

Migration



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FIGURE 3.1 Mumbai, India. A view from the top of a high-rise in the central city, looking at one of the slums found tucked between buildings throughout the city. The Census of India reports that more than 50 percent of the Mumbai's residents live in slums.

A patchwork of tarps, some dirty with the grit of the city and some new and still bright blue, covers the tent settlements of migrants. I wondered what rural village the migrants came from and how they chose this spot, tucked between high-rise developments in the middle of the city (**Fig. 3.1**).

Migrants leave rural villages and move to cities, and in India, they keep a connection to their village by their choice of where to live. Through interviews with migrants living in tent settlements, Indian researchers have found that migrants who live in a tent settlement like this one tend to come from the same village and stay connected with their family and friends in the village.

At the global scale, rural-to-urban migration represents one of the most dramatic shifts in human geography over the last century. In 1900, only 13 percent of people worldwide lived in cities; now more than 50 percent of people live in cities worldwide. Rapid migration from rural to urban helped Mumbai's population double from 5.9 million in 1971 to 12.73 million in 2019. The greater urban area of Mumbai now has more than 22 million people.

Informal settlements are found tucked between buildings in the central city like this one and also along railroad tracks in the eastern and western suburbs of Mumbai. Migrants living in slums and tent settlements have little security in terms of personal safety or control of land. Most lack access to drinkable water or sanitary sewers. The Census of India includes a survey of people living in slums in Mumbai. The vast majority of residents reported working in the service sector, including construction, or working in hutment factories located inside slums. Most are migrants who reported average salaries of less than \$150 a month.

This chapter explores why people migrate, whether by force or voluntarily. We discuss where people migrate, both within countries and across country borders, and how governments impact migration.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

3.1 Explain migration as a type of movement.

- Cyclic Movement
- Migration

3.2 Explain Historic and Modern Forced Migration.

- Historic Forced Migration
- Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking

3.3 Explain the Theories of Migration and Understand the Motivations for Migration.

- Laws of Migration and the Gravity Model
- Push and Pull Factors

3.4 Identify why refugees are a distinct group of migrants and describe where most refugees migrate.

- Distribution of Refugees
- Areas of Dislocation

3.5 Determine how government policies impact migration.

- Waves of Immigration in the United States
- Legal Restrictions

3.1 Explain Migration as a Type of Movement.

Migration is a type of movement that changes both the places migrants leave and the places they go. The movement of people along paths of migration creates connections and networks among places. Migration changes how people see themselves and others. It also increases spatial interaction and speeds the diffusion of ideas and innovations among places connected through migration.

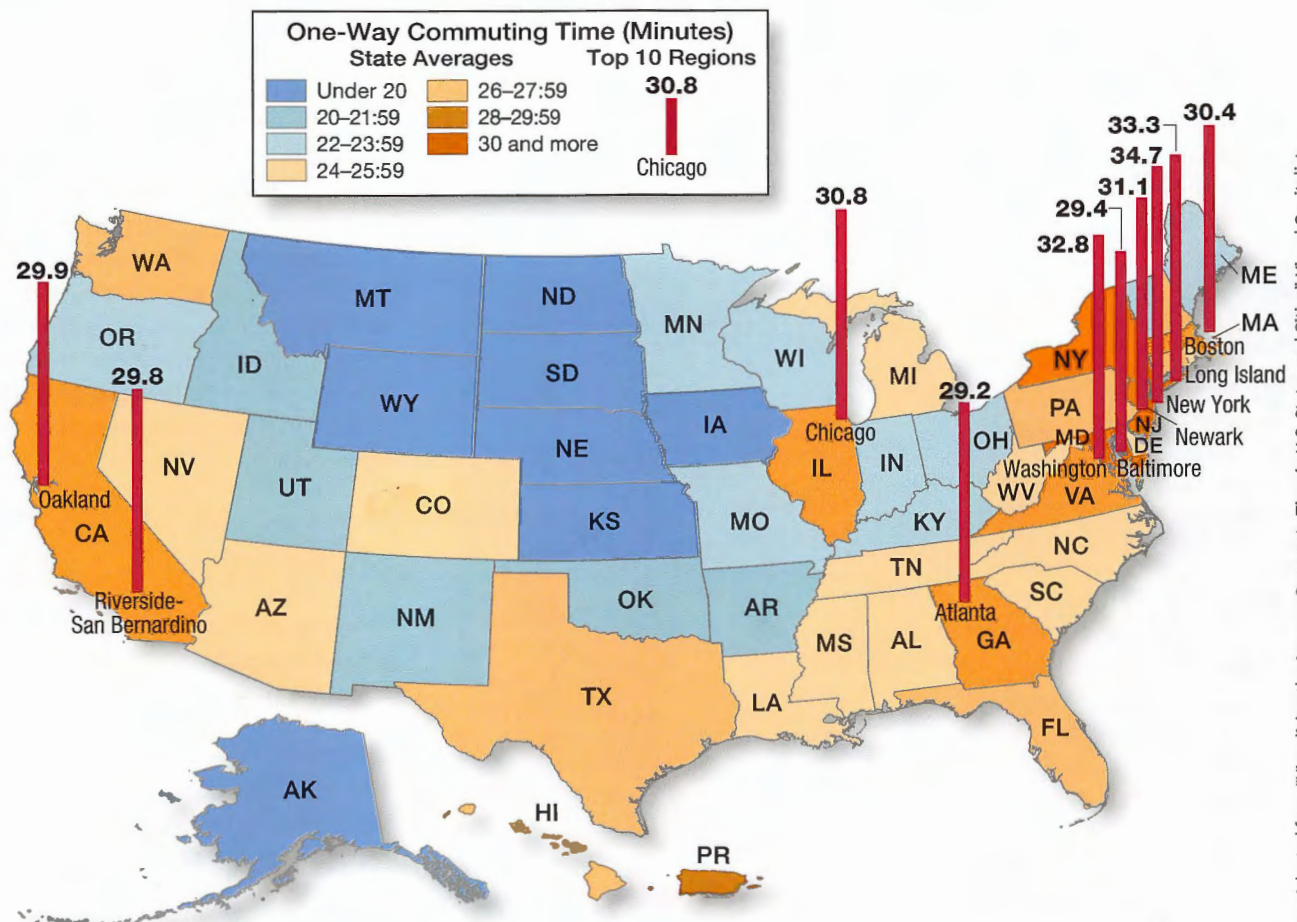
Geographers identify two basic types of movement. Leaving home for a defined amount of time and returning home is called **cyclic movement**. Migration changes the location of home and has a degree of permanence not found in cyclic movement. **Migration** is movement from a home location to a new place with an intent to stay in the new place permanently.

Cyclic Movement

Cyclic movement describes a regular journey that begins at a home base and returns to the same home base in a

relatively short period of time. One form of cyclic movement is daily, routine movement. People have daily routines that take them through a series of short moves within a local area, such as home to work, work to errands, and errands to home. These moves create what geographers call **activity spaces**, places in which people move in the rounds of everyday activity. The scale of activity space varies by age, gender, and income.

Commuting within a person's activity space is a cyclic movement. Commuting, the journey from home to work and home again, takes from minutes to hours and can involve several modes of transportation. The average American commuter travels 26.2 minutes one way each day (52.4 minutes round trip). South Dakotans have the shortest one-way commute at 16.6 minutes, and New Yorkers double that average with an average commute of 33.6 minutes. New York City and Long Island, New York have the top two longest commutes, with 34.7 and 33.3 minutes, respectively (**Fig. 3.2**).



Source: Adapted from "Visualizing the Average Commute Time in U.S. States and Cities", Visual Capitalist.

FIGURE 3.2 One-Way Commuting Time by City. Coastal states have longer commute times than states in the interior. Much of the Great Plains, Midwest, and West have relatively short commute times. Among the 10 cities with the longest commute times, New York and Long Island have the longest commute time.

Another form of cyclic movement is seasonal movement. **Snowbirds** are retired or semiretired people who live in cold states and Canada for most of the year and move to warm states like Florida, California, and Arizona for the winter. This seasonal movement enables them to avoid snow and have warmer weather year-round. By spending part of the year in each state, snowbirds economically impact both their home state and their winter state. The Canadian Snowbird Association estimates that 450,000 Canadians spend between one and six months in Florida each winter. Eight out of 10 own a property in Florida and pay taxes there. While in Florida, snowbirds boost local economies, filling restaurants, grocery stores, pharmacies, beauty shops, and clinics, and paying local and state taxes on each item or service they purchase. Snowbird movement is cyclical because snowbirds return home in the spring.

The seasonal transfer of snowbirds from north to south also impacts the temporarily depopulated northern states. Businesses like restaurants have fewer customers, and organizations like churches that depend on monthly donations may have lower financial support in winter months. This temporary depopulation of northern states even impacts the census every 10 years. The U.S. Census asks you to enter the number of people living in the home on April 1. After the 2000 census, the state of Michigan estimated that Michigan snowbirds who were still in the South on April 1 and counted themselves in their winter state instead of their home state cost the state of Michigan a congressional seat and approximately \$200 million in federal funds.

Another type of cyclic movement, **pastoralism**, happens when herders move livestock throughout the year to continually find freshwater and green pastures. Instead of feeding livestock on agriculturally produced feed, pastoralists move livestock seasonally to find naturally growing pastures. Pastoralism is an effective and sustainable form of agriculture in dry lands with limited rainfall. To find water, food, and shelter in their cyclic movements, pastoralists must know their territory well. Their movement is purposeful and takes place along long-familiar routes that are passed down through generations.

The savanna climate in Africa, which has well-defined rainy and dry seasons, is well suited for sustainable pastoralism, and an estimated 200 million Africans make a living as pastoralists. Pastoralists in northern Uganda, including Jei and Karamoja, move cyclically with thousands of head of cattle across semiarid and savanna lands, following rainfall patterns so that the cattle can graze on fields after they have grown during rainy periods (**Fig. 3.3**). Government policies in Uganda that discourage movement, as well as rainfall patterns that are changing as a result of climate change, threaten the livelihoods of pastoralists in Africa.

Transhumance is a specialized form of pastoralism practiced in mountain areas when ranchers move livestock vertically to graze on highlands during summer months and lowlands during winter months. In Switzerland, for example, farmers drive cattle up mountain slopes to high, fresh pastures during the summer, and farm families follow the herds, staying in cottages that are left empty during cold winters. Among the 200 million pastoralists in Africa, about 25 million

pastoralists live in the Horn of Africa (Northeast Africa, in and around Somalia and Ethiopia). Ethiopian pastoralists who live near the mountains practice transhumance, herding their livestock from highland to lowland and back in search of pastures renewed by seasonal rainfall.

Migration

Whereas cyclic movement begins and ends at home, migration begins at one home and ends at a new home. Migration happens when persons, families, or larger groups leave home and move to a new location with the intent of permanently changing where they live. Migrants move a significant distance within a country or across country borders.

Migration is the major source of **relocation diffusion**. Migrants take their cultural values and practices with them to their new location, thus making an imprint on the cultural landscape.



Alan Gignoux/Alamy Stock Photo

FIGURE 3.3 Eastern Uganda. Karamoja pastoralists in Uganda rely on their livestock in this region with a short rainy season in April, a longer rainy season in July, and a dry climate the rest of the year. The pastoralists move their livestock to freshwater and vegetation during the long dry season.

For example, Little Havana in Miami, Florida (**Fig. 3.4**), has the visible human imprint of generations of Cubans migrating to and living in Dade County, Florida. Even before Cuba became a communist state, 60,000 Cubans lived in the United States, primarily in New York. Between 1959, when Fidel Castro led the Cuban Revolution, and 1961, when Castro made Cuba officially communist, 248,000 Cuban refugees fled to the United States, settling mainly in and around Miami, Florida.

The U.S. government legally allowed Cuban migration because it saw the migrants as refugees escaping a communist government. Cuban migrants arrived and shaped neighborhoods in the greater Miami area (Dade County). Within a generation, Cuban Americans developed businesses, settled in neighborhoods, and became a political force in Dade County. In 1973, Dade County officially became bicultural and bilingual. Then in 1980, when the Cuban economy crashed, 125,000 Cubans fled to the United States by boat in a six-month period. Cuban Americans in the United States helped organize the refugee flow, hiring boats to transport Cubans to the country. As the Cuban economy continued to falter, migration to the United States persisted throughout the 1980s. In 1994, the government enacted the wet feet, dry feet policy (since ended in 2017). Under wet feet, dry feet, the United States returned Cuban migrants intercepted on water (wet feet) to Cuba or a third country, and allowed Cuban migrants who made it to shore (dry feet) to apply for permanent residency a year after arrival. The 1994 reforms also set a quota that allowed the United States to admit a minimum of 20,000 Cubans a year, plus family reunifications. Since 1994, more than 650,000 Cubans have migrated to the United States.

International Migration International migration is movement across country borders. When migrants leave their home country, they are classified as **emigrants**, those who migrate out of a country. When the same migrants enter a new country, they are classified as **immigrants**, those who migrate into a country. Emigration subtracts from the total population of a country, and immigration adds to it. For example, during the Potato Famine, Ireland's population fell from 8.2 million in 1841 to 6.5 million in 1851 (*Irish Times*, 2018). The nearly 2 million people Ireland lost in 10 years either died of famine or migrated. The famine in Ireland made the Irish sick, desperate, and hopeful about opportunity across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1847 alone, 250,000 Irish migrated, mainly to North America. Not all who fled famine made it to shore, as those who were sick or weak from famine died in transit. At ports in New York, Boston, New Orleans, and



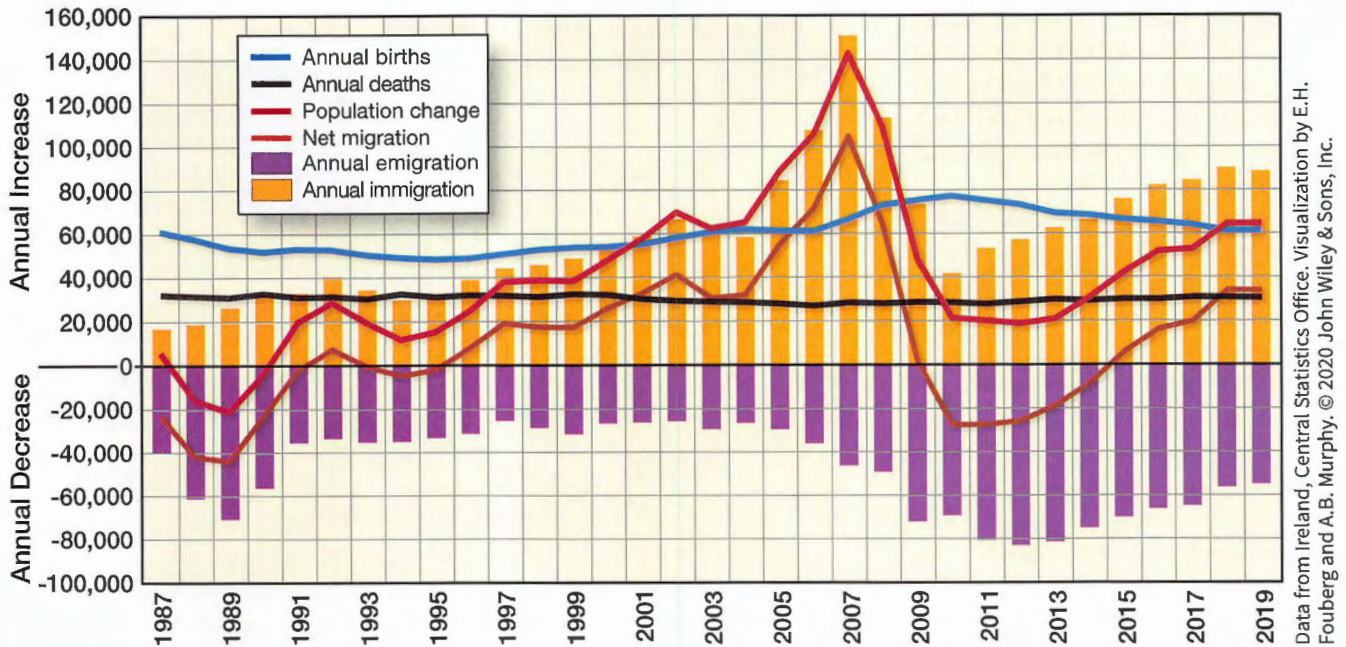
Karel Miragaya/123 RF

FIGURE 3.4 Little Havana, Miami. A Cuban restaurant advertises mojitos and Cuban foods to passers-by on a corner of Little Havana. Cuban cafes and restaurants, cigar stores, mosaic tile work, statues of famous Cubans, Catholic churches, and vibrant facades and murals are all part of the cultural landscape of the ethnic neighborhood. The neighborhood dates to the 1960s and the first major migration of Cubans to Miami.

Quebec, authorities often quarantined sickly Irish migrants. In the same year that 250,000 Irish emigrated (1847), the United States accepted approximately 150,000 Irish immigrants, and the ports of Montreal and Quebec in Canada accepted 70,065 Irish immigrants.

Ireland remained a country of emigration until 1996, when Ireland's economy boomed, experiencing a 30 percent increase in employment opportunities between 1996 and 2001. In 1996, more immigrants arrived in Ireland than emigrants departed. When the European Union (EU), which includes Ireland, added 10 new countries in 2004, mostly in eastern Europe, Irish and EU migration policies allowed immigration from the new EU countries. Responding to the availability of jobs in Ireland, 306,000 people from the newest member countries of the EU have immigrated to Ireland since 2006. From 2010 to 2014, Ireland's economy weakened after the 2008 global recession and the number of immigrants to Ireland declined. Since 2015, however, immigration has again been higher than emigration. In 2018, 90,300 immigrants moved to Ireland, and fewer emigrants, 56,300, left Ireland, primarily for opportunities in other parts of the EU (*Irish Examiner*, 2018).

The difference between immigration and emigration is **net migration**. Before 1996, Ireland had more emigrants (people leaving Ireland) than immigrants (people coming to Ireland), so it had a negative net migration. From 1996 to 2009 and again since 2015, Ireland has had more immigrants than emigrants, giving it a positive net migration (**Fig. 3.5**). Net migration can be added to births and deaths (see Chapter 2) to understand whether a country's population is growing or declining.



Data from Ireland, Central Statistics Office. Visualization by E.H. Fouberg and A.B. Murphy. © 2020 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

FIGURE 3.5 Ireland's annual emigration is shown in purple bars as a negative because it subtracts from the total population. Annual immigration is shown in orange bars as a positive because it adds to the population. The combination of those two bars is shown in the line for net migration. Adding annual births and deaths gives us the total population change each year.

