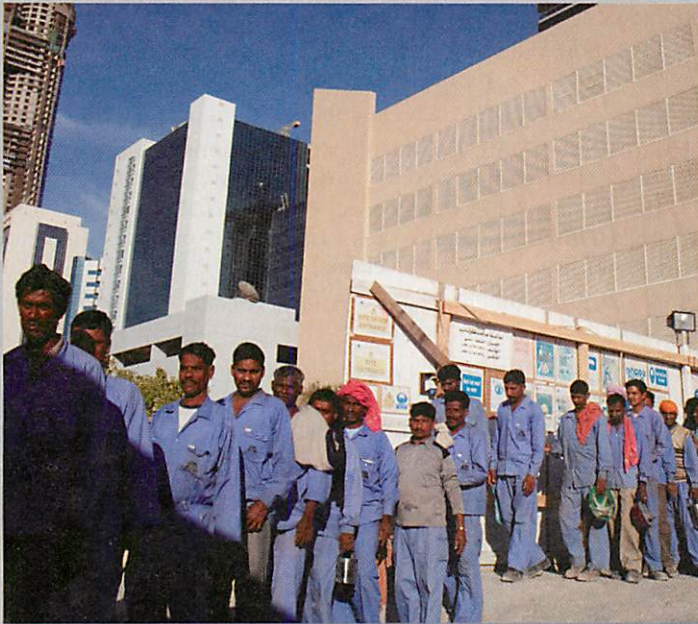


# Chapter

# 3

# Migration



Why are these immigrants lining up in Dubai? Page 95



Why are these people watching a parade in New York? Page 100

## KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Migrants Distributed?



## A World of Migrants 79

People are on the move around the world. Where are they heading, and where are they coming from?

## KEY ISSUE 2

Where Do People Migrate Within a Country?

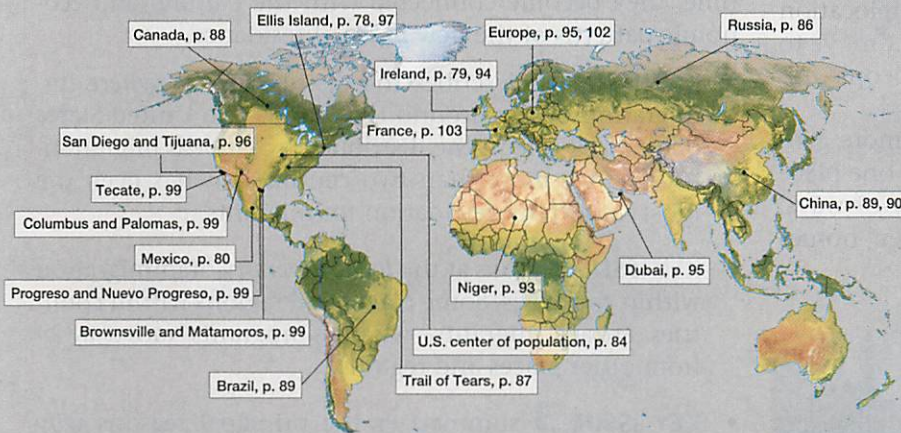


## Moving Across Town or Across Country 84

Some people are moving into cities, while others are moving out of them.



▲ This tiny overcrowded boat is nearing Lampedusa, Italy, having sailed across the Mediterranean Sea from Tunisia. Geographers are interested in why people would risk such a dangerous journey. What pushed these people to set sail from Tunisia? What lured them to Italy, even though when they got there the authorities sent them right back to Tunisia?



### KEY ISSUE 3

#### Why Do People Migrate?



### Pushing and Pulling 92

It takes a lot of motivation to pick up and move to a new home.

### KEY ISSUE 4

#### Why Do Migrants Face Obstacles?



### Where's the Welcome Mat? 96

Some immigrants are welcomed to their new homes, but others are told to leave.

# Introducing Migration

Diffusion was defined in Chapter 1 as a process by which a characteristic spreads from one area to another, and relocation diffusion was the spread of a characteristic through the bodily movement of people from one place to another. 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.

The subject of this chapter is a specific type of relocation diffusion called **migration**, which is a permanent move to a new location. Geographers document where people migrate to and from across the *space* of Earth.

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

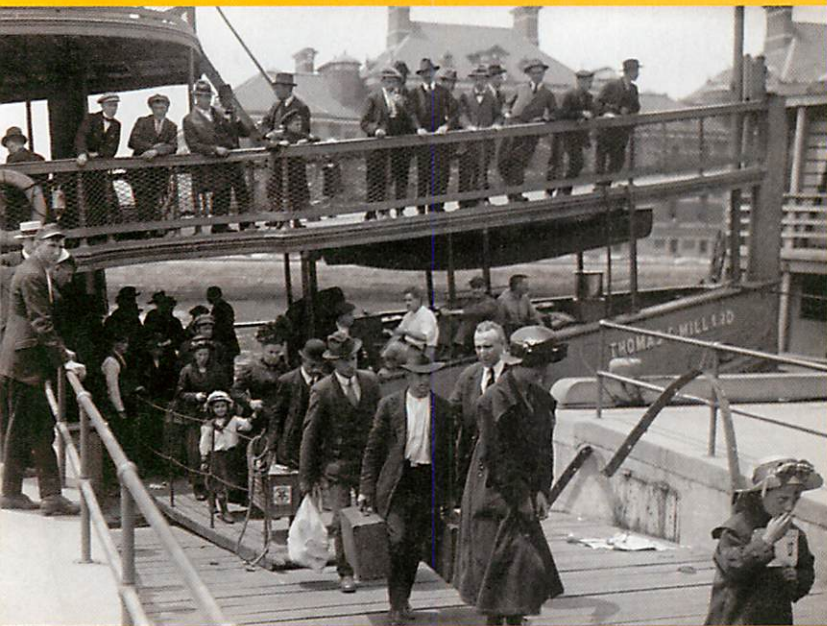
to places of work or education and once a week to shops, places of worship, or recreation areas. These types of short-term, repetitive, or cyclical movements that recur on a regular basis, such as daily, monthly, or annually, are called **circulation**. College students display another form of mobility—seasonal 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 (Figure 3-1).

The difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants is the **net migration**. 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.

When people migrate from one *region* to another, 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. At the same time, they become connected with the cultural and economic patterns of the new *place* of residence.

- **KEY ISSUE 1** describes the distribution of *where* immigration occurs around the world. The United States plays a key role in the distribution of global migration, because for more than two centuries, it has been the most important destination for migrants.
- **KEY ISSUE 2** looks at the *local diversity* of immigration within countries. Some places and regions within countries attract migrants, whereas migrants move away from other places and regions.
- **KEY ISSUE 3** summarizes the principal reasons *why* people migrate. Geographers are especially interested in why people migrate, because it profoundly influences the places and regions that are the sources and the destinations of migrants.
- **KEY ISSUE 4** discusses issues that arise as a result of migration. In the *globalization* of world communications and transportation, it is easier than in the past to travel 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.



▲ **FIGURE 3-1** EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION These people are emigrating from Italy in 1907 and immigrating to the United States. They are disembarking from the ship at Ellis Island, in New York Harbor, the principal point of entry into the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

## KEY ISSUE 1

# Where Are Migrants Distributed?

- Distance of Migration
- U.S. Immigration Patterns

Refer to Figure 2-4 (ecumene) for a moment. These maps show how the ecumene have changed as permanent human settlements 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. Geographers document from where people migrate and to where they migrate. They also study the reasons people migrate.

Why would people make a perilous journey across thousands of kilometers of ocean? Why did the pioneers cross the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, or the Mojave Desert to reach the American west coast? Why do people continue to migrate by the millions today (Figure 3-2)? 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 (Figure 3-3). Most people migrate in search of three objectives: economic opportunity, cultural freedom, and environmental comfort. This chapter will study the reasons people migrate.

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:

▼ **FIGURE 3-2 IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY** These immigrants are being administered the oath to become citizens of the United States.



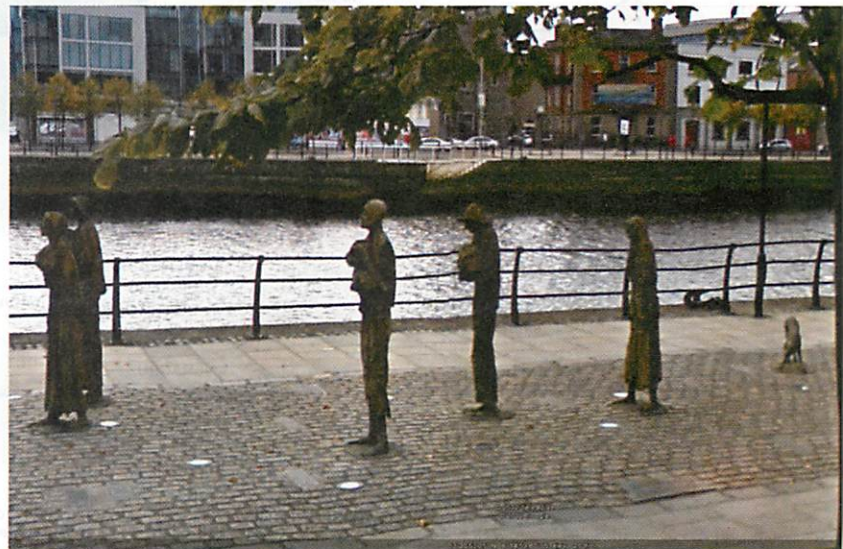
- The distance that migrants typically move (discussed in Key Issues 1 and 2)
- The reasons migrants move (discussed in the first part of Key Issue 3)
- The characteristics of migrants (discussed in the second part of Key Issue 3)

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.

**TABLE 3-1 COMPARISON OF 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 declining 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

▼ **FIGURE 3-3 IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM IRELAND** The Famine Memorial in Dublin depicts painfully thin people emigrating from Ireland during the potato famine of the 1840s.



# Distance of Migration

## Learning Outcome 3.1.1:

Describe the difference between international and internal migration.

Ravenstein’s laws for the distance that migrants travel to their new homes:

- 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.

## INTERNATIONAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

Migration can be divided into international migration and internal migration (Figure 3-4):

**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION.** A permanent move from one country to another is **international migration**. International migration is further divided into two types:

- **Voluntary migration** implies that the migrant has chosen to move, especially for economic improvement (Figure 3-5).

- **Forced migration** means that the migrant has been compelled to move, especially by political or environmental factors.

The distinction between forced and voluntary migration is not clear-cut. Those who are migrating 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. In recent years, some developed countries have seen migration from urban to environmentally attractive rural areas.
- **Intraregional migration** is movement within one region. The main type of intraregional migration has been within urban areas, from older cities to newer suburbs.

Most people find migration within a country less traumatic than international migration because they find

**FIGURE 3.4 INTERNATIONAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION** Mexico has international migration into the country from Central America and out of the country to the United States. Mexico also has internal migration, especially interregional migration to states near the U.S. border and intraregional migration into Mexico City.



**FIGURE 3-5 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION INTO MEXICO** These immigrants from Honduras are traveling across Mexico on top of the train because they don't have enough money to pay for their travel.

familiar language, foods, broadcasts, literature, music, and other 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 and Russia.

### Pause and Reflect 3.1.1

How many times have you moved? How many of these moves were international?

