

Part 2

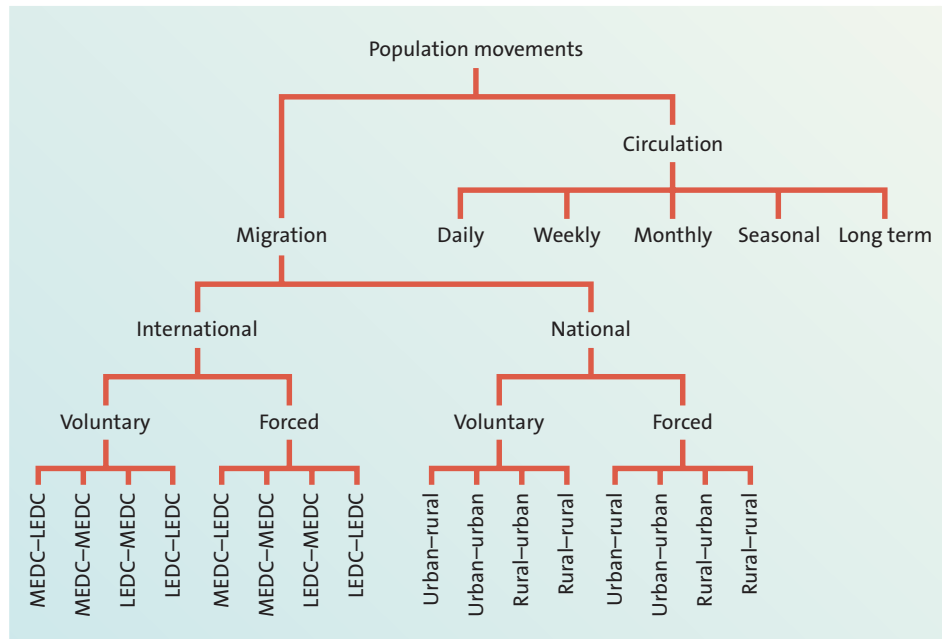
Migration and consumption

Migration

In studies of population, the term movement (or **mobility**) has two components — migration and circulation. Both involve people shifting locations. **Migration** refers to those moves involving a change of residence that lasts for at least 1 year. **Circulation** involves moves that are shorter term; the changes in location are in a sense temporary. Shopping, commuting, tourism, pastoral nomadism and shifting cultivation are examples.

It will only take you a little time to come up with a list of population movements. No doubt your examples will be drawn from different parts of the world. It is also likely that they will differ in terms of scale (i.e. numbers of people and distances

Figure 18
A classification
of population
movements



involved), when they occurred and for what reasons. Figure 18 suggests one possible classification that helps us to put these and many more examples into a single framework. Migration and circulation represent the first-order subdivision. Circulation is then subdivided on the basis of its frequency. Equally, it could be broken down on the basis of its purpose, as suggested by the examples in the previous paragraph. The classification of migration is rather more complicated. There are many possible criteria:

- distance
- direction
- volume
- cause
- motivation
- the nature of the decision-making process

The distinction between national and international migration is important because it acknowledges the impact that state boundaries can have on population movements. At the next level, the distinction between forced and voluntary migration is thought to be of great significance. The final tier in the classification emphasises the significance of direction, for instance between urban and rural areas within a country and between LEDCs and MEDCs at a global or international level.

Figure 19
The main global migrations of the last 25 years



Figure 19 shows the main global migration flows of the last 25 years. Geographical studies of these and lesser migrations seem to have two main focuses: motives and impacts. There are at least two sides to each of these focuses. In the case of motives, there are both push and pull factors to be considered. The impacts of migration on the **source region** are very different from those on the **destination** or **host region**.

There is also a third side to impacts, namely the effects of the move on the migrant. What sort of reception does the migrant receive? Are migrants welcomed and how easy is it for them to become assimilated into the host society?

It is possible to produce a conceptual framework for migration studies by a cross application of the motives and impacts subdivisions. This yields a matrix of six compartments (Table 1). The case studies that follow illustrate each of these six different contexts.

Table 1
Case studies of six different migration scenarios

Motive	Impacts on source	Impacts on destination (host)	Impacts on migrants
Push	(7) South Africa	(9) Trinidad	(18) The Kurds (28) The UK and asylum seekers
Pull	(7) South Africa	(8) Rural Spain	(10) UK immigrants

Using case studies 6

Question

Summarise the main global migrations of the last 25 years, as shown in Figure 19.

