Chapter Two
Migration, control mechanisms, and effects

2.1 Theories and types of migration

This chapter deals with the concept of migration, migrants’ selection criteria, core values, cultural aspects, effects of migration, and control mechanisms employed by immigrant receiving countries.

Migration is as old as mankind itself. During recorded history migration has not only increased in volume – it has also seen greater distances been involved by the migratory movements. A “migrant” is defined as the person who enters (immigrant) or leaves (emigrant) a place by means other than birth or death. The sum total of all such movements constitutes migration. Eisenstadt\(^{42}\) (1953: 167) classifies migration as:

…”the physical transition of an individual or group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one.

If migration is a voluntary act of will it carries the concomitant of a decision-making process based on a set of underlying criteria that imply a set of individual values. Mangalam\(^{43}\) (1968: 11) has suggested the following definition regarding the presumed criteria:

Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.

Migration is not a monofaceted social phenomenon; rather it is a multifaceted one that encompasses societies and geographic locations alike. The societies


\(^{43}\) Mangalam, J. J. 1968, Human Migration, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky.
involved consist of the losing (place of origin) place, the gaining (host) one, and the immigrant group itself Velikonja\textsuperscript{44}.

2.2 Analysis of migration

In a world of glaring and ever-growing inequalities, innate prejudices, persecution and violence, and with an intergenerational perseveration rate, it needs to be asked if nation/states are ethically obligated to accept migrants by opening their borders to the maximum inflow of immigrants possible – but within economically sustainable levels, and politically tolerable and acceptable limits imposed by the will of their own peoples. If migration is to be regarded as an inviolable and basic human right, transcending national borders and not invoking the principle of national sovereignty, do the ever-present demands that governments must place the interests of their own citizens above all other considerations take precedence above the needs of all other fellow human beings\textsuperscript{45}?

Whatever a migrant’s classification and the underlying causes of migration might be, two discrete geographic places and three separate social groups are normally involved. The geographic places are the losing (out-migrating) and the gaining (in-migrating) areas; the social groups involve the society of origin, the new host society and the immigrant group itself\textsuperscript{46}. The movement of people associated with migration, whether the migration be intranational or international, enhances social transition that leads to social change. The migrant, either as an individual or as member of a family, may be regarded as a socially dynamic force that contributes to the social evolution within the host society.

For societies that do admit migrants, few issues have generated more public debate than the morality of admitting one class of migrant and not another. Does the principle of national sovereignty permit states to discriminate based on race, religion or ethnicity in choosing whom to admit as

\textsuperscript{44} Velikonja, J. 1989, 25 Years of International Migration Digest and the International Migration Review, in International Migration Review, Center for Migration Studies, Fall, 1989, Vol, 23, pp. 709-725.


\textsuperscript{46} Velikonja, ibid.
immigrants? The White Australia Policy (a policy that reflected not simply a preference for Whites, but hostility towards Blacks, Asians, and other non-Whites), the pre-war United States policy of excluding Asians, and the reluctance of contemporary Germany and other Western European states to admit Gypsies and Muslims have all come under criticism. Today, such policies are widely regarded as morally unacceptable. Somewhat more morally acceptable are preferential immigration policies – by Israel for Jews, by India for Hindus, by Arab countries for fellow Arabs. There are also other kinds of preferences for people with certain skills, educational levels, family reunions, or financial resources.

2.3 Defining migration

Attempting to define migration would require an interdisciplinary approach involving, among others, historians, anthropologists, political scientists, psychologists, sociologists, and economists. Lee considers that migration is “a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence” while Skeldon considers that it involves “a complex system of short-term, long-term, short-distance, and long-distance movements”. On the other hand Delbruck and Raffelhuschen are of the opinion that migration concerns “the change of the normal domicile of a person, a family, or a household”. All types of migration are motivated by the individual’s desire to improve pre-existing levels of wellbeing. While the geographic aspects of migration can be either internal (local or regional) or external (international) the type of migration can be permanent, temporary, voluntary, enforced, individual, or group migration. The reasons that can cause migration are complex and multitudinous. Richardson groups the main reasons for an individual’s decision to leave his

47 Australia deliberately chooses immigrants by classifying them, and according them a percentage of the annual intake migrant quota, according to their business acumen, potential capital investment, specific personal qualifications, etc. Australian immigration policy will be examined in greater detail in a later chapter.

51 Richardson, A. 1974, British Immigrants and Australia, Australia National University Press Canberra, p. 11.
place of birth within three major groupings: receiving country’s desirability (degree of welcome for the immigrant), individual’s experiences in country of birth, and sources of information that impact upon decision-making.

