain accurate data on migrant populations, but certain trends are evident:

- **Most migrants are internal.** Countries do not generally collect data on citizens moving within their own countries, so figures can be unreliable. This applies to involuntary migrants as well – there are twice as many IDPs as refugees.

- **There are an estimated 200 million international migrants in the world today.** This represents approximately 3% of the world's population, or 1 in 35 people. If all international migrants were consolidated in the same country, it would be the 5th largest nation in the world.
- **The radius of international migration has been steadily expanding over the last century, with four times more countries involved than in 1900.** Seventy-five percent of international migrants are concentrated in 12% of the world's countries. North America (Canada and the US), Europe, Oceania (Australia and New Zealand), and the former USSR (due to breakup of the USSR), are home to the most international migrants.
- **Most migrants originate in Less Developed Countries (LDCs).** Roughly 62 million have relocated from a LDC to a More Developed Country (MDC). A nearly equal amount (61 million) have moved from one LDC to another LDC. Only 14 million have gone from a MDC to a LDC; 53 million have moved between MDCs.
- **Although the overall level of international migration has remained fairly steady over the last decades, it has become more diverse.** There are more women in the migrant population today; they are classified as primary economic migrants as well as chain (spouse/family reunification) migrants. There are also more skilled migrants than in the past as wealthy industrialized nations and Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) compete for science and technology workers.
- **Numbers of refugees, asylum-seekers, and IDPs are on the rise** for the second year in a row, following five years of declining figures.



Photo courtesy of US LOC

Migration patterns have changed over time, corresponding with larger world events and trends. Some historically “sending” countries have become “receiving countries,” while classic “transit” countries have become “receivers.” Overall, the geographic radius of international migration has expanded in recent decades.

## Historical Context

See the timeline for specific migration flows from the 1500s to the present day. You’ll see the historical shift in direction for people moving between the developed and developing world.

### Era of Exploration, Empire Building, and Colonization

- This era was characterized by the movement of people from the more developed regions of Europe to places like the New World. Explorers, sailors, soldiers and missionaries led the way, followed by colonists – from elites to dissidents and pilgrims to convicts. North America, Australia and New Zealand became destinations as the imperial sea powers of Europe disorged people from all rungs of society. Colonial zeal spread to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

### Era of Industrialization - WWI

- Beginning with indentured servants, who replaced slaves after the international slave trade was abolished, labor began to continuously move along the path from LDCs to MDCs. As industrialization proceeded, the

## Human Migration - Where?

labor demands of Europe and North America were largely met by migrants from less developed regions.

- World War I further stimulated international migration as many European migrants returned home to work in war industries or serve in the military of their countries of origin.
- Economic stagnation after WWI temporarily slowed migration, as did rising nativist sentiment in “receiver” countries that accompanied the Great Depression.

### Post WWII

After WWII and the end of colonialism, migration flows were much more bi-directional. These flows included:

- European expatriates and colonial officials returning home;
- Former colonial subjects from Africa and South Asia taking up residency in the countries of their former colonial masters;
- Return of war refugees to their homes, displacement of others;
- Migrant labor to Europe to rebuild industrialized societies;
- A sorting of populations into Eastern and Western European blocs as the Iron Curtain descended;
- A sorting of populations from the former British colony of India to the new independent Muslim state of Pakistan and Hindu state of India;

- Migration to the new Jewish state of Israel, and the displacement of Arab Palestinian refugees;
- Inter-regional migrations in Latin America (to Brazil and Venezuela); and
- Refugee movements from wars in Southeast Asia and Korea, as well as wars for independence in Africa.

### Modern Migration Routes (1960s to the present day)

Migration data collection is uneven; undocumented migrants are not counted, and multiple layers of local, regional, state, national and international bureaucracy complicate the picture. Data collectors cannot know if a migrant's temporary destination is his final one; many people are routinely counted as one type of migrant when they may simply be in transit or settling temporarily. We can, however, identify some of the main migration routes of the last quarter century:

- For international migration, areas of origin have historically been, and continued to be, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa.
- Primary destination countries both historically and currently are Australia, Canada, France, Germany, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States.
- New destination countries include India, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Spain and Portugal.
- North America, with 41 million or 23.4% of total migrants, has seen the greatest percentage increase in migration between 1990 and 2000, at 48%.
- Statistics from the former USSR, where many are considered migrants simply because the borders around them have changed, are misleading. Adjusted for this, the US emerges as the primary destination country for international migrants, followed by Germany, France, India and Canada.
- In none of these primary destination countries do migrants constitute a large percentage of the population as a whole. Countries with the highest ratio of foreigners to natives are the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Jordan, Israel and Singapore.

Specific migrant flows were seen in the following areas over the last quarter century:

- Afghan refugees to Iran and Pakistan following war with the Soviets in the 1980s;
- Asian populations to the US in the wake of wars in Southeast Asia and immigration policies ending discrimination against Asians;
- Mexican and Central American migrants to the US to work in manual labor and service economy jobs;
- Migration of Chinese laborers and entrepreneurs to other parts of Asia;
- Chinese internal migration from rural areas to coastal industrial cities;
- Chinese dissident migration to North America following Tiananmen Square;
- Eastern to Western European migration as Communist regimes weakened in the late 1980s;
- Sorting of populations with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, including 25 million ethnic Russians left outside the new Russian Federation;
- Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel;
- Refugees and migrants associated with the break up of Yugoslavia and the ethnic wars in the Balkans;
- Exiles and refugees back to post-Apartheid South Africa;
- Refugees displaced from Iraq and Kuwait during the First Gulf War;
- Millions of Rwandan Hutu refugees into Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)), Uganda and Tanzania;
- Afghan and Iraqi refugees created by the wars of the early 2000s to Iran, Jordan and Syria;
- Migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to North Africa and southern Europe;
- Southern Europe as a gateway to Northern Europe;
- IDPs throughout Sudan from civil war and conflict in Darfur;
- Sudanese refugees to Chad and the Central African Republic;
- Migration from central and southern Africa to South Africa;
- Skilled workers from India and China to wealthy industrialized countries;



- Laborers from Central Asia and the Middle East to the oil-rich Gulf states; and
- Chinese workers to Africa to work on oil and mining concessions.

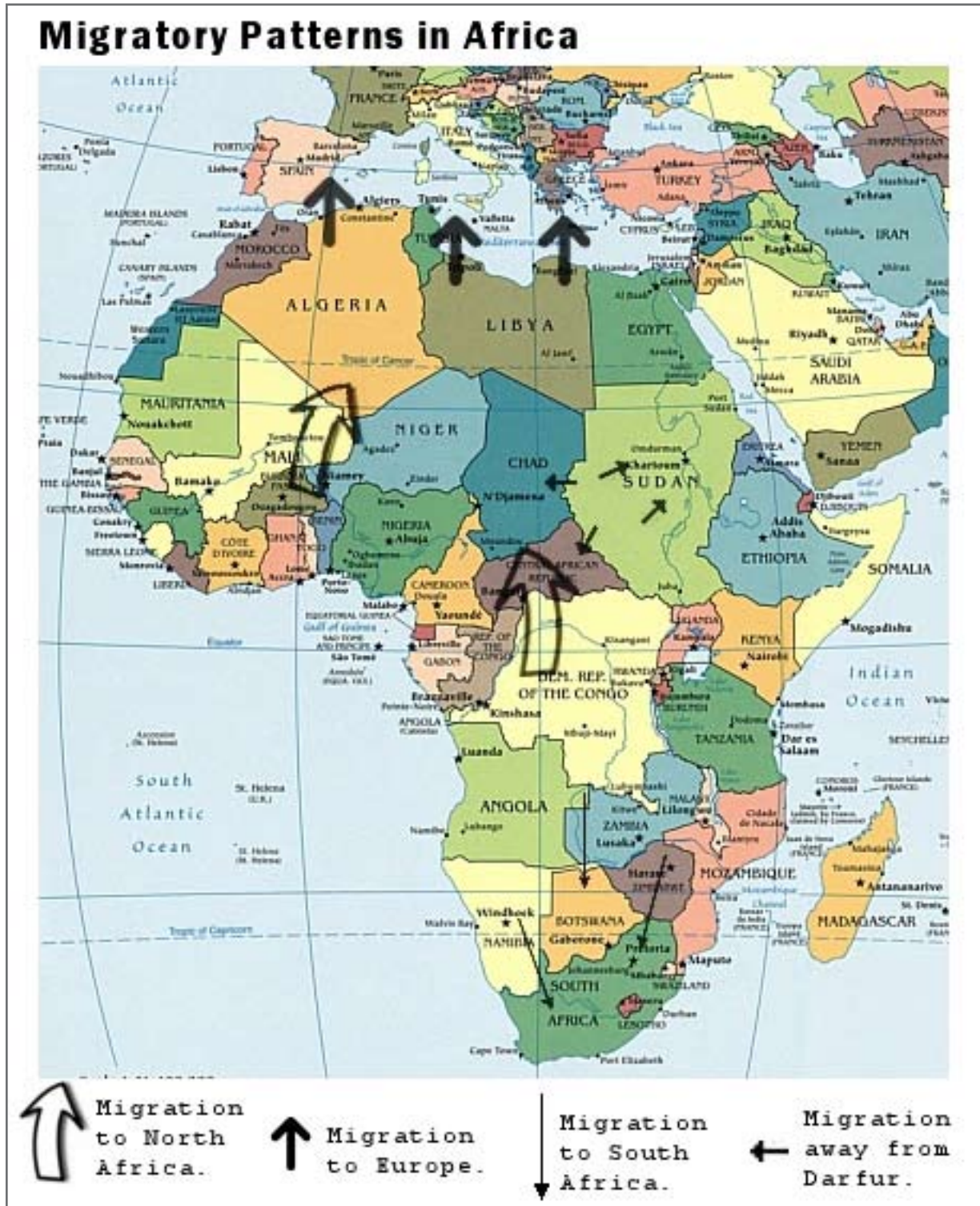




Photo courtesy of Sue McIntyre, USAID

## Migration – Why?

Human migration is often explained in terms of “pushes” and “pulls.” **Pushes are the conditions in one’s country of origin that provide the motivation for leaving. Pulls are the conditions in the country of destination that lure a migrant to leave home.** Pushes and pulls are related, and are often hard to distinguish.

The decision to migrate is a complex one: pushes and pulls can be economic, social, cultural, political and personal. Moreover, migrants’ motives often change along the journey.

Migration’s pushes and pulls are perhaps best understood as components of a **cost-benefit** analysis – i.e., if the perceived benefit outweighs the perceived cost, the migration will occur. This does not apply to forced migration, although the concept of “forced” is an elastic one. Many migrants likely feel forced on some level, but may not meet the requirements for the legal designation.

Moving is disruptive and expensive; the investment must be worth the anticipated returns. Ultimately, humans migrate in pursuit of better quality of life, and most do so without knowing exactly what awaits them.

### Pushes:

- Economic deprivation
- Unemployment
- Low wages
- Family reunification
- Persecution

- Harassment
- Discrimination
- Fear
- Threats to life or livelihood
- Environmental factors

### Pulls:

- Jobs
- Higher wages
- Opportunities for advancement
- Welfare benefits
- Family reunification
- Community ties
- Generous entry and citizenship policies
- Geographic and/or cultural proximity
- Similar language
- Receptive attitudes of native citizens toward immigrants

**Migration may be seen, fundamentally, as a function of economic and demographic inequality in the world.**

- As long as economic development worldwide remains uneven, migratory pressures will exist.
- Immigration restrictions do not, in the long run, diminish the overall number of immigrants; such laws simply re-direct determined immigrants

toward alternate paths, resulting in increased illegal immigration.

- Economic development in LDCs is probably the most effective way to reduce immigration. **The pressures that fuel migration can be mitigated by giving people the incentive to stay where they are.** In other words, as long as wages in the US are 10-15 times higher than those in Mexico and the jobs more plentiful, migrants will want to build a better life over the border, even when the move entails great personal and social costs.

However, globalization has increased the gap between rich and poor countries (see the Global Poverty and International Development edition of the *World Savvy Monitor*), and therefore is expected to increase migration pressures (pushes and pulls).

Segmentation of the labor force contributes to migration as well. Wealthy countries develop a large service delivery industry – e.g., restaurants, landscaping, construction, cleaning, domestic service, etc. These jobs generate demand for unskilled immigrant labor because they are often undesirable to the native population.

The factors which influence where populations tend to settle tend to be the following:

- **Geographic proximity** is a large factor in the destination of migrants, hence the number of intra-regional migrants – Mediterranean Africans to Europe, Mexicans to America, Chinese to Southeast Asia.
- The **presence of family or community at the destination** is a critical factor, both for primary migrants and obviously for family members who subsequently join them. **Established immigrant communities** within societies draw more primary migrants and their families. These networks are “pulls” that provide economic and social support, cultural familiarity, and even links to employment.

A study done by the Brookings Institution’s Jill Wilson on Sub-Saharan African migrants to Washington, DC provides a good snapshot of the variety of factors that motivate an immigrant’s choice of destination. The study identified reasons why immigrants of black African descent, which make up 67% of the area’s refugee population, chose the Washington metropolitan area. The reasons included the

city’s perceived cosmopolitan identity, racial diversity, manageability, relative affordability, large international community, and status as the capital of the country (which, in African nations, is generally associated with privilege and importance). Once this community became established it was a draw to other African immigrants. A similar phenomenon can be seen in other seemingly unlikely immigration hubs such as Minneapolis, Minnesota, where a large concentration of Somali and Hmong refugees and immigrants live.



Photo Courtesy of US ICE

## Migration – How?

Though demographic and economic inequality are root causes of migration, these alone do not account for its robustness. Many experts feel that how people come to leave their homes and enter another country is as important as why.

One of the reasons migration has increased so substantially is **enhanced transportation and communication connections**. In order for a potential migrant to become mobile, there is a set of barriers he must overcome. These barriers are geographic, legal, cultural/language and economic. Modern communications and transportation infrastructure, designed to facilitate the movement of ideas, goods and enterprises, greases the wheels of the migrant's journey as well:

- Family members and friends who have previously migrated can stay in touch with populations back home cheaply and conveniently. When family and community ties are maintained with those in the home country, chain migration is encouraged. Money can be easily wired home to finance a subsequent move by another family or community member, and connections can be arranged for entry, employment, and housing.
- Through pictures and the internet, potential migrants can become familiar with their destination beforehand; fear of the “unknown” as well as many logistical hurdles can be eliminated before the trip even begins.

- Improved, extensive and inexpensive transportation options allow migrants easier passage around the world.

