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Chapter 1

Introduction

The post-Cold War period began with a rush of optimism about democracy, capitalism and the prospect for humanity. Many viewed globalization as irreversible. Political scientists, sociologists and economists wrote about the demise of national states, the necessity of adaptation to market forces and the imperative of global democratization. Then, in 2001, 19 terrorists flew three fuel-laden, hijacked planes into the World Trade Centre in Manhattan and the Pentagon in Washington and the world changed forever. Or did it?

One of the defining features of the post-Cold War era has been the growing saliency of international migration in all areas of the world. International population movements constitute a key dynamic within globalization – a complex process which intensified from the mid-1970s onward. The most striking features of globalization are the growth of cross-border flows of various kinds, including investment, trade, cultural products, ideas and people; and the proliferation of transnational networks with nodes of control in multiple locations (Castells, 1996; Held *et al.*, 1999). At its core, globalization results in increased transnationalism: behaviour or institutions which simultaneously affect more than one state. The terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in fact constituted transnational political behaviour, as those perpetrating it were aliens engaging in violence against mainly civilian targets in another state in order to achieve political goals. Al-Qaida can be seen as an extremely effective transnational network, with multiple nodes of control.

One of the key analytical questions to be asked about '9/11' (as US observers have come to label the 2001 episode) is: how did it affect international migration? That one should feel compelled to ask such a question suggests the significance of the inquiry that informs this book. It is only recently that international population movements have been viewed as so significant that they warrant high-level scrutiny. In the post-9/11 environment, the central arguments informing this inquiry take on new urgency.

After the initial wave of euphoria over the end of the Cold War, the new era became marked by enormous change and uncertainty. Several states imploded and the very nature of warfare changed from violence waged between states to fighting within the boundaries of a state (UNHCR, 2000b: 277; Kaldor, 2001). About 90 per cent of conflicts in the post-Cold

War era have not involved classic conventional warfare between states and many of these have created large numbers of internally displaced persons or IDPs. Entire regions in Africa, Europe, Latin America and Central Asia verged on anarchy and ruin. Yet, at the same time, democratic institutions, liberal economic strategies and regional integration, although still challenged, have now become globally ascendant. The ambivalent nature of the post-Cold War period can be seen in the juxtaposition of global human rights norms with episodes of horrific savagery involving mass killings and expulsions of entire populations.

For some observers, the world at the dawn of the twenty-first century is one in the throes of systemic transformation. The global order based on sovereign national states is giving way to something new. However, the contours of the emerging new order are unclear. Hope and optimism coexist with gloom and despair. Other observers doubt that fundamental change can or will occur. The nation-state system still endures despite the growth in the power of global markets, multilateralism and regional integration. National states command the loyalties of most human beings and millions have fought and died for them in recent memory.

These contradictory trends and notions comprise the backdrop to the unfolding drama that has captured the attention of peoples and leaders: the emergence of international migration as a force for social transformation. 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 will 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 state and society. Major determinants of historical change are rarely profoundly changed by any single event. Rather, singular events like 9/11 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.

For the most part the growth of transnational society and politics, of which international migration is a dynamic, is a beneficial process. But it is neither inevitably nor inherently so. Indeed, international migration is frequently a cause and effect of various forms of conflict. Major events underscore why this is so and why 9/11 represented a culmination of trends and patterns rather than a new departure. Two cases, which are treated in greater detail later, suffice to illustrate.

Strife in Algeria pitting Islamists against a military-controlled government spilled over to France in the mid-1990s. Islamic radicals bombed subways and trains, and one unit commandeered a plane and threatened to fly it into a major public building because the French government was aiding the Algerian government in its counter-insurgency campaign. The menace posed by Islamic rebels infiltrating into France or mobilizing support among the large population of Algerians living in France or from French citizens of Algerian Muslim background, clearly ranked as France's central national security issue by 1995.

Likewise, in Germany, the Kurdish insurgency against the Turkish government spilled over to German soil in the 1990s. The Kurdish Workers Party declared that it was waging a two-front war against both Turkey and Germany, because the German government was siding with the Turks. German security analysts estimated that there were thousands of Kurdish Workers Party members among the 2-million-plus Turkish citizens living in Germany. By the mid-1990s, political violence involving Kurds became the central national security preoccupation of the German government. Meanwhile, Turkish political scientists sympathetic to the Turkish government regarded Turkish Islamist activities on German soil as constituting a grave threat to the Turkish state.

