

**International Migration and
Structural Changes in the
International Political System
by**

Erel Tellal

**A thesis submitted to the Institute
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in partial fulfilment of the requirements**

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**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
AND
STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM**

M.A. Thesis

by

Erel Tellal

To
All Migrant Workers
and
A Few Good Friends

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Abbreviations

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
OAS	Organization of American States
OUA	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
SOPEMI	Continuous Reporting System on Migration
TNCs	Transnational Companies
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Work Agency
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

I. INTRODUCTION

Rapid changes, which took place in the international arena have changed our daily life, as well as the international system in the last five to ten years. One of the most significant changes is that international migration has appeared on the agenda of international relations. Everyday, we hear about the movements of peoples from some areas for certain reasons. Although international migration has been an integral part of human history, it recently became a major international concern with its economic, social and political dimensions. Its impact on international relations has started to be discussed. It gradually began to be considered as one of the major threats to national security. In 1989, 20.6 per cent of all states considered their immigration levels too high, while this proportion was 6.4 per cent in 1976 (1). Today, nearly all of the receiving countries apply very restricted entry rules. However, restrictions could not prevent the entry of migrants. On the contrary, demographic pressures with several other reasons caused the volumes of international migration to increase. According to structuralists, migration is placed at the crossroads between international inequalities and exploitation: "It is a way through which the exploited contribute to ever-expanding structures of economic domination..." (2). Actually, international migration is a difficult and complex issue, since it is directly related

with human beings. This alone brings international migration to an important point in the hierarchy of global issues.

The concept of migration has been defined in several ways, such as change of residence, and the crossing of specified internal and international borders; change in the social international system of migrants; residential change irrespective of relative permanence or distance; change of community; and simultaneous shifts in both spatial and social locus (3). In this thesis, international migration is concerned as "the movement of a person who leaves his country, either permanently or temporarily, for reasons and needs which are considered as being essential" (4). This broad definition excludes persons travelling for reasons of personal convenience, tourists and businessman. Moreover, the main subject is economic migration that is the movement of people that involves labour and therefore shifts this production factor from the area of departure to the area of arrival (5). It is generally called as voluntary migration that is "the movement of economically active people seeking to satisfy economic or social needs, with the intention of improving their living conditions in a country other than their country of origin or habitual residence" (6). There are several types of international migration movements in our era (7). Permanent migration is one of them (mainly the case in traditional receiving countries of the USA, Canada and Australia). It is the movement of persons across boundaries without restriction on the length of stay (8). Temporary migration, on the contrary, is a movement of persons across boundaries that is designed to admit aliens for specific purposes and time periods. The difference between them is important, because every population movement can not be considered as a permanent migratory movement (9). Another kind of international migration is project-tied

migration that refers to movement of persons who are "admitted to state of employment for defined period to work solely on a specific project being carried out in that state by his or her employer" (10). It is the most favourite kind that Europeans and other receivers try to exercise today. *Brain drain* is another concept that refers to exodus of trained scientific and technical personnel from developed and developing countries. Several other types such as family reunion, professional transients, illegal (or irregular) migration will be analysed in following chapters.

At least two more points should be underlined at the beginning. The first one is the concept of the international political system. It is not used as a particular kind of system of action, or merely a collection of states. It is rather the sum of all actors (states, classes, peoples, organizations and so on), and the interactions among them. Thus this concept refers to the whole of the international arena. Secondly, structural changes mean the changes in main actors and their importance in the international arena; in the production relationships; in the human relationships; and in values that differ the current era from the previous one. Actually, it is a complex process that has been continuing since the 1970s.

Migration movements are as old as the human race itself. It is one of the unique characteristics of *Homo-sapiens*. "A combination of his animal tendency for self-preservation and his culturally defined tendency for self-improvement has resulted in the distribution of *Homo-sapiens* to every part of the earth" (11). In every epoch, in every civilization, there has always been migration movements. However, violent expulsions that occurred in (and before) the seventeenth century are not considered as modern migratory movements, since they were not

the systemic transplantation of labour as a commodity (12). It is argued that the modern migration movements originate with the capitalist mode of production. According to this view, the slave trade (that cause the transplantation of at least ten million people to the USA) was the first of the modern migration movements "whose violent nature clearly and qualitatively distinguishes them from all previous migrations" (13). Sassen argues that labour scarcity at the developed areas has historically been a central problem of production process until the 1970s. Moreover, until the twentieth century, these areas recruited migrant labour forcibly (14). Only Europeans' emigration to the *New World* was assumed as voluntary migration during that period.

Actually, the flow of migration from one country to another is impeded by the division of the world into sovereign states which claim the right and possess the power to control the movement of persons across their frontiers (15). However, the concerted effort to control migration among countries has not been witnessed before the 1910s (16). Labour movements during that time forced states to initiate regulations on migration. It was the same conditions in which the discipline of international politics was bloomed (17). So, it may be argued that international migration movements are taking place in the essence of international politics. The Second World War has been considered as a watershed in the migratory flows of twentieth country. Before that time, the USA has been receiving European migrants, while some colonialist Europeans tended to emigrate to colonial areas. Nevertheless, migratory flows after the Second World War were coloured by immigration mainly from the Latin America and Asia to the USA, and immigration from colonial areas to Europe (from poorer areas to the richer one) (18). Until the 1970s , international migration was observed as a

positive factor in the international arena. It was believed that it is conducive to economic growth. The 1960s were characterized by the recruitment of *temporary guest workers* in most of the Northern European countries (19). However, the oil crisis of 1973 changed this trend. New worker migration flows were stopped and earlier migrants were encouraged to return in most of the receiving areas (20). The 1970s were coloured by restrictions and family reunion processes. The 1980s have witnessed the flow of irregular workers, highly skilled professionals and asylum seekers (21). In this period, industrialized countries used a remarkable number of immigrant workers; rapid industrialization in Arab oil-exporting countries, after the 1970s, has generated a major new international flow; and migrant labour became a commodity in its real sense, especially in Arab countries (22). To sum up, the direction, volume and composition of international migration has changed remarkably since the Second World War (e.g. sending and receiving countries; temporary-permanent migration). Moreover, racism, xenophobia, second (and even third) generation problems have occupied an important place on the agenda of the last decade. These changes reflect major shifts in economic and political power structures of the globe. Today, we are at a turning point in the study of international migration.

In fact, there is a vacuum in the discipline of international relations on the subject of international migration. Migratory movements through the world have been characterized by complexity and heterogeneity. Studies on this subject are generally biased. Most of them are coloured by the views of certain interest groups (23). Moreover, a remarkable number of them are state-centric studies that analyse population movement merely between two states. There is an absence of systematic thinking at the international level. Of course, there are

conceptual disagreements and the lack of data. In that context, it should be considered that any initiative at the path of studying international migration at the international level will have some limitations. Concerning this study, it can be said that it is rather an Eurocentric one. It may be said that most of the South-South migratory flows are overlooked. However, it is believed that the industrialized Northern countries (the Core) are shaping the structure of the international system. Migratory movements among (or to) them are superior in importance to the other movements. The migration movements in southern Africa are not exercising a significant impact on international politics as much as the flows from former Soviet Union to Europe. Another reason for this disinterest is the lack of information about the South-South migration.

Today, labour is one of the factors -like capital, information, goods- that create the global world. Mitchell argues that better communications between migration studies and broader research on global change may result in significant findings on the political relations of migration, which then would make an important contribution to the general study of international relations (24). This is what basically has been aimed in this study: trying to answer several questions in this framework. What is international migration today? In which dimensions should it be dealt? What is the relationship between structural changes (in the fields of technology, social life and international politics) and international migration? What are the consequences of interactions between them? It is argued here that international migration has become the inseparable part of international politics. The characteristics of international migratory flows are changing with the impacts of structural economic, social and political changes that are taking place at the global level. Moreover, international migration also is

affecting these developments. These arguments will be examined in the general framework of international politics. However, this study will not attempt to formulate a kind of theoretical framework. It will rather try to indicate the links between the various migratory processes involved.

In the second chapter, theories on international migration will be analyzed. In this context, classical and structural schools will be covered according to their main arguments. Unfortunately, many of the studies on the subject overlook the theoretical dimension, although it is crucial to overview all of them in order to analyse international migration. What are the main écoles? Who are their supporters? To what extent are they sufficient? On which points are they inefficient to explain the real world? These are the basic questions that will be answered in this chapter. Finally, theories of international relations on the subject will be tackled, although there is not serious study in this field.

Especially by the 1970s, technological developments have gained a new impetus. These developments have remarkably changed the production relations at the global level. Labour has become one of the commodities that flows through the globe. There is a growing tendency to replace men by machines. Skill requirements in the production process have been changing rapidly. Knowledge also has become a commodity. Information and transformation capabilities had an important impact upon the mobility of human-beings. How did these developments affect international migration? What are the technological achievements indeed? What is the difference between the post-modernists and Marxists on this subject? These are the main topics that will be discussed in the third chapter.

In the fourth chapter, impacts of international migration on social structures will be analysed. Migratory movements cause significant changes in both sending and receiving countries' socio-economic structures. Similarly, changes which are taking place in socio-economic structures may affect the migratory flows. In this context, the role that migration movements play in the social stratification in both sending and receiving countries is one of the issues that will be analyzed in this chapter. Is there any interaction between the status of women in society and international migration? What are the ethnic and religious dimensions of migratory movements? What is the socio-economic status of migrant in receiving society? How do migration flows affect the demographic structures? These questions have come to the agenda of nearly all countries recently. Moreover, many of them have not been solved yet.

Finally, international migratory flows do not stem only from economic and social events. Especially, changes in political structures have an influence on migration flows, and vice versa. During the last ten years, international political structure has changed remarkably. The Cold War is over. The so called Second World has disappeared. Refugee movements have gained a new impetus, and to some extent, are intertwined with the migratory flows. The migration movements from the developing South to the developed North have gained speed. International migration became a factor of the international system beyond international regulations. International rules concerning international migration become unapplicable in many cases, because there is an asymmetrical relationship in this process (namely the receiving countries are always much stronger than the sending countries). Thus the receiving countries may changed their obligations, which than changes the previously adopted conventions to

"empty phrases". These developments have been going hand in hand with changes in the characteristics of international migration. In the chapter five, these developments will be dealt.

In sum, it is argued here that international migration with its technological, socio-economic and political dimensions has entered the heart of international politics. Only a systemic general outlook of international migration that is related with structural changes at the global level may produce a fresh insight in the discipline of international relations.

Notes for Chapter I

- (1) Jones Widgren, "International migration and regional stability", *International Affairs*, vol.66, no.4, 1990, p.749.
- (2) Alejandro Portes & John Walton, *Labor, Class, And The International System* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1981), p.65.
- (3) Robin J. Pryor, "Integrating international and internal migration theories", in Mary M. Kritz, Charles B. Kelly, Silvano M. Tomasi, eds., *Global Trends in Migration* (Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1981), p.113.
- (4) R. K. Jenny, "Current trends and developments", *International Migration*, vol.22, no.4, 1984, p.389.
- (5) W.R. Böhning, "Elements of a theory of international economic migration to industrial nation states", in Kritz, Kelly, Tomasi, eds., *op.cit.*, 1981, p.35.
- (6) Jenny, *op.cit.*, 1984, p.390.
- (7) Refugees and asylum seekers are excluded here, and will be analyzed later on.

- (8) Mary M. Kritz, "International migration policies: conceptual problems", *International Migration Review*, vol.21, no.4, winter 1987, p.954.
- (9) M. M. Kritz & C. B. Kelly, "Introduction", in Kritz, Kelly, Tomasi, eds., *op.cit.*, 1981, pp. xiv, xxvii.
- (10) " International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families", *IMR*, vol.25, no.96, winter 1991, art.2, p.877.
- (11) Brian M. Du Toit, "Introduction", in B. M. Du Toit & Helen Safa, eds., *Migration and Urbanization* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1975), p.1.
- (12) Ekkehard Krippendorf, *Migration in the Evolution of the International System* (Bologna: The John Hopkins University, 1975), p.4.
- (13) *ibid.*, p.11, see pp.5-17.
- (14) Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, second publication), pp.26-33.
- (15) Hedley Bull, "Population and present world structure", in William Alonso, ed., *Population in an Interacting World* (Harward University Press, 1987), pp.88-92.

(16) Demetrios G. Papademetiou, "International Migration in a changing world", *International Social Science Journal*, vol.36, no.3, 1984, p.409.

(17) "Introduction", in Michael Smith, Richard Little, Michael Shackleton, eds., *Perspectives on World Politics* (London, Sydney, Dover: Croom Helm, 1981), p.11.

(18) Marilyn Hoskin, *New Immigrants and Democratic Society* (New York, Connecticut, London: Praeger, 1991), p.5.

(19) Widgren, *op.cit.*, 1990, p.749.

(20) Nafis Sadik, *The State of World Population, 1992* (New York: UNFPA, 1992), p.19.

(21) Reginald T. Appleyard, *International Migration: Challenge for the Nineties* (Geneva: IOM, 1991), pp.25-28.

(22) Sassen, *op.cit.*, 1989, pp.43-52.

It should be noted here that the historical process of international migration movements is not the main topic of this thesis. For further information, see:

Aristide R. Zolberg, "Wanted but not welcome: alien labour in Western development", in Alonso ed., *op.cit.*, 1987, pp.36-73.

(23) Nermin Abadan-Unat & Neşe Kemiksiz, *Türk Dış Göçü* (Ankara: A.Ü.S.B.F. Yayınları, 1986), p.3.

(24) Christopher Mitchell, "International migration, international relations and foreign policy", *IMR*, vol.23, no.3, fall 1989, p.704.

II. THEORIES ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

In this section, theories on international migration will be examined. Complexity of the subject prevents to reach a general theory. First of all, there is a conceptual disagreement among different theorists. Different definitions of migrants in different states increases this complexity. "National policies to regulate the entry of foreigners show diverse approaches and reflect the concepts underlying them" (1). Secondly, this conceptual confusion complicates the formation of a standard data base. "Information itself fails to qualify as a scientific observation at all" (2). It affects the validity of research negatively. Then, instead of finding laws of migration, findings end with an empirical "rules-of-thumb" (3). Thirdly, there is a disagreement on "the identification of major purpose(s) of migration theory; the levels of abstraction and reality at which the theory is to apply..." (4).

Kaplan defines a theory as "a system of laws" (5). The major function of a theory is "to explain singular facts and occurrences, but more importantly to explain empirical generalizations"(6). However, there is no empirical, general, relational, precise and testable "laws" on the subject of international migration today. Instead, what we find today a broad range of theoretical frameworks that attempt at providing explanations for international migration. The purpose of this section will be to review some of the most important examples of these theoretical studies on international migration.

There are two mainstreams in the field: classical and structural theories. The classical theories, whose roots go back to the late nineteenth century and continue until the late 1960s, are generally known as microanalytical or equilibrium theories. We can observe the absence of political dimension in all of them. Individuals are the common level of analysis and they all accept nation-states in evaluating migration process. Assumptions of social order and social equilibrium are common in all of them. Moreover, they are optimistic and coloured by liberal outlook. They mainly concentrate on "observations and analyses of migration from Europe to the New World" (7). On the contrary, structural theories postulate that migration movements are the product of disharmony and conflicts. Their object of inquiry is structure instead of the individual. They have a political dimension; most of them accept and deal with social classes.

Theories will be analyzed under three main headlines (see Table 1). Under the first one, the distance and gravity model, the pull-push model, the assimilation approach, chain migration, and historical approach will be dealt. Secondly, macroanalytical theories that are centered around two sub-titles, will be examined: Marxist theory and other contemporary theories, including system theory, dual-market theory, enclave theory, ethnicity theory, social movements and citizenship. Finally migration theories in the discipline of international relations will be summarized.

Table 1 - Theories on International Migration

THEORIES →

TIME ↓

MICROANALYTICAL(CLASSICAL)

MACROANALYTICAL(CONTEMPORARY)

TIME	MICROANALYTICAL(CLASSICAL)	MACROANALYTICAL(CONTEMPORARY)
1850-1900	<u>DISTANCE AND GRAVITY</u> Ravenstein (1880s)	<u>CLASSICAL MARXISTS</u> Marx(1850s)
1900-1960	Stouffer <u>ASSIMILATION</u> Park	Lenin Luxemburg
1960s	<u>PULL & PUSH</u> Lee Todaro Gordon <u>CHAIN MIGRATION</u> MacDonalds & MacDonalds	
1970s	Young <u>HISTORICAL</u> Zelinsky Pryor	<u>WORLD SYSTEM</u> Amin Wallerstein Petras Castles & Kosack Nikolinakos Rex Galtung
		<u>SYSTEM</u> Hoffmann-Nowolny Richmond Mabogunje Abadan-Unat <u>DUAL MARKET</u> Ploere
1980s		Sassen-Koob Portes Castells <u>ENCLAVE</u> Portes <u>ETHNICITY</u> Werner <u>CITIZENSHIP</u> Layton-Henry
1990-1993		Castles Schlmitter-Heisler Mouller-Boutang Jayasuriya

A. MICROANALYTICAL (CLASSICAL) THEORIES

1. Distance and Gravity Model

The first representative of classical writers is Ravenstein. In his two articles (8), he proposes his laws of migration. According to these laws, migration is determined by the size of areas and the distance between them. Migrants move from areas of low opportunities to areas of high opportunity. The choice of destination is regulated by distance, with migrants tending to move to nearby places. However, if migrants' expectations are not met, they will move further. So, the second step migration may occur. By this way, he says, "universal shifting or displacement of the population which produces currents of migration, setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorbs the migrants" (9). Ravenstein's distance and gravity model has been generally supported by empirical evidence (10). However, it had been criticised for being a descriptive model rather than an explanatory theory: "...the model has the status of empirical law and provides little insight into why migration follows this pattern" (11). Moreover, this model did not make significant distinction between domestic and international migrations (12).

2. Pull-Push Model

Another approach among the classical theories is called the pull-push, equilibrium, or cost-benefit model. Lee, who created the conceptual framework of this approach, develops a "general scheme into which a variety of spatial

movements can be placed" (13). He divides the forces exerting an influence on migrant perceptions into pull and push factors. The latter are negative factors tending to force migrants to leave origin areas, while the former are positive factors attracting migrants to destination areas in the expectation of improving their living conditions (14). In the migration process, factors associated with origin area conditions are superior to destination area. And both of them are governed by personal factors which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration (15). According to this approach, people move because wages are higher at another place, and their migration cause the decrease of wages in the country of destination, and by this way an equilibrium is re-established (16).

