

# THE ▽ URBAN ▲ AGE

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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND CITIES

## The Age of International Migration

by Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller

The year 1994 has already witnessed many dramatic world events. Hardships for the people of Sarajevo continue despite the United Nations-sponsored cease fire. The conflict in the ruins of the former Yugoslavia has displaced over 4 million people, and less than 15 percent of the displaced have found refuge outside its battered boundaries. Many have sought precarious havens in besieged cities like Sarajevo and Tuzla. The fears of people seeking safety in these cities are heightened by the menace of further "ethnic cleansing"—the purposeful use of violence and terror to rid an area of an unwanted population. A continent away, brutal ethnic cleansing continues as the world watches horrifying scenes from Kigali and elsewhere in Rwanda, where as many as half a million people have lost their lives in inter-ethnic conflict.



Cities worldwide are increasingly affected by international migration.

Across the Atlantic, another kind of siege mentality has developed. Ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) promises to reduce unauthorized migration to the United States over the long run. But, in the short and medium term, it is unclear whether it will increase or reduce the illegal in-flow of migrants that has sparked caustic and polarizing debates. In any case, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service continues to enforce "Operation Hold the Line" along the border between the Mexican city of Ciudad Juarez and the United States city of El Paso, Texas. This effort has increased the number and concentration of border patrol agents to deter illegal entry into the United States from Mexico.

These, and many other global incidents, are directly linked to international migration and the central role of cities. They also illustrate the problems of people of diverse cultures and social conditions trying to live together. The last decade of the twentieth century and the first of the twenty-first are likely to be deemed "the age of migration."

International migration is not an invention of the late twentieth century—migrations have been part of human history from the earliest times. Over the past five hundred years, mass migrations have played a major role in colonialism, industrialization, urbanization, the emergence of nation-states, and the development of the capitalist world market. However, international migration has never been as pervasive, or as socio-economically and politically significant, as it is today. Never before has international migration seemed so pertinent to national security and so connected to conflict and disorder on a global scale. It is virtually certain that cities and nation-states around the world will be increasingly affected by international migration, either as receiving or sending areas, or both.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome your comments, thoughts, and suggestions on *The Urban Age*.

Editor:

Having just finished reading the Fall 1993 *Urban Age*, I felt compelled to write and tell you how fascinated I was with the article "The Bus-Driver's Syndrome in Buenos Aires." I look around my own environment and see that it is exactly right. In general, *The Urban Age* helps me understand how urbanization daily affects many situations in the world.

I eagerly await the Spring 1994 issue focusing on immigration, as many of the young people of Ethiopia think immigration is the key to wealth. In fact, there are two basic wishes for many young Africans: "I want to go to heaven, or to America."

*Israel Getachew  
West Harargha  
Ethiopia*

Editor:

I have read several issues of *The Urban Age*. What I like most about it is the thematic coverage of issues relating to urbanization.

I am currently working on a book on urban environment: *From Beijing to Delhi—A Review of the Issues in South Asian and Southeast Asian Cities*. Can your readers send me their studies on this subject for use in my research?

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## Editor's Note

This issue of *The Urban Age* explores linkages between the global trends of international migration and urbanization. International migration is a topic that generates energetic discussions and polarizing debates in nearly all cities of the world. This polarization often revolves around issues related to race and ethnicity, perceptions of differences, and fears of the unfamiliar.

Cities worldwide are becoming more eclectic and culturally diverse—home to increasing numbers of both rural-to-urban and international migrants. Many cities strive for cultural integration and acceptance of migrants, and some have achieved these goals. But intolerance of immigrants can dissolve into conflict and inter-ethnic violence played out on city streets. The nature of the "melting pot," as it relates to cities, is a major theme in the lead article, the guest editorial, and articles from France and Germany.

Mass movement of people across international borders is not a new phenomenon—major migrations have occurred since the beginning of human existence. While most people do not relocate from the country of their birth, the numbers in our modern age are extraordinary—there are at least 100 million international migrants in the world today. Many international migrants make their way to cities, a central theme in most articles in this issue. Rural-to-urban (internal) migration is often a springboard for international migration.

Articles from El Salvador, South Africa, the United States, and Belgium describe networks

and associations of international migrants who have settled in cities. Some of these networks aim to channel remittances—the money sent home by labor migrants—into development projects and improvements, and to strengthen cultural ties of migrants between the cities where they now live and the countries where they were born.

Globally, remittances amount to US\$ 71 billion—second in value only to trade in crude oil. The overall impact of remittances continues to be controversial. Their positive and negative effects on individual cities are discussed in articles from El Salvador, Vietnam, Kuwait, the Philippines, and Belgium.

We hope this issue of *The Urban Age* will help create a better understanding of the linkages between international migration and urbanization. We have highlighted several of the most outstanding resources available, each of which provides useful insights into these linkages as well as other topics related to international migration.

In addition to the editorial board, many people helped shape this issue, and we thank them for their assistance and advice. We would especially like to express our gratitude to World Bank Visiting Scholar Sharon Stanton Russell for helping us conceptualize and develop this issue of *The Urban Age*.

As always, we encourage you to send us your comments, suggestions, and feedback on *The Urban Age*. We look forward to hearing from you.

*—Bonnie Bradford*

# International Migration and the Post-Industrial City

by Saskia Sassen

Saskia Sassen is Professor of Urban Planning at Columbia University in New York City. She has written widely on the mobility of labor and capital, cities in a world economy, and global cities.

Immigration has become part of life in all highly developed countries in the world. Even Japan, a country with strict laws against the entry of manual workers, is now receiving a growing number of undocumented immigrants from several countries, including the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. In most developed countries, immigrants are disproportionately concentrated in large cities.

At a time when cities in developed countries are facing growing unemployment and social costs along with shrinking resources, immigration has become a convenient scapegoat. There is a growing conviction that immigrants do not play a productive role in these cities. Critics claim that immigrants, with their often low level of education, are a drag on a city's well being and growth, and there is no place for them in the so-called "post-industrial" city, which needs only highly educated personnel.

## Devaluing Immigrants

But such views are distorted. The post-industrial city requires vast numbers of low-wage workers whose educational levels are irrelevant for their jobs. This is true even for the leading complex of industries, finance, and corporate services. The notion that only high level personnel are needed contributes to the devaluing of jobs and labor markets that do not fit this image. Taken to an extreme, this devaluing begins to justify low-wages and lack of employment security for all those who are not highly educated.

Since their origins, large cities have received and incorporated migrants. But the specific conditions under which such incorporation occurs and is

sustained changes according to time and place. Today the growth of low-wage jobs and of casual labor markets facilitates the incorporation of immigrant workers into the post-industrial city. We see a labor market dynamic that thrives on the incorporation of newcomers, "outsiders," temporary and part-time workers—unlike, for example, the large unionized "Ford" factories of the 1950s.

We are witnessing a period of sharp transition in the economic organization of advanced economies. Immigrants, far from being a burden, have played a strategic role in this transition. Immigration has contributed flexibility to a situation where the norms of established labor markets are often no longer viable due to extreme price competition, both national and international.

## Counting their Contributions

Immigrants have contributed an enormous amount of energy to small scale, low-profit entrepreneurship, which is necessary to meet the demand for goods and services that larger standardized firms can no longer handle given low profit levels and increased costs of operation. In this context, immigrants are almost akin to a rapid deployment force.

But immigrants have also absorbed the costs of being such a flexible labor supply—low-wages and self-sacrifice. Their flexibility and talent will not be maximized under these conditions.

Paris, Tokyo, New York, Frankfurt, and Toronto are very different cities, but the overall outcome of this economic dynamic is similar in these and other cities. There is a tendency towards inequality in earnings, and in the profit levels of different types of firms. To some extent

this over-arching tendency materializes in the form of a differentiation in urban space, with the expansion of both gentrified areas and decaying neighborhoods. Immigration has actually slowed the deterioration of many areas by transforming them into bustling commercial and residential areas.

Immigrants are often held responsible for the increase in low-wage jobs and the growing unemployment and impoverishment of native workers. Actually, through their entrepreneurship, immigrants help lower the cost of living for many low-income and middle class people.

## Economic Solutions

The focus of policy efforts and political action should not be on immigrants but rather on the broader economic dynamic at work in large cities of advanced economies. Even without immigrants, these inequalities would be evident and many in the middle class would find their cost of living even higher. The root causes of the new inequalities are embedded in the new dynamics of growth. Growth itself is producing inequalities.

Though not as clear and evident as in the cities of highly developed countries, many of these patterns are also at work in major cities of developing countries such as Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Bangkok. Here the equivalent of foreign immigrants are often rural-to-urban migrants, though there are also

foreign migrants. One reason the patterns seen in advanced post-industrial cities are also operating in these cities is due to the globalization of economic activity. The demographic explosion in the developing world makes these cities profoundly different from major cities in the highly developed world where population has either declined or stabilized in the last ten years.

Yet beneath the overwhelming demographic fact of the megacity we see elements of post-industrial growth, with its associated inequalities. In this context, immigrants and migrants contribute to economic flexibility and low-cost, low-profit entrepreneurship. The failure to harness this energy for wider urban economic development and upgrading processes is a failure to maximize the economic benefits of such flexibility and entrepreneurship.

In post-industrial and developing country cities, the urban productivity of the city as a whole must be maximized. The multiple articulations between the city of the poor and the city of the rich must be recognized. Immigrants make these articulations evident: they clean offices; they are nannies in upper-middle-class households; they are the maintenance staff in luxury buildings; and they run the restaurants where workers with modest salaries eat. This labor force is an essential part of the urban economy, even in the most advanced post-industrial cities.

*The Urban Age aims to stimulate lively debate and interaction on various topics in developed and developing countries. The ideas expressed in articles appearing in The Urban Age reflect the personal comments of each author, and are not representative of any one agency or organization.*

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# INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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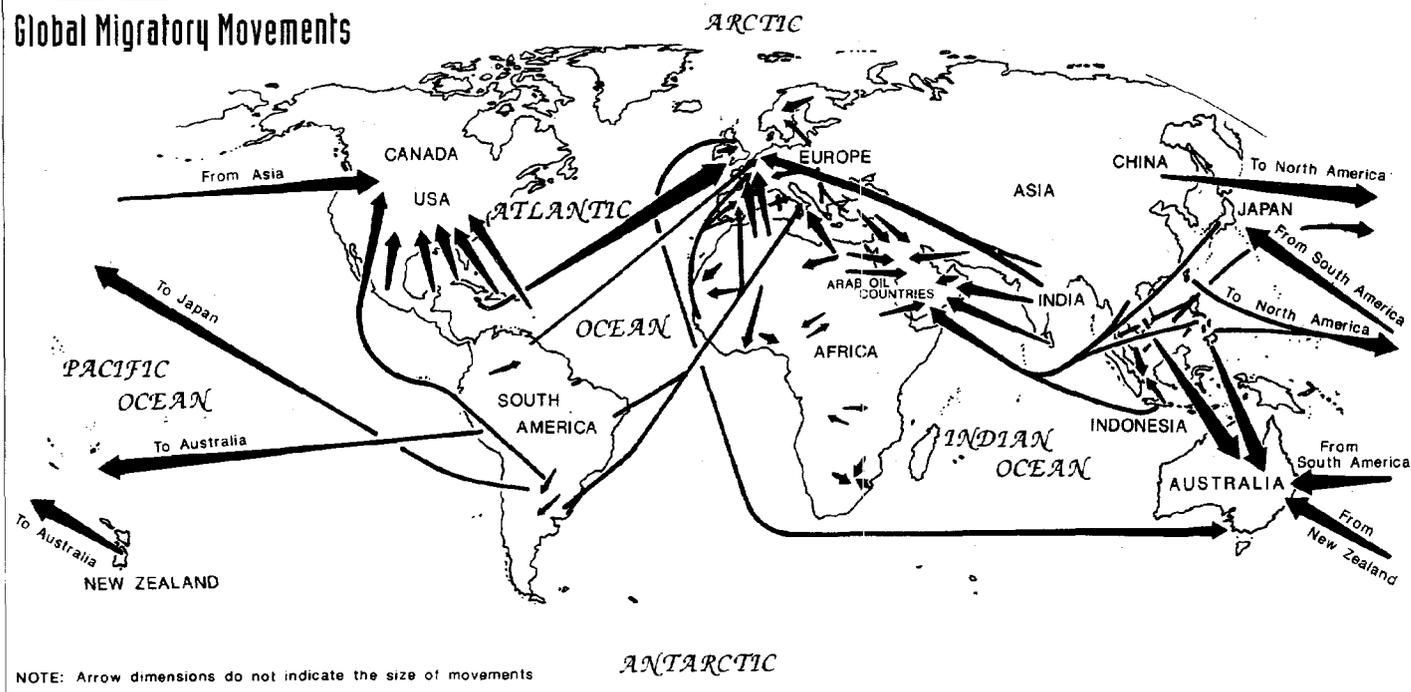
The departure of migrants has major consequences for social and economic relationships in the country of origin. In the receiving country, settlement is closely linked to employment opportunities, which are often concentrated in industrial and urban areas, where the impact on receiving communities is immense. In New York City and Toronto, for example, the foreign-born make up one-fourth of the population.

The upsurge in migration is due to rapid international economic, demographic, social, political, cultural, and environmental changes. Mass population movements are linked to large-scale, worldwide trends of rural-to-urban migration (internal migration) and to the growth of

inner cities; between citizens of democratic states and illegal non-citizens; and between dominant cultures and minority cultures.

The gulf can be summed up as the difference between inclusion and exclusion. The "included" are those who fit into the self-image of a prosperous, technologically innovative, and democratic society. The excluded are the "shadow side": those who are necessary for the reproduction of society, but who do not fit into the ideology of the model. Immigrants are more likely to belong to the excluded. But the groups are more closely bound together than they might like to think: the corporate elite need the illegal immigrants, and the prosperous suburbanites need the slum-dwellers they find so threatening.

