

3

Migration

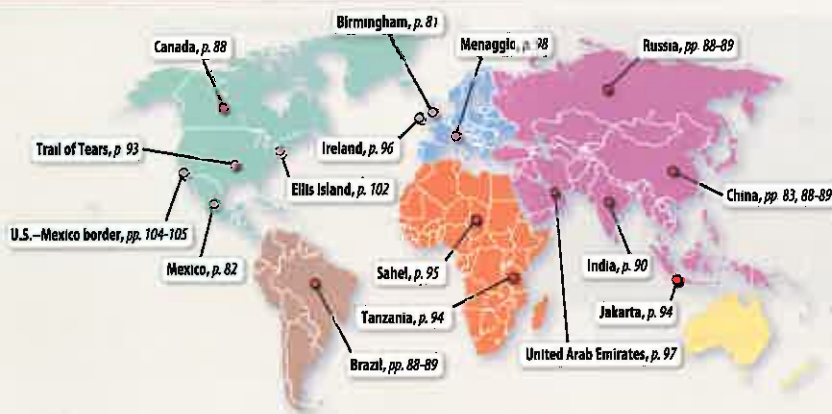
Migration is the permanent move to a new location. Geographers study migration in part because it is increasingly important in explaining changes in population in various places and regions.

Migration is also important because when people migrate, they take with them to their new home cultural values and economic practices. At the same time, they become connected with the cultural and economic patterns of their new place of residence.

A family forced by war to migrate from Syria wait in Budapest, Hungary, for a train to Germany.



LOCATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER



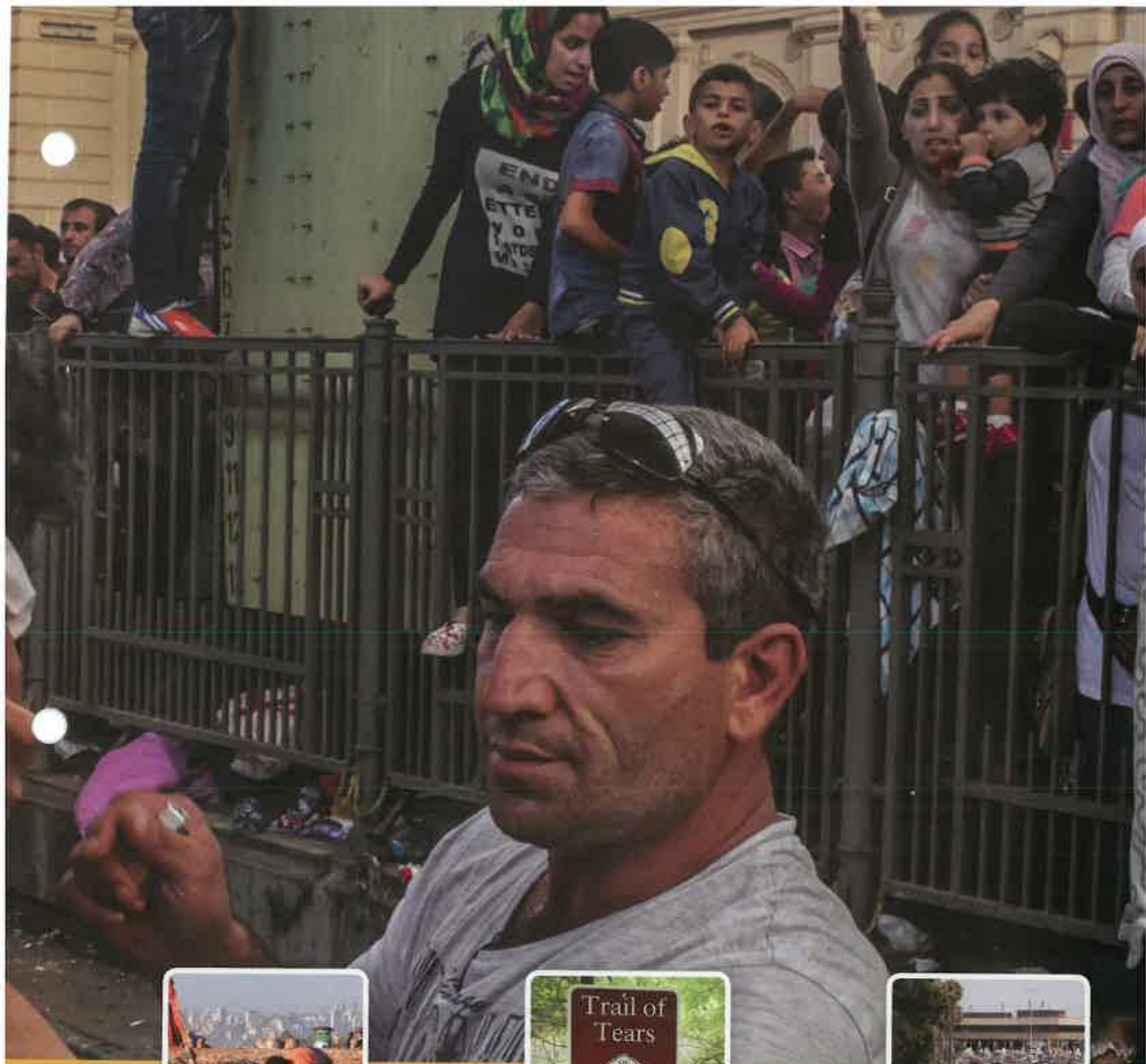
KEY ISSUES

1

Where Are the World's Migrants Distributed?

Looking at where migrants are distributed across the *space* of Earth, we see that some of Earth's *regions* are gaining migrants and some are losing them. For more than two centuries, the United States has been the most important destination for migrants.





2



Where Do People Migrate Within a Country?

Within a country, some **places** are gaining migrants and some are losing them. This key issue describes migration at two **scales**: between places in two regions of a country and between places within a particular region.

3



Why Do People Migrate?

The characteristics of migrants and the reasons they migrate are especially interesting to geographers. Why people migrate profoundly influences the places and regions that are the sources and the destinations of migrants.

4



Why Do Migrants Face Challenges?

What are the key issues that arise as a result of migration? In a world of improved **connections**, it is easier than in the past to be transported from one place to another. Yet the ability of people to migrate is more limited than in the past by legal obstacles and the hostility of people at the place of destination.

Where Are the World's Migrants Distributed?

- Introducing Migration
- International Net Migration
- International and Internal Migration
- Changing U.S. Immigration

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.1.1

Understand the difference between immigration, emigration, and net migration.

Migration is a permanent move to a new location. Geographers document the migration of people across Earth and reasons for the migration (Figure 3-1). Migration is a specific type of relocation diffusion, which was defined in Chapter 1 as the spread of a characteristic through the bodily movement of people from one place to another.

Introducing Migration

Refer back to Figure 2-5 (ecumene) for a moment. Humans have spread across Earth during the past 7,000 years. This diffusion of human settlement from a small portion of Earth's land area to most of it resulted from migration. To accomplish the spread across Earth, humans have permanently changed their place of residence—where they sleep, store their possessions, and receive legal documents.

Migration is a form of **mobility**, which is a more general term covering all types of movements from one

place to another. People display mobility in a variety of ways, such as by journeying every weekday from their homes to places of work or education and once a week to shops, places of worship, or recreation areas. These types of short-term, repetitive, or cyclical movements that recur on a regular basis, such as daily, monthly, or annually, are called **circulation**. College students display another form of mobility—seasonal mobility—by moving to a dormitory each fall and returning home the following spring.

The flow of migration always involves two-way connections. Given two locations, A and B, some people migrate from A to B, while at the same time others migrate from B to A. **Emigration** is migration *from* a location; **immigration** is migration *to* a location.

The difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants is the **net migration** (Figure 3-1). If the number of immigrants exceeds the number of emigrants, the net migration is positive, and the region has net in-migration. If the number of emigrants exceeds the number of immigrants, the net migration is negative, and the region has net out-migration.

Figure 3-2 is a cartogram showing emigration by country, and Figure 3-3 is a cartogram showing immigration by country. A country, such as Mexico, that appears larger in Figure 3-2 than in Figure 3-3 has net out-migration, whereas a country that appears smaller in Figure 3-2 than in Figure 3-3, such as the United States, has net in-migration.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.1.1

Do the developed countries of Europe and North America appear in Figures 3-2 and 3-3 to have net in-migration or net out-migration?

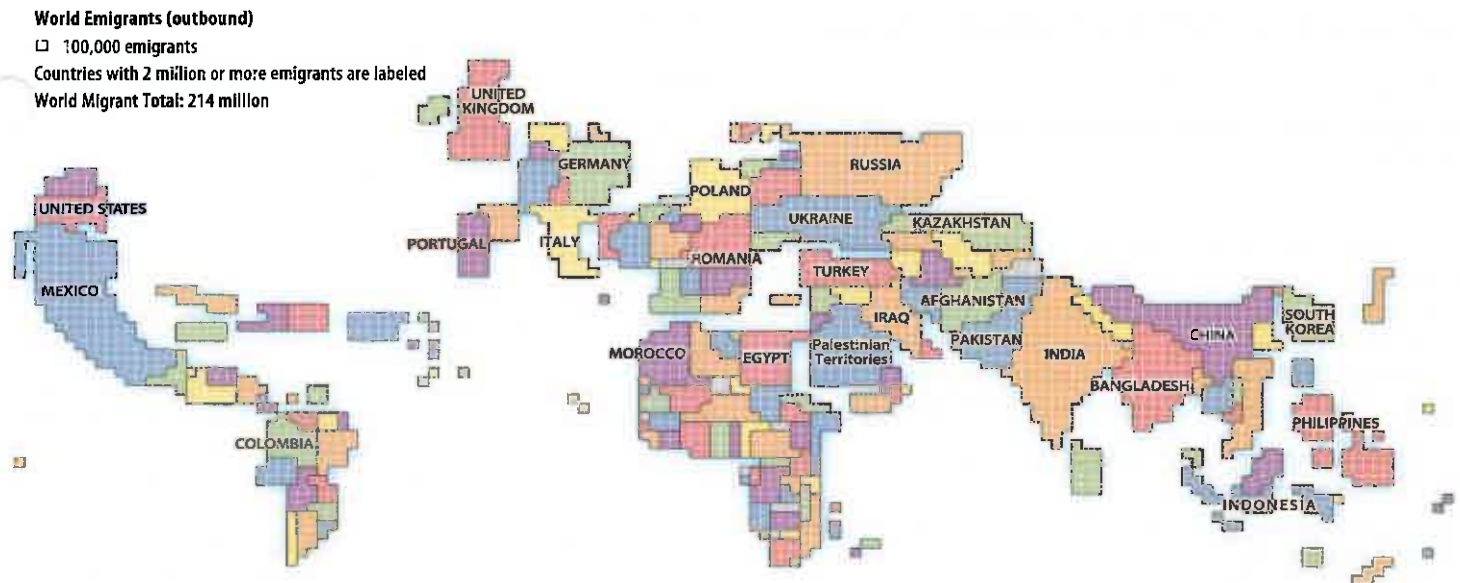
Geographers are especially interested in why people migrate, even though migration occurs much less frequently than other forms of mobility, because it produces profound changes for individuals and entire cultures. A permanent move to a new location disrupts traditional cultural ties and economic patterns in one region. At the same time, when people migrate, they take with them to their new home their language, religion, ethnicity, and other cultural traits, as well as their methods of farming and other economic practices.

The changing scale generated by modern transportation systems, especially motor vehicles and airplanes, makes relocation diffusion more feasible than in the past, when people had to rely on walking, animal power, or slow ships. However, thanks to modern communications systems, relocation diffusion is no longer essential for transmittal of ideas from one place to another. Culture and economy can diffuse rapidly around the world through forms of expansion diffusion.

Why would people make a perilous journey across thousands of kilometers of ocean? Why did the pioneers

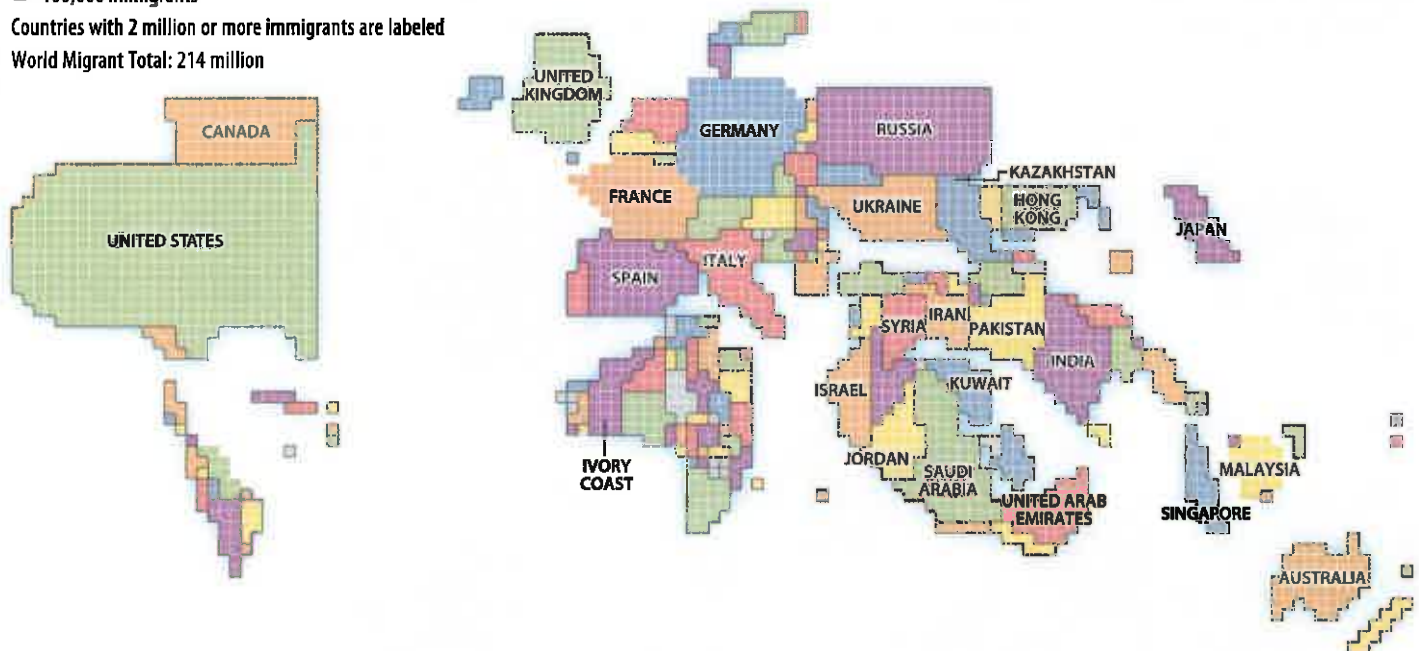


▲ **FIGURE 3-1 MIGRATION OF AMERICANS** Around 11 percent of Americans migrate in a year. The percentage has declined from around 20 percent during the 1980s.



▲ **FIGURE 3-2 CARTOGRAM OF EMIGRANTS** In this cartogram, the size of the country is based on the number of emigrants in 2010.

World Immigrants (inbound)
 □ 100,000 immigrants
 Countries with 2 million or more immigrants are labeled
 World Migrant Total: 214 million



▲ **FIGURE 3-3 CARTOGRAM OF IMMIGRANTS** In this cartogram, the size of the country is based on the number of immigrants in 2010.

cross the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, or the Mojave Desert to reach the American West? Why do people continue to migrate by the millions today? The hazards that many migrants have faced are a measure of the strong lure of new locations and the

desperate conditions in their former homelands. Most people migrate in search of three objectives: economic opportunity, cultural freedom, and environmental comfort. This chapter will study the reasons people migrate.

