CHAPTER - III

DEMOGRAPHY, POPULATION MOVEMENTS, CAUSES AND CONDITIONS OF MIGRATION
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The term ‘demography’ is derived from two Greek words demos and g-afein, meaning the ‘people’ and ‘to draw or write’ respectively. Demography emphasizes basically on fertility, mortality and migration, which are considered as vital events in human lives. Demography is the ‘statistical and mathematical study of the size, composition and spatial distribution of human population, and of the changes over times in these aspects through the operation of the five processes of fertility, mortality, marriage, migration and social mobility’. It is thus the dynamic description of population situation at the micro and macro levels. Demography is a distinct discipline that in many settings has been closely linked to economics, other social sciences and some parts of biology and statistics. It traces its theoretical origin back to the ancient world, and its quantitative roots go back to the seventeenth century. In its modern form the focus of demography has been upon human population in terms of their size, composition and change, with three fundamental demographic drivers: fertility, mortality and migration.

From the point of view of some Social Scientists, demography is a discipline largely lacking in theory. Demographers see it instead as heavily quantitative and empirical, a “number - crunchers” field with little in the way of
coherent and overarching theoretical concepts. But one important and
prestigious domain of demography, known as formal demography, is
actually very theoretical. The core of formal demography is based on quite
abstract mathematical models of human populations. Formal demographic
models typically simplify reality in extreme ways, by assuming that zero
migration occurs across the physical, political, ethnic or other boundaries by
which the particular population is defined - the assumption of Closed
Population.

In a Closed Population any individual can exit only by death. In a Non Closed
Population the same individual can enter and depart many times. The other
major domain of demography, often termed social demography seeks to
better understand the factors that affect the primary demographic forces of
fertility, mortality and migration.

Immigration is producing profound demographic changes in the United
States. During the last decade, the number of new immigrants both legal and
illegal exceeded those in any other decade in American history, including the
1905-14 period when 10.1 million immigrants were admitted. From 1987 to
1996, approximately 10 million immigrants were legally admitted, but
several millions came or remained in the United States illegally during the
decade, and an estimated 5-6 million of them were resident at the end of 1996.
The demographics of Asian Americans describe a heterogeneous group of people in the United States who trace their ancestry to one or more Asian countries. During the 2010 United States Census, there were a total of 17,320,856 Asian Americans including Multiracial Americans identifying as part Asian. Asian Americans constituted 5.6 percent of the total American population.³

The largest ethnic groups represented in the census were Chinese 3.79 million, Filipino 3.41 million, Indian 3.18 million Vietnamese 1.73 million, Korean 1.7 million and Japanese 1.3 million. Other sizeable ethnic groups include Pakistani 409,000, Cambodian 276,000, Hmong 260,000, Thai 237,000, Laos 232,000, Taiwanese 230,000, Bangladeshi 147,000 and Burmese 100,000. The total population of Asian Americans grew by 46 percent from 2000 to 2010 according to the Census Bureau, which constituted the largest increase of any major racial group during that period.⁴

The Asian American population is heavily urbanized in metropolitan areas with population more than 2.5 million. The three metropolitan areas with the highest Asian American populations are the Greater Los Angeles area, The New York Metropolitan area and the San Francisco Bay area. New York, according to the United States 2010 Census is home to more than one million Asian Americans. A large proportion of all Asian Americans live in California, New York and Texas. Other states with significant Asian
American populations during the 2010 census include New Jersey, Illinois, Hawaii, Washington, Florida, Virginia and Massachusetts.\(^5\)

In regions of large numbers of Asian Americans, communities have developed that are heavily or predominantly Asian. These communities are often given unofficial names to reflect their populations, such as China Town, Little Manila, Little India, Little Pakistanis, Korea Town, Little Saigons and Cambodia Town.

Immigration is producing profound demographic changes in the United States.\(^6\) From 1987-1996 approximately ten million migrants were legally admitted into the United States but several millions came or remained in the United States illegally during the decade and are estimated 5-6 million of them were resident at the end of 1996.\(^7\)

**Population Movement**

The more general concept of which immigration is a part, is population movements. There are several kinds of population movements and immigration is one of them. Fairchild\(^8\) defined it as a movement of people individually or in families, acting on their own individual initiative and responsibility without official support or compulsion, passing from one country (usually old and densely populated) to another (usually new and scarcely populated) with the intention of residing there permanently.
Tafli and Robins identified the following categories of population movements.\(^9\)

a. *Invasion* - a mass movement involving the whole or large part of a tribe or a people. Invasion is usually linked to war, while immigration is peaceful.

b. *Colonization* – a well established state sends bodies of its citizens to settle in a certain territory. It is a peaceful movement, although it may follow conquest.

c. *Conquest* - people of a more complex culture attack less developed regions.

d. *Free immigration* – movement by choice.

e. *Compulsory emigration* and exchange of populations.