## Global Migratory Movements



cities. Some rural-to-urban migrants in underdeveloped countries will embark on a second migration, seeking to improve their lives by moving to highly-developed countries.

### Focus on Cities

People who migrate from rural areas leave behind traditional forms of production and social relationships to move into burgeoning cities. This is often the first stage of fundamental social, psychological and cultural changes, which creates the predisposition for further migrations. To move from rural agriculture into a city like Manila, Sao Paulo or Lagos, may be a bigger step for many migrants than subsequent moves to "global cities" like Tokyo, Los Angeles, or Sydney.

Immigration has coincided with the crisis of modernity and the transition to post-industrial societies. The erosion of the old "blue-collar working class" and the increased polarization of the labor force, have led to a social crisis. Immigrants find themselves doubly at risk: many of them suffer unemployment and social marginalization, yet at the same time, they are often portrayed as the cause of the problems.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the global cities of the late twentieth century. Los Angeles, Toronto, London, and Sydney—to name just a few—are crucibles of social change, political conflict, and cultural innovation. They are marked by enormous gulfs between the corporate elite and the informal sector workers who service them; between rich, well-guarded suburbs and decaying and crime-ridden

It is out of this contradictory and multi-layered character of the post-modern city that its enormous energy, its cultural dynamism, and its innovative capability emerge. But these co-exist with the potential for social breakdown, conflict, repression, and violence. It is also here that the complex social and cultural interaction between different ethnic groups may in the future give birth to new peoples and provide the basis for new forms of society.

### A Global Culture

The new ethnic diversity affects societies, and especially cities, in many ways. Among the most important are issues of political participation, cultural pluralism, and national identity. Immigration has already had major, potentially destabilizing effects on politics in most countries. The only resolution appears to be in broadening political participation to embrace immigrant groups. This may mean rethinking the form and content of citizenship, and decoupling it from ideas of ethnic homogeneity and cultural assimilation.

Neither restrictive measures nor development strategies can totally curb international migration, at least in the short term, because there are such powerful forces stimulating population movement. These include the increasing pervasiveness of a global culture and the growth of cross-border movements of ideas, capital, commodities, and people.

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# INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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International migration is a major consequence of the North-South gap. The North-South gap—the differentials in life expectancy, demography, economic structure, social conditions and political stability between industrial democracies and most of the rest of the world—looms as a major barrier to the creation of a peaceful and prosperous global society.

Clearly, international migration is not the solution to the North-South gap. Migration will not resolve North Africa's unemployment problem, or appreciably reduce the income and wage gap between the USA and Mexico. The only realistic long-term hope for reduction of international migration is broad-based, sustainable development in the less-developed countries, enabling economic growth to keep pace with growth in the population and labor force.

Migrations arise from complex links between different societies, and lead to the formation of new links. Movements of professionals and students from developing countries to Western industrialized nations are sometimes part of the "brain drain," but they also help create cultural links, and may encourage technology transfer. The growing mobility of professionals is a development of great significance, which may in the future help to weaken national boundaries.

Today the governments and people of immigration countries have to face up to some serious dilemmas. The answers they choose will help

shape the future of their societies, as well as their relations with the poorer countries of the South. Central issues include:

- regulating legal immigration and integrating settlers;
- developing policies to cope with illegal migration;
- finding long-term solutions to emigration pressure through improved international relations; and
- exploring the role of ethnic diversity in social and cultural change, and consequences for the nation-state and cities.

The major obstacle to the spread of a global culture is that it coincides with a political, economic and social crisis in many regions. Where change is fast and threatening, narrow traditional cultures seem to offer a measure of defense. Immigration has often taken place at the same time as economic restructuring and major changes in political and social structures. People whose conditions of life are already changing in an unpredictable way often see newcomers as the cause of insecurity. One of the dominant images in highly-developed countries is that of masses of people flowing in from the "poor South" and the "turbulent East," taking away jobs, pushing up housing prices, and overloading social services.

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## The Latest International Migration Trends

At least 100 million migrants live outside their countries of birth or citizenship, according to United Nations data. This includes roughly 36 million in Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa; 23 million in Eastern and Western Europe; 20 million in the United States and Canada; 10 million in Sub-Saharan Africa; 6 million in Latin America and the Caribbean; and 4 million in Oceania, including Australia and New Zealand. Refugees are included in this 100 million figure, as well as temporary and permanent migrants.

### Major Patterns

- While the absolute numbers are large, most of the world's population never moves across international borders. In only a few countries—such as Cuba, Afghanistan, Haiti, and El Salvador—have even as much as 10 percent of the population emigrated in recent decades.
- While international migration flows have caused concern in Western industrialized countries, more than half of international migration is actually between developing countries, in other words, from south to south.
- Remittances—the hard currency earnings that migrants send back to their home countries—are immense; in 1989, *net* transfers were US\$ 31 billion to developing countries alone. The official total in 1990 was US\$ 71 billion. Globally, remittances are second in value only to trade in crude oil. The real figures are probably even higher, since many remittances flow through informal channels.
- The poorest people in a society seldom have the means to migrate across international borders. But remittances have been credited with reducing absolute poverty in a number of countries, including Pakistan, Egypt, and Sri

Lanka. Remittances often translate into more money spent for education and health services.

### Regional flows:

- Labor migration within East and Southeast Asia is rapidly increasing as these regions continue to experience dynamic economic growth. Since the end of the 1991 Gulf War, Asian and Arab workers (notably Egyptians), have started returning to the Gulf states, where demand for foreign workers is high.
- In Sub-Saharan Africa, most voluntary migration is to other countries within Sub-Saharan Africa, despite increasing flows to Europe. African migration flows tend to be highly volatile, changing suddenly in response to conflicts and natural disasters.
- In Latin America and the Caribbean, flows are dominated by those to the United States, Argentina, and Venezuela. Mexico has the largest number of emigrants, most of whom are in the United States. Colombia and Cuba are also major source countries, each with about 750,000 emigrants.
- The United States, Canada, and Australia are traditional receiving countries for immigration. The United States is expected to admit 800,000 to 1 million immigrants annually in the 1990s. In addition, as of 1993, there were approximately 3.5 million illegal residents in the United States, most from Latin America. Canada expects annual levels of immigration to rise to 250,000 in 1993-95. Australia's immigration was about 102,000 in 1992.
- Migration to Western Europe is predominantly from outside the region, notably from the Maghreb, Turkey, and former Yugoslavia. There are also growing numbers from Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia. Germany and, to a lesser extent, France and Switzerland, receive the largest

number of migrants. Italy, Spain, and Greece have become countries of net immigration.

- Dramatic political changes in the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have caused concern about possible large-scale migration to Western European countries. While massive and disorderly flows have not occurred, significant population movements are linked with these political changes.

### Precipitating Factors

Demographic and economic forces create the potential for international migration. Whether or not migration actually takes place depends on "precipitating factors." These include:

- technological advances, especially in transportation and communication;
- recruitment of migrants by employers in receiving countries;
- the development of social networks across borders, creating a social infrastructure of international migration;
- increasing trade competition between high-wage economies of the industrialized countries and low-wage economies in much of the developing world;
- governmental decisions (whether explicit or implicit) to promote labor export or import as a matter of public policy; and,
- increases in violence, repression, persecution, human rights violations, and ethnic tensions.

*This information was adapted from: "International Migration, Fertility, and Development" by Michael S. Teitelbaum and Sharon Stanton Russell, in Population and Development: Old Debates, New Conclusions, Robert Cassen (editor), U.S.-Third World Policy Perspectives No. 19 (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers in cooperation with the Overseas Development Council). Forthcoming July 1994.*

# Exiting Hong Kong: Social Class and Adjusting to 1997

by Janet Salaff and Wong Siu-lun

Janet Salaff is a visiting scholar at the University of Hong Kong and teaches in the Asia Studies Department at the University of Toronto. Wong Siu-lun teaches in the Department of Sociology at the University of Hong Kong.

HONG KONG. On July 1, 1997, the red flag of the People's Republic of China will be hoisted over Hong Kong as the British colony reverts to China. This looming event has generated considerable anxiety in Hong Kong for more than a decade.

It is widely believed in the West that most Hong Kong families are fleeing for political reasons, and that only lack of funds keeps people in Hong Kong. But, if people uniformly disliked the prospect of Hong Kong's reversion to China, emigration numbers would be shaped mainly by Western immigration policies. Instead, both economic and political factors are reflected in the changing numbers of emigrants.

## Social Class and Emigration

Hong Kong emigration today consists largely of people from the business and professional classes. There are two basic views of this phenomenon. Some see the current wave of middle class emigrant families as largely apolitical—people seeking an overseas haven mainly to protect their family earnings. Others characterize Hong Kong emigration as a form of middle class political mobilization. This scenario stresses that the middle classes are leaving to protect their democratic, social, and economic rights after 1997. Visa applicants quickly find that immigration policy is class-based. Those who are better-off are the most likely to apply to emigrate before 1997.

Among Hong Kong emigrants to Canada between 1988 and 1990, more than half had higher than a secondary level education, and could speak English. There were over three times as many entrepreneurs and investors as production workers.

A realistic assessment of their ability to emigrate and to prosper abroad is what shapes the attitude of Hong Kong people to 1997. The decision to emigrate is rarely motivated just by politics.

## The Affluent Middle Class

The concerns of Hong Kong's affluent middle class about 1997 center on potential harm to family livelihood and their economic status. They are concerned about the sanctity of property after the colony's reversion to China. They have also come to expect predictable careers as an outcome of their lengthy education. They note that China lacks a secure legal framework, and worry about rampant corruption.

For many in the affluent middle class, salaries are high and business opportunities are expanding. Their future is cloudy overseas. Only a few hold

academic or professional credentials recognized abroad, and they anticipate a sharp decline in earnings if they leave.

Their property and prosperity in Hong Kong are becoming increasingly tied to China. China has opened up further to the world economy and experienced strong growth in the last several years. As long as this economic boom in China continues, they maintain confidence, and hope for further political reform and stability. They apply for visas as a form of insurance.

## The Lower Middle-Class

The lower middle-class owns little productive property in Hong Kong, and they worry less about changes after 1997 harming their economic base. They have enjoyed a spurt of income improvement in recent years, which they fear they cannot match

abroad. They worry about ethnic prejudices in the West.

The lower middle-class lack the higher education, specialized training, and funds to qualify as independent emigrants to Canada and Australia, the countries to which most Hong Kong people emigrate. Few apply for visas.

Few in this group identify strongly with Hong Kong politics, in which they generally play little role. Most have consistent economic and political expectations about post-1997 life in Hong Kong, and have decided to remain.

## The Working Class

Hong Kong's working class generally accept the prospect of Chinese rule after 1997. Many of Hong Kong's poor left China more for economic than political reasons.

Recent changes in China tend to instill confidence in the working class. They see that recent economic reforms have raised living standards in China, and think it unlikely that Chinese rule would lower their living standards in Hong Kong.

The Hong Kong working class will apply for visas if they think they can do better in working class jobs abroad. It is not so much fear of Chinese rule that propels them—instead, some see better economic opportunities in reuniting with overseas relatives. But most do not expect to emigrate. They apply on a wager, and are not greatly disappointed if they do not succeed.

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This article was adapted from a chapter by the authors in *Social Class in Chinese Society*, Lau Siu Kai and Wong Siu Lun (eds.), *Hong Kong: Chinese University Press* (forthcoming).

## Voices from Hong Kong

### The Affluent Middle Class

We used to be rich people in China. We don't trust the Chinese...But China is richer now. They want to sustain that and won't give it up because of politics. (*Engineer and his wife, who bought a home in Vancouver in 1988, sold it in 1994, and plan to remain in Hong Kong.*)

I don't think [China's] ideology and political system will change, and there will not be as much freedom in Hong Kong. It is safer to have business dealings with China from Singapore than Hong Kong. (*Factory manager who plans to move to Singapore.*)

### The Lower Middle-Class

The Chinese consider Hong Kong a free society...When we are deprived of our freedom I'll think about emigrating, although it could be too late. (*Hong Kong bookkeeper, brought up in China's Fujian province.*)

In China there is no law except that of the officials. If a high official says you made a mistake, you'll be charged. It's different in Hong Kong, where you have to go to court to be proven guilty. I worry about this part, not the financial aspect. (*Civil servant.*)

### The Working Class

What's to be afraid of? There are one billion people in China and they're still alive. Only the rich are scared [of 1997]. For the poor, it's just the same! (*Retired shipboard cook.*)

Sometimes I think there is no point fighting the mainland Chinese. You can't win. Maybe this is the personality of us Chinese. Let it be. People can die when crossing the road. It is meaningless to protest. (*Driver.*)

# Canada's Golden Mountain: Closing the Gates?

by Aprodicio A. Laquian

Aprodicio Laquian is a Canadian immigrant from the Philippines who now lives in Vancouver. He is currently the Director of the Centre for Human Settlements at the University of British Columbia.

VANCOUVER. In 1993, more than 40,000 immigrants flew into Vancouver International Airport, about two-thirds of them from Asia. Forty-one percent of these immigrants had Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese as their native tongue, 17 percent Punjabi or Hindi, 13 percent Tagalog, and 6 percent Vietnamese.

Canada's westernmost province of British Columbia was originally settled by royalists from the British Isles. Chinese and Japanese immigrants came after the 1850s, many as workers on the Canadian Pacific railroad. To the Chinese, British Columbia was the "Golden Mountain" that promised wealth and fortune. That image still rings true, especially for people from Hong Kong concerned about the fate of the British colony after it reverts to China in 1997.