However, these assumptions ignore socio-economic and socio-political dimensions of migration. Later, some neo-classical authors made this approach more sophisticated by introducing a variety of pull and push factors, namely socio-economic (e.g. social mobility) and socio-psychological (e.g. anti-Semitism) factors (17). For example, Stark argues that wage differentials alone may fail to induce international migration at the level of decision making entities. He suggests three factors in conjunction with these wage differentials which may account for international migration: risk aversion, relative deprivation and asymmetric information (18).

Nevertheless, the pull-push or cost-benefit model is criticised on many points (19). The use of pull-push model still can not answer why similar movements do not arise out of equally poor countries or equally poor regions in same sending countries. The limitations of pull-push model are especially evident in the context of developing countries (20). Böhning says, "(b)esides the unreality of the underlying assumptions (homogeneity, substitutability, etc.), the

specific determinants are exogenous (opportunities) or indeterminate (psychic income/cost) and their measurement is influenced by the migration variables themselves (feedback). Furthermore, the tests are sensitive to the level of aggregation; and the migrants can quickly slip from the push to the pull category, or vice versa, which makes the distinction somewhat meaningless" (21)

3. Assimilation Approach

The third main approach in classical theories is the assimilation approach, led by Chicago School of Sociology. They focus on immigrants assimilation to a destination culture. The primitive and unilinear approach states that after the first generation, later generations will assimilate through a five stage process of contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, and finally assimilation (22). Assimilation simply means the disappearance of ethnic differences. The model explains the American type of melting pot. Later on, Gordon built his multilinear model, recognising unequal or incomplete assimilation (23). Gordon argues that assimilation is a process involving seven stages "moving from mere acculturation (the adaptation of language, religion and other cultural characteristics), structural integration (interaction in primary relationships and the absence of discrimination and prejudice) and finally, assimilation" (24). However, Gordon does not say that assimilation is the inescapable result of all immigrant-host society interaction.

Assimilation theorists focus on new comers and ignore or do not investigate the structure of the host society. "The scope of sociological researches becomes restricted to mechanism through which individuals attempt to cope with an apparently unchangeable structure of opportunities distributed

unequally in space" (25). It seems a national policy which has been incorporated into American society through biological amalgamation, and psychological identification with the new country.

4. Chain Migration

A group of sociologists stress on chain migration while they evaluate migratory movements. Chain migration has been taken to describe situations in which an individual migrant sends for family, kin or members of community, thereby combining individual and family migration in longitudinal perspective. A broader definition specifies that chain migration is "...a process in which migrants move to destinations which they are already know and where they have established contacts, or which they have heard indirectly through relatives and friends" (26). This approach is remarkably available in understanding the immigration of Italians to the USA at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries (27), and also, Turkish migration to Western Europe (especially to Germany) (28). This model has also fed to the enclave theory later on.

5. Historical Approach

As pointed out previously there are no general, precise, and testable "laws" concerning international migration. Thus, historical theories represent actually a different approach without developing a conceptual framework. Among the major representatives of this approach Zelinsky developed a hypothesis which tries to

identify meaningful relationships between trends in urbanisation, economic development and international as well as international migration (29). Later on Kingsley Davis developed this approach (31). He analysed migration movements by referring to a specified time and place and other events happening simultaneously. He dealt with migration movements beginning in 1500 and sets three main periods until the end of 1980s. The first period begins with the discovery of America; the second with the arrival of the industrial revolution; and the last with the Second World War. Another scholar using this approach is Aristide Zolberg. He analyses migration movements in different periods of the expansion of capitalist economy. He concludes that economic advantages resulting from the use of foreign migrant labour in the receiving countries are well established in each case (31).

B. MACROANALYTICAL (STRUCTURAL) THEORIES

1. Marxist Theory

Marxist theory has been one of the most explanatory tools in evaluating migratory movements since the 1960s. It seems possible to place Marxists into two or more groups on the subject of international migration (e.g. traditionalists, dependency, world-system). However, they will be analysed under one subtitle here by stressing the differences among them.

Marxist theory argues that international migration is an integral aspect of world capitalist system based on the process of capital accumulation and uneven development. According to Marxists, labour migration simply is "... a form of

development aid given by poor countries to the rich countries" (32). First of all, the concept of uneven development should be underlined (33). Briefly, the unevenness of the world capitalist development is "expressed by the hierarchy of wage levels" (34). Traditional Marxists argue that migration is a result of two laws of capitalist mode of production (35): (a) the submission of the worker to the organisation of the means of production dictated by capital; (b) the uneven development between sectors and regions, and between countries. In other words, "...the tendency of imperialist form of capitalism... is to integrate all areas of production into a single system, in which centre and periphery are interdependent sectors. Integration is based not only on markets for commodities and capital, but also for labour and production sites" (36).

Another important concept is the one dealing with reserve army. We first meet this concept in the *Capital*, as a regulatory tool of capitalists for wages movements (37). The concept refers to unemployed or semi-employed masses in the periphery who are ready to work for low-wages in the centre areas, exercising an impact on wages as a whole (38). Capitals' requirement of additional and flexible sources of labour is observed as general condition of the mode of production. Moreover, "... the enforcement of national boundaries contributes the existence of a large number of countries in the form of a periphery and the designation of its workers as a labor reserve for global capital" (39). For an instance, the highest growth rates in Europe during the post-war boom have been reached by the usage of migrant reserve workers (40).

We, then, reach another issue: migration affects the maintenance and renewal of capitalist mode of production. Althusser states that the renewal of production conditions is the ultimate condition of production (41). In other words,

for an economy to function, a labour force also has to be maintained and renewed. Marxists argue that employers in the core areas need not take account of the reproduction cost of labour, since maintenance and reproduction processes take place geographically in separated locations: "...renewal takes place where living standards are low and maintenance takes place within easy access. Thus, wages earned by migrant workers are lower than those of domestic workers, because the former require fewer resources to sustain the renewal process than the latter" (42). Moreover, this different kind of reproduction brings segmentation in the labour market, that creates prejudices, chauvinism, hostility, and later on racism in social life (43). According to Marxists, this segmentation is in favour of capitalists, since it causes intra-labour tension. Markovits and Kazarinov talk about advantages of employers from the antagonism among migrant workers by giving an example of Turks and Greeks in Germany (44). Sassen says, "...if we consider wages, immigrants are not always much cheaper than low-wage national workers; it is also their powerlessness which makes them profitable" (45). Immigrants are called third class (46), sub-proletariat (47), or irregular proletariat (48), since the change in consciousness among indigenous lessons the political unity and strength of the 'working class' (49).

Furthermore, according to Marxists, migration process is determined by labour importing core areas by relating their labour scarcities. "...(T)he concept of labour scarcity in the context of a capitalist economy covers a number of situations which threaten existing or foreseeable levels and rates of capital accumulation" (50).

Neo-Marxist scholars base their theory mainly on what Marx, Hobson (51), Lenin (52) and Luxemburg (53) wrote before. The main emphasis is placed on the concept of unequal exchange between the centre and periphery. According to Frank's dependency theory, unequal exchange is the result of sustained expansion of capitalism (54), while Emmanuel postulates that it occurs because of different levels of remuneration to labour (55). Moreover, the World System Theory is based on the process of a three partied world economy: core, semi-periphery, periphery (56). Wallerstein argues that the capitalist economy is in the process of incorporation throughout the world (57). So, new production zones with low-cost labour have begun to occur. By this way, Neo-Marxists explain how the transnational corporations invest in semi-peripheral areas and fill the gap, while traditional ones were ignored. Similarly, Sassen places this process of international migrations into the globalization of the labour market and the incorporation of the large regions of the world (58). Moreover, she finds a positive correlation between foreign direct investment and labour movements (59).

Another contribution of world-system perspective scholars to the international migration theory concerns illegal migration. According to Petras, the basic motive behind migration is the wage differences among core, semi-periphery and periphery: "... the structure of inequality among wage zones associated with each of the three major divisions remains unaltered and, therefore, the trend for labor move from lower to higher zones and for capital to procure labor from lower wage zones continues" (60).

Marxists use the social classes in the world capitalist system as the unit of analysis. They give enough importance to the national boundaries as political

entities. However, international division of labour is much more important in maintenance and reproduction of the capitalist world economy: "...capitalism as an economic mode is based on the fact that the economic factor operates within an arena larger than that which any political entity can fully control. This gives capitalists a freedom of maneuver that is structurally based" (61).

All in all, the main function of migrant labour is its supply of cheap labour to the capitalist economy. Migration, by this way, serves simultaneously the interest of the ruling class in both peripheral and core areas (62).

2. Other Contemporary Theories

a. System Theory - A system refers both to a complex set of "interdependence between parts, components, and processes that involves discernible regularities of relationship, and to a similar type of interdependency between such a complex and its surrounding environment" (63). In systems theory, classes of entities and relations among them are singled out for study.

Hoffmann-Nowotny is one of the scholars that advocates the use of systems theory to explain international migration. According to him, migration results from structural and anomic tensions within a community, hence individuals move from high tension environments to low tension environments.

Social pressures that lead to migratory movements are determined by power (which "refers to the control capacity of a system unit" (64)) and prestige (which "refers to the degree to which power is legitimated by elements of culture" (65)). In each societal system, two sets of forces can be distinguished: those which produce (a) disequilibrium between power and prestige of the units of the

system and those (b) which create equilibrium. Hoffmann-Nowotny follows closely the proposition of Heinz according which there is an important relationship between power and prestige creating status lines. This means that status lines may represent pure power or pure prestige. If in a societal system power and prestige diverge, structural tensions result. In order to re-establish equilibrium this tension has to be reduced. The strategies adopted for this purpose consists of adopting migration as a solution. In that case, an individual who has lost some of his prestige in his own society might gain a new status line, meaning power and prestige by moving into another society.

Immigrants enter to the receiving country's strata system from the bottom. He calls this situation as "undercasting immigration" (66), and argues that this causes neo-feudal conditions since it leads to a fast upward mobility of the indigenous population. It is a rather abstract theory and can partly explain the contemporary European migration (67). However, it can not give any answers to the question why people are going to certain places, and others (who are in the same tension) are not.

Richmond and Verma (68), on the other hand, argue that there are linkages between economic, social and demographic variables in the environment of unequally distributed natural resources, industrial capital and investment. And, migration is a way in which individuals and societies adopt to changes within their societal systems. In the same way, Mabogunje sets several environmental components determining migration (69). He is mainly concerned with rural-urban migration in Africa, but his article is arguably analogous to much international migration. He argues that since different systems possess common characteristics, the best way is to analyse migration by the way of systems. He

also stresses the importance of subsystems which are an integral part of the migrant's transformation.

Another definition of 'migration system "refers two or more places linked by flow and counter flows of people" (70). According to this approach, there are six main networks of flow in the globe (namely Western Europe, the Middle East, the USA and Canada, the Caribbean, the Southern Cone, South Africa) (71). Analysis of these networks involve "identifying the characteristics of the systems in which they reside, understanding their origins and evolutions, illustrating their geographical components, particularly in the nature and strength of links between origin and destination regions, and showing how their existence structures the continuing process of general economic systems" (72). Then intra-network linkages are being fixed. Thus, the migratory process is analysed by the help of networks and their comparison.

b. The Dual Market Theory - The dual market theory, argued mainly by Averitt, Galbraith, Gordon, Piore, and Portes (73), has been built during the 1970s. They analyse the migration process from underdeveloped to developed (industrialised) areas, and refuse to adopt the conventional economic theory by taking into consideration the social context of economic life. The dual market hypothesis is "a model in which the market is divided into a primary and secondary sector. The jobs in the primary sectors are largely reserved for nationals" (74).

Portes divides the immigration process into immigration into the primary sector and immigration into the secondary sector. Then, he establishes some basic characteristics of primary sector immigration as follows (75): (a) it appears

through legal channels; (b) migrants fill the jobs according to ability rather than ethnicity; (c) immigrants have mobility chances equal to native workers; (d) it is the supplementary process to the domestic labour force. From the point of sending countries, this is a process of brain drain, since it is the flows of professionals, technical and skilled workers from the periphery to the centre. However, contrary to this special kind of immigration, Piore recognises four basic characteristics of immigration process to the capitalist centres (76): (a) the jobs filled by migrants are generally unskilled; they often involve unpleasant working conditions; they are usually performed in informal economies (77); (b) an important factor in initiating the immigrants to fill these jobs is active recruitment on the part of employers (demand determined more than supply); (c) the supply of labour available for these jobs is inexhaustible; and, (d) this migration process is difficult to halt. Moreover, he explains the demand for migrants in the developed areas in three points (78): the response to general labour shortages; the role satisfying the need to fill bottom positions in the social hierarchy; and the role meeting the requirements of the 'secondary sector' of a 'dual market'.

At the final analysis, dualism is a structural tendency of all industrial economies, mainly stemming from segmentation of workers. The highest degree of dualism can be seen in capitalist economies. However, this distinction "inevitably creates certain distinction among workers as well" (80) (skill requirements, job-security, arrangements, and so on). This is a two-faceted hypothesis. On the one hand, the demand for immigrants is very large because the cost of production is reduced this way. On the other hand, if the cost of production in the secondary sector becomes too low relative to that in the primary one, it may lead to undermine job-security arrangement in the latter; so the

demand should be limited. Another phenomenon that make sense in the dual market theory is the settlement process. The immigration streams that start out temporary, than turn into settlements of permanent residents. This transition causes some social problems and tensions, since it brings the immigrants into competition and conflict with the native population. Piore calls this transition as settlement process (81), and argues that "this is the basic dilemma of migration as a social process and the heart of the problem that is poses for social policy" (82). In that process , Piore shows that the emergence of a settlement without assimilation meet the needs of secondary labour market. Thus, they serve as a substitute for further migration (83).

The dual market scholars generally show the Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrations to the USA, as the typical examples of secondary labour flows (84).

c. The Enclave Theory - Another contemporary structural theory is the enclave theory. According to this theory, certain immigrant groups dwell in certain districts in industrial areas of receiving countries, and organise their own enterprises on the base of ethnicity. Contrary to the assimilation theory, the enclave theory emphasises marginality and ghettoization of the immigrants in the host society. The basic characteristic of the enclave is that "a significant proportion of the immigrant labour force works in enterprises owned by other immigrants" (85). Capital accumulation is a sine qua non for the emergence of enclaves. By creating firms in certain niches in sectors, enclaves produce future labour force (86). Portes argues five main characteristics of the enclaves as follows (87): (a) formation of enclaves depend on the immigrants themselves (it is beyond state regulations or demand of capitalists); (b) they are occupationally

heterogeneous (different from the secondary sector immigration); (c) ethnicity plays a central role in both the process of immigration and work arrangements; (d) there are significant opportunities for economic advancement in the enclave due to the solidarity among their members. This leads to further opportunities for potential immigration ; (e) enclaves may serve as markets as well as sources of low-wage labour. Puerto Ricans in Chicago and New York City (88), and Cubans in Miami (89) has been showed as typical enclaves in the USA.

Moreover, the enclave approach is also applicable to Turkish immigration to Europe. Immigrant Turks established micro-societies in several industrialised European centers. One of the best example is the Turkish enclave in Kreuzberg, in Berlin. In 1984, nearly 75 per cent of the Berlin Turks were living in Kreuzberg; 12 per cent of the enterprises were run by Turks in that district; and nearly 40 per cent of service sector firms were Turkish owned (90). In 1989, there were over 30,000 Turkish firms creating 160,000 new jobs in Germany (91). One of the significant characteristics of the contemporary international migration is that they increase cultural pluralism and ethnic diversity (92). It has been argued that ethnic enclaves lead to cultural pluralism. Most of the European countries have applied a social policy called 'integration without assimilation', referring the economic integration of immigrants which remain culturally distant from the majority (93). It had been supplied by the policy of cultural pluralism, aiming at conserving or even enforcing cultural heterogeneity, leads to closed ethnic communities. Social inequality and structural segmentation among ethnic communities have become inescapable (94). Thus, it has been understood that instead of constituting a multicultural society, ethnic "structures may imperil the integrity and cohesion of society by segmental divisions, thereby creating

potential for conflict and division" (95). In other words, multiculturalism may be a positive acceptance of cultural diversity, but it can also be a form of enforced separation. Abadan-Unat says, "...what is emerging is religious fundamentalism in the name of freedom of worship; ultra-nationalism in the name of the right to difference or forms of overintegration involving rejection of and contempt or hatred for one's own culture of origin" (96). Moreover, individual migrant, living in such an ethnic enclave, lives more single-cultural environment than he/she would live outside. At the end, it may be concluded by arguing that cultural pluralism causes ethnic enclaves much more than vice versa (97).

d. Ethnicity Theory - Since ethnicity came to the significant place in theorisation of international migration, several scholars accept it as the unit of analysis in their paradigms. According to this theory, international migration movements create ethnic minorities (e.g. Jews in the USA), while ethnic conflicts may lead to refugee flows (e.g. former Yugoslavian case). Ethnic groups are imagined communities coming from common origin and descent, who share "characteristics based on language, race, religion, place of origin, culture, values or, history but not state" (98). It is imagined since not all members can interact correctly to form a real community (99). The ethnic theory argues that contemporary international migration movements (including refugees) can only be understood by ethnicity: (a) labour migration continues in the line of ethnicity (ethnic enclaves and chain migration); (b) one of the basic reasons for refugee movement (both political and economic) stemming from ethnic conflicts.

From the perspective of receiving countries, ethnicity creates several problems. In Europe, for an instance, with the end of the myth of temporary

migration and reality of permanent settlement, immigrants became ethnic minorities (100). Moreover, without reaching common policies on the migration 'trouble', 'European home' will remain incomplete. Furthermore, "there is a danger that a substantial European born population of immigrant origin, denied citizenship, will not be incorporated into European political life" (101). Finally, migration and refugee flows from the Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (because of ethnic troubles) will create complex troubles on housing, employment, and will increase xenophobic fears.

Ethnic identity (or consciousness) affects decisions of individuals in the process of international migration flows. A Jewish person, living in the former Soviet Union, believes that his/her living conditions will be better if he/she emigrates to Israel or to the USA than he/she stay in the former Soviet Union. Furthermore, it will be better for the Jewish community also (102).

Finally, the emerging 'diaspora' affects the sending countries' international relations, even their internal politics. The Jewish presence in the USA may be the best example how the diaspora affects receiving countries' foreign policies, then attempt to influence politics in the Middle East. We can understand good relationships between Greece and Australia only if we consider the presence of the Greek minority in Australia, and their participation into social and political life in this country (103). Lately, Turkish minority in Germany, and fear for potential massive immigration to the EC countries affected Turkish-EC relationship (104). Moreover, ethnic minorities may benefit from migration movement by using receiving country as their installation for their secessionist movement (105). Both KOMKAR (The Association of Kurdish Workers) and BIRKOM (106) in Germany

(with several associations in the other countries of Europe) play significant role in Kurdish rebellion against Turkish Republic since the 1980s.

