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Chapter 1

Introduction

On the surface, two series of major events in France in 2005 and in the USA in 2006 appeared unrelated. The rioting that convulsed much of France seemed quite unlike the generally peaceful mass rallies in support of migrant rights in the USA. In the French riots, bands of youths burned cars and battled police following the deaths of two boys who were being chased by the police. In the USA, the breathtaking scale of the demonstrations surpassed the wildest dreams of organizers.

Yet, the bulk of the participants in both series of events were young persons of migrant background, both citizens and non-citizens. The French protests expressed anger against the police, and against the discrimination and high unemployment experienced by young adults of African and North African background. The US protests reflected concerns about the progress of legislation, which was seen as hostile to immigrants, in the House of Representatives. At the same time, the demonstrators supported a bill before the US Senate that would have authorized a legalization of undocumented migrants – a bill that eventually failed to be enacted into law.

Both the French riots and the US demonstrations showed how international migration has reformed societies in recent decades. As in most highly developed states, youth cohorts in France and the United States differ strikingly from older generations. Due to international migration, younger generations are much more diverse. Quite literally, international migration has changed the face of societies. The commonality of the two situations lies in the rapidly increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of immigrant-receiving societies, and the dilemmas that arise for states and communities in finding ways to respond to these changes. Most of the youths involved in the rioting in France were migrants or the children or grandchildren of migrants. In the USA, the massive participation of young persons of Latin American background, both legally and illegally resident, stood out. In both instances, young people were protesting against their perception of being excluded from the societies in which they had grown up (and often been born). By contrast, some politicians and elements of the media claimed that immigrants were failing to integrate, were deliberately maintaining distinct cultures and religions, and had become a threat to security and social cohesion.

Similar events were to be found in many places. In the Netherlands in 2004, the murder of the film maker Theo Van Gogh, who had made a film critical of Muslims and Islam, by a Dutch Muslim of Moroccan background

produced a similar drama. The backlash against multicultural policies in the Netherlands led to changes in Dutch naturalization requirements, including an ‘integration test’ based on Dutch language knowledge and ‘Dutch values’.

In Australia in late 2005, groups of white ‘surfer’ youths attacked young people ‘of Middle Eastern appearance’, claiming that they had harassed local girls at Cronulla, a beachside suburb of Sydney. In the following days, hundreds of Lebanese-origin youths came to Cronulla to retaliate. Right-wing radio talk show hosts called on white youth to mobilize, and the result was civil disturbances on a level unseen for years. The political fall-out seemed likely to further isolate Australia’s Lebanese Muslims – a community with high rates of unemployment and considerable experience of racial discrimination (Collins et al., 2001). The Cronulla events strengthened the conservative Howard Government’s resolve to modify Australia’s policies of multiculturalism.

Newer immigration countries were not immune to unexpected challenges. In Dubai in March 2006 foreign workers building the world’s tallest building demonstrated against low wages, squalid dormitories, and dangerous conditions. Their main grievance was that employers often simply refused to pay wages. Dubai is one of the oil-rich United Arab Emirates, where the migrant workforce – mainly from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh – far outnumbers the local population. Lack of worker rights, prohibition of unions and fear of deportation have forced migrant workers to accept exploitative conditions. Women migrants, who often work as domestic helpers, are especially vulnerable. The Dubai Government was forced to set up an inquiry and to insist that employers meet their obligations (DeParle, 2007).

The challenges of global migration

Momentous events around the world increasingly involve international migration. That is why we have called this book *The Age of Migration*. This does not imply that migration is something new – indeed, human beings have always moved in search of new opportunities, or to escape poverty, conflict or environmental degradation. However, migration took on a new character with the beginnings of European expansion from the sixteenth century (see Chapter 4). A high point was the mass migrations from Europe to North America from the mid-nineteenth century until World War I. Some scholars call this the ‘age of mass migration’ (Hatton and Williamson, 1998) and argue that these international movements were bigger than today’s. However, the 1850–1914 period was mainly one of transatlantic migration, while the movements that started after 1945 and expanded sharply from the 1980s involve all regions of the world. Mobility has become much easier as a result of recent political and cultural changes, as well as the development of new transport and communication

technologies. International migration, in turn, is a central dynamic within globalization.

A hallmark of states in the modern era has been the principle of sovereignty, the idea that the government of a nation-state constitutes the final and absolute authority in a society, and that no outside power has the right to intervene in the exercise of this authority. The nation-state system is traced back by historians to the 1648 treaties of Westphalia, which ended the devastating Thirty Years War in Europe. The ‘Westphalian system’ evolved from its European origins to become a global system of governments, first through European colonization of other continents, and then through decolonization and the formation of nation-states on the Western model throughout the world.

A defining feature of the age of migration is the challenge posed by international migration to the sovereignty of states, specifically to their ability to regulate movements of people across their borders. The extensiveness of irregular (also called undocumented or illegal) migration around the world has probably never been greater than it is today. Paradoxically, efforts by governments to regulate migration also are at an all-time high and involve intensive bilateral, regional and international diplomacy. A second challenge is posed by ‘transnationalism’: as migration becomes easier and people become more mobile, many of them have important and durable relationships of a political, economic, social or cultural nature in two or more societies at once. This is seen as undermining the undivided loyalty seen as crucial to sovereign nation-states.