Canada, along with the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, continues to accept international migrants. According to the 1991 Census, 16 percent of Canada's population, some 4.3 million people, are immigrants.

The immigrants congregate in the largest cities. Vancouver, Canada's third largest city, has 476,530 immigrants, about a third of its population. Recent statistics reveal that 27 percent of immigrants entering through Vancouver each year are from Hong Kong.

Immigration, combined with internal migration from eastern and central Canada, has contributed to an economic boom in British Columbia. The provincial population is growing at 2.5 percent per year, compared with 1.5 percent for the whole country. However, this rapid growth has also resulted in severe social and environmental problems which are, in turn, creating a racist backlash that threatens to close the gates to this beautiful land.

## Monster Homes, Mega-malls and Casinos

The hottest political issues in British Columbia at present are all related to immigration.

Vancouver developers have been building very large homes for Asian immigrants. These are referred to as "monster homes". Usually two-story buildings in excess of 5,000 square feet, monster homes occupy almost the entire space in traditional house plots. Tree-loving Vancouverites are particularly upset at the tendency of Asian homeowners to cut down trees that obstruct their views, a practice attributed to *feng shui*, said to determine whether a house and its surroundings will bring good or bad luck.

In the suburb of Shaughnessy, people have appealed to the Vancouver City Council to prevent construction of monster homes. In the nearby city of Richmond, newspapers have waged a campaign against the building of more megahouses, arguing that these structures are changing the character of the city's neighborhoods. In their defense, homeowners and developers have been crying racism.

In Richmond, where a third of the population is Asian, the construction of three mega-malls catering to Asians have been criticized as "not being Canadian." Some Asian developers have changed their designs to avoid antagonizing Canadians.

A number of Asian shops that advertised their goods only in Chinese characters have been pressured by the Richmond City Council to use English-only signs for their wares.

In early 1994, a proposal to construct a Las Vegas style casino on Vancouver's waterfront was met with angry protests that the casino would further erode the city's affordable housing stock, and was catering to the gambling interests of affluent Asians. Fear was expressed that the casino would encourage Chinese triads and Asian youth gangs.

## Are the Gates Closing?

The controversy over rapid immigration of Asians to Vancouver is generating fear among the immigrants, especially those from Hong Kong, that the city's residents are about to shut the gates to the Golden Mountain. Most Hong Kong immigrants

come as investors (bringing in \$350,000 to reside in British Columbia, or \$250,000 to reside in other parts of Canada), and feel "they want our money but not us." While community leaders attempt to calm these fears, there are many indicators of racism.

The recent political triumph of the Reform Party in British Columbia is another sign of an anti-immigrant backlash. The Reform Party, which has been critical of Canada's liberal immigration and refugee policies, has become so strong that all but one of the elected officials of the former Social Credit Party have become Reform Party members.

Metropolitan Vancouver's population is projected to reach more than 3 million residents by the year 2021. This growth, based on 2.5 percent increases per year, will be due mainly to internal and international migration.

However, projections are not predictions. If tensions arising from continued immigration worsen, Asian migrants might bypass the Golden Mountain for other destinations.



Monster homes are changing the character of Vancouver neighborhoods.

# El Salvador: Impacts of International Migration on Cities

by Mario Lungo

**M**ario Lungo is a researcher at the National Foundation for Development (FUNDE), and a professor at the Central American University "José Simeón Cañas" in San Salvador. He specializes in development issues and urban planning.

**SAN SALVADOR.** Migration from El Salvador has occurred throughout this century. Salvadorians left home to build the Panama Canal at the beginning of the 1900s. Others went to work in the Honduran banana plantations in the 1930s and 1940s. Since the 1970s, Salvadorean migration has essentially been to the United States, with 65 percent to California alone. It is estimated that, by the 1990s, almost 1 million Salvadoreans were living abroad, mostly in the United States.

## Migration and the Years of Conflict

Before 1980, these waves of migration were essentially for economic reasons. Later, politics predominated as a major force because of the civil war, which lasted throughout the 1980s. It is estimated that economic motivations accounted for 58 percent of migrations prior to 1979, dropping to 36 percent after 1979. Political factors are thought to account for 8 percent and 29 percent of migration during these same two periods.

Knowing who these migrants are can reveal a lot about the

socioeconomic effects of such movements. Migrant characteristics are known only post-1979, and then only for those who migrated to the United States. Individual rather than family migration has predominated—the majority of those on the move have been male (59 percent), originating from urban areas (63 percent), with relatively high education levels compared to the national average (8.7 years of schooling completed), and an average age of 25. Members of this population are at a productive point in their lives and have a respectable level of education.

## Effects on El Salvador's Cities

Some assert that this out-migration has been an economic drain on El Salvador, in terms of human resources, and has transferred capital to the economic benefit of the recipient countries, particularly the United States. Yet this migratory flow has kept the unemployment rate at socially tolerable levels. Remittances from migrants have helped to offset the trade deficit, supplement decreasing income levels of recipient families, and maintain

exchange rate stability.

Data on the importance of remittances in the national economy are revealing: they accounted for 1.4 percent of GDP in 1979, and rose to 10.5 percent of GDP by 1992. Remittances were 4.4 percent of exports in 1979, and accounted for 114 percent by 1992.

What has the impact been on El Salvador's urban system and on the internal structure of its cities? Two migration-related phenomena can be identified in the country's urban system. On the one hand, the metropolitan area of San Salvador and the eastern cities continue to grow. Indeed, the population of Usulután tripled its population between 1971 and 1992.

On the other hand, there has been a drop in the population of several cities with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants in various regions where the conflict occurred. Research efforts currently underway suggest that a large share of the population that abandoned these smaller cities has emigrated. International migration seems to have had the greatest impact on the internal structure of cities that are smaller in size.

poorer communities and, in particular, in marginal settlements. Consumption patterns of families receiving remittances has changed, especially in smaller cities.

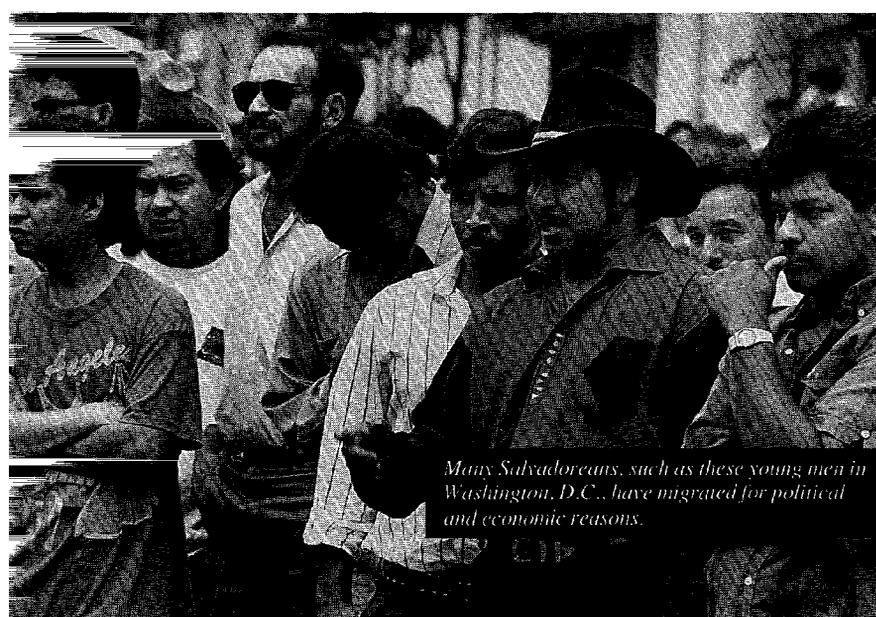
During the 1980s money received was used primarily to purchase food, clothing, electrical household appliances, and vehicles. The small towns gradually acquired a new image, in which U.S. fashion and consumption patterns predominated. Remittances were used to a lesser extent for farming and to purchase real estate.

During the 1980s an estimated 77 percent of the remittances were used for consumption, 20 percent for savings, and only the remaining 3 percent was invested in productive activities. The low percentage invested in productive activities has had a negative social effect, particularly in the small towns, where it served as a disincentive for the recipient family members to engage in productive employment. In 1992 only 37 percent of these people were economically active, whether employed or unemployed.

The emergence of new expressions of urban culture induced by these consumption patterns can be found in all cities throughout the country. Automobile use plays a key role in the structure of these patterns, and is a clear identification of someone receiving remittances or having returned from abroad. The entry of used cars from the United States, which have been flooding into the country in recent years, is a mark of social distinction in small towns and the low-income districts of the larger cities. It is also one of the main reasons why the major roads are becoming so clogged.

## Use of Remittances

The growing reliance on remittances has changed the way Salvadorians live. The recipients benefit not only financially, but also in terms of social mobility. An estimated 75 percent of those who changed their place of residence previously lived in



Many Salvadoreans, such as these young men in Washington, D.C., have migrated for political and economic reasons.

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But in the smaller cities another effect of international migration over the past 20 years has been the initiation of infrastructure and other projects. Many of these cities have undertaken upgrading projects, receiving their inspiration from the creation of associations of former residents in the various urban centers of the United States. In El Salvador, these efforts have included the construction of roads, bridges, and sports fields, and the provision of equipment for schools and health centers. This is perhaps one of the positive consequences of the migratory process, but one whose impact on development processes has serious limitations, given the absence of support mechanisms to promote the use of the remittances for productive urban activities.

## The Peace Dividend

The signing of the Peace Agreements between the Government and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) in January 1992 prompted a substantial breakthrough in dealing with issues of migration and domestic productivity. Now remittances are increasingly being used to invest in real estate, which is stimulating the construction sector while causing the price of urban land to skyrocket. Both the government and the NGOs assisting with the development of lower-income sectors are beginning to vigorously encourage the use of the remittances from the migrant population for productive activities; particularly for urban microenterprises of various kinds.

There is even talk of establishing a grassroots financial system, which would serve as one of the key instruments for bringing about a shift in how money sent from abroad is used. It would operate both in El Salvador and those U.S. cities where the largest concentrations of migrants are located. The aim would be to get the associations of migrants from

the various Salvadorean cities involved in this effort.

## The Role of International Cooperation

In addition to Salvadoreans, the involvement of a diverse group of donors can be decisive in steering international migration toward helping to create an urban order that is more just and equitable, more democratic, and socially sustainable.

The various development cooperation bodies active in El Salvador, whether Government agencies, multilateral organizations, foundations or international NGOs, can, in fact, play an important role in encouraging the channeling of the remittances from Salvadorean migrants. The aim should be to ensure that they are essentially used to promote productive activities not limited to isolated microenterprises or those that provide services to consumers, but also larger production units, providing goods and services to enterprises.

While some of the funds sent home by migrants should continue to be used for the construction of economic and social infrastructure, they should not be limited to these uses. Priority needs to be given to infrastructure that is more comprehensive in terms of social benefits and social and environmental sustainability.

As part of this general strategy, it is both possible and advisable to think of investing this significant flow of funds with a view to developing an urban system that has fewer regional disparities and is geared to sustainability—in other words, cities with urban structures that are more fair and more equitable, and that lend themselves to the building of a true community.

But all this calls not only for certain material conditions but also (and more importantly) for the development of the human condition. The extensive migration in the 1980s of Salvadoreans to countries in the North raises an

## Women: The "Invisible" Migrants

Women make up nearly half the international migrant population. In the European OECD countries, women constitute the largest part of the foreign-born population. In Sub-Saharan Africa, census data indicate that, in one third of countries, including Burkina Faso and Togo, female foreign-born populations were as large as male ones. Over half the current global refugee population is female, and 60-80 percent of refugee households are headed by women.

Although women are often thought of as "passive movers," migrating only to join or follow family members, research has found that economic rather than personal or social considerations predominate. Surveys of female migrants in Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean indicate that 50-70 percent moved in search of employment. Even in South Asia and Africa, with the highest proportion of women



who reported moving primarily for family reasons, the percentage of those with economic motivations often exceeded 50 percent.

Female migrants are concentrated particularly in the 16-24 year age group, before first marriage. Migration peaks again among women in their late fifties and sixties, primarily separated, divorced or widowed women. Across all regions, migration of elderly women is far more common than in men of a similar age.

Despite strong evidence of labor force participation, immigration policies still tend

to assume that all migrants are men, and that women are "dependents." Women's right to work may be severely restricted; access to support systems and social services may be limited; and rights to naturalization may be indirect and dependent on the status of the spouse. Single women have great difficulty in securing legal admission as immigrants in industrialized countries.

Some believe that women's migration contributes to the emancipation of women because they gain greater independence through wage earnings, which enhances their decision-making power within the family. However, social networks, strong kinship linkages, the extension of traditional social structures to new settings, their position in the ethnic enclave, and limited job opportunities combine to expand the opportunities of migrant woman only slightly—if at all.

From *The State of World Population 1993: The Individual and the World: Population, Migration, and Development in the 1990s*, UNFPA, 220 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017, U.S.A.

issue of paramount importance. In this harsh and difficult process of uprooting and becoming assimilated into foreign societies, far-reaching and novel relationships have been forged that constitute a real fund of social capital for the migrants. This social capital can, in turn, provide the launching pad for the development of the

areas—the cities in particular—where migrants originated. This could have enormous impacts on the entire country.

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# Overseas Emigration Helps Reform Hanoi

by Robert L. Bach and Duong Bach Le

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HANOI. Even before the United States lifted its embargo against Vietnam, few cities in the world were changing as quickly and dramatically as Hanoi. For decades, Hanoi served as the urban center of Vietnam's agricultural North. Its socialist leadership stressed social discipline and production, and

Visitors can still walk through old sections of the city to find artisans, barbers, and bookshops. But increasingly, the traveler now also passes shops selling Western consumer goods. While not yet at the pace of Hong Kong, Beijing, or even Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi is rapidly racing forward. Lenin's monument has already become a

migration, and the concentration of people and capital is new.