Such events were linked to growing international migration and to the problems of living together in one society for culturally and socially diverse ethnic groups. These developments in turn were related to fundamental economic, social and political transformations that shape the post-Cold War period. 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. 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 is not an invention of the late twentieth century, nor even of modernity in its twin guises of capitalism and colonialism. Migrations have been part of human history from the earliest times. However, international migration has grown in volume and significance since 1945 and most particularly since the mid-1980s. Migration ranks as one of the most important factors in global change.

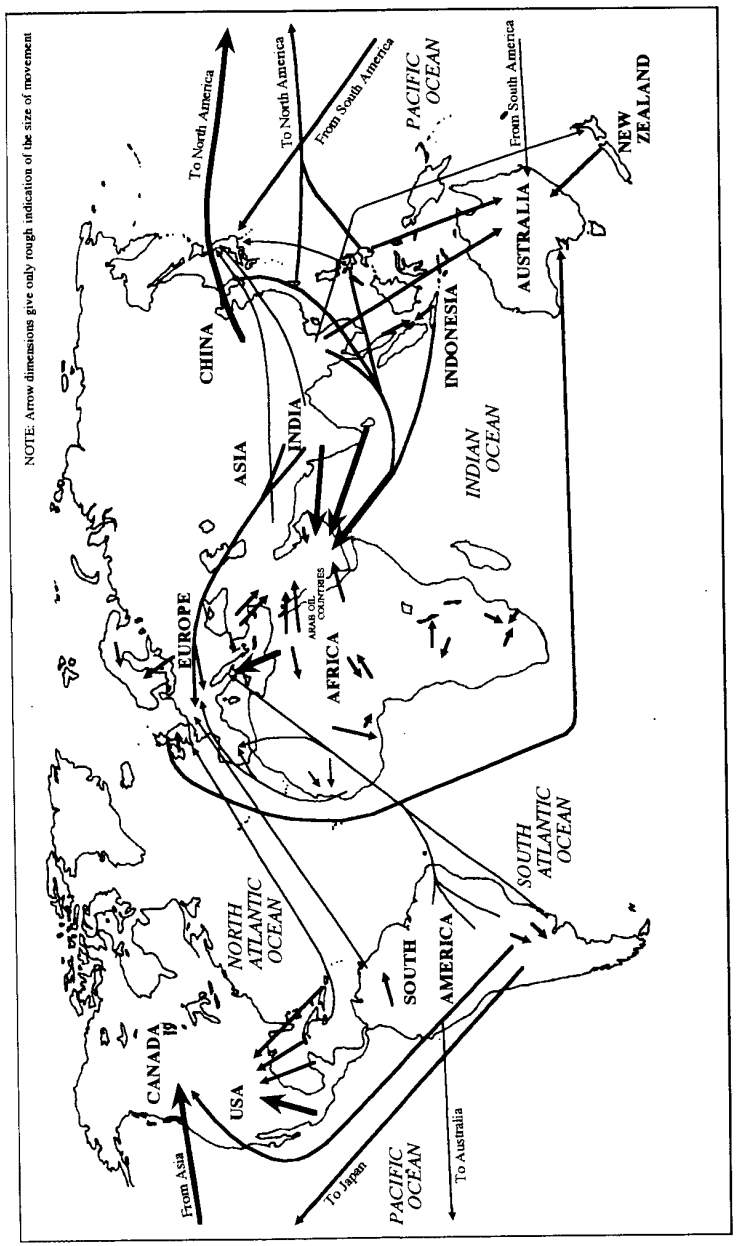
There are several reasons to expect what we term the age of migration to endure: growing inequalities in wealth between the North and the South are likely to impel increasing numbers of people to move in search of better living standards; political, ecological and demographic pressures may force many people to seek refuge outside their own countries; increasing 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. States around the world will be increasingly affected by international migration, either as receiving societies, lands of emigration, or both.

No one knows exactly how many international migrants there are. A report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) claimed that the number of migrants in the world had doubled between 1965 and 2000, from 75 million to 150 million (IOM, 2000b). By 2002, the United Nations Population Division (UNPD) estimated that 185 million people had lived outside their country of birth for at least 12 months – just over 2 per cent of the world's population (Crossette, 2002b). 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: 4). Comparison of data on pre-First World War international migration with statistics on contemporary population movements suggests remarkable continuity in volume between the two periods (Zlotnik, 1999).

