

CHAPTER 5

Migration

Topics 2.10–2.12

Topic 2.10 Causes of Migration

Learning Objective: Explain how different causal factors encourage migration. (IMP-2.C)

Topic 2.11 Forced and Voluntary Migration

Learning Objective: Describe types of forced and voluntary migration. (IMP-2.D)

Topic 2.12 Effects of Migration

Learning Objective: Explain historical and contemporary geographic effects of migration. (IMP-2.E)

More than any other nation on Earth, America has constantly drawn strength and spirit from wave after wave of immigrants. In each generation, they have proved to be the most restless, the most adventurous, the most innovative, the most industrious of people.

—President Bill Clinton, speech at Portland State University, 1998



Source: Wikimedia Commons

Somalian refugees fled to Kenya to escape drought and conflict in 2011. (See Topic 2.11 for more on forced migration and refugees.)

Causes of Migration

Essential Question: How have different causal factors encouraged migration?

In his 1998 commencement address at Portland State University (see previous page), President Bill Clinton highlighted the ongoing impact of immigrants coming to the United States. The United States is the most populous immigrant country in the world. Like many countries in the Americas and Australia, most residents are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants. United States culture, institutions, and population are the products of five centuries of immigration.

Migration's Push and Pull Factors

World history is a story of constant movement. **Migration** is the permanent or semipermanent relocation of people from one place to another. Since the first humans lived in eastern Africa, people have been on the move. Early humans were very mobile, searching for nuts, seeds, and fruits, and hunting for animals to eat. As agriculture developed, people moved less in search of food and urban settlements began. However, people continued to move, from rural to urban areas, and from settlement to settlement.

Most people who move do so in search of a better life. They are part of a **voluntary migration**, or a movement made by choice. The choice usually combines a decision to move away from someplace with a decision to move toward someplace else:

- Geographers classify the reasons that people migrate *to* a specific location. People generally decide to move because of **push factors**, which are negative circumstances, events, or conditions present where they live that compels a person to leave.
- Once migrants decide to leave, they usually choose a destination based on its positive conditions and circumstances, or **pull factors**.
- From the perspective of a receiving country, an **immigrant** is a person who migrates across an international border with the intention of staying permanently.
- From the perspective of the country the migrant is leaving, the person is viewed as an **emigrant**. When people migrate away from somewhere, they **emigrate**.

Economic Push and Pull Factors

The most common reason people migrate is that they lack jobs and economic opportunities. These migrants go to areas offering greater chances for economic prosperity.

| EXAMPLES OF ECONOMIC PUSH AND PULL FACTORS | | |
|---|--|--|
| Group and Place of Origin | Push Factors | Pull Factors |
| Factory workers in the U.S. Rust Belt states, beginning in the 1970s | Unemployment rose among factory workers, particularly in traditional manufacturing states such as Michigan and Pennsylvania. | Many factory workers moved to southern states such as Kentucky and Tennessee, as manufacturers opened new factories there. |
| Farmers in rural China, beginning around 1950 | Increased use of machines and consolidation of small farms into fewer large farms reduced the number of farmers needed to raise crops. | Farmers moved to China's large cities, increasing the urban population from 64 million in 1950 to 850 million by 2020. |

Social Push and Pull Factors

People will often migrate when they experience discrimination and persecution because of their ethnicity, race, gender, or religion. They move to locations where they can practice their culture safely. People are often influenced by kinship links, or ties with relatives who have already settled in a place.