## Remittances and Reform

International migration is also a powerful, yet little understood, contributor to Hanoi's reforms. For years, migration was a sensitive political issue in Hanoi. Population outflows from Vietnam created stark images of refugees afloat on the South China Sea or trapped in Hong Kong detention camps.

For Hanoi, the refugee exodus was like many other national policy problems. It was critical to the national leadership, but unlike its effects on Ho Chi Minh City, the refugee problem did not penetrate or pervade the social atmosphere of the city. It was a political, not a personal problem. The northern flow to Hong Kong originated primarily in the coastal areas in Quang Ninh, Haiphong and DaNang. Now, Vietnamese returning from Hong Kong pass through a staging area outside Hanoi.

For Hanoi, international migration means money. Hanoi's connection to international migration began with labor exports to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the 1970s. Vietnam's workers helped pay the national debt to fraternal socialist states by working in factories in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, and Russia. Exported workers also went to the Middle East, including Iraq, Libya, and Egypt.

Before Vietnam's market reforms, remittances from overseas workers translated back home into isolated, special privileges for particular families. Remittances became a symbol of social status for the lucky few whose relatives worked abroad.

## Impact on Housing and Labor

Market reforms in the early 1990s changed the significance of remittances. This money soon became a primary source of foreign exchange for investment in the housing boom that continues to be an economic driving force in Hanoi. Housing "fever" has inflated land prices, reshaped the physical landscape, and sparked the emergence of an urban labor market. In recent years, entire new neighborhoods have sprung up, and the architecture of these new houses proclaims the value of recent remittances. Local practice imprints the date of construction in the plaster on the front wall. Most have been built since 1991.

The housing boom has accelerated the formation of an expanding regional labor market. Since 1991, opportunities to work in construction have drawn contract labor crews from areas outside Hanoi. Team foremen recruit workers from their hometown and bring them to Hanoi, where they live temporarily on the building site until the house is complete. A complementary day labor market has emerged involving spontaneous rural-to-urban migrants. Their temporary, sporadic employment forms the lowest rung of an increasingly stratified labor market. Day laborers earn just enough for immediate consumption, leaving little or nothing to remit to their families in neighboring villages.

International migration contributes to this emerging labor market and its increasing income inequalities both directly, through remittances, and indirectly, through fueling construction.

*continued on page 11* ▶



*Market reforms and remittances are transforming Hanoi.*

frowned upon consumerism and commerce. Compared to the West, it was a city frozen in time. French colonial architecture dominated. Political billboards atop one-story buildings defined a skyline without hotel signs, or the steel arms of construction cranes. Only four or five years ago, Hanoi's subdued street life reflected a political and economic system centered on the countryside.

Market reforms are now altering the physical design of the city and transforming its economic and social character.

cultural oddity amid the rewards and punishments of overheated market life.

Vietnam's open embrace of a market economy brings to Hanoi the successes and problems of cities throughout Southeast Asia. The urban challenge is hardly new to Vietnam. Most observers believe Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi's urban partner in the South, never lost its U.S.-induced market character and is well on its way to becoming another Bangkok. In Hanoi, open street markets, hawkers, day labor pools, spontaneous internal

Although living standards are improving throughout Vietnam, average per capita income remains among the world's lowest. Day laborers hauling crushed stone to a housing site receive roughly US\$1 a day. Over the course of a year, a day laborer can earn more than the US\$200 earned by an average Vietnamese worker. Yet their earnings cannot compare with an overseas worker, who may remit several times that average in a single payment.

Remittances from overseas family members generate much more income than required for local consumption, even in the larger cities. They provide the resources for a rapidly rising but small elite. This segment of the Hanoi population combines remittance income with several other sources of foreign currency. They also work multiple jobs and own several houses. For example, the head of one nouveau riche family owns more than ten new houses in Hanoi. Yet he continues to live in the crowded family apartment in the center of the city's oldest and poorest neighborhood. Already a foreign currency millionaire, he continues to save for his family and children.

These benefits clearly make overseas work an attractive option. Desire to participate in an export labor program is widespread among Hanoi residents. According to the authors' recent survey, over 12 percent of householders interviewed in Hanoi said they would like to go abroad temporarily for work. The willingness was even greater in Haiphong, DaNang, and Ho Chi Minh City. Each has greater ties to overseas communities and, at least in the latter case, has made greater progress in its reforms.

### Problems with Export Labor

Integration with the world labor market is bringing new problems to Hanoi. Workers returning from overseas already

face difficulties re-entering the local labor market. Hanoi police records show that contract laborers who returned from abroad comprised 16 percent of jobless adults between 16 and 45 years of age in 1992. Growing dependence on overseas job markets also subjects local economies to the vagaries of international politics. For example, the Persian Gulf War dislocated thousands of Vietnamese workers from Iraq. Ironically, the U.S. government assisted financially with the return home of these workers.

The most important structural change in Vietnam's labor export program has been the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European economies. Sharp declines in both regions caused significant return flows to Hanoi and a severe drop in opportunities for future overseas employment. Many Vietnamese workers were stranded abroad with no jobs, no way to return home, and facing growing hostility from local residents. In Moscow, for instance, several Vietnamese laborers were killed in alleged black market activities. Many Muscovites feel that Vietnamese and other foreign workers are integral to the "mafia" that now controls much of the local kiosk economy.

### Trends in Export Labor

The Hanoi Government fully recognizes and embraces the value of labor exports. According to senior officials, Vietnam has started contract negotiations with several of its Southeast Asian neighbors.

Benefits from these labor export programs are not limited to individual workers and families. Vietnamese workers abroad have blazed commercial trails in overseas urban markets. A vibrant trade, for instance, now exists between textile producers outside Hanoi and Vietnamese merchants in Moscow. Frequent, routine Aeroflot flights carry bales of Western-style, low-priced garments from Hanoi to Moscow.

The increasing labor mobility that accompanies market development has also expanded the illegal trafficking of goods across the Vietnam-China border. Rapid economic growth in the Chinese border towns has attracted thousands of Vietnamese workers. Transborder, circular migration only 100 miles north of Hanoi is now a way of life for the region. Yet, Vietnamese officials have complained that the border exchange undermines opportunities for local Hanoi industries. Higher quality goods from China flood the local market and preempt growth possibilities.

### Emigration versus Socialism

The most profound impact of international migration on Hanoi, however, may be social, cultural, and political. Unlike other parts of Vietnam, Hanoi will be the site of a new era of struggle in its long-embattled history. In balancing market forces and the ideals of a socialist political system, the Vietnamese government counts on increased labor mobility internally and internationally, to provide employment and foreign exchange.

Simultaneously, some officials believe they must control the cultural and political impact of international influences. Senior Vietnamese officials worry about the growing commercialism that results from marketization. Some Hanoi officials see international cultural and social influences as western efforts to foster "peaceful evolution" beyond socialism and single party rule.

Signs of change are unmistakable. Consumerism has already gripped Hanoi's youth. Brigades of young bikers nightly circle downtown Hanoi in the same way they have in Ho Chi Minh City for years. Most motorbikes are imports paid for with remittances. Youthful,

elite audiences also dominate celebrations of new Western commercial ventures. For example, less than three weeks after the United States lifted its embargo in March 1994, young people flocked to the opening celebration of a Coca-Cola venture at the Opera House, a 1911 French colonial landmark. They danced in front of the balcony from which Ho Chi Minh announced the takeover in the 1945. On that evening, two 30-foot high inflatable Coca-Cola bottles hung from the same balcony.

### Courting the Overseas Migrant

Former refugees may also adopt a new role in their homeland. The government is moving tentatively towards some form of accommodation with overseas Vietnamese communities. Some officials hope overseas Vietnamese will become a source of new investments, particularly sparking a revival of small businesses in the major cities. Others worry that a few overseas Vietnamese harbor expectations of regaining political influence in Vietnam. In the first few years of this accommodation, most overseas Vietnamese have not wanted to return permanently. Initial adventurers have only sought to recover lost property, reunite with family, or scout for possible investment opportunities.

Hanoi's decade of reform will create, and must confront, the familiar challenge of rising expectations. Open markets, foreign investments, increasing income inequality, and improved consumption promise expanded social and political participation. Hanoi must come to terms with this challenge, in the way the government both manages the economy and relates to its citizens. The city must also adapt physically and socially to the rapid changes. International migration will be an inevitable source of these adaptations.

# Migration and Urbanization: A Glimpse of the Gulf

by Nasra M. Shah and Makhdoom A. Shah



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KUWAIT. Migration to the Gulf has led to major changes in the growth of cities in both sending and receiving countries. Research in Asia has shown that migrants do not necessarily originate in the cities. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, for example, two-thirds of all migrants to the Gulf came from rural areas in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The network of recruitment agents is widespread, and recruitment is sometimes made in the villages, particularly for unskilled laborers.

## Migration and Urbanization

After migration to the Gulf, a majority of the migrants live in cities (see table). Residence in a modern urban environment has far-reaching implications for the lives of these workers. Experiencing the amenities they are able to enjoy in the Gulf cities provides a new framework for their own future once they return to their home countries. Among return migrants there is a strong preference to move out of earlier blue collar jobs into self employment—mainly retail trade and transportation. Such preferences

increase the likelihood of settling in urban areas. Also, a substantial amount of remittance income is spent on improving the quality of housing in South Asian countries.

Migrants helped build the cities of the Gulf countries and are needed to maintain infrastructure and services. The urbanization rate has been higher in the Gulf countries than in other parts of the world, due to high rates of population growth and migration. It is estimated that 80 percent or more of the total population in five of the six GCC countries will reside in urban areas by the turn of the century.

The nature of work for which most migrants are imported generally requires urban residence, contributing to rapid urbanization of Gulf cities.

In Kuwait, where migrant workers constitute 80 percent of the labor force, 58 percent of the male expatriate workers in 1993 were concentrated in production-related occupations located in the cities. Such work is considered undesirable by nationals. Substantial numbers of foreign workers are also employed in professional and technical jobs.

## Gulf Migration

The large numbers of workers in the Gulf result from several factors, including: the small and young populations of the Gulf countries; the trend toward seeking higher levels of education among nationals; the low cost of importing workers; and the reluctance of nationals to participate in some activities.

The Gulf crisis of 1990–91 resulted in the displacement of about two million workers, most of whom returned to their country of origin. It also resulted in the movement of almost 400,000 Palestinians and Jordanians from Kuwait, and the exodus of about 800,000 Yemenis from Saudi Arabia because of the support of these countries for Iraq. The post-Gulf war period has witnessed the rapid return of workers, and has resulted in record high levels of labor emigration from some South Asian countries, such as Pakistan and Bangladesh.

## Gender and Migration

While the majority of all migrant workers to Kuwait are

male, one-fifth of the expatriate labor force is female. Housemaid constitute about 71 percent of all female foreign workers. During the past two decades, housemaids represent a growing segment of the labor force in other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries as well.

Housemaids in the GCC countries come mainly from Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and India. Each of these countries has tried to regulate the export of domestics in order to minimize their exploitation. This group of workers has been most vulnerable to human rights abuses.

The import of housemaids is controversial since it is generally believed that they have a negative impact on the children in their care, and on the culture in general. However, their presence is justified by the employers for reasons of social status, house work, and child care. The labor force participation rate of Kuwait women has increased from only 2 percent in 1965 to 25 percent in 1993.

Despite the impressive positive changes in the roles of Kuwaiti women, however, fertility levels remain high, with an average number of 6.5 children per woman. This is consistent with the government's population policy which, since 1985, has aimed to achieve a balance between Kuwaiti nationals and expatriates. The household size is one of the justifications used for importing a large number of maids.

## Living Conditions in Kuwait

Residential patterns in the Gulf cities are closely associated with migration. Nationals and expatriates are concentrated in different

## Population, Urbanization, and Migration Trends in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries

GCC Country	Total population (000s)		Percent urban		Percent non-national in population	Percent non-national in labor force	
	1975	2000	1975	2000	1988	1975	1990
Bahrain	272	682	78.5	85.3	49	45.8	51.0
Kuwait	1,007	2,782	83.8	97.2	57*	70.2	80.0*
Oman	766	2,057	6.1	15.1	30	53.7	70.0
Qatar	171	498	83.6	91.4	76	83.0	91.6
Saudi Arabia	7,251	20,686	58.7	80.2	40	32.0	59.8
United Arab Emirates	505	1,950	79.8	77.8	66	84.0	89.3

\*1993 data

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parts of the cities, with notably different types of housing. In Kuwait, most expatriates live in high-rise apartment buildings, while most Kuwaitis live in villas. The government effectively maintains this segregation of residential areas by providing housing to its nationals either free of charge or at highly subsidized prices, while many of the expatriates are provided accommodation by their employers.

Companies that import a majority of blue collar workers (especially in the cleaning and manual services) usually provide housing, transportation to and from work, and food. While accommodations usually have air-conditioning, running water, and indoor plumbing, the living conditions are far from luxurious. In order to minimize costs, eight or more workers may share a room fitted with bunk beds, and up to 30 may share a bathroom.

Since the election of a National Assembly in October 1992, Kuwait seems to be more concerned with its image abroad. Greater concern is being expressed about protecting the rights of foreign workers, and a human rights committee has been established within the National Assembly.

Migrants have helped to shape the size and structure of cities in the Gulf. Upon return to their home countries, they are also likely to contribute to the rate of urbanization. Despite falling wages and reports of mistreatment, the Gulf experience remains a positive one for most migrants. Sending-country governments as well as individual households view labor migration as a boon in terms of remittance receipts and welcome the opportunity to maximize their chances of employment in the Gulf.