Many experts have described these accelerants and facilitators as being components of a vibrant “**migration industry:**”

- Government officials (international, national, state, local);
- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as immigrant rights advocates and policy think tanks;
- Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs) such as the United Nations;
- Private transportation companies such as airlines;
- Employers who provide jobs and recruit labor;
- Trade unions who seek to manage immigrant labor;
- Charities, community-based and religious organizations who support migrants;
- Newspapers and television in home languages;
- Banks that facilitate money transfers;
- Smugglers; and
- Traffickers

These organizations support, or sometimes thwart, the advocacy and activities of a migrant's informal network of friends and family.

Official policies at various levels in the recipient country often contradict each other. The private sector develops different work permits and regulations; the illegal migration industry is complex; community-based pro-immigrant and anti-immigrant bodies place demands of various sorts on immigrants.

Migration – legal, illegal or semi-legal – requires negotiating a maze of visas, permits and exceptions through multiple formal and informal channels. It requires interviews, applications, documentation of all types and witness testimony in cases of refuge or asylum. There are as many potential paths for migration as there are potential migrants – travel, work, or education; family reunification; starting your journey from an underrepresented country in the recipient country’s migrant pool; marrying a citizen; possessing technical skills in demand in the recipient country; refugee or asylum-seeking status; military service; investment, and many, many more. A quick Google search will turn up advice on ever-changing regulations; informal networks may generate different advice.

The hoops can be difficult and confusing amidst conflicting rules and restrictions. A particularly poignant example can be found in an e-mail posted by foreign policy expert and journalist George Packer on his blog associated with the *New Yorker* magazine. See <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/georgepacker/2007/08/email-from-an-iraqi-milit.html> for the experience of a translator for the American military in Iraq attempting to file papers requesting asylum.

## Migration: To What End?

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It is important to consider in our exploration of human migration the ends served by modern human movement around the world. Just as the decision to migrate involves a cost-benefit analysis for the individual migrant, the experiences of the countries involved can similarly be captured as a calculation of risk to reward. There are three parties involved in every act of international migration – the migrant himself, his country of origin and his country of destination. Each of these parties has its own distinct and often conflicting interests in the process. What is good for the migrant may not be good for his home or host country; the home and host countries gain and lose in different ways.



Photo Courtesy of Mike Blyth

## The Effect of Migration on the Country of Origin

Is migration good for the migrant's country of origin? The answer lies in an analysis of who the migrant is, where he goes and what he does there.

### Benefits

#### Safety Valve Functions

Migration can serve an important safety valve function for a "sending" country:

- Relieving a country of some of its inhabitants can reduce the pressure on resources – from land to water to food -- particularly in densely populated and impoverished regions.
- If significant ethnic and civil strife are present, migration of certain interest groups in society can also serve as a safety valve. Exiling of dissidents serves the same function.
- Migration of certain demographic groups in society can relieve pressure on labor markets and ease intergenerational tensions. Countries with large youth/working age populations experience downward pressure on wages, especially among unskilled laborers, if labor supply significantly exceeds demand. Unemployed youth populations are politically destabilizing as well, and their migration is often welcomed by their home countries.

#### Remittances

Migrants perhaps benefit their home countries most when they send home a portion of their wages to family and

friends, or make investments in their countries of origin. By some estimates, remittances comprise double the amount of foreign aid that LDCs receive and up to 30% of some poor countries' total GDP. Remittances that are made through formal banking channels from migrants in MDCs back to LDCs have by some estimates quadrupled over the last two decades, from \$60 billion in 1990 to \$240 billion in 2007. Other estimates put the current figure closer to \$318 billion or nearly 1 billion dollars per day. Millions more in remittances are made through informal channels.

- Immigrants living in the US send the most money back home, with \$42 billion leaving the country in 2006, \$25 billion of it going to Mexico (formal banking channels only).
- Remittances can be so significant that origin countries encourage migration. The Times of India reports that 20 million Indians working and living abroad have made India the largest single recipient of remittance flows; India receives \$27 billion remitted from various countries, which comprises one-tenth of total global remittances. As a result, the government has been accused of "pandering" to the growing diaspora by helping to support migrants living abroad with "welfare funds" to purchase health insurance in countries where coverage is compulsory.
- Ironically, the poorer the migrant, the more likely he is to send remittances. The majority of remittances to LDCs come in small increments from unskilled laborers.

- Remittances are less volatile than foreign aid or investment and tend to actually increase during times of global economic hardship.
- The net effect of remittances is complicated. Relying on these cash flows can discourage governments from making needed economic investments and reforms to boost development. Moreover, the lucrative nature of remittances serves as a “reward” or “incentive” for out-migration when what developing countries often need is to keep their most industrious workers home to grow the home economy.
- Remittances can drive up inflation rates in developing economies, leaving those without a remittance source facing higher prices for everyday goods.
- Remittances are generally encouraged by both the countries of origin and destination. Destination countries benefit from fees on banking transactions incurred in sending the money home. It has also been shown that remittances nurture ties between immigrants and their home communities that serve as a “safety net.” When immigrants fall on hard times in their host countries, they are often able to depend on relatives and connections back home instead of becoming reliant on public welfare.

### Diasporas

When large immigrant communities form in wealthy and influential nations, they form a powerful diaspora which can advocate for the interests of their countries of origin (usually an LDC) in the host country and in the international community.

- Benefits negotiated by and made possible through this diaspora can include investment, aid, preferential trade policies and even political pressure for reform in the home country. For instance, the Chinese diaspora in the West has spearheaded business deals and agitated for Communist Party reforms in China.
- When migration is temporary or circular, or when migrants maintain close ties to their home countries, valuable exchanges of ideas are facilitated and the country of origin benefits from the immigrant’s experiences in a more modernized society.

## Costs

### Brain Drain

The primary cost associated with migration for the country of origin is the “brain drain,” or the loss of some of its brightest citizens.

- When migrants are skilled and/or highly educated, the sending country experiences not only the loss of that worker and his contribution to society, but also the investment made in his education or training, and the potential for him to mentor and teach others.
- Considering that making an international move requires some financial solvency and entrepreneurship from anyone, even unskilled workers who migrate are a loss to their country of origin.
- The effect of “brain drain” is acute in many developing nations where doctors and nurses are in short supply locally because they have been so heavily recruited to make up for shortfalls in developed countries such as the United States.
- PBS Frontline World’s Barnaby Lo has reported that the US is expected to have a deficit of 800,000 to one million trained nurses by the year 2020, and the American government actively recruits medical personnel all over the world with special visas. Lo goes on to note that the nursing shortfall is so extreme, and the recruitment so lucrative, that many trained engineers, teachers and even doctors in places like the Philippines, India and South Africa are abandoning their careers to enter nursing school with an eye toward emigration. In the Philippines alone, a study by the country’s former Secretary of Health found that “80% of all government doctors have become nurses or are in nursing schools. There are roughly 9000 doctors-turned-nurses and 5000 of all these medical practitioners are now working abroad.” The public health and economic effects of this trend are potentially devastating to developing countries.
- Not only are financial successes and talents transferred to the recipient country, but potentially valuable political assets as well. Most migrants are from poor countries, which often have poor governance as both a cause and symptom of their impoverishment. When the best and brightest leave, they take potential reformist energy and acumen with them.



### **The Negative Impact of Diasporas**

- Just as immigrants in host countries can act in ways that benefit their countries of origin, they can also act in ways that are destabilizing. Pressure from migrants, exiles and expatriates exerted on incumbent leaders who are resistant to reform often backfires. This can lead to repression and/or retaliation toward citizens back home.
- Many civil conflicts are initiated and/or exacerbated by the advocacy and fundraising of emigrants with particular interests. For example, the fragile situation in post-genocide Rwanda is thought to be imperiled by the opposing activities of Hutu and Tutsi exiles abroad.
- Interstate conflicts can be aggravated by their opposing champion diasporas living abroad as well. An example is the influence of Chinese and Taiwanese diasporas in the US during moments of tension in the Taiwan Strait. Similarly, foreign nationals who participate in terrorist acts in their host countries strain relations between those nations and their countries of origin, and can discredit their home countries.

### **The Balance Sheet**

Whether a migrant's decision to relocate hurts or helps his country of origin is highly subjective and situational. Countries of origin usually have little say over the matter, unlike the migrant (if he is acting voluntarily) or the recipient country (to the extent that it can enforce its legal restrictions on immigration). Rarely, and only in highly repressive regimes, are people prevented from voluntarily leaving their country. The country of origin is thus largely a passive actor in the migration equation.

Some LDCs have experimented with tying financial assistance for in-country education to promises by students to stay at home for a period of years after graduation; others have tied financial grants to study abroad with promises of return. These measures are difficult to enforce and have met with limited success. Sadly, some experts have noted that one possible recourse would be for LDCs to offer subsidies and grants for only K-12 education in-country so that when talent flees, the investment in more expensive higher education doesn't go with it.



## Effect on Countries of Destination

Migration's effect on host countries is the topic of greatest debate for those living in developed Western countries. Entire industries exist to measure and analyze the effect immigrants have on the countries that receive them, both legally and illegally. The discussion generally touches on both economic and social/cultural flashpoints.

### Economic Effects

George Borjas is a researcher at the forefront of the debate over whether immigration is economically beneficial for the receiving nation. His studies, conducted over decades, indicate that overall, immigration has a **net positive** economic effect, but that such effect is **marginal**. The big story, however, is not the net effect, but rather **how the benefits and downsides of immigration are distributed** throughout the economy. Or in Borjas' words, the crux of the argument is not "whether the entire country is made better off by immigration, but about how the economic pie is sliced up."

#### Who benefits?

- **Generally, business owners benefit from having a "flexible workforce."** Immigrants swell the labor pool, especially for unskilled jobs which tend to be more seasonal and/or sensitive to business cycle fluctuations. A larger labor pool means that businesses can increase and decrease employment as needed, gaining and shedding workers as labor needs change. This leads to more efficiency and profitability

for business owners and more productivity for the economy.

- **A larger labor pool drives down wages business owners have to pay to attract workers.** In addition, when a large potential labor pool exists, companies have less incentive to make jobs attractive in terms of employment benefits and perks, as well as working conditions. Business owners generally save money on their labor costs – immigrants will often work for less money, and their willingness to accept a lower salary impacts the wages of native laborers.
- **Consumers benefit.** Lower labor costs to business owners help drive down the prices of the goods they produce. Lower-priced consumer goods benefit migrant and native consumers alike, enabling them to buy goods that might not otherwise be affordable.
- **Overall economy benefits from immigrant talent.** As a group, skilled immigrants (and even many unskilled immigrants) tend to be entrepreneurial. Economist Stephen Moore has written that there is a "self-selection process" involved in the act of immigration – it is risk-takers and self-motivators who most often brave the journey – and that "by coming, they impart productive energies on the rest of us." Immigrants often create jobs and have been shown to be on the forefront of technological innovation. Between 1995-1998, 30% of Silicon Valley businesses, including Google, were started by Chinese and Indian immigrants. Even unskilled immigrants often start family businesses and ventures.

- **Everyone benefits when immigrants fill jobs that are difficult to fill.** Known as the 3Ds – dirty, dangerous, and difficult – many jobs filled by recent immigrants do not generally attract native workers. Yet, the economies of developed countries are dependent on these manual labor and service sector jobs – construction workers, custodians, home health care workers, etc. Having immigrant labor fill these lower-end jobs frees native workers up to take jobs on the next rung of the ladder.
- **The return on immigration for society grows over the course of subsequent generations.** The children and grandchildren of immigrants, on average, do better in school and are more productive than their native counterparts. Employment is high and use of welfare benefits low among second and third generation immigrants. As a group, they tend to pay taxes, create jobs, and give back to their communities.
- **Native and immigrant laborers both suffer when there is little incentive to improve working conditions.** When companies don't need to compete for labor, there is little need to enhance the attractiveness of jobs. Trade unions and workers' advocates lose leverage when there is a line of people outside the factory ready to take the job of a dissatisfied or striking worker.
- **Do immigrants consume public services and/or welfare benefits in line with their tax contributions?** Accurate measurements are difficult to obtain because national, state and local laws differ on eligibility for education, health and welfare services, and on the instruments used to collect taxes from illegal immigrants. Most believe that immigrants end up paying for their use of public services through tax contributions and general economic contributions to society, but this may take more than one generation.

### Who loses?

- **While business owners experience short-term gains in profitability from a plentiful and flexible labor supply, they may actually lose in the long run.** Companies become used to not needing to make reforms or modernize or invest in the productivity of their workers, and thus compromise their long-term competitiveness in a globalized marketplace. *The Economist* magazine presents the California raisin industry as a case in point, noting that cheap immigrant labor has discouraged farms from adopting automated harvesting like the more profitable grape industries worldwide.
- **Native workers pay a price for cheap immigrant labor.** Most experts believe that this is generally not significant in terms of unemployment rates – rarely do immigrants “steal jobs” from native workers; they are more likely to “steal jobs” from each other with newly arrived immigrants taking jobs from those already in the labor market. Yet, there is a small negative effect on native wages, mostly among unskilled workers (particularly those without a high school diploma), as immigrant wages drive down the value of labor in lower pay grades where workers are plentiful. However, percentage declines in native worker wages attributed to immigration must be weighed against the benefits native workers gain in lower priced consumer goods and from general economic growth attributed to immigrant labor.

### Larger Societal Effects

The balance sheet on immigration's effects on a country of destination is not merely economic. Even though immigration's net economic effect on a host nation's economy is positive, the debate about its larger effects is far from resolved. As a RAND corporation study quoted in *The Economist* summarizes, “the economic pluses and minuses are much smaller than the political and emotional salience” of the issue. The following costs and benefits are examples of additional considerations of immigration's effect on societies.

#### Benefits

- **Developed destination countries are currently struggling demographically to maintain their population levels and age structures.** With low fertility and longer life spans, many MDCs are in danger of developing skewed dependency ratios in the future (number of people in the workforce to the number of people too young or too old to work). Immigrants are an answer to this dilemma, as they are usually of working and childbearing age. They keep the population growing, boosting the dependency ratio in a favorable direction. (See Demographics in Special Issue Section).
- **Immigrants add a cultural richness to a society,** bringing with them unique customs and traditions

that become part of the multilayered fabric of a nation. Beneath the obvious food, flag, festival and folk hero contributions, a multicultural diverse society is more culturally and intellectually stimulating and innovative than a mono-cultural one.

- **Many advances made by the human race have been the result of contact between different peoples**, in artistic and scientific realms. Efficiency is generated by a pooling of diverse talent in geographical hubs.
- **Urbanization tends to accompany internal and international immigration.** The movement of people is partly a story of people moving from rural to urban areas, or small cities to larger ones, whether they cross international borders or not. The growth of cities brings together talent that is highly conducive to innovation, increasing the economic and social vibrancy of a nation.

### Costs

All of these benefits have corresponding costs.