International Net Migration

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.1.2

Recognize the principal streams of international migration.

Geography has no comprehensive theory of migration although an outline of migration “laws” written by nineteenth-century geographer E. G. Ravenstein is the basis for contemporary geographic migration studies. To understand where and why migration occurs, Ravenstein’s “laws” can be organized into three groups:

- The distance that migrants typically move (discussed in Key Issues 1 and 2).
- The reasons migrants move (discussed in the first part of Key Issue 3).
- The characteristics of migrants (discussed in the second part of Key Issue 3).

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FLOWS

A permanent move from one country to another is **international migration**. Around 214 million people, or 3 percent of the world’s population, are international migrants and currently live in countries other than the ones

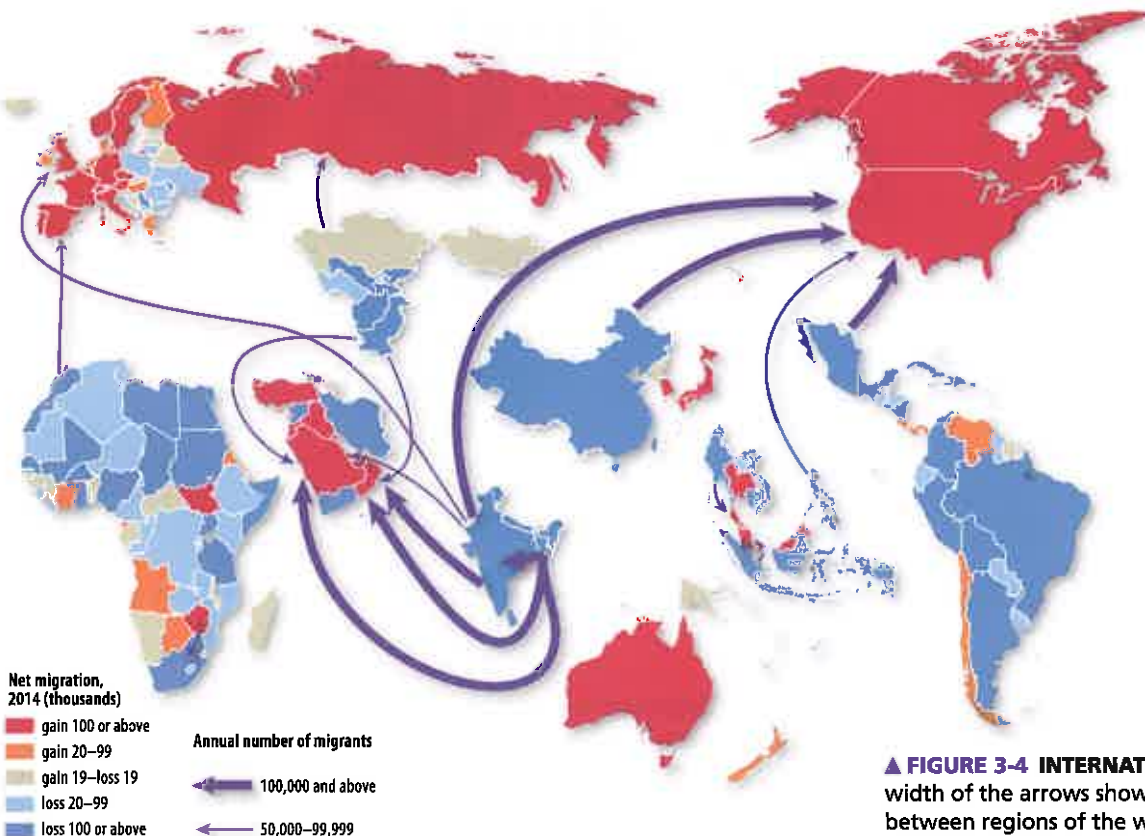
in which they were born, according to the Pew Research Center. At a regional scale, the three largest flows of migrants are (Figure 3-4):

- From Latin America to North America.
- From South Asia to Europe (Figure 3-5).
- From South Asia to Southwest Asia.

Migration to the United States from Mexico is by far the largest flow from a single country to another single country.

The regional pattern reflects the importance of migration from developing countries to developed countries. North America, Europe, Southwest Asia, and the South Pacific have net in-migration (Figure 3-6). Latin America, Africa, and all regions in Asia except for Southwest Asia have net out-migration. Migrants from countries with relatively low incomes and high natural increase rates head for relatively wealthy countries, where job prospects are brighter.

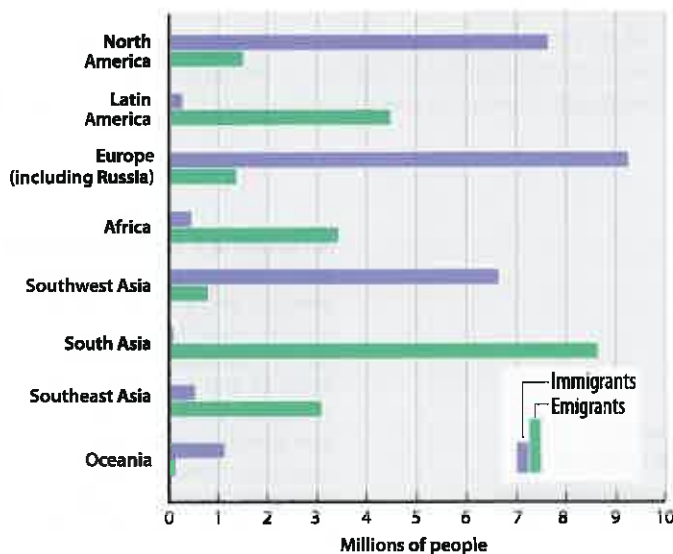
The United States has more foreign-born residents than any other country, approximately 42 million as of 2015, and growing annually by around 1 million. Russia is a distant second, with 11 million immigrants. Australia and Canada, which are much less populous than the United States, have higher rates of net in-migration. The highest in-migration rates of all are in petroleum-exporting countries of Southwest Asia, which attract immigrants primarily from poorer countries in Asia to perform many of the dirty and dangerous functions in the oil fields.



▲ **FIGURE 3-4 INTERNATIONAL NET MIGRATION** The width of the arrows shows the amount of net migration between regions of the world. Countries with net in-migration are in red, and those with net out-migration are in blue.



◀ **FIGURE 3-5 IMMIGRATION, UNITED KINGDOM** An immigrant from Latin America walks past an anti-immigration political poster, Birmingham, United Kingdom.



▲ **FIGURE 3-6 IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS BY WORLD REGION** Europe, North America, and Southwest Asia have substantially more immigration than emigration.

MIGRATION TRANSITION

Geographer Wilbur Zelinsky identified a **migration transition**, which consists of changes in a society comparable to those in the demographic transition (Table 3-1). The migration transition is a change in the migration pattern in a society that results from the social and economic changes that also produce the demographic transition. According to the migration transition, international migration is primarily a phenomenon of countries in stage 2 of the demographic transition, whereas internal migration is more important in stages 3 and 4.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.1.2

If the demographic transition has a stage 5 in the future, what might be key features of a stage 5 of the migration transition?

TABLE 3-1 Comparing the Demographic Transition and Migration Transition

Stage	Demographic Transition	Migration Transition
1	Low NIR, high CBR, high CDR	High daily or seasonal mobility in search of food
2	High NIR, high CBR, rapidly falling CDR	High international emigration and interregional migration from rural to urban areas
3	Declining NIR, rapidly declining CBR, declining CDR	High international immigration and intraregional migration from cities to suburbs
4	Low NIR, low CBR, low CDR	Same as stage 3

International and Internal Migration

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.1.3

Understand the difference between internal and international migration.

Geographer E.G. Ravenstein developed a set of laws that govern human migration. According to Ravenstein:

- Most migrants relocate a short distance and remain within the same country.
- Long-distance migrants to other countries head for major centers of economic activity.

DISTANCE OF MIGRATION

Migration can be either international or internal (Figure 3-7).

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION. A permanent move from one country to another is international migration. In Mexico, for example, international migration consists primarily of immigration from Central America and emigration to the United States (Figure 3-8). International migration is further divided into two types:

- Voluntary migration** means that the migrant has chosen to move, usually for economic reasons, though sometimes for environmental reasons.
- Forced migration** means that the migrant has been compelled to move by cultural or environmental factors.

The distinction between forced and voluntary migration is not clear-cut. Migrants for economic reasons may feel forced by pressure inside themselves to migrate, such as to search for food or jobs, but they have not been explicitly compelled to migrate by the violent actions of other people.

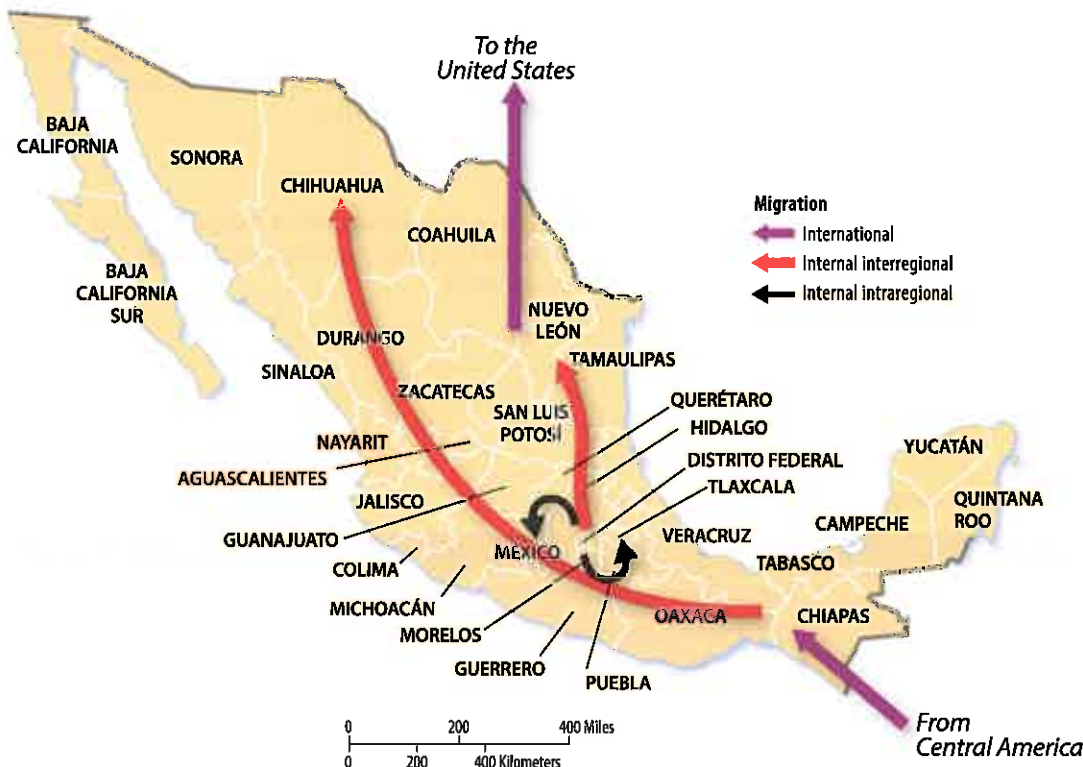
INTERNAL MIGRATION. A permanent move within the same country is **internal migration**. Consistent with the distance-decay principle presented in Chapter 1, the farther away a place is located, the less likely that people will migrate to it. Thus, internal migrants are much more numerous than international migrants.

Internal migration can be divided into two types:

- Interregional migration** is movement from one region of a country to another. Historically, the main type of interregional migration has been from rural to urban areas in search of jobs.
- Intraregional migration** is movement within one region. The main type of intraregional migration has been within urban areas, from older cities to newer suburbs.

In Mexico, for example, the principal interregional migration is from southern states to northern ones, and the principal intraregional migration is within the Mexico City metropolitan area.

Most people find migration within a country less traumatic than international migration because they find familiar language, foods, broadcasts, literature, music, and other



◀ **FIGURE 3-7 INTERNATIONAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION**

Mexico's two principal patterns of international migration are net in-migration from Central America and net out-migration to the United States. Mexico's two principal interregional migration flows are net migration from the south to the north and from the center to the north. Mexico's principal intraregional migration flow is from Mexico City to outer states in the Mexico City metropolitan area.



◀ **FIGURE 3-8 INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS** Migrants without legal papers travel through Mexico from Central America to the United States because they don't have enough money to pay for their travels. 1. Why do you think that these people want to reach the United States? 2. Why are they traveling by holding on to the side of the freight car? 3. What do you think would happen to them if they tried to cross the border in a car or truck?

social customs after they move. Moves within a country also generally involve much shorter distances than those in international migration. However, internal migration can involve long-distance moves in large countries, such as in the United States, China, and Russia (Figure 3-9).

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.1.3

When you or your family last moved, was it voluntary international, forced international, interregional internal, or intraregional internal?



◀ **FIGURE 3-9 INTERNAL MIGRATION** The Chinese Lunar New Year is the most important holiday for immigrants in the major cities to visit their families still living in other regions of China.

Changing U.S. Immigration

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.1.4

Describe the different sources of immigrants during the three main eras of U.S. immigration.

The United States plays a special role in the study of international migration, because it is inhabited overwhelmingly by direct descendants of immigrants. About 80 million people migrated to the United States between 1820 and 2015, including 42 million who were alive in 2015.

The United States has had three main eras of immigration:

- Colonial settlement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- Mass European immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- Asian and Latin American immigration in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

U.S. IMMIGRATION AT INDEPENDENCE

The U.S. population in 1790, the first census after independence, was 3.9 million, including 950,000 who had immigrated to one of the colonies now part of the United States. Immigration to the American colonies and the newly independent United States came from two principal places:

- **Europe.** According to the 1790 census, 62 percent of immigrants came from Europe, and of those, 45 to 50 percent came from the lands comprising the modern-day United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland. Colonies had been established by British immigrants along the Atlantic Coast, beginning with Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620.

- **Sub-Saharan Africa.** Most African Americans are descended from Africans forced to migrate to the Western Hemisphere as slaves (see Chapter 7). At the time of independence, 360,000 people living in the United States—38 percent of immigrants—had been shipped as slaves from Africa to the colonies, primarily by the British. The importation of Africans as slaves was made illegal in 1808, though another 250,000 Africans were brought to the United States during the next half-century.

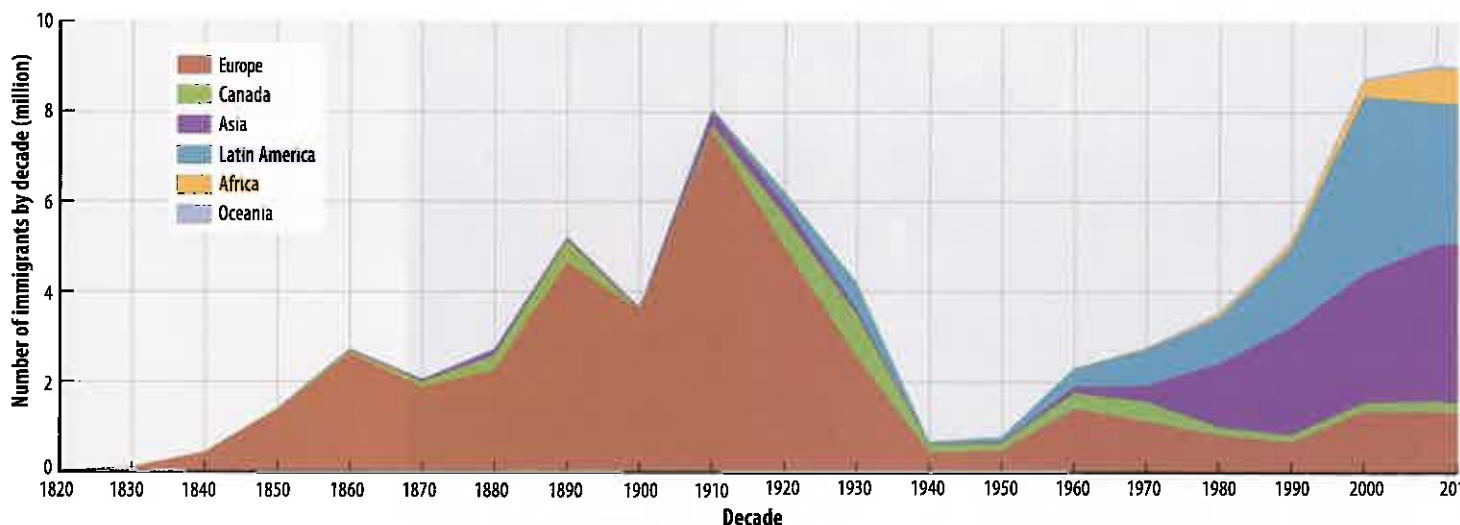
Most of the Africans were forced to migrate to the United States as slaves, whereas most Europeans were voluntary migrants. However, harsh economic conditions and religious persecution in Europe blurred the distinction between forced and voluntary migration for many Europeans.