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## Stirring the French Melting Pot

by Remi Clignet

Remi Clignet is Director of Research at ORSTOM, the French Institute for Scientific Research.

PARIS. French urban policies, while increasingly acknowledging the need to accelerate the socio-economic and cultural integration of foreigners, are subject to a growing malaise which threatens to tear the political fabric of French society. Policies governing immigration, economic development, and urban growth are in conflict.

Immigrants hope the economy of the host country will grow at least as much as development back home declines. Managers of large businesses act as if surviving in a highly competitive environment requires either a low-paid unskilled labor force or complex machinery and fewer but more skilled workers. Defining urban policies involves a constant redistribution of human and material resources between central and local governments. Economic slumps tend to exacerbate the clashes among immigration, economic development, and urban policies.

### Changes in Patterns

In 1990 the French population included 51.3 million individuals by birth, 1.8 million who had acquired French nationality, and 3.6 million immigrants. The national background of these immigrants is increasingly diverse.

The concentration of foreigners in Paris keeps growing (a little more than one-third in 1990 compared with less than one-fifth in 1946). Their nationality varies across districts. In the Department of Seine Saint Denis, the City of Aubervilliers hosts 20,000 foreigners, who represent 30 percent of the population.

Suburbs of French metropolitan areas become ghettos when the absolute number of their

foreign residents is high; when foreigners represent a significant proportion of the overall local population; or when the numbers increase so fast they put extreme pressures on local services.

### Social Problems

As the diversity of immigrants increases, their participation in French social life changes what the hosts and guests expect from one another. Immigrants tend to complain that public authorities do not do enough to help them; French taxpayers and the neediest segments of the French population complain that too much is done for foreigners. These conflicting stances aggravate problems faced by both the local and the central governments.

**Immigration and formal schooling.** Increases in the numbers of immigrants ultimately mean an increase in the number of young dependents. The concentration of young immigrants in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods jeopardizes the egalitarian orientation of the national school system. In order to reduce both the academic handicaps of young immigrants and subsequent difficulties of finding employment, French authorities have created educational priority zones. The creation of these zones, however, does not necessarily reduce the different educational opportunities of French and foreign-born students. Nor does it reduce the frequency or intensity of cultural conflicts.

**Immigration and housing.** Despite initiatives to provide immigrants with decent housing, overcrowding is common and the level of comfort lower than for French-born counterparts. Immigrants are concentrated in the worst parts of the least attractive suburbs. The gap

between the rich and poor grows larger and larger. To be a resident of a bad neighborhood becomes a stigma that blocks employment and prevents moving to a more desirable part of town.

### Immigration and employment.

Immigrants are concentrated in economic sectors with high rates of unemployment. Their plight is often further aggravated by involvement in informal sector activities. The treatment immigrants receive reflects the divorce of many industrial or commercial enterprises from municipal life. The government is trying to reduce the unemployment of young immigrants by hiring them to restore and repair the housing projects in which they live. Similarly, some companies train young immigrants free of charge before negotiating their hiring by small local enterprises.

### Heightened Social Conflicts

Violence in French suburban ghettos was initially a strategy used to force public authorities to negotiate new investments in the local community. Its current frenzy symbolizes the demise of any social order. Often triggered by rumors concerning the police or local authorities, this violence is not exclusively inspired by counter-racism. Indeed, it involves the destruction of amenities that exclusively serve ghetto residents.

The failure of current urban policies has enhanced the power of the French courts. They are expected to redefine the rights and duties of all urban residents without the benefit of clear guidelines. Certainly, the malaise makes the lives of immigrants more difficult. But it is also tearing apart the political fabric of French society.



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# Trans-urban Migration—South Africa as a Test Bed

by AbdouMaliq Simone

**4** AbdouMaliq Simone is Director of Research for the Foundation for Contemporary Research, an urban development NGO working in Cape Town and Johannesburg, South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA. At the recent presidential inauguration of Nelson Mandela, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali indicated that South Africa could now take its rightful place in Africa. Despite its long status as a

identity. Maintaining the household and the community means cutting across what were considered, at least in the colonial period, distinct cultural, political, and ethnic lines.

Many kinship-based enter-

lived in fifteen African countries as a “courier of commodities” says: “We are here to remind South Africans that they live in Africa, not America; although, if this place wasn’t a lot like America, I doubt many of us

boon to these associations and networks.

## Understanding Trans-urban Linkages

Economic considerations, coupled with political instability in many parts of the continent, have made South Africa a major destination for migrants from Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire as well as the traditional “feeders”—Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Mozambicans and Angolans have increasingly gravitated to remote peri-urban areas, most living in extreme destitution. Southern Africans have largely penetrated the established black townships, working as artisans, hawkers, and clerks. The inner-city neighborhoods contain large numbers of Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, Ghanaians, Nigerians, Zairois, and others from Francophone countries. Yet these rough demographic sketches mask both the breadth and diversity of African immigration. Even within national groupings, such as the Zairois, there is a mix of disparate interests and allegiances. The configuration of the social fabric will be difficult to manage using conventional policies; its complexity challenges many of the assumptions about what it takes to develop urban communities.

For example, the rapid transformation of the inner city during a time of uncertain political transition provided a framework for many South African and foreign nationals to establish footholds. Within six years, the inner city changed from 80 percent white to nearly 70

*continued on page 15* ►



*Johannesburg is a magnet for migrants from many other countries in Africa.*

pariah state, South Africa has, for some time now, provided a new and significant amplification of the socio-cultural and economic configurations upon which much of Africa’s survival depends.

In most African urban communities there is a persistent dissociation between paid productive activities carried out “elsewhere” and activities “at home.” As residents must travel further afield in search of income, local organizations (ethnic, religious, and neighborhood) play an important role in structuring the often complex connections between multiple communities.

Urban areas have become webs of relationships that try to sustain family interests and habitat at the same time they manage a more global economic

prises ensure that family members are located in different cities to maximize marketing opportunities. Various towns and cities become spokes on a wheel—feeding back to a central base of operation but also diversifying the business. Long-term community ties may be established, or people may be in near-permanent transit. More and more Africans are in motion—thereby creating an expanding market.

## South Africa as a Magnet

Many migrants come to South Africa because of its strong economic position relative to the rest of the continent. It allows Africans to “go West without going overseas.” One Zairois resident, who at 23 has already

would be here.”

African migration has been aided by the expansion of unconventional and nonregistered cross-border trade circuits into the South African economy. This expansion has been facilitated by the proliferation of air links and well-organized long-distance taxi routes that connect Johannesburg with cities as far away as Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, and Kampala. A host of informal associations, syndicates, and small and medium-scale entrepreneurial networks use South Africa’s sizable markets and export infrastructure. Because opportunities for entrepreneurship in most of Africa rely excessively on investments in already overextended trade circuits, the opening up of South Africa has been a

percent black. The largely illegal or legally marginal status of many foreign nationals forces large segments of these communities to behave in more defensive and clandestine ways.

### Johannesburg

Already sectors of the central city are close to having a foreign majority African population. The extent of migratory flows is best represented by Ponte City, the largest residential building in Africa, which towers over the central city of Johannesburg. With an international orientation and an infrastructure which enables it to function as a "city within a city," Ponte has become "Africa's own United Nations." Certainly no where else in Africa have so many African nationalities been thrown into living arrangements of this density. The result is a remarkable mixture of backgrounds, histories, occupations, styles, and survival practices.

Yet for most in Johannesburg, Ponte is an intractable problem rather than a resource to be cultivated. For now, it represents a sign of the volatility of emerging connections within Africa rather than one example of how the continent is increasingly integrating itself, despite political turbulence and economic crises.

### Trans Urban Programme

The African Trans Urban Programme (ATP) is a joint project of three South African urban development NGOs: the Foundation for Contemporary Research; a Dakar-based NGO; and the African American Institute in Lagos, Nigeria. ATP tries to better understand how the intensification of migration and cross-border, inter-urban conventional and unconventional trade, and entrepreneurial networks are reshaping the urban political economy and social cohesion within urban communities.

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## U.S. Conference of Mayors Finds Benefits of Immigrants Outweigh Costs in U.S. Cities

A just-released survey of mayors and city officials in 78 cities in the United States found that overall, the benefits of immigration outweigh the problems associated with delivering specialized services to migrants. The survey also revealed that immigration affects cities whether they are large or small, and whether they are close to or far from international borders.

"When many of us think of immigration, we think of Brownsville, Texas, or San Diego, or New York City," said Louisville, Kentucky Mayor Jerry Abramson, President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. "You don't necessarily think of Louisville, Kentucky or Portland, Oregon. In fact, cities like ours all across the country are beginning to experience the effects of immigration."

The survey found that foreign born individuals account for nearly 11 percent of the population of the 78 cities. Officials in more than a quarter of the cities surveyed believe that immigrants were undercounted in the 1990 census. Undercounting results in less federal assistance to cities, which is key to their fiscal survival.

Two out of three cities said that they have benefited by the presence of immigrants, primarily from increased economic development, increased availability of skilled and unskilled labor, and the social and cultural contributions immigrants make to the community.

In Fall River, Massachusetts, for example, immigrants operate many of the city's bakeries, restaurants, and shops. Many local leaders are immigrants or the children of immigrants. In Danbury, Connecticut, refugees and immigrants have been a major source of labor for manufacturing.

Refugees and immigrants have also started a number of specialty businesses there.

However, many cities have experienced problems from the presence of both legal immigrants and undocumented people. Delivery and financing of health, social, language, and other services are the major problems.

In Boston schools, for example, a quarter of all students don't speak English at home and teachers must find ways to help them learn. The school system must translate all its documents into nine languages, which is time-consuming and expensive.

Nevertheless city governments are devoting a lot of money to helping immigrants. Nearly a third of the cities surveyed said that they have programs to help new immigrants in the resettlement process.

Alexandria, Virginia, for example, through its City Hispanic Orientation and Outreach Program, helps 400 to 600 immigrants every year. Volunteers teach such subjects as English, crime prevention, and family planning. Other programs include a soccer league and a medical clinic.

Cities realize that they must not help just immigrants, but also need to work with longstanding residents to encourage and help them accept newcomers.

In Abilene, Texas, for instance, a Human Relations Committee appointed by the mayor opens up avenues for community cooperation and communication. "Team Abilene" is a multi-cultural leadership network that includes people ranging from the grassroots level to leadership positions. Hundreds of miles to the north in Madison, Wisconsin, the Community Action Commission and the Friends Society have worked on a project to reduce tensions between a group of

African Americans and Cambodian families.

All city officials stressed the need for federal financial assistance to help cities meet the costs of services to immigrants. Pinellas Park, Florida, for example, suggests that it is the federal government's responsibility to provide the social and physical infrastructure for immigrants. Local governments simply do not have the resources to do the job. Seattle, Washington feels that the federal government should play an increasing role in promoting self-sufficiency among immigrants.

On legal immigration issues, Glendale, California officials called on the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service and federal government to provide incentives for immigrants to settle in all parts of the country. Currently one-fourth of all immigrants entering the United States settle in Los Angeles County, creating a massive burden for local and county budgets. As for undocumented immigrants, many mayors and city officials called for increased resources for border patrols to more tightly control the nation's borders.

But other cities said that such legal policies must be fairly administered. Seattle suggested that recognition must be given to the undocumented worker's contribution to the larger, global economic structure. They stressed that policies should remain faithful to the historical role of the U.S. as a strong world leader in the promotion of basic human rights.

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To obtain a copy of "Immigration Policy Issues for America's Cities: A 78-City Survey" June 1994, contact the U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

# Forced Migration in the Former Soviet Union

by Arthur C. Helton

**6** Arthur C. Helton, a lawyer, is Director of Migration Programs at the Open Society Institute in New York City. For 12 years he directed the Refugee Project of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

MOSCOW. Moscow today is a city of refugees and people displaced by conflict and persecution. Somali asylum seekers bundle up and wait for assistance in the winter cold in front of the

independent states, where many are under considerable pressure to emigrate.

In Russia, in addition to asylum seekers from republics of the former Soviet Union, there are

into situations of fragile peace, others are emerging, such as the increasing tensions and escalating rhetoric between political factions in Ukraine and Crimea over the status of Crimea. This is but one example. The potential for dislocation is enormous. Nationalism, secessionist movements, and discriminatory measures are on the rise in the former Soviet Union. Some 72 million people live outside the boundaries of the republics of their ethnic origin. Altogether, there are some 128 ethnic groups in the 15 countries of the former Soviet Union.

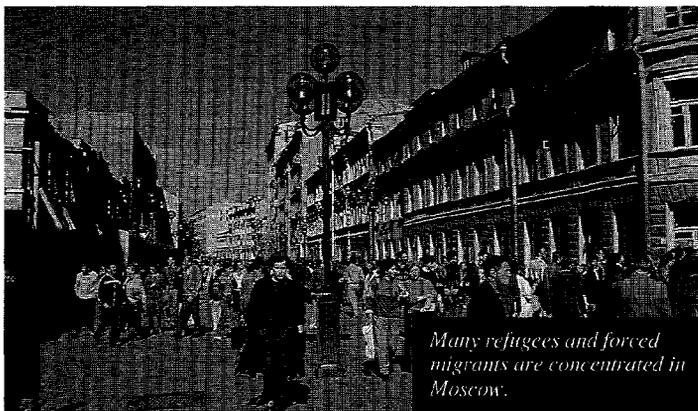
keep up with demand, suffering and loss of life occur.

Civilian Assistance (a Russian NGO) and the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, organized a conference in Moscow last year on "NGOs and Refugee Protection in the Russian Federation." One of the outcomes of the conference was the creation of the Non-Governmental Coordinating Council for Aid to Refugees and Forced Migrants. The aim of this council is to better coordinate the efforts of agencies that work with refugees and forced migrants in Russia.