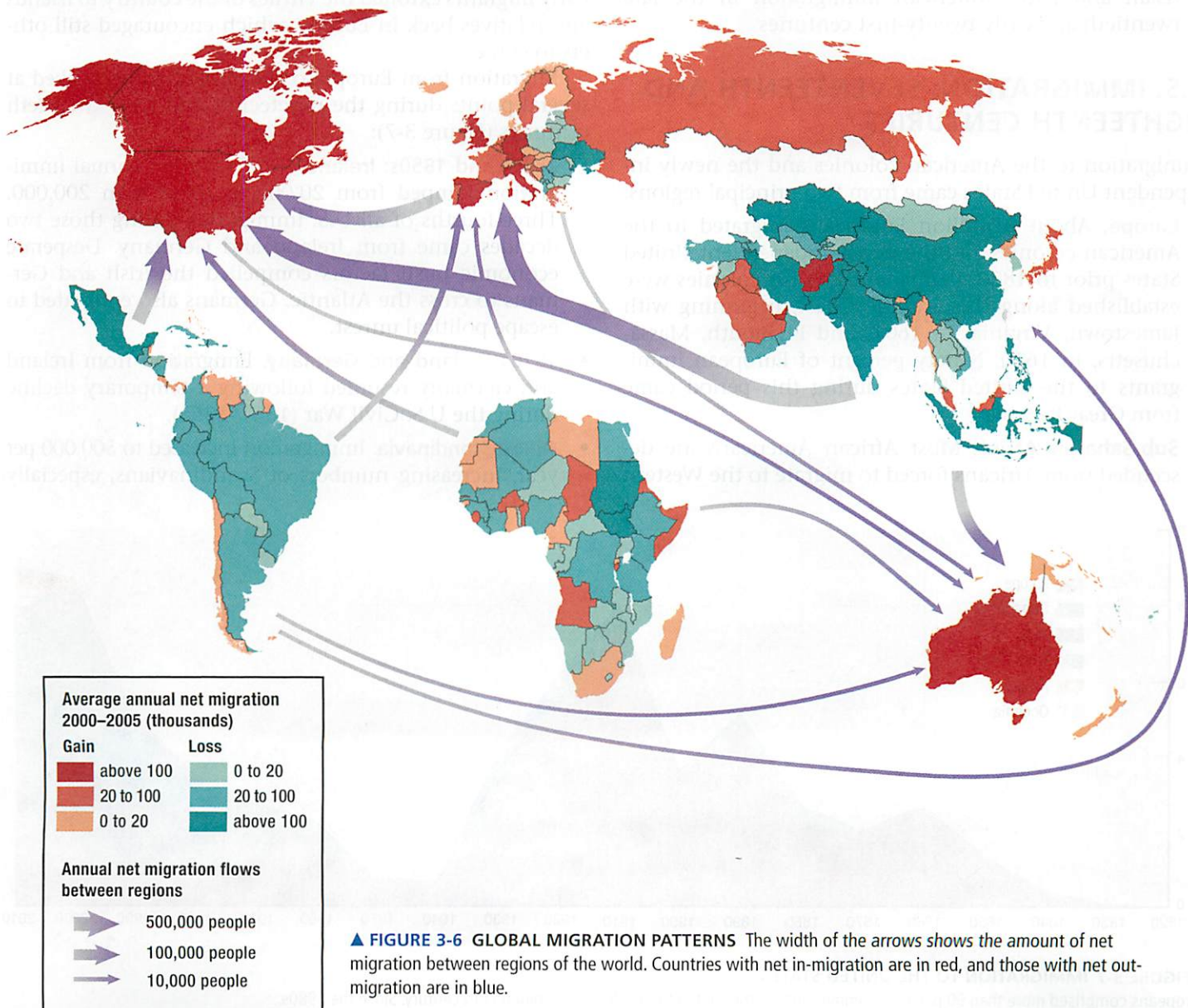
## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PATTERNS

About 9 percent of the world's people are international migrants—that is, they currently live in countries other than the ones in which they were born. On a global scale, the three largest flows of migrants are:

- From Asia to Europe
- From Asia to North America
- From Latin America to North America

The global pattern reflects the importance of migration from developing countries to developed countries. Asia, Latin America, and Africa have net out-migration, and North America, Europe, and Oceania have net in-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 43 million as of 2010, and growing by around 1 million annually. Other developed countries have higher rates of net in-migration, including Australia and Canada, which are much less populous than the United States (Figure 3-6). The highest rates can be found 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.



## U.S. Immigration Patterns

### Learning Outcome 3.1.2

Identify the principal 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. The world's third-most-populous country is inhabited overwhelmingly by direct descendants of immigrants. About 75 million people migrated to the United States between 1820 and 2010, including 43 million who were alive in 2010.

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: SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Immigration to the American colonies and the newly independent United States came from two principal regions:

- **Europe.** About 2 million Europeans migrated to the American colonies and the newly independent United States prior to 1820. Permanent English colonies were established along the Atlantic Coast, beginning with Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. Ninety percent of European immigrants to the United States during this period came from Great Britain.
- **Sub-Saharan Africa.** Most African Americans are descended from Africans forced to migrate to the Western

Hemisphere as slaves. During the eighteenth century, about 400,000 Africans were shipped as slaves to the 13 colonies that later formed the United States, primarily by the British. The importation of Africans as slaves was made illegal in 1808, but another 250,000 Africans were brought to the United States during the next half-century (see Chapter 7).

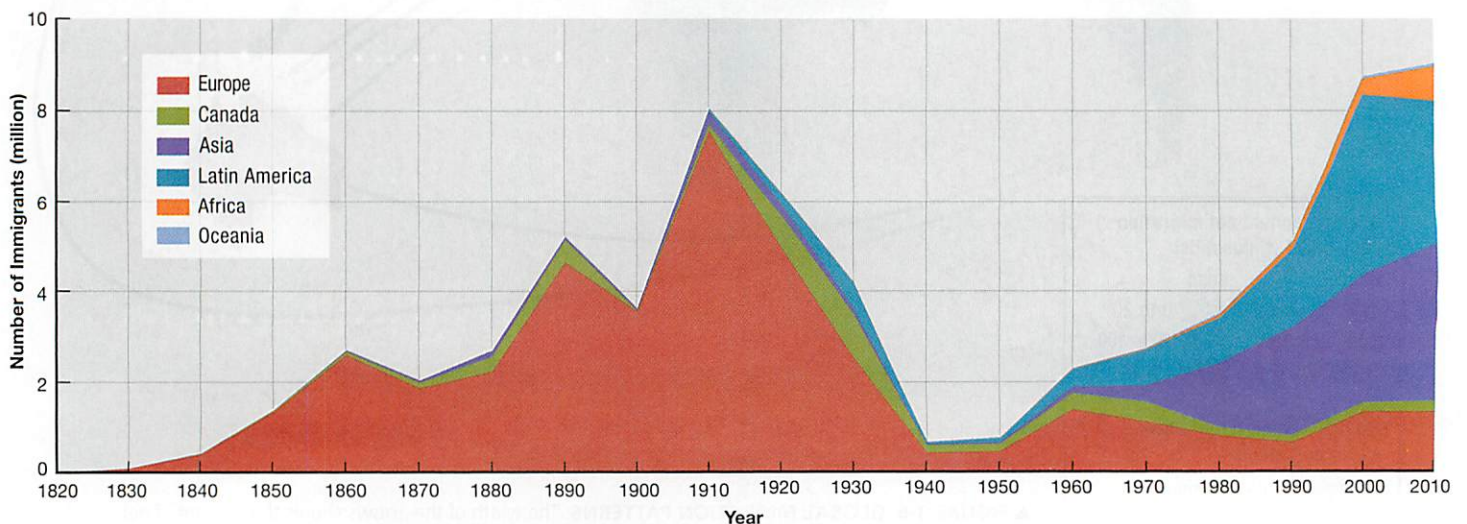
Most of the Africans were forced to migrate to the United States as slaves, whereas most Europeans were voluntary migrants—although harsh economic conditions and persecution in Europe blurred the distinction between forced and voluntary migration for many Europeans.

### U.S. IMMIGRATION: MID-NINETEENTH TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Between 1820 and 1920 approximately 32 million people immigrated to the United States. Nearly 90 percent emigrated from Europe. 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 (Figure 3-7):

- **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.
- **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



▲ FIGURE 3-7 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 American and Asia have been the dominant sources of immigrants.

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.** 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.

Note that 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. Therefore, most were counted as immigrants from Germany, Russia, or Austria.

### Pause and Reflect 3.1.2

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

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

Immigration to the United States dropped sharply in the 1930s and 1940s, during the Great Depression and World War II. The number of immigrants 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:

- **Asia.** The leading sources of U.S. immigrants from Asia are China, the Philippines, India, and Vietnam.
- **Latin America.** Nearly one-half million emigrate to the United States annually from Latin America, more than twice as many as during the entire nineteenth century.

Recent immigrants are not distributed uniformly throughout the United States. More than one-half head for California, Florida, New York, or Texas (Figure 3-8).

Officially, Mexico passed Germany in 2006 as the country that has sent to the United States the most immigrants ever. Unofficially, because of the large number of unauthorized immigrants, Mexico probably became the leading source during the 1980s. In the early 1990s, an unusually large number of immigrants 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.

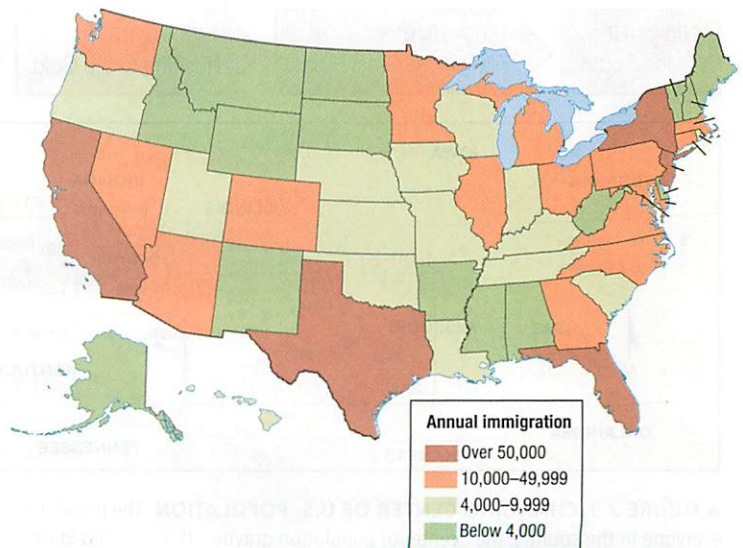
Although the pattern of immigration to the United States has changed from predominantly European to Asian and Latin American, the reason for immigration remains the same. Rapid population growth has limited prospects for economic advancement at home. Europeans left when their countries entered stage 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 with a large supply of unclaimed land. 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.

### CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 1

#### Where Are Migrants Distributed?

- ✓ Migration can be international (voluntary or forced) or internal (interregional or intraregional).
- ✓ Migration to the United States has occurred in three principal eras, with emigrants from different combinations of countries and regions predominating during each era.



▲ FIGURE 3-8 DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS BY U.S. STATE California, New York, Florida, and Texas are the leading destinations for immigrants.



## KEY ISSUE 2

# Where Do People Migrate within a Country?

- Interregional Migration
- Intraregional Migration

### Learning Outcome 3.2.1

Describe the history 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).

## Interregional Migration

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).

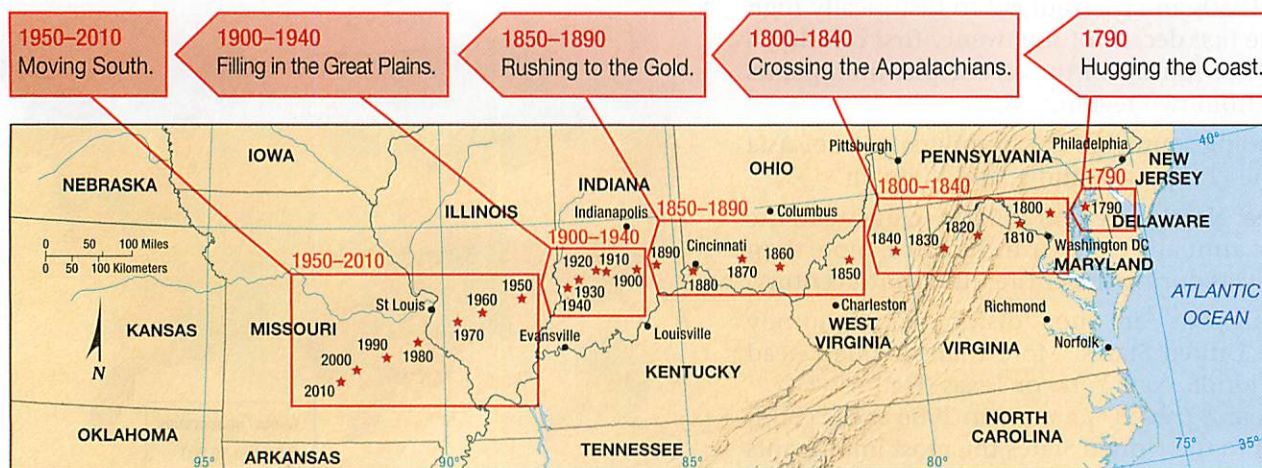
## MIGRATION BETWEEN REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

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 3-9). The center has consistently shifted westward, although the rate of movement has varied in different eras:

- **1790: Hugging the coast.** This location reflects the fact that 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



▲ **FIGURE 3-9 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.