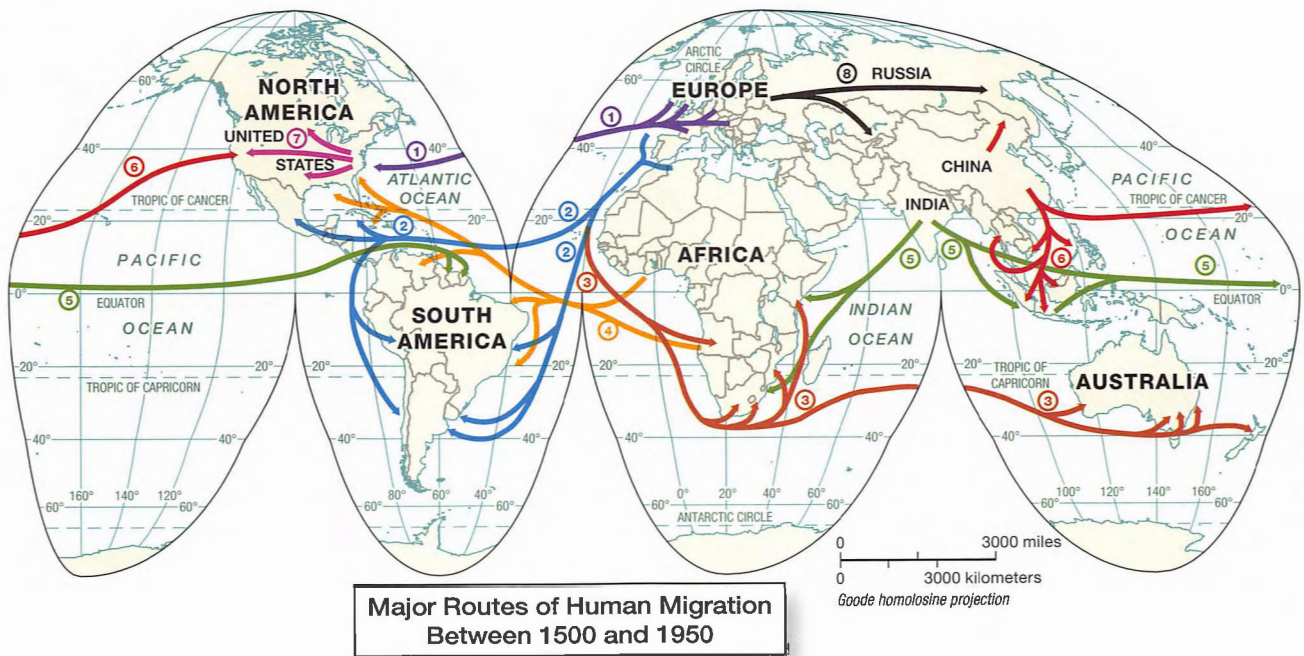
Major Migration Paths Major migration paths at the global scale since 1500 are shown in **Figure 3.6**. The migration flows include movements from Europe, including (1) from northern and western Europe to North America; (2) from southern Europe (Spain and Portugal) to South and Central America; and (3) from Britain and Ireland to Africa and Australia. The migration flows also include involuntary (forced) migration caused by Europeans, including (4) enslaved Africans from Africa to the Americas; and (5) indentured laborers from South Asia to eastern Africa, Southeast Asia, and Caribbean America.

Among the greatest human migrations in recent centuries has been the flow from Europe to the Americas (arrows 1 and 2 in Fig. 3.6). Before the 1830s, 2.75 million Europeans migrated overseas. British migrants went to North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (arrow 3 in Fig. 3.6). Spanish and Portuguese migrants settled in South America (arrow 2 in Fig. 3.6). Across the Americas, Africa, and Asia, Europeans, especially colonizers, built up port cities with ethnic neighborhoods. The rate of European migration increased sharply between 1835 and 1935, with perhaps as many as 75 million departing for colonies in Africa and Asia and for economic opportunities in the Americas. Although millions of Europeans eventually returned to their homelands, the net outflow from Europe was enormous, as evidenced by the large number of Canadians and Americans who identify themselves as being of European ancestry.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans rationalized the forced migration of enslaved Africans (arrow

4 in Fig. 3.6) as economically essential to European colonization and plantation agriculture. After the slave trade ended, the British, who colonized South Asia, transported tens of thousands of indentured laborers (also called debt laborers) from present-day India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka to Southeast Asia (especially Malaysia) and to East Africa to labor on plantations and in mines (arrow 5 in Fig. 3.6). Descendants of South Asian migrants in eastern and southern Africa now control a large share of businesses in South Africa, Kenya, and Tanzania.

Chinese migration in the 1800s flowed into North America and Southeast Asia (arrow 6 in Fig. 3.6). In North America, Chinese migrants primarily became indentured laborers (debt laborers) who built railroads and worked in mines in the United States. In Southeast Asia, Chinese migrants settled in major cities, especially ports, and became business leaders and owners. After several generations of having been born in Southeast Asia, people of Chinese descent in Southeast Asia are still called Overseas Chinese (see section "Overseas Chinese"). The seventh arrow in Figure 3.6 is for internal migration from the east coast to the interior with the westward expansion of the United States as well as forced migration of Native Americans (see also Fig. 3.10). Finally, the eastward migration of Russians into Central Asia and Siberia (arrow 8 in Fig. 3.6) dates to tsarist policies to move Russians into the outer parts of the empire in the 1800s and Soviet policies to forcibly move political opposition to Siberia.



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FIGURE 3.6 Major Routes of Human Migration Between 1500 and 1950. 1. Migration of Europeans to North America. 2. Migration of southern Europeans to South and Central America. 3. Migration of British and Irish to Africa and Australia. 4. Forced migration of enslaved Africans to the Americas. 5. Migration of South Asians to other British colonies as indentured servants and to serve administrative roles. 6. Migration of Chinese to Southeast Asia and the Americas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. 7. Westward migration and forced migration of Native Americans in the United States. 8. Forced migration of Russians and eastern Europeans into Siberia and Central Asia.

Remittances The biggest incentives for international migration are safety and economic opportunities. Migrants fleeing violence and persecution to find safety are **refugees** and typically come from lower income countries and migrate to neighboring lower income countries. Non-refugee migrants who come from lower income regions and countries searching for better economic opportunities in the semiperiphery and core often do so in hopes of earning enough to send money back to their families in their home countries. These funds are called **remittances**. Migrants (refugees and non-refugees) sent \$574 billion to family and friends in their home countries from all around the world in 2017, which is about twice the amount of remittances migrants sent in 2006. In the same year, migrants living in the United States sent \$148 billion in remittances to home countries, including \$30 billion to Mexico, \$16 billion to China, and \$11.7 billion to India (**Fig. 3.7**). American migrants living in other countries also send remittances back to the United States. In 2017, families and friends in the United States received \$6.6 billion in remittances from abroad.

Remittances sent back to a lower income country can account for a significant amount of that country's economy. For example, Haitians living in the United States sent \$1.4 billion in remittances back to Haiti, the country with the lowest

gross domestic product (GDP) in the Americas. Haitians living in the United Kingdom, Canada, and other countries also send remittances home. Remittances received in Haiti account for 32.37 percent of the country's GDP. An estimated one in five Haitian families receive remittances from abroad.

The downturn in the U.S. economy after 2008 generated a new flow of money called **reverse remittances**: money flowing from other countries to the United States. Of the \$6.5 billion in reverse remittances received in the United States in 2016, 26 percent (\$1.75 billion) came from Mexico.

Guest Workers Migrants, both internationally and internally, are attracted to growing economies where jobs are available. After World War II, European countries recognized that they had a shortage of labor because of the massive military and civilian deaths during the war. Between the loss of 18 million people and extensive bombing, Europeans needed to find funds and people to rebuild their cities and their economies.

The United States invested in rebuilding Europe through a post-World War II initiative called the Marshall Plan. To find labor to work in farms and factories, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom looked first to workers from lower income countries in Europe. In need of still more workers,

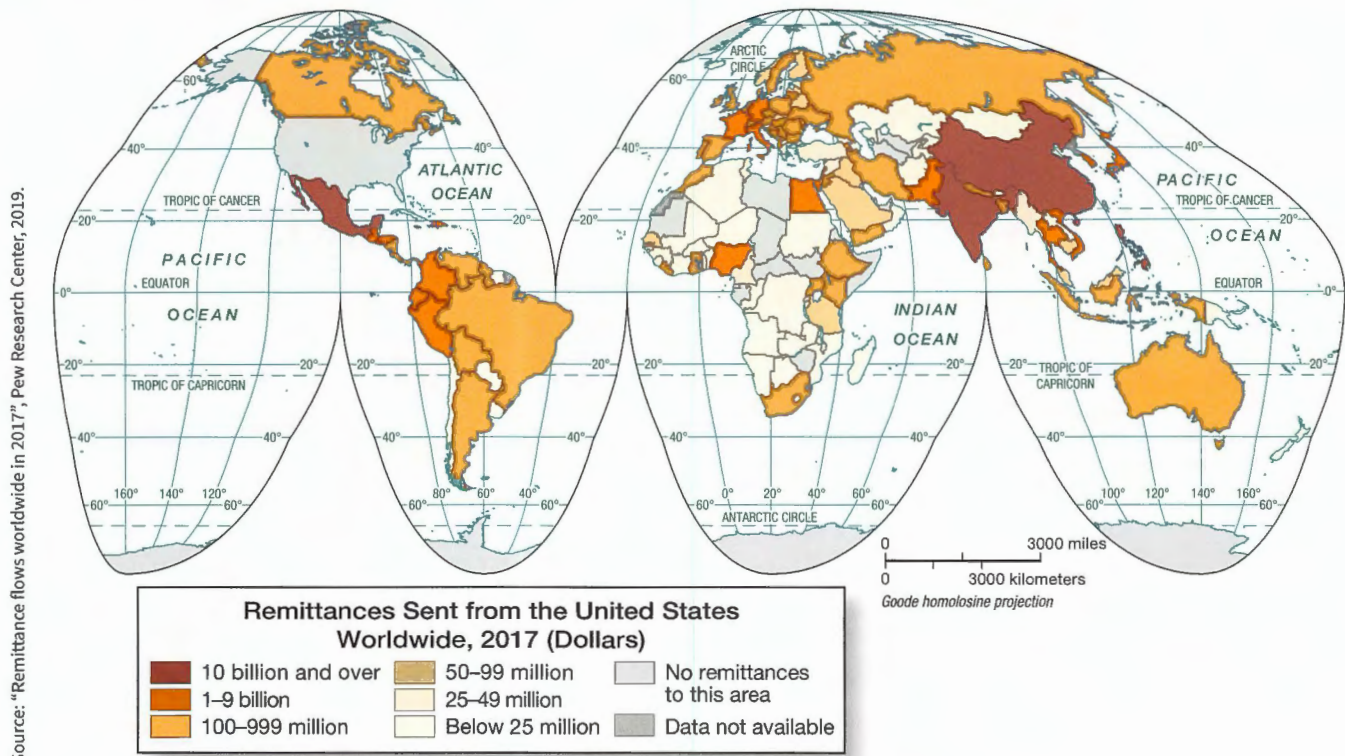


FIGURE 3.7 Remittances Sent from the United States Worldwide in 2017. After Mexico, China, and India, most remittances from workers in the United States were sent to the Philippines (\$11 billion), Vietnam (\$7.7 billion), Guatemala (\$7.2 billion), and Nigeria (\$6.1 billion).

Europe then looked outside the region and invited guest workers from North Africa (to France and the Netherlands), Turkey (to Germany), and former colonies of Great Britain in the Caribbean, India, and Pakistan (to the United Kingdom).

European governments called the labor migrants **guest workers**, migrants who were invited into a country to work temporarily, were granted work visa status, and were expected to return to their home country at the end of the visa. The laws allowing guest workers in Europe assumed that the workers would fill the void left by those who died during World War II, and then they would return to their home countries. Instead, most guest workers stayed, both because they wanted to and because they were needed. Three to four generations of Turks have been born in Germany since World War II, making them far more than guests. In 2005 the German government, which had for decades defined German citizens as those of German descent, changed the law so that Turks could become citizens of the country.

Guest workers often work in agriculture or service industries, including hotels, restaurants, and tourist attractions. Countries invite guest workers when labor is in short supply. The economy may be booming, and more labor may be needed. For example, Germany continues to invite guest workers because its economy is the fastest growing in Europe. A country may also have a small labor supply for cultural reasons; for example, only 56.4 percent of Saudi Arabia's population is in the workforce. Finally, a country may have a low total fertility rate (TFR) and not enough citizens in the working-age population. For example, Japan's TFR

of 1.43 and a declining population led the government in 2018 to commit to inviting 500,000 guest workers into Japan by 2025, mainly to work in manufacturing and construction.

Despite the legal status of guest workers and the work of governments and international organizations to protect them, employers may abuse guest workers who are unaware of their rights. Long hours and low pay are common, but guest workers continue to work because the money is better than they would ordinarily receive and because they are supporting families at home.

In many instances, the economies of the home countries come to rely on remittances, and the home governments may work with destination countries and with international labor organizations to protect the rights of their citizens abroad. Governments of home countries can pull their guest workers out of countries and or stop the legal migration flow when conditions in the destination region become dangerous. For example, around 1 million Indonesians, mostly women, work as domestic servants in Southwest Asia and North Africa (the Middle East). Indonesian women are often abused physically and sexually in the homes where they work, and the laborers have little recourse in the country where they work. Saudi Arabia has executed several Indonesian domestic workers who killed their Saudi abusers. In 2015, Indonesia banned their citizens from migrating to 21 countries in the region. Despite the ban, recruiters still operate in Indonesia, especially in rural areas, and Indonesian women who are unaware of the ban or motivated by economic opportunity continue to migrate to the 21 banned countries.

Sending governments can attempt to stop guest worker flows, but receiving governments can increase the number of guest worker visas they grant or extend guest worker visas if demand for labor remains. Whether short or long term, guest workers make an imprint on the cultural landscapes of the communities and neighborhoods where they live. They open restaurants and retail shops, build mosques and churches, create demand for new ethnic foods in grocery stores, require certain beauty products and shops, and establish businesses such as wire transfer services and travel agencies for support.

Islands of Development Cities in lower income countries are typically where most foreign investment goes, where the vast majority of paying jobs are located, and where infrastructure is concentrated. Migrants are drawn to port cities in

lower-income countries because investments and job prospects are concentrated in port cities. Geographers describe cities in developing countries where foreign and domestic investment and job prospects are concentrated as **islands of development**. The term conveys a place where infrastructure, housing, jobs, and businesses thrive in the middle of a more rural and less developed countryside. Migrants from rural areas and neighboring countries are pulled toward these cities to find work. Commodities produced in islands of development are typically exported.

Figure 3.8 maps islands of development in Africa. Within the region of West Africa, the cities in the oil-producing areas of Nigeria are islands of development. In the mid-1970s, people in Togo, Benin, Ghana, and the northern regions of Nigeria, perceiving that economic life was better in coastal Nigeria, were lured to the coast for short-term jobs while the oil economy

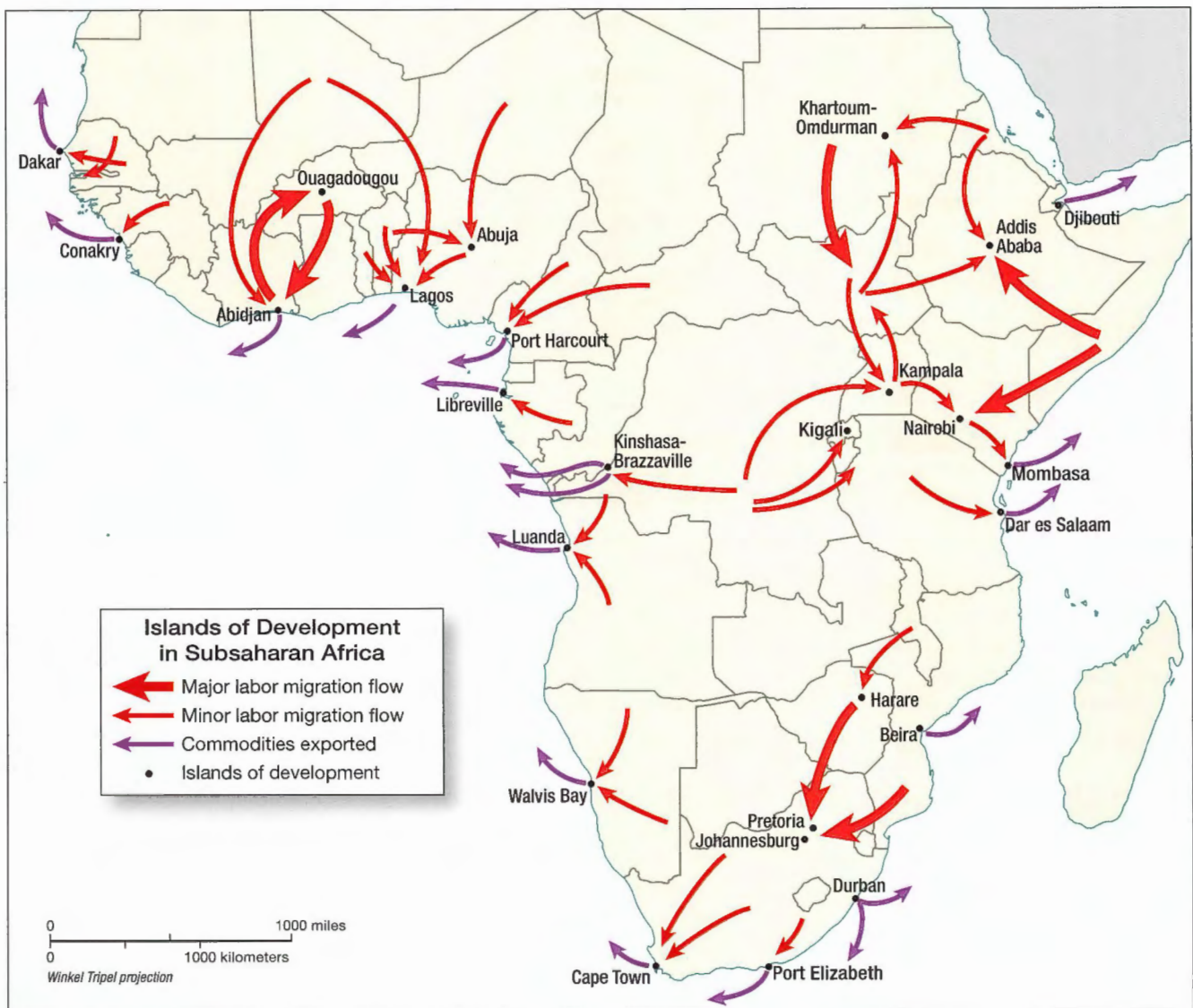


FIGURE 3.8 Islands of Development in sub-Saharan Africa. Major cities in Africa function as islands of development. These cities receive foreign and domestic investment and are a major pull for migrants from rural areas and neighboring countries. Migrants are drawn to the prospect of work in the formal or informal economies of the cities. Port cities and heavily populated interior cities are the major islands of development in Africa.