One attempt to cover all moves under a general heading is the ‘push-pull’ hypothesis. It suggests that migration is due to socio-economic imbalances between regions with certain factors ‘pushing’ persons away from the area of origin, and others ‘pulling’ them to the area of destination.

Among the many studies using this hypothesis is one of residential mobility by Peter H.Rossi\(^{10}\) who divided reasons for moving in, to those pertaining to the decision to move out. He found that one out of every four residential shifts could be classified as involuntary or forced where the push factor was predominant. While among voluntary moves, where the house hold had a clear choice of going or staying, the most important pulling factors were more space in the dwelling, better neighbourhoods and costs of the new dwelling.
The concept was used for international migrations by George at the 1959 Population Conference where he considered geographical movements of the population in two forms: 11 (1) moves caused by necessity or obligation; and (2) moves caused by needs (mostly economic) of receiving countries. Characteristics of the first type are that, they generally have political or religious causes, that they ‘push’ certain classes of racial, religious or national groups who are mostly not suited to conditions in their place of destination. In the second type, pressure from the place of origin (push) is accompanied by a need (pull) in the place of destination.

With industrialization, a majority of persons were literally ‘pushed’ from their farmlands with no other alternative and pulled by the attractions, real or imagined, of the cities. However, in industrial countries today there are high rates of inter-urban migration of skilled and professional persons who could hardly be said to be ‘pushed’ or forced to move from one job and locality to another.

Only a third of migrants interviewed in the British Survey felt they had been forced to move from their previous place and reasons given for this tended to indicate that this proportion could even be reduced to a quarter of all migrants, for many mentioned ‘job transfers’ or ‘personal’ reasons, not usually associated with forced moves. But when considering those who felt
that they were forced to move it was seen that forced moves tended to be related to the size of their last residence; the larger the population size of the last residence the less likely persons were to feel that they had been forced to move. It is less and less likely that a majority of migrants have a strong 'push' stimulus.

Considering the various aspects of migration, that of the integration of the migrant has probably been given most attention by sociologists for, as Eisenstadt points out this re-socialization is not unlike the basic process of an individual's socialization except that the migrant starts from an already given social basis.

It is appropriate here to mention Eisenstadt's discussion of indices of full absorption. These are three fold\textsuperscript{12} : (1) acculturation which involves the learning of a number of new roles, norms and customs and the internalization of these new patterns of behaviour; (2) personal adjustment is essential so that there are few or no indices of personal disorganization like suicide, delinquency, crime, mental illness; and (3) institutional dispersion, which includes immigrants from various disciplines are not concentrated in one sector of the economic, political, ecological or cultural spheres and hence cease to have a separate identity. But not only must immigrants interact with the host society on a formal plane, they must also interact in informal groups of cliques before full absorption occurs. Usually, out of the absorption of a
large scale immigration, there develops a 'pluralistic' structure or network of substructure, a society composed to some extent of different subsystems allocated to different immigrant groups.

Milton M. Gordon asserts that seven basic sub-processes take place in the assimilation of a group. These are\(^{13}\): (1) change in cultural patterns; (2) complete entry into the societal network of groups and institutions or societal structure through large-scale primary group relations with the host society; (3) intermarriage; (4) development of the host society's sense of peoplehood or ethnicity; (5) lack of discriminatory behaviour by the hosts to the new group; (6) lack of prejudiced attitudes toward the new group; (7) lack of conflict with the host society on issues involving value and power in public or civic life. These seven basic sub-processes correspond to the following types or stages of assimilation: (a) cultural or behavioural; (b) structural; (c) marital; (d) identification; (e) attitude receptional; (f) behaviour receptional, and (g) civic.

These variables could be used to analyse the assimilation process with reference to either of two variant goal systems: (i) Adaptation to the core society (host society) and culture. (ii) The 'melting pot' where an interchange between the immigrants and the core group takes place evolving into a new cultural system which is not exclusively, that of one of the groups. A third goal-system, that of 'cultural pluralism' which does not envisage the
disappearance of each group of a communal identity but allows for the preserving of a separate identity of several groups living alongside each other, could also be considered.\textsuperscript{14}

Causes and Conditions of Migration

When the first European set foot on American soil, they found not only unpopulated lands, boasting pristine forests and sparkling rivers, they were greeted by people who some scholars suggest may have arrived in North America somewhere between 60,000 to 35,000 years ago; the oldest officially documented Indian cultures in North America date back to about 15,000 B.C.E.\textsuperscript{15} By the time Christopher Columbus an explorer landed in North America there were an estimated 10 million Native Americans living in communities that reached from north to present day Mexico into Alaska.\textsuperscript{16}

Juan Ponce de Leon forged a path for Spanish people wishing to immigrate to the New World when he reached America in 1513, and named his landing place on the Atlantic coast La Florida in honour of the Spanish name for the Easter season, Pascua Florida. In 1584 explorers dispatched by Sir Walter Raleigh reached the outer islands of North Carolina, followed by the Pilgrims in the May Flower and reached the shores of America. These immigrants from England came by way of Holland and arrived in Plymouth. The French explorer Jacques Cartier established the first French colonies in
North America in 1550 near Beaufort, South Carolina and Florida. The other Europeans who emigrated from their home settled in America between 1600 to 1700.