U.S. IMMIGRATION: MID-NINETEENTH TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Between 1820 and 1920, approximately 32 million people immigrated to the United States. Nearly 90 percent of them emigrated from Europe (Figure 3-10). For European migrants, the United States offered a great opportunity for economic success. Early migrants extolled the virtues of the country to friends and relatives back in Europe, which encouraged still others to come.

Migration from Europe to the United States peaked at several points during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

- **1840s and 1850s: Ireland and Germany.** Annual immigration jumped from 20,000 to more than 200,000. Three-fourths of all U.S. immigrants during those two decades came from Ireland and Germany. Desperate economic push factors compelled the Irish and Germans to cross the Atlantic. Germans also emigrated to escape political unrest.



▲ FIGURE 3-10 TWO CENTURIES OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES Europeans comprised more than 90 percent of immigrants to the United States during the nineteenth century. Since the 1980s, Latin America and Asia have been the dominant sources of immigrants.

- **1870s: Ireland and Germany.** Emigration from Ireland and Germany resumed following a temporary decline during the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865).
- **1880s: Scandinavia.** Immigration increased to 500,000 per year. Increasing numbers of Scandinavians, especially Swedes and Norwegians, joined Germans and Irish in migrating to the United States. The Industrial Revolution had diffused to Scandinavia, triggering a rapid population increase.
- **1905–1914: Southern and Eastern Europe.** Annual immigration to the United States reached 1 million. Two-thirds of all immigrants during this period came from Southern and Eastern Europe, especially Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. The shift in the primary source of immigrants coincided with the diffusion of the Industrial Revolution to Southern and Eastern Europe, along with rapid population growth.

Among European countries, Germany has sent the largest number of immigrants to the United States, 7.2 million. Other major European sources include Italy, 5.4 million; the United Kingdom, 5.3 million; Ireland, 4.8 million; and Russia and the former Soviet Union, 4.1 million. About one-fourth of Americans trace their ancestry to German immigrants, and one-eighth each to Irish and English immigrants.

Frequent boundary changes in Europe make precise national counts impossible. For example, most Poles migrated to the United States at a time when Poland did not exist as an independent country. Until the end of World War I in 1918, Austria-Hungary encompassed portions of present-day Austria, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Czechia, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine, and many immigrants are recorded as coming from Austria-Hungary rather than the present-day countries.

U.S. IMMIGRATION: LATE TWENTIETH TO EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Immigration to the United States dropped sharply in the 1930s and 1940s, during the Great Depression and World War II. The number steadily increased beginning in the 1950s and then surged to historically high levels during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

More than three-fourths of the recent U.S. immigrants have emigrated from two regions:

- **Latin America.** Around 13 million Latin Americans have migrated to the United States in the past half-century, compared to only 2 million in the two preceding centuries. Nearly one-half million Latin Americans migrate annually to the United States, more than twice as many as during the entire nineteenth century.
- **Asia.** Around 7 million Asians have migrated to the United States in the past half-century, compared to only 1 million

in the two preceding centuries. The leading sources of U.S. immigrants from Asia are China (including Hong Kong), the Philippines, India, and Vietnam.

Officially, Mexico passed Germany in 2006 as the country that has sent to the United States the most immigrants ever. Because of the large number of undocumented immigrants, Mexico probably became the leading source during the 1980s. In the early 1990s, an unusually large number came from Mexico and other Latin American countries as a result of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, which issued visas to several hundred thousand people who had entered the United States in previous years without legal documents.

Although the source of immigrants to the United States has changed from predominantly Europe to Asia and Latin America, the reason for immigration remains the same: Rapid population growth has limited prospects for economic advancement at home. Europeans left when their countries entered stage 2 of the demographic transition in the nineteenth century, and Latin Americans and Asians began to leave in large numbers in recent years after their countries entered stage 2. With poor conditions at home, immigrants were lured by economic opportunity and social advancement in the United States.

The motives for immigrating to the country may be similar, but the United States has changed over time. The United States is no longer a sparsely settled, economically booming country. In 1912, New Mexico and Arizona were admitted as the forty-seventh and forty-eighth states. Thus, for the first time in its history, all the contiguous territory of the country was a “united” state (other than the District of Columbia). This symbolic closing of the frontier coincided with the end of the peak period of emigration from Europe.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.1.4

In which stage of the demographic transition were most countries when they sent the most immigrants to the United States?

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are the World's Migrants Distributed?

- ✓ Migration is the permanent move to a new location.
- ✓ Migration can be international (voluntary or forced) or internal (interregional or intraregional).
- ✓ The number and place of origin of immigrants to the United States have varied over time.

Where Do People Migrate Within a Country?

- **Interregional Migration in the United States**
- **Interregional Migration in Other Large Countries**
- **Intraregional Migration**

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.2.1

Describe the principal patterns of interregional migration in the United States.

Internal migration for most people is less disruptive than international migration. Two main types of internal migration are interregional (between regions of a country) and intraregional (within a region).

In the past, people migrated from one region of a country to another in search of better farmland. Lack of farmland pushed many people from the more densely settled regions of the country and lured them to the frontier, where land was abundant. Today, the principal type of interregional migration is from rural areas to urban areas. Most jobs, especially in services, are clustered in urban areas (see Chapter 12).

Recent immigrants are not distributed uniformly through the United States. More than one-half immigrate to California, Florida, New York, or Texas (Figure 3-11).

Interregional Migration in the United States

An especially prominent example of large-scale internal migration is the opening of the American West. At the time of independence, the United States consisted of long-established settlements concentrated on the Atlantic Coast and a scattering of newer settlements in the territories west of the Appalachian Mountains. Through mass interregional migration, the interior of the continent was settled and developed.

CHANGING CENTER OF POPULATION

The U.S. Census Bureau computes the country's population center at the time of each census. The population center is the average location of everyone in the country, the "center of population gravity." If the United States were a flat plane placed on top of a pin, and each individual weighed the same,

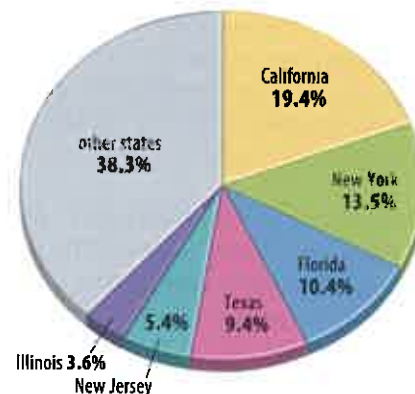
the population center would be the point where the population distribution causes the flat plane to balance on the pin.

The changing location of the population center graphically demonstrates the march of the American people across the North American continent over the past 200 years (Figure 3-12). The center has consistently shifted westward, although the rate of movement has varied in different eras.

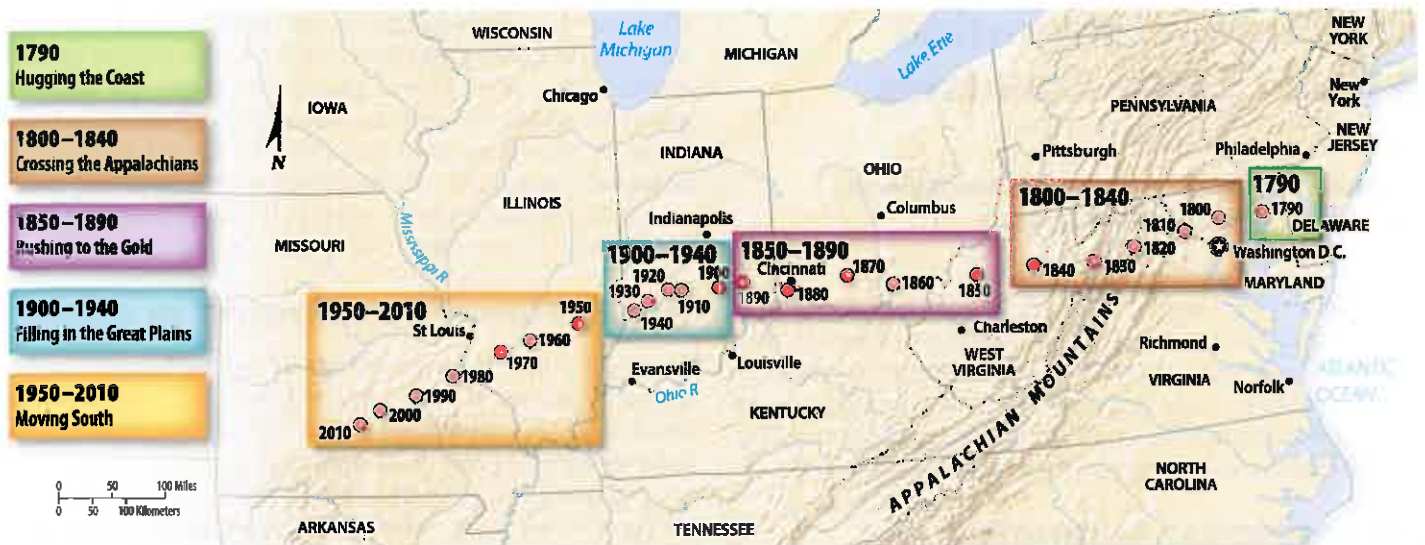
1790: HUGGING THE COAST. Virtually all colonial-era settlements were near the Atlantic Coast. Few colonists ventured far from coastal locations because they depended on shipping links with Europe to receive products and to export raw materials. The Appalachian Mountains also blocked western development because of their steep slopes, thick forests, and few gaps that allowed easy passage. The indigenous residents, commonly called "Indians," still occupied large areas and sometimes resisted the expansion of settlement.

1800–1840: CROSSING THE APPALACHIANS. Transportation improvements, especially the building of canals, helped to open the interior. Most important was the Erie Canal, which enabled people to travel inexpensively by boat between New York City and the Great Lakes. In 1840, the United States had 5,352 kilometers (3,326 miles) of canals. Encouraged by the opportunity to obtain a large amount of land at a low price, people moved into forested river valleys between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River. They cut down the trees and used the wood to build homes, barns, and fences.

1850–1890: RUSHING TO THE GOLD. The population center shifted westward more rapidly during this period. Rather than continuing to expand agriculture into the next available westward land, mid-nineteenth-century pioneers kept going all the way to California. The principal pull to California was the Gold Rush, which began in the late 1840s. Pioneers during this period also passed over the Great Plains because of the physical environment. The region's dry climate, lack of trees, and tough grassland sod



▲ FIGURE 3-11 DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS BY U.S. STATE California, New York, and Florida are the leading destinations for immigrants.



▲ FIGURE 3-12 CHANGING CENTER OF U.S. POPULATION The population center is the average location of everyone in the country, the “center of population gravity.” If the United States were a flat plane placed on top of a pin, and each individual weighed the same, the population center would be the point where the population distribution causes the flat plane to balance on the head of a pin.

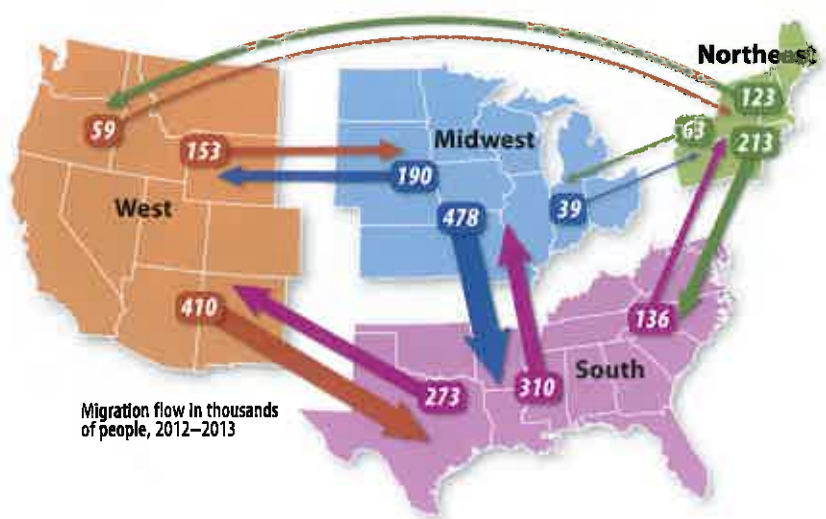
convinced early explorers such as Zebulon Pike that the region was unfit for farming, and maps at the time labeled the Great Plains as the Great American Desert.

1900–1940: FILLING IN THE GREAT PLAINS. The westward movement of the U.S. population center slowed during this period because emigration from Europe to the East Coast offset most of the emigration from the East Coast to the U.S. West. Also, immigrants began to fill in the Great Plains that earlier generations had bypassed. Advances in agricultural technology enabled people to cultivate the area. Farmers used barbed wire to reduce dependence on wood fencing, the steel plow to cut the thick sod, and windmills and well-drilling equipment to pump more water. The expansion of the railroads encouraged settlement of the Great Plains. The federal government gave large land grants to the railroad companies, which financed construction of their lines by selling portions to farmers. The extensive rail network then permitted settlers to transport their products to the large concentrations of customers in East Coast cities.

1950–2010: MOVING SOUTH. The population center resumed a more vigorous westward migration. It also moved southward, as Americans migrated to the South for job opportunities and warmer climate. The rapid growth of population and employment in the South has aggravated interregional antagonism. Some people in the Northeast and Midwest believe that southern states have stolen industries from them. In reality, some industries have relocated from the Northeast and Midwest, but most of the South’s industrial growth comes from newly established companies. Interregional migration has slowed considerably in the United States into the twenty-first century (Figure 3-13). Regional differences in employment prospects have become less dramatic. The severe recession of 2008–2009 discouraged people from migrating because of limited job prospects in all regions.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.2.1

How might climate change affect patterns of interregional migration in the United States?



► FIGURE 3-13 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES Figures show the flow of migrants in thousands of people in 2012 and 2013.

Interregional Migration in Other Large Countries

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.2.2

Describe the principal patterns of interregional migration in several large countries.

The world's three largest countries in land area are Russia, Canada, and China; the United States ranks fourth and Brazil fifth. Long-distance interregional migration has been an important means of opening new regions for development in Russia and Canada in the past and in Brazil more recently. China has tried to discourage interregional migration.

INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION IN CANADA

Canada, like the United States, has had interregional migration primarily from east to west for nearly two centuries. Since 2001, the two westernmost provinces—Alberta and British Columbia—have had nearly all of Canada's net in-migration, whereas Ontario has had the largest net out-migration (Figure 3-14). The three largest inter-provincial flows in Canada are from Ontario to Alberta, from Ontario to British Columbia, and from Alberta to British Columbia.

INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION IN RUSSIA

The population of Russia is highly clustered in the western, or European, portion of the country. Interregional migration has been an important tool to promote development in the sparsely inhabited Asian portion of the country. During the Soviet Union period, Communist policy encouraged factory construction near raw materials rather than near major population concentrations (see

Chapter 11). Because many of the raw materials were located in remote portions of Asia, the Soviet government sometimes forced people to move to these regions in order to have an adequate supply of labor to work in the mines and factories. In recent years, interregional migration has reversed, with net in-migration to the European regions, where the largest cities and job opportunities are clustered (Figure 3-15).

INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION IN CHINA

In developing countries, the predominant flow of interregional migration is from rural to urban areas, where jobs are more likely to be available. More than 150 million Chinese have emigrated from rural areas in the interior of the country (Figure 3-16). They are headed for the large urban areas along the east coast, where jobs are especially plentiful in factories. The government once severely limited the ability of Chinese people to make interregional moves, but restrictions have been lifted in recent years.

INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION IN BRAZIL

As in China, most Brazilians live in a string of large cities near the East Coast. Brazil's tropical interior is sparsely inhabited. To increase the attractiveness of the interior, the government moved its capital in 1960 from Rio to a newly built city called Brasília, situated 1,000 kilometers (600 miles) from the Atlantic Coast. Development of Brazil's interior has altered historic migration patterns. The coastal areas now have net out-migration, whereas the interior areas have net in-migration (Figure 3-17).

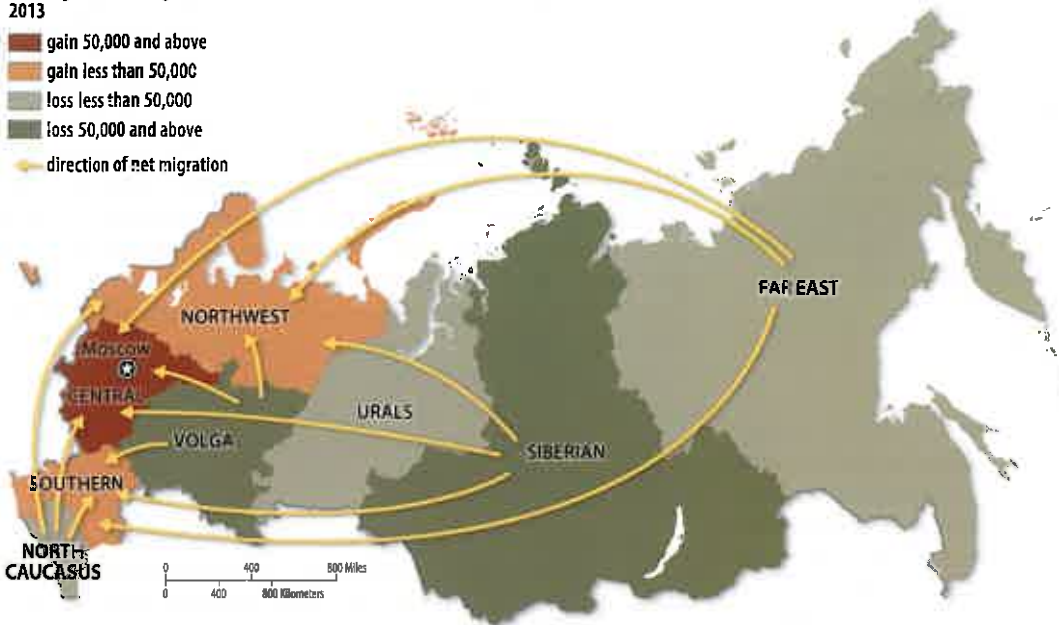
PAUSE & REFLECT 3.2.2

Does Russia's interregional migration pattern more closely represent that of the United States and Canada or that of Brazil and China?



Interregional net migration, 2013

- gain 50,000 and above
- gain less than 50,000
- loss less than 50,000
- loss 50,000 and above
- direction of net migration



◀ **FIGURE 3-15 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: RUSSIA** Net migration is from the eastern, Asian, regions of Russia to the western, European, regions.

Interregional net migration, 1990–2005

- gain 5 million and above
- gain less than 5 million
- loss less than 5 million
- loss 5 million and above

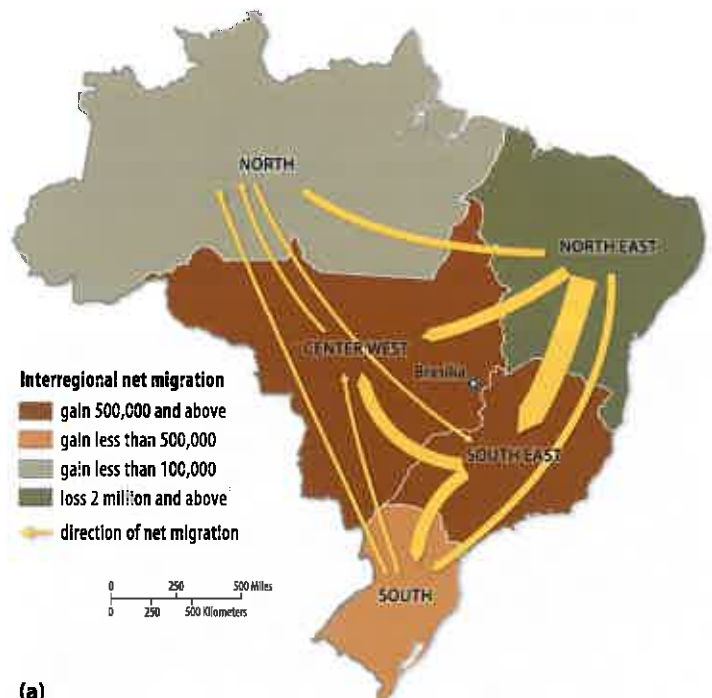


◀ **FIGURE 3-16 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: CHINA** Migrants are heading eastward toward the major cities along the east coast, where job opportunities are most abundant.



(b)

▲ **FIGURE 3-17 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: BRAZIL** (a) Net migration in Brazil is from coastal regions to interior ones. (b) A recent immigrant living on the outskirts of Brasília picks through a garbage dump.



(a)

Interregional net migration

- gain 500,000 and above
- gain less than 500,000
- gain less than 100,000
- loss 2 million and above
- direction of net migration

Intraregional Migration

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.2.3

Describe three types of intraregional migration.

Intraregional migration is much more common than inter-regional or international migration. Most intraregional migration is from rural to urban areas in developing countries and from cities to suburbs in developed countries.

MIGRATION FROM RURAL TO URBAN AREAS

Migration from rural (or nonmetropolitan) areas to urban (or metropolitan) areas began in the 1800s in Europe and North America as part of the Industrial Revolution (see Chapter 11). The percentage of people living in urban areas in the United States, for example, increased from 5 percent in 1800 to 50 percent in 1920 and 81 percent in 2015.

In recent years, urbanization has diffused to developing countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa (see Chapter 12). Between 1950 and 2015, the percentage living in urban areas increased from 40 percent to 80 percent in Latin America, from 15 percent to 47 percent in Asia, and from 10 percent to 38 percent in sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 3-18). As with interregional migrants, most people who move from rural to urban areas seek economic advancement. They are pushed from rural areas by declining opportunities in agriculture and are pulled to the cities by the prospect of work in factories or in service industries (Figure 3-19).

MIGRATION FROM URBAN TO SUBURBAN AREAS

Most intraregional migration in developed countries is from cities out to surrounding suburbs. The population of most cities in developed countries has declined since the mid-twentieth century, while suburbs have grown rapidly. Nearly twice as many Americans migrate from

cities to suburbs each year as migrate from suburbs to cities (Figure 3-20). Comparable patterns are found in Canada and Europe.

The major reason for the large-scale migration to the suburbs is not related to employment, as is the case with other forms of migration. For most people, migration to suburbs does not coincide with changing jobs. Instead, people are pulled by a suburban lifestyle. Suburbs offer the opportunity to live in a detached house rather than an apartment, surrounded by a private yard where children can play safely. A garage or driveway on the property guarantees space to park cars at no extra charge. In the United States, suburban schools tend to be more modern, better equipped, and safer than those in cities. Cars and trains enable people to live in suburbs yet have access to jobs, shops, and recreational facilities throughout the urban area (see Chapter 13).

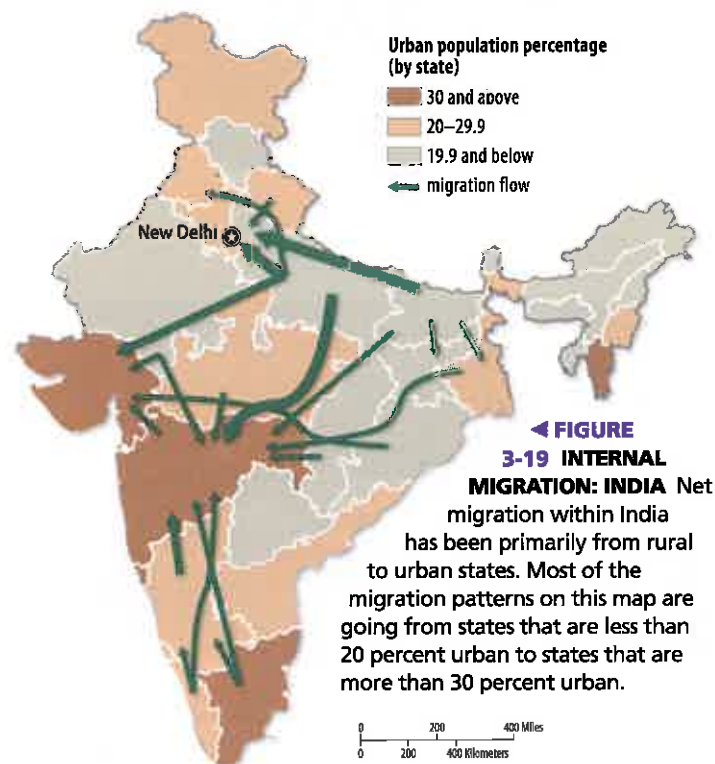
As a result of suburbanization, the territory occupied by urban areas has rapidly expanded. To accommodate suburban growth, farms on the periphery of urban areas are converted to housing and commercial developments, where new roads, sewers, and other services must be built.

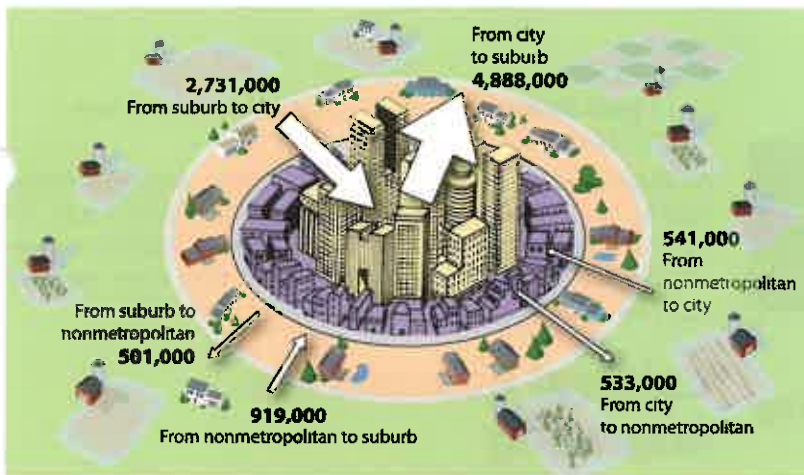
MIGRATION FROM URBAN TO RURAL AREAS

Developed countries witnessed a new migration trend beginning in the late twentieth century. For the first time more people immigrated into rural areas than emigrated out of them in some years. Net migration from urban to rural areas is called **counterurbanization**.

The boundary where suburbs end and the countryside begins cannot be precisely defined. Counterurbanization

▼ **FIGURE 3-18 RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION: INDIA** Poor-quality housing for immigrants in Delhi.





▲ FIGURE 3-20 INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION: UNITED STATES Intraregional migration is primarily from cities to suburbs. Figures are total U.S. intraregional migrants in 2013.

results in part from very rapid expansion of suburbs. But some counterurbanization represents genuine migration from cities and suburbs to small towns and rural communities.

As with suburbanization, people move from urban to rural areas for lifestyle reasons. Some are lured to rural areas by the prospect of swapping the frantic pace of urban life for the opportunity to live on a farm, where they can own horses or grow vegetables. Others move to farms but do not earn their living from agriculture; instead, they work in nearby offices, small-town shops, or other services. In the United States, evidence of counterurbanization can be seen primarily in the Rocky Mountain states. Rural counties in states such as Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming have experienced net in-migration (Figure 3-21).

With modern communications and transportation systems, no location in a developed country is truly isolated, either economically or socially. We can buy most products online and have them delivered within a few days. We can follow the fortunes of our favorite teams

anywhere in the country, thanks to cable, satellite dishes, and webcasts.

Intraregional migration in the United States has slowed considerably since the 1980s (refer to Figure 3-1). Most intraregional migration in the United States continues to be between cities and suburbs. Since 2010, the number of Americans moving from cities to suburbs has decreased, whereas the number moving from suburbs to cities has increased. Counterurbanization is not a phenomenon every year. Cities have become more attractive especially to younger people (see Chapter 13).

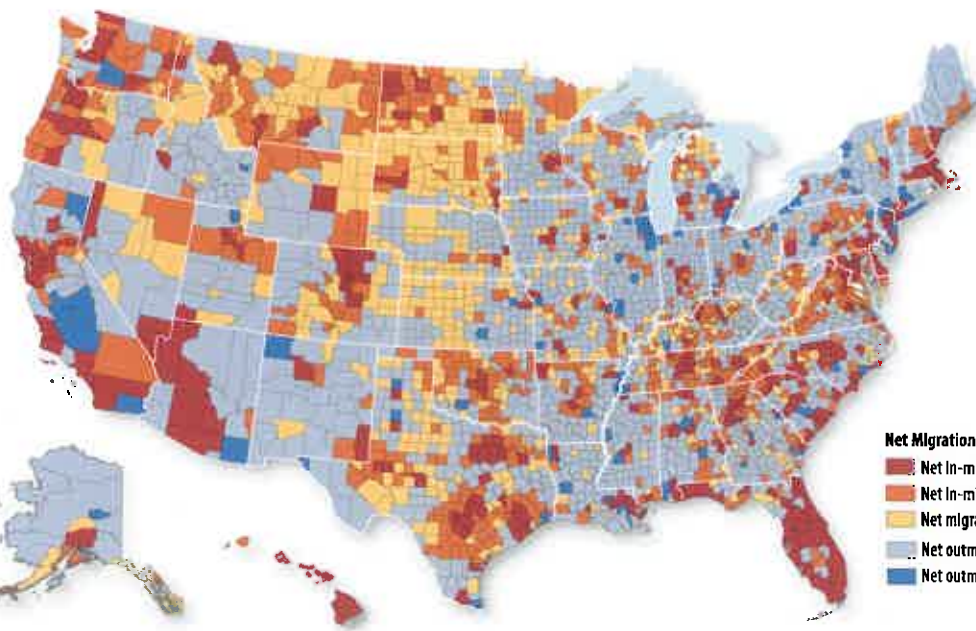
PAUSE & REFLECT 3.2.3

Why might rural to urban migration be most intense in countries in stage 2 of the demographic transition?

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 2

Where Do People Migrate Within a Country?

- ✓ Large-scale interregional migration has resulted in the movement of the U.S. center of population to the West and South.
- ✓ Other large countries have experienced substantial interregional migration.
- ✓ Intraregional migration has been primarily from rural to urban areas in developing countries and from cities to suburbs in developed countries.



◀ FIGURE 3-21 COUNTERURBANIZATION Net migration by county, 2007–2014. Figures are number of people.