While movements of people across borders have shaped states and societies since time immemorial, what is distinctive in recent years is their global scope, their centrality to domestic and international politics and their enormous economic and social consequences. Migration processes may become so entrenched and resistant to governmental control that new political forms may emerge. This would not necessarily entail the disappearance of national states; indeed, that prospect appears remote. However, novel forms of interdependence, transnational societies and bilateral and regional cooperation are rapidly transforming the lives of millions of people and inextricably weaving together the fate of states and societies.

For the most part the growth of transnational society and politics is a beneficial process, because it can help overcome the violence and destructiveness that characterized the era of nationalism. But it is neither inevitably nor inherently so. Indeed, international migration is sometimes linked to conflict. Major determinants of historical change are rarely profoundly changed by any single event. Rather, singular events like 9/11 (the 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC) reflect the major dynamics and determinants of their time. It is scarcely coincidental that migration figured so centrally in the chain of events leading up to the terrorist attacks.

The US response to such events, the ‘war on terror’ announced by President Bush in 2001, and the attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, have

exacerbated the ideological rifts that provide a basis for violent fundamentalism. The attacks by Islamic radicals on trains, buses and airports in Spain in 2004 and in the UK in 2005 and 2007 were a further upward twist in the spiral of violence. Some of the militants involved were immigrants or the offspring of post-World War II migrants. Initially, the attacks were thought to be 'home grown', indicating that Al-Qaida had succeeded in serving as a model for emulation in the West. However, as investigations progressed, several of the Islamic militants involved were found to have had links with Al-Qaida in Pakistan or Afghanistan. Through such events, perceptions of threat to the security of states have come to be linked to international migration and to the problems of living together in one society for culturally and socially diverse ethnic groups.

These developments in turn are related to fundamental economic, social and political transformations that shape today's world. Millions of people are seeking work, a new home or simply a safe place to live outside their countries of birth. For many less developed countries, emigration is one aspect of the social crisis which accompanies integration into the world market and modernization. Population growth and the 'green revolution' in rural areas lead to massive surplus populations. People move to burgeoning cities, where employment opportunities are inadequate and social conditions miserable. Massive urbanization outstrips the creation of jobs in the early stages of industrialization. Some of the previous rural-urban migrants embark on a second migration, seeking to improve their lives by moving to newly industrializing countries in the South or to highly developed countries in the North.

The movements take many forms: people migrate as manual workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, refugees or as family members of previous migrants. Class plays an important role: destination countries compete to attract the highly skilled through privileged rules on entry and residence, while manual workers and refugees often experience exclusion and discrimination. New forms of mobility are emerging: retirement migration, mobility in search of better (or just different) lifestyles, repeated or circular movement. The barrier between migration and tourism is becoming blurred, as some people travel as tourists to check out potential migration destinations. Whether the initial intention is temporary or permanent movement, many migrants become settlers. Migratory networks develop, linking areas of origin and destination, and helping to bring about major changes in both. Migrations can change demographic, economic and social structures, and bring a new cultural diversity, which often brings into question national identity.

This book is about contemporary international migrations, and the way they are changing societies. The perspective is international: large-scale movements of people arise from the accelerating process of global integration. Migrations are not an isolated phenomenon: movements of commodities and capital almost always give rise to movements of people. Global cultural interchange, facilitated by improved transport and the

proliferation of print and electronic media, also leads to migration. International migration ranks as one of the most important factors in global change.

There are several reasons to expect the age of migration to endure: growing inequalities in wealth between the North and South are likely to impel increasing numbers of people to move in search of better living standards; political, environmental and demographic pressures may force many people to seek refuge outside their own countries; political or ethnic conflict in a number of regions could lead to future mass flights; and the creation of new free trade areas will cause movements of labour, whether or not this is intended by the governments concerned. But migration is not just a reaction to difficult conditions at home: it is also motivated by the search for better opportunities and lifestyles elsewhere. It is not just the poor who move: movements between rich countries are increasing too. Economic development of poorer countries can actually lead to greater migration because it gives people the resources to move. Some migrants experience abuse or exploitation, but most benefit and are able to improve their lives through mobility. Conditions may be tough for migrants but are often preferable to poverty, insecurity and lack of opportunities at home – otherwise migration would not continue.

No one knows exactly how many international migrants there are. The United Nations Population Division (UNPD) estimate for mid-year 2005 stood at nearly 191 million (UNDESA, 2005). By 2007, the figure approached 200 million or approximately 3 per cent of the world's population of 6.5 billion people.