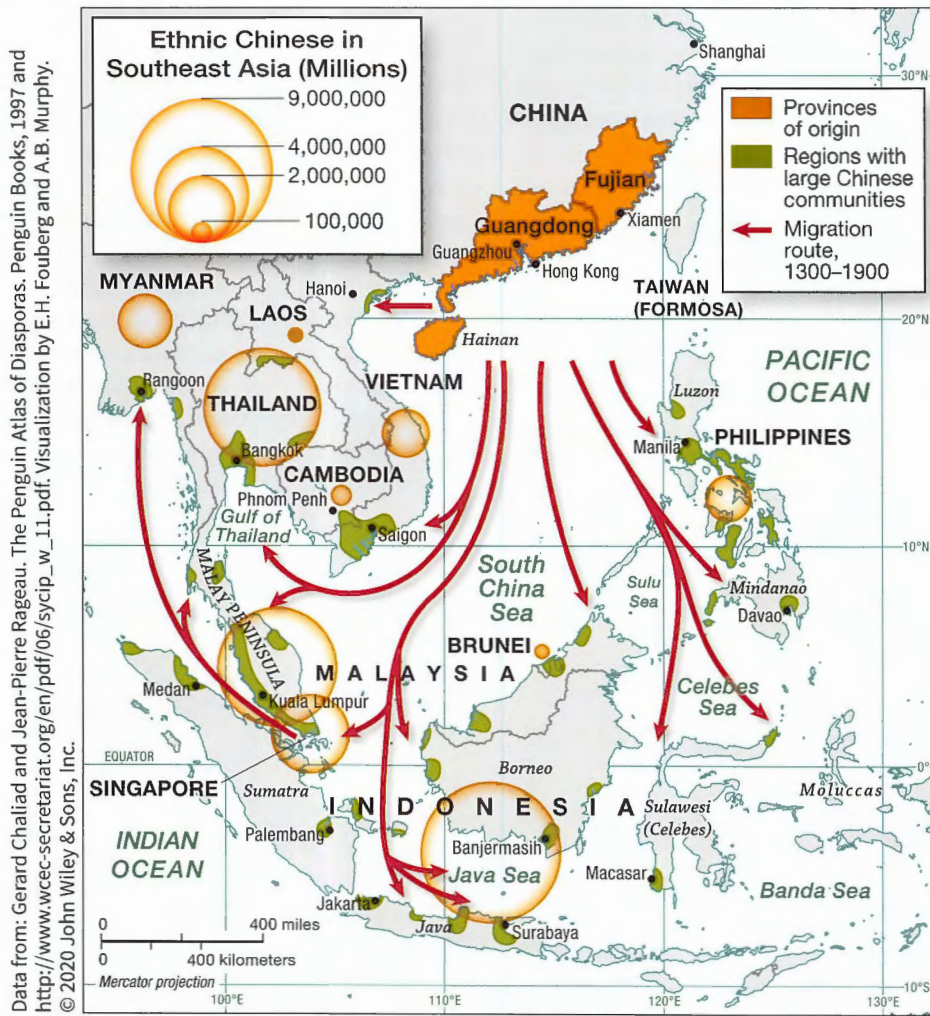


FIGURE 3.9 Chinese in Southeast Asia. Most Chinese who live in Southeast Asia are descendants of Chinese who migrated from southeastern China in the 1800s. Chinese migrated primarily to port cities and along coastlines.

was good. The migrants, usually young men, worked as much as they could and sent almost all the money they earned home as remittances to support their families. They worked until the oil economy declined in the early 1980s. At that point, the Nigerian government decided the foreign workers were no longer needed, and 2 million foreign workers were forcibly pushed out.

Overseas Chinese European colonialism also had an impact on regional migration flows in Southeast Asia. Europe's colonial occupation of Southeast Asia presented economic opportunities for the Chinese. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, millions of Chinese laborers fled famine and political strife in southern China to work as contract laborers in Southeast Asia (**Fig. 3.9**). Many remained, and today their descendants constitute a Chinese minority in Southeast Asian countries that accounts for a substantial part of the population: 14 percent in Thailand, 23 percent in Malaysia, and 74 percent in Singapore.

Over time, Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia became leaders in trade, commerce, and finance in the region, taking an economic position much like that of South Asians in eastern and

southern Africa. Overseas Chinese heavily invest in Hong Kong and in growth industries in mainland China. The difference in wealth between Overseas Chinese and locals from the majority population can cause political and economic problems. In May 2014, tensions erupted into violent protests after China announced plans to build an oil rig in an area in the South China Sea that is also claimed by Vietnam. Rioters attacked Overseas Chinese settlements, where 21 died, and set fire to Chinese businesses (many of which were owned by Taiwanese migrants).

Internal Migration Countries also experience **internal migration** when migrants stay in the same country but move to a different part of the country. Internal migration can be a rapid response, such as the flow of 250,000 residents of New Orleans to Houston, Texas, after Hurricane Katrina flooded 80 percent of New Orleans in 2005, or a slow shift over a country's history. The United States began with 13 colonies along the east coast and expanded west over time, taking over Indian lands, entering treaties with other countries, and eventually adding Alaska and Hawaii in 1947. As the United States expanded

Data from: United States Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract, 2011. Visualization by E. H. Foubert and A. B. Murphy. © 2020 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

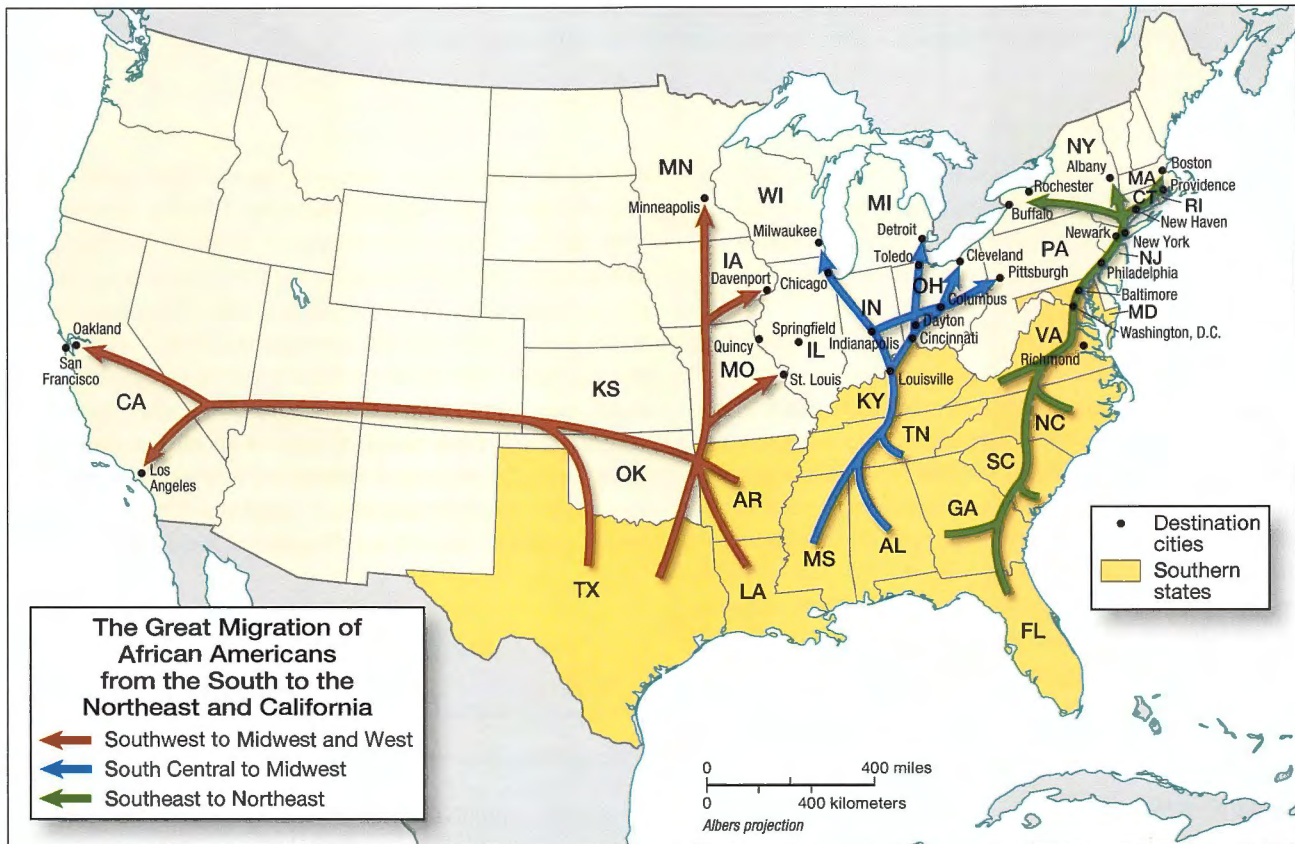


FIGURE 3.10 Changing Center of Population. The center of population in the United States has moved west and south, reflecting an internal migration westward and southward in the time period of the map. The center of population shows the average population distribution. If every person and where he or she lives are weighted the same way, the center of population is the fulcrum, the balance point of all the people.

The Great Migration The Great Migration, from about 1900 to 1970, marks a significant period of internal migration in the United States. After the Civil War, Southern states passed racist Jim Crow laws, segregating blacks and whites in schools, hospitals, public spaces, public transportation, and even cemeteries. Even though the Fourteenth Amendment extended voting rights to African Americans, governments in the South refused to allow African Americans to vote. At the same time civil and political opportunities were restricted, economic opportunities for African Americans in the South declined. The widespread use of mechanical cotton pickers in the 1940s meant fewer jobs in agriculture.

west, so did the center of population. **Figure 3.10** shows how the center of population in the United States has changed since the 1790s, reflecting the internal migration west and south that followed the expansion of the country.

In response to these conditions and the growth of manufacturing in the Northeast and Midwest, between 5 and 8 million African Americans left the South for opportunities in the north and west (**Fig. 3.11**). The car industry in Detroit, manufacturing, textile, and meat processing in Chicago,



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FIGURE 3.11 The Great Migration of African Americans from the South to the Northeast and California. Between 1900 and 1970, African American migrants followed three migration paths into cities in the Northeast and in California. The three clear paths are a great example of chain migration. Migrants who found work in the north or California sent word of economic opportunity to family and friends in the South, who in turn followed the same path of migration.



Luke Sharrett/Bloomberg/Getty Images

FIGURE 3.12 Youngstown, Ohio. This industrial zone in Youngstown, Ohio used to be a bustling place. The city recently closed 4 miles of streets where homes of people who once worked in this industrial zone have been abandoned. The closed neighborhood once had a streetcar line that ran from the homes to the industrial zones. The mayor stated that closing the streets was a recognition that the city's population is shrinking and a way to reduce street maintenance costs for the city.

steel production in Pittsburgh, and agriculture in California boomed in the early 1900s. The promise of good jobs, like making \$5 a day at the Ford factory in Detroit, and relative freedom from oppressive laws pulled African Americans north and west.

Rust Belt to Sun Belt Job opportunities are a major motivation for voluntary migration. When the economy shifts and a region loses jobs, people migrate to growing regions of the country. In 1948, 131,700 people worked in coal mining in West Virginia, and in 2018, fewer than 18,000 West Virginians worked in coal mining. Manufacturing jobs declined in the United States from 19 million in 1980 to between 12 and 13 million today.

The location of manufacturing jobs shifted, too. In 1980, 41 percent of people in the Midwest (Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin) were employed in manufacturing, and in 2015, only 13.1 percent of Midwesterners worked in manufacturing. What was once a booming industrial and coal-mining region rusted out as companies abandoned factories (**Fig. 3.12**). Americans started to call the Midwest and Northeast the **Rust Belt**, defining it as a region that once had a vibrant manufacturing sector but is now deindustrialized (see **Fig. 12.23**).

People move from areas in economic decline to areas that are growing. Manufacturing jobs in the United States shifted south to states with low union rates, employees who

did not demand higher wages, climates that were warmer and air-conditioned year-round, and states with low tax rates for businesses. The decline of the Rust Belt happened at the same time as the growth of the **Sun Belt**, a region of economic growth with an expanding technology-based service sector and a stable manufacturing sector that stretches along the southern United States from Virginia to California. The widespread use of air conditioning to cool homes, businesses, schools, and factories made it possible for the Sun Belt to grow since the 1970s. **Figure 3.13** shows population change by state since 1990, confirming the slow growth of the Midwest and rapid rise of the Sun Belt and the West in the U.S. economy.

TC Thinking Geographically

Study the picture of Little Havana in Miami (**Fig. 3.4**) and read the caption again. Now, examine **Figure 3.9**. Imagine how **migration** of Chinese to Southeast Asia changes the **cultural landscapes** of the **region**. Focus on Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and hypothesize whether the city has a Chinatown and how it has changed over time as Overseas Chinese have gained economic power in the region.

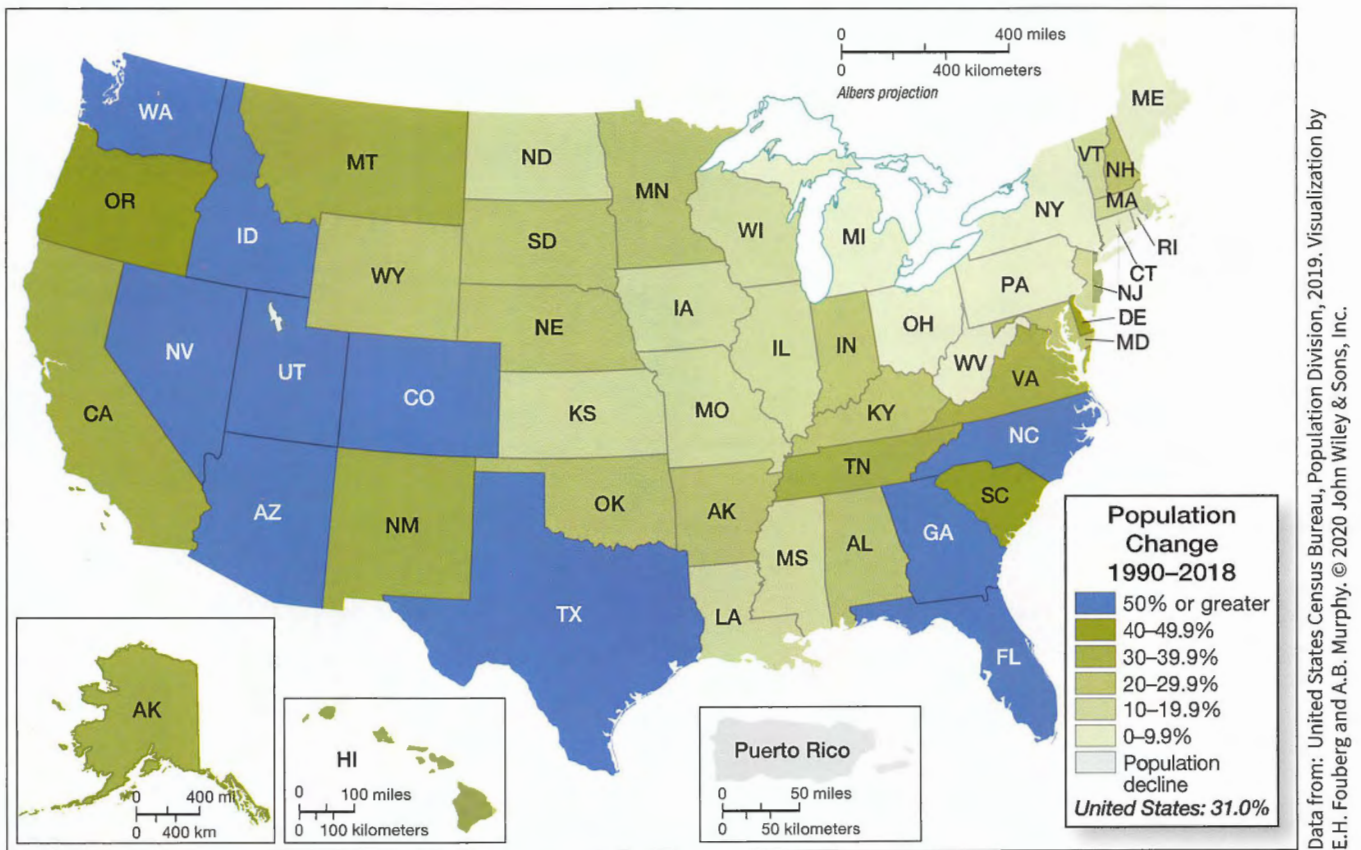


FIGURE 3.13 Population Change 1990–2018 by State and Puerto Rico. States with growing economies experienced the highest population growth. Midwestern and Northeastern states along the Great Lakes, grew at a much slower rate, as the manufacturing sector continued to decline in the region. States in the Sunbelt, especially North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Texas, and states in the West grew fastest.

3.2 Explain Historic and Modern Forced Migration.

Migration can be voluntary, a conscious decision to move from your home to a new destination, or it can be forced, a movement imposed on a group of people. The distinction between forced and voluntary migration is not always clear-cut. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, millions of Europeans migrated to the United States, and this European migration is typically cited as a prime example of voluntary migration. However, some European migration can be seen as forced. When Great Britain colonized Ireland, it took nearly all Irish Catholic lands and enacted Penal Laws to try to stop Catholics from practicing their religion. The Penal Laws fined and imprisoned Catholics who participated in Mass and rendered more severe punishments, including execution, on Catholic priests who performed the Mass or other sacraments. Until 1829, the British enforced laws preventing Irish Catholics from buying land, voting, or carrying weapons. The British treatment of the Irish during their colonial rule was political persecution. Moreover, British

persecution of the Irish led to widespread famine in the 1840s and 1850s. As a result, Irish migration can be seen as forced.

At the scale of an individual region or country, we can question whether a decision to migrate is forced or voluntary. The neutral title *migrant* hides how complex decision making is and the agency, or decision-making ability, the migrant has within the family, where power is divided by gender and age. Studies of gender and migration find that, as a group, men are more mobile than women and migrate farther than women. Men have more choices of employment than women, and women earn less than men in the jobs they find. One study of migration in Mexican households found that strongly patriarchal households tend to shield young women from migrating, sending young men to migrate for work. Mexican households without a strong patriarchy more commonly send young, unmarried women to the city or another country to gain employment.

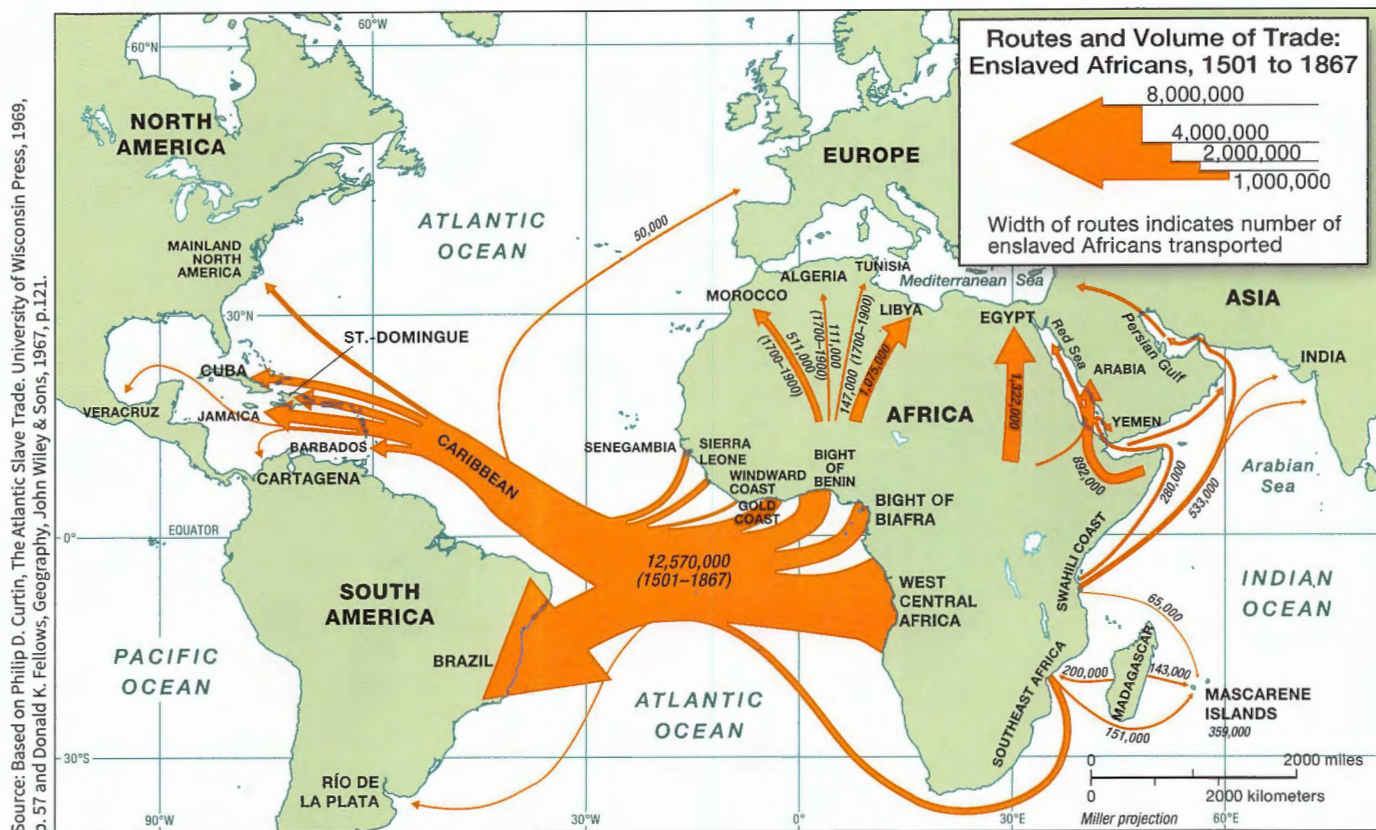


FIGURE 3.14 The Atlantic Slave Trade. The majority of enslaved Africans who were forcibly migrated from Africa to the Americas in the 1700s went to the Caribbean, where Europeans were intensively growing sugar on plantations. For every enslaved African forcibly migrated to the United States, eight or more were brought to the Caribbean and Central and South America.