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.

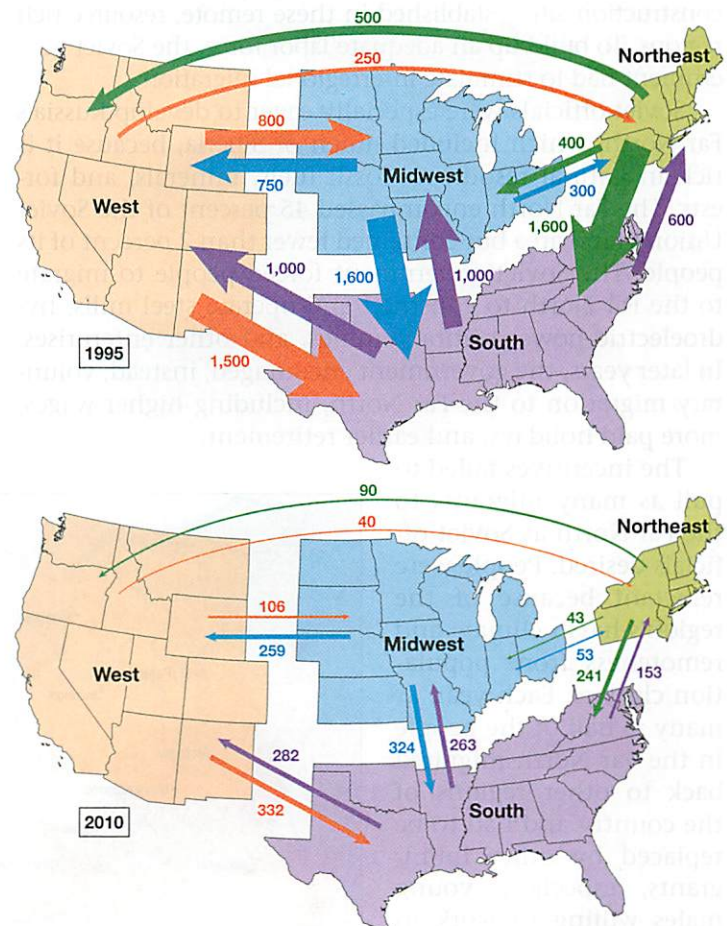
- **1800–1840: Crossing the Appalachians.** Transportation improvements, especially the building of canals, helped to open the interior. Most important was the Erie Canal, which enabled people to travel inexpensively by boat between New York City and the Great Lakes. In 1840, the United States had 5,352 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, beginning 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 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; net migration between each pair of regions is now close to zero. Regional differences in employment prospects have become less dramatic (Figure 3-10). The severe recession that began in 2008 discouraged people from migrating because of limited job prospects in all regions.

### Pause and Reflect 3.2.1

What means of transportation were available to migrants crossing the United States during the different eras?



▲ **FIGURE 3-10 RECENT INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES** Figures show average annual migration (in thousands) in 1995 (top) and 2010 (bottom).

## MIGRATION BETWEEN REGIONS IN THE WORLD'S LARGEST COUNTRY

### Learning Outcome 3.2.2

Describe interregional migration in Russia.

Long-distance interregional migration has been an important means of opening new regions for economic development in Russia. The population of Russia, the world's largest country in land area, is highly clustered in the western, or European, portion of the country. Much of the country, especially east of the Ural Mountains, is extremely sparsely inhabited (Figure 3-11). To open up the sparsely inhabited Asian portion of Russia, interregional migration was important in the former Soviet Union. Soviet policy encouraged factory construction near raw materials rather than near existing population concentrations (see Chapter 11). Not enough workers lived nearby to fill all the jobs at the mines, factories, and construction sites established in these remote, resource-rich regions. To build up an adequate labor force, the Soviet government had to stimulate interregional migration.

Soviet officials were especially eager to develop Russia's Far North, which included much of Siberia, because it is rich in natural resources—fossil fuels, minerals, and forests. The Far North encompassed 45 percent of the Soviet Union's land area but contained fewer than 2 percent of its people. The Soviet government forced people to migrate to the Far North to construct and operate steel mills, hydroelectric power stations, mines, and other enterprises. In later years, the government encouraged, instead, voluntary migration to the Far North, including higher wages, more paid holidays, and earlier retirement.

The incentives failed to pull as many migrants to the Far North as Soviet officials desired. People were reluctant because of the region's harsh climate and remoteness from population clusters. Each year, as many as half of the people in the Far North migrated back to other regions of the country and had to be replaced by other immigrants, especially young males willing to work in the region for a short period. One method the Soviet government used was to send a brigade of young volunteers, known as Komsomol, during school vacations to help construct projects, such as railroads (Figure 3-12).



▲ **FIGURE 3-12 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: RUSSIA**

When Russia was still constituted as the principal components of the Soviet Union, workers migrated to Siberia to build rail lines, including these in 1930.

The collapse of the Soviet Union ended policies that encouraged interregional migration. In the transition to a market-based economy, Russian government officials no longer dictate “optimal” locations for factories.

### Pause and Reflect 3.2.2

With Russia more closely linked economically to Europe, which region of the country is most likely to attract interregional migration?



▲ **FIGURE 3-11 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION: RUSSIA** Russia's population is clustered in the west of the country, nearest to Europe.

## SUSTAINABILITY AND INEQUALITY IN OUR GLOBAL VILLAGE

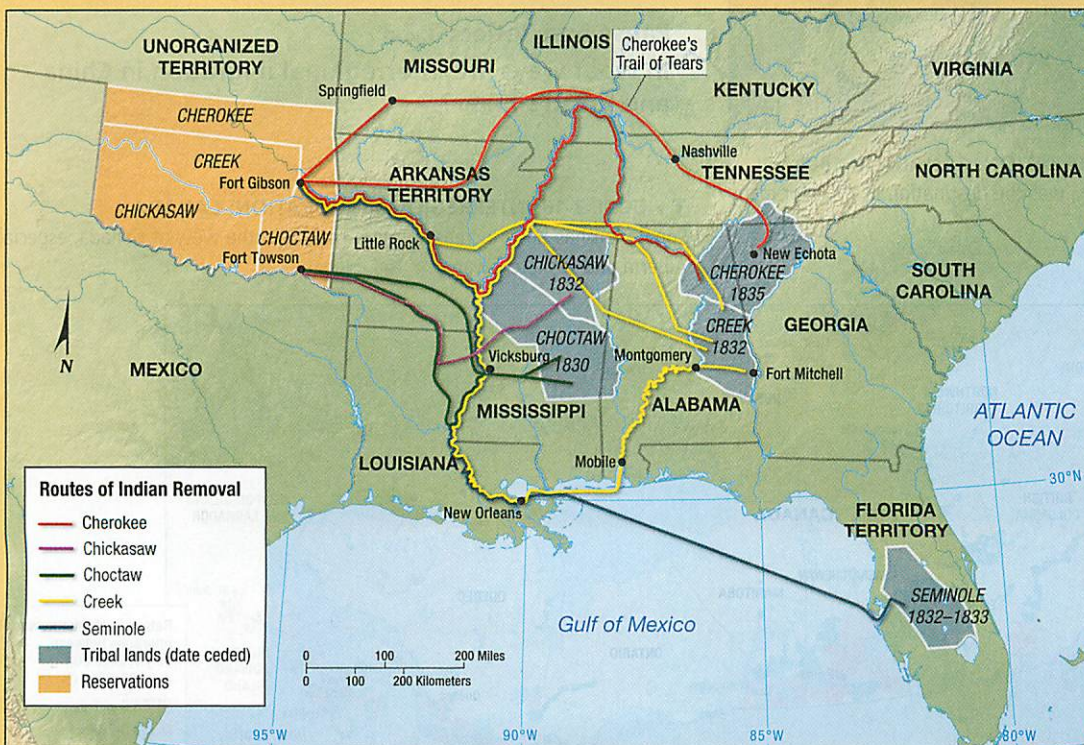
### Trail of Tears

Like many other people, 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 3-13). The five removals opened up 100,000 square kilometers (25 million acres) of land for whites to settle and relocated the tribes to land that was too dry to sustain their traditional ways of obtaining food. Approximately 46,000 Native



▲ **FIGURE 3-13 TRAIL OF TEARS SCULPTURE** This sculpture in Chattanooga, Tennessee, commemorates the start of the path that the Cherokee were forced to take to relocate to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1838.

Americans were estimated to have been uprooted, many of whom 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 (Figure 3-14).



▲ **FIGURE 3-14 TRAIL OF TEARS**

These are the routes that the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole tribes took when they were forced to migrate in the early nineteenth century.

## MIGRATION BETWEEN REGIONS IN OTHER LARGE COUNTRIES

### Learning Outcome 3.2.3

Describe interregional migration in Canada, China, and Brazil.

The world's largest countries in land area other than Russia, and the United States are Canada, China, and Brazil. Government policies encourage interregional migration in Brazil and discourage it in China.

**CANADA.** As in the United States, Canada has had significant interregional migration from east to west for more than a century (Figure 3-15). The three westernmost provinces—Alberta, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan—are the destinations for most interregional migrants within



▲ **FIGURE 3-15 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: CANADA IN 1900**  
Dawson City, in Canada's Yukon Territory, was the destination in 1900 for many immigrants looking for gold.

Canada. Net out-migration is being recorded in provinces from Manitoba eastward (Figure 3-16).

**CHINA.** An estimated 100 million people have emigrated from rural areas in the interior of the country (Figure 3-17). They are headed for the large urban areas along the east coast, where jobs are most plentiful, especially in factories. The government once severely limited the ability of Chinese people to make interregional moves, but restrictions have been lifted in recent years.

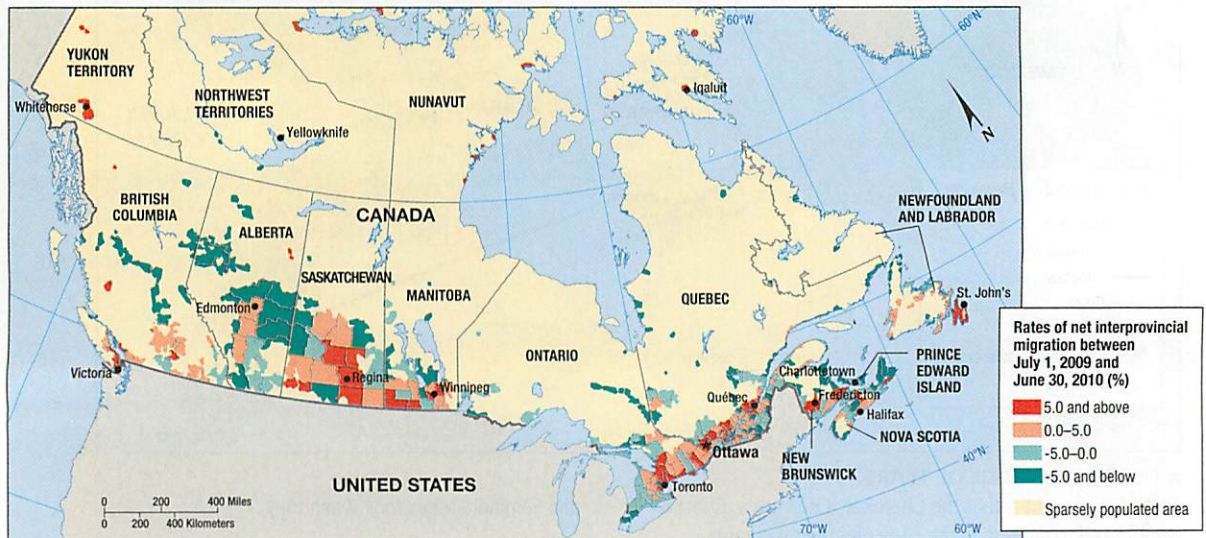
**BRAZIL.** Most Brazilians live in a string of large cities near the Atlantic Coast. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have become two of the world's largest cities. In contrast, Brazil's tropical interior is very sparsely inhabited. To increase the attractiveness of the interior, the government moved its 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 3-18).