However, there are great unknowns, such as the number of illegal immigrants. UN statistics on contemporary international migration reflect statistics compiled by member states concerning legal migration. Yet credible statistics are lacking in many areas of the world. Moreover, there are many reasons to believe that illegal migration has increased sharply in recent decades. Hence, the contention that the late modern world has not experienced a remarkable upsurge in international migration, based upon comparison of statistics for the two periods, must be rejected. Much contemporary international migration is simply unrecorded and not reflected in official statistics. In fiscal year 1998, 660 477 persons were recorded by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as having legally immigrated to the USA (Kramer, 1999: 1). However, analysis of the 2000 census strongly suggested that some 9 million aliens lived illegally in the USA, with between 200 000 and 300 000 new arrivals each year. Similarly, between 250 000 and 300 000 illegal entrants are estimated to arrive in Northern Europe each year (Widgren, 1994).

There were 15 million refugees and asylum seekers in need of protection and assistance in 2001 (USCR: 2002). This total can be compared to 16 million in 1993, suggesting that international population movements are neither inexorable nor unidirectional. Successful repatriation policies and the end of conflict in certain areas resulted in a decrease in overall numbers between 1993 and 2001. However, concurrently, the number of persons who were in a refugee-like situation, but who were not officially recognized as refugees or asylum seekers grew rapidly after 1990, as did the number of IDPs. The number of persons applying for asylum in Western Europe, Australia, Canada and the USA combined rose from 90 000 in 1983 to a peak of 829 000 in 1992. Following restrictive measures, asylum-seeker applications fell to 480 000 in 1995, but then began to grow, reaching 535 000 in 2000. Other types of forced migrants, who remain within their country of origin, include large numbers displaced by development projects (such as dams, airports and industrial areas), but inadequately resettled. An estimated 10 million people are displaced each year in this way, and many of them may move on to become international migrants (Cernea and McDowell, 2000).

The vast majority of human beings reside in their countries of birth. Voluntarily taking up residence abroad or becoming a victim of expulsion is the exception not the rule. Yet the impact of international migration flows is frequently much greater than is suggested by figures such as the IOM estimates. People tend to move not individually, but in groups. Their departure may have considerable consequences for social and economic relationships in the 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 opportunity 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; this universal experience has become a hallmark of the age of migration.



Map 1.1 *Global migratory movements from 1973*

Contemporary migrations: general trends

International migration is part of a transnational revolution that is reshaping societies and politics around the globe. The differing ways in which this has 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.

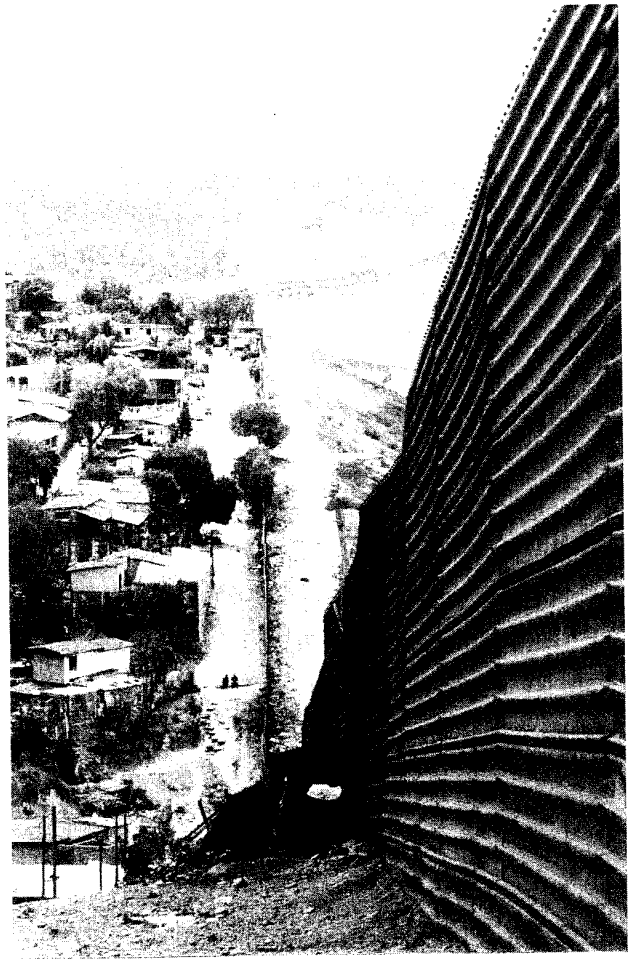
The Arab region and the Middle East are affected by complex population movements. Some countries, like Turkey, Jordan and Morocco, are major sources of migrant labour. The Gulf oil states experience mass temporary inflows of workers. Political turmoil in the region has led to mass flows of refugees. In recent years, Afghanistan has been the world's main 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 Libya, Gabon, and Nigeria. Africa has more refugees and IDPs relative to population than any other region of the world. The picture is similar elsewhere. Asia and Latin America have complicated migratory patterns within the region, as well as increasing flows to the rest of the world. Three examples of recent developments are discussed in Boxes 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 to give an idea of the complex ramifications of migratory movements.