There is an anthropological approach also, arguing that ethnicity operates as a "basic, persistent, and strong force" (107) in the international migration process. Safa argues that "... migration has not only served to heighten ethnic and racial antagonism, it has also led to the development of new pan-ethnic movements encompassing larger ethnic groupings..." (108). She gives 'the universalization of black ethnicity' and the emergence of a new meaning to 'Black Diaspora' as examples.

In sum, ethnicity became an important concept in contemporary international migration movements; and ethnicity theory tries to analyse it by using this concept as unit of analysis.

e. Social Movements and Citizenship - Unlike the ethnic enclave theory, social movements and citizenship perspectives stress on political position of immigrants in receiving countries. Both of them argue that multicultural societies would be the unique solution to eliminate the marginalization of immigrants. Beyond analysing immigration and racial (or ethnic) minorities, both of them emphasise inequalities in the receiving societies, and offer political participation as solution.

Social movements perspective argues that multicultural society can only be reached through political struggles. It means that immigrant groups can find their place in society only by organising themselves and thus becoming a part of a social movement. Such political activities may occur at local or community level as well as national one (109).

However, the citizenship perspective mainly stresses the acquirement of citizenship (formal political membership and formal rights) in the path of the multicultural society. Early studies on this perspective, fixes three dimensions of citizenship (110): (a) civil rights (concerning individual freedom); (b) Social rights (related to welfare standards); and (c) political rights (participation in the political life on local and national level). In almost all European countries, immigrants are not citizens of the receiving country, although they are "de facto members of these societies, participating in the labour market, contributing to the economy, paying taxes, renting or buying houses, bringing up families, sending their children to school, and consuming goods and services..." (111). The foreign status of these immigrants prevents their full participation in the social life of the receiving countries (112). Having civil and social rights without political ones, immigrant groups have become predominantly subjects of the labour market rather than of the law. In that sense, Europeans are aiming to achieve an economic integration without a political one. This "political underdevelopment" (113) leads to severe social turbulence, particularly to the rise of xenophobia and racism. Briefly the citizenship perspective evaluates the tendency of "no representation without naturalization" (114) as a dilemma which Europeans are faced. With other words, the citizenship perspective offers a new paradigm of multiculturalism (called democratic pluralism (115)) based on the concepts of ethnic minority groups and their right to citizenship in the liberal democracies of industrialised countries. Contrary to the conventional multiculturalism, this perspective does not deny the minority status of ethnic groups, and by this way, would not cause marginalization. Jayasuriya says, "...in the long term this new paradigm of multiculturalism, because it is anchored in political as well as social

citizenship, is more likely to enhance the integration and effective participation of these groups in society" (116).

C. THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE DISCIPLINE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Finally, international migration theories attached to the discipline of international relations will be summarised. Actually, there are a few articles on this subject. It should be underlined that the discipline of international relations only recently started to investigate the subject of international migrations. However, the present approaches may be divided into four groups: realists, liberalists, Marxists, and globalists.

The realist approach tries to explain world events in terms of what states are, what they do and the patterns of interactions that emerged as a result of their actions. So in this framework, states are the unit of analysis (117). According to the realist approach, governments should regulate international migration in order to protect the national interest (118). The role of the state in regulating the entry and exit rules is especially stressed in this approach (119). Neo-realists also emphasise power struggle in international politics (120). However, nation states are not argued as only actors in international arena anymore, "because they are tied (via international regimes) to a world order that reduces the range of policy options, leading to greater levels of exchange and cooperation" (121).

Liberals, on the other hand, argue that the expansion of the market leads to a greater mobility of the factors of production, including labour force. It would

be better to say , it is the market conditions which creates the labour movements in the world scale. Neo-liberals also deal with the maintenance of economic interest and focus on the international economy (122), "although some neo-liberal institutionalists have emphasised cooperation among states across ideological and power divided in the pursuit of economic, environmental and other non-military interests" (123).

It will not be dealt with the Marxist approach here, since it is already analysed previously. Only two main points should be reminded . The social classes in the capitalist world economy are the unit of analysis. The mode of production and uneven development are the reasons why people move to another places. The global approach is another model. It argues that the migration flows across the national boundaries share the same characteristics with another flows such as technology, capital and trade. Contrary to the realist approach, it denies nation-states as only actors regulating international migration movements: "...it is , rather to recognize that states actions represent one clear strand of political data in a complex web of international linkages" (124). According to the globalists, there are non-governmental and transnational actors that play important role in the process of international migration (125). A model that ignores these actors would have very limited usefulness. "Conceptualizing migration as a global process has a liberating affect, freeing analysis to note the effects of supranational trends in production, technology, communications and numerous other circumstances affecting population movements" (126).

Notes for Chapter II

(1) Mary M. Kritz, "International migration policies: conceptual problems", *International Migration Review (IMR)*, vol.21, no.4, winter 1987, p.960.

(2) Charles H. Wood, "Equilibrium and historical-structural perspectives on migration", *IMR*, vol.16, no.2, 1982, p.308.

John Salt, "A comparative overview of international trends and types, 1950- 1980", *IMR*, vol.23, no.3, fall 1989, p.431.

(3) Kingsley Davis, "Social science approaches to international migration", *Population and Development Review*, vol.14, no.4, 1988, pp.246,259.

(4) Robin J. Pryor, "Integrating international and internal migration theories", in Mary M. Kritz, Charles B. Kelly, and Silvano M. Tomasi, eds., *Global Trends in Migration* (Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1981), pp.111, 113-115.

(5) Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry* (Scranton: Chanler Publishing Company, 1964), p.297.

(6) Alan C. Isaak, *Scope and Methods of Political Sciences* (Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969), pp.139-140.

(7) Schmitter-Heisler, op.cit., p.2.

(8) E.G. Ravenstein, "The laws of migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol.48, no.2, 1885, pp.167-235.

E.G. Ravenstein, "The laws of migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol.52, no.2, 1889, pp.241-305.

(9) Ravenstein, *op.cit.*, 1885, p.198.

Guy Standing, *Conceptualizing Territorial Mobility in Low-income Countries* (Geneva: ILO, 1982), p.21.

(10) S.A. Stouffer, "Intervening opportunities: a theory relating mobility and distance", *American Sociological Review*, vol.5, December 1940, pp.845-867.

S.A. Stouffer, "Intervening oportunities and competing migrants", *Journal of Regional Science*, vol.2, 1960, pp.1-60.

(11) A. Speare, "The relevance of models of internal migration for study of international migration", in G. Tapinos, ed., *International Migration: Proceedings of a Seminar on Demographic Research in Relation to International Migration* (Paris: CICRED, 1974), p.85. Cited in W.R. Böhning, "Elements of a theory of international economic migration to industrial nation states", in Kritz, Kelly, Tomasi, eds., *op.cit.*, p.36.

(12) Aristide R. Zolberg, "International migrations in political perspective", in Kritz, Kelly, Tomasi, eds., *op.cit.*, p.3. for more detailed critics of Ravenstein, see Davis, *op.cit.*, pp.246-249.

(13) E.S. Lee, "A theory of migration", *Demography*, vol.3, no.1, 1966, pp.47-57.

(14) A.S. Oberai, Migration, *Urbanization and Development* (Geneva: ILO, 1987), pp.37-38.

(15) Herbert B. Crubel and Anthony D. Scott, "The international flow of human capital", *American Economic Review*, vol.56, no.2, 1966, pp.268-274.

Barry R. Chiswick and Carmel U. Chiswick, "Are immigrants and natives perfect substitutes in production", *IMR*, vol.19, no.4, winter 1985, pp.674-685.

(16) Todaro is another scholar who assumes that migration based primarily on privately rational economic calculations for the individual migrant. See,

M.P. Todaro, "A model of labour migration and urban unemployment in less- developed countries", *American Economic Review*, vol.59, March 1969, pp.138- 148.

(17) Rogers approaches the problem with mathematical models, and some scholars call it probability or transition matrix model. See,

Andrei Rogers, "A regression analysis of inter-regional migration in California", *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, vol.49, 1967, pp.262-267.

Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz, "Trade, theory, distribution of income, and immigration", *The American Economic Review*, vol.73, no.2, May 1983, pp.178-182.

- (18) Oded Stark, "Discontinuity and the theory of international migration", *Kyklos*, vol.37, fasc.2, 1984, pp.206-222.
- (19) Alejandro Portes, "Modes of structural incorporation and present theories of labour migration", in Kritz, Kelly, Tomasi, eds., *op.cit.*, p.280.
- (20) Wood, *op.cit.*, pp.303-306.
- (21) Böhning, *op.cit.*, p.36.
- (22) R. Park, Race and Culture, *Essays in the Sociology of Contemporary Man* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1950).
- (23) M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origin* (New York: Oxford University, 1964).
- (24) Schmitter-Heisler, *op.cit.*, p.4.
- (25) Portes, *op.cit.*, p.280.
- (26) E.A. Young, "Residence history analysis. Popua New Guinea", in R.J. Pryor, ed., *Residence History Analysis* (Canberra: Australian Natural University, 1979), p.47.

(27) J.S. MacDonald and L.D. MacDonald, "Chain migration, ethnic neighbourhood formation and social networks", *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, vol.42, no.1, January 1964, pp.82-97.

(28) Ali Gitmez and Czarina Wilpert, "A micro-society or an ethnic community? Social organization and ethnicity amongst Turkish immigrants in Berlin", in John Rex, Daniele Joly and Czarina Wilpert, eds., *Immigrant Associations in Europe* (Aldershot, Brookfield, Hong Kong, Singapore, Sydney: Gower, 1987), p.87.

(29) W. Zelinsky, "The hypothesis of the mobility transition", *Geographical Review*, vol.61, no.2, 1971, pp.220-221.

(30) Davis, *op.cit.*, p.259.

(31) Aristide R. Zolberg, "Wanted, but not welcome: alien labour in Western development", in William Alonso ed., *Population in an Interacting World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp.36-73.

(32) Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack, *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, second edition), p.8.

(33) This concept will not be analyzed here with more details. For further information, see,

Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, vol.1, (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974), pp.37-38.

Samir Amin, *Eşitsiz Gelişme* (İstanbul: Arba, 1991), pp.225-280.

Samir Amin, *Emperyalizm ve Eşitsiz Gelişme* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1992), pp.225-283.

(34) Elizabeth McLean Petras, "The global labor market in the modern world economy", in Kritiz, Kelly, Tomasi, eds., *op.cit.*, p.46.

(35) Manuel Castells, "Immigrant workers and class struggles in advanced capitalism: the Western European experience", *Politics and Society*, vol.5, no.1, 1975, pp.34-35.

(36) Stephan Castles, *Here for Good* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1984), p.19.

(37) Karl Marx, *Kapital, Birinci Cilt* (İstanbul: Sol Yayınları, 1986, üçüncü baskı), p.654.

(38) Castells, *op.cit.*, 1975, p.49.

(39) Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, reprinted), p.36.

(40) Castles, *op.cit.*, 1984, p.27.

(41) Louis Althusser, *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Araçları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991, üçüncü baskı), pp.17-24.

(42) Michael Burawoy, "The fuctions and reproductionof migrant labor: comparative material from Southern Africa and the United States", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol.81, no.5, 1976, p.1082.

(43) Antony Ward, "European capitalism's reserve army", *Monthly Review*, vol.27, no.6, November 1975, p.31.

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Castles, *op.cit.*, 1984, pp.190-212.

(44) Andrei S. Markovits and Samantha Kazarinov, "Class conflict, capitalism, and social democracy", *Comparative Politics*, vol.10, no.3, 1978, p.384.

(45) Sassen, *op.cit.*, p.140.

(46) Ward, *op.cit.*, November 1975, p.26.

(47) Castles and Kosack argue that the term sub-proletariat "postulates that immigrant workers have a different relationship to the means of production from the traditionally characteristic of the proletariat". See,

Castles and Kosack, *op.cit.*, 1985, p.476.

(48) Albert Bastenier and Felice Dassetto, "Work and the indeterminate status of young North Africans and Turks in Belgium: integration into the working class or the formation of a sub proletariat?", in Czarina Wilpert, ed., *Entering the Working World* (Aldershot, Brookfield, Hong Kong, Singapore, Sydney: Gower, 1988), p.158.

(49) Lenin talks about the 'decay of the working class movement'. See, Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978, 17th printing), pp.96-101.

(50) Saskia Sassen-Koob, "The international circulation of resources and development: the cases of migrant labour", *Development and Change*, vol.9, no.3, 1978, p.516.

(51) J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971), especially chapter 6 and 7.

(52) Lenin, *op.cit.*

(53) Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951).

(54) Andre G. Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

(55) Alejandro Portes and John Walton, *Labor, Class, and the International System* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1981), p.10.

(56) Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, vol.1 (New York, San Francisco, London: Academic Press, 1974), p.349.

(57) Terence Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein, "Capitalism and the incorporation of new zones into the world-economy", *Review*, vol.10, 5/6 1987, pp.768-771.

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III. TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

"Knowledge itself is power"

Francis Bacon

A. TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. The Scientific and Technological Revolution

The post-war "scientific and technological revolution" has been on the international agenda since the late 1960s. The concept of "global world" has mainly been discussed since then. The world has been transformed into one entity through telecommunication and transportation networks. This revolution is not a particular specific discovery or technological innovation. It is rather a process by which scientific knowledge became the most important means of production. "Its source is the swift progress of scientific knowledge as a whole, spurred on by the impact of requirements of material production, the vigorous transformation of science into a direct productive force and its enhanced role in developing engineering production, and society generally" (1). Alvin Toffler talks about the powershift that is reshaping our planet as the magnificent revolution in the history. Dealing with the concept of power and its shifting procedure, he argues that there are three resources of power: violence, wealth and knowledge (2). He postulates that knowledge is the highest quality of power at the threshold

of the third millennium, since it has a sovereignty on the other resources of power: "No knowledge changed, no new wealth created" (3).

The difference from revolutions which took place in the past is that it is a global revolution. Toffler says "...what happened is that, during the industrial revolution, the elites in society shifted from a primary reliance on the low-quality power produced by violence, to the mid-quality power produced by money... In sum, the rise of the industrial nation-state brought the systematic monopolization of violence, the sublimation of violence into law, and the growing dependence of the population on money" (4). In that sense, the development we are living now is the shifting process from money to knowledge. To put it more simply, the scientific and technological revolution can only be understood in the transformation process of scientific knowledge into capital.

Alongside these arguments on the basic characteristics of the scientific and technological revolution (the sovereignty of knowledge), Marxists and neo-liberals are disagreeing on several points. For instance, Marinko talks about *technological neo-colonialism* that refers to "a major form of exploitation of the Third World by capitalist power" (5), since they have scientific and technological monopoly. Toffler, on the other hand, does not come to such a result, although he accepts the uneven distribution of knowledge: "... a redistribution of knowledge (and specially knowledge of knowledge) is even more important than, and can lead to , a redistribution of the other main power resources" (6). Moreover, Marinko observes the growth of unemployment in the "capitalist countries" as the result of the scientific and technological revolution (7). However, Toffler argues that unemployment has gone from quantitative to

qualitative: "the jobless today cannot step into available jobs unless they happen to have right mixture of skills at the right moment" (8).

2. Automation

At this point, we come to the subject of *automation* of production processes. Automation, simply, is an "application of technological devices in order to totally or partially replace man in obtaining, processing, transferring and using energy, materials and information" (9). Marx says, " (a)n organised system of machines to which motion is communicated by the transmitting mechanism from an automatic centre is the most developed form of production by machinery. Here we have, in place of the isolated machine, a mechanical monster whose body fills whole factories, and whose demonic power, at first hidden by the slow and measured motions of its gigantic members, finally burst fourth in the fast and feverish whirl of its countless working organs" (10).

Automation is the process which puts its stamp in our daily life. However, the phase of automation which appeared in the 1970s, is not the simple continuation of historical process. The basic difference is "the separation of hardware from software: a separation which may be seen as constituting a revolutionary fission of the labour process itself" (11). By this way (by the application of software) the worker's knowledge can be separated from the physical body of the worker, can itself become a commodity. As a result of automation, in that sense, the volume of physical labour is considerably reduced and work becomes primarily brain work.

Mandel argues that fully automated production is impossible in the capitalist mode of production, since there will be no surplus-value in that case. He observes automation process as a dilemma of capitalist mode of production, "... for reasons of its own, self-preservation of capital could never afford to transform all workers into scientist, just as it could never afford to transform all material production into full automation" (12). Moreover, Morris-Suzuki underlines that automation may cause further unemployment in the industrialised countries (13). She has two comments on highly automated capitalism (14): first, different level of automation process between developed and underdeveloped countries may amplify inequalities of wealth; secondly, beside its potential to liberate people from suffering, automation may *dehumanise* the social and economic systems.

3. Information

Another main aspect of technological developments is the foundation of information networks throughout the world. McLuhan was one of the early scholar stressing the importance of information (15). He argues that communication governs all sides of society's life, and the history of civilisation is first of all the history of origin and development of constantly improving means of mass communication. At the phase of automated production, information (know-how) becomes a commodity. The struggle on the control of is inescapable because of its being commodity (16). Morris-Suzuki argues three types of the commodity production of knowledge (17). In the first case, softened economy modifies and develops the knowledge which is to be applied in the manufacturing of material

goods. In that sense, knowledge is not a commodity but it increases the value of final product. In the second case, enterprises specialise in production and sale of commodified producer information which will be used by another firms. Lately, there is also a consumer information (e.g. books, periodicals, television programmes).

Theories on information society basically argues that informatics, computers and microelectronics determine and transform the entire social system, and serve as an instrument of creating a new social structures, which radically change the mechanism of social development (18). However, since industrialised countries have the monopoly of information, they begin to create so called *formal social knowledge*. "Industrial capitalism, based on direct exploitation of the manufacturing work force, is transmuted by the process of automation into a new system where exploitation increasingly encompasses all those involved in the creation of social knowledge and its transmission from generation" (19). This monopoly and exploitation process is generally known as *information capitalism* (20).

B. IMPACTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

1. Globalization of Labour

Technological changes, analysed above, in the process of production by the scientific and technological revolution have affected international relations. States and other participants of international system have been increasingly

united by physical and electronic bonds, and by electronic links. Today, there is an inevitable trend towards more contacts and relationships among actors. Movement of labour, as well as capital, has become global alongside the boundaries. World economic integration has reached such levels that "when recession begins in any part of the industrialized world (particularly in the United States) it quickly spreads to the rest of it and to Third World countries also" (21). Some scholars call this process "restructuring the world economy" which has four aspects (22): (a) relocation of old productive activities; (b) initiation of new production cycles; (c) political redistribution of surplus-value to some segments of the world working class; (d) expansion of the geographical loci. They call this fourth process *incorporation*: "the four parts of the package fit together, and it would be a mistake to single out any of them as the explanation of the ultimate upturn (or renewal of the expansion of the world-economy)" (23).