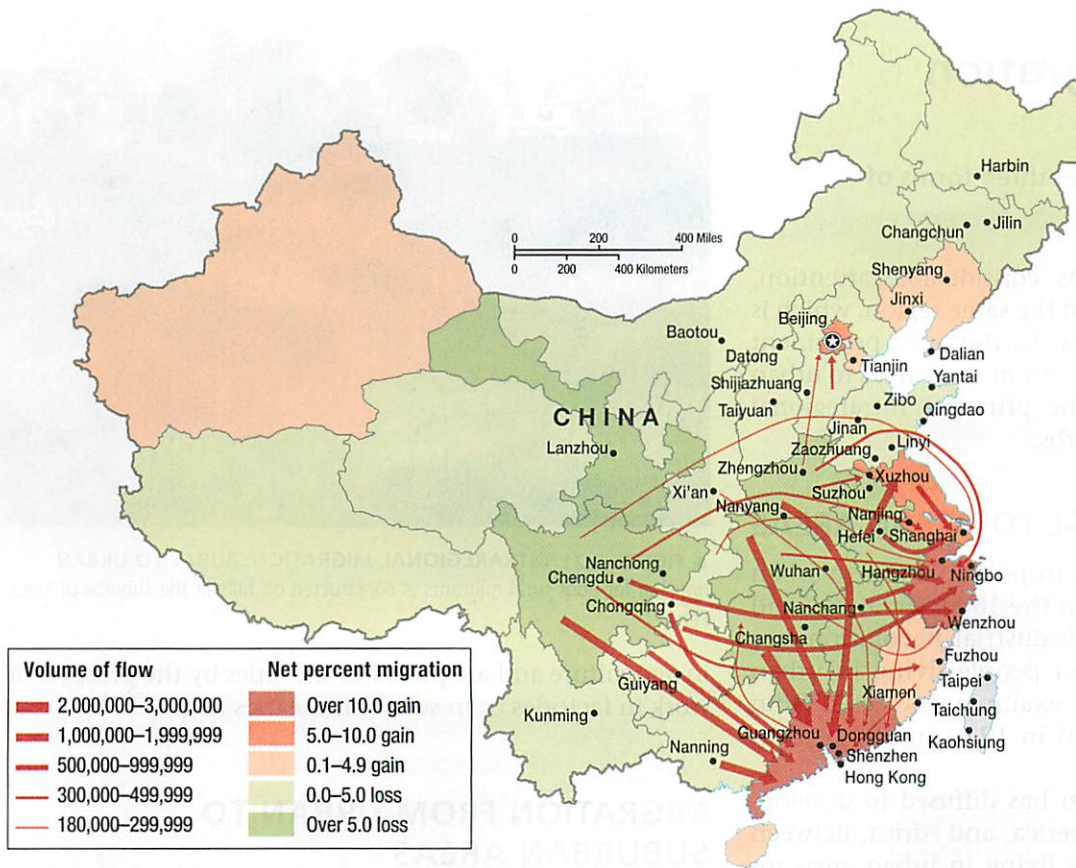
From above, Brasília's design resembles an airplane, with government buildings located at the center of the city and housing arranged along the "wings" (Figure 3-19). Thousands of people have migrated to Brasília in search of jobs. In a country with rapid population growth, many people will migrate where they think they can find employment. Many of these workers could not afford housing in Brasília and were living instead in hastily erected shacks on the outskirts of the city.

### Pause and Reflect 3.2.3

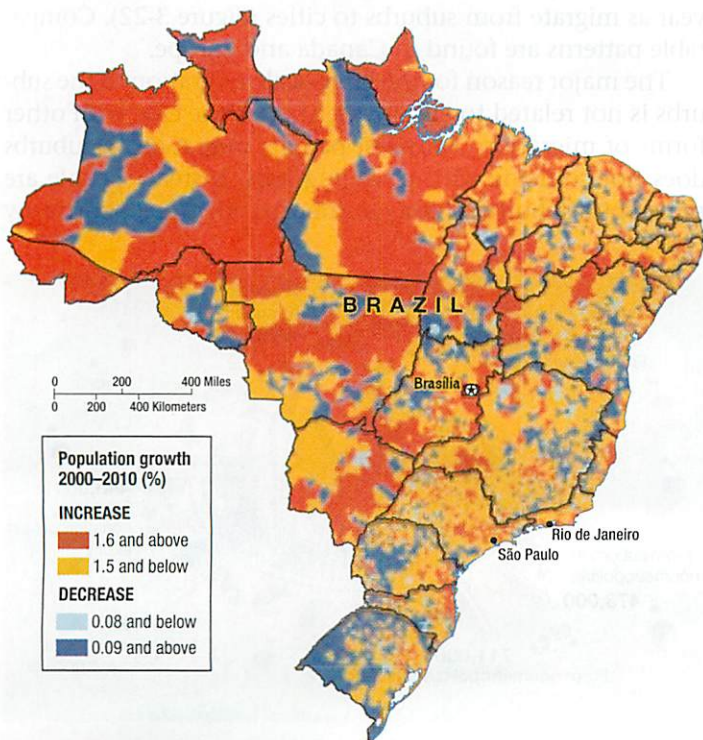
In what ways are interregional migration in China and Brazil similar?

▼ **FIGURE 3-16 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: CANADA**  
Population has been increasing more rapidly in the west of Canada, especially Alberta and Saskatchewan.





▲ FIGURE 3-17 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: CHINA Migrants are heading eastward towards the major cities.



▲ FIGURE 3-18 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: BRAZIL Population is growing more rapidly in the interior of the country.



▲ FIGURE 3-19 INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION: BRAZIL'S CAPITAL From the air, Brasília looks like an airplane. The city was built beginning in 1960 to lure migrants from the country's large coastal cities.

# Intraregional Migration

## Learning Outcome 3.2.4

Explain differences among the three forms of intraregional migration.

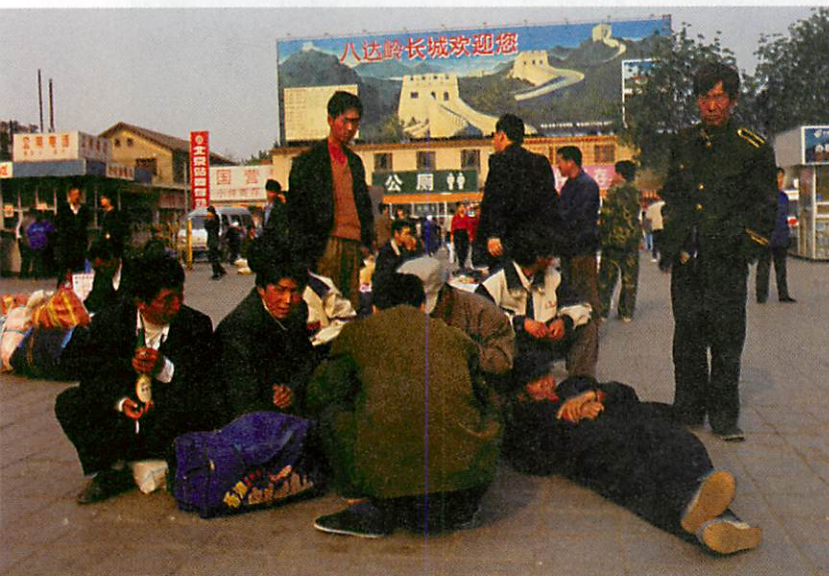
Interregional migration attracts considerable attention, but far more people move within the same region, which is intraregional migration. Worldwide, the most prominent type of intraregional migration is from rural areas to urban areas. In the United States, the principal intraregional migration is from cities to suburbs.

### 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 80 percent in 2010.

In recent years, urbanization has diffused to developing countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Between 1950 and 2010, the percentage living in urban areas increased from 40 percent to 80 percent in Latin America, from 15 percent to 45 percent in Asia, and from 10 percent to 40 percent in sub-Saharan Africa. Worldwide, more than 20 million people are estimated to migrate each year from rural to urban areas (Figure 3-20).

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



▲ FIGURE 3-20 INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION: CHINA These migrants from rural to urban areas within China are waiting for trains to take them back to the countryside during holidays.



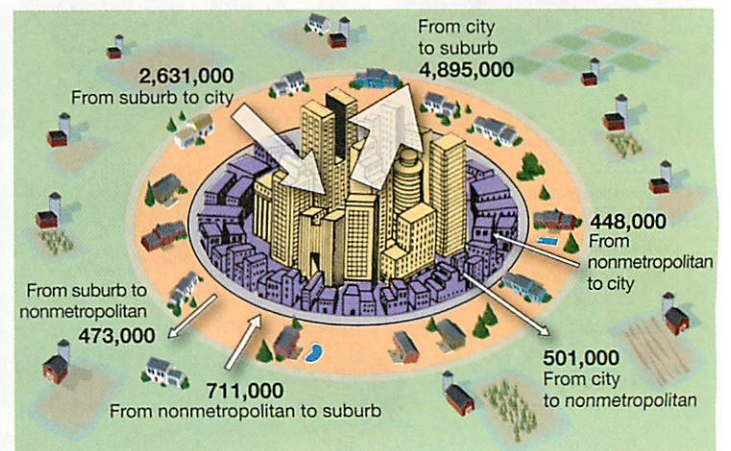
▲ FIGURE 3-21 INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION: RURAL TO URBAN Housing for poor rural migrants is constructed on hills in the suburbs of Lima, Peru.

in agriculture and are pulled to the cities by the prospect of work in factories or in service industries (Figure 3-21).

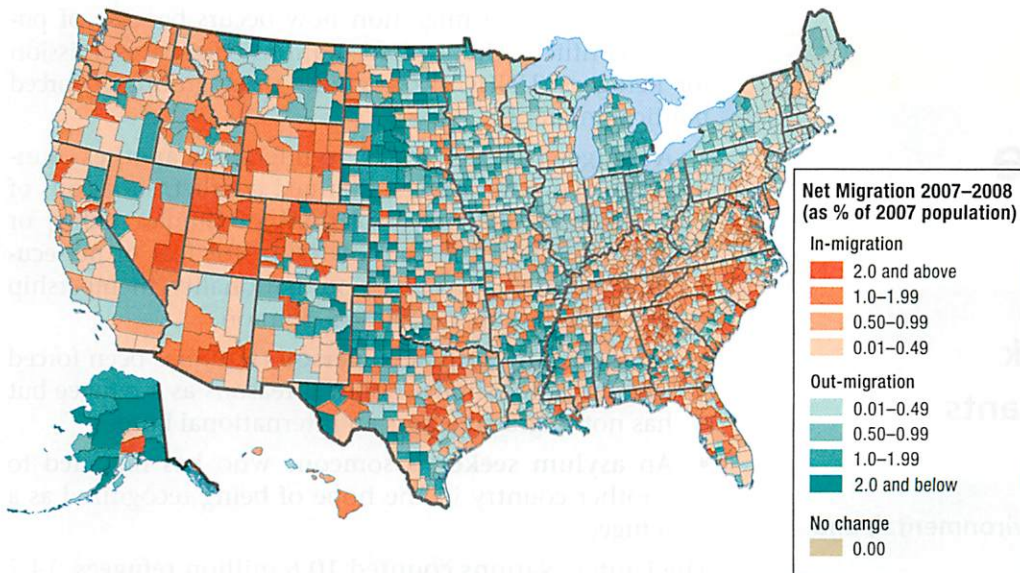
### MIGRATION FROM URBAN TO SUBURBAN AREAS

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 3-22). 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



▲ FIGURE 3-22 INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION: UNITED STATES This figure shows migration between cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas in 2010.