- **Some natives fear immigrant populations will alter the religious and socio-cultural foundations of their nation.** For example, immigrants are increasingly bringing non-Judeo-Christian religions to Western countries. Conversely, within Christianity, Hispanic populations are boosting the membership of the Catholic Church. Some fear that family practices such as preference for male children in Asian societies may be aided by modern reproductive technologies and alter the gender balance in countries of destination for this population.
- There are **those who raise the issue of immigrants changing national identity and coherence.** Some fear the dilution of national symbols, narratives and experiences that have traditionally formed a country's heritage and image abroad.
- **Security concerns** are associated with immigration when porous borders are conceivably able to facilitate the transport of **enemies of the state and radical ideologies.** Major terrorist events occurring in destination countries, such as the US and UK, carried out by foreign nationals and/or 1st and 2nd generation immigrants feed this fear.
- The **presence of large ethnic immigrant interest groups impacts the foreign policy of the host country toward their countries of origin.** US

lawmakers develop policies toward Mexico with the American Hispanic communities in mind; few politicians make statements regarding US policy on Israel or the Middle East in general without regard for the sentiment of American Jewish groups.

- **Host nations are adversely affected when internal conflicts within the home countries follow immigrants to their new homes.** The violence that accompanies rivalries between different Italian “mafia” families in the US or between Russian exiles in the UK creates criminal and public safety concerns for host nations.
- **Finally, urbanization associated with migration has a significant downside** as illustrated by the slums of many global cities. Service delivery and general capacity often do not keep pace with the growth of urban populations in places like China, India and South Africa, dragging down the quality of life for many immigrant and native residents. Large global cities like New York and London provide a microcosm of the rich-poor divide that motivates much migration in the first place. Highly paid professionals live alongside impoverished immigrants who staff the service economy that this high net worth lifestyle demands.

Many classic transit countries are now becoming countries of destination themselves, and experiencing many of the associated costs and benefits. For example, EU policy mandates that migrants seeking refuge/asylum must complete their application in the first EU country in which they land. This is creating a backlog of immigrants of all types in Southern EU member countries such as Greece, Italy, Spain and Malta. Immigration restrictions for the EU as a whole and the process of interdicting (detaining) migrants in the Mediterranean attempting the journey to Europe from North Africa has similarly swelled the migrant populations of the Maghreb region (Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Egypt) which used to be primarily transit countries.

### The Balance Sheet

Host countries gain from immigration, but also must bear the negative consequences. Countries attempt to limit the downside through policies that try to restrict immigration to those immigrants that who are most economically productive. Immigrant countries attempt to attract

certain types of talent from certain countries through the calibration of visa categories. The HB-1 visa system in the United States for highly skilled workers is an example that is enthusiastically supported by the corporate sector. (Bill Gates recently gave Congressional testimony in support of boosting the number of these visas that are available to potential immigrants.) See Regulations section for a more thorough discussion.

Regardless, a host country cannot fully seal its borders, but it can instigate policies aimed at maximizing the contributions of immigrants who make it into the country while minimizing their adverse effects. This is key also for host countries that are structurally dependent on immigrant labor, such as Gulf oil-producing states in the Middle East or Malaysia.

This policymaking does not occur in a vacuum. It is inherently political and often reflects electoral cycles of the modern industrial democracies in host nations. In times of economic hardship, anti-immigrant sentiment generally rises as the distribution of a “diminishing pie” becomes more contentious. A recent article in the *New York Times* details the plight of immigrants to Spain who were recruited to combat labor shortages in past decades, but who now find themselves unemployed and often unwelcome in a previously relatively open country.



Photo Courtesy of Gary Houston

## The Immigrant Experience

It is time to consider the question of whether migration is “good” for the individual migrant. Migration involves a considerable amount of hardship in most cases, even for the most resilient immigrant; furthermore, immigrant populations of all kinds are seen as vulnerable to exploitation. This section is primarily concerned with economic migrants, yet the issues are pertinent to refugees, asylum-seekers and IDPs attempting resettlement. We hope to provide a framework for considering issues of economics and social integration. See Visual Sources as well as the Classroom Companion and World Savvy Salon Guides for more information and narratives from immigrants themselves.

### Economic Well-Being

**Immigration generally confers economic benefits on the migrant, his family and members of his family that remain in his country of origin.** This may not always be the case but enough people succeed in improving their prospects and their lives to motivate millions of others to follow their paths. **The most obvious exceptions include:**

- Refugees and asylum seekers, for whom the move is not primarily an economic one. Many refugees take a step down the economic ladder when they are forced to relocate; this is especially true for those who become stuck in camps. See the special section on Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and IDPs for more details.
- The typical unskilled immigrant, whose economic situation is volatile.

- In a larger economic downturn, immigrants may fare worse than the general working population due to language and skill barriers in a tight labor market. They also tend to have less support in times of protracted unemployment.
- Illegal immigrants are particularly vulnerable. Raids and deportations tend to increase in times of general employment instability.
- Many immigrants are critically underemployed; doctors drive cabs and teachers do yard work. Because many credentials and licenses earned in the home country do not transfer to the country of destination, highly skilled workers are often forced to settle for unskilled jobs.
- While wages are generally higher for workers in destination countries, so are costs of living – including housing, education and health care. For immigrants who are remitting a portion of their paychecks, their overall net income is often not enough to keep them above subsistence living. Expenses like child care and housing, which at home might be provided by family members, can be crippling.

### Quality of Life

Beyond economics, discussions about immigrant life focus on the interaction of migrants with others in their host countries, or the level and quality of assimilation/integration they achieve. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller write

that there are two sets of outcomes faced by immigrant populations:

- Becoming part of **ethnic communities** where identity is based on a “cultural and psychological” rationale. Membership is voluntary and guided by a philosophy of reciprocal self-help.
- Becoming part of **ethnic minorities** where identity is derived from common discrimination, disadvantage and exclusion. Racism or xenophobia drive membership. Communities such as these are often described as “ghettos.”

Many immigrants’ fates are mixed, incorporating elements of both types of experiences. How easily an immigrant assimilates is rarely solely a function of his own efforts, but depends on “settler characteristics” or markers, including skin color, religion and cultural practices that distinguish him from native populations. A great deal also depends on what Castles and Miller summarize as the “values, practices, and institutions” of the receiving society. Societies that have generous entry guidelines, extend rights to legal foreign residents, and allow for naturalization of immigrants (granting of citizenship) tend to facilitate assimilation; societies that encourage family reunification, grant citizenship to children born on host soil, and allow dual citizenship also facilitate assimilation.

**Discrimination** against undocumented immigrants can be legal, but more often, discrimination is embedded in the extra-legal or casual treatment of migrants and their children; this discrimination occurs in the workplace, in schools, and in the larger community.

## Foreign Permanent Residency Versus Citizenship

Citizenship is widely seen as the ultimate measure of assimilation, but it is a legal designation, not a sociocultural one. Many highly-assimilated immigrants choose not to become citizens of their host countries, preferring instead to remain foreign permanent residents (FPRs). On the other hand, there are some immigrants who have achieved citizenship, but who remain only moderately assimilated. Citizenship requirements vary from country to country, and may include a waiting period, minimum period of residency, and language proficiency or other tests that reflect a certain amount of knowledge about the host country. In

the US, one can become a citizen through a legal application process that includes mandatory waiting periods, residency and testing. Unlike most countries, the US also confers citizenship on all children born on US soil, no matter the legal status of the parents, and to most children born out of the country to one or more American parents living abroad. The benefits of citizenship also vary. In the United States, a citizen differs from an FPR substantially only in voting rights and ability to hold some public offices. Voting in federal elections is reserved exclusively for citizens, and foreign-born citizens may not seek the Presidency.



Map courtesy of Jonathan McIntosh

## The Overarching Dilemma

It is impossible to reconcile the interests of all parties involved in immigration: the sending country, the receiving country, the immigrant and the international community. Tension exists among these entities as well as within and among countries of origin and countries of destination. Different stakeholders have incompatible interests; **the result is a conflicting maze of incentives and restrictions on global, national, state and local levels.**

The debate over human migration is about more than immigration policy. It is about reconciling universal standards of human rights with the interests of sovereign nations.

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights grants everyone the right to leave his home country for any reason, yet there is no corresponding right to enter another one.
- The international community seeks to promote a sense of morality around protecting humanity from discrimination and persecution. Yet individual nations determine within their borders where people can go and how they are allowed to pursue their human rights.
- National sovereignty is complicated by sometimes incompatible state and local interests and policies.

We live in a “globalized world” where boundaries are increasingly irrelevant with respect to the movement of ideas, goods, services and money. It might seem that the mobility of labor would be a natural next step to increase economic efficiency worldwide. Yet, this would compromise

the power which sovereign countries exert over their own affairs, including determining who is a citizen and what rights and responsibilities attach to such a designation.

The major industrial powers of the world were in part built with immigrant labor and are the beneficiaries of cross-cultural fertilization of ideas and technologies achieved over centuries of human movement. These powers are, for the most part, now democracies placing high premium on civil and human rights and the rule of law. The fact that they are also the primary countries of destination for people moving from the developing to developed world has inevitably created a clash of values – between what immigrant expert Christina Boswell calls their “universalist liberal” traditions and their desire to maintain harmony at home and advantage internationally.

A larger question emerges from these contradictions: if we are all fundamentally immigrants, our ancestors having spread out over the globe over centuries of human movement, can current national borders be seen as arbitrary? Is a transnational or postnational order possible when the definition of citizenship is radically different from present-day conventions and norms?

In the following sections, we will follow these considerations as we consider specific issues concerning migration.



## Special Issues in Migration

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Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and IDPs  
Internal Migration  
Regulation of Immigration  
Migration, Security, and Counterterrorism  
Migration and International Relations  
Migration and Climate Change  
Replacement Migration and the Demographic Crises of Developed Countries



Photo courtesy of Nite Owl

## Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and IDPs

People who are forcibly displaced from their homes by conflict or fear of persecution may be refugees, asylum-seekers, or internally displaced persons (IDPs) and are treated differently from economic migrants.

Category of forced displacement	Total (in millions)
Refugees under UNHCR mandate	11.4
Refugees under UNRWA mandate	4.6
Total number of refugees	16.0
Conflict-generated IDPs	26.0
Natural disaster IDPs	25.0
Total number of IDPs	51.0
Total number of refugees and IDPs	67.0

Overall numbers of displaced persons had declined from 2001-2005, but has been rising for the last two years. (Source, United Nations)

A **refugee**, as defined by international law is:

- Someone who has well-founded fear of persecution on the basis of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion;
- Outside his or her country of nationality;
- Unable to avail himself or herself of the protection of his or her country of nationality or habitual residence, or to return there, for fear of persecution.

**The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocols to the Convention, and the mandate**

**of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR)** are the international instruments guiding who qualifies as a refugee, what legal protections they should expect, as well as the rights and services that should be afforded to them. Regional instruments inspired by these international regimes exist as well. Palestinian refugees displaced by the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and its expansion in 1967 fall under a special mandate of the **United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)**.

Refugee protections also fall under obligations of the **1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, including **Article 13** stating that “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own;” and Article 14 stating that “Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.”

**Asylum** is the granting by a state, of protection on its territory to persons from another state who are fleeing persecution, or serious danger. An **asylum seeker** enters a country on the same premise as a refugee, but often goes through different channels to obtain permission to stay. Asylum-seekers, in many cases, are essentially refugees-in-waiting, often in limbo as their cases and status are pending.

Asylum for refugees and asylum-seekers encompasses a variety of elements:

- First among them is **non-refoulement**, or preventing the return (refoulement) of people to countries or territories in which their lives or freedom may be threatened.

- It also includes permission to remain on the territory of the asylum country and to receive humane standards of treatment. Freedom of religion, travel, and the right to work are also part of asylum. Some countries require waiting periods of up to one year before the asylum-grantee may gain employment. Cash grants and other assistance are often provided by the government and by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), charities, and faith-based organizations.
- States may offer temporary protection without awarding official refugee or asylum status.

Estimates of the number of refugees and asylum seekers in the world vary because of the difficult nature of documenting people in crisis. People may enter and exit the refugee system, receive services informally, or be reclassified as economic migrants. Those who are considered primarily economic migrants are not deemed eligible for coverage under the UNHCR mandate, but undoubtedly some of these informally come under UN care. Some estimate that 80% of refugees are women and children.

#### Outcomes for refugees and asylum-seekers include:

- **Voluntary repatriation** in which people return and are integrated back into their countries of origin once it is deemed safe to do so. This is the preferred choice for both the UNHCR and for most refugees themselves. This may occur after temporary sanctuary has been provided by a host country or after a period of official asylum.
- **Involuntary repatriation (refoulement)** in which people are denied sanctuary or asylum and are forced to return to their countries or origin. This practice occurs despite international conventions and norms that seek to prevent it. It happens at ports of entry when newly arrived migrants are turned away and put back on a plane home; it happens when groups are deported after they have entered and even lived in a host country for a period of time; it happens when ships bearing migrants are intercepted at sea and escorted home by coast guard officials.
- **Resettlement** in which people are relocated permanently to a third country willing to accept them.
- **Local integration** in which people settle permanently in the country of asylum, often achieving citizenship.

Policies guiding the above outcomes vary by country. In the United States, which accepts the most applicants worldwide, the number of refugee and asylum-seekers who are to be accepted in any given year is determined by the President in consultation with the House and Senate. Figures may be adjusted in response to international emergencies and disasters. The application process requires proof of persecution, proof the applicant has no other country of option, evidence of some measure of economic support (often through a charity or NGO), and a medical exam. Proof of persecution must be via official documents, interviews, and/or witness testimony. Applicants must establish that they have been targeted for persecution personally, and are not just victims of widespread discrimination of a larger group or of general hardship.

An **internally displaced person or IDP** is a refugee/asylum-seeker who has not crossed a recognized international border, but is on the move for the same reasons. IDPs do not formally fall under the Refugee Convention and Protocol, but rather the UDHR and subsequent special international laws. However, there are many more IDPs in the world than refugees and they are often seen as the most vulnerable people on the move today. This is because many of them are displaced by civil conflict in sovereign nations, often conflicts the international community wants to avoid. The UNHCR has come, in recent years, to care for over one-half (13 million) of the 26 million IDPs living in 52 countries around the world. It is estimated that there are up to 25 million more IDPs in the world generated by natural disasters (those not fleeing conflict are not counted in official UN IDP numbers) for a total of 51 million worldwide.

**Persons of Concern** to the UNHCR may be refugees, IDPs, returned persons, asylum seekers, and stateless persons. The UNHCR estimates that nearly 32 million people in the world today are entitled to its services, up from 20.8 million in 2006. Another 4.6 million Palestinian refugees are served by the UNRWA.

(Definitions: IOM, UNHCR)

## Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and IDPs in the World Today

Inclusive data on refugees, asylum-seekers, and IDPs are extraordinarily difficult to obtain because people enter and exit the system or change status along the way. Some start as IDPs, become refugees, and then tragically, IDPs again. Many get stuck in triage awaiting full award of official status. Many are unofficial; others die between fleeing and arriving in a country of asylum or an IDP camp. It is even difficult to determine who is a refugee and who is an economic migrant – most refugees come from poor countries where the distinction between pushes and pulls, voluntary and forced movement, and political and economic motivators can be highly arbitrary.