Net Migration, 2010–2014

- Net In-migration above 2,500
- Net In-migration 101–2,500
- Net migration between -100 and +100
- Net outmigration 101–2,500
- Net outmigration above 2,500

Why Do People Migrate?

- Cultural Reasons for Migrating
- Environmental Reasons for Migrating
- Migrating to Find Work
- Gender and Age of Migrants

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.3.1

Explain cultural and environmental reasons for migration.

Ravenstein's laws help geographers explain the reasons people migrate:

- Most people migrate for economic reasons (see the next section).
- Cultural and environmental reasons (discussed in this section) also induce migration, although not as frequently as economic reasons.

One of these reasons usually emerges as most important, although elements of more than one reason may be detectable. Ranking the relative importance of these reasons may be difficult and even controversial.

People migrate because of push factors and pull factors:

- A **push factor** induces people to move out of their present location.

- A **pull factor** induces people to move into a new location.

As migration for most people is a major step not taken lightly, both push and pull factors typically play a role. To migrate, people view their current place of residence so negatively that they feel pushed away, and they view another place so positively that they feel pulled toward it.

Cultural Reasons For Migrating

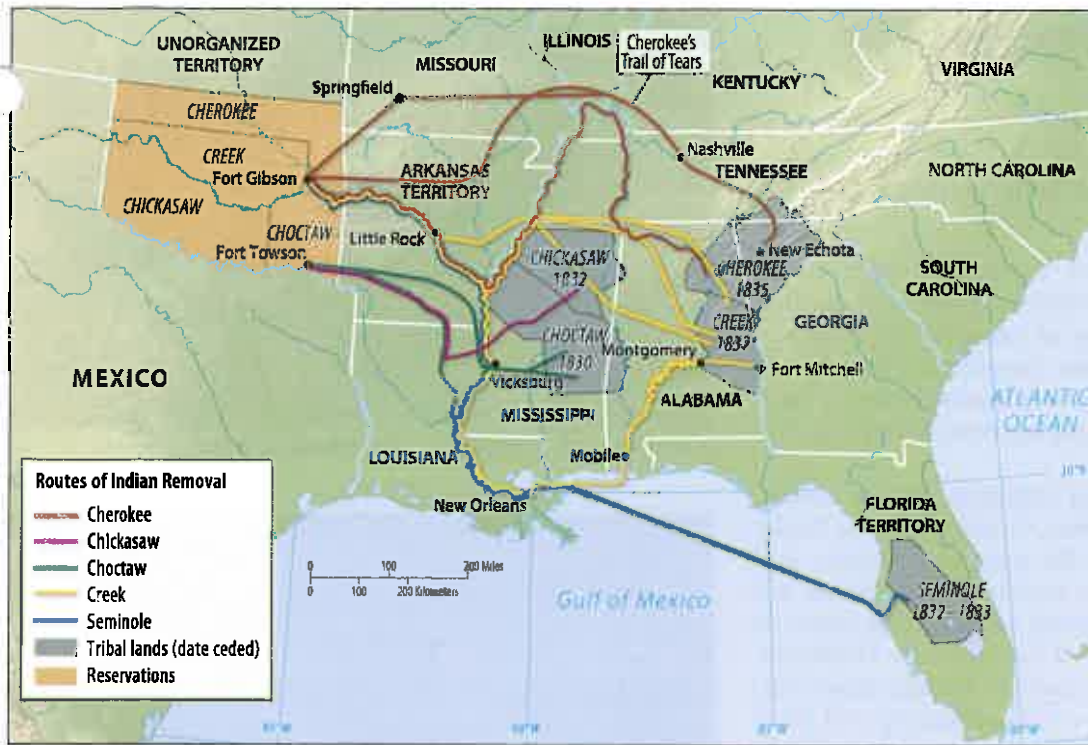
Cultural migration can occur for a number of personal reasons, such as family status and schools. At the international scale, cultural migration frequently occurs because of political conflict. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) recognizes three groups of people who are forced to migrate for political reasons:

- A **refugee** has been forced to migrate to another country to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, or other disasters and cannot return for fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion.
- An **internally displaced person (IDP)** has been forced to migrate for similar political reasons as a refugee but has not migrated across an international border.
- An **asylum seeker** is someone who has migrated to another country in the hope of being recognized as a refugee.

The UN counted 19.5 million refugees, 38.2 million IDPs, and 1.8 million asylum seekers in 2014 (Figure 3-22).



FIGURE 3-22 POLITICAL MIGRATION: REFUGEES AND IDPs The largest number of refugees originated in Afghanistan and Syria.



(a)



(b)

The largest numbers of refugees in 2014 were forced to migrate from Afghanistan and from Syria because of continuing civil wars in those two countries. Neighboring countries received the most refugees—Pakistan and Iran from Afghanistan and Lebanon and Turkey from Syria.

◀ **FIGURE 3-23 TRAIL OF TEARS** (a) These are the routes that the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole tribes took when they were forced to migrate westward in the early nineteenth century. (b) Trail of Tears, Pea Ridge National Military Park, Garfield, Arkansas.

TRAIL OF TEARS

Like many other people in North America, Native Americans also migrated west in the nineteenth century. But their migration was forced rather than voluntary. This inequality was written in law, when the Indian Removal Act of 1830 authorized the U.S. Army to remove five Indian tribes from their land in the southeastern United States and move them to Indian Territory (now the state of Oklahoma). The Choctaw were forced to emigrate from Mississippi in 1831, the Seminole from Florida in 1832, the Creek from Alabama in 1834, the Chickasaw from Mississippi in 1837, and the Cherokee from Georgia in 1838 (Figure 3-23).

The five removals opened up 100,000 square kilometers (25 million acres) of land for whites to settle and relocated the tribes to places that were too dry to sustain their traditional ways of obtaining food. Approximately 46,000 Native Americans were estimated to have been uprooted, and many of them died in the long trek to the west. The route became known as the Trail of Tears; parts of it are preserved as a National Historic Trail.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.3.1

What similarities and differences can be seen between the interregional migration patterns of Native Americans and of migrants of European ancestry, as shown in Figure 3-12?

Environmental Reasons For Migrating

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.3.2

Explain environmental reasons for migration.

People sometimes migrate for environmental reasons, pulled toward physically attractive regions and pushed from hazardous ones. In this age of improved communications and transportation systems, people can live in environmentally attractive areas that are relatively remote and still not feel too isolated from employment, shopping, and entertainment opportunities.

Attractive environments for migrants include mountains, seashores, and warm climates. Proximity to the Rocky Mountains lures Americans to the state of Colorado, and the Alps pull French people to eastern France. Some migrants are shocked to find polluted air and congestion in such areas. The southern coast of England, the Mediterranean coast of France, and the coasts of Florida attract migrants, especially retirees, who enjoy swimming and lying on the beach. Of all elderly people who migrate from one U.S. state to another, one-third select Florida as their destination. Regions with warm winters, such as southern Spain and the southwestern United States, attract migrants from harsher climates.

Migrants are also pushed from their homes by adverse physical conditions. Water—either too much or too little—poses the most common environmental threat. Many people are forced to move by water-related disasters because they live in a vulnerable area, such as a floodplain (Figure 3-24). A **floodplain** is an area subject to flooding during a specific number of years, based on historical trends. People living in the “100-year floodplain,” for example, can expect flooding on average once every century (Figure 3-25). Many people are unaware that they live in a floodplain, and even people who do know often choose to live there anyway.

A lack of water pushes others from their land. Hundreds of thousands have been forced to move from drylands in Africa because of drought conditions. Deterioration of land to a desertlike condition typically due to human actions is called **desertification**, or more precisely semiarid land degradation (Figure 3-26). The capacity of portions of Africa to sustain human life—never very high—has declined recently because of population growth and several years of unusually low rainfall (Figure 3-27). Consequently, many of these nomads have been forced to move into cities and rural camps, where they survive on food donated by the government and international relief organizations.



▲ FIGURE 3-24 FLOODING, JAKARTA, INDONESIA



▲ FIGURE 3-25 100-YEAR FLOODPLAIN Flooding along the Mississippi River in 2011 covers farmland.

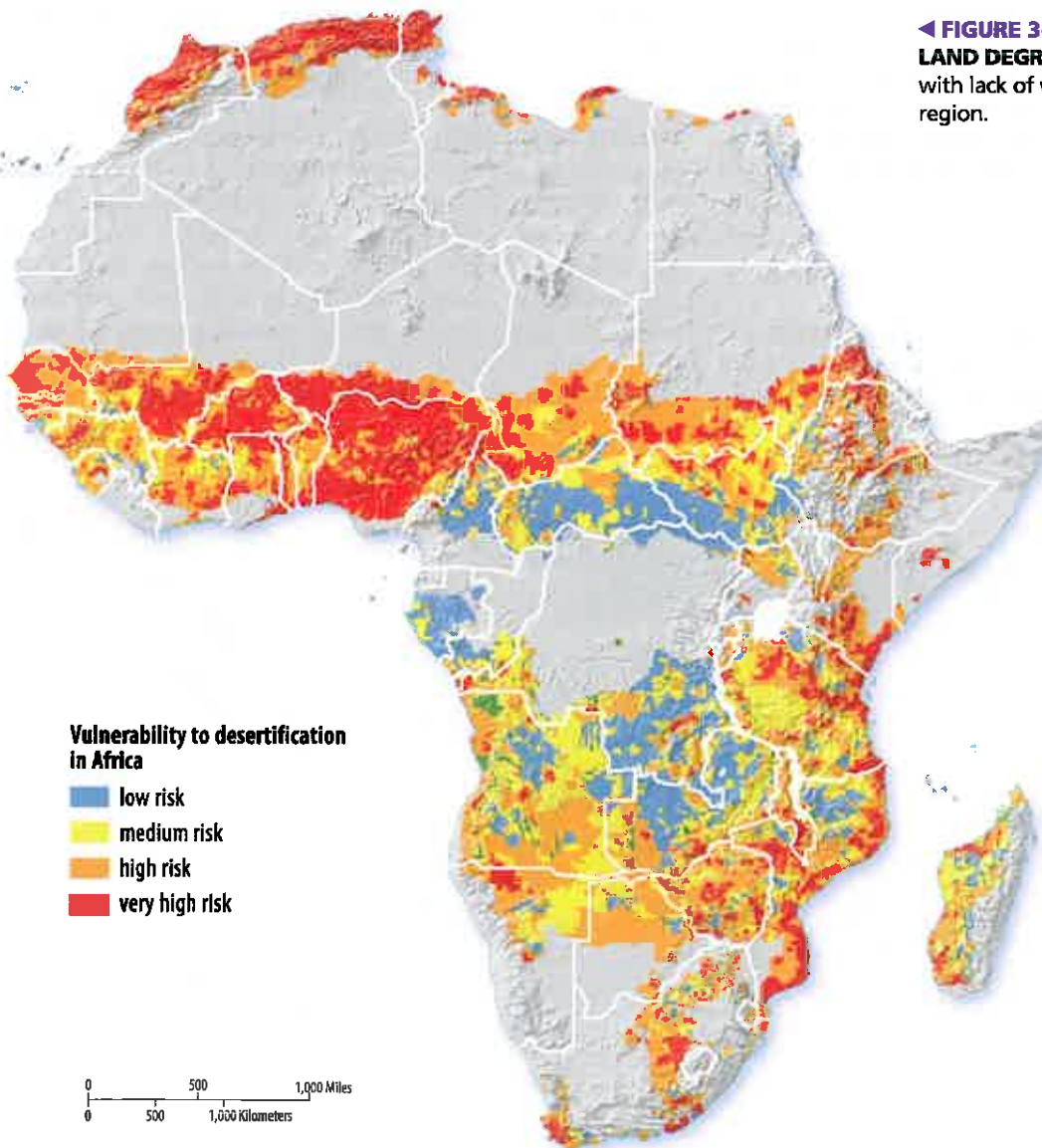
An environmental or political feature that hinders migration is an **intervening obstacle**. The principal obstacle traditionally faced by migrants to other countries was environmental: the long, arduous, and expensive passage over land or sea. Transportation improvements that have promoted globalization, such as motor vehicles and airplanes, have diminished the importance of environmental features as intervening obstacles.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.3.2

Why might people choose to build houses in floodplains?



◀ **FIGURE 3-26 DRYLANDS, TANZANIA**
People are attempting to obtain drinking water from a dry river bed.



◀ **FIGURE 3-27 DESERTIFICATION (SEMIARID LAND DEGRADATION)** The most severe problems with lack of water in Africa are in the Sahel region.

Migrating to Find Work

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.3.3

Understand economic reasons for international migration.

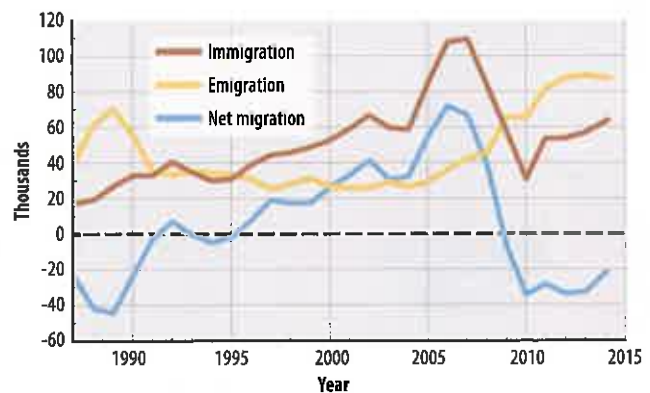
Most people migrate for economic reasons. People often emigrate from places that have few job opportunities and immigrate to places where jobs seem to be available. Because of economic restructuring, job prospects often vary from one country to another and within regions of the same country.

ECONOMIC REASONS FOR MIGRATING

The United States and Canada have been especially prominent destinations for economic migrants. Many European immigrants to North America in the nineteenth century truly expected to find streets paved with gold. While not literally so gilded, the United States and Canada did offer Europeans prospects for economic advancement. This same perception of economic plenty now lures people to the United States and Canada from Latin America and Asia.

The relative attractiveness of a region can shift with economic change. Ireland was a place of net out-migration through most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dire economic conditions produced net out-migration in excess of 200,000 a year during the 1850s. The pattern reversed during the 1990s, as economic prosperity made Ireland a destination for immigrants, especially from Eastern Europe. However, the collapse of Ireland's economy as part of the severe global recession starting in 2008 brought a return to net out-migration (Figure 3-28).

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between migrants seeking economic opportunities and refugees fleeing from government persecution. The distinction between economic migrants and refugees is important because the United States, Canada, and European countries treat the two groups differently. Economic migrants are generally not admitted unless they possess special skills or have a close relative already in the new country, and even then they must compete with similar applicants from other countries. However, refugees receive special priority in admission to other countries.

