

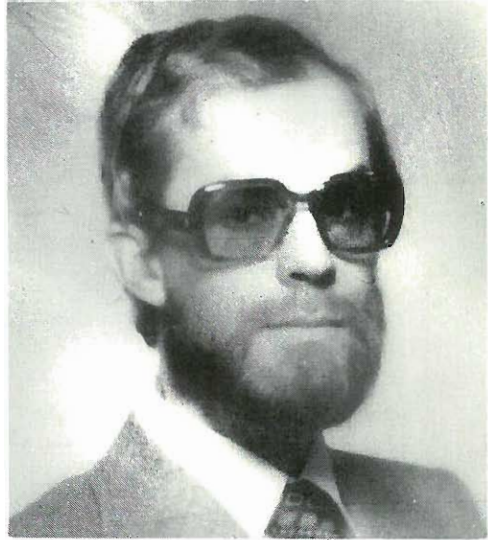
# INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND MIGRATION

## International Politics and Migration

This article is an abridged version of the paper "International Politics and Migration—A Preliminary Survey of the Migration Aspects of Fifty International Disputes" presented by the author at the workshop on "Transnational and Transgovernmental Relations and International Outcomes" arranged by European Consortium for Political Research in Grenoble in April 1978. The following consists, firstly, of the part of the original paper in which the subject of study was delineated and, secondly, of the conclusions and discussion based on a preliminary analysis of a fairly large sample of empirical cases. For limitations of space, it is not possible to deal with the methodology applied or the details of the cases in this context.<sup>x</sup>

### Migration and Politics as Subject for Study

No established, generally applicable definition of "migration" exists. For a study of the role of migration in international politics, it would seem appropriate to apply a fairly broad basic definition. For the present purposes migration is thus regarded as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence without consideration as to the voluntary or involuntary character of the phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> Such a definition



excludes only a few types of major spatial movements of people, such as tourist flows, nomadism within a fixed area or movements of military troops.

One of the most conspicuous aspects of migration is that it tends to take place largely within well defined streams.<sup>2</sup> This is true by definition for, say, forced transfers of population from one place to another, but it is also true, for example, for voluntary migration of workers. In general, this phenomenon is of considerable help for our tentative attempt to study the migratory aspects of international life. Thus, instead of asking, for instance, how the structure of international systems or the foreign policies of nation states are connected with the fact that individual migrations take place within and between nations, we can concentrate on the connections between international politics and particular streams or flows of people from particular areas of origin to particular areas of destination within particular time frames. Likewise, we can ask, in a more nomothetic fashion, how the different types of migrant flows correlate with different types of international political phenomena.

As "internal migration" is customarily distinguished from "international migration" in migration research, politics within nations and international politics are regarded as two fields of study in political science. Now, working on these elementary distinctions, a number of general topics for study concerning the interrelationship between politics and migration can be suggested. The main ones would obviously be:

- A. The interaction between politics within nations and internal migration, which could be subdivided into the study of:
  - A.1. the influence of politics within nations on internal migration, and
  - A.2. the influence of internal migration on politics within nations.
- B. The interaction between international politics and international migration, which, in turn, could be divided into the study of:
  - B.1. the influence of international politics on international migration, and
  - B.2. the influence of international migration on international politics.

Of secondary concern would be, for example, the influences of international politics on internal migrations or the influences of politics within nations on international movements of people. It could perhaps be said that these topics are worth while being studied to the extent they can be connected to the primary sets of topics.

In the following, the connections between politics within nations and internal migration will be set aside and the whole attention will be focused on the connection between international politics and international migration.

## Contributions by the Two Fields of Study

The students of migration have their own theoretical orientations which have almost nothing in common with the key questions posed by the students of international politics. It is therefore understandable that migration researchers have not been interested in studying how, for example, international migrant flows may influence the power potentials of nations or how they may contribute to war or other types of international conflict. Nor have they tried to explain migration phenomena by such factors as the structure of international systems or the foreign policies of nation states. It seems that they have found other explanatory factors, such as the economic "push" or "pull", to be more frequent and powerful, and thus more rewarding. They naturally attribute the phenomena of refugee streams or particular types of population transfers to international phenomena such as war or interstate tension, but this is invariably done by relying on judgement without reference to theories or empirical generalizations of international political research. Thus, the field of migration studies can provide the student of the migratory aspects of international politics with nothing more than data: studies of national migration policies, studies of social and psychological problems experienced by various types of migrants, statistics on migration flows, etc. Likewise, the theories and typologies of migration presented by migration researchers may be of some value for the study of migration in international politics, although they are seldom applicable as such due to differences in theoretical orientation.<sup>3</sup>

Be that as it may, provided that the link between migration studies and the study of international politics will be found significant enough to warrant research efforts, output by the former has thus far been overwhelmingly larger than that of the latter as far as this 'bridgebuilding' is concerned.