Network-building among NGOs, international organizations, and government agencies dealing with migration in Russia has begun. However, much remains to be done. The capacity of NGOs to monitor implementation of laws and ensure respect for the rights of refugees and forced migrants must be enhanced. If achieved in the migration area, such non-governmental efforts could provide useful models for emulation in other areas.

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*This article includes information from an article by the author which appeared in Migration World Magazine, Volume XXI, Number 5, 1993.*



*Many refugees and forced migrants are concentrated in Moscow.*

United Nations' headquarters; Afghans await a solution in a tourist camp on the outskirts of Moscow; Armenians from Baku subsist in unused workers' barracks with little hope for resuming a normal life; people from the Caucasus are denounced and rounded up for deportation. A continuing low grade social crisis affects many Moscovites. But the dislocated are particularly vulnerable.

## Russia's Refugees

Well over one million refugees and forced migrants live in Russia—500,000 refugees and 700,000 migrants—many of them ethnic Russians. Most are in Moscow, St. Petersburg, in the southern regions of Stavropol, Krasnodarsk, and Rostov, or in the central regions of Tula and Kaluga.

Many non-Russians gravitate to urban areas because of opportunities to subsist, or prosper, in the new informal economy there, or to try arranging onward travel. Ethnic Russians are returning in large numbers from the newly

approximately 40,000 refugees from Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, and Somalia. Most of these refugees came to Russia en route to another country, and are concentrated in Moscow and to a lesser extent in St. Petersburg. While most hope to travel onward, principally to western Europe and North America, they often find themselves marooned in these cities with no effective access to social protection. They sleep in airports, train stations, and on the streets; they are part of the new homeless population in Russia's major cities.

## Looking to the Future

According to a 1989 census, over 25 million Russians live in the newly independent states. In the foreseeable future, the migration of ethnic Russians may increase because of ethnic tensions and conflicts in many areas of the former Soviet Union. Protracted conflicts in the Caucasus, Central Asia and Moldova have displaced about one million people. While some of these conflicts have devolved

## Coping with the Flow

The Federal Migration Service (FMS) was set up in December 1991 to begin managing immigration into Russia. Overall, the agency is planning to accommodate 200,000 refugees in the Russian Federation. However, FMS lacks adequate resources and has serious operational problems. For example, only last year did the Russian Federation enact laws concerning forced migrants and refugees. Resources in the independent sector are diffused, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are still being formed. Because these emerging arrangements cannot

## For Further Information

For more information on follow-up activities to the NGO Conference contact: Ms. Lidia Grafova, Civilian Assistance, Literary Gazette, 13 Kostiansky pereulok, Moscow, Telephone: 7-095 208-88-02 or 208-88-47 and Fax: 7-095 200-02-38. A written report of the NGO conference can be obtained from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 330 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, 10001, U.S.A.

The Open Society Institute is establishing a project to curb forced migration in the 15 countries of the former Soviet Union by advocating early humanitarian action and seeking to prevent the causes of flight. For more information, contact: Arthur C. Helton, Open Society Institute, 888 Seventh Avenue, Suite 1901, New York, NY 10106. Telephone: 212-887-0634; Fax: 212-489-8455.

# Migration Trends in Central and Eastern Europe

by Marek Okólski

Marek Okólski is Professor of Demography in the Department of Economics, and Director of the Polish Policy Research Group at the University of Warsaw in Warsaw, Poland.



WARSAW. Sporadic and well known waves of massive outflows to the West from Central and Eastern Europe have been common over the last several decades: Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1981. The climax of this outflow, hidden in the form of tourism, occurred in 1988 and 1989 when 400,000 people emigrated from Poland. When passport policies were liberalized, many who had been authorized to make short tourist journeys simply stayed abroad.

Since 1989 international migration in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia has become one of the most visible signs of the transition to modern democratic society and an open market economy. This growth has meant rapidly increasing diversification of languages, customs, ways of dressing, and contacts with local populations.

In practically all mid- or large-sized towns, flea markets (often attended, set up, or controlled by foreigners) mushroomed. Visitors have transformed city parks, suburban areas, and railway stations into campgrounds. Street corners have become centers of operations for foreign vendors and professional beggars. Foreign visitors have rapidly become victims of petty crime. The problem of the increasing presence and participation of foreigners in the transition has attracted media and political attention, and contributed to dramatic changes in social relations in the region.

Politically motivated emigration has disappeared, and the outflow of ethnic minorities has greatly diminished. At the same time, short-term migration to western countries for work has increased in ex-Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.

## Reversing the Flow

Many people who had emigrated to the West have returned. In 1989 and 1990 Hungary witnessed a significant inflow of Hungarian refugees from East European countries, and in 1994 Poland faces a repatriation of tens of thousands of Poles from the former Soviet Union. These trends have brought about a larger inflow than outflow of the highly educated.

A common—although almost forgotten—trend in Central and Eastern Europe has been the inflow of refugees. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland hosted tens of thousands of asylum-seekers from Africa and Asia. Temporary protection was also given to thousands of displaced persons from the former Yugoslavia. In Hungary alone, more than 100,000 refugees were registered between 1989 and 1993.

A new trend has emerged in Poland, where thousands of foreigners have applied for work permits. Most migrant workers from 1991–1993 were Russians and Ukrainians, but permits were also granted in large numbers to citizens of China and Vietnam, and specialists from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany. In ex-Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the inflow of migrant workers has continued. Foreigners accept hazardous and low-paying jobs (that are often avoided by local labor). Migrants also work in business, banking, and finance.

In some regions, the elevated inflow of foreigners has a number of favorable effects, including stabilizing the market and increasing the net profits of small enterprises. But, these new migratory trends have also generated serious social and economic problems.

## The Shadow Economy

Dynamically growing markets, together with an expanding private sector, confronting a largely inefficient fiscal system, have fostered the development of a shadow economy. This has fed on exploited foreign labor, which has been exposed to occupational hazards and deprived of elementary social and health care.

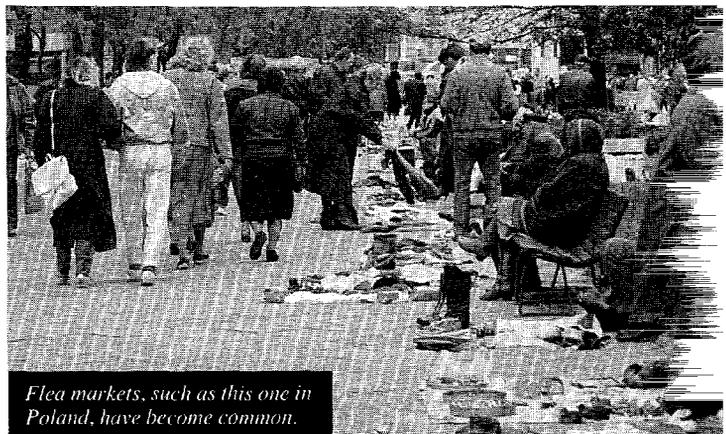
Visitors from the former communist countries lack experience in travelling abroad and their resources are scarce. Often they become desperate, and have been driven to crime. In some urban areas the presence of migrants has endangered public order and violated sanitary standards.

Local populations facing new transition-related challenges—a decreasing standard of living or lack of employment and social

suggests that in 1993, Poland hosted more than 100,000 migrants in transit, as did the Czech Republic.

Transit migration frequently involves sophisticated strategies or illegal border crossings, sometimes with the help of specialized networks, including “people smugglers.” Transit migration has become popular in Central and Eastern European cities. Many migrants coming from Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and other Asian countries see Central and Eastern Europe as a convenient “waiting room” in their migration to the West.

This inflow of illegal migrants increases the problem of deportation and readmission of unwanted foreigners, and contributes to social conflicts and nationalism, especially in urban areas.



*Flea markets, such as this one in Poland, have become common.*

security—have become increasingly unfriendly to foreigners.

## Transit Migration

Of all new migratory phenomena observed in Central and Eastern Europe, transit migration—a movement to one or more countries with an intention to migrate to yet another country of final destination—is the most spectacular. A cautious estimate

Transit migration in Central and Eastern Europe reflects a new phase of integration within the European Union, the transition from socialism in the East, and a deeply rooted, dramatic economic disparity between the North and South. It is a rapidly growing international problem and needs systematic collaboration on a large international scale.

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# The U.N. Population Conference: A Preview

by Hania Zlotnik

**B** Hania Zlotnik is Chief of the Mortality and Migration Section of the Population Division of the United Nations. She has been active as the Technical Secretary for the Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration, held as part of the preparatory activities for the International Conference on Population and Development.

Migration and urbanization are among the major issues to be discussed at the United Nations' International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), to be held in Cairo, Egypt this September. The Programme of Action that the ICPD is expected to adopt in September reflects a comprehensive preparatory process that has included the views of both experts and governments.

Despite differing concerns and interests expressed by member states, there appears to be sufficient common ground to forge a consensus on most issues related to internal and international migration.

Receiving countries in particular expressed concerns about the negative consequences of migration and the view that international migration needs to be brought under control. Member states agreed that "to address the root causes of migration, especially those related to poverty" was an important objective. In contrast, the Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration had underscored that migration has many beneficial effects that should be recognized and fostered. Governments were thus urged to manage migration flows and developed countries were encouraged to try to improve the skills of migrants from developing countries or from countries with economies in transition.

## Documented and Undocumented Migrants

The Programme of Action emphasizes the need to extend to documented migrant workers and

members of their families who satisfy certain requirements, treatment equal to that of nationals with regard to certain rights and social entitlements. It stresses measures to promote the integration of long-term migrants and their children, and to combat racism and xenophobia.

Measures to deter or combat undocumented migration are given prominence, and the role that the governments of countries of origin can play in preventing such migration is recognized. Undocumented migration is portrayed as generally undesirable, thus justifying as objectives a substantial reduction of the number of undocumented migrants, and the need to address the root causes of undocumented migration.

There is a great need to protect the basic rights of all migrants, particularly by preventing the exploitation of undocumented migrants and safeguarding the well-being of refugees and displaced persons. Combatting the root causes of refugee movements and population displacement is emphasized as well as the need to find permanent solutions to their plight, particularly in the form of repatriation.

In discussing urbanization, the expert group considered the effects of international migration on cities. A review of the integration problems faced by international migrants in developed countries showed that most have settled in cities, and that housing segregation is common. Experts noted that the problems of cities had often been attributed to the presence of migrants, both rural-

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## International Conference on Population and Development

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) seeks to forge a new international consensus that population concerns should be at the center of all economic, social, political, and environmental activities.

The Conference will bring together decisionmakers and political leaders from all countries and regions. ICPD will adopt a set of realistic 20-year goals related to reducing mortality, making family planning universally available, and enabling all children to

migration. To slow migration from rural areas to cities, which is contributing to phenomenal urban growth, ICPD will emphasize the need to reduce urban-rural inequality, to foster environmentally sustainable development of rural areas and small and medium-sized cities, and to better manage cities to improve the quality of life of the urban poor.

• *International migration.* Actions are needed to reduce undocumented migration by addressing its root causes, especially those related to poverty;



*Cairo will host the ICPD in September 1994.*

complete at least primary education. The proposed goals build upon goals for the year 2000 agreed to at previous international forums, including the 1990 World Summit for Children.

At the final meeting of the ICPD Preparatory Committee in New York this April, delegations from 170 countries agreed on most of the wording of a draft Programme of Action to be finalized in Cairo. Its 16 chapters spell out an enlightened approach to a broad range of population and development themes. Included are:

• *Population distribution, urbanization, and internal*

to encourage more cooperation between sending and receiving countries; to ensure the well-being and social integration of documented migrants; to protect both the documented and undocumented from racism and xenophobia; and to find durable solutions to the plight of refugees and displaced persons.

*For details contact: ICPD Secretariat, 220 East 42nd Street, 22nd Floor, New York, New York, 10017, U.S.A. Tel: 212-297-5244/5245; Fax: 212-297-5250.*

to-urban and international. Yet, careful consideration of the causes of such problems has generally pointed in other directions, including government policies on the use of land, the location of industry, or the provision of housing.

### Recognizing Diversity and Human Rights

Not all migrants are equal and not all are found among the urban poor. In developed countries, the migrants "of concern" are those identified as belonging to ethnic minorities that are considered to be different. Religion or race are commonly used to distinguish minorities, who are often the targets of discrimination. While migration itself is not the cause of the problems of cities, in times of uncertainty and economic stringency, migrants belonging to

minority groups are often blamed unfairly for these problems.

*It is a major step in the right direction for the international community to endorse the need to ensure that the basic rights of all migrants are respected and to call for measures to combat racism and xenophobia. It is also important to recognize, as the Programme of Action does, that large cities often represent "the most dynamic centres of economic and cultural activity in many countries" and that the challenges faced by cities can be met through better management and a more effective use of their human resources, including those of migrants, both internal and international.*



*The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations.*

## NGO FORUM '94

NGO Forum '94 is an independent gathering of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which will be held along side the United Nations' International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). NGO Forum '94 will be the largest gathering of population, development, environmental, human rights, and women's organizations since the UNCED Global Forum.

At NGO Forum '94, the program will focus on sharing lessons learned in both influencing policy and improving program performance in development, family planning, women's empowerment, human rights, migration issues, environmental protection, and health.

The program will include keynote lectures, workshops, group meetings, working groups, panel discussions, daily briefings from the UN Conference, an international video festival, and NGO exhibits.

NGO Forum '94 will be held concurrently with the ICPD, 5-13 September 5-13, 1994 at the Cairo Indoor Sports Stadium near the International Convention Center, which will host the official deliberations. The proximity of the ICPD will facilitate government delegates' participation in Forum activities, and allow accredited NGO participants access to the governmental deliberations.