Using available figures from the UN and others, Human Rights Watch has estimated that, in the 21st century, nearly 80% of the world's refugees come from just ten areas: Afghanistan, Angola, Burma (Myanmar), Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Iraq, the Palestinian territories, Somalia, and Sudan. Other top locations include Vietnam and the former Yugoslavia. Palestinians are the oldest and largest recognized refugee population, and are thought to make up more than one-fourth of the world's official refugees, residing in and around camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank and Gaza. The number of people seeking refuge or asylum in developed countries increased by 10% in 2007, the first increase seen in 5 years. The majority of this increase is attributed to a rise in people fleeing Iraq.

Asia hosts 45% of all refugees, followed by Africa (30%), Europe (19%) and North America (5%). Geographic proximity plays a large role in where refugees end up, as do former colonial ties. For example, many refugees and migrants found in France hail from former French African countries. Over half of all IDPs are in African countries, many in Angola, Uganda, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Other IDPs are on the move within Balkan countries, Afghanistan, Colombia, and Sri Lanka.

### The Dilemma of Mixed Migratory Patterns

All types of migrants often travel the same routes, at the same times. There can be ethnic, social, and political tension between them; there is often conflict over resources and access to humanitarian assistance. They all have the

tendency to come into conflict with native populations along the journey and all are vulnerable to traffickers and smugglers. Not surprisingly, it is often extraordinarily problematic for officials in transit and destination countries to determine who is eligible for refugee assistance and asylum, and who must be treated as an illegal economic migrant. As was reported in a recent UNHCR report *Refugee or Migrant*, along many dangerous migration routes, refugees often die along with other migrants; and those that do make it are often summarily detained or deported along with illegal migrants without having the opportunity to seek asylum. This can be seen in places where some of the most desperate people in the world are on the move in the world today, usually fleeing from a combination of persecution and poverty:

- Land routes from central and northern Sub-Saharan Africa to South Africa
- Travel by sea in makeshift boats from West Africa to the Spanish Canary Islands in the Mediterranean
- Travel across the notoriously dangerous Gulf of Aden from Somalia to Yemen
- Land travel from Iraq to Turkey and then transport by sea to Greece
- Boat travel by Cubans and Haitians in the Caribbean to the US
- Land travel from Central American countries through Mexico and to North America

Overall, more asylum applications and refugee grants are being denied than in the past, and most believe that more illegal refugees and asylum seekers are on the move than ever before, despite a drop in official applications from the 1980s and 1990s. The major contractions have taken place in Europe (as characterized by policy reforms contributing to Fortress Europe) and in post-9/11 America. The US has traditionally taken more asylum seekers than all other countries combined, but this trend is beginning to erode in the 21st century.

Many refugees and asylum seekers are denied because they are confused with (or cynically categorized as) economic migrants. Ironically, others get foisted into IDP channels. Human rights organizations point out that an increasingly greater number of countries of potential asylum are exercising what is known as the “internal flight alternative”

where refugees are concerned. This means that applications for asylum can be denied if a person is deemed to have the alternative of fleeing to another area of his own country. This places many in the IDP system which traditionally provides lesser rights, protections, and assistance. Most experts agree that if a person is in fear for his life in his own country, simply relocating within that country's borders is unlikely to afford him protection.

### **The Relevancy and Sufficiency of Existing Refugee, Asylum, and IDP Regimes**

In an extreme example of the larger disconnect between the norms and policies guiding the regulation of human migration, refugees and asylum seekers are granted rights and protections by international law, but not necessarily by individual states. Under the purview of accepted universal human rights law, people have the right to leave their countries of origin or residency, but other laws at the nation-state level limit their ability to enter or seek safe haven in a country of their choice. Thus, what many may assume are internationally accepted refugee norms are unevenly implemented and enforced by sovereign states.

Not only are they unevenly implemented and enforced officially by sovereign states, but they are also erratically implemented and enforced **within** those sovereign states at the discretion of individual immigration employees and border guards. Immigration personnel are often poorly trained; few are bi-lingual and able to fully understand the plight of a refugee who may look like an economic migrant. Some, like airline employees, were never intended to play the critical roles that they do at points of entry.

In general, experts remind us that most international laws in this area were originally designed for WWII refugees displaced by war and seeking protection, resettlement or voluntary repatriation. Yet, most refugees today are not fleeing clear-cut international conflicts, but rather are the victims of a wide variety of civil, ethnic, religious, political and environmental conflicts, many of which are internal matters within sovereign states. The existing refugee regime is not, many feel, sufficient to handle the many gray areas, and much less the exploding numbers of current day refugee crises.

Christina Boswell has written that the current international refugee regime (norms and institutions) puts what she calls

modern "liberal universalist" democracies in a particular bind. On one hand, popular destination societies for refugees and asylum seekers like the US and UK generally adhere to the principle that "all humans are morally equal" and deserve to be treated as such. However, these same societies are also inevitably buffeted by nationalistic sentiments: what she calls "welfare nationalism" or the "claim of citizens to a privileged standard of socioeconomic welfare;" and/or "ethnocentric nationalism," or the argument that cultural integrity must take priority over humanitarian impulses. The fact that these countries are democracies means that politicians often have no choice but to take these nationalistic concerns into account in combative electoral cycles involving right-wing anti-immigration parties. The result is a politicized or selective commitment to universal human (refugee) rights on the ground in popular countries of potential asylum.

### **The Special Case of Iraqi Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and IDPs**

The case of Iraq is of particular concern to the international community today. Currently, there are 2 million Iraqi refugees living outside the country and another nearly 2 million displaced within it. Some of these became displaced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the Iran-Iraq wars and the first Gulf war; others by the 2003 American invasion and on-going conflict. These include Iraqi citizens, foreign nationals who had been residing in the country and/or working in the oil industry, and Palestinian refugees who had already been displaced one or more times in the region. According to the Brookings Institution, while total asylum-seekers actually decreased 10% globally in 2005-2006, Iraqi asylum-seekers increased by 77%. Figures indicate that 15-22% of the Iraqi population is considered displaced internationally or internally; and Iraqis account for the most asylum applications to the world's 50 industrialized countries today.

Many that have left the war-torn country are among its best and brightest – doctors, engineers, teachers – and their absence is seen as severely hindering the reconstruction and recovery of the fledgling democracy. Moreover, the prospects of their return are grim. Even when the country is certified "safe" for repatriation on a national scale (which currently it is not by international NGOs and the UNHCR), the ethnic and sectarian reconfiguration that

has taken place in neighborhoods and regions may make return impossible for many. The UN has reported that up to 70% of those that do attempt to return become IDPs, deterring the repatriation of the majority. The potential result for the country, in the words of Roger Cohen writing for the *New York Times*, is “an Iraq inhabited by a rump and radicalized population, its elite in permanent diaspora, and the best hope of rebuilding snuffed out with that scattered intelligentsia.”

The US is a primary desired destination of those applying for permanent resettlement out of the region. However, the US takes very few of these applicants for permanent resettlement. Brookings estimates that of the 24,000 Iraqis who have been identified by UNHCR and Middle Eastern embassies as eligible for US resettlement, only 6,000 have been admitted. By contrast, Sweden has accepted between 92% and 98% of all eligible Iraqi refugee/asylum applicants.

The EU joins the US on the low end of asylum grants, and as a result earns the approbation of the human rights community. In the EU, the problem is linked to larger asylum procedures for the region in which applicants seeking asylum in any EU nation must be processed in the first EU country they enter. For Iraqis, this is typically Greece which they reach via Turkey. However, Greece’s record on treatment of Iraqi refugees and asylum-seekers has been abysmal and includes detention, deportment (refoulement) and dumping on Turkish shores. In terms of application processing, the admittance rate is nearly zero. The result is a bottleneck of Iraqi migrants (and others seeking admission to EU countries for a variety of reasons) that many feel not only violates refugee conventions, but human rights laws as well.

Most of those fleeing Iraq end up in neighboring countries, primarily Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon placing a financial and social burden on these countries that are already home to (and suffering from the burden of) many Palestinian refugees. The fact that some of these are themselves displaced Iraqi Palestinian refugees further complicates the situation. Most experts see these countries as providing heroic sanctuary when few others are willing to do so. Syria is already suffering from a drought, as well as a relative lack of international support because of its association with Iran. Lebanon is similarly wracked with many of its own problems, including domestic political intrigue and a

recent war with Israel that diminished its Western support. Ironically, Iraqi refugees have the potential to represent a “brain gain” for their host countries, as many migrants are highly skilled and educated. However, a combination of ethnic/sectarian tensions and the nontransferable nature of many refugees’ credentials and licenses relegate them to underclass status.

Moreover, Iraqi refugees and asylum seekers face significant hurdles in achieving resettlement because much of the world is unsympathetic to their plight, believing that the United States should bear responsibility for them. Growing anti-American sentiment in the Middle East contributes to this backlash. See the Human Rights Watch website for a report detailing the special plight of Iraqi refugees and IDPs, including detainment in transit countries, bottlenecks in Greece and Turkey in transit to the EU, and re-foulement.

### Other Troubling Modern Trends

Human Rights Watch and other NGOs such as the International Rescue Commission and Refugees International have noted a regression today in how traditional recipient countries treat refugees and asylum seekers. Ironically, many of these countries in North America, Europe, and Australia were the original architects of the official international refugee and human rights regime. Increasingly, entry and settlement is refused in favor of 3rd country asylum or support for international camps in neighboring countries. Detainments on counterterrorism charges have been reported based on country of origin alone. Many are being turned away if the host country deems that they could be settled internally in their home countries, even though human rights protections are not as rigorous and capacity is often low for IDPs. The result is an increasing number of “stateless people” who fear or have been denied repatriation, and are awaiting or have been denied asylum. Camps that were never meant to be permanent are now home to generations of displaced people who have little hope of return or re-settlement.

It seems to some that traditional host countries are cynically putting the onus on neighboring states with less capacity to deal with asylum seekers. This is the case in Europe, where the burden for processing applications for EU asylum is increasingly falling to countries on the region’s southern and eastern border. With EU law mandating that asylum and other residency applications to the EU as a whole be

processed by the first EU country reached in transit, many believe wealthy Northern and Western European countries are deferring responsibility to states like Greece, Malta, and Spain who cannot or do not handle the applications efficiently or even, in some cases, humanely.

Another trend on the radar of watchdog groups is that of tension between established immigrant communities and newcomers, many of them refugees. This has been the case in South Africa where desperate Zimbabwean refugees fleeing the collapse of their own state have met with resistance from other immigrants and “habitual residents” as well as from natives.

All this is occurring against the backdrop of a worldwide increase in the push factors that create forced migrants in the first place – civil conflict and climate-related disasters. The current global recession is expected to only worsen the plight of LDCs and to push millions into poverty and “forced” mobility of one kind or another. Distinguishing between different types of forced migrants, many believe, is only going to get more difficult.

See the BBC special radio series Road to Refuge for analysis and interviews with experts and refugees.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in\\_depth/world/2001/road\\_to\\_refuge/audio.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/world/2001/road_to_refuge/audio.stm)



Photo courtesy of Zouzou Nizman

## Internal Migration

This edition of the *World Savvy Monitor* is mostly concerned with international migration, voluntary and forced, that take people from their country of birth. Yet, it is important to remember that most migration in the world today is internal. There are far more internal economic migrants than international ones. There are more internally displaced people (IDPs) than there are official refugees and asylum-seekers. Moreover, many of those classified as international migrants began their journey with internal migration within their country of birth; or ultimately find themselves internal migrants of one kind or another within their country of destination. See the China and Sudan editions of the *World Savvy Monitor* for more thorough discussions of internal economic migrants and IDPs. Internal migrants often experience the same discrimination that international migrants do in their host countries. See Amnesty International for a report on the discrimination faced by Chinese internal migrants in health care, education, and employment. <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA17/008/2007>

### Urbanization

One of the biggest issues concerning internal migration (besides the plight of IDPs) involves urbanization. Many internal migrants are part of a larger global trend toward population concentrations in cities. Today, half of the world's people (3.3 billion) live in urban areas; and about 1 billion live in slums surrounding urban areas. Many experts note the rise of "global cities" (see the November-December

2008 edition of *Foreign Policy Magazine*). As *Foreign Policy*'s editors note, "The world's biggest, most interconnected cities help set global agendas, weather transnational dangers, and serve as the hubs of global integration. They are the engines of growth for their countries and the gateways to the resources of their regions. In many ways, the story of globalization is the story of urbanization." Some of the biggest growth is taking place not only in global cities like New York, London, or Moscow, but in the developing world in Dhaka, Lagos, and Sao Paulo.

Infrastructure and capacity describe the ability of quickly growing urban areas to absorb both internal migrants and immigrants. Two countries experiencing an explosion in rural to urban migration are India and China. In an article for the *New York Times* Somini Sengupta relates that in India, large cities often contain vast disparities in wealth and lifestyle as the concept of "inclusive growth" eludes the Indian economy and urban planners alike. Millionaires often live in protected and lavish enclaves near slums. Inequality is rampant and service delivery highly disparate, a phenomenon seen in many developing countries. The concentration of people living such disparate lives in such close proximity can be destabilizing.

In some areas of China, however, urban planners are seeking to avoid this boom-slum dynamic through rigorous planning and federal purchases of land to create more efficient, highly managed mega cities. This is in place of letting smaller and medium-sized cities grow organically and haphazardly, as has happened in much of the developing



world. In some Chinese cities, officials operate on a “build it and they will come” approach as analysts from McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) have reported, seeking to create larger cities with more efficient use of resources and delivery of services in place of traditional sprawl that characterizes dispersal of urban areas throughout a region.

The changing distribution of political power in democracies like the United States is also affected by internal migration. As states gain population through internal migration, their electoral weight changes in a system where House seats and electoral votes are apportioned according to demographics. From the migration of African-Americans out of the South to the migration of retired baby boomers to the “sun belt,” political influence shifts along with large migratory flows. “Swing states” are often places where demographics are in flux, combining native, internal migrant, and immigrant populations, such as Michigan and Florida.



Photo courtesy of Tomas Castelazo

## Regulation of Immigration

It is the prerogative of sovereign nations to regulate international migration across their borders. Host countries are concerned with both the number and type of potential immigrants.

### Restricting Those on the Move

There are numerous official policies countries typically put in place to control immigration. They include:

- Quota systems that privilege some immigrants over others –i.e., some give priority to skilled over unskilled workers, some seek to achieve a balance among countries of origin;
- Point systems that award preference to certain applicants;
- Policies that give priority to family reunification;
- Special time-limited visas for education, temporary or seasonal work, and travel;
- Special categories of visas for immigrants who commit to making financial investments;
- Lotteries for general visas for unspecified categories of immigrants; and
- Amnesty programs for immigrants residing in a host country illegally that confer legal status under certain guidelines.