▲ **FIGURE 3-23 NET MIGRATION BY COUNTY** Rural counties experienced net in-migration in Rocky Mountain and southern states and net out-migration in Great Plains states.

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. 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 during the late twentieth century. For the first time, more people immigrated into rural areas than emigrated out of them. Net migration from urban to rural areas is called **counterurbanization**.

The boundary where suburbs end and the countryside begins cannot be precisely defined. Counterurbanization results in part from very rapid expansion of suburbs. But most 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 factories, 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 3-23).

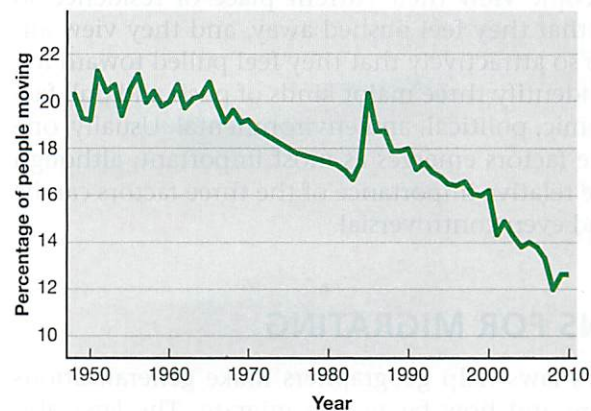
With modern communications and transportation systems, no location in a developed country is truly isolated, either economically or socially. Computers, tablets, and smart phones enable us to work anywhere and still have access to an international network. We can buy most products online and have them delivered within a few days. We can follow the fortunes of our favorite teams on television anywhere in the country, thanks to satellite dishes and webcasts.

Intraregional migration has slowed during the early twenty-first century as a result of the severe recession (Figure 3-24). Intraregional migrants, who move primarily for lifestyle reasons

rather than for jobs, found that they couldn't get loans to buy new homes and couldn't find buyers for their old homes.

### Pause and Reflect 3.2.3

**What changes in communications and transportation might make counterurbanization easier or harder?**



▲ **FIGURE 3-24 PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS MOVING IN A YEAR** The percentage has declined from 20 percent in the 1980s to 12 percent in the 2010s.

### CHECK IN: KEY ISSUE 2

#### Where Do People Migrate Within a Country?

- ✓ Migration between regions is important within the United States, as well as within other large countries.
- ✓ Migration within countries takes several forms, including rural to urban, urban to suburban, and urban to rural.



## KEY ISSUE 3

# Why Do People Migrate?

- Reasons for Migrating
- Migrating to Find Work
- Characteristics of Migrants

### Learning Outcome 3.3.1

Provide examples of political, environmental, and economic push and pull factors.

People decide to 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 attractively that they feel pulled toward it.

We can identify three major kinds of push and pull factors: economic, political, and environmental. Usually, one of the three factors emerges as most important, although ranking the relative importance of the three factors can be difficult and even controversial.

## REASONS FOR MIGRATING

Ravenstein's laws help geographers make generalizations about where and how far people migrate. The laws also sum up the reasons why people migrate:

- Most people migrate for economic reasons.
- Political and environmental factors also induce migration, although not as frequently as economic factors.

## POLITICAL PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

Political factors can be especially compelling push factors, forcing people to emigrate from a country. Slavery was once an important political push factor. Millions of people were shipped to other countries as slaves or as prisoners, especially from sub-Saharan Africa to North America and Latin America, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Chapter 7).

Forced political migration now occurs because of political conflict. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) recognizes three groups of forced political migrants:

- 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 United Nations counted 10.6 million refugees, 14.7 million IDPs, and 838,000 asylum seekers in 2010 (Figure 3-25). The UNHCR also found that 198,000 refugees and 2.9 million IDPs had returned to their homes in 2010.

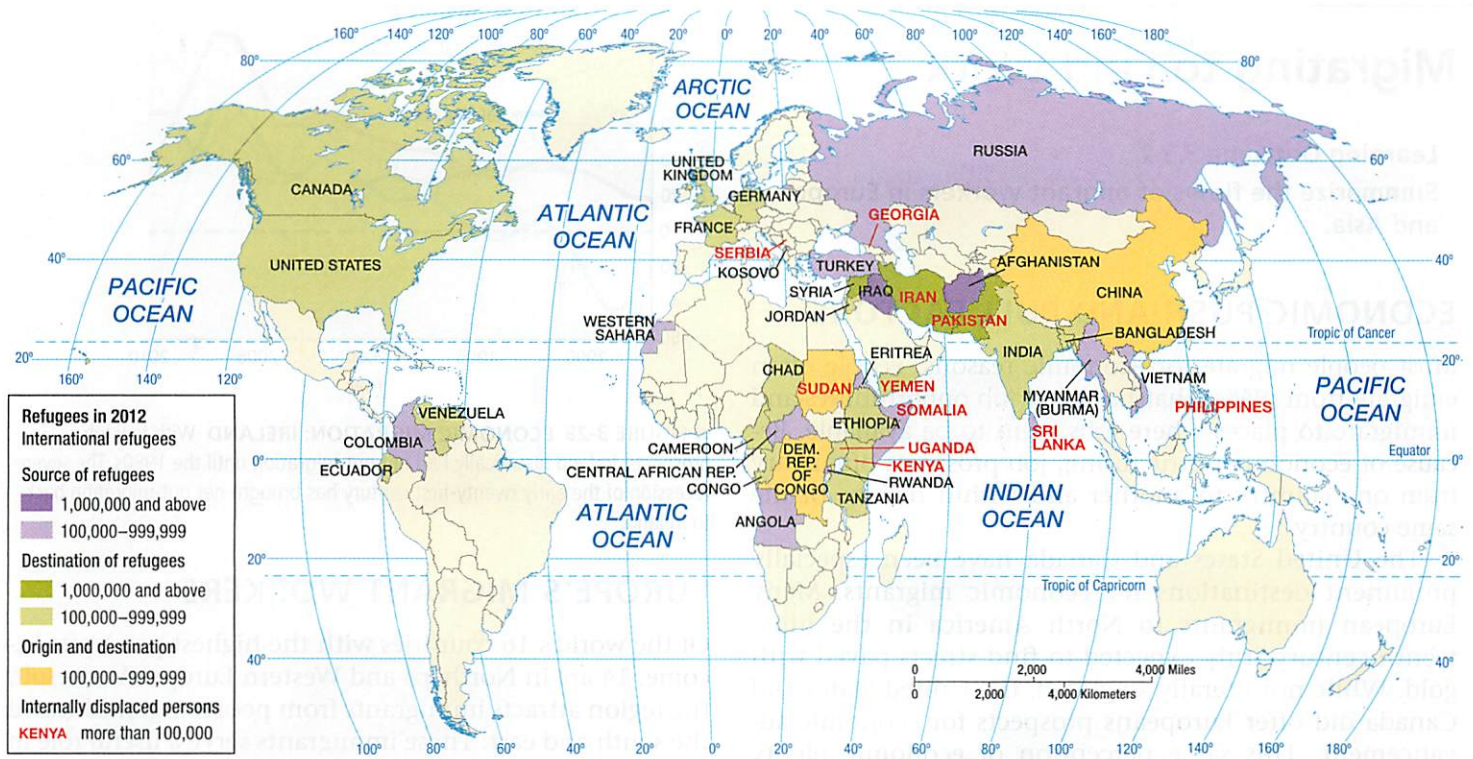
The largest number of refugees in 2010 was forced to migrate from Afghanistan and Iraq because of the continuing wars there. Countries bordering Afghanistan and Iraq, including Pakistan, Iran, and Syria, received the most refugees.

## ENVIRONMENTAL PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

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 these 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 3-26). The **floodplain** of a river is the area subject to flooding during a specific number of years, based



▲ **FIGURE 3-25 POLITICAL FACTORS: REFUGEES AND IDPS** The largest numbers of refugees originated in Southwest Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.

on historical trends. People living in the “100-year floodplain,” for example, can expect flooding on average once every century. Many people are unaware that they live in a floodplain, and even people who do know often choose to live there anyway.

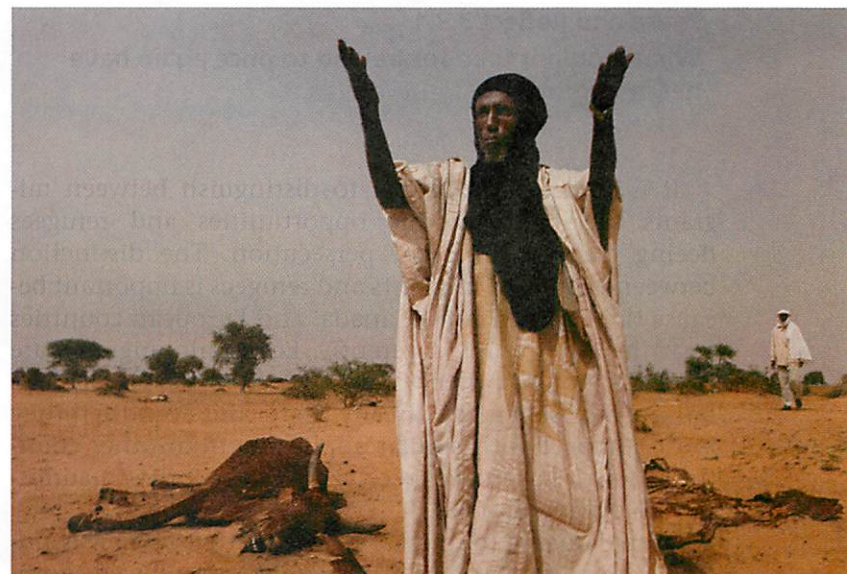
A lack of water pushes others from their land (Figure 3-27). Hundreds of thousands have been forced to move from the Sahel region of northern Africa because of drought conditions. The people of the Sahel have traditionally been pastoral nomads, a form of agriculture

adapted to dry lands but effective only at low population densities (see Chapter 10).

The capacity of the Sahel to sustain human life—never very high—has declined recently because of population growth and several years of unusually low rainfall. 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 3-26 FLOODING** Flooding of the Mississippi River in 2011 inundated farms in the floodplain.



▲ **FIGURE 3-27 DROUGHT** This man in Abala, Niger, is explaining that his animals have died because of drought.

## Migrating to Find Work

### Learning Outcome 3.3.2

Summarize the flows of migrant workers in Europe and Asia.

### ECONOMIC PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

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.

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.

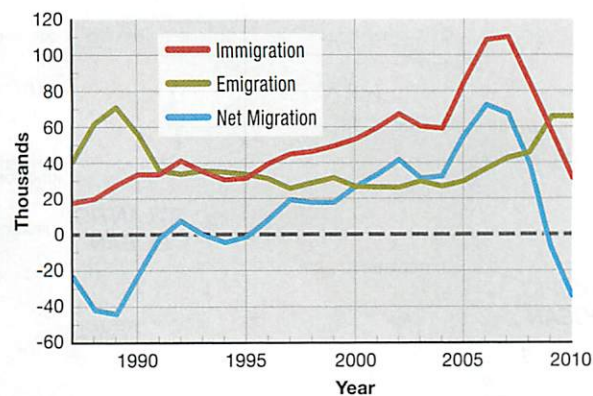
The relative attractiveness of a region can shift with economic change. Ireland was a place of net out-migration through most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dire economic conditions produced net out-migration in excess of 200,000 a year during the 1850s. The pattern reversed during the 1990s, 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 net out-migration to Europe (Figure 3-28).