*For more information, contact: The Non-Governmental Organization Planning Committee for ICPD, 777 United Nations Plaza, 8th Floor, New York, New York, 10017, U.S.A. Tel: 212-545-7344, Fax: 212-545-7581.*

## First Person Interview: A Filipina in Rome

I am a Filipina migrant worker living in Rome, Italy. I am the oldest of eight children, and started working on a farm when I was 16 years old to help my father support the family. While I was working in Manila after earning a Bachelor's degree, my aunt, who had been working in Italy as a domestic, sent me a letter. She said there were plenty of jobs there and she would help someone from the family to come join her. I volunteered to go so that I could send money home to my brothers and sisters.

It has been seven years since I left the Philippines by paying a huge sum to a travel agency (using money borrowed from my aunt) to be surreptitiously brought into Rome. I left with a passport and a round-trip ticket: Manila-Paris-Amsterdam-Zurich-Manila. I had a transit visa to France, and tourist visas for the Netherlands and Switzerland. My actual destination: Italy!

I left with a group of 21 other Filipinos, mostly women. In Zurich we were in a hotel for one week and on the midnight of October 31 we took a train. We were locked up in two compartments with the instruction not to make any noise.

The train inspector, who was paid US\$ 300 per head, did not collect our passports for inspection by the border police, and declared the compartments empty. We reached Rome safely the following day, where my aunt was waiting for me.

Just before I reported to my first domestic job, I went to visit an international women's organization and volunteered to work during my free time. They offered me a paid job despite the fact that I was undocumented. A few months later, an amnesty was granted to all the undocumented migrants. I was declared a domestic helper by a sympathetic family—a title I still carry despite being a full time activist married to an Italian. A mainstream white collar job remains out of my reach. Even if my degree were recognized in Italy, my "regularization" would take 10 years.

Like all migrant workers, I have been sending money to my family in the Philippines. I have become the sole breadwinner of my family since my father died in 1990. And because of these remittances, my family's economic status—and even their work ethic—has changed. My two other brothers and a sister went to college, but only my sister finished

her studies. My brothers have refused to do manual work because they have been assured of the remittances from abroad. Our remittances are not being used wisely and are spent on consumer goods such as color TVs, VCRs, and stereos.

When I joined a Filipino migrant workers' organization, I found out there were many more problems. One important problem is that the illegal status of many Filipina migrants increases their vulnerability to all forms of exploitation, including mistreatment by employers and sexual harassment.

Another social cost of international migration is that it separates families for long periods. Mothers have gone abroad and left young children under the care of husbands or other relatives and friends. Often, the husbands neglect the children and spend the remittances lavishly on alcohol, gambling, and womanizing. In fact, the traditional Filipino family has started to disintegrate.

In Italy, unwanted pregnancy has become a major concern. In the patriarchal culture of the Philippine society, single mothers and women having children out of wedlock are discriminated against. Thousands of Filipinas have resorted to abortion

because of these and other circumstances. It is a general practice of Italian employers to terminate from work their pregnant domestic helpers.

Child-rearing is another major problem for migrant women, especially for undocumented workers. Children being born in Italy are mostly sent to the Philippines under the care of relatives, or are given up for adoption. In some cases, however, women are desperate and the children are abandoned. Lack of social services is a major problem not only for migrant women, but also for Italian women.

I have set up, together with a small group of Filipinas in Rome, a center that offers temporary shelter, counseling, education, and referral services to Filipina migrant women.

*Charito Basa is an activist in Rome who works on women's issues and international migration. She was sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation to monitor and influence the process of the third preparatory meeting prior to the ICPD in Cairo on the issue of international migration.*

# Migration and Cities in Germany

by Jochen Blaschke



Jochen Blaschke is the Director of the Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research in Berlin, Germany.

BERLIN. Germany is the largest receiving country of immigrants in Europe and has long been a country of immigration. After World War II, the German labor market was filled with displaced people and those expelled or forced to emigrate as a result of the war. These groups of immigrants were quickly integrated into the labor markets and into society without any open ethnic discrimination. This group of immigrants makes up almost a quarter of the German population.

The economic upswing in the 1950s and 1960s led to the introduction of a system of labor recruitment from elsewhere in Europe. Immigrant workers linked up with the last of the internal migrants from the countryside and were, for the most part, employed in textile and heavy industries. This system ended after the economic crisis in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

## New Trends Since 1970s

Family reunions and chain migrations dominated migration patterns in the 1970s. These immigration waves, which incorporated second and third generations of immigrant laborers, further added to the pool of low-paid workers. The immigration of family members increased the costs and demands on the welfare state. There are about five million people in the country today who immigrated in this way.

During the 1980s there was a marked increase in the immigration of diaspora Germans from Eastern European countries. Generous naturalization and integration measures were made available to these groups. The conservative governments under Chancellor Helmut Kohl made a political issue of the ethnic Germans and thus intensified the

pull of people back to Germany. The radical changes in Eastern Europe have intensified chain migration. In the past three years, more than one million diaspora Germans have come into the country.

## Diversity of Migrants and Asylum Seekers

In Germany, immigrant populations can be statistically registered by citizenship only. This makes it impossible to arrive at a precise assessment of the demographic definition of these groups. At present, there are about 6.5 million foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany, among them approximately 1.3 million children and adolescents. About 28 percent come from Turkey, and more than 70 percent of them have been in Germany for more than 10 years. Half a million Turks have unlimited residence status. Only a few of them take on German citizenship. As of the end of 1992, about 1.5 million refugees were in Germany. The estimates of illegal immigrants range from 200,000 to 1.5 million.

The inflow of asylum seekers in the last few years has been large—last numbering 450,000 persons a year. Asylum seekers are made up of five major categories of people. An especially large group are Gypsies from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria. They have not succeeded in integrating themselves into the German labor market and have not been well accepted in Germany. The second group is made up of Yugoslavian civil war refugees who are increasingly admitted through quota procedures or private initiatives. They are supporting the expansion of Croatian, Bosnian, Albanian, and Serbian relief networks.

The third group of refugees are Turks and Kurds who come in many cases to reunite with families through the gate of entry of asylum. The remaining two groups are refugees from Eastern Europe, including Russian Jews, and refugees from the Third World.

## Berlin Faces New Challenges

The heterogeneity of the immigrant population is evident in all towns and cities. This is certainly true in Berlin, which in the eastern part of the city is going through the transition process of German reunification at the same time. The larger western part of Berlin has to face up to the challenge of the pressures of the world market more than ever before. Since Berlin is situated at the geographical point of intersection between the post-socialist East and the capitalist West, the city is more prone to the new migration flows from Eastern Europe than other cities.

Economically, the city has to wage a hard struggle in order to catch up. The autonomous immigrant economy, however,

has been increasing, and is the fastest growing economic sector. Today, for example, there are about 12,000 Turkish firms in Berlin.

Refugees for the most part have taken on extremely low-paid jobs in niches that are insecure in terms of housing and labor legislation. Slum-like conditions have developed on the fringes of the housing market. In contrast, diaspora immigrants entitled to German citizenship were, as a rule, privileged in the housing and labor markets, which meant accelerated integration of these groups.

Starting in the late 1980s, a growth of racist resentments by marginal parties has emerged. There is a politicization of what is known as the "foreigners problem" by large political organizations. This has been accompanied by excluding immigrants from the central labor markets and a flourishing of separate ethnic economies.

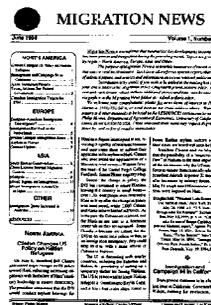
## Migration News

*Migration News* is an information-packed newsletter that provides summaries of key developments on immigration issues during the preceding month. It is designed to be read in 30 minutes. Each issue offers a special report, abstracts of selected papers, and articles and information on recent research publications.

Distribution is by electronic mail (email). To be added to the mailing list, send your email address to: *Migration News* <migrant@primal.ucdavis.edu>. Current and back issues can be accessed via gopher in the *Migration News* folder at: dual.ucdavis.edu

News items can be sent by fax to Philip Martin at 916-752-5614, or to the email address. Working papers and other

materials can be mailed to: Philip Martin, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of California, Davis, CA 95616, USA. Those who contribute items may request *Migration News* by mail or fax if email is not available.



*We actively seek our developing country readers' input for this section. Our intention is to facilitate networking among developing country city managers and their constituents.*

## MIGRANTS IN EUROPE: THE EC'S RESPONSE

*Contact: Donatella Guibilaro, Directorate General for External Economic Relations, Commission of European Communities, 200 rue de la Loi, 1049 Brussels, Belgium.*

Since the end of World War II, large numbers of workers and others from the Mediterranean and North Africa have been coming to Western Europe. The Commission of European Communities (EC) is trying to find out more about how and why migrants flock to its member countries. The EC is also helping establish municipal networks among cities which absorb migrants, and those which send them.

The EC has also helped a number of pilot projects in the Mediterranean and North Africa that are creating jobs for young people. The projects are designed to help migrants contribute to the economic development in their country of origin.

### Municipal Networks

The main objective of the networks among cities that absorb and send migrants is to identify problems and situations in which municipalities can intervene in concrete and positive ways. Another objective is to better enable European, Mediterranean, and North African municipalities to help each other.

The networks seek to make migration a key factor in city planning and to transfer "know-how" about migration flows. The aim is to turn potentially problematic situations into gains. Ideally, the networks can improve the quality of life in medium-size and large cities in the Mediterranean and North Africa so that young people can find alternatives to migration.

### Three Pilot Networks:

#### 1. Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany (Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Multikulturelle Angelegenheiten, Barckhausstrasse 1-3, 6000 Frankfurt am Main 1).

This network includes Frankfurt and Berlin (Germany), Adana (Turkey), Nador (Morocco), Barcelona (Spain), Lisbon (Portugal), and Lyons (France). Its goal is to research and analyze information about the two major migrant populations: young and elderly people. It seeks to answer questions such as:

- Why are young people migrating?
- What can be done to integrate them more effectively into their own countries so they do not emigrate?
- What can be done so they are better prepared and integrated into the receiving countries of Western Europe?
- How can young people from the Mediterranean and North Africa help develop their regions of origin while they are living in Western Europe?

An increasing number of elderly people from the Mediterranean and North Africa are now retired, but choose to stay in Western Europe and carry on a life shared between two countries and two cultures.

- How can the quality of life for elderly migrants be improved?
- How can elderly migrants participate in the development of their country of origin?

#### 2. Gennevilliers, France (Mairie de Gennevilliers, 177 Avenue Gabriel Péri, 92237 Gennevilliers Cedex).

Housing for migrants in Western Europe is generally substandard. In Gennevilliers, France, for example, almost all migrants live in housing of very poor quality. Good quality housing is important to the quality of life for migrants, and to their relationships with both fellow migrants and others in the general population.

Gennevilliers (France), in the suburbs of Paris, Vila Nova de Gaia (Portugal), Fouchana (Tunisia) and Sale (Morocco) are all trying to better understand the housing needs of migrants. They are also attempting to improve conditions, including rehabilitating old buildings.

One of the main activities of the network is to rehabilitate slum districts in Sale. The network also exchanges information and trains municipal officials responsible for housing and town planning. The network hopes European towns can help towns in developing countries in their struggle to improve poor-quality housing occupied by people who are unable to afford extensive home improvements.



#### 3. Anderlecht, Belgium (Commune d'Anderlecht, 1, Place du Conseil, 1070 Bruxelles).

The focus of this network is the creation of small businesses and the use of migrant savings. Migrants can be catalysts for a new kind of economic link between sending and receiving countries.

Anderlecht (Belgium), Kenitra, Berkane (Morocco), and Yalova (Turkey) are seeking a better understanding of how the use of savings by migrants can help create jobs and businesses both in Western Europe and in the countries of origin. This network also wants to encourage migrants who have gained knowledge of two different countries to use this special knowledge for the benefit of both countries.

Anderlecht has a long tradition of small enterprises in the food products sector. As an example, a commercial seafood shop owner in Anderlecht, from Morocco, could use part of his savings to open a production unit in Morocco—buy a fishing boat, employ several fishermen, and build a cold storage unit. At the same time, he could develop the distribution side by expanding his business network in Anderlecht.

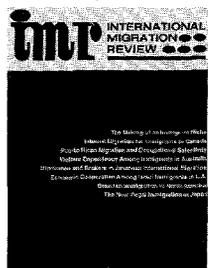
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## International Migration Review and Migration World Magazine



The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.,  
209 Flag Place, Staten  
Island, New York 10304-  
1199, U.S.A.

The Center for Migration Studies began publishing *International Migration Review* in 1964. It has become the leading quarterly journal on human migration and refugee movements. Each issue presents original articles, research



and documentation notes, reports on key legislative developments, an extensive

bibliography and abstracting service, *The International Newsletter on Migration*, plus a review of new books in the field. Many articles are relevant to readers interested in international migration and urban areas. Occasional "special issues" feature contributions by experts on specific topics of emerging relevance to migration theory and policy.

*Migration World Magazine*, has been published by the Center since 1973. The magazine focuses on current events and is aimed at a broad audience of donors, researchers, academics, and human rights groups.