Migrants as a percentage of the world's population have remained fairly stable in recent years, between 2 and 3 per cent. However, absolute numbers

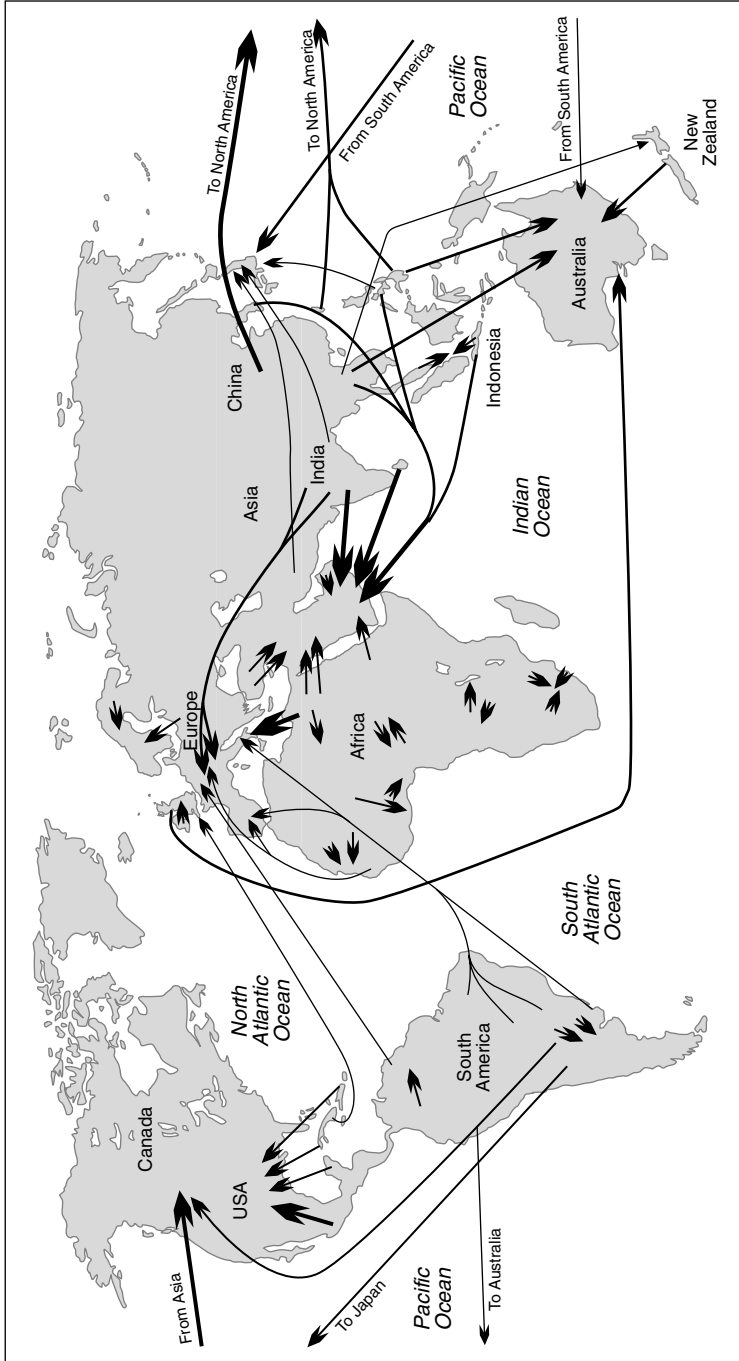
Table 1.1 *Number of international migrants by region: 1960–2005, millions*

<i>Region</i>	<i>1960</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2005</i>
World	76	81	99	155	177	191
More developed regions	32	38	48	82	105	115
Less developed regions	43	43	52	73	72	75
Africa	9	10	14	16	17	17
Asia	29	28	32	50	50	53
Europe	14	19	22	49	58	64
Latin America and Caribbean	6	6	6	7	6	7
North America	13	13	18	28	40	45
Oceania	2	3	4	5	5	5

Note: the UN defines migrants as persons who have lived outside their country of birth for 12 months or over.

Source: (UNDESA, 2005).

Map 1.1 Global migratory movements from 1973



Note: The arrow dimensions give an approximate indication of the volume of flows. Exact figure are often unavailable.

have doubled over the past quarter-century. Previous epochs have also been characterized by massive migrations. Between 1846 and 1939, some 59 million people left Europe, mainly for major areas of settlement in North and South America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (Stalker, 2000: 9). Comparison of data on pre- World War I international migration with statistics on contemporary population movements suggests remarkable continuity in volume between the two periods (Zlotnik, 1999). However, credible statistics about international migration are lacking in some areas of the world. A great unknown involves the scope of illegal migration. Reliable estimates are lacking in most places. In the USA, however, an estimated 12 million were thought to reside illegally amidst a population of 300 million in 2006 (Passel, 2006).

Many of those who move are in fact ‘forced migrants’: people who have been forced to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere. The reasons for flight can include political or ethnic violence or persecution, development projects like large dams, or natural disasters like the 2004 Asian Tsunami. In 2006 there were about 10 million officially recognized refugees in the world – a considerable decline from the peak figures of the early 1990s. But this decline was partly due to states’ unwillingness to admit refugees. The number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) – forced migrants who remained in their country of origin because they found it impossible to cross an international border to seek refuge – grew to about 26 million.

In fact, the vast majority of human beings remain in their countries of birth. Migration is the exception, not the rule. Yet the impact of international migration is frequently much greater than is suggested by figures such as the UN estimates. People tend to move not individually, but in groups. Their departure may have considerable consequences for their area of origin. Remittances (money sent home) by migrants may improve living standards and encourage economic development. In the country of immigration, settlement is closely linked to employment opportunities and is almost always concentrated in industrial and urban areas, where the impact on receiving communities is considerable. Migration thus affects not only the migrants themselves but the sending and receiving societies as a whole. There can be few people in either industrial or less developed countries today who do not have personal experience of migration and its effects.