These measures are generally overseen by a large bureaucracy of federal and state offices which field application requests from potential immigrants. Requests

for permission to enter a country are typically made at host country embassies or at points of entry into the host country.

Applications for immigration and asylum-seeking are sometimes processed by host country officials in a would-be migrant's country of origin or some other third country, in order to improve the verification of application details (accessing home country records) and to prevent illegal immigration.

### Enforcement of Immigration Policies

A variety of enforcement measures exist to implement immigration regulations and frustrate illegal entry. These are carried out by a wide range of government officials from customs and immigration officials tax bodies, and attorneys to local and state police. Some enforcement measures include:

- Special documentation systems designed to thwart forgers;
- Monitoring of “carriers” such as airlines and trains;
- Border control through physical structures and special patrol units;
- Electronic verification (E-verify) of workers' status upon application for employment;
- Raids on workplaces to search for undocumented employees;

- Sanctions and fines for employers who hire undocumented workers;
- Deportation of illegal entrants; and
- Anti-smuggling and trafficking penalties

Current immigration policies of popular destination countries are characterized as “wide doors, strong borders,” managing migration by determining who comes, how, and what they do when they arrive. Regulations and enforcement focus on what is known as the “migration industry,” (see Migration: How?) as well as on the migrant himself. In this way, countries attempt to address not only the supply of migrants but the demand for them, by holding employers accountable for hiring undocumented workers.

## Procedural Restrictions

Formal legal regulation and enforcement are only part of the picture. The manner in which these measures are implemented on the ground often has the effect of deterring legal and illegal immigrants. By making the formal requirements inconvenient and burdensome to potential migrants, host countries can informally restrict applicants. This occurs when paperwork is unduly complicated, expensive, or not sufficiently translated; or when applicants are required to travel to file papers or to produce supporting documents that are difficult to obtain from their home country governments.

Procedural restrictions also come into effect when customs or immigration officials are insufficiently trained or are allowed excessive discretion over individual applicants’ cases. Many a migrant has been turned away or required to complete unnecessary steps based on the personal decision of the official he encounters at the border, on the phone, or at the embassy. Many experts feel this is an informal way of privileging skilled migrants – allowing a country to “cherry pick” the most talented immigrants while still maintaining an officially liberal immigration policy.

## Effectiveness of Immigration Regulation

Most experts agree that these policies and procedures are not very effective in stemming the tide of immigration to developed nations. In the words of frequent contributor to Foreign Affairs, Jadish Bhagwati, “Paradoxically, the ability to control migration has shrunk as the desire to do

so has increased.” The general consensus is that attempts to regulate certain types of migration usually result in an increase in other types of migration – the classic “whack a mole” dilemma. **Overall numbers are not affected – it is only the “where” and “how” that are impacted.** Restrictions on economic migrants creates more refugees and asylum-seekers, and vice versa. Changes in family reunification policies create more worker applicants and vice versa. Transit countries like those in North Africa and Southern Europe become destination countries as populations awaiting processing by the EU swell in number and increasingly stay in these countries. Perhaps most importantly, any decrease in legal migration allowances creates more illegal or irregular migrants. The pressures for migration – economic and demographic – show no signs of abating, and people who are motivated by powerful pushes and pulls will find ways around restrictions. Moreover, the migration industry becomes savvier with every tightening of the system. Specifically:

- Special interests supporting legal and illegal migration are powerful. Employers and banks that profit from migrant labor and remittances have their lobbyists to influence policy makers, as well as ways around restrictions. Immigrant communities and diasporas also wield increasing political power: witness the battle to win over Hispanic voters in swing states in the recent US Presidential election. Even unions are increasingly embracing immigrant membership.
- Forgery of documentation has largely kept pace with restrictions.
- Transportation is easier than ever with the proliferation of international flights and the easing of intra-regional borders within blocs of developed nations such as the EU.
- Communications are easier and cheaper than ever before. Immigrants already in a host country can stay connected with and inspire future chains of migrants back home. Lifestyles in MDCs beckon to those in the developing world through television, magazines, newspapers, web sites.
- With rising demand comes a more sophisticated smuggling and trafficking network – from snakeheads in Asia to Coyotes along the US-Mexican border.

- Economic globalization requires that borders remain porous to goods, ideas, and capital – this advantages human mobility as well.
- Multilayered complexity in migration regulation works against efficiency: coordinating national, state, and local laws and procedures often allows people to slip through cracks in the infrastructure.

## The Difficulty of Immigration Regulation in Liberal Societies

The most popular countries of destination in the world are largely democratic, liberal societies (democratic and liberal in lower case letters signifying a commitment to and protection of civil liberties). It is extraordinarily difficult for these countries to control the movement and employment of people as a totalitarian society might. Major receiving countries like the United States, Australia, Canada, the UK, France, and Germany tend to place a high premium on civil rights among their own citizens, and by extension generally provide similar protections to all residents. The treatment of immigrants tests these nations' commitments to their own democratic principles and to international principles of human rights. They are frequently hampered in attempts to control immigration by their own laws, court systems, and rhetoric.

In addition, these countries, as creators and advocates of international institutions, are under more pressure from the international community to honor international conventions and norms. For example:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) to which these countries are signatories, states that “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own,” and “Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.”
- The UN Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants recognizes “that illegal migration itself is not a crime.”
- In 2006, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan told the *Wall Street Journal* that the “worst effects (of migration) arise from efforts to control it.

In attempting to control migration, the major destination countries are highly vulnerable to naming and shaming from human rights advocates, nationally and internationally. Immigration expert Christian Joppke has written that

wealthy industrial democracies are thus, in large part, “self-limited” in pursuing stringent immigration controls. A de-facto “don’t ask, don’t tell” approach often prevails and represents a passive tolerance of irregular migration.

## Reducing Incentives for Migration

### Reducing the Pulls

Many of the official and procedural regulations described above are designed, in part, to reduce the pulls a migrant may feel toward a host nation. For many, these “hoops” diminish the attractiveness of relocating to the country in question, by making it prohibitively burdensome or expensive.

Countries may also diminish their attractiveness to certain types of migrants by enacting domestic policies that serve as deterrents. These include measures such as California’s Proposition 187, passed in the 1990s, that limited access to public education, welfare, and health care for illegal immigrants. Onerous banking policies regarding remittances are another way of exerting influence on the immigrant. Policies at the local level regarding bi-lingual instruction in the public school system can also impact “pulls” migrants feel for certain locales. Community mores and attitudes may serve as de-facto immigration restrictions if migrants feel discriminated against or unwelcome. Nativism and xenophobia are powerful deterrents; many countries of destination are home to right-wing political parties espousing anti-immigrant platforms.

### Reducing the Pushes

Destination countries are often wealthy countries, and as such, are players in designing international development policies. From aid to trade, to philanthropy and foreign investment, to military intervention and climate change mitigation, host countries can impact the quality of life in developing countries. See the Global Poverty and International Development edition of the *World Savvy Monitor* for more detail.

Fundamentally, MDCs provide the resources that drive international development, and they theoretically hold the power to diminish the “pushes” a citizen of an LDC might feel to migrate. By addressing economic inequality among the nations of the world, many experts feel that the

developed world can help potential migrants stay home. From wages to jobs to quality of life, making the experience of staying home more bearable may be the answer to regulating migration flows at their source.

Interestingly, this is where two of the major conundrums facing developed nations collide:

- Multinational corporations (MNCs) based in the developed world who move operations overseas, create development in these overseas countries. Although development is generally not the goal, this **offshoring** produces jobs and keeps many would-be migrants employed at home.
- Yet, offshoring tends to be as unpopular in developed nations as illegal immigration. “Pick your poison,” many experts would admonish: host labor from LDCs in your own country or offshore those operations to labor in LDCs themselves. As Mexican President Vicente Fox reportedly told US President George W. Bush, you can host Mexicans to pick American tomatoes or you can buy tomatoes from Mexico.



## Migration, Security and Counterterrorism

The impact of immigration on homeland security in the “Age of Terror,” particularly after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, is a topic of much debate. Some domestic terrorism has been linked to migrants or foreign nationals in countries all over the world for some time, an obvious example being IRA attacks in England during the 1980s.

These events are differentiated from acts of war because the targets are civilians, and the perpetrators’ goal is to undermine civilian morale in order to alter some aspect of the host country’s policies. Domestic terrorists have often been migrants, or naturalized or second generation immigrant citizens of their target countries.

The rise of Islamic jihad against Western targets, typically wealthy, democratic countries of destination for immigrants, has caused an attitudinal shift in these countries. The US, UK and France have set about not only strengthening their borders, but also monitoring Muslim immigrant populations closely. Counterterrorism and homeland security concerns have come to heavily impact immigration policy. From no-fly lists to rigorous background checks to electronic surveillance, countries that were already beginning to restrict immigration through formal and procedural channels became even less welcoming. As we saw in the Restrictions section, these moves unleashed robust domestic debates at home and worldwide about civil liberties and human rights.

Many experts have raised an alarm about the confluence of counterterrorism and immigration policymaking. Overt

profiling and discrimination and layers of bureaucratic red tape required of selected visitors and not others may actually be fueling the threat. George Packer writes, “We should try to avoid reminding visitors of the reasons they were happy to get away from home in the first place...someone should tell the (US) Department of Homeland Security that we need all the friends and admirers we can get.”

In this view, stricter measures reflect badly on host countries, harming public diplomacy and contributing to future violence. Others cite concern that valuable immigrant talent may be kept out along with potential terrorists, leading to economic decline and loss of global competitiveness among current host nations.

Others argue differently. Border control and homeland security are linked in this view: the benefits of restrictive immigration policies outweigh the costs if they keep out the next disciple of Al Qaeda. Further radicalization of immigrant communities already living in host countries is seen as an unfortunate byproduct of targeted immigration and homeland security policies, and the purview of domestic intelligence and law enforcement bodies. However you come down on this debate, the fact remains that notions of “insider” and “outsider” have become supercharged in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, complicating notions of universal human rights and sovereign states.



Photo courtesy of Pawel Ryszawa

## Migration and International Relations

Migration's connections to security and counterterrorism also apply to a larger discussion of the impact of human mobility on relations between countries. This can be seen in:

- Tensions between host and origin countries surrounding border control and illegal migration between the US and Mexico, between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and between South Africa and Zimbabwe. Countries often come into conflict determining respective responsibilities for regulating crossings and dealing with smugglers and traffickers.
- Tensions created by diasporas and immigrant communities' influence on foreign policies. Examples include the controversial "Israel lobby" in the US, competing interests of Taiwanese and Mainland China diasporas regarding the Taiwan Strait, the influence of Kurdish populations in Germany on policy in Turkey and Iraq, and ethnic Russian populations in former Soviet republics.
- Destabilization by refugee populations fleeing violence, poverty, and disease. Large refugee populations can often put a strain on host country resources and exacerbate local ethnic tensions. Examples include Rwandan Hutu refugees in Rwanda and Sudanese Darfuris in Chad and the Central African Republic. Refugees in the former Yugoslavia similarly impacted neighboring European countries.
- Power plays that can occur when countries recruit immigrants of certain ethnicities in order to form regional or political influence blocs. This was the case with Libya and Saddam Hussein's Iraq, both of which tried to establish themselves as Pan-Arab homelands.
- Damage done to regional integration efforts when one country is seen as disproportionately bearing the burden of outside or illegal immigration, such as Greece, Spain, Portugal and other border states within the EU. The fact that Western and Northern European member countries refuse to take some immigrants from these EU gateway countries causes strains within the EU. A major reason cited for delaying Turkey's bid to join the EU is fear that it will become the gateway for Muslims into the EU.
- Finally, migration affects international relations because it is often seen as a zero-sum game in which one country loses (from brain drain or the burden of caring for refugees and indigent migrants) and one gains (through the recruitment of talented/skilled workers or the safety-valve release of others). However, there are win-win situations, too. These most notably occur when a migrant receives something in the host country that he takes back to his country of origin (e.g. remittances, education and technological advances), and in the process, contributes something to the host as well (e.g. education, professional and cultural exchanges). Win-win situations generally occur between countries that already enjoy good relations and serve to further build inter-state goodwill.



Photo courtesy of Sue McIntyre, USAID

## Migration and Climate Change

As part of the larger global concern over climate change, experts are beginning to explicitly study the impact of migration on the environment and the environment's influence on migration.

### Environmental Migrants

Many of the pushes and pulls that motivate human mobility are related to natural resource scarcity and abundance. People often leave their home to seek a better distribution of resources or to flee conflict over resources. This includes people leaving drought or flood-prone areas, poor farmland, land conflicts and natural disasters; it includes people seeking better availability of food, water and quality land.

Climate change refugees or environmental refugees are new designations ascribed to many migrants. Environmental IDPs are internally displaced, such as victims of recent Pakistani and Chinese earthquakes. By some estimates, the number of people displaced by natural disasters is twice that of those forced to flee conflict, at nearly 200 million per year. The United Nations estimates that 100 million of the world's most vulnerable people live below sea level or in places subject to tidal surges and flooding thought to accompany global warming. The Asian Tsunami and Hurricane Katrina put some of these localities on the world stage.

The UN projects that 150 million people will lose their homes and become climate-related refugees or IDPs by the year 2050. Of these, island communities in the Bahamas, Tonga and the Maldives are at the greatest risk. Some

experts believe this is a conservative estimate and doesn't include other victims of climate change, such as those displaced by desertification (see the Sudan issue of the *World Savvy Monitor*) or pollution/degradation of water sources (see the China issue of the *World Savvy Monitor*).

### The Impact of Human Movement on the Environment

Just as climate change poses a danger for humans, many believe migration poses a danger to the environment through settlement patterns. Deforestation in the Amazon Rain Forest, coastal depletion, soil degradation, overfishing and increased pollution and carbon emissions associated with urbanization are examples of this threat. As humans migrate and concentrate, the environment absorbs much of the stress; many believe this mobility may be causing irreversible damage to the Earth's surface and atmosphere. On the other hand, human migration, when it relieves population pressures on fragile land, may be seen as a climate change mitigant. Some believe that water will soon become a critical issue as human activity disrupts both rainfall patterns and river flows and quality. See the Population Reference Bureau and the Wilson Center for Environmental Change and Society for more information.





Photo courtesy of USAID

## Replacement Migration and the Demographic Concerns of Developed Nations

### Is Immigration the Answer to Population Decline?

The demographic impact of immigration on host countries is significant. Developed countries are facing a serious population crisis. In places like the EU, Russia, and Japan (and to a lesser extent, the US) fertility rates have fallen below the replacement rate (calculated at 2.1 births per woman), signaling a significant population decline in coming years. The Population Reference Bureau estimates that the average woman in an MDC (More Developed Country) has an average of only 1.6 children as affluence correlates with delayed child-bearing and fewer children.