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| EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL PUSH AND PULL FACTORS | | |
|--|--|---|
| Group and Place of Origin | Push Factors | Pull Factors |
| Mormon migration, 1845-1857 | Anti-Mormon violence in Illinois and Missouri resulted in dozens of deaths, including that of leader Joseph Smith. | Approximately 70,000 Mormons migrated to the Great Salt Lake area, a place chosen for its isolation and agricultural opportunities. |
| Hindus and Muslims during and after the partition of India, 1947-1957 | Violence resulted in around 1 million deaths. | More than 14 million people migrated in hopes of finding safety in a new country. |

Political Push and Pull Factors

People who oppose the policies of a government often migrate because they face discrimination, arrest, and persecution. Such political migrants move to countries where they feel safe and have protection from the danger they faced in their home country.

| EXAMPLES OF POLITICAL PUSH AND PULL FACTORS | | |
|---|--|--|
| Group and Place of Origin | Push Factors | Pull Factors |
| Anti-communist Cubans after Fidel Castro's Communist takeover in 1959 | Opponents of Castro were jailed or killed if they spoke out against Castro's government. | Opponents of Castro fled to the United States, where they were protected. |
| The Dalai Lama and Tibetan government officials, after China's takeover of Tibet in 1950 | The Chinese persecuted, arrested, and killed many Tibetans who opposed the takeover. | The Dalai Lama and his supporters fled Tibet to India in 1959, which allowed them to set up a government in exile. |

Environmental Push and Pull Factors

People often migrate to escape harm from natural disasters, drought, and other unfavorable environmental conditions. Such migrants move to areas that are not under the same environmental stresses.

| EXAMPLES OF ENVIRONMENTAL PUSH AND PULL FACTORS | | |
|---|--|--|
| Group and Place of Origin | Push Factors | Pull Factors |
| Farmers from Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, 1930s | A severe drought caused thousands to lose their farms. | Farmers moved to California hoping to find work. |
| Residents living near the Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant in Japan, 2011 | An earthquake and tsunami damaged nuclear reactors, releasing radioactive materials. | Residents near the power plant resettled to cities around Japan. |

Demographic Push and Pull Factors

Some countries are unbalanced demographically. For example, in the case of a gender imbalance, young adults may not find someone to marry. Or if the population is too young, the country may eventually become overpopulated.

Geographers, such as Wilbur Zelinsky, saw a connection between migration patterns and the demographic transition model. (See Topic 2.5.) Zelinsky's theory, called the **migration transition model**, argues that countries in Stages 2 and 3 of the demographic transition model experience rapid population growth and overcrowding. This overcrowding limits the economic opportunities of the people and acts as a push factor. Thus, they migrate to less-crowded Stage 4 or 5 countries, which offer greater economic opportunities with growing economies and aging populations.

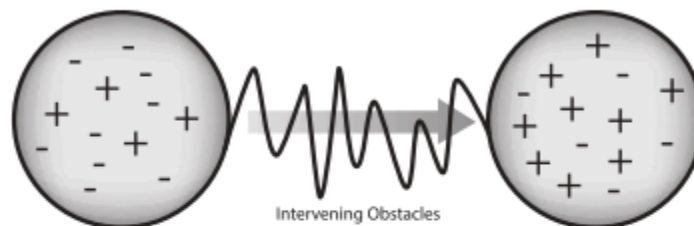
| EXAMPLES OF DEMOGRAPHIC PUSH AND PULL FACTORS | | |
|---|--|---|
| Group and Place of Origin | Push Factors | Pull Factors |
| Farmers in Europe, 1800s | The population of industrial countries increased, while land became scarce. | European migrants came to the United States, in part because the Homestead Act gave them plots of land. |
| Young educated people in less-developed countries in Latin America, North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia | Many people in less-developed countries live in areas where population is growing very quickly and unemployment and underemployment is high. | Developed countries in North America and Europe with aging populations need workers for difficult jobs, so they attract immigrants from less-developed countries. |

Intervening Obstacles and Opportunities

Migration consists of more than just push and pull factors. Geographer Everett Lee introduced the idea in 1966 that migrants may encounter **intervening obstacles**, barriers that make reaching their desired destination more difficult. These obstacles might be political, such as laws restricting immigration and border patrols. They could be environmental, such as deserts or oceans for migrants to cross. Walls and fences that constructed at borders would be considered both political and environmental (physical) barriers or obstacles. Migrants can face economic obstacles in the form of costs incurred in migration.