Contemporary migrations: general trends

International migration is part of a transnational revolution that is reshaping societies and politics around the globe. The old dichotomy between migrant-sending and migrant-receiving states is being eroded. Most countries experience both emigration and immigration (although one or the other often predominates) while some countries have taken on an

Box 1.1 The US–Mexico ‘immigration honeymoon’

The elections of George W. Bush, Jr. and Vicente Fox in 2000 appeared to augur well for major changes in US–Mexico relations. Both presidents wanted to improve relations, especially through closer cooperation on migration issues. President Bush had supported expanded admission of Mexican temporary workers while governor of Texas. The Mexican president backed a legalization programme for illegally resident Mexicans in the USA – then estimated to number 4–5 million. President Bush’s first foreign visit was to President Fox’s ranch and the US–Mexico migration initiative topped the agenda. The presidents announced the formation of a high-level bilateral group of officials who were to meet regularly to determine the content of the initiative.

At one point, Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda spoke of Mexico wanting ‘the whole enchilada’, presumably a legalization program for illegally resident Mexicans in the US, increased admissions of Mexican temporary workers, measures to decrease the mounting toll of deaths at the US–Mexico border and expanded legal admission of family members of Mexicans residing legally in the US.

In early September of 2001, President Fox made a triumphal tour of the USA to tout the initiative, which culminated in an address to a joint session of the US Congress. However, he returned home empty-handed, as it became clear that there was significant Congressional opposition to the initiative. After the terrorist attacks on 9/11, the initiative was put on the back burner. Many US officials were rankled by the Mexican government’s response to 9/11. Mexican–US disagreements over Iraq further exacerbated strained relations. The first term of George W. Bush ended with little or no discernible progress on the initiative.



important role as transit zones for migrants. The differing ways in which such trends have affected the worlds’ regions is a major theme throughout this book. Areas such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or Argentina are considered ‘classical countries of immigration’. Their current people are the result of histories of large-scale immigration – often to the detriment of indigenous populations. Today, migration continues in new forms. Virtually all of Northern and Western Europe became areas of labour immigration and subsequent settlement after 1945. Since the 1980s, Southern European states like Greece, Italy and Spain, which for a long time were zones of emigration, have become immigration areas. Today Central and Eastern European states, particularly Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, are becoming immigration lands.

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA), the vast area stretching from Morocco to Pakistan, is affected by complex population movements. Some countries, like Turkey, Jordan and Morocco, are major sources of migrant labour. The Gulf Oil states experience mass temporary inflows



The re-election of President Bush gave the initiative a new lease on life. Comprehensive immigration reform became a priority for the second term. In 2006, both houses of Congress adopted immigration bills. However, the House of Representatives bill eschewed legalization and called for additional barriers along the US–Mexico border and other restrictive measures. Meanwhile, the Senate adopted a bill that would have opened a path to legal status for millions of illegally resident aliens; but the two bills could not be reconciled by a conference committee as differences were too large to bridge.

The mid-term elections of 2006 gave the Democrats control of both houses of the new Congress. President Bush announced his support for immigration legislation similar to the Senate bill and sharply criticized (largely Republican) opponents of any form of legalization. In the spring of 2007, a group of Senators announced a bipartisan ‘compromise’ bill. Major provisions included an ‘earned legalization’, which President Bush claimed would not constitute an amnesty like the legalization undertaken in 1986. Instead, applicants would be required to work as temporary foreign workers for six years in order to qualify for adjustment to permanent resident alien status. The bill also included a provision for admission of 400,000 guestworkers annually. However, amendments quickly scaled back the guestworkers to 200,000 per year. Then backers of the Senate bill lost a key vote and opponents claimed victory.

Newly elected Mexican President Calderon sought to de-emphasize the centrality of migration in US–Mexican relations. President Bush’s badly sagging popularity diminished prospects for the comprehensive immigration reform that would constitute a principal legacy of his presidency. For all the expectations raised in 2001, little of substance had changed in the US–Mexico migration relationship by 2008.

of workers. Political turmoil in the region has led to mass flows of refugees. In recent years, Afghanistan has been a major source of refugees, while Iran and Pakistan have been the main receiving countries. In Africa, colonialism and white settlement led to the establishment of migrant labour systems for plantations and mines. Decolonization since the 1950s has sustained old migratory patterns – such as the flow of mineworkers to South Africa – and started new ones, such as movements to Kenya, Gabon, and Nigeria. Africa has more refugees and IDPs relative to population size than any other region of the world. Asia and Latin America have complicated migratory patterns within the region, as well as increasing flows to the rest of the world. Two examples of recent developments are discussed in Boxes 1.1 and 1.2 to give an idea of the complex ramifications of migratory movements for both North and South.

Throughout the world, long-standing migratory patterns are persisting in new forms, while new flows are developing in response to economic,

Box 1.2 Ethnic cleansing and conflict in Central Africa

The end of the Cold War brought with it an upsurge in violence related to formerly suppressed ethnic tensions in many parts of Eastern Europe, Central Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Ethnic cleansing – violence directed against civilian populations to drive them from a given territory or exterminate them – was seen as especially serious in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. The West intervened in Bosnia and Kosovo, but was unwilling to do so in Rwanda.