Ultimately, the decision or directive to migrate happens to an individual migrant within a household, place, country, region, and world, each of which has its own dynamics. The key difference between voluntary and forced migration, however, is that voluntary migrants have an option—at the very least, where to go or what to do once there; forced migrants do not.

Historic Forced Migration

The history of global migration is filled with stories of people choosing to leave home for the hope of a better life somewhere else. Stories like these are told of voluntary migration. In forced migration, people have no choice. Forced migrants do not weigh push and pull factors. They do not have a say in whether they leave or where they go. Forced migration changes both the place the migrants leave and their destination. The absence of the migrants is felt in the home country, and their presence becomes part of the fabric of the place where they land.

The Atlantic Slave Trade The Atlantic slave trade from 1503 to 1867 was a devastating period of forced migration. During this period, Europeans enslaved and forcibly migrated approximately 12 million Africans across the Atlantic to South

America, the Caribbean, and North America.¹ The slave trade created an African **diaspora**, or dispersal, of Africans through forced migration. **Figure 3.14** maps the destination countries of enslaved Africans who survived the Middle Passage, the treacherous voyage across the Atlantic in slave ships, during which an estimated 20 percent (more than 2 million people) died on board.

Slavery plays such a central role in U.S. history that many American students assume that most enslaved Africans were taken to the southeastern United States. However, as **Figure 3.14** shows, most enslaved Africans were forced across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and Brazil. Descendants of enslaved Africans constitute the majority population of several Caribbean countries today, including more than 90 percent of the population in Saint Kitts and Nevis, Haiti, Jamaica, the Bahamas, Barbados, Turks and Caicos, and Antigua and Barbuda.

Money was the motivation for the Atlantic slave trade. Before the trade evolved, Europeans bought sugar produced in North Africa on the Mediterranean Sea. But after Europeans experimented with plantation agriculture in the Caribbean,

¹Europeans also operated a slave trade on the east coast of Africa, where they enslaved and forcibly migrated between 9.4 and 14 million Africans to the region in and around the Arabian Peninsula.

they realized they could outcompete Mediterranean sugar by producing as much sugar more cheaply using slave labor on plantations.

The profits from sugar production in the Caribbean and Brazil were astronomical. Brazil was the first sugar colony in the region. By 1600, the annual profit from sugar production in Brazil was 2 million pounds sterling (Blaut, 1989). In 1627, Great Britain established its first sugar colony in Barbados with the help of Dutch sugar producers from Brazil (Fig. 3.15). British plantation owners deforested the entire island of Barbados to plant sugarcane. Between 1627 and 1807, 387,000 enslaved Africans were taken to Barbados alone, primarily to labor in sugar production.

Sugarcane production diffused from Barbados to the neighboring island Antigua in 1674. British plantation owners drove out indigenous farmers who were also susceptible to European diseases. British brought enslaved Africans to their colony to labor on sugarcane plantations and in sugarcane processing. Sugarcane processing was grueling. Antigua had 150 windmills in the middle of the 18th century. Each powered a mill. Enslaved Africans cut sugarcane and fed it into the mill, where they ran the canes back and forth in rollers to be crushed. Juice flowed into pipes that ran to a boiler tank, where it was heated and stirred. The work was dangerous and time was tight, because the sugarcane had to be processed before it went bad. Colonizers forced enslaved Africans to work in 12-hour shifts, 24 hours a day during processing.

The growing demand for sugar, which was used both as a sweetener and to distill rum, drove the slave trade. As sugar production in the Caribbean rose, so too did the number of Africans who were enslaved and taken to the Americas. Spain, Denmark, France, and the Netherlands colonized islands in the Caribbean, established sugar plantations, and purchased enslaved Africans to labor on the sugarcane fields.

Slavery also extended beyond sugar plantations in the Caribbean. The Portuguese used enslaved Africans for labor on coffee and banana plantations in Brazil, and the British used enslaved Africans for labor on cotton and tobacco plantations in what became the United States.

The Atlantic slave trade seriously impacted both Africa and the Americas. Enslaved Africans used their indigenous knowledge of agriculture to successfully cultivate crops in the Americas, including rice production in the Yazoo River delta in the American South. Slave labor brought millions of pounds of gold and wealth into Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and this wealth helped Europe start the Industrial Revolution. While Europe accumulated wealth, Africa lost millions of people and pounds of gold.

African civilizations also lost the contributions enslaved Africans would have made to societies and economies at home. Thus slavery established an unequal power relationship between Africa and Europe that continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when Europe colonized Africa. Slavery also made racism an entrenched part of the unequal power relationships in the Americas and Europe.

The Forced Removal of American Indians The Trail of Tears is the most well-known forcible migration of Native Americans from their lands. Between 1838 and 1839, the U.S. government marched Cherokees from the American South to Indian Territory (what became Oklahoma). Tens of thousands of Cherokees died in the forced removal from their lands. But the Trail of Tears is not the only case of the U.S. government removing Native Americans. From 1864 to 1866, the U.S. government removed Navajos from their homeland in a series of 53 forced marches called the Long Walk of the Navajo. The marches took Navajos from their homeland in what is now eastern Arizona across present-day New Mexico and held approximately 10,000 Navajos captive in an internment camp for four years. Navajos demanded to be returned to their homeland, and eventually the U.S. government entered a treaty to establish the Navajo reservation in 1868.

Beginning in the 1870s, the U.S. government also forcibly removed Native American children from their homes as part of the country's **assimilation** policy. Richard Pratt founded the first Native boarding school and operated under the philosophy "Kill



William Clark/British Library

FIGURE 3.15 Antigua. Enslaved Africans cut sugarcane along the coast of Antigua while a British colonialist sits on horseback. This is one of 10 images showing the steps in sugarcane production, painted by British artist William Clark in Antigua in 1823. The artists painted the images to show productivity and positive working conditions for enslaved Africans. The reality for enslaved Africans was much more negative than this image displays. See: <https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/minecraft/index.php/slaves-work-on-sugar-plantations/> for discussion.

the Indian in him and save the man.” Government school employees were emboldened to bathe Native children in kerosene to try to lighten their skin color, to forcibly cut their hair, to change their names, and to punish them for speaking their language. Schools were rife with abuse. Teachers and staff physically, mentally, and sexually intimidated, threatened, and abused American Indian children. Being taken from home, abused in schools, and “civilized” into behaving “like the white man” left generations of trauma in Native American tribes. The U.S. government maintained the practice of removing Native children from their homes and placing them in boarding schools until Congress passed the Indian Child Welfare Act in 1978.

Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking

Sex trafficking of children and adults, forced labor, bonded or debt bondage labor, involuntary domestic servitude, forced child labor, and the recruitment of child soldiers all fall under the broad umbrella of modern slavery. The International Labour Organization (ILO) describes *modern slavery* as an umbrella term that essentially “refers to situations of exploitation that a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence, coercion, deception, and/or abuse of power.” Modern forms of slavery affect 40.3 million people worldwide, with 24.9 million people in forced labor in private sectors, 4.8 million in forced sexual exploitation, and another 4 million in forced labor under governments such as China and North Korea, according to the ILO. Each form of modern slavery often involves **human trafficking**, the recruitment of people by force, coercion, deception, or abduction with the aim of controlling and exploiting the person for labor or sexual exploitation.

Forced Labor in Private Industry Forced labor is common in the hotel industry in the United States and Europe. Recruiters charge would-be migrants fees that average \$6150 to get a legal, temporary visa to work in a hotel in the United States. This H-2B visa is tied to a specific employer. The migrant with the H-2B visa is in debt to the recruiter already and, once in the United States, is at the mercy of the hotel owner listed on the visa. This level of control makes it easy to exploit and abuse migrant workers. Hotel owners can pay low wages, ignore safety protocols, and require extra hours of work, even push workers into sexual exploitation. Migrants have no agency that can change their situation when their visa is tied to a specific job, the hotel owner controls their papers, and they are in debt to a recruiter.

Hotel worker exploitation is not only an urban issue. In 2008, the owners of a Comfort Inn Suites on the east-west interstate in South Dakota were convicted of peonage, or “involuntary servitude imposed to extract repayment of an indebtedness.” The court found that the husband and wife owners enslaved four Philippine workers to clean and work at their hotel, controlling “every aspect of the victims’ lives, including what they ate, where they lived, and the hours they worked.” The owners forced the migrants to work up to 18 hours

a day at their hotel and at fast-food restaurants. They issued the migrants paychecks, made them endorse the paychecks, and then cashed them and kept the funds for themselves.

Forced Labor by Government Governments, including North Korea and China, sponsor forced labor within their countries and across borders. A government may intend to control a segment of the population, such as with China’s forced labor of Muslims in the southwest, or may intend to provide labor in a country under a dictator, such as forced labor in North Korean gulags. A cash-strapped country like North Korea may export its citizens as forced labor and take a cut of their checks to bring cash into its economy.

The North Korean government sponsors forced labor of its citizens, both inside the country in gulags and in 20 countries outside of North Korea. Kim Jong-Un, dictator of the most repressive country in the world, denies that his North Korean government sponsors state-forced labor in gulags. But satellite images and defector accounts confirm that the North Korean government sponsors forced labor in four huge **gulags**, or prison labor camps, where up to 130,000 North Koreans suffer. North Koreans are sentenced to gulags for speaking out against the government or having a family member speak against the government. The International Bar Association reported in 2017 that citizens are sentenced either to “total control zones” in gulags, where they are to labor until they die, or to “revolutionizing zones” in gulags, where they are reeducated to support the government and have a chance of being released. The report states, “In actuality, many prisoners in revolutionizing zones perish as a result of overwork, starvation, torture, or disease. Some are simply executed outright” (2017).

In a globalized world, any policy can have unintended consequences, as change in one place causes change in another. The North Korean government has sponsored forced labor of its own citizens abroad since the inception of the country, and one unintended consequence of United Nations and U.S. sanctions against the North Korean government has been an increased number of North Koreans in forced labor abroad. In October 2006, the United Nations passed sanctions on North Korea in response to its first nuclear test, and it has continually increased sanctions for this reason.² Without income from selling its goods abroad, North Korea has used forced labor to generate cash.

In 2017, analysts estimated that the North Korean government had at least 60,000 forced laborers working in 20 different countries. The laborers generated between \$200 million and \$2 billion a year for the government of North Korea. North Koreans labor in the oil and gas fields of Russia, work in the estimated 1200 Korean restaurants the North Korean government owns abroad, and build soccer stadiums in Qatar to prepare for the 2020 World Cup. Recent sanctions sought to crack down on the overseas forced labor market, but what effect they will have on the North Korean government remains to be seen. The situation of North Korean laborers at home and abroad remains dire.

² For a timeline, see Albert 2018: <https://www.cfr.org/background/what-know-about-sanctions-north-korea>.

Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

Human trafficking for sexual exploitation of women and girls accounts for at least 95 percent of victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation globally. The lack of power, agency, or value of women and girls in many countries makes them susceptible to abuse and violence. Accurate numbers of victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation are difficult to verify, but reports of registered victims, those counted by governments through criminal cases or through self-report, are widespread. One report of registered victims in the European Union found that 67 percent of all human trafficking in the EU is for sexual exploitation, and women and girls constituted 95 percent of victims.

Women and children are forced into sexual trafficking through coercion and manipulation. As in forced labor, debt bondage is common in human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Traffickers take women and girls to another country with the promise of jobs, marriage, or citizenship. Once in the new country, females are in debt to traffickers and forced into sexual exploitation to repay the debt. The exploitative relationship has similarities to domestic abuse in that the victims of sexual exploitation may feel either indebted to or afraid of the trafficker or pimp, depending on how they are manipulated. Traffickers may take control of victims' identity papers, making escape nearly impossible.

In 2018, seven members of a sex trafficking gang in the United Kingdom (UK) were sentenced to jail for trafficking at least 13 Romanian women by manipulating the victims to believe they were in a relationship with them or that they had legitimate jobs secured for them in the UK. The perpetrators advertised the victims as “fresh stock” on porn websites and forced the women into prostitution in brothels. A police sergeant from Lancashire explained that the women were treated as commodities and were moved around to different brothel owners. One of the women, who was lured to the UK because she thought she was in a relationship with one of the gang members, kept a diary during her captivity. She wrote, “I thought that the sun will eventually shine in my life but I was wrong and the mist doesn't seem to want to go away. I feel sad and tired, ill and fragile. It's like I'm suffocating” (BBC, 2018).

TC Thinking Geographically

Migration impacts both the people who migrate and the places they go. Because it is illegal, sex trafficking is hidden from view. Reading the quote from a victim at the end of the last paragraph in this section, consider how the **identities** of trafficked women and children are impacted through trafficking.

3.3 Explain the Theories of Migration and Understand the Motivations for Migration.

Why do people choose to migrate? Researchers have been intrigued by this question for more than a century. Studies of voluntary migration flows indicate that the intensity of a migration flow varies based on similarities between the source and the destination, the effectiveness of the flow of information from the destination back to the source, and the physical distance between the source and the destination.

Laws of Migration and the Gravity Model

Over a century ago, British demographer Ernst Ravenstein sought an answer to the question of why people voluntarily migrate. He studied data on internal migration in England and proposed several laws of migration, many of which are still relevant today, including:

1. Every migration flow generates a return or counter migration.
2. Most migrants move a short distance.
3. Migrants who move longer distances tend to choose big-city destinations.
4. Urban residents are less migratory than people in rural areas.
5. Families are less likely to make international moves than young adults.

Ravenstein also believed that the volume of a migration flow was a function of **distance decay**, the idea that the likelihood of a trait or innovation diffusing decreases the farther away in time or distance it moves from its origin (hearth). (**Fig. 3.16**). That is, the number of migrants who go to a destination declines as the distance they must travel increases. Another way of saying it is that more migrants travel short distances and fewer migrants travel longer distances.

Ravenstein's law on volume is an early observation of the **gravity model**, a mathematical prediction of the degree of interaction and probability of migration (and other flows) between two places is based on population size and the distance between them. The gravity model assumes that spatial interaction (such as migration) increases as the size and importance of places become greater and decreases as the distance between them grows. The balance between population size and distance predicts the likelihood of migration. In mathematical terms, the gravity model holds that migration potential can be calculated by multiplying the size of the populations of two places and then dividing the product by the distance between them. That calculation had more meaning in an age before airplane travel and the Internet, when physical distance meant something different from what it means today. But even now more migrants move shorter rather than longer distances, suggesting that the model still has some relevance.

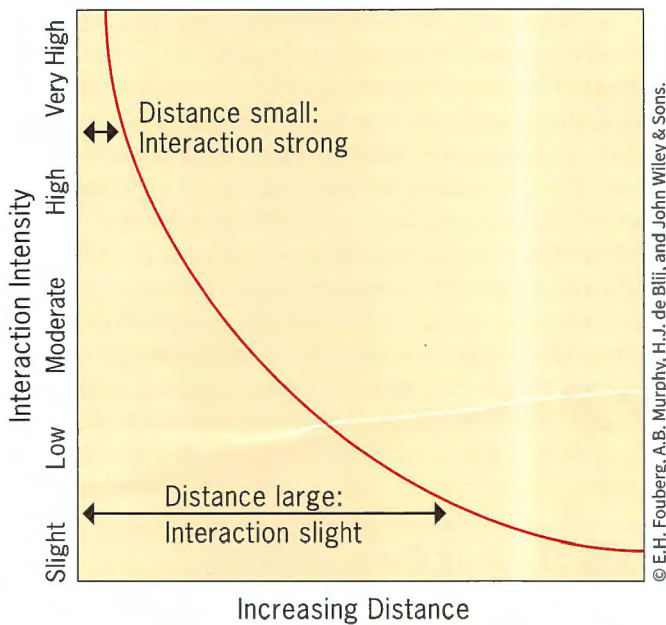


FIGURE 3.16 Distance Decay. The farther from the hearth in time and distance, the less likely a trait or innovation will diffuse. In migration, distance decay means that more migrants will move short distances and fewer migrants will move long distances.

Push and Pull Factors

Although the gravity model gives us a guide to expected migration, migration is not as simple as a mathematical equation. **Push factors** are the conditions and perceptions that help a migrant decide to leave a place. **Pull factors** are what attracts a migrant to a certain destination, the factors that help the migrant decide where to go. A migrant's decision to emigrate from the home country and immigrate to a new country results from a combination of push and pull factors.

Push factors include work or retirement conditions, cost of living, personal safety and security, environmental catastrophes and hazards, or even issues such as weather and climate. Pull factors tend to be more vague and may depend solely on perceptions gathered from things heard and read rather than on experiences in the destination place. Migrants may have unrealistically positive images and expectations regarding their destinations, which create a large pull force and motivation for migration.

Since interaction with faraway places generally decreases as distance increases, prospective migrants are likely to feel much less certain about distant destinations than about nearer ones. This prompts many migrants to move to a place closer to home than they originally planned when an **intervening opportunity** arises: an opportunity near a migrant's current location that greatly diminishes the attractiveness of migrating to a site farther away. According to Ravenstein's laws of migration, a migrant from a family in rural Brazil is likely to move first to a village, then to a nearby town, later to a city, and finally to a metropolis such as São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro. At each stage a new set of pull factors comes into play. The migrant may decide that the prospects at one of the steps in the process create an intervening opportunity

that provides a greater reason to stay than an uncertain pull to the intended destination.

Types of Push and Pull Factors Any single factor can be either a push for migrants to leave their home countries or a pull to destination countries. Migrants weigh their decisions of whether to leave and where to go based on experiences at home and perceptions of their intended destination.

Legal Status Migrants can arrive in a country with or without the legal approval of the host country. Every country decides who can legally enter and under what circumstances. If you apply for and receive a work visa from another country, you are legally allowed to live in the country and work there for the time on the visa, usually a period of months or years. Having a visa makes you an authorized or documented migrant, because you have the formal right to be in the country. If you do not have a visa, you are an **unauthorized** or undocumented migrant in the country. Unauthorized migrants can be those who enter a country legally, as authorized migrants with a visa, and then stay when the visa expires. They can also enter a country without permission by crossing a border without legal approval.