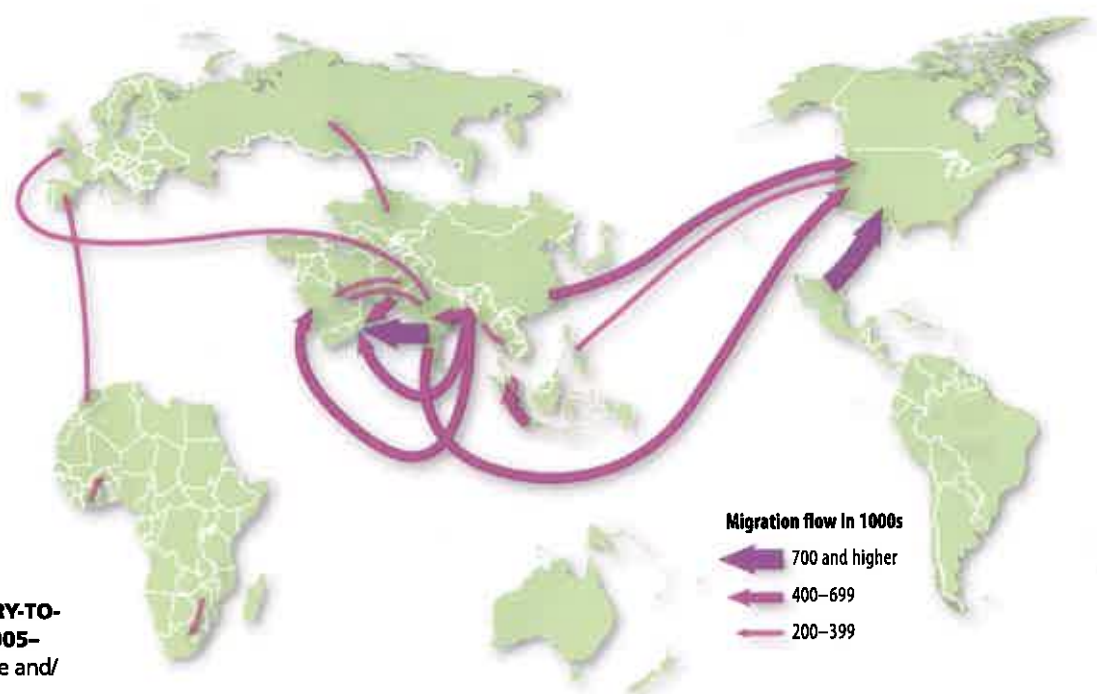


▲ FIGURE 3-28 NET MIGRATION IN IRELAND With few job prospects, Ireland historically had net out-migration until the 1990s. The severe recession of the early twenty-first century brought net out-migration back to Ireland.

ASIA'S MIGRANT WORKERS

People unable to migrate permanently to a new country for employment opportunities may be allowed to migrate temporarily. Prominent forms of temporary work are found in Asia (discussed here) and in Europe (discussed later in this chapter). Asia is both a major source and a major destination for migrants in search of work (Figure 3-29).

SOUTH AND EAST ASIA. The world's largest sources of migrants in search of work emigrate from South and East Asia. More than 2 million people annually emigrate from India, Bangladesh, China, and Pakistan. An estimated 50 million Chinese and 25 million Indians live in other countries. The United States is a leading receiving country, although most have emigrated to other countries in Asia. The largest numbers of ethnic Chinese emigrants are in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Myanmar, as well as the



► FIGURE 3-29 LARGEST COUNTRY-TO-COUNTRY MIGRATION FLOWS, 2005–2010 Most migration flows originate and/or end in Asia.



▲ **FIGURE 3-30 IMMIGRANT TO UNITED ARAB EMIRATES FROM BANGLADESH**

United States. Chinese people comprise one-half of the population of Singapore, one-fourth of Malaysia, and one-sixth of Thailand. The largest numbers of Indian emigrants are in Nepal, Myanmar, and Malaysia, as well as the United States.

SOUTHWEST ASIA. The wealthy oil-producing countries of Southwest Asia have been major destinations for people from the South Asian countries of India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, as well as the Philippines, Thailand, and other countries in Southeast Asia. In addition, citizens of poorer countries in Southwest Asia have emigrated to the region's wealthier countries. Immigrants comprise 84 percent of the population of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), 74 percent of Qatar, 60 percent of Kuwait, and 55 percent of Bahrain. Saudi Arabia and the UAE have the largest numbers of immigrants in the region (Figure 3-30).

Working conditions for immigrants have been considered poor in some of these countries. The Philippine government determined in 2011 that only two countries in Southwest Asia—Israel and Oman—were “safe” for their Filipino migrants, and the others lacked adequate

protection for workers' rights. For their part, oil-producing countries fear that the increasing numbers of immigrants will spark political unrest and abandonment of traditional Islamic customs.

REMITTANCES

Migrants who find work in another country frequently send a portion of the wages they have earned to relatives back home. The transfer of money by workers to people in the country from which they emigrated is a **remittance**.

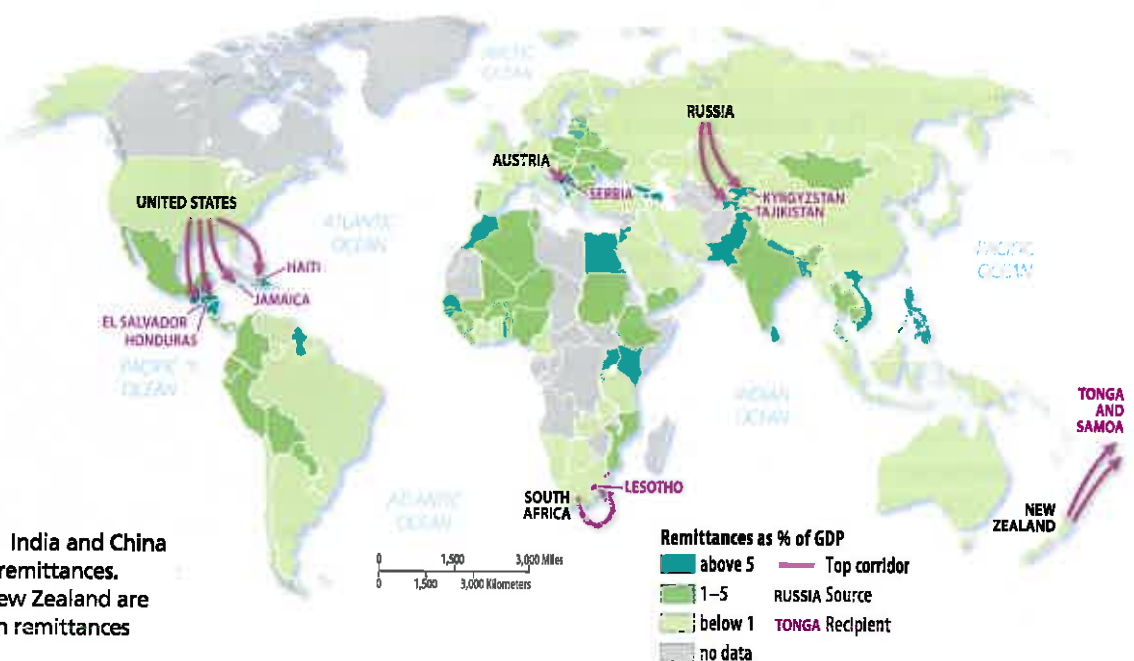
The total amount of remittances worldwide was \$550 billion in 2013. The figure has been increasing by nearly 10 percent annually. Remittances are an increasingly important source of wealth for people in developing countries, especially following cutbacks in official assistance from foreign governments and international aid agencies.

People in India received the most remittances in 2013 (\$71 billion), followed by people in China (\$60 billion). Nearly one-half of the GDP of Tajikistan and one-third of Kyrgyzstan comprised remittances, primarily from emigrants living in Russia (Figure 3-31).

The cost of transferring money is high in many places. Banks and firms such as Western Union that specialize in money transfers charge high fees for the service, an average of 9 percent worldwide. To transfer \$200 from the United States, it costs an average of \$6 to Mexico and \$12 to Haiti; it costs around \$20 to transfer \$200 between many African countries.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.3.3

Before becoming the leading company for transferring remittances from the United States, what was the principal business of Western Union?



► **FIGURE 3-31 REMITTANCES** India and China are the leading destinations for remittances. The United States, Russia, and New Zealand are the leading countries from which remittances originate.

Gender and Age of Migrants

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.3.4

Describe the demographic characteristics of international migrants.

Ravenstein noted distinctive gender and family-status patterns in his migration theories:

- Most long-distance migrants were male.
- Most long-distance migrants were adult individuals rather than families with children.

Adult males may have constituted the majority in the past, but that pattern has changed. In reality, women and children have constituted a high percentage of migrants for a long time.

GENDER OF MIGRANTS

Ravenstein theorized that males were more likely than females to migrate long distances to other countries because searching for work was the main reason for international migration, and males were much more likely than females to be employed. This held true for U.S. immigrants during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, when about 55 percent were male. But female immigrants to the United States began to outnumber male immigrants around 1970, and they now comprise 55 percent of the total. Female immigrants also outnumber males in other developed countries (Figure 3-32).

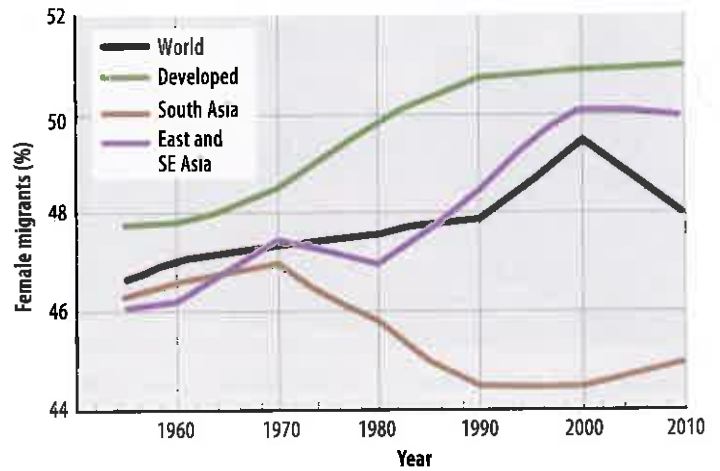
The gender mix of Mexicans who come to the United States without authorized immigration documents—currently the largest group of U.S. immigrants—has changed sharply. In the 1980s, males constituted 85 percent of the Mexican migrants arriving in the United States without proper documents, according to U.S. census and immigration service estimates. But since the 1990s, women have accounted for about half of the unauthorized immigrants from Mexico.

In developing countries, male immigrants still outnumber female ones. The situation varies widely among regions, however. Approximately one-half of emigrants from East and Southeast Asia are women, compared to only 44 percent from South Asia.

Two factors contribute to the larger share of females migrating to developed countries than theorized by Ravenstein:

- Because most people migrate to developed countries for job opportunities, the high percentage of women in the labor force in these countries logically attracts a high percentage of female immigrants (Figure 3-33).
- Some developed countries have made it possible for wives to join husbands who have already immigrated.

The increased female migration from Mexico to the United States partly reflects the changing role of women in Mexican society. In the past, rural Mexican women were



▲ FIGURE 3-32 FEMALE IMMIGRANTS Slightly more than one-half of immigrants are female in the developed regions of Europe and North America. The gender ratio varies more widely in developing regions.

obliged to marry at a young age and to remain in the village to care for children. Now some Mexican women are migrating to the United States to join husbands or brothers already in the United States, but most are seeking jobs. At the same time, women feel increased pressure to get jobs in the United States because of poor economic conditions in Mexico.

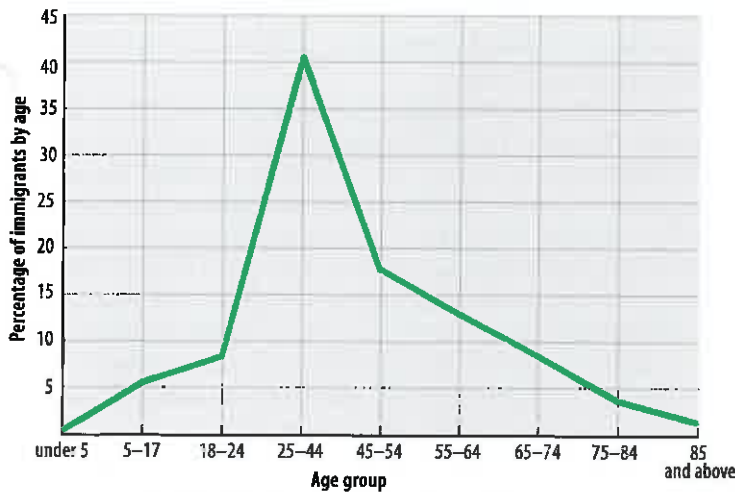
AGE OF MIGRANTS

Ravenstein theorized that most long-distance migrants were young adults seeking work rather than children or elderly people. Recent migration patterns in the United States match the theory in some respects but not in others (Figure 3-34):

- A relatively high share of U.S. immigrants are young adults, as Ravenstein expected. People between the ages of 20 and 39 comprise 49 percent of recent



▲ FIGURE 3-33 FEMALE IMMIGRANTS ITALY An immigrant from Africa sells to tourists in Menaggio, along Lake Como, Italy.



▲ FIGURE 3-34 AGE OF IMMIGRANTS Adults between ages 20 and 39 represent a disproportionately large share of immigrants to the United States.

immigrants, compared to only 27 percent of the entire U.S. population.

- Immigrants are, as expected, less likely to be elderly people. Only 5 percent of recent U.S. immigrants are over age 65, compared to 14 percent of the entire U.S. population. However, in developing countries, immigrants are more likely to be elderly—only 6 percent of the total population but 8 percent of immigrants.
- Children under age 20 comprise 21 percent of immigrants, only slightly lower than the 26 percent share in the total U.S. population. In developing countries, immigrants

are much less likely to be children; people under age 20 comprise 35 percent of the total population but only 23 percent of the migrants.

The number of unaccompanied minors trying to cross into the United States without proper documentation has increased sharply in recent years. Nearly 90 percent have been males between 12 and 17 (Figure 3-35). As with other migration flows, the large increase in teenage boys trying to reach the United States stems from a mix of push and pull factors. Most are pushed out of Honduras and El Salvador because of increased gang violence there and are pulled to the United States because of rumors that they won't be deported if caught.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.3.4

Why might elderly people be more likely than average to migrate in developing countries but less likely than average to do so in developed countries?

CHECK-IN KEY ISSUE 3

Why Do People Migrate?

- ✓ People migrate for a combination of political, environmental, and economic push and pull factors.
- ✓ Most people migrate in search of work.
- ✓ Most migrants are young adults.

▼ FIGURE 3-35 AGE OF IMMIGRANTS: LATIN AMERICA Teenagers aged 14 to 17 from Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala are detained in Juarez, Mexico, after attempting to cross the border into the United States.



Why Do Migrants Face Challenges?

- **Government Immigration Policies**
- **U.S. Quota Laws**
- **U.S.–Mexico Border Issues**
- **Europe's Immigration Crisis**

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.1

Describe government policies that restrict immigration.

Transportation improvements that have promoted globalization, such as motor vehicles and airplanes, have diminished the importance of environmental features as intervening obstacles. Today, the major obstacles faced by most immigrants are political. A migrant needs a passport to legally emigrate from a country and a visa to legally immigrate to a new country.

Government Immigration Policies

Most countries have adopted selective immigration policies that admit some types of immigrants but not others. The United States is no exception. The two reasons that most visas are granted are for specific employment placement and family reunification.

The U.N. classifies countries according to four types of immigration policies: (1) maintain the current level of

immigration, (2) increase the level, (3) reduce the level, (4) no policy. Similarly, emigration policies are identified by the same four classes.

According to the U.N., 21 countries seek more immigrants, 32 want fewer immigrants, 116 wish to maintain the current level, and 25 do not have a policy. Ten of the 21 countries with policies to encourage more immigration are in Europe, including most of the former Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The 32 countries with policies to reduce immigration include 10 in Southwest Asia & North Africa and 8 in sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 3-36). The U.N. considers 67 countries to have policies that encourage more highly skilled immigrants and 14 countries to be encouraging greater family unification.