2.4  Migrant selection criteria

Migrant selection criteria have been firmly attached to either the micro-economic or the macro-economic imperatives of a nation’s immigration policy. These selection criteria are discernable in official government policy statements regarding its choice of migrants; the selection process is usually prioritized according to the desirable elements that include racial/ethnic origins, educational level and personal qualifications (trade, professional, other). The selection criteria imposed upon would-be immigrants endeavours to take into account the attitudes of the wider host community in general, the receiving country’s organised labour movement’s attitude regarding immigration, and the government’s concern that the new immigrants would be the cause of minimal social upheaval.

Countries with a high intake of immigrants (such as Australia, Canada and the United States) have in the past chosen to accept migrants that were considered to be adaptable and assimilable within the context of their respective cultural realities. It was largely assumed that (at least until the late 1960s), once granted permanency, immigrants would choose to forget their own culture, their past way of life and their language, and would adapt the prevailing culture of the host society. This attempt at imposed assimilation was recognized to be a false policy (particularly in Australia and Canada and, belatedly, in USA) for the creation of a better society given that immigrants’ cultural contributions were more valuable when given the freedom of individual expression and preservation. Slowly socio-economic changes in the receiving societies, and in the advanced industrialised world, brought about a transformation to peoples’ attitude and understanding of migration.

There are many reasons why people choose to leave a known, familiar environment to pursue a life in unknown and uncertain foreign lands. Herberle\textsuperscript{54} has argued that migration is caused by a series of push/pull forces; these forces encourage an individual to leave \textit{(push)} a known and familiar place, and attract him to another \textit{(pull)} unknown and unfamiliar place; in other words, if an individual's needs/desires cannot be satisfied within his current environment or, being currently satisfied but hearing about greater opportunities elsewhere, then a translocation may appear as an attractive alternative\textsuperscript{55}.

\subsection*{2.5 Migrants' core values}

The motivation to migrate emanates from an ordered set of values that remain unsatisfied in the individual's or group's home country but which the individual or group seeks to satisfy through the act of migration. People migrate for a variety of reasons, amongst which there may be found: avoidance of political or personal oppression at home, better economic prospects, avoidance of religious or ethnic persecution, alienation and exploitation, culturally restrictive society at home, lack of personal freedom, and adventure. Migration as old as mankind itself; it has it increased in volume during

\begin{itemize}
\item A decline in the national economy of a country, or a severe downturn in an individual’s income level.
\item Political changes [that may be unwelcome or dangerous for an individual] in a country.
\item Greater educational opportunities.
\item Unemployment – inability to secure a permanent position or the unlikelihood of gaining such a position.
\item Alienation from the family [owing to changes in personal beliefs, mode of behaviour, or family-feuding] or the wider community.
\item Changes in personal circumstances – marriage, ambition for self-improvement, better [perceived] employment opportunities elsewhere, etc.
\item Natural catastrophes – earthquake, floods, fire, drought, epidemics.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Pull factors:}
\begin{itemize}
\item Better employment opportunities.
\item Self-improvement.
\item Better income.
\item Better climate.
\item Opportunities for career advancement.
\item Family relationships.
\item Appeal of new activities (cultural, recreational, and intellectual).
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{54} Herberle, R. 1938, The causes of the rural-urban migration: a survey of German theories, in \textit{American Journal of Sociology}, no. 43, pp. 932-50.

\textsuperscript{55} These “push-pull” forces may be described as follows (see Bogue, D. J. 1969 \textit{Principles of Demography}, Wiley, New York, pp. 753-54.).
recorded history and it has also seen much greater distances involved in the act of migrating.\textsuperscript{56} In the modern era translocations are no longer a novelty, and many people can expect to experience several moves within the span of a lifetime.

An intensive study of migration will reveal the enduringness of cultural characteristics inherent in all ethnic groups, and the role that these ethnic traits play in ensuring the integration of migrants within autochthonous or ektopic spatiality. Any migratory ethnic group would carry with it all its cultural values, particular skills, attitudes and lifestyle, irrespective of where it finally chooses to settle – be it North or South America, Africa, Europe, Asia or the Antipodes. These cultural values govern the migrant’s behavioural pattern, his lifestyle, and his comportment. The blending of the different cultural values within a multicultural society requires that a strong and flexible institutional basis exist in order that these discrete cultural values can be maintained, developed and nourished within a tolerant, heterogeneous and just society for the benefit and enrichment of the entire population.

2.6 Trajectory of migration

Contemporary migration, unlike that of pre-industrial times, is neither stable in nature nor monodirectional. Post-industrial society has seen the massive movement of peoples within a global network that has witnessed the immense translocation of individuals in their pursuit of a better or safer life away from their place of birth\textsuperscript{57}. The massive improvements in means of communications and the lowering of the cost of transport have helped to facilitate this tremendous inflow and outflow of people.