Guidance

- ‘Summarise’ is the vital command word. It means identify the main flows. Do *not* indulge in a tedious flow-by-flow description. The mark allocation, together with the lined space allocation, should indicate the degree of generalisation required by the examiner.
- Focus first on the main destinations of intercontinental migration, as indicated by the convergence of the flow lines. These are the USA, Europe, the Middle East and Australia.
- If there is space, outline the main source regions for each of these destinations.
- Africa deserves a quick mention in that there was a fair amount of intra-continental migration; to a lesser extent, so does South America.
- Remember you have only been asked to summarise, *not* to explain, what you see on the map.

Reasons for migration

It is no exaggeration to say that migration is one of today’s major global issues. The growing volume of international migration draws our attention to the persistence of unbearable problems in the main source regions. Equally, these same flows are creating some serious problems in the more popular destination regions. It is widely held that most migration is the outcome of two sets of forces (Figure 20).

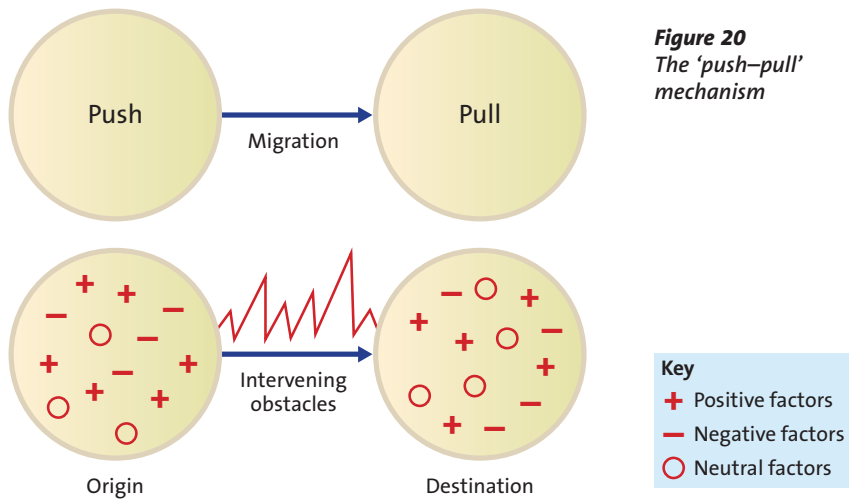


Figure 20
The 'push-pull'
mechanism

Push forces work in the migrant's current location. They can range from unemployment to persecution; from natural disasters and famine to poverty and war. The **pull forces** are those that attract the migrant to a particular location. They are mainly the mirror images of push factors and therefore include attractions such as job opportunities, tolerance, personal safety, freedom, good housing and welfare services. Intervening obstacles, both perceived and real, need to be overcome before migration takes place. They include international frontiers and the often considerable costs of moving. Facilitating factors that encourage migration include culture, language, the media, perception and ease of access to visas and permits.

The decision to move will rarely be made on the basis of a single push or pull factor. Rather, the decision will be based on an appraisal of a range of attributes, both in the place of origin and at the potential destination. Each person perceives these attributes differently, depending on personal characteristics such as age, sex, socio-economic class, occupation and education. Some of the attributes at the present location will be regarded positively, persuading the person to stay put. Some will be seen negatively, encouraging migration. Other attributes will be perceived neutrally and thus have no bearing on the decision making. The same threefold classification applies to the potential destination area, except that here the positive factors encourage, and negative factors discourage, migration.

Using case studies 7

Here is another exercise based on Figure 19.

Question

The flows shown on Figure 19 have not been classified.

- Attempt to distinguish between those migrations that were essentially voluntary and those that were forced.
- What appears to have been the most powerful push factor?