Not only are overall numbers of people expected to fall, but the age structure of the population is changing as well. As life spans have increased and fewer babies have been born, the population of many OECD countries is said to be aging. More old people and fewer young people produces a skewed dependency ratio; this is the number of people aged 15-64 or working age compared to the number of people younger and older, known as dependents. This will worsen as baby boomers age and fewer young workers are there to replace them.

Developing countries face the opposite problem. The total fertility rate or TFR for women in the fifty least developed countries (or LDCs) is 4.7, way above replacement rate. Life spans are also not as long in the developing world, so there are fewer old people, unlike in the OECD. This means a surplus of working age populations in regions where

there are traditionally fewer jobs. This makes for good dependency ratios, but a deficit of opportunities for workers to obtain employment and support dependents.

It would seem these divergent trends create the perfect opportunity for developed and developing nations in the context of migration from LDCs to MDCs. Population excesses filling population deficits; workers filling jobs. Moreover, because immigrants tend to be young/working age and have more children in their host countries, migration would seem to be the answer to the population crises of the OECD.

This is true in the short-term. The typical OECD country needs immigrants to bolster the working age population today and in the future. The only alternative is for developed countries to boost their own native fertility rates, and some are trying to do so with incentives and more family friendly benefit packages. But it will take several generations before the imbalance could be restored between workers and dependents in this way. Without migration, developed countries would have to extend the retirement age up to 75 years or drastically overhaul their social security benefit system to make it through the lag. Migration solves the problem.

However, there are several caveats to this calculus that are apparent when you consider the long term:

- The number of immigrants required to stabilize current population numbers and dependency ratios in places like Europe is staggering, if migration alone

were the only measure taken. The UN Population Division estimated in 2002 that it would take at least double the number of current legal and illegal immigrants per year to even stabilize, much less improve current dependency ratios in the EU. Up to 1 million every year just to prevent population decline.

- Estimates of the number of immigrants required to “solve” the population dilemma of the OECD exceed, by a significant amount, what most believe is politically and socially viable. Put simply, the physical and attitudinal infrastructure will not support such a massive inflow of international migrants, most of them from the developing world.
- As demographer David Coleman points out, the number of new immigrants required to stabilize dependency ratios in the OECD in the future will be much more than even 1 million per year. This is because dependency ratios get dragged down as immigrants age. Immigrants living in developed countries have life spans comparable to natives; this means that as immigrants age out of the work force, they switch to the dependency side of the support ratio.
- With every generation raised in the host nation, the immigrant family typically bears fewer children, with second and third generation immigrants adopting the fertility patterns of natives. This means fewer babies, more old people in the immigrant population as well as in the native population.
- If migration was the only measure used to maintain support or dependency ratios, then a country would be required to import more young immigrants and their families each year to compensate for aging migrant and native stock. Using current worldwide TFRs, Coleman estimates that if 1 million new immigrants were required in the EU by 2002, up to 7 million would be required by 2024; and the overall population of the EU would need to double by 2050 in order to maintain healthy dependency ratios. The estimates for Japan, which is not considered an immigrant-friendly nation, and for South Korea which is, are similarly dramatic for scenarios where migration alone is used to address falling dependency ratios.
- Not only is this kind of population explosion in the OECD unsustainable in terms of land and resources,

most believe it would be highly untenable socially and politically as immigrants came to greatly outnumber natives.

- In David Coleman’s words, migration can help “manage” or “ameliorate” the crisis of dependency ratios in the developed world, but it cannot “solve” them.

Most experts believe that migration is part of the solution; and, in fact, the crisis cannot be addressed without significant and steady replacement migration to the OECD. But it is also generally accepted that replacement migration must be combined with social policies that promote not only increased native childbearing, such as improved maternity leave, day care, and education. It must address people’s longer life spans, with increased retirement ages and diminished social security benefits. It must also bring “hidden workers” back into the workplace, such as women of childbearing age and early retirees. The solution, in Coleman’s view, is a combination of migration and domestic “finance and actuarial moderations” that increase the percentage of people who work and enhance their productivity. Whether there will be jobs for all these workers is another matter.

An interesting aside: there could be a larger trend at work as well. One scenario posits that, as developing nations develop, they too are expected to experience falling birth rates and lower death rates associated with affluence. How quickly these two demographic patterns collide remains to be seen, but such a phenomenon could conceivably create a worldwide dependency ratio crisis.

## Snapshot: Migration and the United States

The United States is fundamentally an immigrant nation. American migrants have moved throughout the North American continent; they began from British colonial origins and progressed through subsequent land settlements, acquisitions, and expansions. This process brought the absorption and naturalization of many foreign-born populations. Throughout its history, the US has been a destination for immigrants from around the world. More legal and illegal immigrants enter the US than any other single country; 20% of all people in the world living outside their country of birth reside in the US.

- According to the US Census Bureau, there were approximately 38 million foreign born people in the US in 2007, or around 12% of the total US population. These include legal (those with visas, foreign permanent residency, refugee or asylum status, and naturalized citizens) and illegal immigrants (undocumented temporary and permanent residents).
- Just ten countries contribute half of all immigrants to the US. Mexican-born immigrants make up the largest percentage of immigrants living in the US (30%). Others include those from the Philippines (4.5%), India (3.9%), The People's Republic of China (3.6%, excluding Taiwan and Hong Kong), El Salvador (2.9%), Vietnam (2.9%), Korea (2.7%), Cuba (2.2%), Canada (2.2%) and the Dominican Republic (2.0%).
- The five top states in terms of number of foreign-born residents are California, New York, Texas, Florida, and Illinois. These states, along with New Jersey and Arizona, consistently rank in the top tier for

absolute numbers and absolute growth of immigrant populations. However, between 2000 and 2007, the greatest percentage increase in foreign-born residents was found in South Carolina, Arkansas, Nevada, Tennessee and Alabama. Once a coastal phenomenon, immigrant communities may be found throughout the interior of the country. Family and/or community ties usually determine an immigrant's destination within the US.

- Of these 38 million foreign-born residents, 16 million (42.5%) are naturalized citizens. The US is considered generous and liberal by international standards in the manner and scope of its naturalization policies. There are three main routes to citizenship: birth on US soil (regardless of the status of the child's parents), birth to US citizens living abroad, and legal naturalization involving residency and testing requirements.
- Approximately 30% of the US foreign-born population is considered illegal, undocumented or unauthorized. The Pew Hispanic Center reports that 44% of the nation's unauthorized immigrants have arrived since 2000, with around 800,000 arriving each year from 2000-2004 and an estimated 500,000 per year in the period 2005-2008. The decline is thought to be due to a combination of the weakening US economy, development in countries of origin and stricter border control measures.
- Most unauthorized immigrants in the US are from Mexico and other Latin American countries. Illegal immigrants (or aliens) make up 4% of the total US population (foreign and native born combined) and

less than 5% of the total labor force. More immigrants derive their illegal status from overstaying legal entry permits than from sneaking through borders.

- With increasing labor segmentation in the economy, the US is seen by many experts to be trending toward structural dependence on immigrant labor. This dependence includes illegal immigrant labor, as native workers eschew certain low wage, unskilled jobs. For this reason, studies have shown that unskilled immigrant labor does not generally displace native workers. Studies have also shown that raids and deportation of illegal workers in unskilled professions may lead to an increase in native employment in those sectors, but turnover among natives in these jobs is much higher than with immigrant laborers. Currently, native-born workers do not appear to provide a reliable pool of labor for certain jobs in agriculture, construction and janitorial services, among others.
- Many studies conclude that immigrant labor in the US, even illegal immigrant labor, contributes to overall economic growth. It creates more jobs and, in some cases, raises wages. The exception is the negative effect on wages of unskilled native-born workers without a high school diploma. This group tends to experience small wage declines due to competition from immigrant labor.
- It has been shown that immigrants as a group pay more in taxes in the US than they receive in public benefits over their lifetimes. Although measurement is difficult, this is thought to be true for illegal immigrants as well.
- Remittances from migrant workers in the US are a major source of income for Mexico, comprising the second largest revenue source behind oil. Immigration expert Julia Preston has pointed out that these remittances end up benefiting the US economy as well by bolstering the purchasing power and consumer demand of Mexicans for US products (Mexico is the US' third largest trading partner after Canada and China).
- Skilled or highly educated immigrants are a special category of immigrants, and are treated differently than unskilled laborers with respect to work permits and recruitment. There is high demand in the US for immigrants with technical and engineering backgrounds, as well as those in the medical profession. In 2008, all 65,000 visas set aside for the purpose of recruiting such workers were taken in one day.
- The US also gains highly skilled immigrants through matriculation at American universities. The US National Science Board reported that in the US in 2008, 60% of all engineering doctorates and 50% of all math and computer science doctorates were awarded to foreign-born students, many from developing countries like India. However, post-graduate employment visas are competitive to get under current US policy, and these workers are in high demand globally. Some believe US competitiveness in the future is related to attracting and keeping these immigrants, as native-born populations lag behind in science and math achievement.
- US immigration policy puts a high priority on family reunification. In 2007, 1.1 million new legal immigrants entered the US. Nearly half were immediate relatives of a US citizen, 18.5% came through family-sponsored programs, and 15.4% came through employment-sponsored programs. A small percentage made financial investments in the US that facilitated their legal immigration status.
- The US runs a diversity lottery program, providing legal residency permits by lottery to a pool of applicants drawn from under-represented countries. Four percent of legal immigrants entered this way in 2007. In 2008, Russian immigrants became eligible for this program for the first time.
- Nearly 13% of legal immigrants in 2006 were granted refugee or asylum status. Most of the 41,000 refugees admitted were from just ten countries: Burma, Somalia, Iran, Burundi, Cuba, Russia, Iraq, Liberia, Ukraine and Vietnam. Another 26,000 were granted asylum, with half of these coming from China, Haiti, Venezuela and Colombia. California and Minnesota become home to the largest number of refugees to the US.
- The US burden of proof for those fleeing persecution is high; it requires documented evidence and/or witnesses as well as confirmation that an applicant was singled out for harsh treatment, rather than simply a member of a group experiencing discrimination. Applicants must also prove that they have no other

place of refuge, that the US was their first and only choice for asylum, and that they have some means of financial support (this can be charity or NGO assistance). They must also submit to a medical exam and interview with INS officials.

- The official ceiling on the number of refugees that could be admitted into the US was set at 70,000 in 2006, down 70% from a high of 231,700 in 1980. Ceilings currently apportion refugee spots by region of origin, with 20,000 reserved for Africa, 15,000 for East Asia, 15,000 for Europe and Central Asia, 5,000 for Latin America and the Caribbean and 5,000 for the Near East and Central Asia. Another 10,000 spots are geographically unrestricted.

## Immigration Policy in the US

US immigration policy has changed over time, but remains fairly liberal by comparison with other countries. The most significant change has been to erase restrictions on immigrants from certain countries of origin, particularly Asian countries. Asian immigrants were excluded in varying degrees over much of American history, but today they comprise a significant portion of total US immigration, second only to Latin Americans. At various times in history, other exclusions have applied, including restricting people with mental and physical defects and those considered to be anarchists or Communists.

Legal restrictions have at times been contradictory. The 1986 Immigrant Control Act granted amnesty to 3 million undocumented residents, yet also introduced sanctions and fines on employers who hired illegal immigrants. The 1996 Illegal Immigration and Immigrant Responsibility Act and Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act are considered modern America's most restrictive laws. Together, these tightened restrictions on green cards, introduced minimum income requirements for those sponsoring immigrants, strengthened border controls, and instituted limits on public benefits to non-citizens. Pro-immigration laws passed from 1997-2000 eased many of these controls and restrictions, but the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in 2001 ushered in a new era of immigration regulation. Among the most controversial practices instituted by the new Department of Homeland Security is increased detention of immigrants awaiting status clarification.

One constant and growing trend has been to place priority on family reunification. The US is considered exceptional in its granting of citizenship to every child born on US soil, even if the parents are not citizens or even legal residents. The other primary path to citizenship involves naturalization. To become naturalized citizens, individuals must be 18 years or older, meet minimum legal residency requirements, pass a test verifying the ability to read and write English and basic knowledge of US government and history, and be considered persons of "good moral character."

Immigration policy in the US is influenced by powerful interest groups on both sides of the immigration debate. On one side are employers who benefit from immigrant labor, immigrant communities, civil rights advocates, and even trade unions that in recent years dropped opposition to immigrant membership. On the other side are those who cite concern over immigrants replacing native workers, and those who worry that immigrants and their children are changing the social and cultural identity of the United States. Although immigrants pay taxes (even illegal workers often pay some income tax), there are those who feel that illegal immigrants should not be entitled to the same public services as native populations.

These debates have intensified over the years. In 2007, the country engaged in considerable rancor over immigration reform when the Bush Administration attempted to pass a comprehensive bill addressing a wide range of concerns over US immigration policy and enforcement. The bill would have provided an incremental \$4 billion for border security and increased penalties for employers who knowingly hire illegal workers. The bill would have also created new guest worker visas, cleared application backlogs and provided legal status for millions of illegal workers. It was this last provision that most believe caused the bill to fail to pass in the Congress.

Another controversial component of the proposed legislation would have enhanced the importance of a potential migrant's skill profile, awarding points on the basis of education and other factors. Many feared this represented a break with the American tradition of honoring family reunification. Strict guest worker provisions that would have potentially made family relocation difficult generated the same concerns.

With the failure of 2007 federal immigration legislation, states and cities became responsible for formulating their own policies concerning the rights, protections, responsibilities, and entitlements of immigrants in a highly charged political environment. The result has been mixed. In the wake of the failed legislation, the US deported a record number of illegal immigrants (350,000), yet it also naturalized a record number of new citizens (1 million) and reduced application backlogs and waiting times.

## Effect on the Demographics of American Society

A report released in February 2008 by the Pew Research Center projects that the total US population will increase from 303 million in 2005 to 438 million in 2050. People who are immigrants during this period and their descendants will account for 105 million, or 67%, of this increase. The ethnic composition of America will significantly change, with the percentage of non-Hispanic whites slipping from 67% in 2005 to 47% by 2050. The population growth of non-Hispanic whites is expected to largely remain steady during this period, as is the growth of the new immigrant population. The critical factor behind the projected discrepancy is the difference in fertility rates between the immigrant populations (Asian and Hispanic) and non-Hispanic whites. Factoring in the different birth rates of first, second, and third generation immigrants, Pew was able to project that immigrants arriving after 2005, and more significantly, their children and grandchildren, will account for 82% of total US population growth between 2005 and 2050. Hispanic populations are expected to increase from 42 million to 128 million; Asians are expected to increase from 14 million to 41 million. The US is thus likely to become more diverse, and by proportions greater than previously projected.