### Pause and Reflect 3.3.1

What would it take for Ireland to once again have net in-migration?

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 there, and even then they must compete with similar applicants from other countries. However, refugees receive special priority in admission to other countries.

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 Europe and Asia.



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

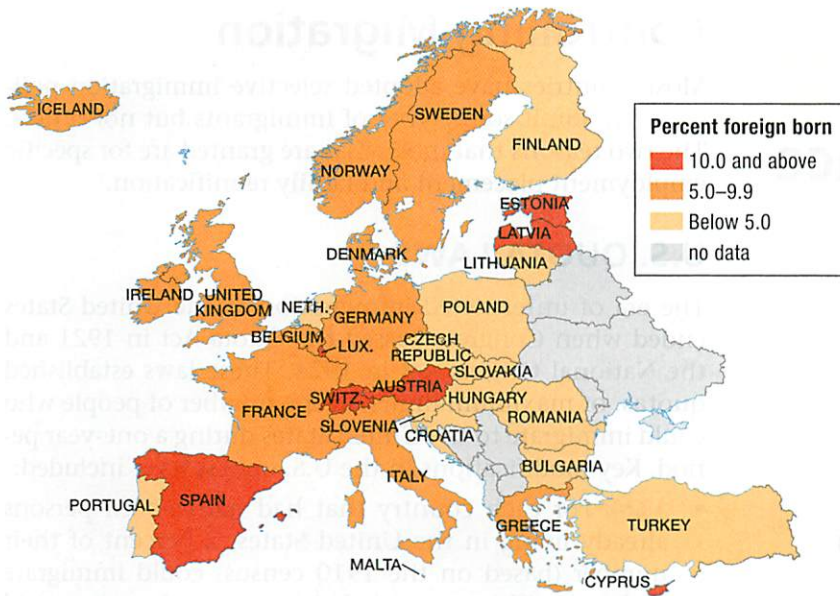
### EUROPE'S MIGRANT WORKERS

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 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 (Figure 3-29).

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 a large percentage of their earnings back home to their families. The injection of foreign currency then stimulates the local economy.



▲ **FIGURE 3-29 IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE** Immigrant from North Africa cleans the streets in Paris.



Germany and other wealthy European countries operated a **guest worker** program mainly during the 1960s and 1970s. Immigrants from poorer countries were allowed to immigrate temporarily to obtain jobs. They were protected by minimum-wage laws, labor union contracts, and other support programs. The guest worker program was intended to be temporary. After a few years, the guest workers were expected to return home.

The first guest worker programs involved emigration from Southern European countries such as Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Northern European countries were then much wealthier and more economically developed and offered many more job opportunities. Turkey and North Africa replaced Southern Europe as the leading sources. Today, most immigrants in search of work in Europe come from Eastern Europe, such as Poland and Romania.

The term “guest worker” is no longer used in Europe, and the government programs no longer exist. Many immigrants who arrived originally under the guest worker program have remained permanently. They, along with their children and grandchildren, have become citizens of the host country. The foreign-born population exceeds 40 percent in Luxembourg and 20 percent in Switzerland. Among the most populous European countries, Spain has the highest share of foreign-born population (Figure 3-30). In Europe as a whole, though, the percentage of foreign-born residents is only one-half that of North America.

## ASIA'S MIGRANT WORKERS

Asia is both a major source and a major destination for migrants in search of work:

- **China.** Approximately 40 million Chinese currently live in other countries, including 30 million in Southeast Asia, 5 million in North America, and 2 million in Europe. Chinese comprise three-fourths of the population in Singapore and one-fourth in Malaysia. Most migrants were from southeastern China. China’s booming economy is now attracting immigrants from neighboring

◀ **FIGURE 3-30 PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE** Luxembourg and Switzerland have the highest percentages of immigrants.

countries, especially Vietnamese, who are willing to work in China’s rapidly expanding factories. Immigration from abroad pales in comparison to internal migration within China.

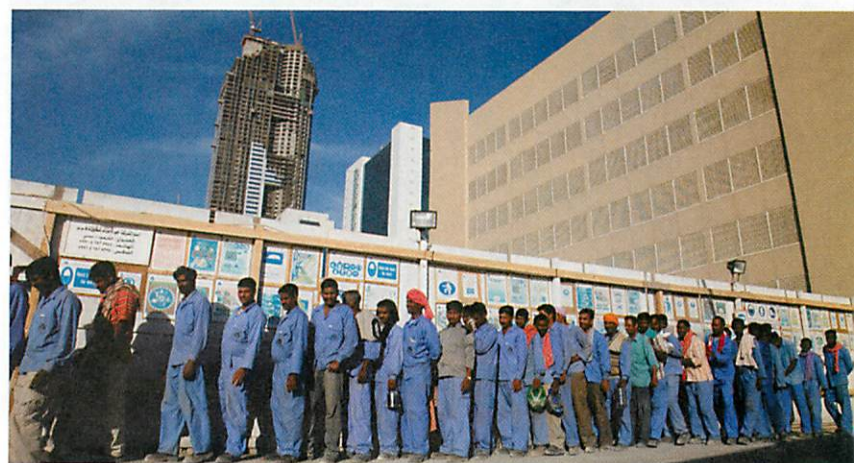
- **Southwest Asia.** The wealthy oil-producing countries of Southwest Asia have been major destinations for people from poorer countries in the region, such as Egypt and Yemen. During the late twentieth century, most immigrants arrived from South and Southeast Asia, including India, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand (Figure 3-31). 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 guest workers will spark political unrest and abandonment of traditional Islamic customs.

**Pause and Reflect 3.3.2**  
**Why are street cleaning and construction jobs attractive for immigrants to Europe and Southwest Asia?**

### 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.



▲ **FIGURE 3-31 IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTHWEST ASIA** These immigrants in Dubai have lined up to get construction jobs.

## KEY ISSUE 4

# Why Do Migrants Face Obstacles?

- Controlling Migration
- Unauthorized Immigration
- Attitudes toward Immigrants

### Learning Outcome 3.4.1

Identify the types of immigrants who are given preference to enter the United States.

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 by sea. Think of the cramped and unsanitary conditions endured by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century immigrants to the United States who had to sail across the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean in tiny ships. Or the mountains and deserts that European pioneers and displaced Native Americans were forced to cross in their westward migration across the North American continent.

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 (Figure 3-32).



▲ FIGURE 3-32 PASSPORT CONTROL Backup at the border from Tijuana, Mexico (right) into the United States at San Diego.

## Controlling Migration

Most countries have adopted selective immigration policies that admit some types of immigrants but not others. The two reasons that most visas are granted are for specific employment placement and family reunification.

### U.S. QUOTA LAWS

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 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 and Europe contribute 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.

## CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIC TOOLS

### Claiming Ellis Island

Twelve million immigrants to the United States between 1892 and 1954 were processed at Ellis Island, situated in New York Harbor (Figure 3-33). Incorporated as part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument in 1965, Ellis Island was restored and reopened in 1990 as a museum of immigration. Before building the immigration center, the U.S. government used Ellis Island as a fort and powder magazine beginning in 1808.

An 1834 agreement approved by the U.S. Congress gave Ellis Island to New York State and gave the submerged lands surrounding the island to New Jersey. When the agreement was signed, Ellis Island was only 1.1 hectares (2.75 acres), but beginning in the 1890s, the U.S. government enlarged the island, eventually to 10.6 hectares (27.5 acres).

New Jersey state officials claimed that the 10.6-hectare Ellis Island was

part of their state, not New York. The claim 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 was only 400 meters (1,300 feet) from the New Jersey shoreline, yet tourists—like immigrants a century ago—are transported by ferry to Lower Manhattan more than a mile away. More practically, the sales tax collected by the Ellis Island museum gift shop was going to New York rather than to New Jersey.

After decades of dispute, New Jersey took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1998, the Supreme Court ruled 6–3 that New York owned the original island but that New Jersey owned the rest. New York's jurisdiction was set as the low waterline of the original island. Critical evidence in the decision was a series of maps prepared by New Jersey Department

of Environmental Protection (NJDEP) officials using Geographic Information System (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 era. The image file of the old map was brought into ArcView, and then the low waterline shown on the 1857 map was edited and depicted using a series of dots. The perimeter of the current island was mapped using global positioning system (GPS) surveying.

After ruling in favor of New Jersey's claim, the Supreme Court directed the NJDEP to delineate the precise boundary between the two states, again using GIS. Overlaying the 1857 low waterline onto the current map identified New York's territory, and the rest of the current island was determined to belong to New Jersey.



▲ **FIGURE 3-33 ELLIS ISLAND** Ellis Island is in the foreground, Jersey City, New Jersey, is to the left, and Manhattan, New York is to the rear.

## Unauthorized Immigration

### Learning Outcome 3.4.2

Describe the population characteristics of unauthorized immigrants to the United States.

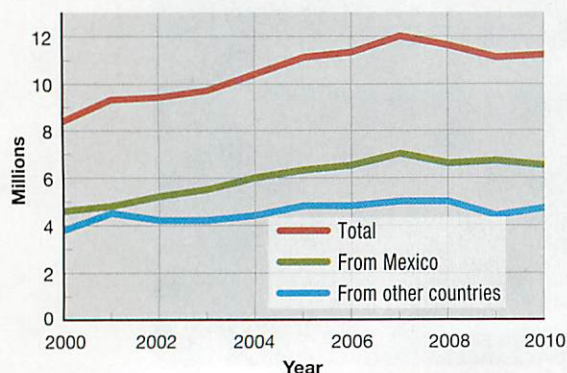
The number of people allowed to immigrate into the United States is at a historically high level, but the number who wish to come is even higher. Many who cannot legally enter the United States immigrate illegally. Those who do so are entering without proper documents and thus are called **unauthorized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

### CHARACTERISTICS OF UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRANTS

The Pew Hispanic Center estimated that there were 11.2 million unauthorized immigrants living in the United States in 2010. The number increased rapidly during the first years of the twenty-first century (Figure 3-34). After hitting a peak in 2007, the figure declined because the severe recession that started in 2008 reduced job opportunities in the United States.

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

- **Source country.** Approximately 58 percent 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 11.2 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 2010 Pew survey, 35 percent of unauthorized adult immigrants had resided in the United States for 15 years or more, 28 percent for 10 to 14 years, 22 percent for 5 to 9 years, and 15 percent for



▲ FIGURE 3-34 NUMBER OF UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES Most unauthorized immigrants in the United States are from Mexico.

less than 5 years. A similar survey in 2000 showed a reverse distribution: 32 percent had been in the United States for less than 5 years, compared to only 16 percent for more than 15 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.
- **Distribution.** California and Texas have the largest number of unauthorized immigrants. Nevada has the largest percentage.