Students of politics in general and international politics in particular seem to have paid little attention to migration phenomena, either as factors influencing politics or as consequences or effects of politics. Thus, during the period from 1951 through 1977, the International Political Science Abstracts contained only three articles under the heading International Migration<sup>4</sup>, all of them between 1965 and 1977, and six articles under the heading Migration. Only a couple of these nine articles were found to be relevant for the purposes of the present analysis. Under the heading Refugees there was a total of fifty entries, more than half of them falling between 1952 and 1954. One could probably find a number of entries on, say, national migration policies under various country headings but they were not surveyed at this stage. A preliminary survey for relevant political science books gives the impression that there is not much to build upon there either<sup>5</sup>.

One possible reason to the fact that the students of international politics have tended to ignore migration phenomena may be that they have tended to consider them from a somewhat narrow perspective, namely in the light of the general concept of population. The size of population, one determinant of national power in international politics, is determined by fertility, mortality and international migration. However, the combined effects of the two former variables are almost invariably, much more important for the growth of a large population than the migration variable. Also in the study of overpopulation problems in international relations fertility and mortality are by far more significant factors than international migration. On the whole, the connection between international politics and migration remains too loose for rigorous study if established through the basic concept of population.

## Notes on the Empirical Analysis and the Conclusions

In search of a new perspective, I made a tentative attempt to investigate migration directly in terms of the fundamental issues of international politics, namely those of peace and war, or cooperation and conflict. The most significant questions suggested by this perspective are the following: How, to what extent and in what way, does international migration contribute to international conflicts, their origin, processes, solution and consequences? How do international conflicts influence international and internal migration? To begin with, I decided to analyze the role of migration in major international conflicts during the period from 1945 through 1970. My material consisted of a collection of systematic historical narratives on fifty such conflicts<sup>6</sup> and migration statistics combined from various sources<sup>7</sup>. The classification of the material can be found in the table appended.

My first conclusion from the analysis was that its subject — the connection between international politics and migration — may be more significant than the scant attention paid to it in international relations literature would suggest. The analysis indicated that international conflicts quite often have historical roots in migratory phenomena and that such phenomena can be singled out from the general background of international conflicts. In some cases, migratory factors seem to influence the development of international conflicts even situationally, e.g. though their influence on the behavior of the parties. Migratory consequences of international conflicts, in turn, seem to be quite frequent.

My second conclusion is that the subject of this analysis may nevertheless be less significant to the study of international relations than I originally tended to presume from the perspective narrowed by the focus of my attention. In fact, many of the

roots or background factors of international conflicts traced back to migration are only remotely, indirectly or insignificantly connected with the actual development of the conflicts concerned. Likewise, the situational role played by migration factors in international conflicts seems to be of prime importance in exceptional cases only. The fact that international conflicts often produce serious migratory consequences could perhaps be regarded as a more weighty argument for the claim that migration phenomena have been neglected in the study of international politics without sufficient research. Even this argument would, however, tend to lose its power if the outcomes of policies and interactions were regarded as secondary aspects of international politics in comparison with decision-making and immediate actions.

The present analysis was confined to a limited inventory of migration aspects of international disputes. It is, however, clear that such aspects do not appear in random combinations. On the contrary, already the selected material used in the present analysis reveals a number of patterns. Thus, largescale international and internal wars, with or without roots or background factors in migration, normally lead to chaotic migration, forced transfers of population and flows of refugees within national territories or across national borders; new multiethnic areas and ethnic conflicts conducive to new internal and international conflicts are created; international refugee problems may create new needs for international cooperation but also new international conflicts; within one nation, refugees may become a source of political instability and conflicts in foreign policy. — Revolutionary wars, with or without background in migration, often lead to emigration of counterrevolutionary forces and segments of population which, in turn, organize, with or without foreign assistance, for invasion and renewed warfare. — A conflict in a colony or former

colony, between two or more former colonies, or between a colonial power and one or several forces in its colony invariably has more or less distant origins in colonial migration and settlement. The normal consequence of the end of colonial rule is an outflow of colonial settlers, often combined with the banishment or 'voluntary' departure of other immigrant minorities or native groups. Etc. — One future task for research in this field would be to identify the whole range of such patterns on a more thorough empirical basis.

Finally, it seems evident that the migration phenomena connected with international politics vary over time. The sample of international disputes studied in this analysis obviously tends to emphasize the migration aspects of decolonization simply because the dissolution of the great colonial empires happened to take place in the period studied. Likewise, the selected material tends to enhance the significance of refugee migrations in international politics simply because we live in an age of refugees created by the two world wars. However; with the gradual disappearance of traditional colonialism and the international problems inherited from it, the role of the migration aspects of decolonization in international politics will automatically diminish. Also, the influence of refugees in international life may decrease with time through permanent settlement, repatriation, international arrangements, etc. although this is by no means the only possible course of development. After all, while some migration aspects of international politics are disappearing or becoming less significant, there are other to take their place. It seems to me that especially the planned employment of migration as a means of foreign policy or the creation of faits accomplis through organized migration are becoming quite frequent. Just think about the "peasant army" sent by the Ethiopian Government to Eritrea or the setting up

by Israel of settlements in the territories occupied by it in the Six-Day War in 1967. Also the national and international problems created by or connected with the increased flows of migrant workers seem to have gained in importance over the last few

years. In all, construction of a comprehensive inventory of the migration aspects of international politics is also a task requiring an empirical data base much larger than that used in the present analysis.