Photo courtesy of USAID

## Going Forward: Policy Considerations

Migration is a “motor of human progress,” in the words of Former UN Secretary General Kofi Anan. Yet notions of progress are different. Often a benefit realized on one level or by one person or country is experienced as a cost in another context or by another person or group. Reconciling the interests of all those affected is difficult. The multiple levels of authority and responsibility, the challenges of making policy, and the practicality of implementation and enforcement are all aspects of the challenge.

### Managing Migration

Immigration expert Philip Martin has written that the goal of immigration policy should be to maximize **virtuous cycles of migration** that spread both the risks and rewards among the stakeholders – countries of origin, countries of destination, individuals and the international community. In turn, **vicious cycles of migration**, such as those producing brain drain and/or hardship on receiving countries, should be minimized and their effects mitigated. Many on both ends of the ideological spectrum seem to agree that the best policies are those that are flexible, allowing for adaptation as economic, political and social changes occur.

One compromise often mentioned is legal circular, or seasonal, migration. In this type of migration, migrants have the ability to respond to labor demands and surpluses, host countries offer a variety of legal pathways to participation in their economies, and countries of origin benefit from return migrants bearing ideas, skills and

resources from their experiences in other countries. This idea is gaining traction as a way of injecting flexibility and comparative advantage into the labor marketplace.

Critics argue that as much as circular migration makes economic sense for the movement of goods and capital in the globalized marketplace, human resources are different. Circular migration is at odds with the settlement of families and communities. Many argue that the very nation-state system would be undermined by the concept of transnational citizenship and identity. Immigration expert Khalid Koser points out that an expansion of temporary migration programs could lead to the development of a two-tier system, with permanent migrants who enjoy “full integration and its benefits, and temporary migrants who are marginalized from mainstream society in order to ensure that they return” to their countries of origin as agreed. Beyond the social, cultural and political implications of circular migration lie the logistical difficulties, not the least of which is enforcement in liberal democratic countries. Saudi Arabia, the destination of choice or necessity of many immigrant laborers, promotes a circular or seasonal system of migration; it is also thought to be one of the most repressive societies in the world. How could human impulses to form communities and invest themselves in their host countries be managed in such a regime?

## Migration and Economic Development: Reducing the Incentive for Migration

Many believe that promoting economic growth in the developing world is the answer to reducing migration, particularly in the Global South. Reducing migration by making life better at home serves the interests of everyone in this view. See the Global Poverty and International Development edition of the *World Savvy Monitor* for more information on efforts aimed at closing the gap between the developed and developing world. Most agree that these efforts are necessary, but not sufficient, to affect migratory flows.

## Migration as a Human Rights Issue

Many reject the notion of migration regulation on moral grounds. They see migration not in terms of the interests of stakeholders, but as a human rights imperative, believing that movement and sanctuary should be rights of all people, everywhere. This universal humanist view runs counter to the view of those who argue that the interests of sovereign nations – such as security, distribution of resources and economic security for native-born workers, social harmony and national identity – must be taken into account.

International human rights norms have been applied to not only refugees and asylum-seekers, but also to migrant workers all over the world. The UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families states that, “persons who qualify as migrant workers... are entitled to enjoy their human rights regardless of their legal status.” The Convention has been embraced by human rights advocates, but not ratified by any classic migrant labor recipient countries (see <http://www.december18.net/web/general/page.php?pageID=79#eleven> for a list of countries who have ratified the Convention).

## Rational Policy Making

In the absence of a magic bullet approach to managing the complexity of migration’s disparate risks and rewards, experts generally agree that better information and planning are necessary at numerous levels of policymaking. Migration policy is often made in response to emotional or politicized assessments and is often based on misperceptions

of migrant behavior and incentives. Better data collection and education of the general public about migration pressures and outcomes is key. Bad policymaking, history has shown, simply results in an increase in illegal migration.

## The Current Global Economic Downturn

How the present global economic crisis will affect migration is an interesting question. There are some who project that flows may stagnate or even decrease as they have in previous recessionary eras as labor markets tighten, nativism and xenophobia rise with competition for diminishing economic resources, and the expense associated with international migration becomes prohibitive for many. Others worry that refugee flows and economic migration from fragile developing countries will increase as aid, investment, and remittances decline and more people are driven out of their homes in pursuit of better quality of life. Climate change is expected to increase those fleeing natural and man-made disasters. Internal migration will likely continue to surpass international migration. Illegal migration is expected, as it has in the past, to ebb and flow with immigration regulations. Legislating for these contingencies will be a challenge, particularly as the livelihood of native-born populations becomes endangered and emotions run high. Scapegoating of immigrants (newcomers and established immigrants) is a troubling trend that is already scattered across the pages of newspapers around the world.





Photo courtesy of L. Merchick, USAID

## Going Forward: Knowledge to Action

There are opportunities for individuals to become involved in migration issues of all kinds. NGOs that support migrants and advocate for the rights of people on the move everywhere operate internationally, nationally and locally. They provide services that range from research on demographic and policy trends, to education for the public on issues of concern, to political advocacy, to financial and logistical support for people living outside their home communities.

- **Donate:** money, time, and in-kind resources to international NGOs and community-based organizations who work with migrants.
- **Educate:** teach others and raise awareness of important migration issues.
- **Volunteer:** tutor immigrants in English, help with resume writing or employment, assist newly arrived families with orientation and logistics.
- **Advocate:** engage in the political process as it pertains to civil rights and public support for immigrant populations.
- **Support:** self-help ventures and small businesses owned and run by immigrants, as well as organizations that facilitate the entrepreneurship of disadvantaged groups worldwide. See <http://www.globalgoodspartners.org/template/index.cfm>.
- **Appreciate:** the benefits of human mobility, the personal hardship faced by many migrants and the often mixed messages society sends to foreign born individuals.

### Resources

UNHCR Education and Sports Campaign  
<http://www.ninemillion.org/>

International Rescue Committee  
<http://www.theirc.org/index2.html>

Human Rights Watch  
<http://www.hrw.org/>

Refugees International  
<http://www.refugeesinternational.org/>

Migration is very much linked to poverty, conflict and environmental sustainability. Addressing these root causes of displacement on multiple fronts is critical, as is tackling the discrimination and isolation of individuals everywhere.

## Key Foundation Documents

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See the following sites for important documents related to human migration of all types.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees

[http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/o\\_c\\_ref.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/o_c_ref.htm)

1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees

<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/pdf/protocolrefugees.pdf>

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families

[http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/m\\_mwctoc.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/m_mwctoc.htm)

International Migration Law, The International Organization for Migration

<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/lang/en/pid/855>

Migrant Worker Rights and Issues

<http://www.december18.net/web/general/start.php?lang=EN>

World Bank: Migration and Remittances

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/contentMDK:20648762~menuPK:34480~pagePK:64257043~piPK:437376~theSitePK:4607,00.html>

News and Research - Migration Policy Institute

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/>

Migration Facts, Statistics, and Maps – Migration Policy Institute

<http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/comparative.cfm#net>

2008 International Immigration Outlook, OECD

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# WORLD SAVVY

MONITOR



Classroom Companion

## Classroom Companion

This companion document to the Issue in Focus provides educators with guidance to incorporate the content into classroom teaching. This component is geared towards grade 6-12 teachers, with connections across subjects and disciplines.

Contents of this Classroom Companion include:

- Student Readings
- Discussion Questions
- Lesson Ideas/Curriculum
- Additional Resources
- National Standards

### Student Readings:

Below are some links to articles and reports at various reading levels that would be appropriate to use with students to learn more about global migration today. As highlighted in the Issue in Focus, there are many different aspects to migration around the world, including economic, environmental, socio-cultural, and political. For this issue's student readings, the topic of each article below is different – highlighting different aspects or different regions. Choose one article for your whole class, or have students read the articles in groups and do a jigsaw discussion afterwards.

### Advanced:

- NY Times: “Attacks Pushing Darfur Refugees into Chad”  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/11/world/africa/11darfur.html?\\_r=1&scp=16&sq=refugees%20sudan&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/11/world/africa/11darfur.html?_r=1&scp=16&sq=refugees%20sudan&st=cse)
- Newsweek: “Iraq’s Quiet Exodus”  
<http://www.newsweek.com/id/35670/>
- “Crossing Borders in China”  
<http://www.stanfordalumni.org/news/magazine/2007/julaug/features/borders.html>

### Intermediate:

- NY Times Upfront: “Smuggled to America”  
[http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f041607\\_China\\_Kid](http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f041607_China_Kid)
- NPR: “Debunking Global Migration Myths”  
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=10767136>

### Beginner:

- NY Times Upfront: “Mexico and the US: What Kind of Border?”  
[http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f120108\\_Mexico](http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f120108_Mexico)
- BBC News: “Crisis ‘Hurting Migrant Workers’”  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7697142.stm>
-

### Multimedia:

- NY Times interactive: “Snapshot: Global Migration”  
[http://www.nytimes.com/ref/world/20070622\\_CAPEVERDE\\_GRAPHIC.html](http://www.nytimes.com/ref/world/20070622_CAPEVERDE_GRAPHIC.html)
- This website contains a collection of easy to read personal narratives of moving to the UK from a foreign country and adjusting to cultural norms.  
<http://www.movinghere.org.uk/>

### Possible Discussion Questions:

1. Which countries typically receive the largest numbers of immigrants?
2. Which countries today have a large number of migrants leaving for new countries?
3. Why do people move? What are some of the reasons and factors that influence people to move from one place to another (often classified as push and pull factors)?
4. China is a country that has a large internal migration – meaning people are moving to new cities and regions inside China. What are some of the reasons for this? Reference the China edition of the World Savvy Monitor for more detail on migration within China.
5. Not all migrants move voluntarily – what is the name given to those migrants forced to flee their homes? From what countries do many of these migrants come? What are some of the factors forcing them to flee their homes?
6. Immigration is sometimes a controversial topic, not just in the United States, but also around the world. What are some of the reasons that migrants are not welcomed in some countries? Find out more about the immigration policies of countries besides the United States, such as France or Germany or Egypt. Would you say their policies are generally welcoming or not welcoming to immigrants? What type of immigration policy would you recommend?

## Lesson Ideas and Curriculum:

This portion of the guide contains selected suggestions for engaging activities and curriculum to teach students about this issue - across the disciplines. In addition, there are links to recommended curriculum units that are available to download or purchase from the web.

### Social Studies/History:

- This edition of the *World Savvy Monitor* focuses on Human Migration in the world today. This is a rich topic for all social studies and history classes, as the movement of people, whether voluntary or involuntary, has played a significant role in shaping social and political trends throughout human history. Using the **annotated timeline** in this issue of the *World Savvy Monitor* as a guideline, have students create a timeline related to the subject matter your class is currently studying and include specific migration-related events. Discuss how this migration impacted historical events.
- Discuss the importance of **geography** and **climate** in influencing migration patterns. Choose a region or particular country of study. What natural resources determine or have determined the development of industries that have attracted people to look for work? How does the existence of these natural resources affect the local and global economy? What types of policies do governments and non-governmental organization establish to regulate these industries in which they have an interest?
- National **borders** are one of the key elements relating to the issue of human migration. Have students identify the means by which different countries regulate their borders. Use the resources in the *World Savvy Monitor* to learn about the definitions of individuals as they migrate across borders. Look at a handful of countries to compare their border regulation procedures. Help your students transpose their understanding of these regulations to your immediate school environment by analyzing how and why movement is regulated throughout the school building.
- Look historically at the **slave trade** and its relationship to specific global industries (cotton, sugar, etc). Discuss the similarities and differences between how those industries were carried out historically and how they are carried out now. How is modern slavery affecting migration in today's world?
- “You can host Mexicans to pick American tomatoes, or you can buy tomatoes from Mexico.” Have your students analyze this statement by former Mexican President Vicente Fox. Debate the pros and cons of multinational companies outsourcing or offshoring jobs to lower or middle income countries vs. importing labor from these countries to do those same jobs. Should the search for cheaper labor be the only factor in policies regulating migration?
- Have students analyze the various categories of migrants, and discuss the push and pull factors affecting migration. What are the differences between voluntary migrants and forced migration? What is



a refugee vs. an internally displaced person (IDP)? Research some of the agencies that monitor human migration around the world, such as the International Organization of Migration and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. For advanced classes, look up some of the documents cited in the “Key Foundation Documents” portion of this edition. What should be done to help refugees and IDPs? What rights do students believe refugees should have? In groups, have students create their document laying out the rights they think refugees should have.

possible, talk to an ESL class about their experiences, or create a service learning project addressing this issue.

### English/Language Arts:

- Creative writing—Have students step into someone else’s shoes and think about what it would be like to live life as a refugee. Have students research a refugee population somewhere in the world. Learn about the reasons these people have been displaced, for how long, and under what conditions they live. Have students imagine that they are a member of this group, and of the same age and with a similar family background as they currently have. Have them write a personal essay appealing to the international community for a set of solutions that would enable them to go home and live in peace and security. What do they miss about home? What discomforts do they face daily? What do they think should be their guaranteed rights? What does it feel like to live without dignity, as many refugees do?
- Expository analytical writing—What are the Obama Administration’s policies on the Human Migration dilemma? Write an essay about these policies, and analyze the issue in terms of both domestic immigration policies and foreign policies with respect to trade, conflict and security, and working with the international community through direct aid packages or supporting the work of the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations.
- Literature exploration—Read *The Arrival* by Shaun Tan in class. It is a graphic novel, and the only words in the book are an invented alphabet, which simulates the unknown language many immigrants are faced with when they arrive in a new country. Have students share their reactions to this work. What would it be like to move to a new place, and not be able to communicate with anyone? How would you get by? How would you learn the language? If

### Science:

- Natural disasters—Have students identify and understand a major natural disaster that occurred in recent years and displaced people from their homes (flood, tsunami, hurricane, earthquake, etc.). What happened? How did scientists and government leaders know or learn about what happened? What instruments are used to detect or predict potential events? What agencies are in place to share information about these types of events? What activities or measures are in place in order to predict future events? Finally, what do scientists currently understand about the impact that urbanization and greenhouse gases have on the likelihood of these events occurring?
- Water resources have often been diverted to accommodate human migration and settlement patterns. Have students look at contemporary water projects and understand how water is used for energy, agriculture, daily consumption, recreation, etc. Explore dam technology, hydroelectric power, irrigation technologies, and water pipelines. Examples could include Lake Powell, the levees along the Mississippi Delta, the Hoover Dam, the Three Gorges project in China, or the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers projects.
- Human Migration and disease: Sickle cell anemia—Have students learn what this disease is, how it is transmitted, who is inflicted and why. To be a carrier of sickle cells (to be a heterozygote, and therefore not symptomatic) is protective against malaria infection, which is why it is a trait that became prevalent in Sub-Saharan Africa. Those who are homozygote carriers develop the symptoms of the disease, which is painful and shortens life expectancy. By learning about this disease, trace how migration has impacted this disease.