### MEXICO'S BORDER WITH THE UNITED STATES

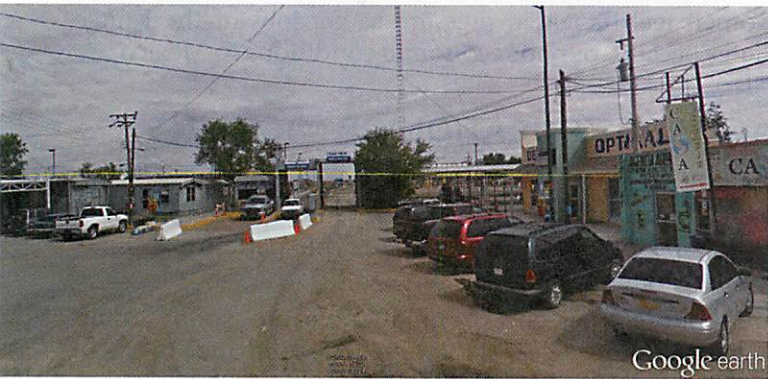
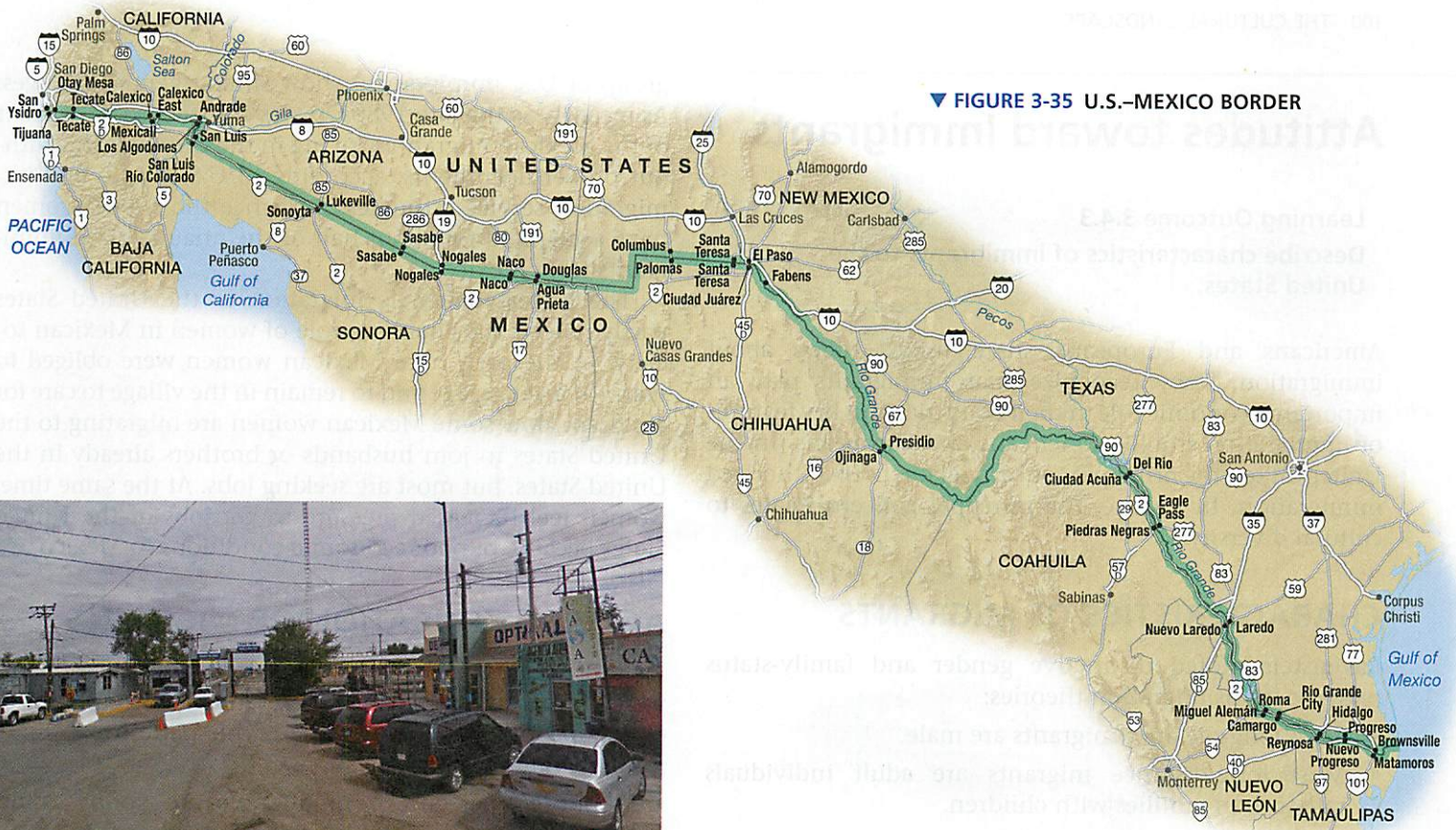
The U.S.–Mexico border is 3,141 kilometers (1,951 miles) long (Figure 3-35). Rural areas and small towns are guarded by only a handful of agents (Figure 3-36). Crossing the border on foot legally is possible in several places (Figure 3-37). Elsewhere, the border runs mostly through sparsely inhabited regions. The United States has constructed a barrier covering approximately one-fourth of the border (Figure 3-38). 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 (Figures 3-32 and 3-39).

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 six-foot-tall iron monuments erected in the late nineteenth century, as well as 440 fifteen-inch-tall markers added in the 1970s. Actually locating the border is difficult in some remote areas.

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 employment, family reunification, and a better way of life in the United States.

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 the south, Mexicans urge stronger security along the border.

Along the Mexican–Guatemalan border, the Suchiate River is sometimes only ankle deep. 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



**FIGURE 3-36 U.S.-MEXICO BORDER: SMALL TOWN CROSSING**  
There is no congestion crossing between Palomas, Mexico (foreground), and Columbus, New Mexico.



**FIGURE 3-38 U.S.-MEXICO BORDER: FENCE** A fence separates Tecate, Mexico (right), from Tecate, California.



**FIGURE 3-37 U.S.-MEXICO BORDER: PEDESTRIAN CROSSING**  
Pedestrians cross from Nueva Progreso, Mexico (foreground), to Progreso, Texas.

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.

**Pause and Reflect 3.4.2**

Which border crossing between Mexico and the United States shown here does the border crossing between Mexico and Guatemala most resemble?



**FIGURE 3-39 U.S.-MEXICO BORDER: URBAN CONGESTION** Vehicles are backed up trying to move from Matamoros, Mexico (right), to Brownsville, Texas.



## Attitudes toward Immigrants

### Learning Outcome 3.4.3

Describe characteristics of immigrants to the United States.

Americans and Europeans share mixed views about immigration. They recognize that immigrants play an important economic role in their countries, but key features of immigration trouble Americans and Europeans. In the United States, the principal concern relates to unauthorized immigration. In Europe, the principal concern relates to cultural diversity.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

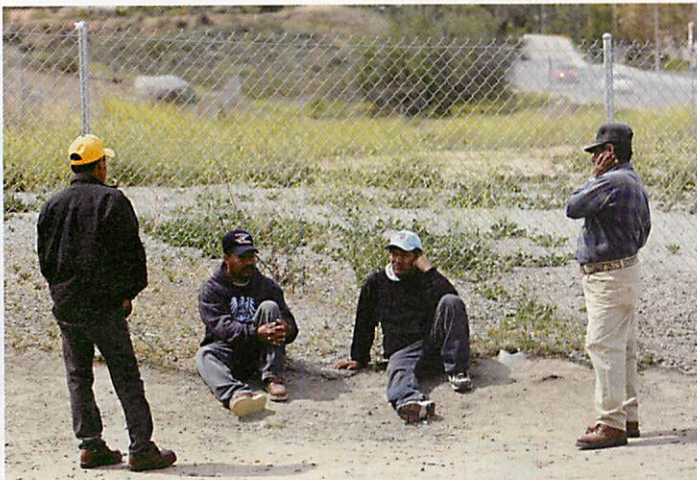
Ravenstein noted distinctive gender and family-status patterns in his migration theories:

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

### 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 (Figure 3-40). This held true for U.S. immigrants during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, when about 55 percent were male. But the gender pattern reversed in the 1990s, and in the twenty-first century women constitute about 55 percent of U.S. immigrants.

Mexicans who come to the United States without authorized immigration documents—currently the largest



▲ **FIGURE 3-40** EMIGRANTS FROM MEXICO: MALE DAY LABORERS  
Day laborers from Mexico have crossed the border into San Diego, California, to look for temporary work.

group of U.S. immigrants—show similar gender changes. As recently as the late 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.

The increased female migration to the United States partly reflects the changing role of women in Mexican society. In the past, rural Mexican women were 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 AND EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS

Ravenstein also believed that most long-distance migrants were young adults seeking work rather than children or elderly people. For the most part, this pattern continues for the United States:

- About 40 percent of immigrants are young adults between the ages of 25 and 39, compared to about 23 percent of the entire U.S. population.
- Immigrants are less likely to be elderly people; only 5 percent of immigrants are over age 65, compared to 12 percent of the entire U.S. population.
- Children under 15 comprise 16 percent of immigrants, compared to 21 percent for the total U.S. population. With the increase in women migrating to the United States, more children are coming with their mothers (Figure 3-41).
- Recent immigrants to the United States have attended school for fewer years and are less likely to have high school diplomas than are U.S. citizens. The typical



▲ **FIGURE 3-41** EMIGRANTS FROM MEXICO: WOMEN AND CHILDREN  
AT A PARADE IN NEW YORK Children who have emigrated from Mexico display the Mexican flag at a Latinos Unidos parade in Brooklyn, New York.

unauthorized Mexican immigrant has attended school for four years, less than the average American but a year more than the average Mexican.

## IMMIGRATION CONCERNS IN THE UNITED STATES

Americans are divided concerning whether unauthorized migration helps or hurts the country (Figure 3-42). 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 390,000 unauthorized immigrants in 2010.
- **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 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.”

Controversy even 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 groups that advocate for more rights for these individuals.
- *Illegal alien* is the term preferred by groups who favor tougher restrictions and enforcement of immigration laws.

Opposition to immigration into the United States predates the current era of most immigrants coming from Latin America and Asia. Hostility intensified when Italians, Russians, Poles, and other Southern and Eastern Europeans poured into the United States beginning in the late nineteenth century. Earlier European immigrants, mostly from Northern and Western Europe, had converted the forests and prairies of the vast North American interior into productive farms and had helped to extend U.S. control across the continent. By the early twentieth century, most Americans saw the frontier as closed and thought that therefore entry into the country should be closed as well.

A government study in 1911 reflected popular attitudes when it concluded that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were racially inferior, “inclined toward violent crime,” resisted assimilation, and “drove old-stock citizens out of some lines of work.” A century later, many Americans have similar reactions to the arrival of large numbers of immigrants from Latin America and Asia.

### Pause and Reflect 3.4.3

In what ways are reactions to immigrants today similar to those of a century ago?

▼ **FIGURE 3-42 IMMIGRATION CONTROVERSY IN THE UNITED STATES** Demonstrations supporting (left) tighter immigration controls and (right) more rights for immigrants.



## IMMIGRATION CONCERNS IN EUROPE

### Learning Outcome 3.4.4

Compare American and European attitudes toward immigrants.

Attitudes toward immigration are also ambivalent in Europe. Europeans have more rights than ever before to migrate elsewhere within Europe, whereas non-Europeans face more restrictions than in the past.

**SOURCES OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.** 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 Europe to the richer ones, where job opportunities have been greater.

In recent years the largest flows within Europe have included (Figure 3-43):

- From Southeastern Europe, especially Romania, as well as Bulgaria, Albania, and Serbia, especially to Italy and Spain.
- From Eastern Europe, especially Poland, as well as Russia and Ukraine, especially to Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland.

- From Northern Europe, especially the United Kingdom and Germany, to attractive climates in Southern Europe, especially in Spain.

During the twentieth century, the largest flows within Europe were south to north, especially from Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain to France and Germany.

While migration within Europe has become easier and more common, it has become more difficult for non-Europeans to immigrate to a European country. During the twentieth century, large numbers of Turks and North Africans migrated to Europe. Germany's Turkish population remains the largest group of non-Europeans in Europe.

**OPPONENTS OF IMMIGRATION.** Most European countries are now in stage 4 of the demographic transition (very low or negative NIR) and have economies capable of meeting the needs of their people. The safety valve of emigration is no longer needed. To the contrary, population growth in Europe is fueled by immigration from other regions, a trend that many Europeans dislike.