Migrants may also encounter opportunities en route that disrupt their original migration plan. These are known as **intervening opportunities**. For example, a migrant might find a job along the way.

LEE'S MODEL OF MIGRATION



| INTERVENING OBSTACLES | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Type of Obstacle | Example |
| Economic | A migrant lacks enough money to reach a destination. |
| Social | A migrant gets married to someone who lives along the migration route and settles in that person's community. |
| Political | A migrant cannot get a visa needed to pass through a country to get to his or her final destination. |
| Environmental | A migrant cannot cross a sea, desert, or mountain range. |

Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

In the 1880s, German geographer E.G. Ravenstein observed patterns—sometimes referred to as laws—about migration tendencies and demographics. They still form the basis for migration theory today.

Short Distances Most migrants travel only a short distance. The further apart two places are, the less likely it is that people will migrate between those places. Ravenstein called this phenomenon **distance decay**. In the 1960s, geographers expanded this to time-distance decay, the idea that things near one another are more closely connected than things that are far apart.

Urban Areas Migrants traveling long distances usually settle in large urban areas. This is mainly because migrants believe that a larger city will have more opportunities than a smaller city.

In the 1970s, geographers used Ravenstein's laws to develop the **gravity model of migration**. The model assumes that the size and distance between two cities or countries will influence the amount of interactions that include migration, travel, and economic activity. The larger the population of a city or country, the more pull the location will have with migrants seeking economic opportunities. However, as the distance between two locations increases, the pull, or gravity, weakens and the person may choose a closer place to migrate.

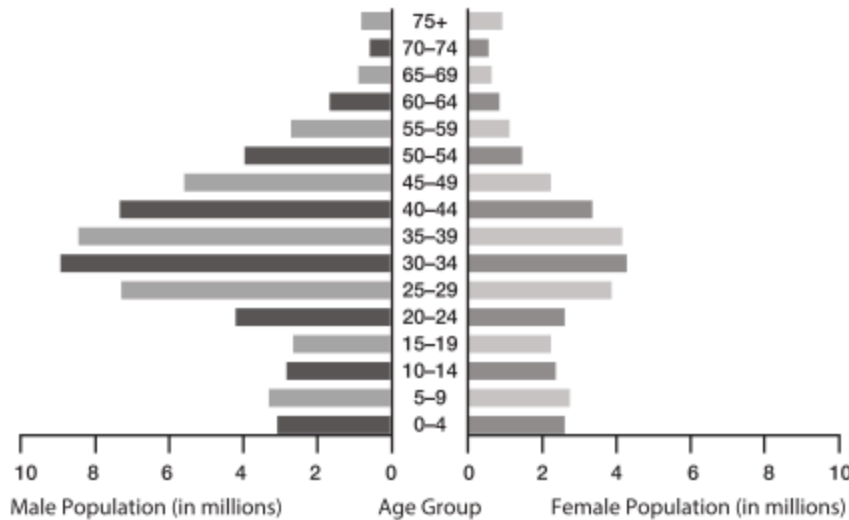
One demonstration of the model is the Cuban migration to the United States following Fidel Castro's successful overthrow of the government in 1959. Most people settled in Florida, the state closest to Cuba. And most settled in large cities, such as Miami. Today, more than two-thirds of Cuban Americans in the United States live in Florida. More than half of all Cuban Americans live in Miami.

Multiple Steps Most migration occurs through **step migration**, a process in which migrants reach their eventual destination through a series of smaller moves. For example, in a common pattern in rural-to-urban migration, a migrant from a small town is most likely to move first to a larger town, later to a small city, and finally to a large city.