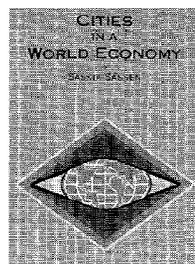
Published five times a year, it provides extensive national and international coverage of migration and refugee movements. The first 1994 issue includes features on Haitians in the United States, migration and trade in Japan, and health care for the foreign-born. Short international news items in

the issue touch on emigration from former-Yugoslavia, racism and ethnic conflict in Russia, the deportation of immigrants in France, and Arab citizens and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

## Cities in a World Economy

by Saskia Sassen. *Pine Forge Press (A Sage Publications Company), 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks, California, 91320, U.S.A. 1994.*

The city is one of the strategic sites where global processes materialize into concrete economic and social forms. There is today a worldwide grid of such cities—from New York and Frankfurt to Sao Paulo and



Bangkok. Sassen observes that, in addition to "the new international culture"

that evolved in the 1980s with explosive growth in international finance, telecommunications, and information flows, these cities attracted a sub-service sector—which includes secretaries, cleaners, truckers who deliver office supplies, technicians and repair workers, and builders. Many of these vital but undervalued jobs are filled by immigrants. To survive, many of the immigrants to these cities have started informal economies and built strong ethnic communities. Such diversity is especially apparent in the world cities of Europe and the United States where corporate power is most concentrated.

Transnational corporate power at the top and the new low-wage workforce at the bottom form a new geography of centrality and marginality that in many ways cuts across the old North-South divide. Both are present in major cities of the North and South. The move to service economies in

these cities has widened the gap between rich and poor, with many low skilled people being marginalized despite their productive contributions.

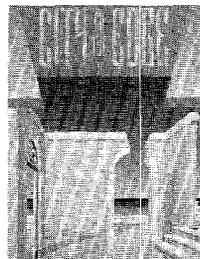
## City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami

by Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *University of California Press, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, California, 94720 U.S.A., 1994.*

Political geography has played the determining role in making Miami into the unique, bilingual, multicultural city that it is today. Portes and Stepick arrive at this conclusion by tracing Miami through its early "colonization," the establishment of the city's powerful Cuban enclave, the Mariel boat lift, and the Nicaraguan exodus. Also included are chapters on Miami's black minorities, the 1980 Miami riot, and how Haitians have become part of Miami's transformation.

This narrative socio-political history draws a vivid picture of Miami on the edge—holding out hope for a convergence between the city's polarized ethnic communities, but clearly reporting the injustices that beset the city's black minorities and various ethnic groups. In Miami, white residents, referred to as "Anglos," are outnumbered by people of Hispanic or Caribbean origin. The Anglo, Black, and Latin communities continue to create the texture of Miami's political and cultural life.

Portes and Stepick draw on both secondary and original research, including surveys of Cuban and Haitian refugees, and interviews with city leaders. *City on the Edge* is a provocative and readable portrait of the ethnic kaleidoscope of Miami—a city on

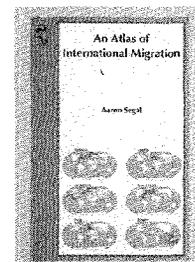


the edge of the future marked by uncertainty and the promise of urban innovations. The transformation of Miami, through waves of immigration, holds important lessons for all cities in a changing world.

## An Atlas of International Migration

by Aaron Segal, Hans Zell *Publishers, an imprint of Brower-Saur Ltd, a division of Reed Reference Publishing, 60 Grosvenor Street, London W1X 9DA, U.K., 1993.*

The first comprehensive atlas of international migration in any



language, this book combines maps and text on international migration from the origins of

human beings to the present. It describes voluntary and involuntary migrations from 1500 to 1990 and defines the world's major diasporas—Armenians, Cambodians, Chinese, Cubans, Haitians, Jews, Kurds, Laotians, Lebanese, Palestinians, Vietnamese and West Indians. Global study abroad, freedom of movement by region, international tourism, and the international brain-drain are also considered. The Atlas includes a useful glossary of terms, a bibliography, and a comprehensive index.

Invaluable for the breadth of its coverage, the Atlas also includes a section on "world cities" which draws a portrait of seven carefully defined urban centers that are particularly conducive to international migration. Amsterdam, London, Los Angeles, New York City, Paris, Sydney, and Toronto were selected because they are "active in world trade, financial and services centers, with diversified economies capable of absorbing unskilled and professional labor."

Below is a selection of urban events and training courses culled from The Urban Age's current files. We are not always able to list events more than once, given space limitations. Please refer to past issues of The Urban Age for additional events scheduled in 1994. Send your announcements to: The Editor, The Urban Age, Room S4-031, The World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington DC 20433, USA. Facsimile: 202-522-3224.



## Conferences

**Semarang, Indonesia**—August 8-11, 1994. **Southeast Asia Seminar on the Management of Coastal Towns and Cities.** Contact: Advisory Committee on Protection of the Sea, 11 Dartmouth St., London, SW1H 9BN, UK. Tel: 071-799-3033, Fax: 071-799-2933.

**Colombo, Sri Lanka**—August 22-26, 1994. **Water, Engineering and Development Centre Annual Conference.** Contact: Mrs. Rowena Steele, WEDC, Loughborough University of Technology, Leicestershire, LE11 3TU, UK. Tel: 44-509-222-885. Fax: 44-509-211079.

**Cairo, Egypt**—September 5-13, 1994. **International Conference on Population and Development, 1994 (ICPD).** Contact: ICPD Secretariat, 220 E. 42nd St., 22nd Fl., New York, NY 10017, USA. Tel: 212-297-5244/5245, Fax: 212-297-5250. **NGO Forum '94.** Contact: The Non-Governmental Organization Planning Committee for ICPD, 777 United Nations Plaza, 8th Floor, New York, NY, 10017, USA. Tel: 212-545-7344, Fax: 202-545-7581.

**Washington, D.C.**—September 11-14, 1994. **Building Partnerships: Worldwide and at Home.** Contact: Jerry Delli Priscoli, International Association of Public Participation Practitioners, P.O. Box 82317, Portland, Oregon, 97282, USA. Tel. and Fax: 503-236-6630.

**Beijing, China**—September 15-21, 1994. **14th Eastern Regional Organization for Planning and Housing, World Planning Congress: Human Settlements Towards 21st Century.** Contact: Mr. Zhang Zhonglian, Congress Secretariat, CICCST/Earoph, 44 Ke Xue Yuan Nan Lu, Shuang Yu Shu, Haidian District, Beijing 100086, China.

**Washington, D.C.**—September 19-21, 1994. **The 2nd Annual World Bank Conference on Environmentally Sustainable Development: The Human Face of the Urban Environment.** Contact: 1994 ESD Conference, Office of the Vice President, Environmentally Sustainable Development, The World Bank, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433, USA. Tel: 202-473-5546, Fax: 202-473-3112.

**New Delhi, India**—October 4-7 1994. **International Indian Human Settlements Programme Seminar: Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development.** Contact: Dr. Kulwant Singh, Human Settlement Management Institute, 212, Asian Games Village, Khelgaon Marg, Siri Fort, New Delhi, 110 049, India. Tel: 91-11-649-3099, Fax: 91-11-649-3726.

**San Jose, Costa Rica**—October 24-28, 1993. **The Third Meeting of the International Society for Ecological Economics.** Contact: ISEE-94 Costa Rica Conference Secretariat, P.O. Box 555-3000, Heredia, Costa Rica. Tel: 506-60-1600, Fax: 506-37-6868.

**Shanghai, China**—October 26-28, 1994. **The International Symposium on Metropolitan Development and the Environment.** Contact: Prof. Jiang Yanyin, Secretary of the Organizing Committee, 508 Qinzhou Rd., Shanghai 200233, P.R. China. Fax: 96-21-4398279.

**Hong Kong**—November 7-12. **World Congress on Urban Growth and the Environment.** Contact: Congress Secretariat, 10 Tonsley Place, London SW18 1BP, U.K. Tel: 081-871-1209, Fax: 081-875-0686.

**Melbourne, Australia**—November 20-23, 1994. **Cities and the New Global Economy.** Contact: OECD-Australia Conference, The Meeting Planners, 108 Church St., Hawthorn 3122, Australia. Tel: 03-819-3700, Fax: 03-819-5978.

**Cincinnati, Ohio, USA**—November 17-20, 1994. **Urban Public Housing.** Contact: Professor Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, School of Architecture, University of Cincinnati, Mail Location 0016, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45221-0016, USA. Tel: 513-556-6743, Fax: 513-556-3288.

**Bali, Indonesia**—December 5-9, 1994. **Health, Economics and Development: Working Together for Change, The Seventh International Congress of the World Federation of Public Health Associations.** Contact: WFPHA Secretariat, c/o APHA, 1015 15th St. NW, Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20005, USA. Tel: 202-789-5696, Fax: 202-789-5681.

**Calcutta, India**—December 15-18, 1994. **Environment and Health in Developing Countries.** Contact: Dr. Rabin Ganguly, Indian Institute of Management-Calcutta, Joka, Diamond Harbor Road, Post Box 26757, P.O. Alipore, Calcutta 700 027, India. Tel: 91-33-77-2390, ext. 290; Fax: 91-33-242-1498.

## Education Programs and Courses

**National University of Colombia in Medellin**—The Faculty of Architecture will offer a course entitled "Management of Local Governments: Institutional Strengthening and Participation" from August 14-September 11, 1994. Contact: Rafael Rueda, Director, CEHAP, 4th Fl., Block 24, Faculty of Architecture, National University of Colombia, Medellin, Colombia. Tel: 230-0040, Fax: 230-9630.

**University of Bristol**—The School for Advanced Urban Studies (SAUS) offers policy seminars, short courses, workshops and graduate degrees, on such subjects as urban employment and labour markets, health and social care, housing, organizations, and policy change. Contact: SAUS, The University of Bristol, Rodney Lodge, Grange Road, Bristol, BS8 4EA, UK. Tel: 0272-741-1117, Fax: 0272-737-308.

**Centre for African Settlement Studies and Development**—Offers training courses throughout the year, on topics such as techniques of environmental impact assessment and urban waste management strategies. Contact: Prof. A.G. Onibokun, The Secretary-General, Center for African Settlement Studies and Development, No. 3 Ayo Adekunle Close, New Bodija Estate, U.I., P.O. Box 20775, Ibadan, Nigeria. Tel: 22-712-727, Fax: 22-414-536.

**Reducing Fear of Migration**

Migration and minorities are seen as a danger to living standards, life styles, and social cohesion. Extreme-right parties have grown and flourished through anti-immigrant campaigns. Hostility to immigrants and ethnic minorities—whether labelled racism, xenophobia or ethnocentrism—has become a major political issue in most countries of immigration. Racism is a threat, not only to immigrants themselves, but also to democratic institutions and social order. Analysis of the causes and effects of racism must therefore take a central place in any discussion of international migration and its effects on society.

All countries of immigration are going to have to re-examine their understanding of what it means to belong to their societies. Comparing migration movements around the world, it is possible to identify certain general tendencies, which are likely to play a major role in the next 20 years:

- *The globalization of migration:* the tendency for more countries to be affected by migratory movements at the same time.

- *The acceleration of migration:* migrations are growing in volume in all major regions of the world.

- *The differentiation of migration:* most countries do not simply have one type of immigration, such as labor migration, refugee, or permanent settlement.

- *The feminization of migration:* women play an increasingly important role in all regions and types of migration.

The inescapable central trends are the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of most countries, the emergence of trans-national networks which link the societies of emigration and immigration, the growth of cultural interchange, and the trend towards increasing urbanization and the development of global cities. The globalization of migration does give some hope of increased unity in dealing with the pressing problems which beset our small planet.

*Stephen Castles has been Director of the Centre for Multicultural Studies at the University of Wollongong in Australia since 1986. Previously, he taught sociology and political economy at the Polytechnic of Frankfurt, Germany. Mark J. Miller is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Delaware. He is also an associate of the Center for Migration Studies in New York, which publishes the International Migration Review.*

*This article was adapted from The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World by Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, 1993, published by The Guilford Press, A Division of Guilford Publications, Inc., 72 Spring Street, New York, NY, 10012, U.S.A.*

Editor:

The Institute of Labor Management & Research is a non-profit, NGO that carries out labor research. Labor needs to be a key component in any strategy for sustained socio-economic development. Through our research we assist in the review and formulation of labor policies in India, and also the implementation of corrective measures. For example, we are starting a research project on the urban labor market and the problems caused by excessive urbanization. We would like to work with other organizations with a similar strategic focus. It would be of immense help to be placed in contact with organizations who might be able to collaborate with us in our research work.

*Rufus Moses  
Institute of Labor Management & Research  
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Madras 600 010,  
India*

Photo credits: p. 1 (New York City) AP/Wide World Photos; p. 4 (map) Age of Migration, see complete citation on page 24; p. 7 (Vancouver) Barbara Pettit; p. 8 (Washington, D.C.) Nestor Hernandez; p. 10 (Hanoi) Population Reference Bureau/Terry Hull; p. 14 (Johannesburg) John M. Courtney; p. 16 (Moscow) John M. Courtney; p. 17 Barbara Koepfel; p. 18 (Cairo) Bonnie Bradford; p. 21 (Ferry to Istanbul) Mary Rose Curtis.

Editor:

I am writing from Nigeria. Conditions of cities here represent the intractable problems facing all urban centers in developing countries. The solutions to these problems lie not only in financial assistance, but also in the attitude of people.

Existing institutional frameworks for providing urban services often do not function. For example, the most successful environmental projects are generally those that have involved direct citizen participation at the grassroots level. Where people once looked to the state to solve difficulties in the economy, commerce, housing, and the environment, they now have doubts that the government or local councils can solve these problems for them.

Solutions to our urban problems will increasingly rely on grassroots participation. But people must be helped to organize themselves and must be given the encouragement and confidence to initiate and take actions for themselves. There, I think, lies the challenge for the new Urban Age.

*U.W. Obi  
University of Nigeria  
Nigeria*

**Next Issue**

The Summer 1994 issue of The Urban Age will be on Privatization and Cities. We look forward to receiving your comments and thoughts on this upcoming issue.



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