Colonialism, with its European-imposed boundaries and its divide and rule strategies, created conditions which precipitated ethnic tensions in many African states after decolonization. In densely populated Rwanda, the colonial powers (first Germany, then Belgium after World War I) favoured the Tutsi minority and subordinated the Hutu majority. At independence, the Tutsi ‘elite’ was given power but lost it in light of sheer numerical inferiority. This created a Tutsi diaspora, mainly in neighbouring Zaire, Uganda, and Burundi.

Exiles launched a campaign from Ugandan territory with the support of the Ugandan government to overthrow the Hutu-dominated Rwandan government. Negotiations followed which resulted in the Arusha Peace Agreement of August 1993. In 1994, however, the Rwandan President was killed when his aircraft was hit with a rocket, and a campaign of violence by the *Interahamwe* Hutu militia immediately took place against Tutsi and moderate-Hutu populations. The international community responded too little and too late. Hundreds of thousands of Rwandans were killed with machetes and other arms in just three months. All the while, Tutsi-dominated rebel forces advanced relentlessly and seized control, but sporadic violence continued within and over Rwandan borders. In 2004, the Rwandan government put the final death toll resulting from the genocide at 937,000 (UN, 2004).

One of the most distressing effects of ethnic conflict – which inevitably becomes a cause of persistent instability – is the mass number of forced migrants that result. According to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), Rwanda had 1.8 million IDPs and approximately 1.75 million refugees in Zaire, Uganda, and Burundi by the end of 1994.

Although the Rwandan genocide received neither the international intervention it needed nor the media attention it deserved, conflict throughout the rest of the region has received even less. Burundi, Rwanda’s neighbour and



political and cultural change, and violent conflicts. Yet, despite the diversity, it is possible to identify certain general tendencies:

1. The *globalization of migration*: the tendency for more and more countries to be crucially affected by migratory movements at the same time. Moreover, immigration countries tend to receive migrants from a larger number of source countries, so that most countries of immigration have entrants from a broad spectrum of economic, social and cultural backgrounds.



one of Africa's most densely populated countries, has experienced a very similar Hutu–Tutsi conflict since 1993 which has cost in excess of 300,000 lives from the combination of killing, malnutrition, and disease. The number of Burundian IDPs peaked in 1999 at 900,000 (12 per cent of the population), and most recent estimates pinpoint at least 400,000 refugees and 117,000 IDPs still in need of return (Delrue, 2006). However, the current reconciliation process in Burundi offers hope of change.

The largest conflicts took place in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC, formerly Zaire), Africa's third largest country. In 1997, the Zairian government began to arm Rwandan Hutu refugees as part of a broader effort to quell the anti-government insurgency in the Eastern part of the country. The government soon collapsed and the Ugandan and Rwandan-backed insurgency gained momentum. Violence in DRC involved combatants from seven other nations – Angola, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Uganda, Rwanda, and Eritrea. The DRC has abundant and diverse natural resources, and the government, multinational corporations, foreign governments, and many rebel militias all wanted control of these.

The DRC civil war – which officially ended in 2002 – and its aftermath have resulted in the largest death toll since World War II, with 2006 estimates of 4 million dead and an additional 1,200 deaths per day (UNICEF, 2007). A survey by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) concluded that 98 per cent of deaths were a result of preventable and curable diseases. There were still believed to be 1.7 million IDPs in DRC and 450 800 refugees throughout the region in 2006 (USCRI, 2006). Democratic elections were held in July 2006 to elect a new president in DRC, and Joseph Kabila was declared the winner. Despite the election and the presence of the 18,357 soldiers-strong UN peacekeeping mission, violence continued in 2007 (MONUC, 2007).

The Central African crisis has been as emblematic of world affairs in the post-Cold War period as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or the global 'War on Terror'. Ethnic violence has led to millions of deaths and mass movements of people. Emigrant-led insurgencies have toppled two Central African governments and threatened several others. Uncontrollable refugee flows have destabilized an entire region, and UN forces have been forced to install near-permanent missions in an attempt to quell future violence.

2. The *acceleration of migration*: international movements of people are growing in volume in all major regions at the present time. This quantitative growth increases both the urgency and the difficulties of government policies. However, as indicated by the decrease in the global refugee total since 1993, international migration is not an inexorable process. Governmental policies can prevent or reduce international migration and repatriation is a possibility.
3. The *differentiation of migration*: most countries do not simply have one type of immigration, such as labour migration, refugees or permanent

settlement, but a whole range of types at once. Typically, migratory chains which start with one type of movement often continue with other forms, despite (or often just because of) government efforts to stop or control the movement. This differentiation presents a major obstacle to national and international policy measures.