The Africans began arriving in large groups. Historically, periods of war and economic declines in America led to significant downturns in the numbers of people immigrating to America. Immigration slowed and then went into a decline during and following the Revolutionary War, between 1775 - 1783, but it resumed and continued increasing at a steady pace beginning in the mid 1800. Among those who arrived in the post revolutionary war period were immigrants from Ireland, who came by the thousands fleeing the effects of famine and poverty in their homeland. In addition, immigrants from England, Germany and Southern and eastern European nations continued to arrive in search of jobs and a better life.

In the mid 1700s until almost hundred years later in the 1800s, the Irish began immigrating to the United States during to the country's changing politics and economics. Following the Civil War, America needed workers to fill jobs created by the country's growing economy and its move towards industrialization. The majority of new immigrants arrived from the southern and eastern European nations of Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Greece and Russia.\(^7\)
The discovery of gold in California in 1848 prompted a large number of Chinese to immigrate to the country in search of work. By 1851, an estimated 25,000 Chinese immigrants were working in California, and another 30,000 were working as labourers and in service trades in states outside of California.

Another group of Asian immigrants, those from Japan, began migrating to Hawaii in search of work in the island nation's booming sugar industry. By 1899 Hawaii's plantation owners had brought in an additional 26,000 Japanese contract labourers. An 1882 treaty between the United States and Korea opened the door for immigration from that Asian Country.

Prior to World War I, emigration from Asian nations to the United States was curtailed for a variety of reasons. Beginning in 1882 rising complaints by American citizens and other immigrant groups that the Chinese were taking jobs and depressing wages which led the government to ban Chinese immigrants from entering the United States. Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States in 1898 and the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between the United States and Japan in 1908 ended immigration from Japan to the United States.

Moreover, in 1905 the Korean government, under pressure by Japan's government, ended the emigration of Koreans to Hawaii. The United States
Government passed the legislation in 1917 that created what became known as the “Asiatic Barred Zone”. All migration to the United States by Asians and non-Asian born descendants of Asians was prohibited by the legislation.

**World War I**

After the United States entered the World War I in 1919 immigration dropped, due in part to the United States government's increasingly restrictive immigration policies that established quotas on who could come to America and from where.

The largest number of immigrants were from Mexico. Despite fluctuations in immigrants arriving on its shores, the United States received 60 percent of all immigrants worldwide from 1820 through 1930 including more than 2 million Jews from Russia, Poland, Galicia Romania, Turkey and Syria to escape religious oppressions.

**The Great Depression and World War II**

Immigration remained at low levels through the Great Depression (1930s) and World War II (1939-45). During the Word War II millions of men signed on for military service and America needed workers to fill jobs. Migrants workers from Mexico once again stepped in to meet the need. The United States quota for Germans was issued and mostly the Jewish refugees
applied for permits, which the government approved. Opinion polls in 1938 indicated that 82 percent of Americans were opposed to admitting large numbers of Jewish refugees. American - Paranoia during the war, including fears that spies and other undesirables would enter the country, led the United States Government to impose tighter immigration restrictions. But at the end of World War II immigration to the United States, increased and has continued to increase every since.

Asian immigration

Shifting our focus to Asian American immigration in particular, we understand that the first major Asian group that arrived in the United States as immigrants were the Chinese. The first wave of Chinese immigrants, predominantly male labourers found better economic opportunities in the newly developed California and other West Coast states which served as a pulling factor. Their country, especially the Gwangdung province, suffered from draught, overpopulation, local wars and a civil war served as a push factor. The Chinese labourers did not take their wives to the United States partly because financially they could not afford and partly because Chinese women as homemakers were not allowed to leave their homes. The Chinese men were brought to the West Coast in the latter half of the nineteenth
century, because the emerging United States Capitalism needed cheap labour. They were subjected to prejudice, all kinds of legal discrimination, physical violence and ultimately exclusion. In 1870 when anti-Chinese sentiments became rampant in California the immigrants either returned home or moved to the northeastern and Midwestern parts of the United Nations. They also started living together in a segregated area, minimizing contact with White Americans. This is how they created Chinatowns in San Francisco, New York, and other major American cities. Another major change in immigrant’s adjustments, affected by anti-Chinese sentiments, was their adaptation to women’s jobs. They undertook women’s jobs as cooks and washers for White and Chinese miners and railroad construction workers. They also sought self-employment in laundries, in Chinese restaurants and stores, and gardening in private homes.