Throughout the world, long-standing migratory patterns are persisting in new forms, while new flows are developing in response to economic change, political struggles and violent conflicts. Yet, despite the diversity, it is possible to identify certain general tendencies which are likely to play a major role:

1. The *globalization of migration*: the tendency for more and more countries to be crucially affected by migratory movements at the same time. Moreover, the diversity of the areas of origin is also increasing, so that most countries of immigration have entrants from a broad spectrum of economic, social and cultural backgrounds.

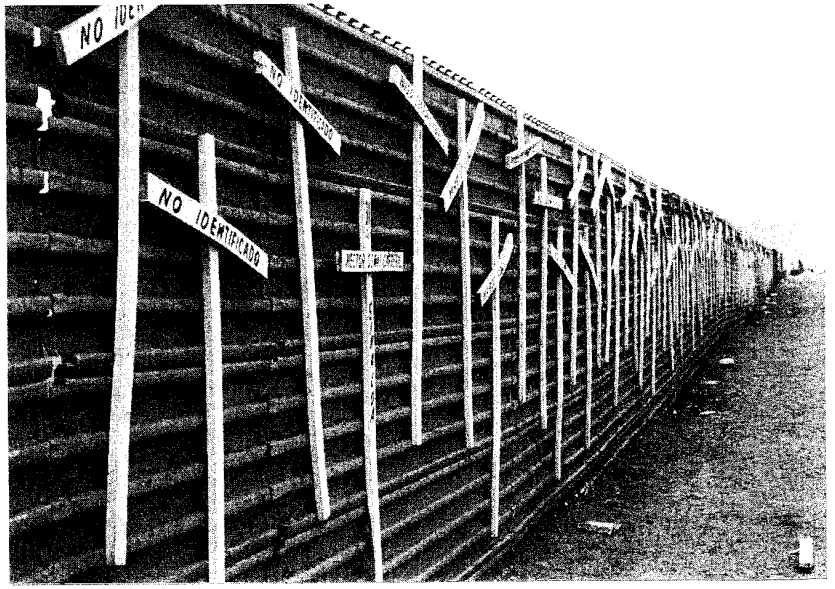
2. The *acceleration of migration*: international movements of people are growing in volume in all major regions at the present time. This quantitative growth increases both the urgency and the difficulties of government policies. However, as indicated by the decrease in the global refugee total since 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)

Illustration 1.1 *Mexico–US border near Tijuana (Photo: Castles/Vasta)*



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 (though not all) 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, including those from the former Yugoslavia, 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.

Illustration 1.2 *Mexico–US border near Tijuana: Each cross represents a migrant who has died crossing the border (Photo: Castles/Vasta)*



Box 1.1 Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Berlin Wall

Migration played an important part in the political transformation of Central and Eastern Europe. The Hungarian government, under the pressure of a wave of would-be emigrants to the west, dismantled the border barriers with Austria in late 1989. This destroyed a major symbol of the Cold War and created the first opportunity for emigration for East Germans since the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Tens of thousands rushed to depart. The steady haemorrhage to the West helped create a political crisis in the German Democratic Republic, forcing a change in leadership. In a final gambit to maintain control, the new government opened the Wall, enabling East Germans to travel freely to West Germany. The communist regime quickly collapsed and Germany was reunited in 1990. Large-scale migration continued: at least 1 million East Germans moved west from the opening of the Wall to the end of 1991.

The collapse of East Germany had a 'domino effect' upon other communist regimes. The political transformation of the region enabled hundreds of thousands to emigrate. During 1989 alone, some 1.2 million people left the former Warsaw Pact area. Most were ethnic minorities welcomed as citizens elsewhere: ethnic Germans who had the right to enter Germany, ethnic Greeks going to Greece, or Jews who automatically become citizens according to the Israeli Law of Return. The mass arrival of Soviet Jews in Israel was viewed with alarm by Arabs who feared that one result would be further dispossession of the Palestinians.