4. The *feminization of migration*: women play a significant role in all regions and in most types of migration. In the past most labour migrations and many refugee movements were male-dominated, and women were often dealt with under the category of family reunion. Since the 1960s, women have played a major role in labour migration. Today women workers form the majority in movements as diverse as those of Cape Verdians to Italy, Filipinos to the Middle East and Thais to Japan. Some refugee movements contain a significant majority of women, as do certain networks of trafficked persons. Gender variables have always been significant in global migration history, but awareness of the specificity of women in contemporary migrations has grown.
5. The *growing politicization of migration*: domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships and national security policies of states around the world are increasingly affected by international migration. There is increasing realization that migration policy issues require enhanced global governance, and cooperation between receiving, transit and sending countries.
6. The *proliferation of migration transition*: this occurs when traditional lands of emigration become lands of transit migration and immigration as well. This is often the prelude to becoming predominantly immigration lands. States as diverse as Poland, Spain, Morocco, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Turkey and South Korea are experiencing various stages of a migration transition.

International migration in global governance

Globalization has challenged the authority of national governments from above and below. The growth of transnational society has given rise to novel issues and problems and has blurred formerly distinctive spheres of authority and decision-making. As a result, authoritative decision-making for polities is increasingly conceptualized as global governance (Rosenau, 1997). The complexity and fragmentation of power and authority that have resulted from globalization typically require government (whether national, regional or local) to interact with other organizations and institutions, both public and private, foreign and domestic, to achieve desired goals. An important manifestation of global governance is the significant expansion of regional consultative processes focusing on international migration.

Until recently, international migration had not generally been seen by governments as a central political issue. Rather, migrants were divided up into categories, such as permanent settlers, foreign workers or refugees,

and dealt with by a variety of special agencies, such as immigration departments, labour offices, aliens police, welfare authorities and education ministries. This situation began to change in the mid-1980s. The Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) convened the first international conference on international migration in 1986 (OECD, 1987). The OECD had found evidence of growing convergence in migration policy concerns and challenges faced by its member states. The USA opposed North/South dialogue and little of substance was accomplished. However, as the European Union (EU) countries removed their internal boundaries in the late 1980s, they became increasingly concerned about strengthening external boundaries in order to prevent an influx from the South and the East. The Clinton Administration ordered the Department of State and the CIA to include international migration in their assessments. By the 1990s, the mobilization of extreme-right groups in Europe over immigration helped bring these issues to the centre of the political stage.

The adoption of the 1990 Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families by the UN General Assembly brought into sharp relief global tensions and differences surrounding international migration. Immigration countries refused to sign the convention, and it did not come into force until 2003. By 2006 it had been signed by just 34 of the UN's 192 states – virtually all of them countries of emigration (UNDESA, 2006a). North/South differences were also apparent at the 1994 UN Cairo Population Conference. The world's most powerful states rebuffed a call for an intergovernmental meeting about international migration by the governments of lands of emigration.

Globalization has led to the strengthening of global institutions: the World Trade Organization for trade, the International Monetary Fund for finance, the World Bank for economic development, and so on. But the will to cooperate has not been as strong in the migration field. There are international bodies with specific tasks – such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Labour Office (ILO) for migrant workers – but no institution with overall responsibility for global cooperation and for monitoring migrant rights. The International Migration Organization does have wider terms of reference, but it is a non-UN body and lacks the capacity to bring about significant change. The key issue is the unwillingness of rich labour-importing countries to enforce migrant rights and to make concessions that might improve outcomes for countries of origin, because that would increase the costs of migrant labour.

However, there are signs of change. In 2003, following consultation with UN Secretary General Kofi Anan, a Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), consisting of prominent people advised by migration experts, was set up. Its report (GCIM, 2005) emphasized the potential benefits of migration for development (see Chapter 3). In 2003 the UN General Assembly also decided to hold a High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development in 2006. The Secretary General's

report on this meeting recommended a forum for UN member states to discuss migration and development issues further. However, the forum was to be purely advisory and was not intended to facilitate negotiations. The first Global Forum on Migration and Development was hosted by the Belgian government in July 2007, with a second in Manila in October 2008.

Ethnic diversity, racism and multiculturalism

Regulation of international migration is one of the two central issues arising from the population movements of the current epoch. The other is the effect of growing ethnic diversity on the societies of immigration countries. Settlers are often distinct from the receiving populations: they may come from different types of societies (for example, agrarian-rural rather than urban-industrial) with different traditions, religions and political institutions. They often speak a different language and follow different cultural practices. They may be visibly different, through physical appearance (skin colour, features and hair type) or style of dress. Some migrant groups become concentrated in certain types of work (often of low social status) and live segregated lives in low-income residential areas. The position of immigrants is often marked by a specific legal status: that of the foreigner or non-citizen. The differences are frequently summed up in the concepts of 'ethnicity' or 'race'. In many cases, immigration complicates existing conflicts or divisions in societies with long-standing ethnic minorities.

The social meaning of ethnic diversity depends to a large extent on the significance attached to it by the populations and states of the receiving countries. The classic immigration countries have generally seen immigrants as permanent settlers who were to be assimilated or integrated. However, not all potential immigrants have been seen as suitable: the USA, Canada and Australia all had policies to keep out non-Europeans and even some categories of Europeans until the 1960s. Countries which emphasized temporary labour recruitment – Western European countries in the 1960s and early 1970s, more recently the Gulf oil states and some of the fast-growing Asian economies – have tried to prevent family reunion and permanent settlement. Despite the emergence of permanent settler populations, such countries have declared themselves not to be countries of immigration, and have denied citizenship and other rights to settlers. Between these two extremes is a wealth of variations, which will be discussed in later chapters.