Following the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Japanese farmers began to immigrate to Hawaii and to California. This was made possible at this juncture because the Japanese government, which had long forbidden its citizens from travelling to foreign countries, allowed Hawaiian planters to recruit Japanese contract labours. Economic hardships, coupled with heavy government taxes in Japan, forced the Japanese to immigrate. However unlike the Chinese the Japanese immigrants brought their wives with them, partly because the
Japanese government, seeking to avoid gambling, prostitution and drinking, encouraged them to do so.

Between 1903 and 1905, many Korean immigrants were allowed to work in the Hawaii plantations. About 40 percent of the pioneer Korean immigrants were converts to Protestantism, and they chose to come to Hawaii for religious freedom as well as for a better economic life.

Between 1904 and 1924, close to 8,000 Indians moved to California, to working in lumber mills, on vegetable and fruit farms, and on railroads. Most of them were Sikh farmers from the central Punjab, although local residents commonly referred to them as Hindus. Punjabi farmers, along with Japanese farmers, were an important work force in the early twentieth century. Unable to bring their wives, many Indian labourers in California married local women, especially Mexican women.

Filipinos became the last major Asian immigrant group at the turn of the twentieth century. The colonial relation between the United States and Philippines facilitated the immigration of Filipinos to Hawaii and California. Plantation owners from Hawaii recruited Filipino labourers mainly because the Exclusion Laws terminated the immigration of other Asian labourers.
The period from 1943-1964 is known as the intermediate period in Asian immigration when the Chinese Exclusion Act was abolished. About 151,000 immigrants of five Asian nationalities immigrated to the United States between 1941 and 1964. The War Bride Act of 1945 and other governmental measures allowed the Chinese wives of American citizens to immigrate. In 1946, the United States government established an immigrant quota of 100 for the Philippines and India and also extended naturalization rights to Filipino and Indian immigrants. Finally the MacCarren-Walter Act of 1952 loosened the restriction of Asian immigration by setting an immigrant quota of 105 for each Asian and Pacific Triangle country and making all Asian immigrants eligible for citizenship. The United States political and military connections with and military involvement in Japan, South Korea and Philippines in the early stage of the cold war period, brought many wives of the United States servicemen from these countries.  

The Post-1965 Immigration Period

In 1965, the United States Congress passed its most liberal immigration law, which abolished discrimination in immigration based on national origin, called The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. This came into full effect in 1968 opening doors to immigration from all countries. The Immigration Act of 1990 raised the total number of immigrants. The number
of Asian immigrants rose from only 83,000 in the 1965-1969 period, to 1.7 million in the 1990-1994 period and so it is called the peak period.\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Modern Immigration}

In the 1960s immigrants arriving from European nations declined while those from Asia and Latin America increased in number. Asian immigrants accounted for 28 percent of the total number of immigrants arriving to the United States from 1966 to 1979. Immigrants from the Philippines numbered 6,000 but increased to 41,000 in 1979.

The rapid increase in Filipino immigrants as well as those from other Asian and Latin American nations was driven by wars, failing economics, and political instabilities in these regions. Changes to the United States immigration policy in 1965 including abolishing the nation of origin quota system, opened the door to increased immigration.

Immigration from Indochina increased. A total of 130,000 Vietnamese refugees fled to America in 1975 following withdrawal of the United States Military from South Vietnam and the collapse of its capital city Saigon at the end of the Vietnam War. The first wave of refugees from Vietnam in 1977 comprised primarily of military and government officials who had worked for the United States Government during the war. Chinese, Cambodians and Laotians also immigrated to the United States due to the
growing pressures on their home lands by Vietnam's government. Known as boat people they entered the United States between 1978 and 1980.

In 2000 the United States Census listed the top 10 countries of birth of immigrants from each country residing in the United States. The top 10 countries of origin for the United States immigration are Mexico, China, Philippines, India, Cuba, Vietnam, El Salvador, Korea, Dominican Republic and Canada. Source United States Census 2010. The per capita annual income of Indian Americans is the highest among all ethnic groups in the U.S.

The Indian diaspora in the United States will probably become even more and not less influential in the future. Consequently, the furtherance of Indo-U.S. relations will to a large part depend on the Indian American community and its ties to India. Furthermore, the direct influence of the diaspora on matters in India ranging from economic investments to social projects will likely be of greater importance in the years to come.

References

4. ibid.
5. ibid.
11. ibid. p. 66.
12. ibid. p. 66
14. ibid. p. 68.
17. ibid. pp. 30-32.