The spectre of uncontrolled mass emigration from Eastern Europe became a public issue in the West. Before long, Italy deployed troops to prevent an influx of Albanian asylum seekers, while Austria used its army to keep out Romanian Gypsies. For Western European leaders, the initial euphoria prompted by the destruction of the barriers to movement was quickly succeeded by a nostalgia for the ease of migration control of an earlier epoch.

The disintegration of the USSR led to the creation of a plethora of successor states. Some of the 25 million or so ethnic Russians living outside the Russian Republic suddenly confronted the possibility of losing their citizenship. Economic crisis and the potential for inter ethnic violence, attendant on the reshaping of the former Warsaw Bloc area, made emigration a preferred option for many. But the great mass of Eastern Europeans did not see the welcome mat rolled out for them. Even in Germany and Israel, there was resentment over the massive arrival of newcomers from the ex-USSR and Warsaw Bloc states.

Box 1.2 The US–Mexico 'immigration honeymoon'

The elections of George W. Bush, Jr and Vincente Fox in 2000 appeared to augur well for major changes in US–Mexico relations. Both presidents wanted to improve relations and spoke of reforms of migration-related policies.

Under President Clinton, the emphasis had been on prevention of illegal migration. 'Operation Gatekeeper' was introduced in 1994 in an attempt to tighten security along the US–Mexico border. The US Immigration and Naturalization Service introduced double steel fences, helicopters, high-intensity searchlights and high-tech equipment. The number of agents enforcing the border doubled. To fund this surveillance programme, the budget tripled from 1994 to 2000, reaching $5.5 billion. However, there was no decline in the number of illegal border crossings; indeed official figures suggested an increase, and Californian agriculture experienced no shortage of migrant labour. The number of people dying as they attempted to cross the border also increased as people took ever greater risks: in 2000, 499 people died trying to cross, compared with 23 in 1994. The cause of death also altered as people moved towards increasingly remote areas in their attempts to cross the border. By 2000, they were dying mainly from dehydration, hypothermia or sunstroke trying to cross the Arizona desert, or drowning as they attempted to swim the All American Canal. The average cost of hiring 'coyotes' – who smuggle people across the border – rose from $143 to $1500 in six years (Cornelius, 2001).

President Bush had supported expanded admissions of Mexican temporary workers while governor of Texas. The Mexican president backed an amnesty or legalization programme for illegally resident Mexicans in the USA – estimated to number between 4 and 5 million. President Bush's first foreign visit was to President Fox's ranch and the US–Mexico migration initiative topped the agenda. The formation of a high-level group of US and Mexican officials was announced They were to meet regularly to shape the content of the initiative. Matters under discussion ranged from the modalities of legalization to intergovernmental cooperation on prevention of illegal migration and human trafficking. In early September 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, it was clear that elements of the plan, the details of which were never fully disclosed, would encounter resistance in the US Congress, for example among Republicans opposed to legalization policy.

The terrorist attacks on 9/11 put the initiative on the backburner. Many US officials were rankled by the Mexican government's response to 9/11, and the attacks dramatically changed the political environment in the USA, virtually ensuring that broad legalization would not soon be authorized by the US Congress. The Fox Administration began to complain about its frustration with its neighbour to the North. A year after President Fox's address to a joint session of the US Congress, little of substance had changed in the enormously complex US–Mexico immigration relationship.

Box 1.3 Ethnic cleansing and conflict in Central Africa

Events in the former Yugoslavia and Central Africa in the 1990s made ethnic cleansing – violence directed against distinct civilian populations to drive them from a given territory – a principal problem of post-Cold War world order. In densely populated Rwanda, periodic strife between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi minority had created a Rwandan Tutsi diaspora. Tutsi exiles launched a campaign to overthrow the Hutu-dominated Rwandan government from Ugandan territory with the support of the Ugandan government. Advances by the rebels led to negotiations but then in 1994 the Rwandan president's aircraft was destroyed by a rocket, killing him and the fragile accord. The killing of the Hutu president served as the pretext for a campaign of violence by a Hutu-dominated faction targeted against the Tutsi minority and moderate Hutus. Hundreds of thousands were hacked to death in a frenzy of violence as the Tutsi-dominated rebel forces advanced. The collapse of governmental forces and their Hutu extremist allies led millions of Rwandan Hutus to flee to Tanzania and Zaire. Many of the perpetrators of the mass killings fled with them.