Culturally distinct settler groups almost always maintain their languages and some elements of their homeland cultures, at least for a few generations. Where governments have recognized permanent settlement, there has been a tendency to move from policies of individual assimilation to acceptance of some degree of long-term cultural difference. The result has

been the granting of minority cultural and political rights, as embodied in the policies of multiculturalism introduced in Canada, Australia and Sweden since the 1970s. However, as previously noted, the post-9/11 era has witnessed a retreat from multiculturalism in many democracies that espoused it in the 1970s or 1980s. Governments which reject the idea of permanent settlement also oppose pluralism, which they see as a threat to national unity and identity. In such cases, immigrants tend to turn into marginalized ethnic minorities. In other cases (France, for example), governments may accept the reality of settlement, but demand individual cultural assimilation as the price for granting of rights and citizenship.

Whatever the policies of the governments, immigration may lead to strong reactions from some sections of the population. Immigration often takes place at the same time as economic restructuring and far-reaching social change. People whose conditions of life are already changing in an unpredictable way often see the newcomers as the cause of insecurity. One of the dominant images in the highly developed countries today is that of masses of people flowing in from the poor South and the turbulent East, taking away jobs, pushing up housing prices and overloading social services. Similarly, in immigration countries of the South, such as Malaysia and South Africa, immigrants are blamed for crime, disease and unemployment. Extreme-right parties have grown and flourished through anti-immigrant campaigns. Racism is a threat, not only to immigrants themselves, but also to democratic institutions and social order. Analysis of the causes and effects of racism must therefore take a central place in any discussion of international migration and its effects on society.

International migration does not always create diversity. Some migrants, such as Britons in Australia or Austrians in Germany, are virtually indistinguishable from the receiving population. Other groups, like Western Europeans in North America, are quickly assimilated. 'Professional transients' – that is, highly skilled personnel who move temporarily within specialized labour markets – are rarely seen as presenting an integration problem. But these are the exceptions; in most instances, international migration increases diversity within a society. This presents a number of problems for the state. The most obvious concerns social policy: social services and education may have to be planned and delivered in new ways to correspond to different life situations and cultural practices.

More serious is the challenge to national identity. The nation-state, as it has developed since the eighteenth century, is premised on the idea of cultural as well as political unity. In many countries, ethnic homogeneity, defined in terms of common language, culture, traditions and history, has been seen as the basis of the nation-state. This unity has often been fictitious – a construction of the ruling elite – but it has provided powerful national myths. Immigration and ethnic diversity threaten such ideas of the nation, because they create a people without common ethnic origins. The classical countries of immigration have been able to cope with this situation most easily, since absorption of immigrants has been part of their

myth of nation-building. But countries which place common culture at the heart of their nation-building process have found it difficult to resolve the contradiction. Movements against immigration have also become movements against multiculturalism, which have led to a retreat from multicultural policies in many places.

One of the central ways in which the link between the people and the state is expressed is through the rules governing citizenship and naturalization. States which readily grant citizenship to immigrants, without requiring common ethnicity or cultural assimilation, seem most able to cope with ethnic diversity. On the other hand, states which link citizenship to cultural belonging tend to have exclusionary policies which marginalize and disadvantage immigrants. It is one of the central themes of this book that continuing international population movements will increase the ethnic diversity of more and more countries. This has already called into question prevailing notions of the nation-state and citizenship. Debates over new approaches to diversity will shape the politics of many countries in coming decades.

Aims and structure of the book

The Age of Migration sets out to provide an understanding of the emerging global dynamics of migration and of the consequences for migrants and non-migrants everywhere. That is a task too big for a single book: although we do look at issues concerning origin and transit countries in many places (especially Chapters 3, 6 and 7), our main emphasis is on the challenges for receiving societies. Our accounts of the various migratory movements must inevitably be concise, but a global view of international migration is the precondition for understanding each specific flow. The central aim of this book is therefore to provide an introduction to the subject of international migration and the emergence of increasingly diverse societies, which will help readers to put more detailed accounts of specific migratory processes in context.

Our first specific objective is to describe and explain contemporary international migration. We set out to show its enormous complexity, and to communicate both the variations and the common factors in international population movements as they affect more and more parts of the world.

The second objective is to explain how migrant settlement is bringing about increased ethnic diversity in many societies, and how this is related to broader social, cultural and political developments. Understanding these changes is the precondition for political action to deal with problems and conflicts linked to migration and ethnic diversity.

The third objective is to link the two discourses, by examining the complex interactions between migration and growing ethnic diversity. There are large bodies of empirical and theoretical work on both themes. However, the two are often inadequately linked. In real life, immigration

and ethnic relations are closely interrelated in a variety of ways. The linkages can best be understood by analysing the migratory process in its totality.

The Age of Migration is structured as follows. A first group of chapters provides the theoretical and historical background necessary to understand contemporary global trends. Chapter 2 examines the theories and concepts used to explain migration and formation of ethnic minorities, and emphasizes the need to study the migratory process as a whole. Chapter 3 is newly written for this edition, and focuses on the relationships between globalization, migration and development. Chapter 4 describes the history of international migration from early modern times until 1945.