Over the last 150 years, the concept of push and pull has been refined, and a range of other ideas has been applied to the study of migration. They are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2
A chronology of different ideas applied to the study of migration

Name	Date	Key ideas
Ravenstein's laws of migration	1875–89	Most migrants travel short distances and with increasing distance the numbers of migrants decrease Migration occurs in a series of waves or steps Each significant migration stream produces, to a degree, a counterstream Urban dwellers are less migratory than rural dwellers The major causes of migration are economic
Stouffer's theory of intervening opportunities	1940	The volume of migration between two places is related not so much to distance and population size, but to perceived opportunities that exist in those two places and between them
Zipf's inverse distance law	1949	The volume of migration is inversely proportional to the distance travelled by migrants, and directly proportional to the populations of the source and destination
The gravity model	1960s	This simple formula expresses Zipf's two relationships
The Lee model	1966	This revised the simple 'push–pull' model in two ways It introduced the idea of 'intervening obstacles' that need to be overcome before migration takes place Source and destination are seen as possessing a range of attributes; each would-be migrant perceives these attributes differently, depending on personal characteristics, such as age, sex and marital status
The Todaro model	1971	This stresses that potential migrants weigh up both the costs and benefits of moving before taking any action; migrants act in economic self-interest
The Stark model	1989	This extends the Todaro model by arguing that there is more to migration than the optimising behaviour of migrants; risk spreading in families is one such factor
Marxist theory	Fashionable in the 1980s	Migration is seen as the inevitable outcome of the spread of capitalism Migration is the only option for people once they are alienated from the land
Gender studies	1990s	These emphasise that men and women differ in their responses to migration factors and that sex discrimination in the labour market has an important impact

Case study 7

EMIGRATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Reasons and consequences

Emigration has emerged as one of the greatest challenges to South Africa since the end of apartheid in the early 1990s. Skilled South Africans are finding it increasingly

attractive to work abroad, where their skills are eagerly snapped up. The outflow is seriously threatening the country's efforts to raise its rate of economic growth.

It is estimated that 30 000 South Africans left the country in 2001 to join the 1.6 million already living and working abroad. The chances of more leaving are high. As in most developing countries, emigration from South Africa is essentially a brain drain, or exodus of skills. More than half of emigrants are professionals, semi-professionals, managers or executives. Typically they include doctors, lawyers, accountants and engineers, but their numbers are swelled nowadays by young people with IT skills, teachers, nurses, farmers and people with particular manual skills. It is estimated that more than 20% of South Africa's professionals have already left. Some 70% of skilled South Africans are currently considering emigrating. The causes of this exodus are many, with the main ones set out in Table 3. Some of these 'push' factors have mirror images that serve to reinforce the wish to migrate.

Reason	Explanations
Violent crime	Reason cited by 60% of emigrants South Africa now ranks alongside Russia and Columbia as one of the most dangerous countries in the world During the 1990s, a total of 250 000 people were murdered; on average, 750 000 violent crimes were reported annually
The economy	Reason cited by 10% of emigrants Particular factors include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ the huge devaluation of the South African rand ■ the high rate of income tax ■ high interest and inflation rates ■ increasing difficulty of many white people to find the kind of work that matches their skills The next three uncertainties tabulated below are also discouraging investors
Mbeki's two-nation approach	The shift away from Nelson Mandela's reconciliatory approach to whites to an emphasis on race under President Mbeki Mbeki's belief is that South Africa consists of a rich white nation and a poor black nation and that economic sacrifices will have to be made by white people Many white people are nervous as to what those sacrifices might involve
AIDS	South Africa now has one of the highest rates of HIV infection in the world The strain this is putting on healthcare facilities, the debilitating impact of the disease on the workplace and the fear of contracting it are aspects that help to push the emigrants
Zimbabwe	The crisis in neighbouring Zimbabwe has unnerved many white South Africans, who fear that the situation may spill over into their country
The global village	In an era of globalisation, many emigrants simply wish to transfer their skills overseas to earn higher incomes Some of these economic migrants eventually return, but for others the global village becomes their new home

Table 3
South Africa: reasons for emigrating

Destination	% of emigrants
UK	25
Australia	18
USA	11
New Zealand	10
Canada	7
Western Europe (excluding UK)	25
Others (e.g. Switzerland, Israel, Namibia)	4

Table 4 South Africa: destinations of emigrants

Just over 70% of emigrants move to five countries, all of them English-speaking MEDCs with cultural similarities to, or historic ties with, South Africa (Table 4). The UK is the most popular destination because around 800 000 South Africans have, or can lay claim to, British passports. Britain allows visa-free visits for South Africans and offers 2-year working visas for South Africans who are under 27 years of age. There is no question that the influx of South Africans into the UK is helping fill gaps in the skills market, for example within the National Health Service.