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<sup>x</sup>Copies of the original paper can be obtained on request from the author, P.O. Box 607 SF-33101 Tampere 10, Finland.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 This definition comes from Everett S. Lee, A Theory of Migration, in J.A. Jackson (ed.), *Migration*, Cambridge 1969, p. 285. Cf. e.g. J.J. Mangalam, *Human Migration – A Guide to Migration Literature in English 1955-1962*, Lexington, pp. 7-10, who quotes a number of traditional definitions, G. Beijer, Modern Patterns of International Migratory Movements, in Jackson, op.cit., p. 13, and W. Petersen, A General Typology of Migration, in Clifford J. Jansen (ed.), *Readings in Sociology of Migration*, Exeter 1970.
- 2 For a detailed discussion of this well-known but sometimes disregarded phenomenon, see Lee, op.cit., pp. 292-293.
- 3 See e.g. Mangalam, op.cit., passim.
- 4 Also the main headings "International Relations" and "International Politics" were investigated for relevant subheadings but none were found.
- 5 However, see e.g. Katherine Organski & A.F.K. Organski, *Population and World Power*, New York 1961, CPT. 5, Felix Gross, *World Politics and Tension Areas*, New York 1966, passim., and Nazli Choucri, *Population Dynamics and International Violence*, Lexington 1974, passim.
- 6 These narratives were taken from M.D. Donelan & M.J. Grieve, *International Disputes – Case Histories 1945-1970*, Rochester, Kent 1973.
- 7 The main source of statistics was The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends – New Summary of Findings on Interaction of Demographic, Economic and Social Factors, *United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Studies, No 50*, New York 1973.

## KANSAINVÄLINEN POLITIIKKA JA MUUTTOLIIKE

Kansainvälisen politiikan ja muuttoliikkeiden yhteyksiä on tutkittu niukasti niin muuttoliiketutkimuksen kuin kansainvälisen politiikan tutkimuksenkin piirissä. Kansainvälisen politiikan tutkijoiden osalta tämän saattaa selittää tavanomainen kysymyksenasettelu, jossa kansainvälisten muuttoliikkeiden kansainvälispolitiittista merkitystä pyritään etsimään niiden vaikutuksista valtioiden voimavaroihin, erityisesti väestö-potentiaaleihin. Näyttäisi kuitenkin mahdolliselta ja hedelmällisemmältä tutkia suoraan kansainvälisten muuttoliikkeiden yhteyksiä kansainvälisiin konflikteihin ja yhteistyöhön.

Tämä artikkeli sisältää eräitä havaintoja ja päätelmiä alustavasta tutkimuksesta, jossa pyrittiin selvittämään muuttoliiketekijöiden yhteyksiä viidenkymmenen toisen maailmansodan jälkeisen kansainvälisen konfliktin syntyyn, kulkuun ja seurauksiin. Kaikkiaan näyttää siltä, että kansainvälisillä konflikteilla on hyvin usein historialliset juurensa kansainvälisissä muuttoliikkeissä tai

sitten muuttoliikeilmiöitä voidaan osoittaa konfliktien yleisessä taustassa. Joissakin tapauksissa muuttoliikkeet määräävät konfliktien kulkua tilanteellisestikin. Varsin toistuvasti kansainväliset konfliktit saavat aikaan seurauksia kansainvälisissä muuttoliikkeissä. Nämä havainnot perustelisivat tarkasteltujen ilmiöiden intensiivistä tutkimista.

Toisaalta analyysi kuitenkin osoitti, että monet muuttoliikkeiden yhteydet kansainvälisiin konflikteihin ovat varsin etäisiä, epäsuoria tai löysiä. Tätä voidaan tietenkin pitää yhtäältä vastaväitteenä ajatellulle tutkimusohjelmalle. Toisaalta tämä havainto voi johtaa kysymyksenasettelun täsmen-tämiseen tai uuteen rajaamiseen. Tehtyjen havaintojen valossa näyttäisi erityisen mielekkäältä tutkia lähemmin, miten erityyppiset konfliktit liittyvät erilaisiin muuttoliikeilmiöihin. Samoin näyttäisi tärkeältä selvittää, kuinka muuttoliikkeiden kytkeminen kansainväliseen politiikkaan on luonteeltaan muuttunut aikakausien mukana.