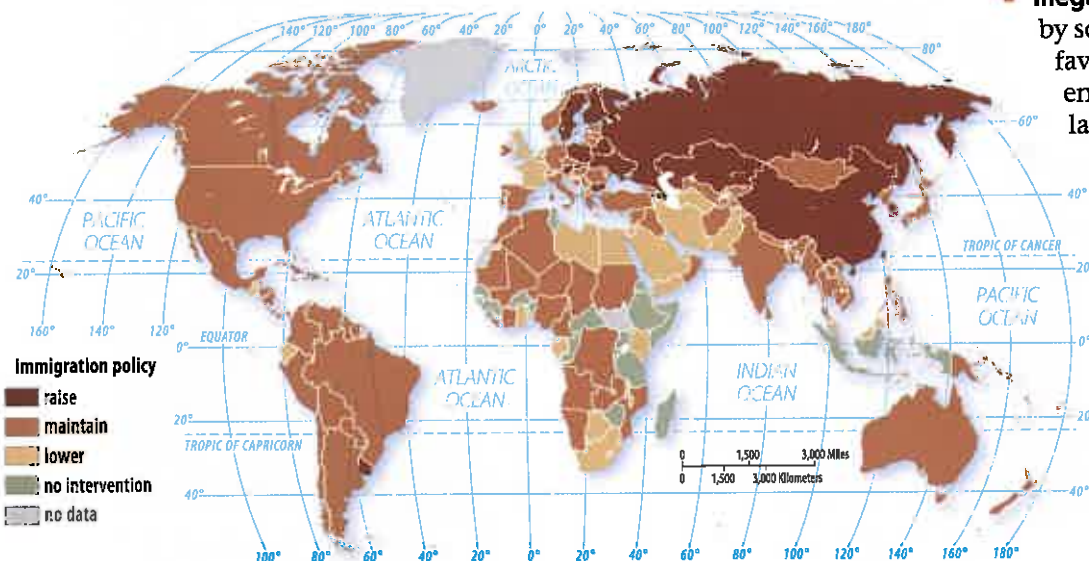
The distribution of emigration policies is considerably different. The U.N. found policies to increase emigration in 18 countries, to decrease emigration in 46 countries, to maintain the current level in 43 countries, and 88 with no policy. The 18 countries wishing to increase emigration include 5 each in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific. Sub-Saharan Africa had the most countries seeking to lower emigration.

UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRATION

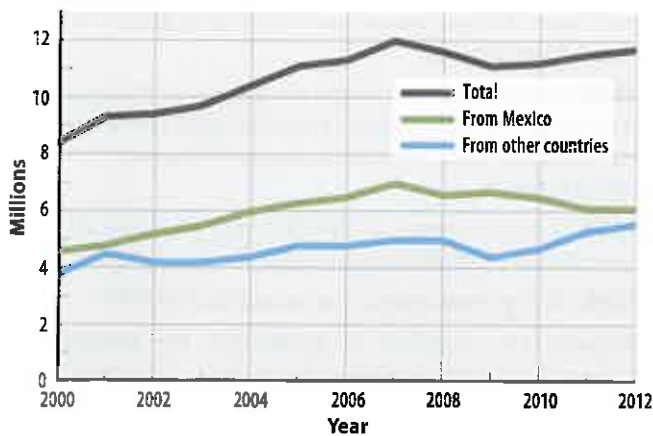
The number of people allowed to immigrate into the United States is at a historically high level, but the number who wish to come is even higher. Many who cannot legally enter the United States immigrate illegally. Those who do so are entering without proper documents and thus are called **unauthorized immigrants**.

Controversy extends to what to call the group of immigrants:

- **Unauthorized immigrant** is the term preferred by academic observers, including the authoritative Pew Hispanic Center, as a neutral term.
- **Undocumented immigrant** is the term preferred by some of the groups that advocate for more rights for these individuals.
- **Illegal alien** is the term preferred by some of the groups that favor tougher restrictions and enforcement of immigration laws.



◀ **FIGURE 3-36 IMMIGRATION POLICIES**



▲ **FIGURE 3-37 UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES** Most are from Mexico.

The Pew Hispanic Center estimated that there were 11.3 million unauthorized immigrants living in the United States in 2014. The number increased rapidly during the first years of the twenty-first century (Figure 3-37). After hitting a peak of 12.2 million in 2007, the number declined because of reduced job opportunities in the United States during the severe recession that started in 2008. In other words, the number of unauthorized immigrants entering the United States is now less than the number leaving.

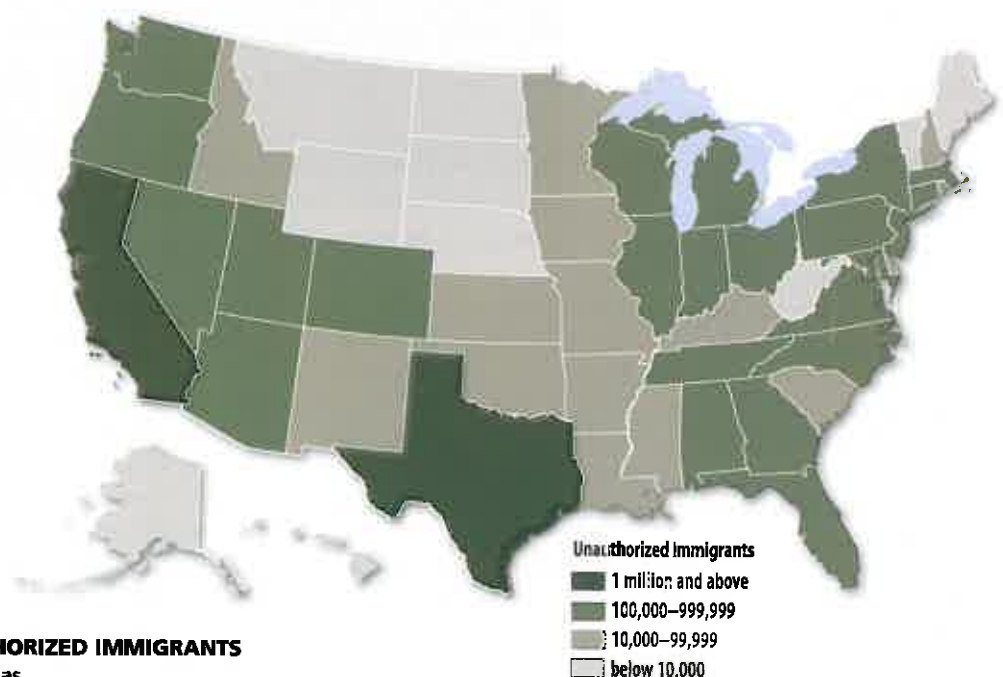
Other information about unauthorized immigrants, according to Pew Hispanic Center:

- **Distribution.** California and Texas have the largest numbers of unauthorized immigrants. Nevada has the largest percentage (Figure 3-38).

- **Source country.** More than one-half of unauthorized immigrants emigrate from Mexico. The remainder are about evenly divided between other Latin American countries and other regions of the world.
- **Children.** The 11.3 million unauthorized immigrants included 1 million children. In addition, while living in the United States, unauthorized immigrants have given birth to approximately 4.5 million babies, who are legal citizens of the United States.
- **Years in the United States.** The duration of residency in the United States has been increasing for unauthorized immigrants. In a 2013 Pew survey, 61 percent of unauthorized adult immigrants had resided in the United States for 10 years or more, 23 percent for 5 to 9 years, and 16 percent for less than 5 years. A similar survey in 2003 showed a different distribution: 38 percent had been in the United States for less than 5 years, compared to 37 percent for more than 10 years.
- **Labor force.** Approximately 8 million unauthorized immigrants are employed in the United States, accounting for around 5 percent of the total U.S. civilian labor force. Unauthorized immigrants were much more likely than the average American to be employed in construction and hospitality (food service and lodging) jobs and less likely to be in white-collar jobs such as education, health care, and finance.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.4.1

How are changes in the quota laws reflected in changing U.S. immigration patterns, as shown in Figure 3-10?



► **FIGURE 3-38 DISTRIBUTION OF UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRANTS** The largest numbers are in California and Texas.

U.S. Quota Laws

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.2

Understand the diversity of conditions along the U.S.–Mexico border.

The era of unrestricted immigration to the United States ended when Congress passed the Quota Act in 1921 and the National Origins Act in 1924. These laws established **quotas**, or maximum limits on the number of people who could immigrate to the United States during a one-year period. Key modifications in the U.S. quotas have included:

- **1924.** For each country that had native-born persons already living in the United States, 2 percent of their number (based on the 1910 census) could immigrate

each year. This ensured that most immigrants would come from Europe.

- **1965.** Quotas for individual countries were replaced with hemisphere quotas (170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere).
- **1978.** A global quota of 290,000 was set, including a maximum of 20,000 per country.
- **1990.** The global quota was raised to 700,000.

Because the number of applicants for admission to the United States far exceeds the quotas, Congress has set preferences:

- **Family reunification.** Approximately three-fourths of immigrants are admitted to reunify families, primarily spouses or unmarried children of people already living

DOING GEOGRAPHY Claiming Ellis Island

Twelve million immigrants to the United States between 1892 and 1954 were processed at Ellis Island (Figure 3-39). Once accepted into the United States, immigrants were transported by ferry from Ellis Island 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) across New York Harbor to New York City.

Though no longer used to process immigrants, Ellis Island became part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument in 1965, and the buildings were restored and reopened in 1990 as a museum of immigration.

The State of New Jersey, located only 400 meters (1,300 feet) from Ellis Island, long argued that Ellis Island was actually part of New Jersey rather than New York, as was generally believed. After decades of dispute, New Jersey took its case to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1998, the Supreme Court ruled 6–3 that New Jersey had jurisdiction over 8.7 hectares (22.8 acres) of Ellis Island. New York had jurisdiction over only 1.9 hectares (4.7 acres), encompassing the low waterline of the original island before it was expanded in the nineteenth century.

Critical evidence in the decision was a series of maps prepared by New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection (NJDEP) officials using GIS. NJDEP officials scanned into an image file an 1857 U.S. coast map that was considered to be the most reliable map from that



▲ FIGURE 3-39 ELLIS ISLAND

era. The image file of the old map was brought into ArcView, and then the low waterline shown on the 1857 map was digitized using a series of dots. The perimeter of the current island was mapped using Global Positioning System (GPS) surveying.

The victory was partly a matter of pride on the part of New Jersey officials to stand up to their more glamorous neighbor. After all, Ellis Island is closer to the New Jersey shoreline, yet tourists—like immigrants a century ago—are transported by ferry to New York City. More practically, since the favorable ruling, the sales tax collected by the Ellis Island museum gift shop now goes to New Jersey instead of New York.

in the United States. The typical wait for a spouse to gain entry is currently about five years.

- **Skilled workers.** Exceptionally talented professionals receive most of the remainder of the quota.
- **Diversity.** A few immigrants are admitted by lottery under a diversity category for people from countries that historically sent few people to the United States.

The quota does not apply to refugees, who are admitted if they are judged genuine refugees. Also admitted without limit are spouses, children, and parents of U.S. citizens. The number of immigrants can vary sharply from year to year, primarily because numbers in these two groups are unpredictable.

Other countries charge that by giving preference to skilled workers, immigration policies in the United States, as well as other developed countries, contributes to a **brain drain**, which is a large-scale emigration by talented people. Scientists,

researchers, doctors, and other professionals migrate to countries where they can make better use of their abilities.

Asians have made especially good use of the priorities set by the U.S. quota laws. Many well-educated Asians enter the United States under the preference for skilled workers. Once admitted, they can bring in relatives under the family reunification provisions of the quota. Eventually, these immigrants can bring in a wider range of other relatives from Asia, through a process of **chain migration**, which is the migration of people to a specific location because relatives or members of the same nationality previously migrated there.

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.4.2

How are changes in the quota laws reflected in changing U.S. immigration patterns, as shown in Figure 3-10?

What's Your Migration Geography?

- When did you or your ancestors immigrate to the United States? From which region of the world or country? If they came from Europe between 1892 and 1954, they most likely came through Ellis Island. But if they came at a different time or from a different region of the world, they probably entered the United States somewhere else.
- Some sort of international or interregional migration is a nearly universal experience for families living in North America. At the same time, each of our families has a unique immigration experience. What's your migration geography?
- The uniqueness of each of our immigration experiences has many dimensions:
 - **Timing.** Are you the immigrant, or was it a parent, a grandparent, a great-grandparent, or beyond?
 - **Origin.** From what country or countries did you or your ancestors emigrate?
 - **Diversity.** Do you have similar or different immigration experiences within your family?

If different, at what generation did the experiences diverge?

- **Frequency.** Once in the United States, has your family experienced interregional moves? Or have they stayed in the same U.S. region where they first arrived?
 - Families often display immigration records on a family tree. Geographers instead can display records on a family map.
1. On a sheet of paper or in an electronic spreadsheet, record an interregional or international migration taken by each of your family members. If the individual moved many times, record the one that seems most significant to your family, such as the one that brought two of your ancestors together.
 2. On a blank base map of the world or only the portion of it that you need for your family geography, draw an arrow that connects where (if anywhere) you immigrated from to reach your current home. Using a second color, draw arrows to show the route of each of your two parents, use a third color to draw arrows for your four grandparents, and a fourth color to draw arrows for all of your eight great-grandparents for whom you have information.

Family Member	From	To
Your mother		
Your mother's mother		
Your mother's mother's mother		
Your mother's mother's father		
Your mother's father		
Your mother's father's mother		
Your mother's father's father		
Your father		
Your father's mother		
Your father's mother's mother		
Your father's mother's father		
Your father's father		
Your father's father's mother		
Your father's father's father		

U.S.–Mexico Border Issues

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.3

Understand the diversity of conditions along the U.S.–Mexico border.

The U.S.–Mexico border is 3,141 kilometers (1,951 miles) long (Figure 3-41). Rural areas and small towns are guarded by only a handful of agents. Crossing the border on foot legally is possible in several places. Elsewhere, the border runs mostly through sparsely inhabited regions.

The United States has constructed a barrier covering approximately one-fourth of the border. Several large urban areas are situated on the border, including San Diego, California, and Tijuana, Mexico, at the western end, and Brownsville, Texas, and Matamoros, Mexico, at the eastern end. Driving across the border in the urban areas can be fraught with heavy traffic and delays.

A joint U.S.–Mexican International Boundary and Water Commission is responsible for keeping official maps, on the basis of a series of nineteenth-century treaties. The commission is also responsible for marking the border by maintaining 276 6-foot-tall iron monuments erected in the late nineteenth century, as well as 440 15-inch-tall markers added in the 1970s. Actually locating the border is difficult in some remote areas.

MIGRATION POLICY DISPUTES

Americans are divided concerning whether unauthorized migration helps or hurts the country (see Debate It feature). This ambivalence extends to specific elements of immigration law:

- **Border patrols.** Americans would like more effective border patrols so that fewer unauthorized immigrants

can get into the country, but they don't want to see money spent to build more fences along the border. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security has stepped up enforcement, including deportation of a record 438,421 unauthorized immigrants in 2013.

- **Workplace.** Most Americans recognize that unauthorized immigrants take jobs that no one else wants, so they support some type of work-related program to make them legal, and they oppose raids on workplaces in attempts to round up unauthorized immigrants. Most Americans support a path to U.S. citizenship for unauthorized immigrants.
- **Civil rights.** Americans favor letting law enforcement officials stop and verify the legal status of anyone they suspect of being an unauthorized immigrant. On the other hand, they fear that enforcement efforts that identify and deport unauthorized immigrants could violate the civil rights of U.S. citizens.
- **Local initiatives.** Polls show that most Americans believe that enforcement of unauthorized immigration is a federal government responsibility and do not support the use of local law enforcement officials to find unauthorized immigrants. On the other hand, residents of some states along the Mexican border favor stronger enforcement of authorized immigration.

The strongest state initiative has been Arizona's 2010 law that obligated local law enforcement officials, when practicable, to determine a person's immigration status. Under the Arizona law, foreigners are required to carry at all times documents proving they are in the country legally and to produce those documents upon request of a local law enforcement official. In 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down several provisions of the law. Although it does not share a border

SUSTAINABILITY & OUR ENVIRONMENT

The Immigration View from Mexico

From the United States, the view to the south may seem straightforward. Millions of Mexicans are trying to cross the border by any means, legal or otherwise, in search of a more sustainable economic and cultural life.