Immigration contributes to population growth in the United States. Foreign-born nationals contribute to the positive net migration in the United States and supplement the U.S. total fertility rate (TFR) of 1.8 (see Chapter 2) to help the country's population continue to grow; they also provide a labor supply and tax base. **Figure 3.17** shows the proportion of population who were foreign born from 1990 to 2017 by county.

Of the estimated 43.7 million migrants in the United States today, 10.7 million are unauthorized, which is the lowest amount since the prerecession spike of 12.2 million. Among all migrants in the United States, authorized and unauthorized, migrants from Mexico are 26 percent, and migrants from South Asia and East Asia are 27 percent. Two-thirds of the unauthorized adult migrants (7 million) have lived in the United States for more than 10 years.

The United States recognizes where migrant labor is needed in the economy and has policies allowing, indeed encouraging, legal, authorized migrants to work under temporary visas to fill various needs, whether as medical doctors, computer engineers, construction workers, or hotel cleaners and restaurant waitstaff (**Fig. 3.18**). Authorized migrants working in the United States and Canada also have temporary visas to fill seasonal jobs in agriculture and forestry. In the United States, over 45,000 agricultural workers enter the country with documents that allow unskilled laborers in economic sectors with domestic labor shortages. Canada has recruited temporary agricultural workers under a similar program since 1966. In both the United States and Canada, agricultural workers come mainly from Mexico and Central America.

The United States has earmarked significant sums for building fences along its border with Mexico, hiring additional border patrol agents and installing new technology to intercept unauthorized migrants. As a result, the cultural landscape of the border region is changing. The government is erecting specially designed fences that are difficult to climb, though

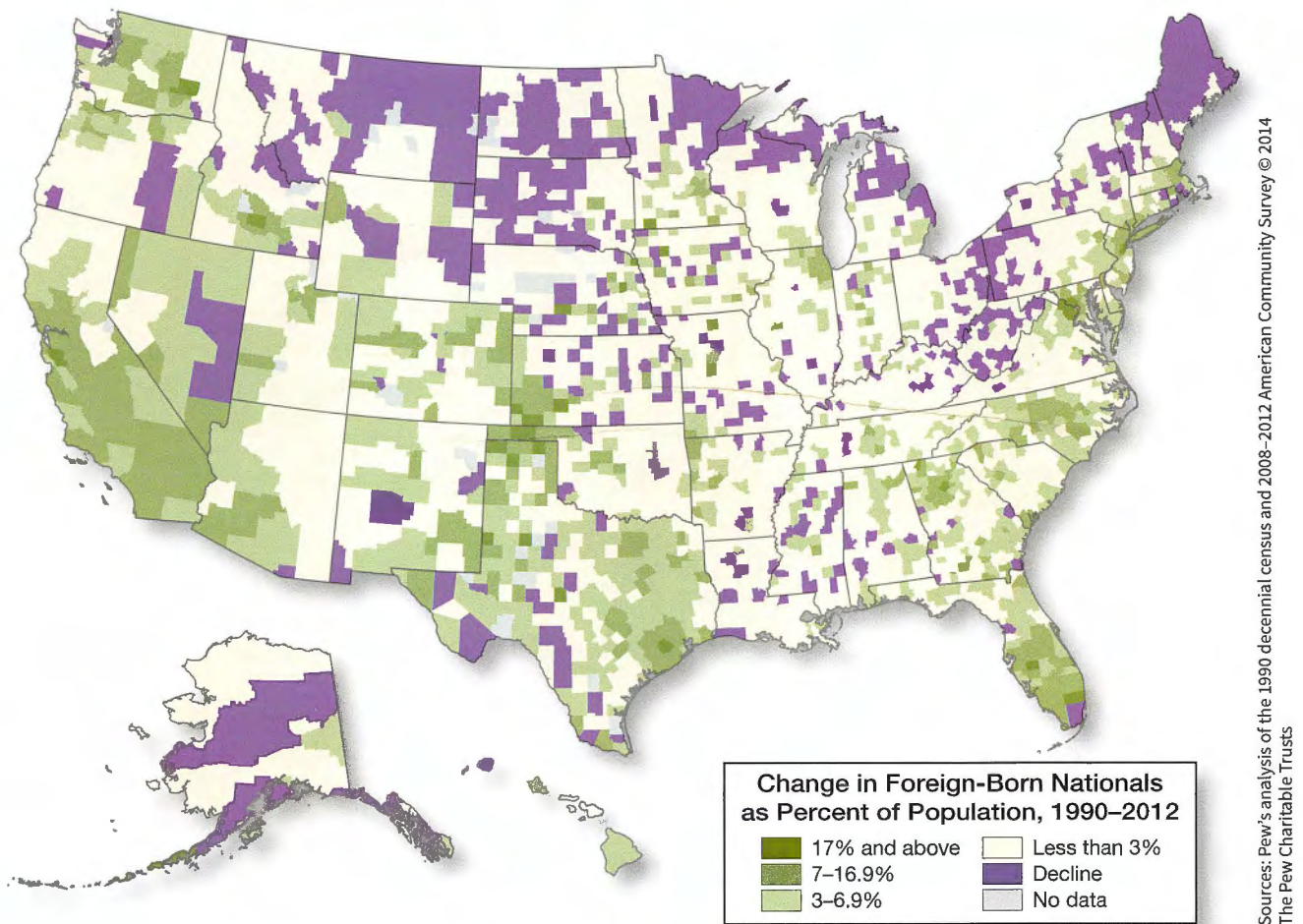


FIGURE 3.17 Change in Foreign-Born Nationals as Percent of Population 1990–2012. Data from the U.S. Census shows the percent of people by county who were born in another country (foreign-born is the term the Census uses). A cluster of counties in the north, from Idaho east to Maine, have seen declines in the proportion of the population that was born in another country. Counties along the coasts have seen the greatest increase in the proportion of the population who are foreign-born.

there are openings in the fences where people across the border can speak with one another. The new fences and security south of San Diego, California, are pushing those seeking to cross the border without documentation farther east into the desert. Unauthorized migrants also employ **coyotes**, who smuggle people across the border for a sizable fee. Fences there are marked by empty water bottles and memorials to Mexicans who have died trying to cross the border (**Fig. 3.19**).

Even though globalization has promoted a freer flow of goods across the world, the free flow of people is far from realized. The flow of unauthorized migrants has slowed in recent years, but that may well have more to do with changing economic circumstances than with walls and fences. Unauthorized immigrants go to great lengths to find their way into the United States; similarly, the U.S. government goes to great lengths to deter an influx of unauthorized migrants.

Gender, Ethnicity, and Race Opportunities for jobs and personal safety in a destination country depend on gender,

ethnicity, and race. Hiring for positions based on gender, race, or ethnicity makes power relationships visible and reinforces stereotypes or the roles that members of each group are expected to play.

Women with high economic status often hire female domestic helpers from a different ethnic group to differentiate themselves from those who work for them. A woman's ethnicity thus becomes a visible signal of who is in power in the home and region. In their study of placement agencies that help people hire domestic workers, Stiehl and England found that placement agencies in Toronto, Canada, used scripted stereotypes to describe women of different ethnicities. For instance, agencies at first described migrant workers from the Caribbean as “docile, jolly and good with children,” and later depicted the same group as “difficult, aggressive and selfish.” Placement agencies portrayed women from the Philippines as “naturally docile, subservient, hardworking, good natured, domesticated, and willing to endure long hours of housework and child-care with little complaint.”

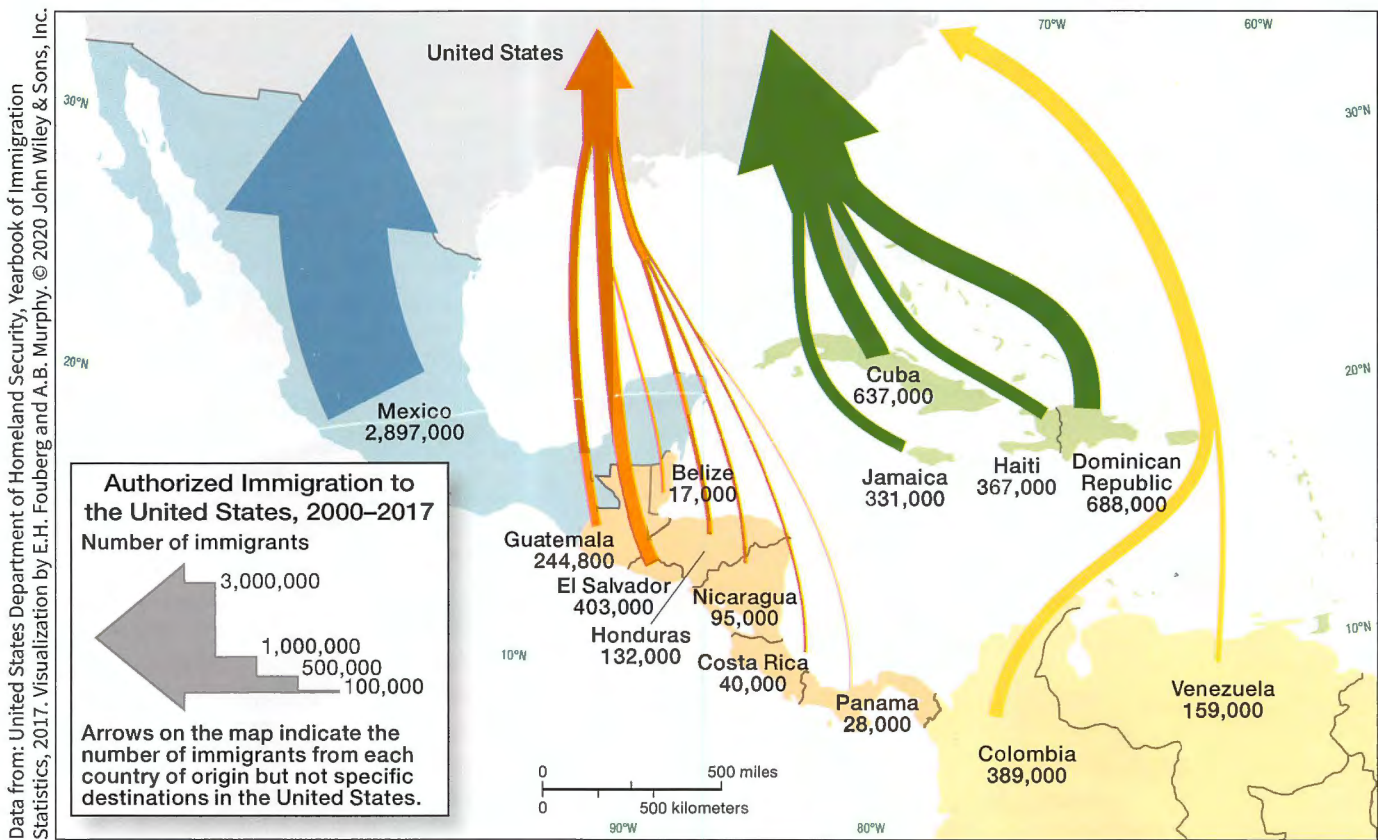


FIGURE 3.18 Authorized Immigration from Central and South America to the United States.

This map shows the total number of authorized immigrants to the United States from Mexico and countries in Central and South America and the Caribbean between 2000 and 2017. Arrows show the number of migrants from each country but not their specific destinations.



AP Images/DAVID MAUNG

FIGURE 3.19 Tijuana, Mexico Tijuana and San Diego, California, are separated by a highly guarded border infrastructure that in this section includes two walls to discourage crossing by those who do not have visas. Human rights activists placed crosses on the wall to memorialize people who died while attempting to cross into the United States.

Environmental Conditions Environmental crises also stimulate migrations, including earthquakes, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, floods, fires, and climate change. Migration flows generated by environmental crises can be temporary, as many migrants return home after the crisis improves.

The devastation from Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 2005 was amplified by human changes to the environment. Decades of government-sponsored flood-control projects and resource extraction activities have marked the landscape of the Gulf Coast. The Army Corps of Engineers and private industries, including oil companies and developers, have dramatically altered the physical environment and particularly Louisiana’s coastline, destroying natural barriers provided by wetlands, increasing erosion rates, and effectively bringing the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans’s doorstep. The many ways people have changed the physical environment of New Orleans made the damage from Hurricane Katrina much worse.

More than 85 percent of the city of New Orleans flooded, and residents fled to family or larger cities where work and shelter could be secured. Between the 2000 and 2010 censuses, the population of New Orleans fell by 11 percent as a result of the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the economic

recession in 2008 (**Fig. 3.20**). The proportion of children in New Orleans's population also fell, from 27 percent in 2000 to 23 percent in 2007. Mapping of where children live in New Orleans reflects another trend in post-Katrina New Orleans: Families with children in the New Orleans region moved out of the city center and close-in suburbs and into the farther-out suburbs.

Increasingly erratic weather events spurred by climate change are projected to contribute to future migration flows as people use migration as an adaptive response to climate change. So-called climate refugees from low-lying areas seek refuge elsewhere (**Fig. 3.21**). One report suggests that the world will see 150 to 300 million climate refugees from 40 countries by 2050. Countries in the Pacific, from small (Tuvalu with 12,000 people) to large (Australia with 24.1 million people), are already experiencing shortages of freshwater, a rise in wildfires in drought-ridden areas, and increasingly intensive storms. Tuvalu is a small group of atoll islands barely 2 meters (6.5 ft) above sea level. Climate change, which starts with carbon dioxide produced by industry and cars in high income countries half a world away, is already impacting Tuvalu. Tuvaluans have developed environmental adaptation strategies to sustain the islands and the people. Migrating is one strategy Tuvaluans use in response to climate change.

Political Conflict Political conflict and war can generate major refugee flows (see section "Distribution of Refugees"). Changing or establishing political borders also generates migration flows. People may fear that their culture and traditions will

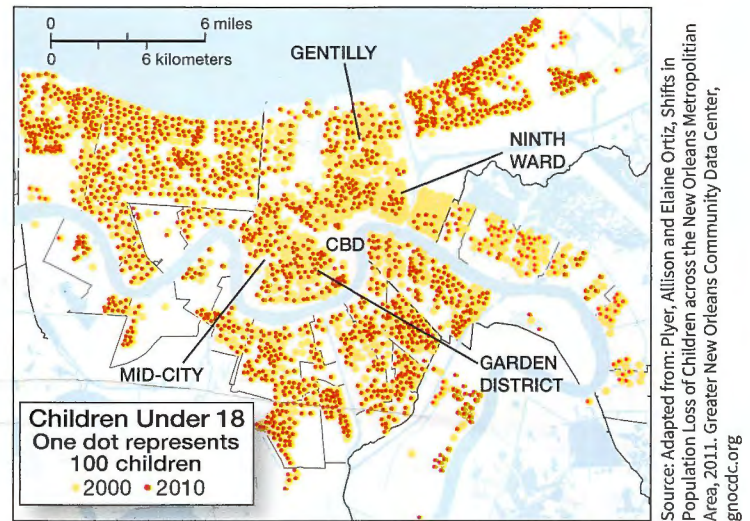


FIGURE 3.20 Population Density of Children Under Age 18 in New Orleans, 2000 and 2010. Families with children were less likely to return to New Orleans to reside after Hurricane Katrina. The CBD is the central business district, where few homes are located. A dramatic drop in the number of young people in the city, especially in Mid-City, Gentilly, the Garden District, and the Ninth Ward, has led to the need for fewer schools and has changed the feeling of neighborhoods.

not survive a major political change, and they may migrate to a nearby place where more people are like them and they can be safe.

The British government colonized South Asia, what is now Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh, from 1857 to 1947. When the British left in 1947, they partitioned the colony into

Guest Field Note Interviewing Locals about Climate Change in Funafuti, Tuvalu

Carol Farbotko

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Tuvalu is an independent country of 12,000 people in the central Pacific. Comprised of low-lying islands, its land territory in its entirety is at risk from rising sea levels associated with climate change. My work in Tuvalu involved interviewing Tuvaluan people about climate change and the concept of climate refugees. I also observed the activities of journalists and environmentalists who came to the islands from around the world during seasonal king tide flooding to witness climate change impacts.

While Tuvaluan people have serious concerns about climate, they reject the label 'climate refugee' because it positions them as passive victims and does not address the responsibility of industrialised countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Tuvaluans see international migration as a solution of last resort to climate change. However, international media and environmental organisations are prematurely depicting Tuvalu as a place in environmental crisis, often suggesting migration as refugees is the only option for Tuvaluans. These representations marginalize authentic

Tuvaluan voices and yet ventriloquise them for environmental purposes: to present international climate change migration as a problem and to convince climate skeptics in business and politics that climate change is occurring.



FIGURE 3.21 Funafuti, Tuvalu.

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AP Images

FIGURE 3.22 Punjab, India. More than 14 million migrants moved across the newly defined border when Britain partitioned South Asia into India and Pakistan in 1947. This image shows hundreds of people carrying their belongings on any space they could find on a train. Muslims who lived in the newly defined state of India fled to Pakistan and Hindus who lived in the newly defined state of Pakistan fled to India. The British border split Punjab, homeland of Sikhs, between India and Pakistan.

two countries: a Hindu-majority India and a Muslim-majority Pakistan. They carved out borders for a divided Pakistan with two parts to the country: a western section (present-day Pakistan) separated by 800 miles from the eastern section (present-day Bangladesh). The British drew the borders of the new countries in secrecy and then held ceremonies to convey independence to Pakistan on August 14, 1947, and then to India on August 15, 1947. After formally granting each country independence, the British revealed the new borders and corresponding maps. Fear and uncertainty prevailed, and on August 17, a mass migration of 14 million began (**Fig. 3.22**). Seven million Muslims living on the newly named Indian side of the border migrated to the new majority-Muslim state of Pakistan. An additional 7 million Hindus and Sikhs living on the newly named Pakistan side of the border migrated to the majority-Hindu state of India. In the chaotic migration, 1 million people died. Partition and the mass migration that followed are a traumatic memory for generations of South Asians and began the split between India and Pakistan that festers today.

Family Links and Chain Migration When deciding where to go, migrants are pulled to places where family and friends have already found success. When a migrant chooses a destination and texts, calls, or communicates through others to tell family and friends at home about the new place,

the migrant helps create a positive perception of the destination for family and friends and may promise help by providing housing and assistance obtaining a job. Geographers call these flows along and through kinship links **chain migration**. When a migrant reassures family and friends that a new community has been formed, a place where they can feel at home, further migration often occurs along the same path, creating a chain. Chains of migration build upon each other to create immigration waves connecting the home country to the destination.

TC Thinking Geographically

Think about a **migration** flow within your family, whether internal, international, voluntary, or forced. The flow can be one you experienced or one you only heard about through family. List the push and pull factors. Then, hypothesize how the migration flow of your family was tied to larger migration flows at the time. Does your family's migration flow fit into the global map in Figure 3.6? Was your family's migration at a different **scale** - nationally or locally? Determine both the scale of your family's migration flow and identify how the scale of the flow impacted your family - did they find others like themselves at their destination? How would finding or not finding others like themselves impact the **identities** of your family members who migrated?

3.4 Identify Why Refugees Are a Distinct Group of Migrants and Describe Where Most Refugees Migrate.

Refugees are migrants who are fleeing political persecution and violence in their home country. They travel by foot or boat with few possessions. Most refugees walk to a neighboring country, seeking protection from the violence in their home country.