Like other components of production process, labour is also becoming a global phenomenon. Like other flows, movements and exchanges, such as those of capital and goods, labour has become to move in a global scale in furthered speed and numbers by developments in communications and transportation (24). Today, all continents are affected from labour migration in different degrees (25). This globalization process has happened in two steps. In the first one, developed (industrialised) countries have imported large amount of labour force from the periphery. In the second step, since the 1970s, traditional labour-intensive industries (e.g. textile and clothing) have increasingly been moved to the periphery (less-developed countries) where labour is cheaper (26). "Incorporation has the effect of creating new production zones with low-cost labor, which then feeds simultaneously the ability of the world-economy to expand economically

and possibility of a renewed higher share of global surplus accumulation going to the higher accumulators" (27). Although Toffler argues that the mass production is being de-massified (28), theorists of the 'new international division of labour' emphasise that "mass production has not ceased, but rather significant degree been located in Export Processing Zones in the *peripheries* of the world economic system" (29). Moreover, Sassen shows how this process of capital export (generally known as direct foreign investments or transnational companies) has simulated a new phase of migration and proletarianization within those peripheries as well as to the USA (30).

2. Changes in Skill Requirements

Automation process in the scientific and technological revolution has yielded the division amongst the workers as skilled and unskilled. The diffusion of new technologies increased developments in skills required on the job. Today, economies are "struggling to keep pace with increased demands for skills and for retaining, stemming from technological and organisational change and heightened international competition" (31). For instance, the Institute for Labour Market and Occupational Research (IAB) of the Federal Employment Agency at Nürnberg, Federal Germany, indicated that there will be 2.5 million additional employment opportunities in Germany by the year 2000 (32). Most of these jobs will need skilled labour with a specialised knowledge. Thus, skilled workers are became a major element in international labour migration, especially among the developed countries, and their numbers have been rising. There are two main dividence in the migration of highly skilled. Firstly, there is the brain-exchange(s)

(33) which refers to migration movements among the developed countries. Second one is the brain drain(s) which refers to immigration of Third World countries' skilled people to the core. According to Salt, managerial and professional workers are an important group of migrants between industrial countries (34), and their importance is increasing. He shows that, in the Netherlands, highly skilled immigration has increased 40 per cent compared with a 10 per cent rise in total foreign employment, in the period between 1983 to 1989 (35). Similar figures are valid for Germany and for the United Kingdom (36). Moreover, most of these flows are company transferees within TNCs. The massive important motive for migration is career progression (37). Brain drains, on the other hand, have been one of the main troubles of the periphery. "There is no doubt that export of human capital from developing countries represented a negative element in their development" (38). By this way, not only existing inequalities between the developed and undeveloped world grows, but also dependence of the latter to the former is increasing (39). Moreover, governments regulate their migration policy in order to ease highly-skilled immigration. The USA and Canada, for examples, changed their ethnic quota system into favouring highly-skilled migrants in the mid-1960s (40). Similarly, the Immigrant Act of 1990, in the USA, increased the maximum number of visas to be granted in the financial years 1992-1994, and eased the entrance of persons who have high-standards of training and professional experience, particularly in high-technology industrial and service activities (41).

Accepting the globalization of world economy by suggesting the appearance of "a new kind of economic center-the global city from where the world economy is managed and serviced" (42), and "downgraded manufacturing"

(43) (which leads to the development of high-tech industries and the technological transformation of the work process), Sassen disagrees with the idea of a shrinking market for unskilled labour. She argues that consolidation of global centers leads to vast expansion of low-wage jobs as much as expansion of very high-income professional and technical jobs: "The locational concentration of this expanding sector of specialized services and corporate headquarters in major cities has emerged as an important source of low-wage jobs, both directly and indirectly" (44). Then, she shows New York and Los Angeles as the global centers where the expansion in low-wage jobs demand is mainly appears (45). Actually, the demand for unskilled workers continue, since they generally fill the low-paid jobs that have low social status. This demand leads to a market increase in illegal immigration (46), and the growth of the informal sector.

All in all, the implementation of new forms of technology in the production process has an effect on the skill requirement of workers. This is the case with low-skilled industrial workers. Immigrant labour has been affected from this tendency significantly, because most of its members are unskilled. In the former Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, nearly 90 per cent of the foreign workers were either unskilled or semi-skilled (47). The lack of skill equipment is one of the most important reasons for unemployment among immigrant workers. We are living in a world in where "the formation of human capital has to change from a model of once-and-for-all career preparation through initial education and training to one of lifelong and continual skill formation" (48). Professional training is the vital condition for healthy labour markets (49). However, educational and linguistic inabilities are serious obstacles for immigrants in the path of skill

development. As Castles and Kosack said before, their unskilled characteristics show the immigrants' inferior position in the labour market (50).

3. Impacts of Information

Information is one of the main participants in decision making in the process of migration. Increasing facility of communications make it easier to get more information and to be aware of economic and social situations; employment or income opportunities in different countries (51). "...(D)iffusion of mass-media (especially television) allows people of the LDCs to become more aware of the difference between their living conditions and those of western populations. Increasing imbalances affecting billions of people and awareness of them could create increased social and political turbulence and strong pressures to emigrate" (52). Moreover, in the case of chain migration, information that is sent back to the potential migrants in sending countries from migrants in receiving societies is deadly important to motivate these potential (53). There is a close relationship between the impact of information and the flow of international migration. Increasing exposure to the mass media in sending and receiving countries as well as the growing use of fast travel facilities such as air transportation exercise a lasting impact on the migratory movements. These links create a link, for instance, Berlin and any village or town of Anatolia. Radio, films, television, newspapers, letters, telephone calls encourage people to look for new working places. Emigrating does no more represent a definite break with the home country.

Notes for Chapter III

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- (3) *ibid.*, p.232.
- (4) *ibid.*, p.41.
- (5) Marinko, *op.cit.*, p.167.
- (6) Toffler, *op.cit.*, p.469.
- (7) Marinko, *op.cit.*, pp.121-137.
- (8) Toffler, *op.cit.*, p.208.
- (9) Marinko, *op.cit.*, p.312.
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- (11) Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Robots and capitalism", *New Left Review*, no.147, september/october 1984, p.112.
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- (14) Morris-Suzuki, *op.cit.*, 1984, pp.120-121.
- (15) Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto, 1962).
- (16) Toffler, *op.cit.*, pp.168-173.
- (17) Morris-Suzuki, *op.cit.*, 1986, pp.84-85.
- (18) Marinko, *op.cit.*, pp.97-108, 318.
- (19) Morris-Suzuki, *op.cit.*, 1986, p.89.
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(27) Hopkins & Wallerstein, *op.cit.*, 1987, p.771.

(28) Toffler, *op.cit.*, p.232.

(29) Robert Miles and Victor Satzewich, "Migration, racism and 'post-modern'capitalism", *Economy and Society*, vol.19, no.3, august 1990, p.335.

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(38) Escobar-Navia, *op.cit.*, p.224.

(39) Marinko, *op.cit.*, pp.175-180.

(40) Tabbarah, *op.cit.*, p.427.

(41) Garson, *op.cit.*, p.21.

(42) Sassen, *op.cit.*, pp.126-127.

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(44) *ibid.*, p.127.

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IV. CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

*"An alien ought to attend to nothing but his own
business, never, meddle with the affairs of others,
and least of all pry into the concerns of state"*

Cicero

This section intends to show that international migration has a deep impact upon the social structures in the receiving countries. First of all, there is a change in the social stratification since immigrant workers occupy the bottom level. Moreover, they are subject to discrimination; particularly, female immigrants have been suffering from unequal social relations. Secondly, the foreign population in these countries has continued to increase. They now constitute a relevant part in the total population. The fear of *Überfremdung* also leads to restrictive policies in regard of migration. However, policy regulations have not prevented immigration flows, because illegal migration gained weight. Furthermore, it is possible to detect a relation between international migration and xenophobic movements which eventually turns into racist violence.

A. IMMIGRANTS' POSITION IN SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

It is a generally accepted fact that immigrants have an impact upon the social stratification in receiving countries, since they "are not just foreigners. The vast majority are foreign workers" (1). They belong to the working class. All of them

may not be manual workers; but they may include white collar workers and professionals who sell their labour and do not control the work which is produced (2). There are two determinants, offered to identify class membership: occupation and class-consciousness. "Working class-consciousness, at its simplest, is the knowledge that workers have certain common interest and aims..." (3). Ward argues that one of the most important effects of immigrant workers on the total social structure is to split the working class into two segments, namely nationals that are the upper segment and immigrants that form an *under-class* (4). Numerous scholars agree with him. Hoffmann-Nowotny uses the concept of *undercasting* which means that "the immigrants enter the lowest positions of the strata system in the immigration context thereby creating a new stratum in part lies beneath the lower stratum of the indigenous population" (5). Marxists have argued that the fragmentation of the working class (as immigrant and indigenous, and even in between immigrant workers) is one of the tools of 'dominant classes. This is all the more true since this split does not solely affect the inferior political status of immigrants, but also feeds the racist and xenophobic reactions of the bourgeoisie (6). Accordingly, this segregation prevents the development of *class solidarity*; and allows a fast upward mobility of large sections of the indigenous workers (7). Moreover, national and gender struggles come to the fore beside overt "classical class struggle" (8).

In the context of social stratification, it should be noted that (as it mentioned in last chapter) the technological and scientific revolution has also had a deep impact upon the social structure. There are two main opposite thesis on this subject. On the one hand, Toffler argues that the proletariat becomes *cognitariat* (9), since knowledge became the basic participant of production. And

labour unions have been losing their importance because the individual's *information strike* will replace its functions (10). On the other hand, Galkin says, "the growing importance of qualification and education in the rise of social labour productivity has led to the growing role of working class as the leading productive forces. The massive flow of representatives of other social strata into the structure of the working class has opened the way for new, broad opportunities for increasing the influence of the proletariat on the other social groups" (11). Moreover, Portes and Walton consider migrant labour as a new form of labour activity that organised differently and performs tasks that would not exist without it (12).

Summing up, it is an undeniable fact that immigrants generally occupy unskilled, manual, low-paid jobs that have low social status, are located at the bottom of the job hierarchy, perform under hard and unpleasant working conditions and benefit from a slow upward mobility (13)(see Table 2 and Table 3). Thus, they are called as *sub-proletariat*, *ganz unten* (14), or *industrial pariahs* (15). Actually, "immigrant workers work much longer hours than nationals, occupy the worst jobs, and are subject to the fastest speeds" (16). They are more open to exploitation since they have relatively unprotected situation (17). The Japanese describe these jobs as 3K (*kitsui*, *kitenai*, and *kiken*) which can be rendered in English as 3D (difficult, dirty, and dangerous). In Japan, the overwhelming majority of immigrant women work in the sex industry, while most immigrant men work in construction and other physically demanding but low-paid jobs (18). Certain types of occupations came to be reserved for immigrants in receiving societies. These jobs would otherwise have remained vacant, but are never

Table 2.
Characteristics of Labour Force by Sector, NETHERLANDS, 1975

Sector	Work permits granted to Mediterraneans as % of total employment	Percentage growth total employment 1970-1975	PERCENTAGE					Hourly wage of manual labourers
			Unskilled labour	With noisy work	with dirty work	With dangerous work	with irregular working hours	
1. Agriculture, fishery	0.14	(9.4)	41.85	11.60	12.90	41.80	5.90	-
2. Mining	4.64	(66.7)	47.20	47.20	22.20	54.80	22.00	11.54
3. Food, beverages and tobacco	4.43	(7.5)	49.61	41.40	4.70	34.80	12.40	9.46
4. Textile	2.71	(32.5)	58.67	56.40	19.20	32.80	15.90	9.40
5. Clothing	2.86	(46.3)	53.05	43.00	9.60	17.90	0.90	7.27
6. Leather	5.26	(33.3)	58.20	43.10	12.90	24.90	0.60	8.49
7. Wood and Furniture	2.19	(10.8)	45.12	55.60	15.90	48.80	1.60	9.13
8. Paper	4.09	(8.8)	51.80	59.10	14.00	45.80	27.70	10.57
9. Printing	0.62	(4.8)	25.99	48.80	12.10	27.90	7.10	10.95
10. Oil, chemicals, rubber	3.01	(0.0)	39.86	56.40	20.20	46.40	24.80	10.98
11. Building materials	5.57	(15.4)	35.82	-	28.60	-	14.80	10.24
12. Mechanical engineering	4.37	(2.3)	31.32	-	-	-	-	9.48
13. Electrical engineering	2.49	(4.3)	31.32	-	-	-	-	10.24
14. Vehicle, aircraft and shipbuilding	8.19	(5.7)	39.11	-	-	-	-	10.47
15. Other industry	2.39	12.5	59.02	-	-	-	-	9.27
Engineering total (12-15)	4.50	(3.4)	38.07	51.20	19.60	43.10	8.20	9.93
16. Public utilities	0.02	(4.7)	27.00	23.80	9.10	39.30	10.00	12.83
17. Construction	0.39	(13.2)	39.28	32.30	21.00	56.90	1.00	10.69
18. Commerce	0.19	(0.7)	37.07	19.10	5.10	20.50	1.30	9.05
19. Catering	1.04	(3.2)	47.78	28.80	2.00	12.10	13.00	-
20. Repairs	0.11	(10.8)	25.77	48.80	26.80	41.00	1.20	8.75
21. Maritime navigation, inland shipping, air navigation	0.59	14.3	33.33	-	-	-	-	-
22. Other transport, storage	0.23	(3.7)	46.33	-	-	-	-	-
Total transport (21-22)	0.82	(0.4)	44.00	46.50	15.80	57.80	25.80	11.02
23. Post and telecommunications	0.04	0.4	34.00	25.60	8.00	20.80	19.10	-
24. Banking and insurance	0.08	19.5	15.33	16.40	1.40	8.80	1.60	10.09
25. Business service	0.09	11.9	13.71	15.50	3.70	12.20	1.90	10.09
26. Government	0.09	6.2	15.66	20.60	5.10	22.40	12.10	-
27. Education	0.05	21.2	8.57	19.00	3.30	12.40	0.90	-
28. Medical service	0.63	29.3	14.08	11.70	2.70	21.10	26.10	-
29. Other service	0.54	13.7	35.54	15.50	2.50	14.80	6.50	-

Source : Heijke, 1986, p.43.

Table 3.
Characteristics of Labour Force by Sector, AUSTRIA, 1978/80/81

Sector	Foreigners as % of total employment 1980	Employment 1980 as % of 1975 end of July	Percentage of Employees			Median Monthly income of male blue-collar workers in Vienna, (July 1981) (Schillings)	Median weekly working hours of blue-collar workers
			Blue-collar work July 1981	Shiftwork June 1978	Nightwork June 1978		
Agriculture, fishery	8.7	86.7	82.1	1.7	-	9.7	41.9
Textiles	22.1	91.1	71.9	27.1	2.7	10.7	33.6
Clothing, shoes	19.6	90.4	78.1	3.0	-	9.9	33.6
Leather	17.6	93.5	76.0	10.0	-	9.9	33.4
Wood and Furniture	4.5	11.9	19.6	6.1	0.8	10.0	33.7
Paper	4.7	91.8	76.3	4.2	15.6	10.0	33.6
Printing	4.4	91.8	76.3	14.8	-	10.0	33.6
Oil, chemicals, rubber	2.7	101.6	83.3	26.6	7.0	10.0	33.5
Building materials	3.7	96.7	83.3	19.6	2.2	10.0	33.5
Engineering	3.7	103.7	83.3	22.2	4.2	10.0	33.5
Construction	3.7	103.7	83.3	22.2	4.2	10.0	33.5
Commerce	18.1	100.9	83.3	22.2	0.1	10.0	33.5
Catering	18.1	100.9	83.3	22.2	0.1	10.0	33.5
Post and telecommunications	0.0	100.7	83.3	22.2	1.7	10.0	33.5
Banking and insurance	0.0	123.3	83.3	22.2	0.8	10.0	33.5
Medical service	0.0	126.0	83.3	22.2	0.0	10.0	33.5
Other industry	14.5	97.0	83.3	30.9	0.0	10.0	33.5
Other service	3.9	102.8	83.3	17.1	0.5	10.0	33.3

SOURCE : HEIJKE, 1986, P. 44.

Table 4- Unemployed Foreigners as a Percentage of Total Unemployment and Increase in the Number of Unemployed in Selected European Countries (1986-1988) (percentages)

	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>
AUSTRIA (September)			
Unemployed foreigners as % of total	5.9	6.3	6.3
Annual increase of unemployed			
Nationals	8.9	7.8	-3.6
Foreigners	10.2	14.8	3.0
total	9.0	8.2	-3.5
BELGIUM (June)			
Unemployed foreigners as % of total	14.4	14.4	15.3
Annual increase of unemployed			
Nationals	-5.9	-2.6	-9.9
Foreigners	-4.0	-1.5	-3.5
total	-5.5	-2.5	-9.0
FRANCE (December)			
Unemployed foreigners as % of total	11.5	11.4	11.7
Annual increase of unemployed			
Nationals	6.1	-0.3	-1.5
Foreigners	1.6	-1.3	1.5
total	5.5	-0.5	-1.1
GERMANY (Annual average)			
Unemployed foreigners as % of total	11.1	11.8	12.0
Annual increase of unemployed			
Nationals	-3.4	-0.7	0.3
Foreigners	-2.0	5.6	2.8
total	-3.3	0.0	0.6
NETHERLANDS (December)			
Unemployed foreigners as % of total	11.5	11.2	11.9
Annual increase of unemployed			
Nationals	-6.8	-2.0	-1.4
Foreigners	3.4	6.1	2.4
total	-5.9	-1.2	-1.0

source : SOPEMI, 1989, p.20.

fulfilled by indigenous workers (19). Furthermore, Table 4 shows us that the level of unemployment among immigrants is higher than among indigenous workers. Heijke says, "their lack of skill, their lack of proficiency in the language and their great cultural distance from the national population weakens Mediterraneans' competitive position in respect of other groups" (20).