### Mathematics:

- Know the Numbers—Pick a country and review the statistics on Human Migration. Look at total population as well as numbers that fall into different

categories – from legal to estimated illegal immigrants – and the various categories of classification. Compare two or more countries. What stories do the numbers reveal? For a reliable and up-to-date resource for the United States, see The Migration Information Source's section at: <http://migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?id=714>

- Travel statistics—The United States Government's Office of Travel and Tourism Industries compiles statistics on individuals entering and leaving the country via air travel. Use information from their website (<http://tinet.ita.doc.gov/>) to analyze who is going where and how those numbers have changed over time. Correlate those findings with estimates on dollars spent on plane tickets and fuel consumption for an estimated number of plane rides. See the Bureau of Transportation Statistics (<http://www.bts.gov/>) for these numbers.
- Track a trend—Pick a category of migrants (refugees, internationally displaced persons, unauthorized migrants, guest workers, etc.) and chart the estimated numbers for a 10-year span. Use estimates for international totals or just look at numbers for one country. Refer to the International Organization for Migration as a starting reference point (<http://www.iom.int>).

## Recommended Curriculum Units:

### Human Migration: The Story of a Community

This lesson from National Geographic helps students understand some key concepts of human migration through the examination of maps and migration patterns.

<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions/lessons/09/gk2/humanmigration.html>

### Global Migration Patterns

This lesson from the Population Reference Bureau leads students to look at migration patterns to the United States, and then to focus in on refugee movements, and look at the impact of refugee flows on source and host countries.

<http://www.prb.org/Educators/LessonPlans/2005/GlobalMigrationPatterns.aspx>

### U.S. Immigration Policy: What should we do?

The Choices Program offers an interactive curriculum unit that engages students in consideration of divergent policy alternatives concerning the goals of immigration policy, and includes valuable background resources concerning this issue.

<http://www.choices.edu/>

### Current Issues of Immigration, 2006

The materials consist of six lesson modules designed to put the current controversies about illegal immigration in the U.S. into historical and political context. They consist of readings, guided discussion questions, and interactive learning activities designed to help students explore and deepen their understanding of the issues presented.

[http://www.crf-usa.org/immigration/issues\\_of\\_immigration\\_2006.htm](http://www.crf-usa.org/immigration/issues_of_immigration_2006.htm)

### The Line Between Us

The Line Between Us explores the history of U.S.-Mexican relations and the roots of Mexican immigration, all in the context of the global economy. Using role plays, stories, poetry, improvisations, simulations and video, veteran teacher Bill Bigelow demonstrates how to combine lively teaching with critical analysis. The Line Between Us is a book for teachers, adult educators, community organizers and anyone who hopes to teach, and learn, about these important issues.

<http://www.teachingforchange.org/cgi-bin/shopper.cgi?search=action&keywords=LINEBETWEEN-PN>

## Additional Resources

### Books and Readings

#### **Enrique's Journey** by Sonia Nazario

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#### **Becoming American: Personal Essays by First Generation**

##### **Immigrant Women** by Meri Nana-Ama Danquah

This collection of essays explores the journeys these women undertake as new citizens, in defining themselves, navigating the delicate balance between their old and new cultures, and learning to "become American".

#### **First Crossing: Stories about Teen Immigrants** ed. Donald R. Gallo

This collection of stories for teens explores issues faced by immigrant youth. It's hard enough to be a teenager, trying to fit in, trying to get along with your parents, trying to figure out how the world works. Being from a different culture makes everything that much harder.

#### **Atlas of Human Migration** by Russell King

This reference book, filled with narratives, maps, and timelines, explains how humans have constantly overcome environmental and physical barriers and adapted to new social, political and environmental realities. From an estimated original 10,000 to 20,000 individuals, the world population has expanded to more than 6 billion, and this book describes the spread of these people around the world.

### Films

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Uprooted tells the stories of three immigrants to the United States from Bolivia, Haiti and the Philippines. Each story reveals the way in which global institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as multinational corporations, erode people's capacity to survive in their home countries.

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Americas. Wells demystifies cutting-edge population genetics with accessible explanations and an exciting trek around the world visiting an array of different cultural groups. The work answers long-held questions about where humans come from, what accounts for human diversity, how we got from one place to another, and, most startling of all, how racial distinctions have no basis in biology.

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<http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/newamericans/>

### **World Population**

Put today's patterns of human migration into a historical context by watching this incredible 7 minute video from Population Connection. The video follows the last 2000 years of population growth on the planet by using dots distributed across the globe. <http://www.populationeducation.org/> Path: World Population Video – Now on DVD!

### **God Grew Tired of Us: The Story of the Lost Boys of Sudan**

Orphaned by a tumultuous civil war and traveling barefoot across the sub-Saharan desert, the film profiles 3 boys who were among the 25,000 “Lost Boys” (ages 3 to 13) who fled villages, formed surrogate families and sought refuge from famine, disease, wild animals and attacks from rebel soldiers. The “Lost Boys” traveled together for five years and against all odds crossed into the UN’s refugee camp in Kakuma, Kenya. A journey’s end for some, it was only the beginning for these three boys, who along with 3800 other young survivors, were selected to re-settle in the United States.

## **Websites and Multimedia**

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The International Organization for Migration is the leading inter-governmental agency working with governments and non-governmental organization to manage global migration through the promotion of legal and policy guidance and advocacy of migrants’ rights. They provide a wide array of resources, including publications and links to current events and basic background on migration around the world.

<http://www.iom.int>

### **Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)**

With headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is the United Nations agency mandated to protect and serve refugees by providing direct relief services and assisting in repatriation and resettlement negotiations. In addition to a staff stationed worldwide, the UNHCR is represented by Goodwill Ambassadors who are typically international artists or celebrities.

<http://www.unhcr.org/>

### **Migration Policy Institute**

The Migration Policy Institute is a U.S. non-partisan think tank dedicated to studying global migration issues. They also put out an informative online publication *The Migration Information Source*, <http://migrationinformation.org/>.

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### **The New Americans**

The *New Americans* Web site offers an online educational adventure for 7th-12th grade students. The site supplements the PBS documentary mini-series, which explores the immigrant experience through the personal stories of immigrants to the United States. Also has links to ESL adaptations.

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## Standards:

Activities described in this Classroom Companion correspond to the following national standards from McREL (Mid-Continent Research for Education and Learning).

### Social Studies

#### World History Standards:

Era 9: The 20th Century Since 1945: Promises and Paradoxes

- Understands how post-World War II reconstruction occurred, new international power relations took shape, and colonial empires broke up
- Understands major global trends since World War II

World History Across the Eras:

- Understands long-term changes and recurring patterns in world history

#### World History Topics:

- Cultural diffusion, adaptation, and interaction
- International diplomacy and relations
- Tension and conflict in the contemporary world
- Immigration and demographic shifts in the United States
- Immigration and the immigrant experience
- Immigration in the United States, late 19th century

#### Historical Understanding:

- Understand and know how to analyze chronological relationships and patterns
- Understands the historical perspective

#### Civics Standards:

What is the Relationship of the United States to Other nations and to World Affairs?

- Understands how the world is organized politically into nation-states, how nation-states interact with one another, and issues surrounding U.S. foreign policy
- Understands the impact of significant political and nonpolitical developments on the United States and other nations

#### Civics Topics:

- Human and civil rights
- Impact of world economic, technological, and cultural developments
- Impact of world political, demographic, and environmental trends
- International diplomacy and relations

### Geography

2. Knows the location of places, geographic features, and patterns of the environment

6. Understands that culture and experience influence people's perceptions of places and regions

9. Understands the nature, distribution and migration of human populations on Earth's surface
12. Understands the patterns of human settlement and their causes
13. Understands the forces of cooperation and conflict that shape the divisions of Earth's surface

**Geography topics:**

- Cultural diffusion, adaptation, and interaction
- Global economic interdependence and society
- International diplomacy and relations
- Migration and settlement patterns
- Places and regions over time

## English/Language Arts

**Writing:**

1. Uses the general skills and strategies of the writing process
3. Uses grammatical and mechanical conventions in written compositions
4. Gathers and uses information for research purposes

**Reading:**

5. Uses the general skills and strategies of the reading process
7. Uses reading skills and strategies to understand and interpret a variety of informational texts

## Science

**Earth Sciences:**

- Understands Earth's composition and structure

**Topics:**

- Energy in the Earth System
- Environmental Issues
- Populations and Ecosystems
- Science, Technology, and Society

## Mathematics

3. Uses basic and advanced procedures while performing the processes of computation
6. Understands and applies basic and advanced concepts of statistics and data analysis
9. Understands the general nature and uses of mathematics

# WORLD SAVVY

MONITOR



World Savvy Salon Guide





## World Savvy Salon Guide

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### Possible Discussion Questions:

1. Discuss the costs and benefits associated with human migration -- for the country of origin, the country of destination, and the immigrant himself. How are these “balance sheets” or cost-benefit analyses impacted by larger global trends such as economic cycles and international terrorism? How do these larger trends impact migrant flows? How do these larger trends affect policymaking around migration?
2. Consider the impact of different types of immigration on the US at the local, state, and national levels. Is coherent policymaking possible?
3. What do you think will be the effect on US immigration flows and immigration policies from the current global financial crisis?
4. What about a country like China that experiences large internal labor migration? What effect do you think the current economic slowdown will have on rural and urban China?
5. The universal human rights of both forced and economic migrants are often at odds with the options open to them in a world of nation states: the universal right to leave one’s country is not accompanied by a universal right to enter another. Can this ever be reconciled? Is the concept of transnational citizenship compatible with the current international order? Why or why not?
6. Globalization has created unprecedented levels of mobility with regard to goods, services, and capital across international borders. How does the restriction of labor mobility fit into this picture? Consider the fact that some interest groups in developed countries are opposed to both immigrant labor and the offshoring of unskilled jobs - how are these views in conflict with each other in the global economy as it exists today? Are there alternatives?
7. Consider the demographic crises looming for Western Europe and Russia in terms of population decline and skewed dependency ratios. Is immigration the answer?
8. If migration is partly a function of economic inequality in the world, how does international development factor into the immigration debate?

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# WORLD SAVVY

MONITOR



Update: Development





Photo courtesy of US Department of Defense

## Update: Global Poverty and International Development

Since the October edition of the *World Savvy Monitor*, the effects of the global financial crisis have continued to spread throughout the world. Though the decline in food and fuel prices provides some respite to consumers, it is estimated that over 100 million people were forced into poverty globally in 2008. The situation remains dire, especially for those in Least Developed Countries (LDCs), and is expected to get worse.

### The World Bank has projected a global economic downturn.

- World trade will fall in 2009 – this will be the first time this has happened since 1982.
- Capital flows to developing countries will decline by 50%.
- Investment growth in the developing world will decrease from 13% in 2007 to 3.5% in 2009.
- For every one percent drop in growth, an additional 20 million people could be forced into poverty.

### A critical effect of the crisis has been a decrease in international aid.

- At the November International Conference on Financing for Development, Kemal Dervis, Chair of the United Nations Development Group, urged donor nations to uphold their commitment to donate 0.7% of Gross National Income (GNI) by 2010, noting that the world spends US \$1.3 trillion a year on armaments, as compared to the US \$140 billion pledged toward official development assistance.

- Official donor data for 2008 have not yet been released.

A **decline in remittances** is an inevitable effect of the global financial crisis; many families in developing countries who are reliant upon remittances from relatives living and working abroad will see those remittances decline.

- Nabil Samman, an economist who runs the Damascus-based Center for Research and Documentation, predicts that the Syrian population will suffer as remittances from the million Syrians (of a population of nearly 20 million) working in Persian Gulf oil-producing nations decline as a result of declining oil prices.
- Since 2001, more than 1 million Ecuadorians have found employment in the United States and Europe. After oil, remittances make up Ecuador's largest source of revenue. As the world economy continues to worsen, remittances are decreasing and some immigrants are returning home to Ecuador.

### The World Bank has responded by increasing aid flows.

- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, an arm of the World Bank, has committed up to \$100 billion in aid to developing countries over three years.
- In 2008, the Bank hoped to lend more than US \$35 billion, a sharp increase from the US \$13.5 billion lent in 2007.

- The Bank's Global Food Response Program, created in May 2008 to hasten aid to the neediest countries, has been approved and began disbursing US \$839 million in 27 countries in mid-December.

The **United Nations has also responded** with new programming and on November 28, 2008, the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) launched MicroLead.

- The program will focus on increasing financial services, particularly microfinance services, to LDCs.
- A fund of US \$26 million will be used to encourage the expansion of financial service providers with an emphasis on the poorest and post-conflict LDCs.

## Snapshots from Around the World

### Latin America and the Caribbean

- Weaker commodity prices will likely hurt commodity exporters such as Argentina; nations such as Brazil and Mexico with strong trade ties to the United States and Europe will likely face downturns as a result of decreased demand.
- The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has projected that 10 to 15 million more people in the region will have fallen below the poverty line in 2008, largely as a result of food price volatility.

### East Asia and the Pacific

- Though this region has not been as hard hit by the global financial crisis, it has recently begun to feel the effects, largely through decreased exports.
- China's growth is projected to slow from 9.4% in 2008 to 7.5% in 2009.

### Europe and Central Asia

- Lower investment and lessening export demand led to a decrease in GDP of 5.3% in 2008, with a further 2.7% decrease expected in 2009.
- Russia, which is suffering from a banking crisis in addition to lower oil prices, experienced a reduction in GDP of 8.1% in 2007 and a further 6% in 2008.

### Middle East and North Africa

- Though this region has not suffered significantly yet, lower oil revenues could bring about future difficulties.
- Many of the poorer nations in the Middle East are dependent upon oil-producing Persian Gulf nations. These oil-rich nations have been a source of jobs (which translate into remittances), direct investment, tourism, and 'checkbook diplomacy.' Significant decreases in oil revenues will likely be felt in these states.

### South Asia

- Growth is expected to decline from 9.4% in 2007 to 5.4% in 2009 as a result of tighter credit conditions and decreased foreign demand.
- In India and Pakistan industrial production is expected to decline as export-driven industries, as well as firms providing outsourced services to western nations, feel the effects of decreased worldwide economic activity.

### Sub-Saharan Africa

- Growth increased to 5.4% in 2008, but is expected to decline slightly to 4.6% in 2009, a significant decline for subsistence level economies.
- The economy of Zimbabwe is in crisis as a result of political unrest (see the October update of 'Democracy in the World'), deteriorating infrastructure, a failing economy fueled by runaway inflation and widespread disease. The CATO Institute estimated the inflation rate to be 89.7 sextillion percent in November 2008, while the ongoing cholera epidemic has already produced a death toll of over 1000 people.