The watershed for the onset of international migration was the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and in particular from late eighteenth century onwards; prior to this turning point individuals lived in a spatially restricted world with their movements being governed by the topographical restrictions imposed by their place of residence, and by the tyranny of

Withers, G., 1990, \textit{Economics, Migration, and Interdependence}, in Sesquicentenary Meeting of the New Zealand Association of Economists, University of Auckland, August 22, La Trobe University & Cambridge University.
distances involved in any contemplated translocation. The advent of the
technological innovations wrought by the Industrial Revolution caused
society’s spatial horizons to be broadened to include not only localized and/or
distant industrial growth centres but also foreign countries\(^{58}\).

2.7 Migrants’ integration

The integration of the migrant into the receiving society involves,
according to Germani\(^{59}\) three, often interrelated, processes: acculturation (the
process and degree of acquisition and learning by the migrant of ways of
behaviour of the receiving society), adjustment (the manner in which the
migrant is able to perform his roles in the various spheres of activity in which
he participates), and participation (how many and in which roles the
immigrant is performing within the institutions, social groups, and various
sections of the host community).

Migrating has many, and often heavy, costs; including not only the
financial burden of the translocation itself but, among the heaviest costs, are
the cutting of personal ties in familiar surroundings only to face economic and
social uncertainties in a strange new land; it is a cultural break of unknown
proportions. Obviously, an important aspect that warrants serious
consideration is what one understands by the use of the term “culture.”
Giddens gives the term an all-embracing meaning when he states that:

> ...culture consists of the values the members of a given group
> hold the norms they follow, and the material goods they
> create...culture refers to the whole way of life of the members of a
> society. It includes how they dress, their marriage customs and
> family life, and their patterns of work, religious ceremonies and
> leisure pursuits\(^{60}\).

\(^{58}\) Lewis, op. cit., p. 42.
\(^{59}\) Germani, G. 1965, Migration and Acculturation, in Hauser, P. M. (ed.), Handbook for Social Research in
Urban Areas, UNESCO, Ghent, pp. 159-78.
2.8 Migration and cultural considerations

If one were to accept the above definition, it follows that culture concerns the way of life of the members of a given society – their habits and customs, together with the material goods they produce. Since “culture” is such an encompassing aspect of one’s life, it follows, therefore, that culture concerns the way of life of the members of any given society – their dietary habits, their mode of thinking, their mode of appearance, their mode of behaviour, etc. In fact, without culture, man would not be a human (as one understands the term). Without culture, we would lack the necessary vocalization for expressing ourselves, and our ability to reason and to think would meet with other restrictive barriers.

Every culture contains its own unique patterns of behaviour, which might seem alien to people of different cultural backgrounds. It becomes, therefore, important to distinguish what causes social changes in a society. Among the influences are the physical environment, the political organization, and cultural factors. The physical environment often has an effect upon the development of human social organization: the weather obliges people to organize their lives according to climatic conditions – the Australian Aborigines never stopped being hunters and gatherers since the Australian continent where they reside hardly contains any indigenous plants suitable for regular cultivation or animals that would lend themselves to pastoral production. This, however, does not preclude the adaptation, by more advanced societies of new means of agricultural production and land utilization [as the Jews have done in the Negev Desert], since “there is little direct or constant relation between the environment and the types of productive system that develop.” Every culture contains its own unique patterns of behaviour, which might seem alien to people of different cultural backgrounds. It becomes, therefore, important to distinguish what causes social changes in a society. Among the influences are the physical environment, the political organization, and cultural factors.

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63 Ibid.
A second factor of major importance in the changing of societal values is a society's political organization. The forces that propelled the primitive societies of hunters and gatherers were of little relative importance as factors of political organisation. This changed with a change in the type of society, such as those governed by hereditary chiefs, monarchies, republican, whose very existence demanded a strong, structured and relatively orderly social structure; the existence of such political institutions are the cause of developmental change within the society. An adjunct of a developed society’s strength has been its military power – for it is the military strength of a given society that is often fundamental in the establishing of most traditional states.

The third, and perhaps most important, aspect of influence upon social changes are the cultural factors. Among the many cultural factors that must be taken into consideration can be included religion (since religion can be either a modernising force [play a mobilizing role in pressures for social change] or a conservative force [act as a brake on change, emphasizing above all the need to adhere to traditional values and rituals] in the social life of a society); means of communication (the very nature of communicating ensures a societal change, as witnessed by the invention of writing and the introduction of printing – events that led to much higher rates of literacy, wider spread of knowledge and information, greater application of the justice and justice, lessening of Church influence, lessening of societal subjugation, change in the conception of time, and many other human advances); and individual leadership (individual national leaders have had an enormous influence [whether beneficial or otherwise] over peoples and nations in the past – Jesus, Julius Caesar, Newton, Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Marx, Hitler, Ghandi, the Papacy.