Another important problem concerning the socio-economic status of migrants is related to *status inconsistency*. Immigrants generally think about their future welfare in connection to their return home. So, they get involved in various investment projects in their home-country. Moreover, most of these projects are created by private business which makes immigrant worker a boss at home. Thus, we face a person with double status: boss at home, worker abroad. "The great discrepancies between the social status of migrant workers abroad and at home, together with slowly evolving socio-economic structures, render the making of choices and decisions related to future projects and forms of investment, rather difficult, unpredictable and vague" (21). It is the with most of the Mediterranean immigrants in Europe. Abadan-Unat clarifies the problem by giving an example of Turkish immigrant workers in Europe: "Turkish migration has no doubt led to the emergence of a new social stratum...Predominantly employed in industry in Europe, they tend to behave as a privileged group at home. Their preference to live off rental income or small business produces a type one might call the *proletarian bourgeois*" (22). In sum, it should be noted that the status inconsistency of migrants has an important effect both on marginalization of migrants in receiving societies and the reshaping of social stratification in the sending countries.

B. IMMIGRANT WOMEN

The economic and social changes brought about in the nineteenth century by industrialisation created a demand for female labour. Since then female workers have constituted an important part of the working class. There has been a significant increase in women's participation in the production process since the 1960s. Sassen analyses the systemic relation between globalization and feminization of waged-labour (23). She underlines two main instances of feminization processes by migration flows. "(a) the recruitment of women into the new manufacturing and service jobs generated by export-led manufacturing in several Caribbean and Asian countries...; (b) the employment of immigrant women in highly industrialized countries, particularly in major cities which have undergone basic economic restructuring" (24) (e.g. Caribbean female workers migration to the New York City). She shows that nearly half of all immigrants legally admitted during the 1960s and 1970s were women in the USA (see Table 5); and nearly half of the illegals counted by the 1980 Census that had entered since 1960 were women (see Table 6). Actually growing numbers of jobs in the tertiary sector (e.g. operative and service jobs) are generally filled by immigrant women (25). Statistics show that female employment rates had also been increased in Europe (see Table 7), and throughout the globe (see Table 8). In Europe, for instance, there are three million immigrant women with different rates of participation into work force in different countries (26). Between 1974 to 1984, the number of socially insured women employment in the FRG increased 7.1 per cent despite the 33 per cent decrease in the number of total foreigners

Table 5 - Immigrants Admitted by Sex in the USA (in thousands)

	<u>number admitted</u>	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
1951-1960	2,515	859	1,014
1961-1970	3,322	1,488	1,834
1971	370.5	172.5	197.9
1972	384.7	179.7	204.9
1973	400.	186.3	213.7
1974	394.9	184.5	210.3
1975	386.2	180.7	205.5
1976	398.6	184.9	213.8
1977	462.3	216.4	245.9
1978	601.4	286.4	315.1
1979	460.3	219.5	240.8
1971-1979	3,962	1,859	2,103

source: Sassen-Koob, 1989, p.1158.

Table 6 - Estimates of Illegal Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census by Sex and Period of Entry for All Foreign-Born Persons and Persons Born in Mexico and USA (population in thousands)

	Entered <u>since 1960</u>	Entered <u>1975-1980</u>	Entered <u>1970-1974</u>	Entered <u>1960-1969</u>
All Countries				
Both Sexes	2,047	890	551	570
Male	1,097	494	297	290
Female	950	396	254	281
Mexico				
Both Sexes	931	476	280	138
Male	531	278	159	77
Female	400	198	121	61
All Other Countries				
Both Sexes	1,116	413	270	432
Male	566	216	138	212
Female	549	197	132	220

source: Sassen-Koob, 1989, p.1158.

(see Table 9). By now, women constitute nearly half of the world migrant population (27).

One way or another, immigrant women are exploited by their countrymen or receiving society. Wages of female migrant have always been low due to their inferior status assigned in the society and because their wage has never been considered to be the primary wage in the family (28). Moreover, opportunities for career advancement are less than male workers; they have less knowledge of legal rights concerning their jobs; and the participation in the trade unions is less than male workers (29). Dealing with domestic foreign female workers, Weinert adds that the jobs filled by female immigrants are isolated: there is neither social security, nor legal regulation (30). Golini and Bonifazi draw attention to the increase in part-time jobs among female workers (31). Furthermore, beside their increasing participation in the working class, their unemployment rate is also growing (32) (see Table 7). Marokvasic argues that there is a fourfold oppression upon female immigrants: beside their being under oppression as women, they belong to the working class and are members of a minority group, and accept one or more of these three subordinations as "their fate, as natural and normal" (33). Especially, second generation female immigrants are affected by this fourfold oppression (34). Migration movements exercise also an impact on women's status in developing societies. An optimistic view (generally called traditional-modernity perspective), stressing the liberation process of women from traditional feudal status is generally rejected today. Most of the scholars point out some negative effects of immigration, beside some progressive effects like more egalitarian relationships in the family and growing economic independence (36). Abadan-Unat makes a difference between migrant women

Table 7 - Unemployment by Sex in the Seven Major OECD Countries

	Annual rate of growth of unemployment (per cent)				
	<u>1973-75</u>	<u>1975-79</u>	<u>1979-81</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
MALE	32.0	-2.7	19.1	28.2	5.9
FEMALE	24.4	2.0	11.1	17.9	5.5

	Unemployment rate (per cent)						
	<u>1973</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
MALE	2.8	4.9	4.2	4.9	5.8	7.4	7.8
FEMALE	4.2	6.2	6.0	6.13	7.1	8.2	8.5

source: Golini & Bonifazi, 1986, p.18.

Table 8

- Employment rates by sex in selected OECD countries, 1971-83 (a)
(Values in percentages)

COUNTRY	Male					Female				
	1971	1973	1975	1979	1983	1971	1973	1975	1979	1983
Australia	89.4	89.2	85.7	81.8	76.3	45.2	46.9	46.8	45.9	46.9
Canada	78.9	80.8	79.9	79.8	73.7	41.5	44.1	46.9	50.5	53.1
France	81.3	80.5	78.5	76.0	70.3	46.6	47.7	48.0	49.4	48.2
Germany	88.4	85.7	81.0	79.7	71.5	48.0	48.9	47.4	47.3	44.9
Italy	80.0	78.2	78.1	75.8	72.0	30.3	30.1	31.0	33.7	34.0
Japan	88.6	88.8	88.0	87.3	86.7	53.8	53.4	50.8	53.6	55.7
Spain	88.8	86.5	84.1	71.6	62.8	29.3	32.5	31.0	28.9	26.0
Switzerland	104.3	103.7	97.1	93.5	89.2	52.9	52.7	49.5	49.1	48.3
Turkey (b)	97.6	..	92.1	89.1	87.5	57.4	..	55.4	48.0	44.3 (e)
United Kingdom	88.1	88.3	86.3	83.9	74.5	50.0	52.6	54.2	55.9	53.1
United States	77.7	79.3	75.9	78.8	73.9	45.6	48.0	48.2	54.7	56.0
OECD-Northern America	77.8	79.4	76.3	78.9	73.9	45.2	47.6	48.0	54.3	55.7
Japan	88.6	88.8	88.0	87.3	86.7	53.8	53.4	50.8	53.6	55.7
OECD-Oceania	89.3	89.0	85.9	82.3	76.8	44.0	45.5	45.8	45.6	46.2
OECD-Europe	85.3	84.0	81.7	78.4	71.8	43.2	44.5	44.5	45.5	44.1
of which:										
EEC	84.5	83.2	80.9	78.8	72.0	43.9	45.0	45.2	46.6	45.1
Southern Europe	83.3	81.3	80.4	74.2	68.4	30.0	31.0	31.0	31.9	31.0
Turkey	97.6	..	92.1	89.1	87.5	57.4	..	55.4	48.0	44.3 (e)
OECD-Total	83.4	83.4	81.0	80.2	75.2	45.8	47.2	46.9	50.1	50.4

Footnotes : (a) (civilian employment / population from 15 to 64 years) x 100; (b) (total labour force / population from 15 to 64 years) x 100; (c) 1970; (d) 1979; (e) 1982;

Source : Golini & Bonifazi, 1986, p.20.

who are obedience toward their husbands, who have been even forced to migrate with them, and those who individually migrated due to economic reasons (37). She, then, uses the concept of emancipation and argues that the emigration process has had two-faceted impact on Turkish women. On the one hand, it had a positive effect on the process of emancipation; but on the other hand, it creates a climate of *pseudo-emancipation* that leads nothing more than to the increase of purchasing power that does not mean a chance for a new style of life (38). The Turkish female migration to Europe have also played a relevant role in changes in the structure of the Turkish family because of uneven changes in the Turkish society (39).

C. MUSLIMS IN EUROPE

Beside gender minority, immigration movements since the 1960s, have also resulted in the establishment of important Muslim minority groups in Europe. Muslim immigrants are facing difficult social conditions because of the existing cultural differences and discrimination (40). Religion is a severe obstacle in regard of assimilation or integration processes. Today, nearly ten million Muslims are living in Europe (41). Moreover, there are a variety of identities among these Muslim populations. This diversification can be witnessed several levels; as the mainstreams (e.g. Sunnites and Shiites); as the tributary streams (e.g. the Ahmediyyah and the Alawiyyah); as law schools (madhhabs); as mystical associations (tariqa) (e.g. Qadirriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah); and as religious-political movements (e.g. Nurcis and Milli Görüş) (42). However, it is a fact that "within very short span of time Europe has been confronted with Islam as

Table 9 - Changes in the Number of Socially Insured Persons Employed in the
Federal Republic of Germany, 1974-1984

<u>Employed Persons</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>rate of difference</u>
Total all nationalities	100	97.2	+2.8
Germans	100	101.3	+1.1
Foreigners	100	66.6	-33.4
Women	100	107.6	+7.1
Total in industry	100	85.8	-14.2
Total in service	100	130.8	+30.8
Foreigners in industry	100	57.8	-42.2
Foreigners in service	100	103.0	+3.0

source: Wilpert, 1988, p.171.

an immigrant culture introduced by labour migrants" (43), and that now is realising that these Muslims are here to stay.

D. "ÜBERFREMDUNG" IN RECEIVING COUNTRIES

Migration movements, since the 1960s, have created remarkable numbers of ethnic, religious, and cultural minorities in receiving areas. By the 1970s, the concept of hyperforeignization (or overforeignization) appeared on the European agenda. *Überfremdung* is a word which was first used in Switzerland. It means roughly "foreign penetration or foreign domination of the economy, of culture or politics (44). Especially, the 1980s were marked by the increase in the number of foreign workers between the beginning and the end of the decade. Table 10 shows us that the biggest increases were 47 per cent in Luxembourg, 33 per cent in Switzerland, 32 per cent in Austria, and 25 per cent in the United Kingdom. At the beginning of the new decade, there were fifteen million foreigners in Europe. There are two main reasons for that size of increase in foreign population. The first is the huge number of entrances (see Table 11), and the second is the low population growth rate of the indigenous population versus the high growth rate of foreigners. In the former FRG, the number foreigners grow from less than 300,000 in 1950 (45) to 5.2 million in 1990 (see Table 10). They constitute 8.2 per cent of the total population. "West Germany has the lowest birth rate of any country in the world, with over half of the nation's families childless (46). In 1973, there were 640,000 foreign children under 16 years in the FRG. By the 1983, this had risen to over 1.1 million (47). In 1988, 11 per cent of total births belonged to foreigners. This rate was 15 per cent in Switzerland, 11 per cent in France and 7

Table 10

FOREIGN POPULATION IN 13 OECD COUNTRIES, 1980-1990
thousands and % of total population

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Austria	282.7 3.7	292.2 3.9	302.9 4.0	275.0 3.6	268.8 3.6	271.7 3.6	275.7 3.6	283.0 3.7	298.7 3.9	322.6 4.2	413.4 5.3
Belgium	878.6 8.9	885.7 9.0	891.2 9.0	891.2 9.0	897.6 9.1	846.5 8.6	853.2 8.6	862.5 8.7	868.8 8.8	880.8 8.8	904.5 9.1
Denmark	101.6 2.0	101.9 2.0	103.1 2.0	104.1 2.0	107.7 2.1	117.0 2.3	126.3 2.5	136.2 2.7	142.0 2.8	150.6 2.9	160.6 3.1
Finland	12.8 0.3	13.7 0.3	14.3 0.3	15.7 0.3	16.8 0.3	17.0 0.3	17.3 0.4	17.7 0.4	16.7 0.4	21.2 0.4	26.3 0.5
France	- -	- -	3,714.2 6.8	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3,582.2 6.3
Germany	4,453.3 7.2	4,629.8 7.5	4,666.9 7.6	4,534.9 7.4	4,363.7 7.1	4,376.9 7.2	4,512.7 7.4	4,630.2 7.6	4,489.1 7.3	4,845.9 7.7	5,241.0 8.2
Italy	298.7 0.5	331.7 0.6	358.9 0.6	361.3 0.7	403.9 0.7	423.0 0.7	450.2 0.8	572.1 1.0	645.4 1.1	490.4 0.9	781.1 1.4
Luxembourg	94.3 25.8	95.4 26.1	95.6 26.2	96.2 26.3	96.9 26.5	98.0 26.7	96.8 26.2	98.6 26.5	100.9 26.9	104.0 27.5	- -
Netherlands	520.9 3.7	537.6 3.8	546.5 3.8	552.4 3.8	558.7 3.9	552.5 3.8	563.0 3.9	591.8 4.0	623.7 4.2	641.9 4.3	692.4 4.6
Norway	82.6 2.0	86.5 2.1	90.6 2.2	94.7 2.3	97.8 2.4	101.5 2.4	109.3 2.6	123.7 2.9	135.9 3.2	140.3 3.3	143.3 3.4
Sweden	421.7 5.1	414.0 5.0	405.5 4.9	397.1 4.8	390.6 4.7	388.6 4.6	390.8 4.7	401.0 4.8	421.0 5.0	456.0 5.3	483.7 5.6
Switzerland	892.8 14.1	909.9 14.3	925.8 14.4	925.6 14.4	932.4 14.4	939.7 14.5	956.0 14.7	978.7 14.9	1,006.5 15.2	1,043.3 15.6	1,100.3 16.3
United Kingdom	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,601.0 2.8	1,731.0 3.1	1,820.0 3.2	1,839.0 3.2	1,821.0 3.2	1,949.0 3.4	1,875.0 3.3

Source : The OECD OBSERVER June/July 1992 P.19.

Table 11

AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON INFLOWS OF FOREIGN POPULATION
 INTO SELECTED OECD COUNTRIES, 1979-1988 (a)
 (thousands)

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
BELGIUM	46.6	46.8	41.3	36.2	34.3	37.2	37.5	39.3	40.1	38.2
FRANCE	56.7	59.4	75.0	144.4	64.2	51.4	42.3	38.4	39.0	440.0
GERANY	493.7	523.6	451.7	275.5	253.5	295.8	324.4	378.7	414.9	545.4
NETHERLANDS	..	76.6	48.8	39.1	34.4	34.7	40.6	47.0	47.5	50.8
NORWAY	11.2	11.8	13.1	14.0	13.1	12.8	14.9	16.5	15.2	16.4
SWEDEN	..	..	..	..	18.3	14.1	13.5	19.4	19.0	24.9
SWITZERLAND	56.8	70.5	80.3	74.7	58.3	58.6	59.4	66.8	71.5	76.1

a) Asylum seekers are not included.

Source : SOPEMI, 1989, p.115.

per cent in the Netherlands (48). "In Britain, 45 per cent of ethnic minorities were actually born there. In Brussels, foreigners will make up 40 per cent of the population by the year 2000...within 15 years more than half of those under 25 in France will be of foreign origin" (49).

Immigrant workers constitute a remarkable size of the labour force in Europe (e.g. 9 per cent in the FRG and in France, 7 per cent in Belgium and Austria, and as much as 24 per cent in Switzerland) (50) (see Table 12). Migration flows to the Western Europe and other receiving countries have occurred simultaneously with the economic recession of 1973 and of 1980 (51). Annual growth rates fall while the rates of unemployment generally increased (see Table 13). In Britain, unemployment rate reached 13 per cent in the late 1970s (52), and in Germany, it was 8.7 per cent in 1988 (53). At the beginning of the 1990s, this trend did not come to the end, but accelerated: "it is Europe of mass unemployment in which, mysteriously, even as jobs disappear, migrant job seekers flood in" (54). The rate of unemployment among immigrants has been always more than that of indigenous workers. For instance, it was 15.9 per cent in the FRG in 1988 (55). In the Netherlands, in 1988, unemployment among Surinamese were 27 per cent, and 44 per cent among Turks, while 13 per cent among Dutch (56). This crisis leads to a reappraisal of the 'welfare state', and in most occasions, immigrant workers were represented as *scapegoat* that "burden to the social system and the root of many evils" (57).

Table 12

AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON STOCKS OF FOREIGN LABOUR IN SELECTED OECD COUNTRIES, 1980-1989
(thousands)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Austria	178.4	177.9	166.2	154.8	146.7	148.3	155.0	157.7	160.9	178.0
Belgium	332.7	332.2	338.9	375.0	388.3	396.3	403.1	411.5	-	-
France	1,458.2	1,427.1	1,503.0	1,557.5	1,658.2	1,649.2	1,555.7	1,524.9	1,557.0	1,593.8
Germany	2,115.7	2,096.3	2,029.0	1,983.5	1,854.9	1,823.4	1,833.7	1,865.5	1,910.6	1,940.6
Luxembourg	51.9	52.2	52.3	53.8	53.0	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	188.1	192.7	185.2	173.7	168.8	165.8	169.0	175.7	176.0	192.0
Sweden	234.1	233.5	227.7	221.6	219.2	216.1	214.9	214.9	220.2	237.0
Switzerland (a)	501.2	515.1	526.2	529.8	539.3	549.3	566.9	587.7	607.8	631.8
United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	744.0	808.0	815.0	814.0	870.0	960.0

a) Seasonal and frontier workers are not taken into account.

Source : Appleyard (1991), p.53.

E. RESTRICTIONS AND ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

Today, international migration is increasingly subject to tight controls in receiving countries. It is generally accepted that every state has a right to regulate its own immigration policy (58). "...(R)estrictions are entirely a matter of national sovereignty" (59). The history of restrictions upon immigration can be retraced until the French Revolution. England's Alien Law of 1793 and the American Bill of 1789 were the first examples in response to prevent the influx of revolutionaries from France (60). Similarly, at the last quarter of this century, most of the receiving countries have increased their barriers against immigrants (61). Sadik says, "in the late 1980s, 57 governments out of 169 in the world had policies to reduce immigration. They included 42 governments of developing countries" (62).