A second group of chapters provides descriptive accounts and data on contemporary migrations within and between world regions. Chapter 5 is concerned with migration to highly developed countries. It examines the patterns of labour migration which developed during the post-1945 boom, and goes on to discuss changes in migratory patterns after the 'oil crisis' of 1973. The increasing volume and complexity of migrations since the late 1980s are described, including the effects of the 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the EU. Chapter 6 examines the migratory patterns that affect the Asia Pacific Region, while Chapter 7 deals with the Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. These areas are major sources of migrants to highly developed countries. However, intraregional movements are often larger than longer-distance migrations, particularly where the emergence of new industrial countries is leading to economic and demographic imbalances. These chapters confirm the analysis of Chapter 3 on the key role of migration in contemporary processes of economic development and social transformation.

We then turn to the international politics of migration. Chapter 8 assesses the capacity of industrial states to regulate international migration. It examines irregular migration, human trafficking and the policies designed to curb them. It also compares the significance of regional integration frameworks (the EU and NAFTA) for control of migration. Chapter 9 examines migration and security. Such questions are not new but the 9/11 events in the USA and subsequent attacks in Europe have dramatically heightened concerns over migrant and migrant-background populations being mobilized into violence-prone extremist movements.

The next three chapters analyse the effects of immigration on highly developed countries. Chapter 10 considers the economic position of migrant workers and the impacts of immigration on the economy. It goes on to discuss the key role of migration in the development of a 'new economy' based on employment practices such as sub-contracting, temporary employment and informal-sector work. Chapter 11 examines the position of immigrants within the societies of highly developed immigration countries, looking at such factors as legal status, social policy, formation of ethnic communities, racism, citizenship and national identity. Chapter 12 examines some of the political effects of ethnic diversity,

looking both at the involvement of immigrants and minorities in politics and at the way mainstream politics are changing in reaction to migrant settlement.

Chapter 13 sums up the arguments of the book and reviews trends in global migration in the early twenty-first century. International mobility of people seems certain to grow, leading to greater ethnic diversity in receiving countries, and new forms of transnational connectivity. We discuss the dilemmas faced by governments and people in attempting to find appropriate responses to the challenges of an increasingly mobile world, and point to some of the major obstacles blocking the way to better international cooperation.

Guide to further reading

There are too many books on international migration to list here. Many important works are referred to in the Further Reading for other chapters. A wide range of relevant literature is listed in the Bibliography.

Important information on all aspects of international migration is provided by several specialized journals, of which only a selection can be mentioned here. *International Migration Review* (New York: Center for Migration Studies) was established in 1964 and provides excellent comparative information. *International Migration* (Geneva: IOM) is also a valuable comparative source. *Social Identities* started publication in 1995 and is concerned with the 'study of race, nation and culture'. A journal concerned with transnational issues is *Global Networks* (Oxford: Blackwells). Journals with a European focus include the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Brighton: Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex), and the *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* (Paris, in French and English). Britain has several journals including *Race and Class* (London: Institute for Race Relations) and *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (New York and London: Routledge). In Australia there is the *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (Melbourne: Monash University). The *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* (Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center) provides information and analyses movements in the world's most populous region. *Frontera Norte* (Mexico: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte) and *Migración y Desarrollo* (University of Zacatecas) include articles in Spanish and English.

Some publications with a 'magazine' format provide up-to-date information and shorter commentaries, such as *Asian Migrant* (Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center) and *Hommes et Migrations* (Paris).

Several international organizations provide comparative information on migrations. The most useful is the OECD's annual International Migration Outlook, which between 1991 and 2004 was entitled Trends in International Migration. Earlier annual reports on international migration to OECD member states from 1973 to 1990 were known as SOPEMI reports

(SOPEMI being the French language acronym for Continuous Reporting System on Migration). The IOM published its *World Migration Report* for the first time in 2000, and the latest appeared in 2008.

There are many Internet sites concerned with issues of migration and ethnic diversity. A few of the most significant are listed here. They are also provided as hyperlinks on the AOM4 Website. Since they are hyperlinked with many others, this list should provide a starting point for further exploration:

Asia Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN):

<http://apmrn.anu.edu.au/>

Centre for Migration Studies, New York: <http://www.cmsny.org/>

Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford:

<http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/>

European Council on Refugees and Exiles: <http://www.ecre.org/>

European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER): <http://www.ercomer.org/>

Federation of Centers for Migration Studies, G. B. Scalabrini:

<http://www.scalabrini.org/fcms/>

Forced Migration Online: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/>

Immigration History Research Center, Minnesota:

<http://www1.umn.edu/ihr/>

Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), Amsterdam:

<http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/imes/>

Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS),

Osnabrück: http://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/e_index.htm

International Centre for Migration and Health: <http://www.icmh.ch/>

International Metropolis Project: <http://www.international.metropolis.net/>

International Migration Institute, University of Oxford:

<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/>

International Organization for Migration: <http://www.iom.int/>

Inter-University Committee on International Migration:

<http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/migration/>

Migration Information Source:

<http://www.migrationinformation.org/index.cfm/>

Migration News: <http://migration.ucdavis.edu/>

Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford: <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/>

Southern African Migration Project: <http://www.queensu.ca/samp/>

Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies:

<http://www.migration-population.ch/Home.506.0.html>

United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR):

<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home>

US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI):

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

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