The 1951 Refugee Convention established an international law specifying who is a refugee and what legal rights refugees have. The main goal of the convention was to help European refugees following the end of World War II. The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) helped to repatriate (return home) most of the refugees in Europe after World War II. The 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as “a person who has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.”

The UNHCR, the International Red Cross, and the World Food Program work with several other organizations and governments, especially in destination countries, to protect the safety of refugees and provide relief. The UNHCR organizes and funds international relief efforts and negotiates with governments and political groups on behalf of refugees.

Refugees have legal status under international law, which protects refugees because their governments are threatening their basic human rights. The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights guarantees the right to *asylum* for refugees, which means that refugees have the right to be protected and the right to temporarily stay in a country other than their home country. The UNHCR, the International Red Cross, and the World Food Program provide shelter and food, typically in refugee camps, for refugees in the countries where they have asylum. In camps across the world, millions of refugees simply want to go home, to repatriate. But instability in some regions and countries has led to generations of families living their lives in refugee camps.

The United Nations helps ensure that refugees are not forcibly returned to their home country when persecution is ongoing. Once violence and persecution decrease and the conditions of the home country improve, the UNHCR helps return refugees to their homelands, a process called **repatriation**.

Sometimes countries other than the country of asylum can choose to welcome refugees for permanent resettlement. For example, the United States welcomed 160,000 Karen refugees from Burma (Myanmar) who lived in refugee camps in Thailand between 2007 and 2017. When the United States accepts a certain number of Karen refugees, it is agreeing that each one has the legal right to live and work in the United States. Each refugee is vetted and receives help from a nongovernmental organization to find housing and acclimate to the United States.

Asylum seekers are people who have left their home country where they are experiencing persecution and human rights violations and are seeking protection in another country, but have not been legally recognized as refugees. They arrive at a port or land border in the country where they want asylum, and

then make a claim for asylum upon arrival. Countries typically keep asylum seekers in a holding facility until their asylum claim can be decided upon. When they meet with a judge or government official, asylum seekers need to explain the persecution they experienced in their home country and provide evidence supporting their claims. It takes time for asylum cases to be heard, and in the meantime, some asylum seekers are held in detention centers and others live in temporary housing. The government can choose whether to grant them asylum, which would give the asylum seekers refugee status. If asylum is denied, countries can send asylum seekers back to their home countries.

Distribution of Refugees

Most refugees move by foot, without any more goods than they can carry. The UNHCR estimates that 83 percent of refugees flee to a country in the same region as their home country. The countries that generate the most refugees and the countries that receive the most refugees are near each other. In 2018, ongoing wars in Syria (6.3 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million), and South Sudan (2.4 million) produced the most refugees. The three countries that received the most refugees, Turkey (3.5 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), and Uganda (1.4 million), are next door to Syria, Afghanistan, and Sudan, respectively.

Most refugees make their first “step” on foot or by bicycle, wagon, open boat, or crowded caravan (**Fig. 3.23**). Refugees



Xinhua/Alamy Stock Photo

FIGURE 3.23 Zaatari, Jordan. Syrian refugees walk to the Zaatari refugee camp on the Jordanian side of the border in 2016. The Syrian civil war started in 2011, and refugees continue to leave the country as conflict continues. Most refugees worldwide flee by foot to the closest safe country. The women and men in this photo are carrying their belongings across the border in hopes of finding safety in Jordan.

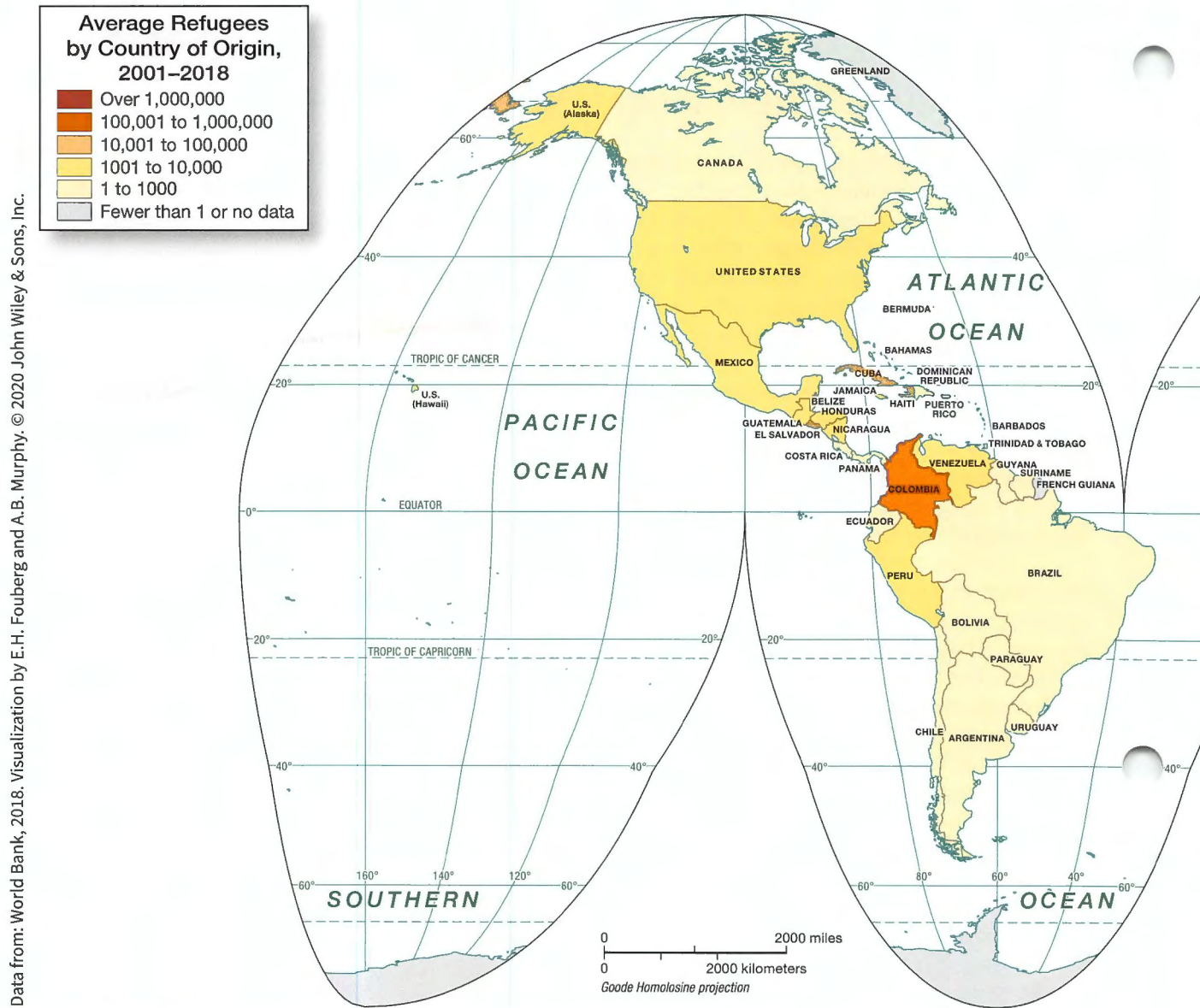
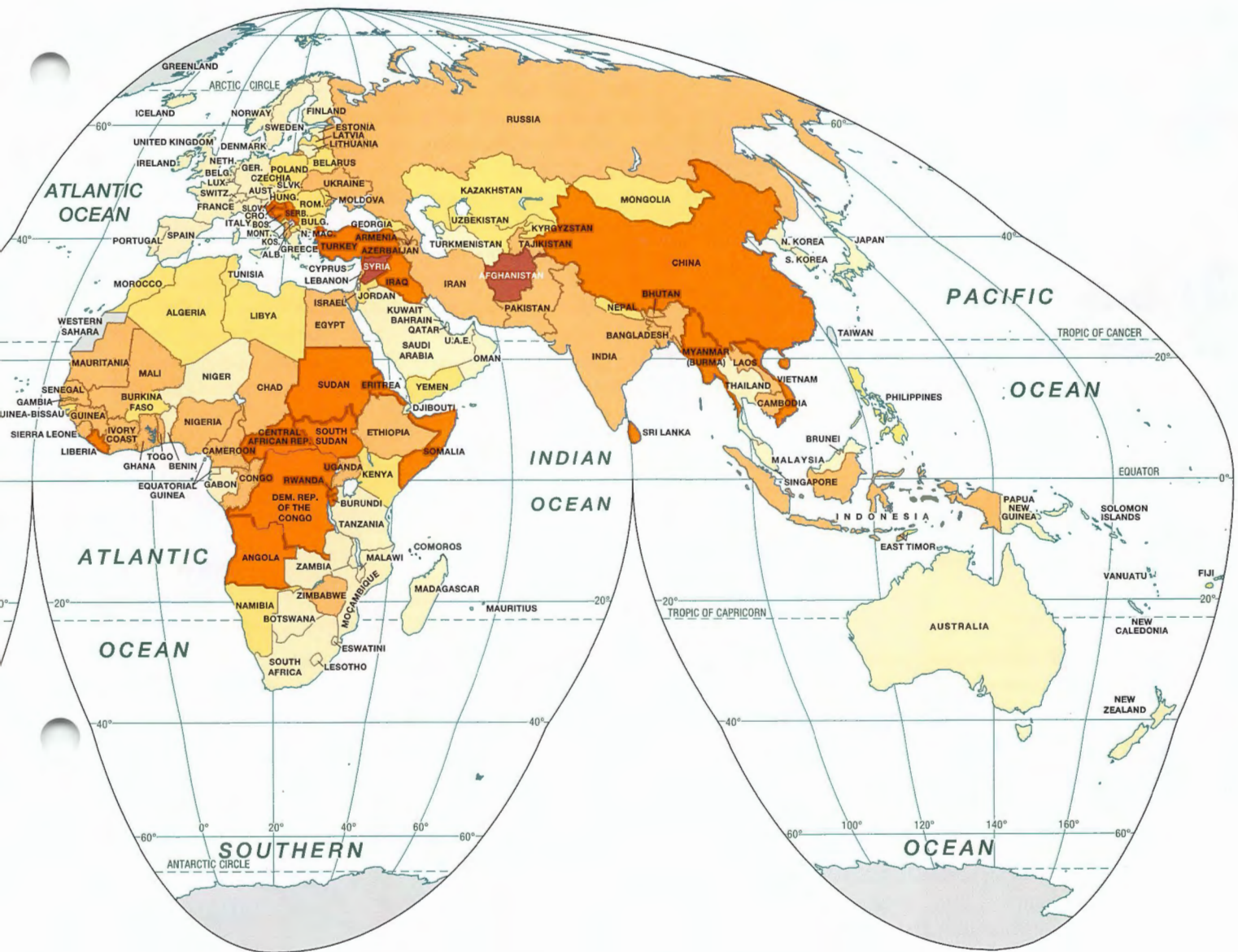


FIGURE 3.24 Average Number of Refugees by Country of Origin, 2001–2018. This map highlights the home countries of the world’s refugees. Refugees are defined as migrants fleeing political persecution or who have a well-founded fear of political persecution. That is why areas with major political conflict, including Syria and Afghanistan, stand out on the map.

are suddenly displaced and have limited options, and most have few resources to invest in their journey. As a result, the vast majority of the world’s refugees come from relatively low income countries and travel to neighboring countries that are also lower income. The impact of refugee flows is certainly felt most in the lowest income countries of the world.

In 1970, the United Nations reported 2.9 million refugees worldwide; the majority were Palestinian Arabs dislocated by the creation of the state of Israel and the armed conflicts that followed. In 1980, the global refugee total had nearly tripled, to over 8 million. By 2018, the UNHCR reported 25.4 million refugees worldwide, with 5.4 million being Palestinian Arab refugees who have lived in camps since UNHCR first collected statistics in 1970 (**Fig. 3.24**).

The United Nations and international law distinguish between refugees, who have crossed one or more international borders during their move and encamped in a country other than their own, and **internally displaced persons (IDPs)**, people who must leave their homes but remain in their own countries. Under the 1951 Refugee Convention, IDPs are not refugees. Their lives can be even more unstable than life for refugees because IDPs stay in the country where a crisis, whether political violence, flooding, or famine, is taking place. IDPs are often uncounted because they do not cross international borders. In 2018, UNHCR estimated that 40 million people were IDPs who were remaining in their home countries but not in their homes. With 40 million IDPs, 25.4 million refugees, and 3.1 million asylum seekers, 8.6 percent of the world’s population is displaced.



Areas of Dislocation

North Africa and Southwest Asia and sub-Saharan Africa continue to generate more than half of all refugees worldwide. Most refugees under UNHCR's responsibility today, some 60 percent, fled conflicts in Afghanistan, Syria, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Syria Since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in 2011, 5.6 million Syrians have fled to neighboring Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq, countries that already had substantial refugee populations from other regional conflicts or had their own conflicts. The UNHCR built the temporary Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan near the Syrian border. The camp, only 3 sq mile (7.8 sq km), has become a more permanent living space for over 100,000 refugees living in harsh conditions and cramped

quarters. Another 50,000 to 80,000 Syrian refugees have fled across the border to the tiny town of Aarsal, Lebanon (**Fig. 3.25**). The refugees now outnumber the local population in Aarsal, and the "town's electrical grid, waste management system and water supply are struggling to serve a population almost three times its original size" (Gebeily and Haines-Young, 2014). An additional 6.6 million Syrians are internally displaced, meaning they still live in Syria but have had to leave their homes.

Rwanda During the mid-1990s, a civil war engulfed Rwanda in equatorial Africa, a conflict that pitted militant Hutu against the minority Tutsi and "moderate" Hutu. The carnage claimed an estimated 800,000 to 1 million lives and produced huge migration flows into neighboring Zaïre (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Tanzania. More than 2 million Rwandans fled their homeland. The Tutsi–Hutu strife in Rwanda spread to



Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

FIGURE 3.25 Arsal, Lebanon. Syrian women and children are among the 65,000 refugees in the small border town of Arsal, which became a refugee camp after the Syrian civil war broke out in 2011. The small, remote town suffered fighting and bombing when ISIS controlled it from 2014 to 2017. While ISIS has been pushed out, conditions remain unsafe.

neighboring Burundi and dislocated tens of thousands. After the civil war in Rwanda calmed down in 1996, the UNHCR and the World Health Organization watched and aided 500,000 Rwandans repatriate, or return home.

Israel/Palestine The history of one of the most contentious places in the world today is a story of migration. The land between the Jordan River and Mediterranean Sea is sacred to Jews, who lived there for centuries until persecution during the Roman Empire spurred a Jewish diaspora to Europe around 70 CE. Six hundred years later, the land became sacred to Muslims because Muhammad ascended into heaven next to the most sacred site in Judaism (see Chapter 7). After this, the local tribes and people in the region converted to Islam. From 700 to the 1900s, Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived on this small sliver of land in relative peace with the notable exception of the crusades.

In 1910, fewer than 50,000 Jewish residents lived in what is now Israel/Palestine. Then Jews, whose ancestors had fled to Europe more than a thousand years earlier, began to migrate back to the region as part of a growing Zionist movement. **Zionism** is the movement for the establishment of a national homeland for Jews in the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. The movement grew in the late 1800s because of increasingly common persecution, control, and fear of Jews in Europe. This persecution was the roots of the Holocaust, where Nazis who came to power in 1933 killed 6 million Jews in concentration camps.

From 1919 to 1948, the United Kingdom formally controlled Palestine as a League of Nations mandate (like a colony). The 1917 Balfour Declaration, a letter written by a British official to a prominent Jewish family, promised the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and encouraged Jewish migration.

By 1948, as many as 750,000 Jews had migrated to Palestine. Britain handed over control of the simmering Palestinian mandate to the United Nations, an organization that began in 1945. The United Nations decided to partition the Palestinian mandate into two countries: Palestine and Israel.

The 1948 boundaries of Israel are shown in orange in **Figure 3.26**. Drawing these new state borders generated a migration stream in which 600,000 Palestinian Arabs fled or were pushed out of new Israeli territories. Palestinians became refugees in neighboring Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and beyond. Their plight illustrates that refugee status can extend over decades and become a way of life. In Jordan, Palestinian refugees have become so integrated into the host country's national life that they are regarded as permanent refugees, but in Lebanon, Palestinians wait in refugee camps for resettlement and still qualify as temporary refugees.



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FIGURE 3.26 Changing Boundaries of Palestine and Israel. The areas in green on the map were the territory of Palestine under the 1947 United Nations plan. After partition, Palestine quickly lost the areas in light green to Israel. Israel returned the Gaza Strip to Palestine in 2005. The areas in medium green on the map are the “Occupied Territories,” including the West Bank and the Golan Heights.

Author Field Note Claiming Land through Settlements in the West Bank

“Just a few miles into the West Bank, not far from Jerusalem, the expanding Israeli presence could not be missed. New settlements dot the landscape, often occupying strategic sites that are also easily defensible. These ‘facts on the ground’ will certainly complicate the effort to carve out a stable territorial order in this much-contested region. That, of course, is the goal of the settlers and their supporters, but it is salt on the wound for those who contest the Israeli right to be there in the first place.”

– A.B. Murphy



Photo by A.B. Murphy. © 2020 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

FIGURE 3.27 West Bank.

After the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel expanded its territorial control (Fig. 3.26) and actively built settlements for new Jewish immigrants in Palestinian territories (**Fig. 3.27**). When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, 2 million Jews who had been unable to practice their religion in the Soviet Union migrated to Israel. Today Israel’s population of 7.8 million, including almost 2 million Arab Israelis, continues to grow through immigration as well as relatively high birth rates.

North Africa and Southwest Asia The region stretching from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east contains some of the world’s longest-lasting and most deeply entrenched conflicts that generate refugees. Conflict in Afghanistan has lasted more than 40 years, generating the largest refugee flow in the world today, with a quarter of the refugees worldwide coming from Afghanistan alone.

The Gulf War of 1991 and the Iraq War of 2003 produced millions of refugees in the region. In 1991, in the aftermath of the Gulf War that followed Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait, a significant percentage of the Kurdish population of northern Iraq was threatened by the surviving military apparatus and under Baghdad’s control. They abandoned their villages and towns and streamed toward and across the Turkish and Iranian borders. The refugee movement of Iraq’s Kurds involved as many as 1.85 million people. It led the United States and its allies to create a secure zone for Kurds in northern Iraq in the hope of persuading displaced Kurds in Turkey and Iran to return to their country. But this effort was only partially successful, and many remain refugees in Turkey as well as Iran.

The war in Iraq in 2003 generated over 2 million refugees, most of whom are living in neighboring Syria and Jordan, and 2.8 million IDPs. Following the outbreak of civil war in Syria

in 2011, hundreds of thousands of Kurds, some of whom had sought refuge in Syria only a few years earlier, were forced to flee. Some 200,000 Syrian Kurds became refugees in Iraq, where a 1971 Iraqi law gives refugees the legal right to stay and grants them protection. To make matters even more complex, there is still a sizable population of Iranian refugees in Iraq stemming from the Iran–Iraq conflict over three decades ago, including members of the exiled People’s Mujahedin of Iran, or MEK, a political opposition group from Iran that was exiled in 1980.