This brain-drain costs South Africa about £159 million a year, with the loss of each skilled professional resulting in the loss of as many as 10 unskilled jobs. The loss — particularly among young people — is felt most acutely in engineering, medicine, accounting and financial services. A shortage of skilled labour is now thought to be one of the greatest threats to South Africa's future. Clearly, South Africa's loss is a gain for the destination countries.

'South Africa is shedding skills at a worrying rate to its global competitors. These countries have no compunction about creaming off skilled people from other countries,' says one South African official. So how is the South African government to react? Prohibit the emigration of mainly white workers? Train local black people to fill the gap left by emigrating professionals? Encourage the immigration of foreigners? Another official has urged that 'if South Africa is to enjoy widespread long-term economic growth, it has to open its doors to foreign skills.'

Points raised by this case study include:

- *The desire or need to emigrate is not confined to cheap, unskilled labour in search of work.*
- *A nation is only likely to lose its best workers when powerful push factors prevail.*
- *The movement of economic migrants can have serious cost implications for the source country, but considerable benefits for the receiving country.*
- *Should governments intervene to stop such costly movements?*
- *Is globalisation really a beneficial process when it allows labour to be drawn away from one country, only to be replaced by workers from another?*

Two important points about the reasons for migrating need to be fully understood before moving on to consider the impacts of migration:

- The decision whether or not to migrate is largely conditioned by a number of factors that are personal to would-be migrants. These include their circumstances, their perceptions of opportunity and risk, and their values.
- In analysing the reasons behind the decision to migrate, it is easy to make assumptions that misinterpret motives. For example, the tabloid press in the UK prefers to see the current influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe as being made up largely of people intent on 'sponging on the state'. In reality, it is much more likely that those people are driven here by poverty, the need to find work (they have skills that are in demand) and the desire to start a new life. In short, migration is a topic open to bias and we need to be alert to this danger.

Much of what we read, whether it be a textbook or magazine article, has an in-built slight bias that reflects the values and perceptions of the writer. However, there are contentious aspects of population and migration in which there is scope for bias of a more sinister kind. This seeks to persuade the reader to see things in a particular way, which may be removed from both reality and the truth.

Question

Read the following extract taken from the editorial column of the *Daily Express* for Thursday 26 February 2004:

The mass exodus of Britons to Spain exposed by the *Daily Express* today is the latest sign of growing disillusionment with British life in the twenty-first century.

Illegal immigrants and asylum seekers view these shores as a land of milk and honey, but for Britons who have given up on the charms of this country, there appear to be no regrets. Our report into the life enjoyed by expatriates shows that Spain offers more than just sun and sea. It also offers superior standards in terms of salaries, safe streets, better schools and state-of-the-art hospitals.

Even some of the immigrants coming here are only using British citizenship as a stepping stone to somewhere better.

While bringing up the standard of living in all new EU countries is something to be encouraged, not least because it will reduce the incentives for migrants to head to Britain, the government cannot just sit back and allow the exodus of some of our most skilled workers to continue unchecked.

Research the factual basis of this extract and expose its bias.

Guidance

It may be helpful to use some of the information in Figure 26.

Impacts of migration

Just as each population movement has its causes, so each migration and circulation has its consequences or impacts. These fall into a number of categories.

Demographic impacts

The most obvious outcome of migration is redistribution of population. One location's gain is another's loss, and vice versa. Other consequences are related to the fact that migration is selective. For example, because it tends to involve people of reproductive age, migration impacts on birth rates. For receiving or host locations, this effectively means a double whammy — newcomers, plus a raised rate of natural increase. Conversely, for source locations, the loss of people is reinforced by a dip in birth rate and a decline in natural increase.

Economic impacts

Much migration appears to be triggered by economic considerations such as work opportunities, wage and salary levels. What this means is that in-migration helps to boost locations that are already on the way up in terms of prosperity. That prosperity represents an irresistible attraction for many migrants, particularly those

living in poorer and more deprived parts of the world. Out-migration can start, and aggravate, downward spirals of decline in source areas. Equally, the trickle back of remittances from emigrants can be a major source of income for family and relatives left behind.

The next case study focuses on an unusual turnaround in migration and sets out the hoped-for demographic and economic consequences.