Rural to Urban Most migration in history has been from rural agricultural areas to urban city areas. Because of the Industrial Revolution, rural areas needed fewer laborers on farms, and cities needed more people to work, first in factories and then in offices. This **rural-to-urban migration** remains common today. It includes migrations both within countries—rural residents of India moving to Indian cities such as Mumbai, for example—and between countries—rural residents of Syria moving to cities in Germany.

Counter Migration Each migration flow produces a movement in the opposite direction, called **counter migration**. For example, in the 1990s and early 2000s, as many Mexican migrants were moving to the United States, a counter migration of people moved from the United States to Mexico. Some were part of a **return migration**, immigrants moving back to their former home. Others were retirees from the United States who had never lived in Mexico but were attracted by its warm weather and lower cost of living. One result of counter migration is that neighborhoods of former U.S. residents are found scattered throughout Mexico. Today, about 1 million retired U.S. citizens live in Mexico.

AGE-SEX PYRAMID OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS, 2019 NORTHERN AFRICA AND WESTERN ASIA



Using the graph, identify one pattern of migration related to age and one pattern related to gender. Explain reasons why the patterns occurs.

Youth Most migrants are younger adults, between ages 20 and 45. People in that age group are usually not as established with jobs, homes, and families as older groups, so they are more likely to move to improve their fortunes.

Gender Patterns Most international migrants are young males, while more internal migrants are female. Men are more likely to move outside of the country looking for work. For example, several countries in the Middle East have guest-worker programs where young men are recruited from South and Southeast Asia to work in the oil and construction industries.

Women are more likely to move within a country. One reason is that many women living in traditional societies move in with their husbands and husbands' families. However, today women comprise nearly half of the international migrants. The female migration pattern is changing for a variety of reasons:

- An increasing demand in destination countries and markets for jobs typically done by women, including employment in medical care, home and domestic work, and labor-intensive factories.
- Increasing female education is opening up employment opportunities.
- More women are becoming the primary income earner in their family.
- Although this trend is slowing, family reunification with husbands and children still occurs.
- An emerging trend is women migrating from countries with gender inequality to more gender-equal countries. However, this trend is being slowed by laws in sending countries that block women from migrating out of the country.

Forced and Voluntary Migration

Essential Question: What are the types of forced and voluntary migration?

Geographers classify migration and migrants as either forced or voluntary depending on the reason for which people move. Ideally, people would only move because they wanted to. That is often the case. However, throughout history and continuing into the present, millions of migrants have moved unwillingly. There are economic, cultural, political, and environmental push and pull factors behind both the voluntary and involuntary migration patterns.

Forced Migration

Migration that is involuntary, meaning migrants have no choice but to move, is **forced migration**. Today, the largest number of forced migrants are fleeing natural disasters, war, political persecution, or ethnic and cultural problems in their homelands.

Slave Trade

Throughout history, millions of people have migrated unwillingly. The largest forced migration in history is that of the African slave trade. From the 15th through the 19th centuries, about 12.5 million Africans were captured, enslaved, and forcibly moved from their homes in Africa to North America, the Caribbean, South America, and the Middle East.

Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees

Forced migration can result from political events and policies or environmental crises such as floods, earthquakes, or famines that threaten peoples' lives. Such migrants must usually flee quickly in order to stay alive and cannot bring many items with them. Most intend to return to their homes once the danger has passed. If these migrants move to another part of the same country, they are classified as **internally displaced persons (IDPs)**. If they cross international borders, they are **refugees**.

An example of forced migration is the Syrian Civil War, which began in 2011 and forced about half the population to flee their towns and villages. The result was the creation of more than 6 million internally displaced persons and more than 4 million refugees. Most of these refugees fled to neighboring or nearby countries such as Turkey and Greece. It is typical for refugees to be relocated to neighboring countries, which has resulted in a clustering of refugees.



Source: Wikimedia Commons

Refugees of the 2011 Syrian Civil War fled to neighboring countries. In the image, Syrian refugees jump from a boat off the coast of Greece to reach safety. Why would refugees risk their lives to take such a dangerous journey?