Hostility to immigrants has become a central plank in the platform of political parties in many European countries. These parties blame immigrants for crime, unemployment, and high welfare costs. Above all, the anti-immigration parties fear that long-standing cultural traditions of the host country are threatened by immigrants who adhere to different religions, speak different languages, and practice different food and other cultural habits. From the standpoint of these parties, immigrants represent a threat

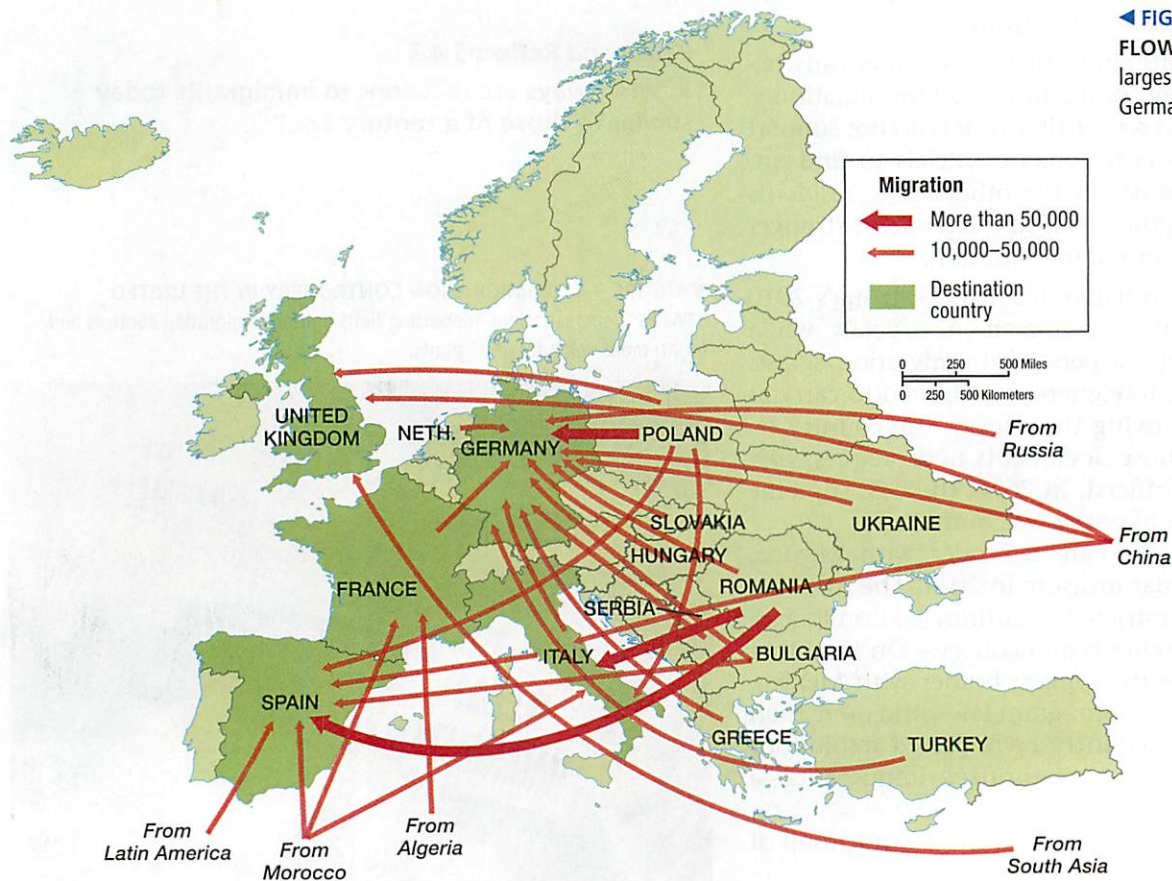


FIGURE 3-43 MIGRATION FLOWS WITHIN EUROPE The largest flows are from Poland to Germany and from Romania to Spain.

to the centuries-old cultural traditions of the host country (Figure 3-44).

The severe global recession of the early twenty-first century has reduced the number of immigrants to the United States and Europe. With high unemployment and limited job opportunities in the principal destination countries, potential migrants have much less incentive to risk the uncertainties and expenses of international migration. Countries such as Ireland, Portugal, and Spain that had become destinations during the late twentieth century once again have net out-migration.

#### Pause and Reflect 3.4.4

How are attitudes towards immigrants similar in the United States and Europe?

**EUROPEANS AS EMIGRANTS.** The inhospitable climate for immigrants in Europe is especially ironic because Europe was the source of most of the world's emigrants, especially during the nineteenth century. Application of new technologies spawned by the Industrial Revolution—in areas such as public health, medicine, and food—produced a rapid decline in the CDR and pushed much of Europe into stage 2 of the demographic transition (high NIR). As the population increased, many Europeans found limited opportunities for economic advancement. Migration to the United States, Canada, Australia, and other regions of the world served as a safety valve, draining off some of that increase.

The emigration of 65 million Europeans has profoundly changed world culture. As do all migrants, Europeans brought their cultural heritage to their new homes. Because of migration, Indo-European languages are now spoken by half of the world's people (as discussed in Chapter 5), and Europe's most prevalent religion, Christianity, has the world's largest number of adherents (see Chapter 6). European art, music, literature, philosophy, and ethics have also diffused throughout the world.

Regions that were sparsely inhabited prior to European immigration, such as North America and Australia, have become closely integrated into Europe's cultural traditions. Distinctive European political structures and economic systems have also diffused to these regions. Europeans also planted the seeds of conflict by migrating to regions with large indigenous populations, especially in Africa and Asia. They frequently imposed political domination on existing populations and injected their cultural values with little regard for local traditions. Economies in Africa and Asia became based on raising crops and extracting resources for export to Europe rather than on growing crops for local consumption and using resources to build local industry. Many of today's conflicts in former European colonies result from past practices by European immigrants, such as drawing arbitrary boundary lines and discriminating among different local ethnic groups.



▲ **FIGURE 3-44 IMMIGRATION CONTROVERSY IN FRANCE** Demonstrations supporting (top) more rights for immigrants and (bottom) tighter immigration controls.

#### CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 4

##### Why Do Migrants Face Obstacles?

- ✓ Immigration is tightly controlled by most countries.
- ✓ The United States has more than 11 million unauthorized immigrants, mostly from Mexico.
- ✓ Americans and Europeans are divided on how to regard immigrants, especially unauthorized ones.

# Summary and Review

## KEY ISSUE 1

### Where Are Migrants Distributed?

On a global scale, the largest flows of migrants are from Asia to Europe and from Asia and Latin America to the United States. The United States receives by far the largest number of migrants.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.1.1:** Describe the difference between international and internal migration.

- Migration can be international (between countries, either voluntary or forced) or internal (within a country, either interregional or intraregional).

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.1.2:** Identify the principal sources of immigrants during the three main eras of U.S. immigration.

- The United States has had three main eras of immigration. The principal source of immigrants has shifted from Europe during the first two eras to Latin America and Asia during the third (current) era.

**THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 3.1:** What is the impact of emigration on the place from which migrants depart?

**GOOGLE EARTH 3.1:** The Lower East Side Tenement Museum, at 103 Orchard St. in New York City, shows what life was like for European immigrants. Which of the three principal eras of immigration to the United States does the Tenement Museum describe?



## KEY ISSUE 2

### Where Do People Migrate Within a Country?

Historically, interregional migration was especially important in settling the frontiers of large countries such as Russia, Canada, the United States, China, and Brazil. The most important intraregional migration trends are from rural to urban areas within developing countries and from cities to suburbs within developed countries.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.2.1:** Describe the history of interregional migration in the United States.

- Migration within the United States has primarily occurred from east to west, though at varying rates. Recently, interregional migration has also occurred from north to south.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.2.2:** Describe interregional migration in Russia.

- The world's largest country has a distinctive pattern of interregional migration, a legacy of the era of Communist rule.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.2.3:** Describe interregional migration in Canada, China, and Brazil.

- Canada, China, and Brazil also have unequal population distributions. Canadians have been migrating from east to west, Chinese have been migrating from the rural interior to the large coastal cities, and Brazilians from the large coastal cities to the interior.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.2.4:** Explain differences among the three forms of intraregional migration.

- Three intraregional migration patterns are from rural to urban areas, from urban to suburban areas, and from urban to rural areas.

**THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 3.2:** In recent years, has your community seen net in-migration or net out-migration? What factors explain your community's net migration?



**GOOGLE EARTH 3.2:** The Donner Pass, through the Sierra Nevada Mountains, was one of the most difficult obstacles for early immigrants to the west. What is now the principal route through the area?

## 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. 96) Large-scale emigration by talented people.

**Chain migration** (p. 97) Migration of people to a specific location because relatives or members of the same nationality previously migrated there.

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

**Counterurbanization** (p. 91) Net migration from urban to rural areas in more developed countries.

**Emigration** (p. 78) Migration from a location.

**Floodplain** (p. 92) The area subject to flooding during a given number of years, according to historical trends.

**Forced migration** (p. 80) Permanent movement, usually compelled by cultural factors.

**Guest worker** (p. 95) 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. 80) 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. 80) Permanent movement from one country to another.

**Interregional migration** (p. 80) Permanent movement from one region of a country to another.

**Intervening obstacle** (p. 96) An environmental or cultural feature of the landscape that hinders migration.

**Intraregional migration** (p. 80) Permanent movement within one region of a country.

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

## KEY ISSUE 3

### Why Do People Migrate?

Migration is induced by a combination of push and pull factors. People feel compelled (pushed) to emigrate from a location for political, environmental, and economic reasons. Similarly, people are induced (pulled) to immigrate because of the political, environmental, and economic attractiveness of a new location.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.3.1:** Provide examples of political, environmental, and economic push and pull factors.

- People migrate because of a combination of push and pull factors. These factors may be political, environmental, and economic. Most people migrate for economic push and pull reasons.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.3.2:** Summarize the flows of migrant workers in Europe and Asia.

- People migrate for temporary work, especially from developing countries to developed countries, where they take jobs that are not desired by local residents.

**THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 3.3:** What factors motivated your family or your ancestors to migrate?

**GOOGLE EARTH 3.3:** This is Gulfport, Mississippi, on August 29, 2005, just after Hurricane Katrina hit. Set the time slider for July 11, 2005. What evidence of flood damage can be seen in the August 29 image?



**Migration transition** (p. 79) A change in the migration pattern in a society that results from industrialization, population growth, and other social and economic changes that also produce the demographic transition.

**Mobility** (p. 78) All types of movement between location.

**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 leave old residences.

**Quotas** (p. 96) In reference to migration, laws that place maximum limits on the number of people who can immigrate to a country each year.

**Refugees** (p. 92) People who are forced to migrate from their home country and cannot return for fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion.

**Unauthorized immigrants** (p. 98) People who enter a country without proper documents to do so.

**Voluntary migration** (p. 80) Permanent movement undertaken by choice.

## KEY ISSUE 4

### Why Do Migrants Face Obstacles?

Migrants have difficulty getting permission to enter other countries, and they face hostility from local citizens once they arrive. Immigration laws restrict the number of immigrants who can legally enter the United States. In Europe and Southwest Asia, temporary workers migrate to perform menial jobs.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.1:** Identify the types of immigrants who are given preference to enter the United States.

- Immigration is tightly controlled by most countries. The United States gives preference to immigrants with family members already in the country and to those who have special job skills.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.2:** Describe the population characteristics of unauthorized immigrants to the United States.

- The United States has more than 11 million unauthorized immigrants, who are in the country without proper documents. Most have emigrated from Mexico.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.3:** Describe characteristics of immigrants to the United States.

- In the past, most immigrants were males, but now an increasing share of immigrants to the United States are women and children.

**LEARNING OUTCOME 3.4.4:** Compare American and European attitudes toward immigrants.

- Americans and Europeans have divided and ambivalent attitudes toward the large number of immigrants, especially those arriving without proper documentation.

**THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 3.4:** Should the United States admit more or fewer immigrants for family reunification, or for job skills, or by random lottery?



**GOOGLE EARTH 3.4:** Gerard Street is the center of Chinatown in London, England. Why do you think the street has been closed to vehicular traffic?

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