Case study 8

REPOPULATING RURAL SPAIN

A new life in the Old World

The migration history of Spain shows two major U-turns. For centuries, up to the last quarter of the twentieth century, Spanish migration was about emigration. Generations of Spaniards struggling to make a living perceived the Americas as the 'promised land'. However, after the Second World War the migration pattern changed completely, with three-quarters of emigrants heading for the countries of northern Europe. Up to 100 000 Spaniards were leaving every year.

An even more profound shift in the pattern of migration occurred after 1970, when immigration became the dominant flow. In 2000, for example, 90 000 new immigrants arrived, while emigration dried up to a trickle of 2000 people. The reason for the U-turn was the take-off of the Spanish economy. Having exported its labour force for so long, Spain suddenly found itself desperately short of workers. A low and dropping birth rate meant that natural increase would not meet the shortfall. The only solution was to import cheap labour, mainly from Morocco and other parts of Africa that had once been Spanish colonies. Those described as 'foreign residents' now account for nearly 3% of Spain's population.

While Spain has had no option but to let in foreign workers, it has struggled to keep immigration under control. Its wish has been to regulate the in-flow to ensure that immigrant skills closely match those required by the economy. In the event, the Spanish authorities have become concerned about the nature of the immigrants. In their view, too many have been coming from North Africa and they are often ill suited to the specific needs of the service sector vacancies. The authorities have also become alarmed by the rising tide of illegal immigrants. The Spanish have discovered what many other countries have before: the more you tighten up on immigration, the more this seems to encourage illegal entry.

A dramatic turn of events occurred in January 2003 when the Spanish government passed a law encouraging various categories of 'non-citizen' to apply for passports. These 'non-citizens' are mainly the descendants of two groups of Spanish emigrants: those who settled in Latin America and those who moved to other European countries as refugees to escape the fascist regime of General Franco (a dictator who ruled Spain from 1936 to shortly before his death in 1975). Both groups were suddenly deemed to be Spanish. The upshot is that around 1 million people may have the right to return to Spain — 850 000 from Latin America and 150 000 from Europe. Spanish embassies in Latin American countries have been inundated by tens of thousands of applicants for Spanish passports. The biggest queues have been in Argentina, a country torn apart by economic crisis and home to the largest overseas Spanish community.

This sudden U-turn has given momentum to an initiative taken a few years earlier by some local authorities in Spain to halt rural depopulation. Since the 1950s, about 2000 remote settlements across Spain have been abandoned as a result of emigration and rural–urban migration. However, the tide may be beginning to turn in the remote mountainous area of Teruel Province to the east of Madrid. This is the least populated part of Spain, one of the poorest and the only one where deaths exceed births. For several years now, village authorities have been offering Latin Americans free plane tickets, jobs and houses to encourage them to move to this isolated area, in a last desperate attempt to stop their settlements disappearing altogether. Settlers are also being sought in eastern Europe.

The leader in this search for new blood has been the village of Aguaviva (Figure 21). In 2000, its mayor set up the Association of Spanish Villages against Depopulation. Membership has already risen to 130 communities. The Association is looking for married couples under 40, without college degrees, with work permits (or one of the new passports) and at least two children under 12. Qualifying families sign a 5-year contract. In return, they are given jobs paying between £425 and £600 a month, housing at a monthly rent of £100, free healthcare and schooling. The available work is mainly in farming and services, but it is recognised that any lasting revival of the villages will need the creation of more jobs, particularly for women, the young and people over 45. Of course, it is hoped that after the 5 years are up, families will be happy to stay on.

Most of the recruiting for new settlers has taken place in Argentina and Uruguay, but Aguaviva now has 100 new residents from Romania. In this village, the effects of the scheme are already visible. The average age of the local people sitting in the village square's bar taking an afternoon drink is 82, while that of the incomers is 31.

Thus, centuries after Spain sent its sons and daughters to colonise the New World (the conquistadores), it is now trying to persuade their descendants to return and help to revive Spain's dying country villages. A truly curious turn of fortune!

This case study illustrates the 'swings and roundabouts' that mark one country's migration history. Change in the balance of push and pull factors has led to a complete reversal of the dominant migration direction. While migrants themselves are decision makers, the journeys they make are conditioned by the decisions and policies of governments, both national and local.



Figure 21 The village of Aguaviva, Spain — leading the hunt for new settlers