2.9 Migration's effects

Migration has many effects that affect both the emigrant and the receiving host society; these effects can be of a social and/or an economic nature. Since there is a lack of homogeneity among people and among places, migrating causes many changes and these changes can manifest themselves on an individual, a locality, a region, or a nation. Whatever the level that is
affected might be, migration remains responsible for many of the social problems that manifest themselves in migration receiving countries. Since migration can be viewed as an independent as well as a dependent variable, it is a major cause of social change and has widespread consequences. Migration is a two-way process: it affects those that migrate and those that receive them. Thomas\textsuperscript{65} has argued that:

\begin{quote}
...migration is defined...as the movements (involving change of permanent residence) from one country to another, which take place through the volition of the individuals or the families concerned.
\end{quote}

The motivation to migrate originates from the desire of individuals to secure satisfaction of their pre-ordained set of values which they are unable to satisfy in their home countries. Thus people are prepared to migrate for a variety of reasons which may include one or more of the following (this list in itself not being complete): avoidance of persecution, greater personal freedom, better economic prospects, sense of adventure, cultural subjugation, suffocating social climate, class stratification, alienation, and avoidance of exploitation. Not only is migration as old as mankind itself and not only has it increased in volume during recorded history; also the distances involved in the act of migrating have increased steadily\textsuperscript{66}. In the modern era translocations are no longer a novelty, and many people can expect to experience several moves within the span of a lifetime.

These movements required eons before they became acceptable. Several of these migratory streams involved European peoples – peoples that were the immigrant source for the opening up of the Americas, Australia and other countries. Not only is migration as old as mankind itself and not only has it increased in volume during recorded history; also the distances involved in the act of migrating have increased steadily\textsuperscript{67}. In the modern era translocations are no longer a novelty, and many people can expect to experience several moves within the span of a lifetime.

\textsuperscript{66} Haggett, op. cit., p. 42.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
Migration does not only concern those that migrate; it also concerns the countries of origin of the migrants and the host countries that receive them. It is the very differences among people and among countries that lie at the heart of migration. Today’s world demographics owe much to past migratory movements. For the individual migrant, migrating is almost always accompanied by dramatic and, quite often, painful experiences since it is usually accompanied by the abandonment of one’s friends and relatives, and often even one’s cultural inheritance and customs. A country’s immigration policy shapes its immigration patterns that in turn have a tremendous impact on the demography, culture, economy and politics of the nation. Additionally, as low birth rates fail to maintain population growth, immigration is now responsible for the maintenance of population stability, or growth, in many Western societies.

Most contemporary migratory waves have involved only a relatively small number of receiving countries: places such as Australia, Canada, North and South America and Western Europe. These areas (and other industrially advanced places) are the focus of migrants in their search of permanent employment and the hope of better opportunities for a brighter future, both for themselves and for their families. Castles and Miller\(^{68}\) maintain that, for most migrants, the main causes for their emigrating are the poor socio-economic conditions that appertain in their countries of origin and that migration, whether internal or external, remains the only alternative in their attempt at socio-economic improvement or advancement. An unintended affect of people’s desire for a better life and more secure existence is the phenomenon of illegal immigration into Europe during the past decade. What ultimately becomes the principal point for the decision to migrate is the belief by intending migrants that, by moving from their known places to unknown but seemingly more promising places, they will be able to take advantage of any potential opportunity that the unknown place offers and thus, ultimately, their economic and social position cannot but improve within their new environment.

2.10 Control mechanisms

Contemporary migratory movements, unlike those of the pre-industrial periods, are not static: neither in duration, volume or direction. Migration refers to the geographic movement of an individual or a group. A society’s inability or unwillingness to adequately and properly satisfy an individual’s, or a group’s, set of expectations and values causes that individual or group to see migration as the only possible alternative. The act of migrating does not only encompass peoples’ geographic translocation, it also involves their status as a migrant within the receiving society. A migrant becomes an immigrant at the moment of acquiring permanent residency by the host society’s government. In recent times Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand and the United States are said to still accept permanent immigrants. It is only after the migrant has received permanency that s/he can commence to pursue the goals that originally caused the decision to migrate. The granting of permanency by a host society to an immigrant is usually governed through the application of the relative Immigration Acts.

The chapter that follows deals with Australian contemporary history (with emphasis on its immigratory nature), post-War of Independence Hellenic history, Hellenic culture, Hellenic migration diachronically, and evolving immigration policies adopted by immigrant receiving countries.

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