REFUGEES, 2016



Source: unhcr.org

What are several geographic distribution patterns of refugees in 2016?

Some political refugees apply for **asylum** when they arrive in their country of destination. Asylum is protection granted by one country to an immigrant from another country who has a legitimate fear of harm or death if he or she returns. If granted, asylum-seekers receive protection and special status from the government of the receiving country.

| EXAMPLES OF DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES | | |
|--|--|--|
| Category | Internally Displaced Persons | Refugees |
| Political | Many Afghan people moved to safer areas during the war between the United States and the Taliban in the early 2000s. | Jews fled Nazi Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, hoping to find safety in other countries. |
| Environmental | Thousands of Louisianans fled to neighboring states after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. | Thousands of Haitians relocated to neighboring countries after earthquakes in 2010. |

Voluntary Migration

Unlike forced migration, **voluntary migration** occurs when people choose to relocate. The term **internal migration** is used to describe movement that occurs within a country. One of the most important phenomena reshaping our world today is rural-to-urban migration. (See Topic 2.10.) Millions of people who leave villages and small towns every year for opportunities in cities and more densely settled areas. In less-developed countries, such as Kenya and India, migration is the most important factor driving urban growth.

Often internal migration, including rural-to-urban, operates in the process of step migration (see Topic 2.10), where people make a series of intermediate moves. Many people move to more urbanized areas gradually, step-by-step, toward their final destination. Internal migration does not have to be exclusively voluntary. Internally displaced persons are also an example of internal migrants. The country of Ethiopia is divided into ten regions. Civil strife in several of these regions has forced local populations to seek better circumstances in neighboring regions without leaving the country. These migrants are examples of both IDPs and internal migration.

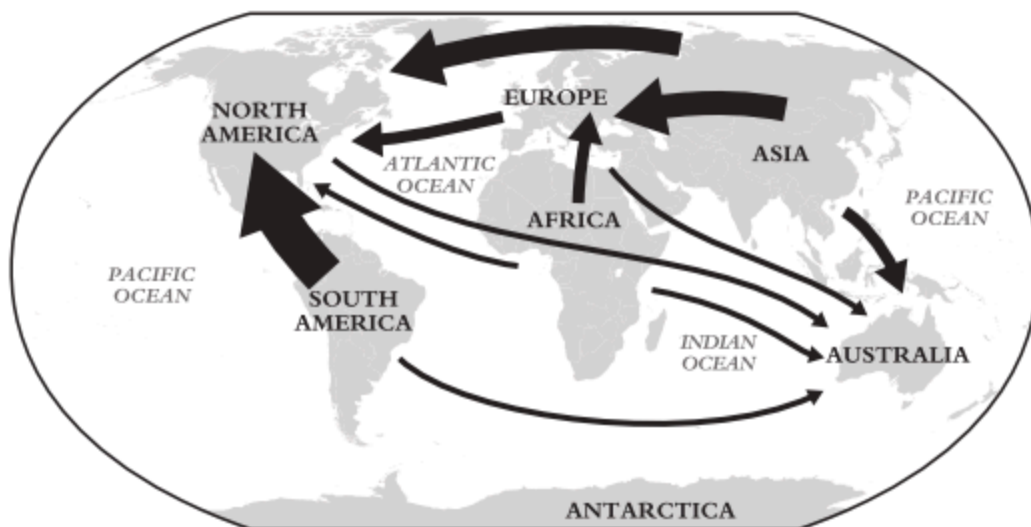
Transnational migration is when people move from one country to another, or internationally rather than internally. For example, a person migrates from Mexico to the United States. When people migrate to and settle in a new country, they often decide to locate in a city or community where others from their home country, family members, friends, or those from their culture group have previously settled. This process of **chain migration** explains many patterns of migration and helps migrants transition into the receiving country.