The governments of Tanzania and Zaire and international relief agencies scrambled to cope with the influxes. Eventually, Tanzania would force many of the Rwandan refugees to repatriate. Some returning refugees were killed. In Zaire, the government threatened to expel the Rwandan refugees en masse but may have lacked the capacity to do so. International agencies and governments around the world pleaded against the forcible return of Rwandan refugees. By 1996, military intervention by Western states, including the USA and France in coordination with the UN, was contemplated. However, an ethnic Tutsi militia from eastern Zaire and other anti-government insurgents moved against the Rwandan Hutu militants entrenched in refugee camps. This enabled many of the Rwandan Hutus to

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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 various levels of government 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. An IOM report on the 11 non-binding fora that had emerged by 2001 cited four reasons for their inception: the post-Cold War increase in irregular migration, including human trafficking; the increase in the number of states and areas affected by international migration; the regional scope of most international migration; and the informal, non-binding nature of the consultative processes themselves (Klekowski Von Koppenfels, 2001).

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. It was only in the late 1980s that international migration began to be accorded high-level and systematic attention. For example, as the EU countries removed their internal boundaries, they became increasingly concerned about strengthening external boundaries in order to

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repatriate to an uncertain future while tens of thousands of other Hutu refugees fled deeper into Zaire to elude the insurgents.

In 1997, the beleaguered Zairian government began to arm remaining Rwandan Hutu refugees as part of a broader effort, involving the use of foreign mercenaries, to quell the anti-governmental insurgency in eastern Zaire. However, the Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire, which had long been supported by Western governments, soon collapsed. The insurgency was backed by Uganda and the new Tutsi-dominated government of Rwanda. There were also signs of spillover of Hutu-Tutsi strife to Burundi, where Hutus and Tutsis also comprise the bulk of the population.

By 1998, Rwanda and Uganda ended their support for the successor government to the Mobutu dictatorship, led by their ex-ally and former rebel, Laurent Kabila, who had been installed as president of the new Democratic Republic of the Congo. Fighting erupted between former allies. Altogether six national armies and numerous non-state groups were involved and nearly 1 million persons were displaced by the end of 1999. Subsequently Kabila was assassinated, and succeeded by his son, while 5000 UN troops attempted to monitor a tenuous peace agreement between the protagonists. Fighting flared anew in 2002 and the toll of human lives lost due to the fighting and attendant hunger and disease between 1998 and 2002 stood at 2 million with no end in sight.

The Central African crisis of the 1990s was as emblematic of world affairs in the post-Cold War period as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC). Ethnic violence led to mass movements of people and an emigrant-led insurgency toppled two governments and threatened several others. Mass refugee flows destabilized an entire region and the UN and major Western powers contemplated further use of military force to protect refugees and prevent further escalation of the violence.

prevent an influx from the South and the East. By the 1990s, the successful mobilization of extreme right-wing groups over immigration and supposed threats to national identity helped bring these issues to the centre of the political stage.

Ethnic diversity, racism and multiculturalism

Regulation of international migration is one of the two central issues arising from the mass 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 (generally 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. 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 very difficult to resolve the contradiction. Movements against immigration have also become movements against multiculturalism, and such popular sentiments have led to a retreat from multicultural policies in many places, including Australia and the Netherlands.

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 first goal of this book is to describe and explain contemporary international migration. We set out to show the enormous complexity of the phenomenon, 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 goal 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 goal is to link the two discourses, by showing the complex interaction 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. There is a tendency towards specialization both in academic circles and among policy-makers. Many of the research institutes which deal with migration are distinct from those concerned with ethnic relations. For instance, the International Sociological Association has separate research committees for 'ethnic, race and minority relations' and for 'sociology of migration'. Similarly, many governments have one ministry or agency to deal with immigration, and another to deal with ethnic or race relations. There is still no international

regime to regulate migration, and efforts to establish a UN agency with responsibility in this area have made little progress.

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. It is an ambitious (some would say elusive) undertaking to try to do this on a global level in one short book. Hence 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 multicultural societies, which will help readers to put more detailed accounts of specific migratory processes in context.