During the 1980s, Afghanistan was caught in the Soviets’ last imperialist campaign and paid an enormous price for it. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979, in support of a puppet government, as well as Afghan resistance, generated a double migration stream that carried millions westward into Iran and eastward into Pakistan. At the height of the exodus, 2.5 million Afghans were estimated to be living in camps in Iran, and some 3.7 million gathered in tent camps in Pakistan’s northwestern province and in southern Baluchistan (**Fig. 3.28**). The Soviet invasion seemed destined to succeed quickly, but the Russian generals underestimated the strength of Afghan opposition. U.S. support for the Afghan rebel forces in the form of weapons supplies helped produce a stalemate and eventual Soviet withdrawal, but this was followed by a power struggle among Afghan factions. As a result, most of the more than 6 million refugees in Iran and Pakistan, about one-quarter of the country’s population, stayed where they were.

In 1996, the Taliban, an Islamic fundamentalist movement that began in northwest Pakistan, emerged in Afghanistan and took control of most of the country, imposing strict Islamic rule and suppressing the factional conflicts that had prevailed since Soviet withdrawal in 1989. Although several hundred thousand refugees moved back to Afghanistan from Pakistan, the harsh



AP Images/BULLIT MARQUEZ

FIGURE 3.28 Pakistan. Refugees from Afghanistan cross the border into Pakistan in crowded caravans after the U.S. military action began in Afghanistan in 2001. Conflict in Afghanistan is ongoing, and an estimated 1.3 million Afghan refugees still live in Pakistan, according to the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees.

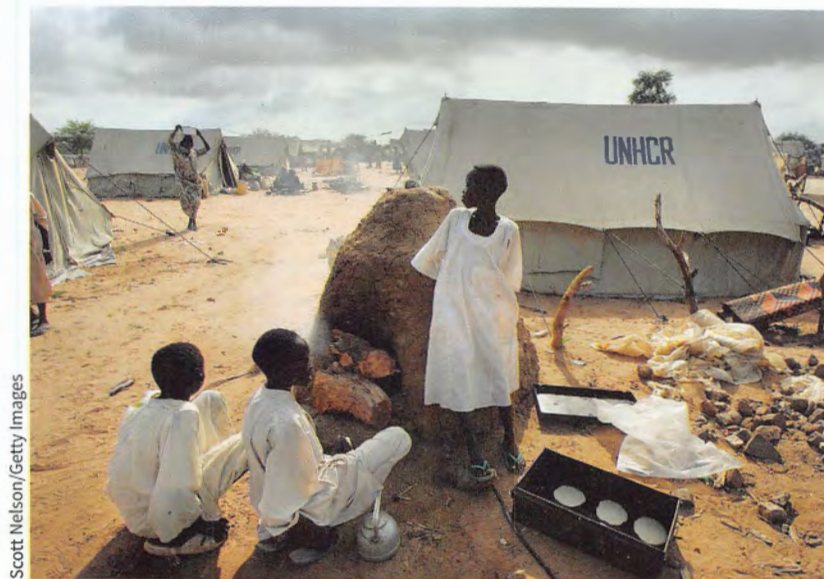
Taliban rule created a counter-migration and led to further refugee movement into neighboring Iran, where their number reached 2.5 million. Eventually, Afghanistan became a base for anti-Western terrorist operations, which reached a climax in the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001. Even before the inevitable military retaliation began, and despite efforts by both Pakistan and Iran to close their borders, tens of thousands of Afghan refugees flooded across, intensifying a refugee crisis that is now more than a quarter-century old. Amidst the crises in Israel/Palestine, Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan, nearly every country in Southwest Asia is currently experiencing the impact of refugees.

Sub-Saharan Africa Despite ongoing problems with political instability in the region, the refugee situation is improved in some parts of sub-Saharan Africa. In 1997, civil wars in West Africa, particularly in Liberia and Sierra Leone, sent 1.5 million refugees streaming into Guinea and the Ivory Coast. In 2013, the number of refugees in West Africa fell to under 270,000 as a result of improved political stability and repatriation. The largest refugee flows in sub-Saharan Africa now come out of Central and East Africa, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia.

Sudan, which began a second civil war in 1983, demonstrates the complexities of refugee crises in sub-Saharan Africa today. The conflict in Sudan was originally between the north, which is largely Arab and Muslim, and the south, which is majority black African and Christian or animist. Sudan, a country whose borders exist because of European colonialism, was home to traditional religions as well as Christianity brought by Western missionaries in the south, and Islam brought by North African traders in the north.

During the north–south civil war, which lasted from 1983 to 2005, the government in Khartoum, located in the largely Muslim north, waged a campaign of genocide aimed at ethnic groups in the Christian and animist south. The Janjaweed militia practiced a scorched earth campaign, burning villages throughout the south, and the civil war caused immense damage. Over 2.2 million people died in the fighting or starved as a result of the war. More than 5 million people were displaced, with over 1.6 million fleeing to neighboring Uganda alone. Both sides of the Sudanese civil war interfered with the efforts of international agencies to help the refugees.

In 1999, Sudan began exporting oil, which is extracted from southern Sudan. Global attention to the humanitarian crisis of the Sudanese civil war prompted the northern government to agree to a compromise. In 2002, the north and south brokered a temporary peace deal, but shortly thereafter, violence began in the Darfur region in western Sudan. Although the entire north of Sudan is largely Muslim, only two-thirds of the northerners speak Arabic as their native language. The other one-third are Muslim, but are not ethnically Arab. The non-Arab Muslims are part of at least 30 different ethnic groups in the Darfur region of western Sudan. The Arab Muslim government (located in the north) began a campaign of genocide against the non-Arab Muslims in Darfur. The Janjaweed has waged a genocide campaign against the non-Arab, Muslim, darker-skinned Africans in Darfur—a campaign that includes killing over 400,000 people, raping women and girls, taking lands and homes from Africans, and displacing 2.5 million people (**Fig. 3.29**).



Scott Nelson/Getty Images

FIGURE 3.29 Bredjing, Chad. Refugees from the Darfur region of Sudan bake bread near their tent in Chad's largest refugee camp. The tents are stamped with UNHCR, which stands for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The UNHCR estimates that worldwide, 6.6 million refugees live in camps, and 4.6 million are in camps like this, which are planned and managed by the UNHCR and other non-governmental organizations. The other 2 million refugees live in camps they created themselves and receive little to no support from agencies like the UNHCR.

In 2004, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell labeled the Janjaweed's actions in Darfur a genocide. The 1948 Convention on Genocide defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group." The international community is trying to negotiate an end to the government-backed campaign in Darfur, with mixed success. In the meantime, South Sudan in 2011 voted to secede from Sudan. Ironically, the new border, which was created as a solution to a civil war and refugee crisis, has already generated new refugee flows in the region. Many people living in the borderlands between Sudan and South Sudan are unhappy with the placement of the international boundary. In 2012, the countries fought a six-month-long border war, displacing thousands, and violence in South Sudan has resumed as different groups vie for power. In a country of 12 million, recent violence has displaced 1.3 million people, with over 300,000 South Sudanese fleeing across the border. The long-lasting refugee and IDP crisis in Sudan and South Sudan helps us understand the complexity of political conflict and migration flows in sub-Saharan Africa, while the Muslim-against-Muslim conflict in Darfur demonstrates that political conflict is not just religious; it is also ethnic and political.

Neighboring countries have not helped create stability in the region. Since 1998, just under 6 million people have died in violence in the neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo, where violence was partially spurred by the instability created as a result of refugee flows from the 1994 war in neighboring Rwanda. In 2009, attacks by the rebel group Lord's Resistance Army in the northeastern portion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo generated over 1 million refugees.

South Asia In terms of refugee numbers, South Asia is the third-ranking geographic realm, mainly because of Pakistan's role in accommodating Afghanistan's refugees. During the Soviet intrusion in the 1980s, the UNHCR counted more than 3 million refugees; during the 1990s, the total averaged between 1.2 and 1.5 million. That number rose when U.S.-led forces began retaliating against terrorist bases in October 2001. Today, Afghanistan has an enormous refugee crisis, with more than 2 million refugees living outside of Afghanistan, mostly in Pakistan and Iran.

The other major refugee problem in South Asia stems from a civil war in Sri Lanka. This conflict, which formally ended in 2009, arose from demands by minority Tamils for an independent state on the Sinhalese-dominated and -controlled island. The conflict cost tens of thousands of lives and severely damaged the economy. The United Nations reports that about 200,000 people are internally displaced. The United Nations, the European Union, and the Canadian government are working to repatriate the IDPs, particularly in the northern provinces of Sri Lanka, but an estimated 90,000 internally displaced persons are uprooted in Sri Lanka today.

Climate change will likely have a significant impact on the refugee picture in South Asia in the decades to come. While the effects of climate change will be felt worldwide, scientists believe that Bangladesh will be "ground zero" for climate refugees. The country's 156.6 million citizens live in a river delta one-fifth the size of France, most of which is no more than 6.1 meters (20 ft) above sea level and through which 230 major rivers and streams

flow. The country is thus unusually vulnerable to flooding and typhoons. The situation is made worse by human alterations of the environment; extensive groundwater pumping is causing cities to sink, and mangrove deforestation has increased erosion rates and removed natural barriers against storm surges. By 2050, 17 percent of the country may well be inundated. For years, so-called environmental refugees have been moving from Bangladesh into neighboring India, but India is building a border wall to ward off further migration. In a country already facing significant demographic challenges, climate change puts Bangladesh in an even more precarious position.

Southeast Asia Southeast Asia is a reminder that refugee problems can change quickly. Indochina was the scene of one of the twentieth century's most desperate refugee crises when a stream of between 1 and 2 million people fled Vietnam in the aftermath of the long war that ended in 1975. During the Vietnam war, the U.S. bombed Cambodia and worked to bring a pro-West leader to power. After the U.S. left Vietnam in 1975, Pol Pot came to power in Cambodia on an anti-U.S. and anti-Soviet wave. From 1975 to 1979 Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge controlled Cambodia and inflicted a genocide, killing 1.7 million Cambodians (about one-quarter of the country's people). The Khmer Rouge focused the genocide mainly in cities, seeking to persecute, re-educate, or kill the educated class and those most influenced by the West. Cambodians who fled went to refugee camps in Thailand and from there to the West, including the United States. Today, the largest camps in this region are for IDPs in Myanmar (formerly Burma), who are victims of the 2004 tsunami, the 2008 cyclone, and the repressive rule of generals who are seeking to subdue the country's minorities.

Europe In the 1990s, the collapse of Yugoslavia and its associated conflicts created the largest refugee crisis in Europe since the end of World War II. In 1995, the UNHCR reported the staggering total of 6,056,600 refugees, a number that some observers felt was inflated by the Europeans' unusually liberal interpretations of the United Nations' rules for refugee recognition. Nevertheless, even after the cessation of armed conflict and the implementation of a peace agreement known as the Dayton Accords, the UNHCR still reports over 100,000 IDPs in the area.

The Americas In the Western Hemisphere, Colombia has around 5.7 million IDPs, caused by political violence tied to narcotics production. Colombia's IDP numbers were the largest in the world until 2013, when Syria's civil war generated 2 million more IDPs than Colombia. Significant areas of Colombia's countryside are vulnerable to armed attack by "narcoterrorists" and paramilitary units; these rural areas are essentially beyond government control, and thousands of villagers have died in the crossfire. Hundreds of thousands more have left their homes to seek protection.

Elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere, recent earthquakes have displaced millions. A 2010 earthquake in Chile killed hundreds and displaced 2 million Chileans. Six weeks before the Chilean quake, an earthquake in Haiti killed 200,000 people and displaced 1.5 million. Haiti had not recovered from the 2010

earthquake when Hurricane Matthew hit in 2016 and Hurricane Irma followed in 2017. Hurricane Matthew caused 546 fatalities and impacted 2.1 million people in Haiti. Refugee agencies report that in the region impacted by Hurricane Matthew, 140,000 households “still do not have access to minimum earthquake and seismic-resistant homes and shelters, thus remaining highly vulnerable to future shocks” (ReliefWeb 2018).

People who abandon their familiar surroundings because conditions have become unlivable perform an ultimate act of desperation. In the process, they often face unimaginable challenges and hardships. Refugee and internally displaced person populations are a barometer of the world’s political strife.

3.5

Determine How Government Policies Impact Migration.

With 8.6 percent of the world in a state of displacement, including refugees, IDPs, and asylum seekers, migration makes news daily around the world. Political parties use anti-immigration stances to encourage their base to vote. Border areas within countries experience migration differently than the rest of the country, and perceptions of migration, in many ways, depend on where you stand and how often you interact with migrants at work and school and in social situations.

Media coverage, political debates, and political wrangling make us think that politicization of migration is new. But in the fourteenth century, China built the Great Wall in part as a defensive measure, but also as a barrier to keep Chinese in and Mongols out. Governments have an unfortunate history of embedding racism in migration policies. In 1901, Australia approved the Immigration Restriction Act, which ended all nonwhite immigration. The policy targeted Japanese, Chinese, and South Asian migrants. The act also prohibited South Pacific Islanders who worked on Australia’s large sugar plantations from immigrating. Australia’s immigration policies created what is known as the White Australia Policy, which remained in effect until the 1970s.

Waves of Immigration in the United States

Changes in a country’s migration policies can be seen in the number of immigrants and the origin of the immigrants over time. Push factors for immigrants to the United States are reflected in **Figure 3.30**, as people in different regions experienced similar reasons to leave their home and migrate.

Between 1820 and 1900, Europeans constituted nearly all the immigrants entering the United States (see Fig. 3.30). After the Great Depression, European migration slowed, and Europe became a region that received more migrants than it sent (see section “Guest Workers” on pages 67–68). A steady stream of migrants into the United States continued after World War II, but the source of immigrants changed

TC Thinking Geographically

Imagine you are from a very low income country, and you earn less than \$1 a day. Choose a country to be from, and analyze its **site** and **situation** on a map. Assume you are a potential refugee—your ethnic group is being persecuted by your own government. Analyze your access to transportation and the opportunities you have to go elsewhere. Be realistic, and describe the larger **context** of your decision—how you determine where you will go, how you will get there, and what you will do once you get there.

in the 1960s when new migration legislation was passed. Since the 1960s, migrants in the United States have come mainly from Latin America and Asia.

Legal Restrictions

Typically, the obstacles placed in the way of potential migrants are legal, not physical. In the United States, restrictive legislation on immigration can be traced to 1882, when Congress approved the Oriental Exclusion Acts (1882–1907) to prevent the immigration of Chinese people to California.

With the exception of this legislation excluding Chinese people, during the 1800s the United States opened its doors to immigration. Most of the migrants arrived from Europe, especially northern Europe (Scandinavia) and western Europe (including Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, and France). In the later part of the 1800s, a greater proportion of Europeans who immigrated to the United States came from southern and eastern Europe (including Italy, Spain, Portugal, Russia, and Poland).

Following World War I, political tides in the United States turned toward isolationism—a policy that favors staying out of entanglements abroad. In addition, at that time, Congress feared the growing migration from eastern and southern Europe. Many whites in the United States saw migrants from southern Europe as darker skinned and therefore inferior. In this context, Congress passed restrictive legislation in 1921, deterring immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Specifically, it set immigration quotas to 3 percent of the number of a given European country’s nationals living in the United States in 1910. Since the greatest proportion of migrants in the United States in 1910 came from northern and western Europe, the quotas allowed much more migration from northern and western Europe than from southern and eastern Europe (**Fig. 3.31**).

In 1924, Congress altered the Immigration Act by lowering the quota to 2 percent and making 1890 the base year, further

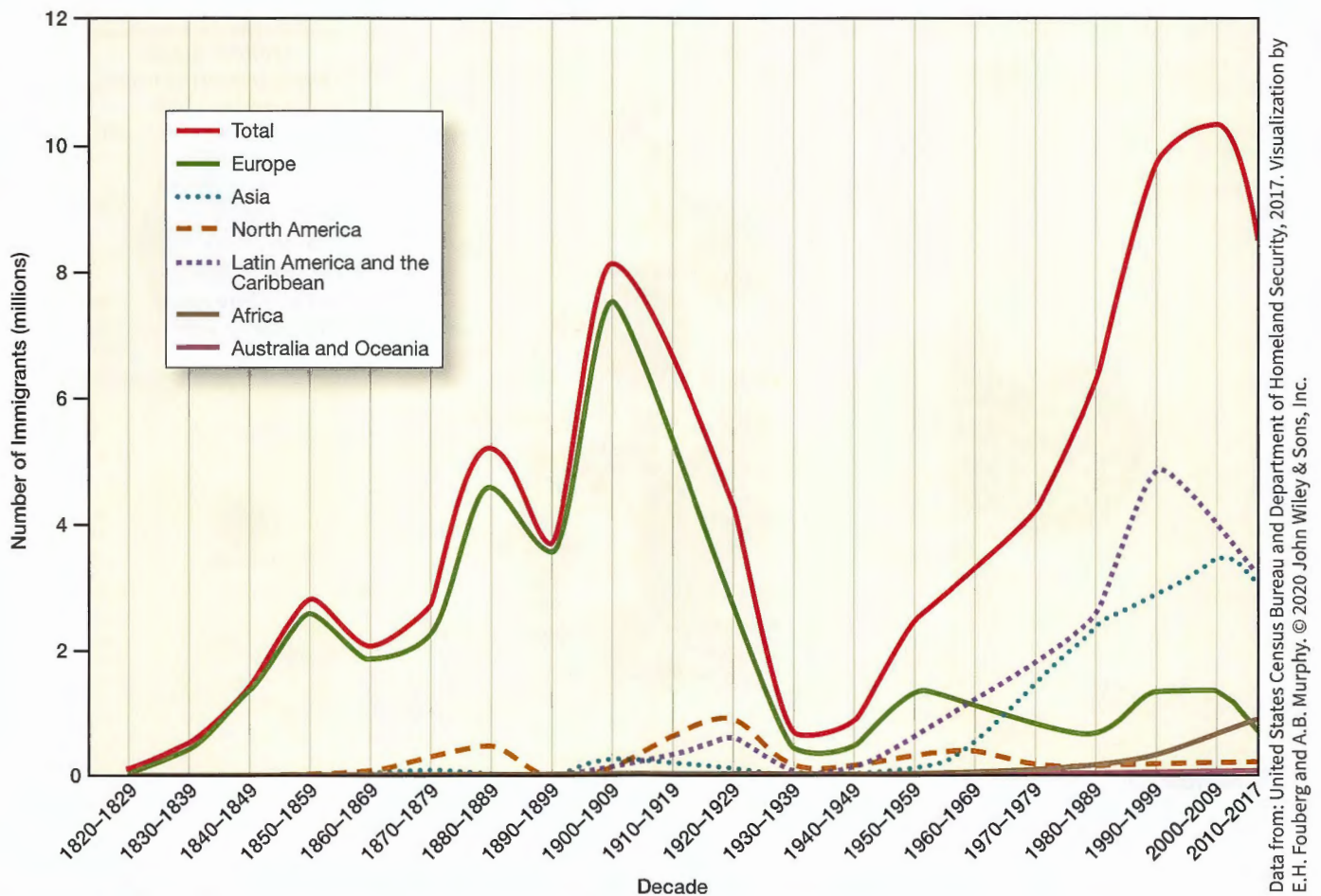


FIGURE 3.30 Immigration to the United States by Region, 1820–2017. During the first wave of migration to the United States, from 1820 to 1930, most migrants to the United States came from Europe. During the second wave of migration, from 1930 to the present, a shift occurred, and migrants to the United States now mainly come from Latin America and Asia. The number of migrants to the United States fell after the 2008 financial crisis.

reducing the annual total to 150,000 migrants and further discouraging eastern and southern European migration. The rapid fall in total immigration to the United States is clearly shown in Figure 3.30. Just prior to the Great Depression, Congress passed the National Origins Law in 1929, which limited immigration to 150,000 persons per year. Congress also tied immigration quotas to the national origins of the U.S. population in 1920. As a result, Congress in effect prevented substantial immigration from Asia. With these laws in effect and the Great Depression in full swing, immigration slowed to a trickle during the 1930s.