Guest workers are also transnational migrants who relocate to a new country to provide labor that isn't available locally. Most are unskilled jobs such as agricultural work or manual labor. Countries in the Persian Gulf are notable for having large percentages of the total populations made up of foreign migrants. In Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, migrants constitute more than half the population. Most of these migrants work in some part of the petroleum industry. Many also work in the service industry to support tourism, which has boomed in the region.

Most migratory workers do not intend to make a permanent move. Often, they intend to return home or are given permission to stay for only a finite period of time. However, guest workers frequently decide to stay in the host country permanently, and thus become migrants.

The process of herders moving with their animals to different pastures during different seasons is **transhumance**. In mountainous regions, herders move their animals to higher areas in the summer and lower elevations during the winter. This ancient practice still takes place in Italy, Greece, and Turkey, where it is an example of internal migration. In parts of the Sahara in North Africa, herders move their animals across international boundaries as seasons change to find food for their animals.

PATTERNS OF HUMAN MIGRATION



Which region is the source of most international migrants? Which regions are most common destinations for immigrants? What push and pull factors are driving this global pattern of movement?

Migration Trends

Since the mid-20th century, international migration flows have changed. Europe, once a region people were leaving, has become a destination for migrants from around the world. Many come from former European colonies in the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa. The immigrants are usually seeking jobs, unifying with family or escaping war and conflict. This pattern has continued into the 21st century.

| COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST NET EMIGRATION AND NET IMMIGRATION, 2010-2020 | | | |
|---|------|-------------------------------|-----|
| Net Emigrants (in thousands) | | Net Immigrants (in thousands) | |
| Syria | -752 | United States | 974 |
| India | -501 | Germany | 466 |
| Bangladesh | -415 | Turkey | 318 |
| Venezuela | -329 | Russia | 271 |
| China | -225 | United Kingdom | 260 |
| Pakistan | -225 | Canada | 245 |
| Nepal | -183 | Saudi Arabia | 240 |
| Myanmar | -134 | Italy | 238 |
| Zimbabwe | -121 | Australia | 178 |
| Philippines | -117 | South Africa | 165 |

The United States has experienced several trends in immigration and forced migration from other countries. Between 1500 and 1700, European countries raced to colonize North America. By 1700, North America had been claimed primarily by England, France, and Spain. However, major sources of migrants (both voluntary and forced) entering the United States have shifted over time:

- 1600s to 1808: northern and western European colonizers and enslaved Africans
- 1808 to 1890: northern and western Europe immigrants
- 1890 to 1914: southern and eastern Europe immigrants
- 1945 to the present: Latin America and Asia immigrants

Since 1950, the United States and Canada together have received the highest number of immigrants, but recently countries in the Middle East and Europe have increased rates. Government policies have influenced migration trends and will be discussed in Topic 2.12.

Effects of Migration

Essential Question: What are historical and contemporary geographic effects of migration?

The number and characteristics of migrants can have profound political, economic, and cultural effects on both the places they leave and the places they move to. Movements of people, though, are often controversial, particularly when people are moving from one country to another.

Migration Policies and Their Consequences

While countries have encouraged immigrants, others have restricted them. Political policies attempt to regulate migration both internal and international.

Policies Encouraging Immigration

Before the 1880s, the U.S. government placed few restrictions on immigration. The ratio of farmland to the number of people to work it was high, so immigrants were often welcomed. In addition, most Americans recalled their own immigrant heritage with pride.

Homestead Act One policy that attracted immigrants was the Homestead Act (1862), a program in which the U.S. government gave land to settlers willing to stay and farm it for five years. Most of the people who benefited from this program were White settlers, who eventually became the property owners. In recent years, the U.S. government offered visas to well-educated people with hopes they would remain in the country.