The book is structured as follows: Chapter 2 examines some of 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 describes the history of international migration up to 1945. There is some discussion of the role of migration in the emergence of European nation-states, but the main focus is the migrations brought about by capitalism and colonialism, in the process of creating a world market.

Chapter 4 is concerned with migration to industrial countries since 1945, including new migrations to Southern and Eastern Europe. It shows the patterns of labour migration which developed during the post-war boom and discusses the differences and similarities between permanent, post-colonial and guestworker migration systems. The major changes in migratory patterns after the oil shock of 1973 are examined. Finally, the increasing volume and complexity of migrations since the late 1980s are discussed. Chapter 5 assesses the capacity of industrial states to regulate international migration. It examines illegal migration, human trafficking and policies designed to curb them. It also compares the significance of regional integration frameworks for control of migration and responses to 9/11.

Chapters 6 and 7 look at some of the new areas of migration, showing how major political, social and economic changes are leading to mass population movements. Chapter 6 is concerned with the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, while Chapter 7 deals with Asia. These areas are major sources of migrants to highly-developed countries, and it is from here that the 'next waves' are likely to come. But movements within these regions are of growing importance, particularly where the emergence of new industrial countries is leading to economic and demographic imbalances.

Chapter 8 considers the economic position of immigrants in highly-developed countries, looking at labour market segmentation, the role played by immigrants in economic crisis and why employment of migrants

can continue despite high unemployment. Chapter 9 presents a comparative study of the migratory process in two countries which appear at first sight to have had almost diametrically opposed experiences of immigration: Australia and Germany. The aim is to show both parallels and differences, and to discuss the factors which determine them. Chapter 10 goes on to examine the position of immigrants within the societies of some of the other highly-developed immigration countries, looking at such factors as legal status, social policy, formation of ethnic communities, racism, citizenship and national identity.

Chapter 11 examines some of the key political effects of increasing ethnic diversity, looking both at the involvement of minorities in politics and at the way mainstream politics are changing in reaction to migrant settlement. Perspectives for the emergence of multicultural societies are discussed. Chapter 12 sums up the arguments of the book and presents some conclusions on the future of international migration, and what it is likely to mean for individual societies and for the global community as a whole.

Guide to further reading

Important information on all aspects of international migration is provided by a large number of specialized journals, of which only a few 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* (Abingdon: Carfax) started publication in 1995 and is concerned with the 'study of race, nation and culture'. *Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) is dedicated to 'transnational studies'. Another journal with a transnational focus is *Global Networks* (Oxford: Blackwell). Journals with a European focus include the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Brighton: Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex), *Migration* (Berlin: Edition Parabolis, in English and German) and the *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* (Poitiers: University of Poitiers, in French and English). Britain has several journals including *Race and Class* (London: Institute for Race Relations) and *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (London and New York: 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. *Migraciones Internacionales* (Mexico: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte) includes articles in Spanish and English.

There are also many publications with a 'magazine' format which provide up-to-date information and shorter commentaries, such as *Asian Migrant* (Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center) and *Hommes et Migrations* (Paris). A very valuable resource is the monthly *Migration News* (Davis: University of California) which is available as hard copy, e-mail or on the Internet.

Several international organizations provide comparative information on migrations. The most useful is the OECD's annual *Trends in International Migration* (Paris: OECD), which until 1991 was known as OECD SOPEMI, *Continuous Reporting System on Migration*. This publication provides comprehensive statistics on most OECD countries of immigration, as well as some data on countries of emigration. The IOM published its *World Migration Report* for the first time in 2000, and further versions are planned. Cohen's massive *Survey of World Migration* (1995) is a valuable reference work with contributions on all aspects of our theme.

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

Asia-Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN): http://www.capstrans.edu.au/apmrn/
Center for Migration Studies, New York: http://www.cmsny.org/
Centre for European Migration and Ethnic Studies: http://www.cemes.org/
European Council on Refugees and Exiles: http://www.ecre.org/
European Migration Information Network (EMIN): http://www.emin.geog.ucl.ac.uk/
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/index.html
Forced Migration Online: http://www.forcedmigration.org/
Immigration History Research Center, Minnesota: http://www1.umn.edu/ihrc/
Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), Amsterdam: http://www.pscw.uva.nl
Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS), Osnabrück: http://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/english/index.htm
International Centre for Migration and Health: http://www.icmh.ch/
International Metropolis Project: http://www.international.metropolis.net/
International Organization for Migration: http://www.iom.int/