The view from Mexico is more complex. Along its northern border with the United States, Mexico is the source for unauthorized emigrants. At the same time, along its southern border with Guatemala, Mexico is the destination for unauthorized immigrants. When talking with its neighbor to the north, Mexicans urge understanding and sympathy for the plight of the immigrants. When talking with its neighbor to

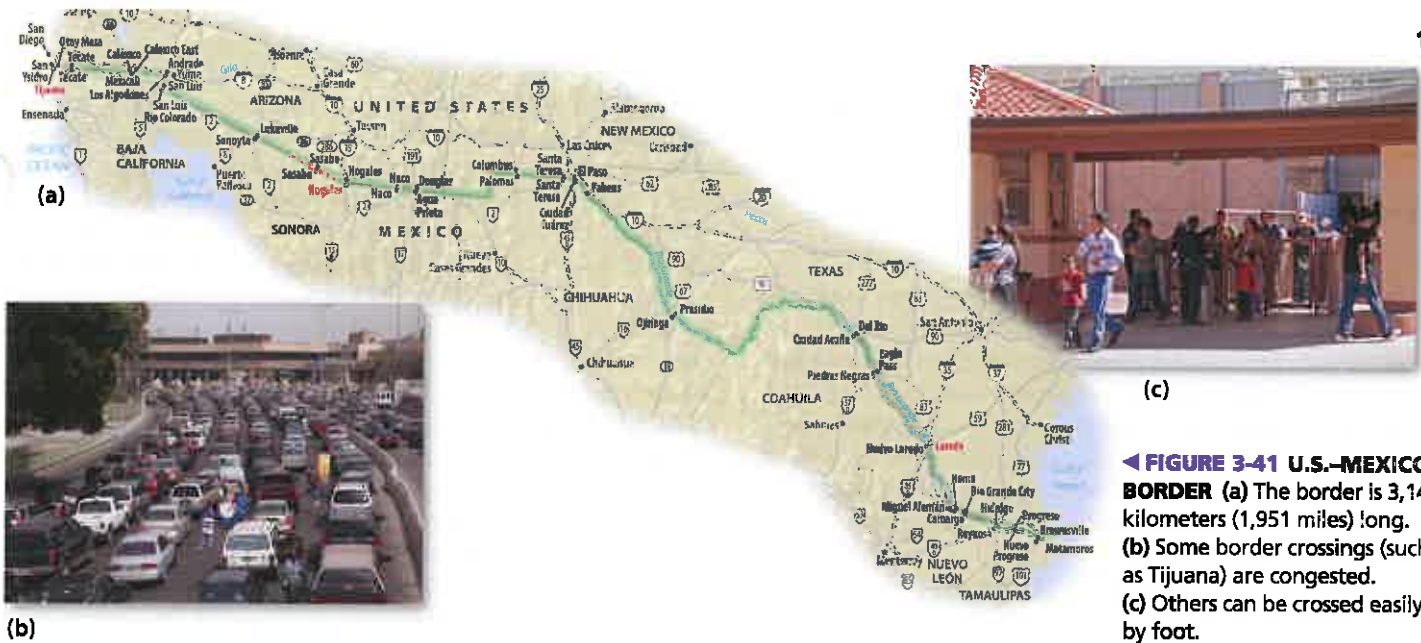


▲ FIGURE 3-40 BORDER BETWEEN MEXICO AND GUATEMALA People and goods are being transported across the Suchiate River from Guatemala to Mexico.

the south, Mexicans urge stronger security along the border.

Oceans and wide rivers frequently serve as intervening obstacles to

hinder migration. But along the Mexico–Guatemala border, the Suchiate River is not an environmentally sustainable obstacle, because it sometimes only ankle deep (Figure 3-40). Immigrants from other Latin American countries, especially El Salvador and Honduras, travel through Guatemala without need of a passport in order to cross into Mexico. Although a passport is needed to cross the border from Guatemala into Mexico, the Mexican government estimates that 2 million people a year do so illegally. Some migrate illegally from Guatemala to Mexico for higher-paying jobs in tropical fruit plantations. For most, the ultimate destination is the United States.



◀ **FIGURE 3-41 U.S.-MEXICO BORDER** (a) The border is 3,141 kilometers (1,951 miles) long. (b) Some border crossings (such as Tijuana) are congested. (c) Others can be crossed easily by foot.

with Mexico, Alabama enacted a similar measure in 2011. The Alabama law also prohibited or restricted unauthorized immigrants from attending public schools and colleges. On the other hand, Texas, which has the longest border with Mexico, has not enacted harsh anti-immigrant laws, and more than 100 localities across the country have passed resolutions

supporting more rights for unauthorized immigrants—a movement known as “Sanctuary City.”

PAUSE & REFLECT 3.4.3

Why at border crossings is traffic entering the United States backed up further than traffic entering Mexico?

DEBATE IT! Immigration reform: Tougher controls or legal status?

Debate over authorized immigration centers on border security and on appropriateness of a path to legal status for unauthorized immigrants in the United States.

TIGHTEN SECURITY AND DO NOT OFFER A PATH TO LEGAL STATUS

- **THE WRONG MESSAGE.** People breaking the law by crossing the U.S. border without proper documentation sends the wrong message to people who obey the law.
- **ENCOURAGE OTHERS.** Rewarding people for illegal behavior will encourage others to enter without documents.
- **POOR SECURITY.** The border is not sufficiently secure, especially in small towns and rural areas.



◀ **FIGURE 3-42 MINIMAL SECURITY AT THE BORDER** Crossing from Palomas, Mexico, to Columbus, New Mexico.

OFFER A PATH TO LEGAL STATUS; SECURITY IS ALREADY TIGHT ENOUGH

- **IMPRACTICAL.** It would be a practical impossibility for law enforcement officials to actually find the 11 million unauthorized immigrants.
- **ECONOMIC IMPACT.** Pulling unauthorized immigrants out of their jobs would cripple the U.S. economy.
- **AGENTS.** The numbers of border agents and deportations of unauthorized immigrants have doubled since 2000.
- **LAW-ABIDING.** Unauthorized immigrants are productive and otherwise law-abiding members of U.S. society.



◀ **FIGURE 3-43 BORDER AGENTS** Rio Grande near Laredo, Texas.

Europe's Immigration Crisis

LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.3

Understand attitudes toward immigrants in Europe.

Of the world's 16 countries with the highest per capita income, 14 are in Northern and Western Europe. As a result, the region attracts immigrants from poorer regions located to the south and east. These immigrants serve a useful role in Europe, taking low-status and low-skill jobs that local residents won't accept. In cities such as Berlin, Brussels, Paris, and Zurich, immigrants provide essential services, such as driving buses, collecting garbage, repairing streets, and washing dishes.

MIGRATION PATTERNS IN EUROPE

European countries together have around 40 million foreign-born residents. This total includes around 20 million who have migrated from one European country to another and 20 million who have emigrated from a country outside of Europe.

Within Europe, the flow of migrants is primarily from east to west (Figure 3-44). Nearly all portions of former Communist countries in Eastern Europe have net out-migration, whereas nearly all of Western Europe has net in-migration. The largest flow is from Romania to Italy. Other large migration channels are from Poland to Germany and to the United Kingdom, from Italy to Germany, from Romania to Spain, and from Portugal to France.

Agreements among European countries, especially the 1985 Schengen Treaty, give a citizen of one European country

the right to hold a job, live permanently, and own property elsewhere. The removal of migration restrictions for Europeans has set off large-scale migration flows within the region. The principal flows are from the poorer countries of Eastern Europe to the richer ones, where job opportunities have been greater, at least before the severe recession that started in 2008.

Prior to 2014, the leading sources of migrants into Europe from elsewhere in the world were countries in close proximity to Europe, such as Turkey and Morocco. The flow of immigrants into Europe escalated rapidly in 2014 and 2015, especially refugees escaping war and persecution in Syria. Large numbers of refugees have also attempted to reach Europe from Afghanistan and North Africa (Figure 3-45). European countries have struggled to figure out how to accommodate the flood of refugees. In an unsuccessful effort to limit the number arriving, several European countries have erected fences, imposed border checks, and shut down train lines (Figure 3-46).

The principal routes into Europe have been by trekking over land from Turkey into Greece or Bulgaria or by sailing across the Mediterranean Sea into Greece or Italy. From Greece, most of the refugees have attempted to reach Germany and other Northern Europe countries by way of Serbia and Hungary. More than 1,000 have died by drowning in the Mediterranean in boats that are not seaworthy, or by suffocating in sealed trucks.

GUEST WORKERS

Germany and other wealthy European countries operated **guest worker** programs, in which immigrants from poorer countries were allowed to immigrate temporarily to obtain jobs. The guest worker programs, operated mainly during the 1960s and 1970s, were expected to be examples of **circular migration**, which is the temporary movement of a migrant worker between home and host countries to seek employment. Guest workers were expected to return to their countries of origin once their work was done.

However, rather than circular migrants, many immigrants who arrived originally under the guest worker program have remained permanently in Europe. They, along with their children and grandchildren, have become citizens of the host country. The term *guest worker* is no longer used in Europe, and the government programs no longer exist.

Although relatively low paid by European standards, immigrants earn far more than they would at home. By letting their people work elsewhere, poorer countries reduce their own unemployment problems. Immigrants also help their native countries by sending remittances back home to their families.

ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE

Immigrants comprise around 8 percent of Europe's population, including 4 percent who migrated from one European country to another and 4 percent who emigrated to Europe



▲ FIGURE 3-44 NET MIGRATION IN EUROPE Former Communist countries of Eastern Europe have net out-migration. Most portions of Western Europe have net in-migration.

Summary & Review

KEY ISSUE 1

Where are the world's migrants distributed?

Emigration is migration from a location, immigration is migration to a location, and net migration is the difference between the two. Migration can be international (between countries, either voluntary or forced) or internal (within a country, either interregional or intraregional). For most of its history, the United States has been a leading destination for immigrants.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 3-47 U.S. IMMIGRANTS** Immigrants to the United States apply for citizenship.

1. Compare the cartograms of emigration (Figure 3-2) and immigration (Figure 3-3) with the cartogram of world population (Figure 2-3). Which of the five most populous countries (China, India, United States, Indonesia, and Brazil) appear to have especially high levels of emigration and immigration, and which appear to have especially low levels?
2. What might explain these relatively high or low rates?

KEY ISSUE 2

Where do people migrate within a country?

Two main types of internal migration are interregional (between regions of a country) and intraregional (within a region). Large countries, including the United States and Canada, have had important patterns of interregional migration. Three intraregional migration patterns are from rural to urban areas (especially in developing countries) and from urban to suburban areas and to rural areas (especially in developed countries).

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 3-48 FORCED INTERNAL MIGRATION** The Passage, a bridge in downtown Chattanooga, commemorates the Trail of Tears.

3. Forced migration is considered here as a subset of international migration. What current and historical examples of forced internal migration have been cited in this chapter?

KEY ISSUE 3

Why do people migrate?

People undertake migration because of a combination of cultural, environmental, and economic push and pull factors. People may be forced to migrate because of political conflicts. People may be pulled toward physically attractive environments and pushed from hazardous ones. People leave places with limited job prospects and are lured to places where they can find work.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 3-49 COLLEGE GRADUATES** What will they be doing, and where will they be living, after graduation?

4. Most people migrate for a combination of economic push and pull factors. As you consider your personal future, do you expect push factors or pull factors to be more important in your location decisions? Why?

KEY ISSUE 4

Why do migrants face challenges?

To immigrate to most countries, people need permission from the government. Opposition to the current level of immigration is high in some countries. The United States has quotas on the number of immigrants and sets preferences for those who are allowed to immigrate. Other countries also have restrictions on immigration. The United States has more than 11 million unauthorized immigrants, who are in the country without proper documents.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY



▲ **FIGURE 3-50 U.S.-CANADA BORDER** The International Peace Garden is on the border between North Dakota and Manitoba.

5. The U.S. border with Mexico has a fence in most places, whereas the U.S. border with Canada does not. What might account for this difference?

KEY TERMS

Asylum seeker (p. 92) Someone who has migrated to another country in the hope of being recognized as a refugee.

Brain drain (p. 103) Large-scale emigration by talented people.

Chain migration (p. 103) Migration of people to a specific location because relatives or members of the same nationality previously migrated there.

Circular migration (p. 106) The temporary movement of a migrant worker between home and host countries to seek employment.

Circulation (p. 78) Short-term, repetitive, or cyclical movements that recur on a regular basis.

Counterurbanization (p. 90) Net migration from urban to rural areas in more developed countries.

Desertification (p. 94) Degradation of land, especially in semiarid areas, primarily because of human actions such as excessive crop planting, animal grazing, and tree cutting. Also known as semiarid land degradation.

Emigration (p. 78) Migration from a location.

Floodplain (p. 94) An area subject to flooding during a given number of years, according to historical trends.

Forced migration (p. 82) Permanent movement, compelled by cultural or environmental factors.

Guest worker (p. 106) A term once used for a worker who migrated to the developed countries of Northern and Western Europe, usually from Southern and Eastern Europe or from North Africa, in search of a higher-paying job.

Immigration (p. 78) Migration to a new location.

Internal migration (p. 82) Permanent movement within a particular country.

Internally displaced person (IDP) (p. 92) Someone who has been forced to migrate for similar political reasons as a refugee but has not migrated across an international border.

International migration (p. 82) Permanent movement from one country to another.

Interregional migration (p. 82) Permanent movement from one region of a country to another.

Intervening obstacle (p. 94) An environmental or cultural feature of the landscape that hinders migration.

Intraregional migration (p. 82) Permanent movement within one region of a country.

Migration (p. 78) A form of relocation diffusion that involves a permanent move to a new location.

Migration transition (p. 81) A change in the migration pattern in a society that results from industrialization, population growth, and other social and economic changes that also produces the demographic transition.

Mobility (p. 78) All types of movements between locations.

Net migration (p. 78) The difference between the level of immigration and the level of emigration.

Pull factor (p. 92) A factor that induces people to move to a new location.

Push factor (p. 92) A factor that induces people to move out of their present location.

Quota (p. 102) In reference to migration, a law that places a maximum limit on the number of people who can immigrate to a country each year.

Refugee (p. 92) Someone who is forced to migrate from his or her home country and cannot return for fear of persecution because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion.

Remittance (p. 97) Transfer of money by workers to people in the country from which they emigrated.

Unauthorized immigrant (p. 100) A person who enters a country without proper documents to do so.

Voluntary migration (p. 82) Permanent movement undertaken by choice.

EXPLORE



U.S.–Mexico Border

Use Google Earth to explore the U.S.–Mexico border at Laredo.

Fly to *Nuevo Laredo, Mexico*.

Select *Borders and Labels*.

Zoom in to 5,000 feet.

1. Follow the international border through the built-up area of Nuevo Laredo and Laredo. How many border crossings do you see?

2. What is the means of transport at each of the crossings?

Zoom in to 2,000 feet.

3. The backup of cars is longer trying to enter which country?

4. Based on the Google Earth image, if you had to ship goods across the border (such as car parts), which means of transport appears to be the quickest and easiest to use?

MG

GeoVideo

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Kenya: The Turkana Way of Life

Many Turkana people in northern Kenya have migrated to the shores of Lake Turkana from the grasslands where they herded cattle and goats.

1. What environmental factor has driven the Turkana to migrate?
2. How do some Turkana gain a livelihood in their new home by the lake?
3. Where else have Turkana migrated to escape the drought?
4. What are the advantages and drawbacks of this choice?



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