Current Immigration Policies Today, many governments regulate the flow of workers into their country. For example, the Persian Gulf countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates formed an organization called the Gulf Cooperation Council, and through it they set **guest-worker policies**. These regulate the number of workers who can temporarily enter each country to work in specific industries for a defined amount of time. Once the work visa has expired, workers are expected to either renew or return to their sending country. Some guest workers are highly skilled engineers, programmers, or teachers. Others find employment as domestic and home care workers and manual laborers in agriculture or manufacturing.

Most countries have **family reunification** policies that allow migrants to sponsor family members who migrate to the country. Other policies allow refugees to migrate quickly in emergencies and allow foreign college students an easy pathway to becoming permanent residents after they graduate.

Policies Discouraging Immigration

Countries may also pass laws to restrict immigration. They can make entering the country difficult by establishing educational standards for immigrants or by restricting the type of work immigrants can do. Countries can also simply set a quota to limit the number of people allowed to enter the country legally.

Some restrictions reflect **xenophobia**, a strong dislike of people of another culture. Other restrictions reflect economic concern that immigrants will take away jobs from citizens. For example, in the United States, xenophobia and economic fears combined to prompt Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act that banned immigration from China between 1882 and 1943.

Countries sometimes restrict immigration primarily in an attempt to preserve their own cultural homogeneity, or cultural sameness. For example, the people of Japan form one of the most ethnically similar countries in the world. Japan maintains this homogeneity by strictly limiting immigration.

Economic and Cultural Effects of Migration

There are several effects, both positive and negative, that migration has on the countries of origin as well as on the destination countries. Effects include ones that are demographic, economic, cultural, and political.

Effects on Countries of Origin

One benefit on the countries of origin is relief from overcrowding. According to Zelinsky's migration transition model, when countries are heavily populated, opportunities are scarce. Migrants who leave reduce the competition for jobs and resources. The demographic transition model helps explain this effect. People from countries in Stage 2 and 3 seeking jobs, where population growth is high, will migrate to countries in Stage 4 or 5, where jobs are available.

Benefits of Migration Since immigrants generally move from poorer regions to wealthier ones, they often can afford to make **remittances**—money sent to their family and friends in the country they left. Remittances help the individuals receiving them, and account for nearly 40 percent of the income of some small countries, such as the Central Asian countries of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.

Costs of Migration Migration can also have negative effects on the places people are leaving. When working-age people leave an area, it is left with a population skewed toward the elderly and children, creating a dependency ratio problem. This occurred during China's rural-to-urban migration, which was the largest internal migration in history. Additionally, when a family member leaves, a disruption can be caused in traditional roles and social structures of the family.

When migration out of a country is made up of many highly skilled people, it is called a **brain drain**. Today, students from around the world enter the United States or Great Britain to study medicine, engineering, or other fields and often decide to stay, rather than return to the land of their birth. This creates a brain drain on their countries of origin. A recent United Nations

report found that about 11 percent of Africans with graduate or professional degrees were living in the United States, Europe, or other developed countries.

Effects on Receiving Countries

Countries receiving immigrants usually benefit greatly. Immigrants make important cultural contributions to their new countries, including new foods, new words and languages, diverse forms of entertainment, and a variety of religious traditions. **Ethnic enclaves**, or neighborhoods filled primarily with people of the same ethnic group, such as “Little Italy” or “Chinatown,” add to the cultural richness of the countries in which they develop.

In addition, because most immigrants want to better their economic situations, they are highly motivated to get an education, work hard, and succeed. Many start businesses. Immigrants often start small, labor-intensive businesses such as restaurants, nail salons, and other service-oriented enterprises, but not all of these businesses stay small. Nearly 200 of the 500 largest businesses in the world were started by immigrants or their children.

Conflicts sometimes arise between immigrants and native-born citizens in receiving countries. The two groups might clash over religious beliefs, cultural practices, or access to jobs. Countries sometimes pass laws, and businesses follow practices that discriminate against immigrants.



Signs expressing prejudice against the Irish appeared in the United States in the early 1900s.