While receiving countries have been taking steps to restrict the entry of foreigners since 1974 (63), immigrants continued to enter or stay illegally. Illegals may simply defined as people who do not possess the qualification required by the respective national law. Böhning refrains from using terms illegal or non-documented (see Table 14). He uses the term *irregular migrants*, because "certain countries have put migrants into an irregular situation overnight at the stroke of a pen even though the migrants had not engaged in any illegal or clandestine activities. Moreover, the word 'non-documented' is also unsatisfactory...The so-called non-documented migrants have often have official papers from their country of origin, their country of employment or the employer for whom they work" (64). Illegals may have cross the borders clandestinely; or they may entered legally (e.g. as a student); or they may be overstayed workers

Table 13 - Economic Growth and Unemployment in Some North-West European Countries, 1964-1982

	Average annual GDP		Unemployment in %		
	growth rate		of labour force		
	<u>1964-73</u>	<u>1973-82</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1982</u>
Germany	4.5	1.7	0.2	0.8	6.1
France	5.5	2.4	1.8	2.6	8.0
Switzerland	3.6	1.4	-	-	-
Belgium	4.8	1.9	2.0	2.8	13.1
The Netherlands	5.3	1.5	0.8	2.2	11.4
Sweden	3.4	1.4	1.6	2.5	3.1

source: Heijke, 1986, p.18.

Table 14 Typology of international labour migration (excluding refugees, tourists, nomads and pilgrims)

TYPE	REGULAR MIGRATION			IRREGULAR MIGRATION	
	Neither stay nor work restricted	Stay or work restricted	Institutional Irregularities	Statutory Irregularities	Proper Irregularities
Sub-category	(i) Free migration	(i) Contract migration	(i) Lack of explicit policies	(i) Interdiction of family reunification	(i) Unlawful entry
	(ii) Admission with a view to permanent residence	(ii) Official and business migration	(ii) Administrative convenience or accepted inefficiency	(ii) Limits on movement and residence within state	(ii) Unlawful stay
	(iii) Permission to stay indefinitely		(iii) Porous or ambiguous law	(iii) Limits on free choice of employment within state	(iii) Unlawful economic activity

Source : Bohning (1984), p.56.

(65). Misuse of marriage institution (66) or misuse of asylum status (67) are other ways that illegals flow.

Illegal migration leads toward unfair competition and injustice in the receiving society. The most basic characteristic of illegal immigrant workers is their representing a cheap labour force (68). Marshall argues that the jobs would be different if there were no immigrants: "illegals are easily exploited and , therefore, are reluctant to complain about violations of their legal rights" (69). They mainly fulfil the worst jobs in receiving country (see Table 15).

SOPEMI sources underline that illegal immigration to industrialised countries (Europe, the USA and Japan) still continues although the restrictions and controls (70). In 1991, there were nearly 2.6 million illegals in Europe, including seasonal workers (see Table 16). It means that 14 per cent of European's total foreign population were illegals (71). In the USA, there are about three million clandestine aliens (72). In Japan, there were approximately 500,000 illegals in 1992 (73). The number of illegals have reached "critical proportions" (74), while there is no available statistics on this subject. In sum, it seems that illegal immigration will continue as a *political hot potato* in the hands of the receiving countries.

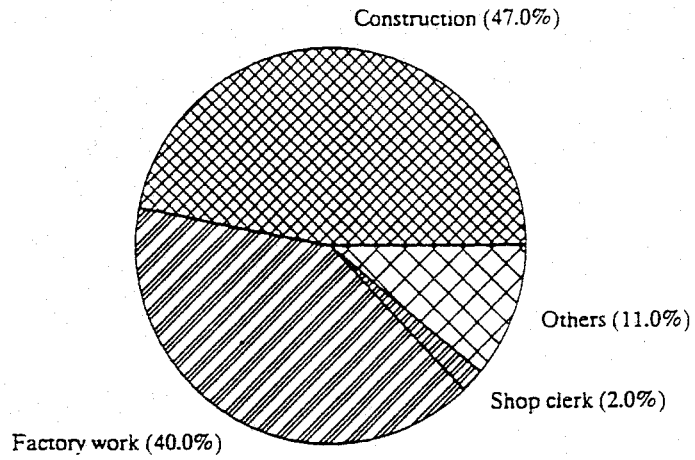
F. XENOPHOBIC TRENDS

Immigrant workers have been welcomed by receiving countries during the 1950s and 1960s. However, since the mid of 1970s, ethnic discrimination against foreigners, and xenophobic (even racist) movements have been rising. Nowadays, the Auslanderfeindlichkeit (enmity against foreigners) concept

entered the European agenda. Before 1945, ethnic minorities in Europe (like Irish in Britain, Bretons in France) had special locations with different citizenship and voting consequences (75). Since the migration movements of the last thirty years, immigrants filled every corner of Europe. Today, immigrants are being discriminated in the labour market (76), in the education system (77), in the housing conditions (ghettoization) (78). There is even discrimination among different immigrant groups (79).

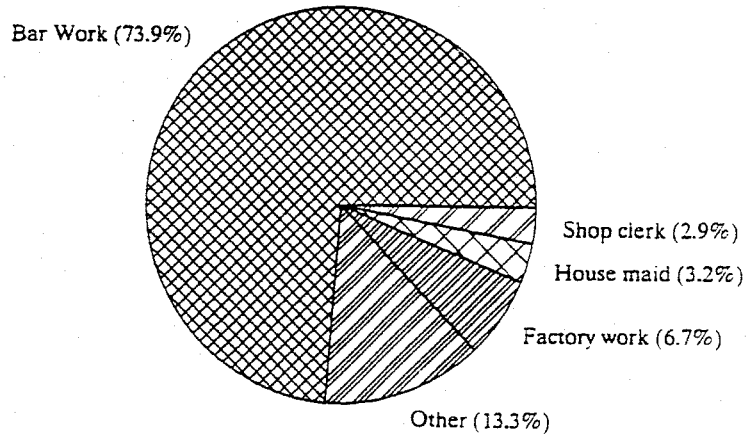
There are several reasons for xenophobic (80) movements. First of all, the settlement modalities occupied an important place at the beginning. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, it became clear that the *temporary* workers do not intend to return home. They turned into *permanent* ethnic minorities. In other words, the Gastarbeiter (guest worker) became an Auslaender (foreigner). "A decade after ending mass labour migration, the trend towards multi-ethnic societies became irreversible throughout Western Europe" (81). Moreover, the anxiety about economic scarcities affected the growth of xenophobic feelings (e.g. unemployment, housing, social security facilities and so on) (82). Thirdly, xenophobia represents also socio-cultural dimensions. Nativist movements believe that immigrants cause cultural pollution and minorization (83). At this point, prejudice among indigenous people and among newcomers come to the fore. Ward says, for instance, "...two thirds of foreign workers never spend time with German family, 19 per cent only occasionally, and 18 per cent more often...while 80 per cent of Turkish workers in West Germany see themselves as 'clean', only 4 per cent of West Germans find them so" (84). Indigenous people believe that migrant workers are sexually aggressive toward Western European women (85). It is regrettable that these prejudices have also been shared by

Table 15 – Illegal Workers (confirmed cases) in Japan, 1989
ILLEGAL MALE WORKERS



11,791 men

ILLEGAL FEMALE WORKERS



4,817 women

Source : World Labour Report, 1992, p.49.

Table 16 - Estimate of Illegally Present Non-nationals

(000)

	Illegal Migrants (people who did not enter as asylum seekers)	Illegal Refugees (refused asylum seekers whose presence is not tolerated)
France	200	-
Germany	350	300
Italy	600	-
Spain	300	-
Switzerland	100	-
Other	400	350
Total	1950	650

source: Böhning, 1991, p.450.

'academic circles. For example, in 1981, fifteen German professors warned in their *Heidelberg Manifesto* against the infiltration of the German people by millions of aliens who dominated their language, culture, and their national existence (86). Furthermore, Benard underlines the role of the media in reinforcing xenophobia: "they exaggerate any crime news involving a migrant worker. His transgressions are punished much more severely than the same offence would be if committed by a citizen" (87).

Marxists underline the role of the state in the creation of xenophobic feelings. Buroway argues that the capitalist state tries to mask class differential by the prevailing racial perspectives (88). Ethnic groups are 'imagined communities' according to Marxists. James analyses the British 'racist' policies against immigrants and their impact on their identity and on relationship among them. He argues that Asian migrants from different ethnic groups became ethnicised through British legislation, and by the ways they are identified by the indigenous population (89). Balibar, in his recent article, is talking about the emergence of modern European racism that is based on the collective memory of Europeanness, a social structure of discrimination that is regulated by state interventions, and a conjuncture of institutional crisis: "...it is the state which develops in a contradictory manner, might be called a 'security apparatus resting on insecurity': that is an administrative, police and judicial apparatus designed to protect one part of the population while increasing the risk for another part, without it ever being possible to draw clearly, at the necessary place, the demarcation line between the two 'groups' or 'populations' " (90).

The 1980s has witnessed the increasing importance of anti-immigrant (far right) parties and racist terrorism against immigrants in Europe. In Western

Germany, the Republikaners (lead by Schönhuber) and the NPD (National-demokratische Partei Deutschlands, National Democratic Party of Germany, which has been banned at the end of 1992) have been pioneering the anti-immigrant movements since the 1980s (91). They gained up to 11 per cent of the vote in regional elections in 1992 (92). Similarly, in France, the National Front, lead by Jean-Marie Le Pen, has become in the political figure during the last decade. In 1981, Le Pen was unable to find five hundred sponsors for his presidential candidature (93). Yet in 1984, he received 11 per cent of the votes for the European Parliamentary elections (94), and 14.4 per cent of the total vote in the first round of the French presidential elections in April 1988 (95). The Danish Populist Progress Party increased its vote by fifty per cent and its seats to sixteen in the Danish Parliament in the elections of May 1988 (96). The National Front (founded in 1967) in England (97), and 'Centrum Partij' in the Netherlands (98) have got wider support than in the 1970s.

Moreover, violent attacks against foreigners increased throughout Europe, but especially in Germany (99). The increase was a four-folded one (to around 1,000) in 1991 (100). "Neo-nazist skinheads are organizing themselves in the streets for attack against foreigners" (101). They perform Nazi songs, are chanting "Heil Hitler" and terrorise immigrants after football matches. All these developments force us to ask a question: is *the modern European racism* case as Balibar describes it?

G. PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

Immigrants participation in social, economic and political life in both receiving and sending countries plays a relevant role in changing social structures. Actually, migrants are not fully participating in the society of residence and work. However, this does not mean that they do not want it. At this point, we will try to analyse in what sense are they involved in socio-economic and political life; to which degree are they restricted; and where do they actually belong?

The following questions can be answered from two angles: receiving society and sending society. It is generally accepted that immigrants are (more or less) participating in the economic and social life in Europe. They are "participating in the labour market, contributing to the economy, paying taxes, renting or buying houses, bringing up families, sending their children to school, and consuming goods and services" (102). They have consultative representation in state administration, especially on decisions concerning them as well as in the firms and trade unions (103). The most problematic argument in Europe, for at least a decade, is related to the political participation of immigrants. Piore remind us that since the shift from temporary migration to permanent settlement, immigrants have some interest in political life (104). Yet today there is no country that accept the immigrants' right to vote on a national level. On the local level, a few countries (e.g. Sweden, the Netherlands) have recognised the municipal voting right. Moulier-Boutang underlines the imbalances which stem from the lack of 'true representation' of foreign workers (105). First of all, immigrants who have no voting right at local level can not defend their interests in society. Secondly, xenophobic movements can earn

votes without the risk of losing votes. Thirdly, politicians show more interest toward the problem of natives (e.g. education, housing) than the one's of immigrants. Fourthly, the foreign population who would have to vote constitutes about 12 per cent of the total vote in Europe. It is an important percentage in the European parliaments where the parliamentary representative systems are designed to be sensitive toward limited changes in the electoral body. Fifthly, the absence of representation also affects the structure of labour parties in Europe, since most of the foreigners are workers. Moreover, the second-generation immigrants who have been socialised in the receiving countries and are better integrated in society, can not vote either (106). Analysing the Australian example on socio-cultural adaptation, Appleyard remarks that "political participation is identified as a key issue in overcoming structural inequalities surrounding minority adaptation" (107). In sum, we may call the situation as *political-under-development* (as Moulrier-Boutang does) that may cause socio-economic turbulences.

The basic logic that prevents the political participation of immigrants in the receiving countries is the status of citizenship. Most of the receiving countries (with the exception of the USA) apply the rule of *jus sanguinis* (line of descent) instead of *jus soli* (place of birth) in their citizenship policies. They simply relate the right of vote with the citizenship status. On the one hand, Raymond Aron argues that it is impossible to reach the idea of 'European citizenship', since the existence of the huge number of immigrants in Europe (108). On the other hand, Abadan-Unat is talking about the emergence of 'secondary citizenship' during the 1980s. It simply means that "participation in some social and economic areas of daily life such as work, school or church. It can be also defined as political

participation in non-political institutions" (109). In the final analysis, most of the scholars agree that citizenship status is a requirement for full application of immigrants' civil, economic and political rights (110).

Another issue relates with immigrants' place in the receiving society is the governmental policies of assimilation, integration or multi-culturalism. Hoffmann-Nowotny argues that Europeans try to integrate immigrants without assimilation (111). There are three main application in that process. The first is called 'two-fold integration' (112) that based on partly integration in the receiving society, but maintenance of links with home country. Germany is being showed as an example for that kind of policy. However, inconsistent governmental policies have played an important role in the German case (113). First, immigrant flows were restricted. After the family reunion, during the 1970s, integration came to the fore in response to the settlement process. Since the beginning of the 1980s, return migration has been tried to encouraged (114). The second model is the assimilation policy which is mainly applied by Switzerland. The logic behind this policy is that immigrants should be absorbed and become indistinguishable from the indigenous society (115). The last policy is cultural pluralism (or multiculturalism) that argues that cultural pluralism contributes to the unity in the country, instead of leading conflicts (e.g. in the Netherlands, in Sweden). Nevertheless, multiculturalism should be based on equal cultural, social and economic rights. If it based on the 'minority rights', then ethnic ghettos are inescapable (116). However, "in practice... Western European countries really have no choice: they have to integrate those who are there" (117). They should recognise the rule *jus soli* in their citizenship policies (118).

Immigrants have an effect on the social and political structure of the sending countries too. They, first of all, constitute lobbies in receiving countries in favour of sending countries (e.g. Jews in the USA). Lobbies intensify relationship between the two countries. Sending countries support ethnic and religious entities in order to obtain prestige in the world of nations (119). However, the emergence of diasporas does not always mean good news for the sending, nor the receiving countries. Abadan-Unat argues that "the deprivation of political rights of migrant workers in a host country creates excessive political polarization among the minority groups" (120): they either become apolitic, or they are extremely interested in politics. Migrant communities may organise and mobilise themselves in the receiving countries in order to realise secessionist or fundamentalist claims. The Sikh secessionists in the United Kingdom, the Cuban refugees in Florida (121), the Kurdish secessionist in Europe (122) are some examples. Moreover, Abadan-Unat underlines the possible relationship between the independence movements in Croatia and Slovenia and the Yugoslav migrant communities in Germany (123).

In sum, migrants are participating both in the social life of the sending and receiving countries in one way or another. The rights they obtain, and the restrictions they face constitute a complex totality. There are disharmony and imbalances in policies that are applied by governments. This is also the case in the international scene that will be analysed in the next chapter.

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V. CHANGING INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

"Whether the elephants make war or make love, it is the grass that suffers"

Swahili proverb

As it was mentioned previously, international migration has a political dimension beside its social and economic aspects. It has been witnessed during last decade that there is an interaction between international political structure and international migration flows. Both regional conflicts after the end of the Cold War and the disintegration process in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries have caused huge scales of population movements. In this framework, the demarcation line between the concepts of migrant and refugee is blurred. Nowadays, most of the asylum seekers have economic anxieties much more than the fear of persecution. Thus, earlier institutional regulation initiatives became meaningless in most of the cases. International law so far has not developed adequate and detailed concepts and regulations concerning international migration. In this chapter, structural political changes in the global system and their interactions with international migration movements will be analysed.

A. END OF THE COLD WAR

The developments which took place in the last five to six years led to significant structural changes in the international arena. The most important one on which nearly all scholars agree is the end of the Cold War. Indeed, this era came to an end in Paris, in November 1990, when the leaders of NATO and Warsaw Pact came together and declared that they were no longer adversaries (1). But, what was the Cold War actually? What has changed with its end? How did its collapse affected international migration movements? These are the main questions which we will try to answer in this chapter.

There are - at least - two ways of using the term "Cold War". The general usage, it was the period, beginning after the end of the Second World War, and in which two superpower were rival and a bipolar international system was dominant. Superpower, simply, refers to a country "possessing the will and the capability to alter events throughout the international system" (2). A bipolar international system refers to a situation where two rivals are superpowers "to which all other states were obliged to relate their security purposes" (3). There are two main views on that usage. On the one hand, some scholars argue that there are two periods of the Cold War. The first is the original one between the late 1940s to the early 1950s. "Some, however, see the Cold War in its classic phase continuing until the beginning of a more formal *détente*, in the late 1960s" (4). According to this view, the Second Cold War began in the late 1970s, and continued until the late 1980s (5). On the other hand, some scholars argue that by the 1970s, the era of high bipolarity ended, and the authorisation of Washington and Moscow upon their followers began to shrink. They tended to

call the era after 1970 as the post-war era" (6). The second usage of the term Cold War refers to the rivalry of political systems -that began in 1917- "to implant or impose their own systems beyond their borders" (7). However, leftist scholars are opposing this classification. Wallerstein argues that there were no socialist system in the economy, since there is only one system: capitalist world-economy (8). Kaldor recognises the existence of two political systems, but he calls them *Atlanticism* and *post-Stalinism*. Moreover, he argues that these two systems were not in conflict but were complementary. "Both needed the other. Both required high levels of military spending and a permanent external threat. The existence of each provided a legitimisation for the other" (9).

It has been argued that the Cold War successfully transformed a violent Europe into a peaceful one with its bipolar structure (10). There were four factors that maintained peace (11): the bipolar distribution of military power; equal military forces between the two poles; existence of nuclear arsenal in both sides; and decrease of nationalism. However, in the same period, the Third World countries have witnessed over 140 conflicts in which over twenty million people were died (12). So, the Cold War era was not a peaceful one for most of the world.