After 1940, Congress modified the restrictions on immigration. When the United States needed labor during World War II, the **Bracero Program**, passed by Congress and signed by the president in 1942, invited Mexicans to come to the United States to work in agriculture. Between 1942 and the end of the Bracero Program in 1965, Mexicans migrated mainly to the American Southwest and Florida. This Mexican migration was

often **cyclical**, as migrants left Mexico for agriculture jobs in the United States during planting and harvest season, and then returned home to Mexico. In 1965, Congress ended the Bracero Program and passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, which began a major shift in Mexican migration to the United States. Mexican migrants now crossed into the United States and stayed instead of cyclically returning home (**Fig. 3.32**).

In 1943, Congress gave China equal status to European countries and in 1952 granted Japan a similar status. In 1952, immigration began to rise again (Fig. 3.30) after Congress passed a new Immigration and Nationality Act. Designed to incorporate all preceding legislation, the act established quotas for all countries and limited total immigration numbers to 160,000. However, far more than 160,000 migrants entered the country as refugees, thereby filling quotas for years ahead. Estimates vary, but more than 7 million migrants may have entered the United States as refugees between 1945 and 1970.

Source: Data from United States Immigration Quotas. Visualization by E.H. Foubert and A.B. Murphy. © 2020 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

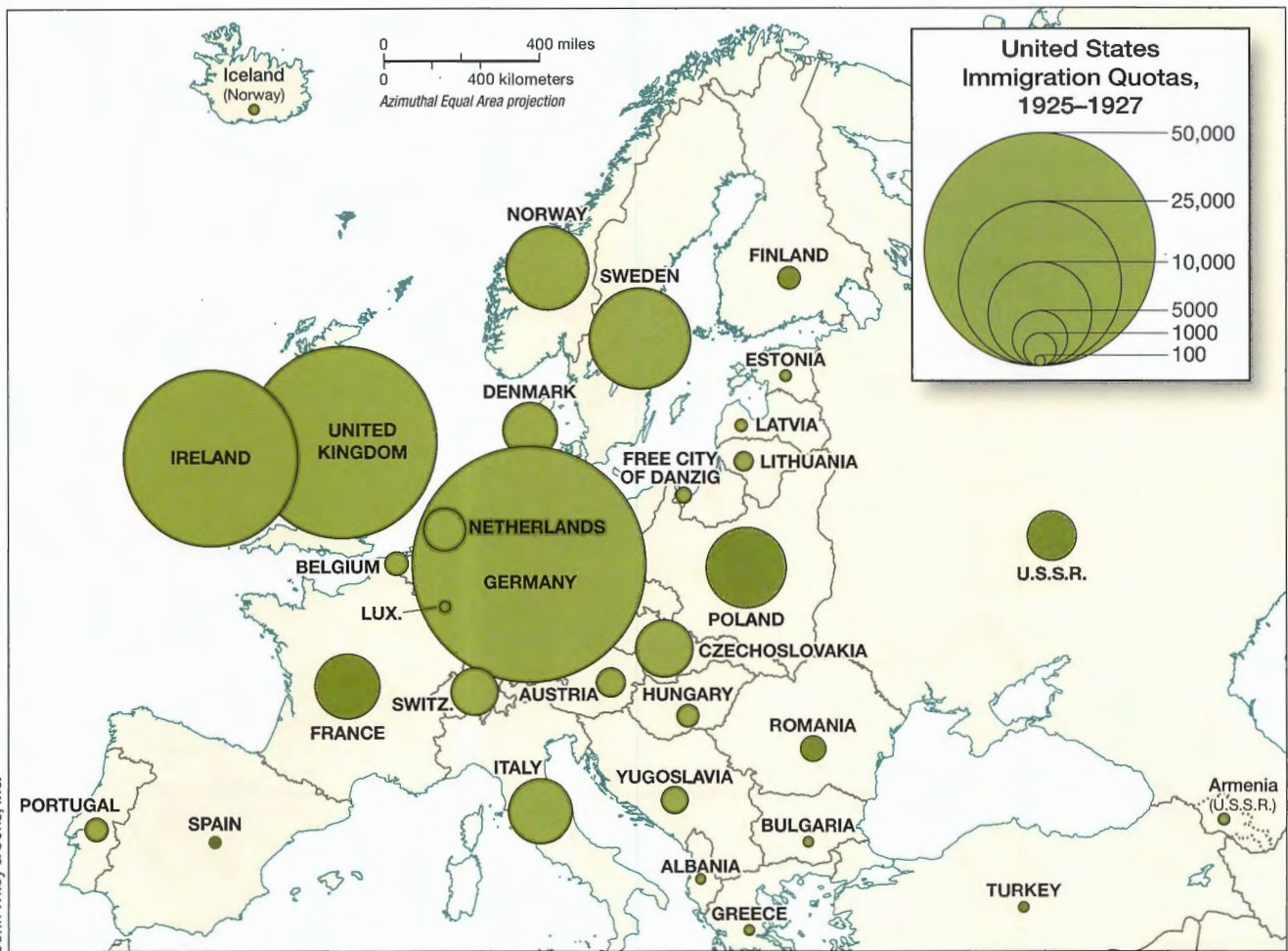


FIGURE 3.31 United States Immigration Quotas 1925-1927. The U.S. government set quotas on the number of migrants allowed from each country in Europe between 1925 and 1927. The United States let in the most migrants from western (Ireland, United Kingdom, Germany) and northern (Norway, Sweden, Denmark) Europe. At this point in United States history, the government had a bias against southern (Portugal, Spain, Greece) and eastern Europeans, and the quotas reflect that.

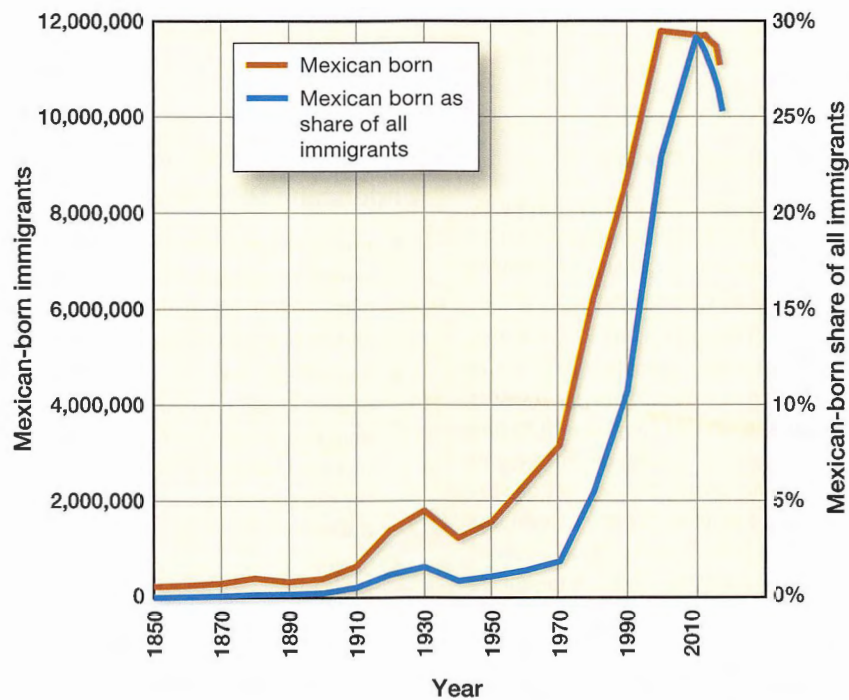
By 1965, Congress recognized the 1952 act as a failure and abolished the quota system. Congress set new limits, which are also reflected in Figure 3.30. The United States allowed 170,000 migrants per year from countries outside the western hemisphere and 120,000 from countries in the Americas. Refugee policies and guest worker policies over the succeeding decades allowed many more migrants to come into the country than these limitations would suggest.

In 1986, the U.S. government passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which gave permanent residence and a path to citizenship for 2.6 million unauthorized migrants living in the United States. A significant recent example of regional migration is the migration from Mexico and Central America into the United States, which rapidly accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s—peaking around the year 2000 with close to 1 million migrants arriving each year. The number of migrants fell off sharply after the economic downturn of 2008, but the imprint of this decades-long migration is still

very much in evidence. Mexican migrants alone now constitute close to 4 percent of the U.S. population, and they play a fundamentally important economic role in many states and cities.

Post-September 11 Since September 11, 2001, U.S. government immigration policies have focused on security concerns. Prior to 9/11, the U.S. border patrol was concerned primarily with drug trafficking and human smuggling. The new government policies affect asylum seekers and both authorized and unauthorized migrants.

After September 11, the U.S. government designated 33 countries as places where al-Qaeda or other terrorist groups operate, and under a policy called Operation Liberty Shield, the government automatically detained anyone from any of these 33 countries who entered the United States looking for asylum. On March 25, 2003, Human Rights Watch criticized the policy, contending that it created “a blanket suspicion of links to terrorism based on nationality alone.” On April 17, 2003, the



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FIGURE 3.32 Number of Mexican Migrants to the United States, 1942–Present.

The number of migrants from Mexico to the United States rose in the second wave of immigration (see Fig. 3.30) and has declined since the 2008 financial crisis. The proportion of Mexican migrants is also declining. Before the financial crisis, Mexicans made up almost 30 percent of all migrants to the United States, and since 2008, that number has fallen closer to 25 percent.

Department of Homeland Security quietly terminated Operation Liberty Shield. Nonetheless, controls along the U.S. border are much tighter than they were prior to 9/11, with implications not just for the flow of migrants but for business and commerce in border regions as well.

In the wake of terrorist attacks in Europe—including major bombings in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005—European governments have also focused more attention on immigration. Whereas the U.S. government pursued a “hard” approach, expanding immigration controls after 9/11, the free movement of peoples among most European countries has led state governments to seek to limit unauthorized migration into the larger European space while promoting internal policies aimed at fostering migrant buy-in to the host society. In some cases, migrants must complete an “integration agreement” before receiving permanent status and access to social welfare programs. Austria’s integration package, for example, includes 300 hours of language training and a civic education course—which is often challenging for recently arrived migrants who need the financial support provided by social welfare programs.

People and organizations opposed to the U.S. and European policies adopted in response to terrorist incidences argue that these policies may do more harm than good because they can intensify misunderstanding and hatred. Whether or not that is true, it seems that concerns about the migration–terrorism link will continue to shape security policy in the United States, Europe, and beyond for some time to come.

TC Thinking Geographically

Analyze Figure 3.30, **migration** to the United States by region. Choose one **region** and one time. Research an example of a migration flow to the United States from that region at that time (e.g. east European migration in 1900). Describe where migrants from that region primarily settled in the United States. Explain relocation **diffusion**. Imagine how the migration flow you chose can be seen in the **cultural landscape** of the destination region in the United States both at the time of migration and today.

Summary

3.1 Explain Migration as a Type of Movement.

1. Migration is a type of movement that changes people and places. It is movement from a home location to a new place with an intent to stay in the new place permanently. Migration changes the location of home and has a degree of permanence.
2. Cyclic movement is different from migration. With cyclic movement, people leave home for a defined amount of time and return home. Examples of cyclic movement include snowbirds who winter somewhere warmer than their permanent home; commuters who leave home in the morning and return at night; and pastoral farmers who herd animals to fresh vegetation seasonally. Pastoral farmers may herd animals to higher elevations in summer and lower elevations in winter (transhumance) or may follow seasonal rains, moving into areas once the rains have passed and vegetation has regrown.
3. Migration drives relocation diffusion, which happens when people carry their ideas and cultural traits with them as they move. Migrants often settle in the same neighborhoods in cities or the same towns in rural areas. They carry their ideas and cultural traits, and imprint them on the cultural landscape, creating ethnic neighborhoods and small towns.
4. Migration includes both international migration and internal migration. Significant flows of international migration since 1500 have shaped globalization. Remittances, money sent to family and friends at home, are a major motivation for migration.

3.2 Explain Historic and Modern Forced Migration.

1. Migration can be forced or voluntary. In forced migration, the migrants do not have a choice whether to migrate and do not weigh push and pull factors. They do not have a say in whether and when they leave or where they go. Forced migration changes the place the migrants leave and the destination. The absence of the migrants is felt at home, and the migrants become part of the fabric of the place where they land. The Atlantic slave trade and the forced removal of American Indians are examples of forced migration.
2. Forced migration can be part of a larger policy of assimilation. Through assimilation policies, a government institutes programs and systems of penalties and rewards to force a minority group to lose distinct cultural traits, such as dress, food, or speech, and to adopt the customs of the dominant culture. The U.S. government forcibly removed Native American children from their homes and placed them in boarding schools as part of its assimilation policy. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand also had assimilation policies and forcibly removed indigenous children to boarding schools.
3. Sex trafficking, child sex trafficking, forced labor, bonded or debt bondage labor, involuntary domestic servitude, forced child labor, and the recruitment of child soldiers all fall within the broad umbrella of modern slavery. Women and girls account for at least 95 percent of victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation globally. The lack of power, agency, or value of women and girls in many countries makes them susceptible to abuse and violence.

3.3 Explain the Theories of Migration and Understand the Motivations for Migration.

1. How much migration occurs between two places varies based on similarities between the source and the destination, the effectiveness of the flow of information from the destination back to the source, and the physical distance between the source and the destination.
2. Ravenstein's gravity model predicts that the degree of interaction or amount of migration flow between two places varies based on population size and distance between the two places. It states that the number of migrants who go to a destination declines as the distance they must travel increases, or that more migrants travel short distances and fewer migrants travel longer distances.
3. Voluntary migrants weigh push and pull factors to decide whether to migrate and where to migrate to. Push factors are the conditions and perceptions that help a migrant decide to leave a place. Pull factors are what attract a migrant to a certain destination, the factors that help the migrant decide where to go.

3.4 Identify Why Refugees Are a Distinct Group of Migrants and Describe Where Most Refugees Migrate.

1. Refugees are migrants who are fleeing political persecution and violence in their home country. They typically travel by foot to neighboring countries. Organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees provide shelter and food to refugees in camps in the countries where they land. Entire generations have been born and raised in refugee camps because of continued violence in certain countries and regions.
2. Refugees have legal status under international law. If a country recognizes a migrant as a refugee, the migrant has the legal right to live and work there. Countries can determine how many refugees to accept and from where. Governments and nongovernmental organizations work together to help refugees acclimate to their new country and find housing and work.
3. Asylum seekers are migrants who are asking for refugee status. They are experiencing persecution in their home country and do not see themselves as safe there. An asylum seeker enters a country at a port, airport, or border crossing and claims the right to asylum. It takes time for governments to hear the cases of asylum seekers, and during that time governments may detain them in holding facilities or may house them in temporary housing. A government may decide that asylum seekers are suffering persecution and grant them the right to asylum, which gives them refugee status. Or a government may decide to send them back to their home country.

3.5 Determine How Government Policies Impact Migration.

1. Governments impact migration through policies that allow certain groups into the country at certain times. Governments can use quotas and specify how many migrants are allowed into the country legally. The origins of migrants coming to the United States have changed over time. Before the 1930s, most migrants to the United States were voluntary migrants from Europe and

forcibly migrated enslaved Africans. Since the passage of immigration legislation in 1965, most migrants to the United States have come from Latin America and Asia.

- The United States has changed its policies over time, sometimes making it easier for migrants to come into the United States and sometimes making it more difficult. During and after World War II, the United States needed farm laborers. The Bracero Program,

passed by Congress and signed by the president in 1942, invited Mexicans to come to the United States to work in agriculture. Between 1942 and the end of the Bracero Program in 1965, Mexicans migrated mainly to the American Southwest and Florida. Migration from Mexico during this time was cyclical: Migrants would come to the United States during planting and harvest seasons and go home to Mexico much of the rest of the year.

Self-Test

3.1 Explain migration as a type of movement.

- Migration is a form of movement that does all of the following except:
 - change both the places migrants leave and the places migrants go.
 - change how people see themselves and others.
 - slow the diffusion of ideas and innovations.
 - increase spatial interaction.
- For a person's movement to be cyclic, the person must:
 - move permanently.
 - return home.
 - be prompted to move by dates on the calendar.
 - be moving as part of a larger group, like an ethnic group or class.
- Activity spaces are the places where people move in the rounds of everyday activity. If you conducted a study of the activity spaces of snowbirds in Michigan and Florida, you would most likely notice that snowbirds have one set of activity spaces in summer and a different set of activity spaces in winter.
 - true
 - false
- Migration always creates _____ diffusion.

a. stimulus	c. hierarchical
b. contagious	d. relocation

3.2 Explain Historic and Modern Forced Migration.

- Through the Atlantic slave trade, millions of Africans were forcibly enslaved and forcibly migrated to the Americas. In the Caribbean, enslaved Africans labored mainly in the _____ industry:

a. coffee	c. corn
b. cotton	d. sugar
- The U.S. government forcibly removed Native American children from their homes and removed them to boarding schools as part of its official policy of:

a. acculturation.	c. assimilation.
b. enslavement.	d. vernacularization.
- In modern forced labor and human trafficking, business owners and traffickers control victims by controlling their identification papers and also their movement. In doing this, traffickers are controlling the _____ of the victims.

a. assimilation	c. ethnic neighborhoods
b. activity spaces	d. language

3.3 Explain the theories of migration and understand the motivations for migration.

- Migrants who look at the conditions of their hometown, including the lack of jobs and lack of affordable housing, and decide to move are weighing the:

a. chain factors.	c. push factors.
b. ethnic factors.	d. pull factors.
- Ravenstein's gravity model says that migration between two places will vary based on the:
 - relative population size and distance between the two places.
 - relative wealth and distance between the two places.
 - relative population and connectedness between the two places.
 - relative wealth and connectedness between the two places.
- If migrants have chosen a destination, but stop along the path between the home and the destination because they find a place with favorable conditions to live, that stop is a(n):

a. chain migration.	c. world city.
b. intervening opportunity.	d. refugee camp.

3.4 Identify why refugees are a distinct group of migrants and describe where most refugees migrate.

- Under international law, refugees have the right to asylum, which means they can live:
 - in another country until the political persecution in their home country ends.
 - in any country in the world they want to move to.
 - in a refugee camp or a detention center.
 - in any country in the European Union.
- The countries that generate the most refugees and the countries that receive the most refugees are near each other.
 - true
 - false
- Internally displaced people are similar to refugees in all of the following ways except they:
 - come from lower income countries.
 - are fleeing violence.
 - travel by foot into another country.
 - may spend many years away from home before they can return.

3.5 Determine how government policies impact migration.

14. Between 1820 and 1900, most migrants to the United States came from _____, and between 1900 and the 1930s, most migrants to the United States came from _____.

- a. southern and eastern Europe/northern and western Europe
- b. northern Africa/eastern Asia
- c. eastern Asia/northern Africa
- d. northern and western Europe/southern and eastern Europe

15. During and after World War II, the United States needed farm laborers, so the government created a policy and opened the country to legal migration from:

- a. Canada.
- b. South Africa.
- c. Mexico.
- d. China.

16. Since Congress passed new legislation in 1965, most migrants to the United States have come from:

- a. Africa and Latin America.
- b. Asia and Latin America.
- c. Europe and Africa.
- d. Asia and Africa.