In its both usage, the Cold War ended since one of the poles (as a superpower or as a political ideological system) has collapsed. The Soviet Union does not exist anymore. Its place has been taken by the Commonwealth of Independent States which was founded on December 22, 1991, in the capital of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata (13). Realists argue that the Cold War actually ended in autumn of 1989 (14). Wallerstein states that "the 1968 revolution" changed the cultural-ideological realities of the world-system (15); and since the 1970s, there

were four centers (namely the USA, the EC, Japan, and the USSR) that share the world surplus (16). Today, indeed, we are not living in a bipolar world system anymore. New concentration of power is emerging and represents a transformation on a global structure. This new world is called a multipolar one (17). It has been argued that the multipolar system is much more vulnerable to violence, since the power inequalities invite war by increasing the potential for successful aggression (18). It is also argued that by the end of Cold War, history has come to the end (19). Or was it the end of ideology ? (20). But, what were the real changes in the international political system?

The changes which took place in the international arena are the results of two main factors (21): (a) in the long term, there is a shift in the distribution of power within the international system (decaying roles of superpowers; emergence of Japan and Europe into rivals of the USA). Toffler argues that the key-factor in global power struggle is knowledge (22); (b) in short term, transformation processes within the ex-Second World and the break-up of the South have been affecting world politics. The bipolar world system has turned into multipolar one; ideologies left their place to pragmatism; the line between the internal and international politics has withered away; arms races between the ex-blocs turns into arms reduction, but proliferation of nuclear and conventional arms has come to the agenda; a relatively 'peaceful' era has been replaced by local conflicts, even in Europe. These developments suggest that the world is on the edge of a new historical epoch (23).

Similar as once Frederick the Great characterised the Holy Roman Empire as neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire, Blight and Weiss argue that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "was neither a union, nor socialist nor Soviet

nor, even, a collection of ostensible republics (24). Moreover Wallerstein suggests that Marxism, in the second half of the twentieth century, was the official state doctrine, instead of being an oppositional doctrine as it had been in the nineteenth century (25). In one way or another, the CIS is trying to establish market-mechanism, democratic and pluralistic political system, mixture ownership, and the ideology of materialism and individualism (26). After the collapse of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, the two Germany were reunited. So, Germany has become the major power in Europe (27). Frank says, "the Cold War is over-and Japan and German have won!" (28). System theorists analyse the 'superstructure' of the capitalist world- economy by the institutional vortex in which (states, peoples, classes, and households) interact one another. Then, they suggest that the structural developments are the result of old-systems and anti-systemic movements (29). The "1968 revolution" has been shown as the beginning of the anti-systemic movements (30). Table 17 shows the old-systems and anti-systemic movements in the world politics. Finally, at the brink of new era in the world history, international migratory flows have become the case in every part of modern international society. Most of the states have faced with the challenge of the necessity of balancing the migratory flows in practice and human (or migrant) rights in theory (31).

Then, what is the *new world order*? It is a disorder rather than a new order (at least for today). Frank insists on the beginning of the *Third World War* with the Gulf War. He argues that the Gulf War was between the poor South and the rich North: "(N)ow, West-West cold conflicts are also to be transmuted, as in the Gulf War against Iraq, into the ever existing North-South conflict and into Third World War at the expense of Third World peoples on Third World soil" (32).

Table 18 - Net Rate of Emigration from the Second World, 1946-1982

	total number of emigrants in thousands
East Germany	3,365
Bulgaria	431
Hungary	332
Poland	1,877
Romania	424
Czechoslovakia	1,973
USSR	500
total	8,902

source: Chesnais, 1991, p.6.

Mearsheimer, also, is warning us about the increased chances of war and major crises in Europe (33). Moreover, it should be noted that market-led proliferation of weapons-systems continue (34). The outburst of nationalism and ethnic violence throughout the Second and Third Worlds came to the fore by the end of Cold War (35). According to Weiner, there are eight kinds of ethnic and religious demands that lead to conflict (36): irredentism; secessionism or separatism; autonomy; interest group claims; ethnic corporatism; nativism; hegemonic claims; and fundamentalism. Moreover, there are two main reasons in which internal conflict turns into international one: in the first case, irredentist or secessionist claims may obtain support from outside the state in which they are located; in the second case, internal conflict may turn into international one because of the refugees (37). Similarly, Anderson argues that the long distance nationalists (especially in the core countries) support nationalist movements in the periphery. As far as immigrants carry their human characteristics (e.g. beliefs and habits), they create the diasporas abroad. Moreover, mass communications made it possible for them to keep in touch with their home country relatively easily. So, by the ways of mass migrations and mass communications, they create long distance nationalism (e.g. Ukrainians in Toronto, Tamils in Melbourne, Croats in Sydney, Jews in New York) (38). Actually, this is a two dimensional issue. On one hand, transnationalism has been growing inescapably due to technological developments and the globalization of capitalist economy. Scholars call this process the globalization of the world (39). On the other hand, nationalism is becoming stronger in most of the world. "Instead of global village, there are villages around the globe more aware of each other. That, in turn, increases the opportunities for conflict" (40).

Today, post-modernists suggest that there will be no need or place for nuclear arsenals. According to them, in world politics, values will be superior to wants; and international responsibilities will be superior to national interests (41). It is apparent that the USA is still a superpower in military terms. However, it seems more likely that there are three economic poles are emerging: the USA, Japan and the EC (42). One can argue that the world will be multipolar in the new era. Nevertheless, the fate of this era principally depends on the ability of cooperation among the members of it (43). The West should help the former Second World not only because of the ideological reasons, but also for capitalist market opportunities. In the case of failure in the transformation process, it may cause instability in both the global market and the world political structure (44). Frank argues that the 'new world order' "is like as Thucydides characterise once, where the large and powerful take what they want, while the small and weak relinquish what they must" (45). It has been argued that, there are two divided worlds in the globe: in the core, economic interdependence and political cooperation are in the rule; while in the periphery chaos [that is mainly exported from the core (46)] and dependence to the core are valid (47).

In sum, we live in a world where the importance of the global diasporas is increasing; refugee flows have an impact on the process of internationalisation of conflicts; globalization of communications has an increasing impact on internal conflicts; global market of small arms has grown up due to secessionist conflicts; and internal and international topics are intertwined (48). Especially, migratory flows have gained a new impetus in this context. Even before the first shot is fired, tens of thousands of people may flee from the regions where they live permanently because of the regional conflicts (49). In Europe, for instance,

refugee flows has come to the agenda with the Albanian and Yugoslavian refugees in the 1990s. At Maastricht, the EC member states agreed to coordinate their immigration policies "more closely and, in particular, to establish a common visa policy by 1996" (50). However, it is dubious whether the EC states would give equal statutes to immigrant from different places (e.g. from Ghana and from Poland) as far as the Helsinki process foresees (51). The world order -or disorder- after the Cold War is a *sui generis* one that has been not completed yet.

B. THE COLLAPSE OF THE 'SECOND WORLD' (EAST-WEST MIGRATION)

The term 'East-West migration' is one of the Euro-centric terms in the field of international relations. The East refers to Central and Eastern European countries, and the former Soviet Union that used to be ruled by centrally planned economies (generally called the Second World). The West refers to developed capitalist countries of Europe. Migratory flows from the East to the West have a long history that turns back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are several obstacles in the way of analysing East-West migration. The first one is the " paucity of data" (52). Secondly, most of the Eastern European countries have not experienced modern national development. Every single country has a different number and size of ethnic minorities. So, this is a complex area. Moreover, there is a difficulty in classifying migration movements. There are different definitions of migrant; and migration policies are differential too.

During the twentieth century, there were huge number of population transfers among the European countries. Only during the Second World War, 60

Table 17 - Old Systems versus Anti-systemic Movements in World Politics

<u>Place</u>	<u>Old-System</u>	<u>Anti-systemic Movements</u>
First World	social-democracy	environmentalism, feminism, anti-nuclear protesters
Second World	communism	anti-bureaucratic, democratic movements
Third World	nationalism	fundamentalist religious movements

source: Taylor, 1991, pp.399-400.

million civilians were affected by the war time migrations in Europe (53). However, in the Cold War era, East-West migration flows were limited by restricted policies (54). The former Soviet government, for an instance, used to control even internal migration by the way of *propiska* that was the certification of a permanent place of residence and job (55). Emigration from the USSR was being regarded as betrayal and a crime against the state and the socialist homeland. "So, emigration is an ethnic privilege, restricted to certain groups used for bartering purposes in East- West negotiations" (56). In other words, emigrants were one of the instruments of constructing relations between the superpowers (57). Table 18 indicates that some of 500,000 Soviet people were allowed to emigrate in the period of 1946-1982. Reforms in migration policies have begun in 1976 with the CSCE procedure. The West attacked the USSR all through the CSCE process for its non-exit policy. "The Jackson-Vanik amendment adopted by the USA Congress in 1974 linked the possible expansion of USA trade with the USSR to Soviet willingness to let Jews emigrate" (58). Since the mid of the 1980s, with Mr. Gorbachev and his policy called *perestroika*, emigration from the USSR has been accelerated.

Today, migration movements gained a new impetus just because the collapse of central authority internationalised what previously counted as internal migration. Potential emigration from Eastern Europe and the former USSR is numbered in millions (59). This scale has not been observed since the end of the Second World War (60). In Yugoslavia and the USSR, internal migration turned into international migration, and the line between them is blurred (61). Present time is marked by opposite trends to war periods and the periods of totalitarian regimes. Military and political interferences were weakened and totalitarian

regimes declined. Today, the major issues in East-West migration are related to the importance of ethnicity, to conflicts and east-east migration (mainly caused because of national conflicts and economic collapses), and to different opportunities for migration stemming from ethnic privileges (62).

Structural changes which took place in the former Soviet Union has led to increased migratory flows (63). In general, emigration shows the structure of a country and the extent to which political, socio-economic, and national problems have been solved. The Soviet case is an example for this argument with its 400,000 emigrants in 1990, and 1991 (64). Liberalisation in migration policies have exercised a remarkable impact on flows. Moreover, Soviet regime sought to gain the *most favoured nation* status from the USA and obtaining more loans and assistance from the West by opening up this door. Beside the restructured migration policy, several other reasons should be cited in relation to these migration movements (65): informative developments, travelling facilities and chain migration, ecological disasters, economic crisis, political instability, national disputes and so on. However, it is more suitable to categorise these factors into three main groups: economic, socio-political and national.

Emigration from the former USSR is directly related with the rate of unemployment. In 1991, there were two million registered unemployed people. Different data foresee 20 to 27 million unemployeed by the year 1992, and 30 to 40 million by 1994 (66). Unemployment causes the emigration of mostly young people. Moreover, the economic crisis leads to under-payment for skilled jobs. Emigrants can find jobs in the West in four main areas (67): normal works (e.g. skilled factor works); project-tied works (which is known as *Werkvertrag* in Germany); seasonal works; and frontier works (where migrants work in a

neighbouring country but return home regularly). Western states have rigid restrictions for Soviet migrants. However, they are flexible in the case of cheap-high-skilled labour force which represents brain drain.

There is chaos and instability in Soviet society in general. It is difficult (if not impossible) to create cultural and national economies for each separate community in the short term. There are obstacles on the way of establishing a national and a state structure. For an instance, most of the 'independent states' have not regulated their citizenry and passport systems yet. Russians are in every corner of the former Soviet Union. They make up 18 per cent of the total population of non-Russian republics (68). On the one hand, Baltics are initiate to regulate citizenship in order to control the immigration of Russians. On the other hand, "Central Asia elites far from seeking to prevent the entry of Russians are concerned to prevent their massive and sudden exodus. In Central Asia, Russians are occupying technical-skilled jobs; and their emigration may cause disruptions in some sectors" (69). A solution can only be achieved on the compromise between nation-building and minority rights.

Nationalist movements are important factors that are shaping migratory movements in the former Second World. The USSR had some 200 ethnic groups, but only 15 republics and 38 autonomous zones (70). Today, more than 65 million people live outside their own ethnic territory (71). Inter-ethnic and inter-state conflicts are constantly encouraging emigration from former USSR, and are provoking inter-regional migrations, especially in the Transcaucasia. Over 85,000 Osetians have fled to North Osetia as far back September 1991. This figure amounted to more than half the Osetians living in Georgia before the refugee movement began. Approximately 75 per cent of them were women and

children (72). It is difficult to obtain reliable figures on migration to and from Nogorno-Karabakh. However, by late 1990, Azerbaijani refugees estimated over 200,000 (73). Meanwhile, Gagaus leave Moldavia, Tartars leave Crimea because of ethnic disputes (74). In all, researchers had by December 1991 counted more than 160 border disputes in the former USSR (75).

Furthermore, German and Jewish minorities tend to leave the CIS. "Germany and Israel offer automatic citizenship rights to their ethnic (or ethno-religious) brethren abroad" (76). Out-migration of Germans from both Eastern Europe and the USSR was around 50,000 per annum, in the period of 1950-1988. However, this numbers reached to 150,000 in 1990 and 1991 (77). Today, there are two million ethnic Germans still living in the former USSR (78), who *de jure* have the right to emigrate (79). The number of Jews who intend to leave the former USSR is around one and half million (80). The emigration of Jews *en masse* may jeopardise the *demokratizatsiya* and the reform programmes since most of them are highly educated and skilled professionals (81). Current USA policy that aims to end the Israeli settlement in the occupied territories may become more understandable from this point.

Another dimension of the East-West migration is related with the receiving (Western) countries. Contrary to the East, in the West international migration is becoming internal one. EC member states have been trying to obtain common visa policies towards non-EC citizens since the Dublin Convention of June 1990 (82). Nevertheless, there are two challenges they faced (83). On the one hand, there are ill-integrated immigrants from the South. On the other hand, there is huge demand of immigration from the East. Comparing France and Germany, Manfrass argues that the EC countries have different conditions and

priorities concerning the immigration policy. So, definition of a common migratory policy is too difficult to reach in the near future (84). Today, it is the fact that they apply very restricted policies; and stress on the difference between the right to travel and the right to settle in another country (85).

In sum, migration movements from the East to the West have speeded up. Around seven to twenty million people are thinking to leave the former Second World in order to get a better standard of living (86). Moreover, another possibility indicates that there may be huge numbers of migrant from the Middle Asian states to other Muslim countries because of possible economic crises (87). "The continuation of East-West migration in the future will depend above all outcome of the economic, social and political reforms under way in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe" (88). Several conclusions may be drawn from this analysis of East-West migration. First of all, liberal migration regulation caused a danger both for the CIS and for the West: the country might within a short time lose a sizeable portion of its intellectual elite, skilled workers and young people that will jeopardise future reforms. Secondly, current regional migration processes will undoubtedly deepen political and economic instability. Thirdly, we may witness refugee or returnee problems among the CIS: there is no respective infrastructure and above all there is no roof over the head, food, and jobs for them. Fourthly, economic conditions in many former Second World countries do not seem to improve quickly. Thus, one of the greatest challenges that Europe is going to face is that the advent of free movement of persons in the EC will also produce a similar increase in immigration. This will be the dilemma of the West that has been pleading for decades for freedom to emigrate.

C. REFUGEES

Refugees have an old history that turns back to the existence of mankind (89). It is an old problem with new dimensions. In the twentieth century, we witnessed three refugee crisis (90). The first crisis raised out of conventional wars in Europe. The second crisis had two dimensions. Until the 1970s, the main refugee flow which appeared in Europe, moved from East to West (91). During the Cold War era, most of the refugee flows were created by superpower rivalry in local conflicts; and it had been believed that refugees "vote with their feet" (92). However, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed dramatic flows of refugees in some of the poorest part of the world. In this period, the direction of the flows were from the Third World to the Third World. Today, we live the third refugee where refugees are coming from the Second and Third Worlds to the West, while intra-Third World and intra-Second World flows are continuing. According to the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951) and the 1967 Protocol, a refugee is a person who "owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (93). However, this definition is not adequate for interpreting the realities in the 1990s (94). First of all, the notion of *well founded fear of persecution* is very flexible; and mainly based on the Western view of Soviet-style communist repression in the 1950s (95). Moreover, the Convention

Table 19
 Refugees and Asylum Seekers Granted
 Permanent USA Resident Status, by
 Selected Countries of Birth and
 Assumed Reason for Departure, 1981-1987

Country	No	Reason for Departure
Vietnam	260,626	Recent Communist takeover
Laos	110,759	Recent Communist takeover
Cambodia	94,442	Recent Communist takeover
Cuba	89,743	Opposition to consolidated Communist regime
Soviet Union	38,214	Opposition to consolidated Communist regime
Poland	21,902	Opposition to consolidated Communist regime
Romania	20,246	Opposition to consolidated Communist regime
Czechoslovakia	5,517	Opposition to consolidated Communist regime
Afghanistan	15,599	Civil war against pro-Communist or leftist regime
Ethiopia	14,723	Civil war against pro-Communist or leftist regime
Nicaragua	2,217	Civil war against pro-Communist or leftist regime
Iran	23,062	Opposition to religious fundamentalist regime
Iraq	6,940	Persecution of religioethnic and political minorities
Syria	3,254	Persecution of religioethnic and political minorities
Haiti	4,511	Opposition to right-wing military regime
Chile	896	Opposition to right-wing military regime
El Salvador	770	Civil war against pro-USA regime

Source : Porfes & Rumbaut, 1990, P.244.

ignores the refugees *en masse* (96). Thus, there are definitional and conceptual problems arising from the recent masses of refugees (97). Today, "it is less clear who are the victims, what are their rights and legitimate expectations" (98). In the Yugoslavian case, there is no clear (accepted) distinction between the internal and external displacement (99). Today, states may reject asylum applications just because there is no third country who may accept these people (100). Beyond the definitional problems (who is a refugee?), there is a political one (who decides?) (101). Foreign policy concerns of certain states have guided their refugee policies (102). Especially in the stages of decision making and relief working, the political dimension is came to the fore (103)(see Table 19).

Indeed, international law makes a distinction between ordinary migrants and political refugees (104). Principally, economic migrants are not refugees. However, currently, immigrants who are fleeing from economically depressed regions may misuse the refugee system (105). In that point, the right to seek asylum is used. Most of the Western governments tend to denounce most of the refugees as mere economic migrants, and restrict their entrance (106). Furthermore, by the 1990s, the concept of *economic refugees* has begun to be applied. Economic refugee is an "involuntary migrant or a person who is forced to move involuntarily due to move based on desire to improve his/her level of welfare" (107). Today, there is a blurred line in between political and economic refugees. The distinction between the two in international law is inadequate. In the case of denouncement of applications, several Western countries grant applicants B-status which means the right for temporary residence without granting rights that should be obtained to refugees. B- status varies from country

Table 20 - Refugees and Asylum Seekers Registered by the UNHCR,
as of December 1991

Africa	5,340,800
East Asia/Pacific	688,500
Europe & North America	677,700
Latin America & the Caribbean	119,600
Middle East & South Asia	9,820,950
Total	16,647,550

source: World Refugee Survey, 1992, pp.32-33.

to country and people who obtained B-status are expected to return home or leave for third countries as soon as possible (108).

Another principle that is mostly overlooked is the *non-refoulement*. It is the duty of state not to "expel or return (*refouler*) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (109). States mostly do not obey this principle by claiming applicants as a danger to security of the country. The USA, for an instance, sent back 28,000 Haitian boat-people in 1991 (110).

In order to refrain from these definitional and conceptual limitations, both the Organisation of African Unity (with the Refugee Convention of 1969) and the Organisation of American States (with Cartagena Declaration of 1985) accepted more liberal definition of a refugee. According to them, a refugee is a person who flees from external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights, or other events that have seriously disturbing public order (111).

It is possible to summarise the basic aspects of the contemporary refugee flows into four point (112). First, the increase in the number of refugees has been accelerated. According to the UNHCR, there were 12 million refugees in 1988 (113). This number has reached around 16,6 million by the end of 1991 (see Table 20). It is possible to add 2,5 million Palestinian refugees under UNRWA mandate and 14 million displaced persons to this figure (114). The increase in number may be more understandable if it is reminded that this figure was 6 million in 1951 (115). Secondly, over 80 per cent of refugees are concentrated in Asia and Africa (116). Only 5 per cent of them are in Europe (117). Today, ethnic

conflicts are internationalised through refugee flows (118). In 1992, there were 38 continuing civil wars that in most of them refugee flows arose (119). Only in the Yugoslavian civil war, there were over 3 million displaced people; approximately 600,000 of them flew to the other European countries at the beginning of 1993 (120). Thirdly, millions of people live in camps or another irregular places outside their countries, but are not legally recognised as refugee. The large scale of refugees move for settlement and, thus, tend to turn into migrants. Nef called this situation as "the refugee crisis" (121) since the demarcation line between migrant and refugee is tending to wither away. For example, the so called *secret migration* from Bulgaria to Turkey (after the mass flows in 1989) has resulted in 140,000 persons who entered but did not return to their home (122). Estimates of the Iranian exile population in Turkey (considered as tourists by law) continue to range as high as one million (123). Finally, organised transnational programmes play an important role in regulating refugee flows and in the relief works. Beside the institutions of the UN, ICEM (International Committee for European Migration), The International Red Cross, American Catholic Relief Service, World Council of Churches, and several organisations that are not mentioned here, are working on this subject (124).

Superpower rivalry, and regional conflicts and civil wars have been the main causes for refugee movements during the Cold War (125). Other reasons may be added for the 1980s, such as globalized world economy and the growing disparity between the developed and underdeveloped countries (126), ethnic conflicts (127), nationalism, foreign intervention, arms sales, human rights violations, unchecked demographic growth (128), government incompetence and corruption, environmental degradation, famine, draught, and other national

disasters (129), and so on. Beside these general reasons, the 1990s witnessed specific events that created refugee flows: such as the collapse of the Second World, changes in borders and creation of new states, the Gulf War, the Yugoslavian civil war, return of refugees in South Africa, famine and anarchy in the Horn of Africa (130).

One more point should be underlined here that the 1980s witnessed the new class of displaced people: *environmental refugees*. The protracted draught (in sub-Saharan Africa), flooding (in Bangladesh), deforestation (in the South), and industrial pollution (in the North), have forced people to move to other places (131). There are 10 million eco-refugees today. According to the Red Cross Committee, this figure may reach to one billion by the year 2000 (132).

The refugee problem carries a *sui generis* characteristic at the beginning of the new decade. It is neither only a problem of developed countries (as it was during the conventional wars in Europe), nor of the underdeveloped world (as it was during the last three decades). It is a global problem that needs a global solution. It is a problem that may threaten peace at the global level such as drugs, terrorism, AIDS, and pollution (133). Widgren argues that the key word on the subject of contemporary refugee movements in Europe is international terrorism (134). Refugees have an impact on international politics at different levels (e.g. decision making, human rights, economic development). At the current phase of structural changes, it is such a complex problem that neither international politics, nor international migration can be understood by ignoring it.

D. SOUTH - NORTH MIGRATION

The phrase 'South-North relations' was reportedly first used during the 1950s. Since then, the term has become as elastic as the relationship it describes has been turbulent. There is no clear division of South and North actually. By the North is usually meant the countries of the West, Japan and the former Soviet Union. By the South is usually meant the countries of Asia (except Japan), Africa and Latin America, Australia and New Zealand may be Southern in location but are counted as part of West. This is a distinction between industrialised, rich, developed countries and non-industrialised, poor, underdeveloped countries. There are not only economic criteria such as gross domestic product per capita, but also some social criteria like infant mortality, life expectancy, literacy in defining countries' membership to these groups. Therefore, South-North migration can not be simplified with geographical oriented direction from South to North (135).

Since the last decade, there has been an apparent increase in migration flows from the South to the North. Of course, it is not a one-way traffic. The flows from the North to the South is also operating as mentioned in previous chapters (throughout TNCs). However, the former is superior in number to the latter. For instance, approximately 85-90 per cent of immigrants who were received into the USA were from the South in the second half of the 1980s (136). Moreover, it is being argued that the push factors not only continue to exist, but seems to be intensify currently (137).

It may be claimed that the increase in this flow can be considered as the complementary factor of other flows -like capital, goods, information- across

countries (138). Escobar-Navia argues that just as 19th and 20th centuries were characterized by the industrialisation and urbanisation, the next century will be characterized by internationalisation (139). It is the fact that international migration movements play an important role in this globalization process. However, this issue is much more complex than an *internationalisation* process. Indeed, poverty, the lack of job opportunities, environmental disasters, violations of human rights, regional conflicts, uneven population explosion and the diffusion of mass media are equally contributing to migratory movements (140). Moreover, today, there is a competition between the South and Eastern European countries to filter into the North (141).

One of the most important dimensions of the South-North migration is the *brain drain* movement. It is a negative element in development process of the South. For example, approximately 500,000 Argentine scientists and research workers are living abroad today (142). Furthermore, in most of the case these flows occur illegally or by way of asylum (143).

It seems that the South-North migration flows will continue in the 1990s, unless the economic bifurcation between them would be engulfed. Thus, it will not be possible to deal with international migration movements by undermining the South-North flows.

E. INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

International regulations concerning international migration are stem from the efforts in the field of human rights. Human rights take on a specific dimension for

men and women who leave one country, most often their country of origin, to settle in another. Migrants generally find themselves in a weak position: their departure is almost due to insufficient resources and the hope of a better economic future, or to the political insecurity connected with public life in the country they have left. In the host country, they have only limited rights if they are not integrated into the society. Their status as human beings calls for a special effort on the part of the international community.

Discussions on the protection of migrants is mainly oriented on the rights of citizens and of aliens (144). However, the difference between the ordinary alien (who is an individual investing in a foreign country for profit) and migrant worker (who is labouring under difficult conditions) should be underlined (145). One of the most important obstacles in the path of setting regulations and norms is conceptual inconsistency. "While hundreds of national definitions of migrant can be listed, it is impossible to come across a definition that is universally recognized" (146). Moreover, currently, the demarcation line between migrant workers and irregulars (or even refugees) is blurred, although the status of each is different before the international norms and regulations.

Regulations have not been institutionalised yet. So, the governmental applications are only based on good-will (147). In other words, the control of the application of international norms mostly end where the sovereignty of nation-states begins. The role of international instruments on protecting the rights of migrants is limited (148). For instance, Germany and Switzerland are focusing on migrants as 'guest workers' or 'temporary workers'. They claim that they are not countries of immigration. Parallel to this argument, they do not amend their legislations in order to obtain migrants' rights for de facto migrants.

Table 21 - Instruments Concerning International Migration

A. UNIVERSAL OR QUASI-UNIVERSAL NORM CREATION

1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
2. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)
3. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
4. International Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951)
5. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966)
6. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)
7. International Convention on the Rights of the Children (1989)
8. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
9. UN Resolutions
10. ILO Norms

B. REGIONAL EFFORTS

1. Arab Countries on Labour Standards (1967)
2. American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man (1948)
3. Cartagena Committee (1977)
4. The European Convention on Human Rights (1950)
5. The European Social Charter (1961)

C. BILATERAL NORM CREATION

Furthermore, receiving countries discriminate migrants coming from the Third World countries (149).

There are three levels in which the conventional international norms are regulated : bilateral, regional, universal (see Table 21). These instruments (concerning international migration) mainly begin with the definition of the migrant. Then, general rules concerning entry and residence (e.g. recruitment, freedom of movement, family reunion) are determined. The third step contains the rules concerning work, conditions of work and social, economic and cultural rights. Civil and political rights follow it. Finally, norms about expulsion are regulated. Most of the instruments carry this context (150).

The "International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families" (151), adopted by the UN General Assembly, has been opened for signature on December 18, 1990. It is the new and remarkable instrument in the path of the protection of the rights of migrants. The basic purposes of the Convention are : (a) to unify the body of law applicable to migrant workers; (b) to complement it with other instruments; (c) to improve the distinctive situation of migrant workers and their families; and (d) to reduce clandestine trafficking (152). There are nine definitions of migrant worker that are included in the Convention: migrant worker, frontier worker, seasonal worker, seafarer, worker on an offshore installation, itinerant worker, project-tied worker, specified-employed worker and self-employed worker (153). Nevertheless, at least in three points the Convention limits the existing rights of migrants (154). First of all, the special situation of undocumented workers are questionable. Article 68 calls for collaboration among participants to prevent and *eliminate* illegal or clandestine movements. Thus, the Convention turns into a

convention for *documented workers* rather than *all*. Secondly, Article 10 ignores additional provision against medical or scientific experimentation without consent that is included in the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights. Finally, Article 43 overlooks the protection of an adequate standard of living that is included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In sum, international regulations concerning international migration have a long way to go. They are still in the stage of infancy. Their norms should be institutionalised in order to reach standard practice.

Notes for Chapter V

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VI. CONCLUSION

Today, international migration movements occupy an important place both in quality and quantity in the international political structure. Approximately seventy million people are working in other countries. More than one million people move to other countries permanently; and close to that number seek asylum each year (1). Europe has become a leading area of immigration for its 850,000 intakes each year in the 1980s (2). There are 8.2 million legal immigrants in the EC (and some estimated 2 million illegals). The USA is receiving estimated 135,000 illegals only from Mexico. Around 750,000 Asians move to the Gulf each year (3). Potential for international migration is extremely high and increasing. This potential has not been seen since the Second World War. It is argued that uncontrolled, large-scale international migration is threatening social cohesion, international solidarity, and peace at the global level (4). "Migration pressure is much higher today and increasing, both because the demand for migration has been increasing and because the supply of migration opportunities much more restricted today" (5). The key-words of job creation and social integration in evaluating international migration during the 1960s and the 1970s, are replaced by humanitarian responsibility by the 1980s (6). Acceleration, globalization and regionalization have been the main characteristics of international migratory movements since the last decade (7).

In such circumstances, the necessity of analysing international migration at the global level becomes more apparent. As it mentioned before, theoretical

studies in this field go back to the mid nineteenth century. However, none of the existing theories are able to assess international migration in all its dimensions. Different theories approach the subject from different angles. There are conceptual and purposal disagreements among them. Furthermore, changes in the nature of international migration make them inadequate. For instance, today no one can easily defend the *melting -pot ideal*, since the enclave model is much more explanatory. A general theory should include economic, social, political, cultural dimensions of migration both in sending and receiving areas together with their historical roots. This could be perhaps constructed by using the neo-Marxist approach together with enclave theory.

Technological change has been a key factor in determining international migratory flows both in quality and quantity. Developments which took place eased the migratory flows, but at the same time changed the production relations. Knowledge became the most important commodity. Labour became a global phenomenon like capital. Automation process changed the quality of labour from physical to mental. Qualified people have always had a high degree of international mobility. However, the flows of highly-skilled workers among core areas, and through TNCs are increasing. Similarly, the demand for unskilled is continuing in the global centers (in the framework of dual market), and in the semi-peripheral areas (since mass production is being continued there). Developments in the fields of information and transformation technology changed the nature of international migratory flows. Mass-media is affecting and shaping our life, our ideas and our values. Information makes people more aware what is going around the world. Transportation makes easy to move from one point to another. The result is the movement of masses!

Interactions between the international migration and social structures have come to the agenda world-wide. First the *sub-proletariat* divided the unity of working class in receiving countries. In sending countries' values, consumption behaviours and social status have changed. Secondly, women began to participate in the production process much more than in previous times. This development affected their social status in different ways, but did not change the exploitation mechanism applied on them. Thirdly, settlement process created minorities in receiving societies. The emergence of such ethnic or cultural defined groups are closely related to the topics of discrimination, xenophobia and terrorism. Finally, the application of the rule of *jus sanguinis* instead of *jus soli* create social strains. It seems that these strains will not end unless immigrants gain their political rights next to their civil and social rights.

The end of the Cold War, the increase of regional conflicts and the collapse of the Second World have caused the growing numbers of migratory and refugee movements. Moreover, intensified unevenness between the South and the North created mass movements during the last decade. International regulations dealing with these movements have become inefficient. The results are as follows: firstly, international relations helped to shape international migration. Bilateral, regional and multilateral relations and regulations do affect migratory flows. The *Bracero program* between the USA and Mexico regulated migratory movements in the period of 1942-1964 (8). Conflicts between and among states may create migration and refugee movements as we witnessed in the Soviet-Afghan War, and later in the Gulf War. Foreign policies may also be directly employed to facilitate or restrain outflows. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment of 1974 was aiming to promote Jewish emigration from the former

Soviet Union (9). Similarly, Germany exerted political pressure on Turkey to discourage further emigration during the 1980s (10). Moreover, the heritage of imperial foreign policies has had an impact upon immigration flows to some European countries (e.g. the United Kingdom and France) after the Second World War (11). In certain circumstances, two neighbouring countries may close their borders and prevent possible flows (as it happened alongside the border between the former Soviet Union and China which is the longest border of the world) (12). Finally, international conventions, protocols or other agreements have an impact on migratory flows. For instance, the Convention on Migrant Workers and Their Families (1990) aims to eliminate illegal migration (13).

Secondly, international migration influences international relations. Mitchell points out that there are cases in which migration actions exerted a *feedback* effect: migration policy shape foreign dealings of the receiving country with a sending country (e.g. relations between the USA and Mexico; Germany and Turkey) (14). British government allows Sikh supporters of an independent Sikh state of Khalistan to organize themselves in Britain. This affects British-Indian relationship negatively (15). Currently, European countries are in opposition to the full-membership of Turkey to the EC because of the fear of massive increase in migration, although they can not ignore the strategic military position of Turkey (16). In other words, the formulation of foreign policy is effected by the presence or possibility of international migration. International migration is directly related with strategic and security interests, economic interests, ideological and humanitarian interests of every single actors of international system (17). For example, the war between El Salvador and

Honduras in 1969 was organized with the help of illegal El Salvadorians in Honduras (18).

Finally, international migration may turn to a foreign policy instrument in some conditions. Mass migration flows may cause unarmed conquests or assertions of sovereignty. The Moroccan *Marche Verte* to the disputed territories of the Spanish Sahara in 1975 (19); and Israeli's settlement policy in the West Bank are examples of mass migrations as a tool of foreign policy. Similarly, the USA used to receive refugees from communist nations to embarrass or discredit them (20). Moreover, governments may see forced emigration a way of putting pressures on neighbouring states. The Haitian government, for instance, demands more economic aid from the USA in order to prevent massive emigration (21).

Today, international migration is at the scene with its all dimensions that is mentioned above. Predicting the future forces us to overview the previous developments. New population movements may take place because of the discovery of resources in new places or of new kind of resources as Tabbarah mentioned (22). However, it is very difficult to predict such discoveries. We only may define the contemporary patterns of international migration. We are experiencing the integration of the world economy (or incorporation of the world-economy) at present. On the one hand, some scholars underline the growing interdependence among the states in this process (23). On the other hand, neo-Marxists stress the difference between the *dependence* and *dependency* among members of international system (24). Dependence is the pattern of external reliance of well-integrated nation-states on one another through the globe. In that case, sources are available in different places, and

every member rely on another in certain extent. However, dependency involves a more complex set of relations centering on incorporation of less developed, less homogenous societies into the global division of labour. In that point, the magnitude of foreign supply of important factors of production (e.g. technology, capital) and limited development choices in the peripheral (underdeveloped) countries have been underlined. It can be said that there is an interdependence among industrialized countries. Nevertheless, at the global framework, dependency of the South (and the East in some extends) to the North is much more illustrative than interdependence among all nation-states, in evaluating international political structure (25).

Moreover, economic inequality between the North and the South is growing. The high rates of unemployment, difficulties in debt-servicing may increase the volume of migratory flows from the South to the North (26).

The demographic gap between developing and developed country is large and widening. "In industrialized countries declining fertility rates... will lead to smaller and smaller cohorts of young people . At the same time rising life expectancies will increase the numbers of elderly... Meanwhile, in developing countries, the labour force will be growing rapidly" (27). Today, eighty per cent of the people aged among 15 to 25 years are living in developing countries (28). In the next thirty years, more than 95 per cent of global population growth will be in these countries (29). Demographic factors alone may have limited significance. However, in combination with economic, social and political problems, they increase the pressures to international migration.

Lately, regional conflicts and other political disputes, environmental factors and technological developments go hand in hand, and create migration

flows. Historical experiences show us structural changes in power relationship, resource distribution and population rates cause increases in international migration. We live in such conditions today. Thus, it seems that international migration will keep its place in the agenda of international politics in the next century.

Several solutions have been proposed for the problem of mass migration. Böhning, for instance, offers the quota policy (that aims to control the inflows); application of project-tied migration (that aims to regulate migration movements by specific assignments); application of training migration (that aims to enable migrants to pick up skills for employment in their home countries); and international aid to developing countries (as means of reducing emigration pressure) (30). Especially, in the context of the South-North migratory flows, the real problem is uneven development levels, not emigration. The solution bases on cooperation between them. Current military expenditures are over twenty-five times as large as all official development assistance to poor countries (31). Development is the only viable approach to resolving the North-South dilemma. Trade, debt-relief, investment and cooperative aid are the four aspects of this development (32). A policy of "closed borders" can not provide a durable solution for receiving countries. Migration is a process that develops its own dynamics. Thus, restrictions may change the type of migration, but they can not change the quantity.

Finally, one should not ignore that international migration involves people. In this context, only institutionalized and guaranteed civil, social and political rights of migrants may solve this problem. These initiatives require an analysis of international migration with its all dimensions, at the global level. This thesis may

not represent the totality of a theoretical explanation, but it is one step in that direction.

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