SELECTED STUDIES OF MIGRATION SINCE WORLD WAR II¹

THIS volume is a very valuable contribution to the increasingly interesting subject of migration, internal and international, whether viewed practically or theoretically. The names of the round table, whose papers and reflections are here recorded, guarantee excellence. There are research papers by Dudley Kirk, Irene Taeuber, C. Horace Hamilton, Donald J. Bogue, and Everett S. Lee; theoretical constructs by Rupert B. Vance, John K. Folger, Joseph J. Spengler, and jointly by Simon Kuznets and Dorothy S. Thomas; and a paper by Ernest Rubin on American policy. All deserve reading by anyone interested in this field. Space limits me to a few among many reactions.

One need not detail the revolutionary changes in man-land ratios, in agricultural and industrial technologies, in transport and mass communication media and in the rising ferment among previously inert masses to realize that migration, both between and within nations, has taken on new forms and renewed interest. This is shown by some of the terms here used. Kirk opens with a differentiation of "free" ("individual choice") and "forced" ("imposed by fear or force"). Vance emphasizes "planned" as opposed to "spontaneous." Spengler contrasts "individual" and "collective." One may add that much of English emigration, for example, has been "assisted"; immigration into countries offering special aids might be called "induced"; or if financed by private agencies "recruited." One might emphasize the dichotomy in Kirk's term. "forced," limiting "forced" to transfers giving the individual no choice and defining as "compulsive" those panic-like movements, such as the Muslim-Hindu exchanges where deep emotional stresses, rather than force majeure, are the dominant propulsions. Finally, the terms "restricted" and "selective" reveal other new trends of this century.

Several references are made to the greatly increased costs of migration and to the need of planning by both private and

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Annotations

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public agencies. (Vance, p. 82; Spengler, pp. 38, 194; Senior, p. 193) Kirk's splendid table (pp. 18-19) reveals the largest overseas movement of Europeans since the early 1920's, and he notes "the resurgence of the old pattern of individual migration." Much of this movement, however, was composed of persons displaced by the war; much of it was assisted, induced and (or) planned. No clear trend is indicated. It seems quite likely that the need of planning and the cost increases will continue and for numerous reasons. Among them are the wellnigh universal dominance of urban values and the emergence of the welfare state. These terms epitomize the revolutionary changes in the life expectations and the social environment of a large proportion of Europe's potential migrants. The European proletaire is no pioneer; he becomes locked in his social niche by social security against life's contingencies. If he resettles he must have not only company but many of the social services and amenities of modern urban civilization. These are costly.

Kirk also notes (p. 24) the partial failure of the land settlement policies of Indonesia and the Philippines. One wonders to what extent this may be due to the absence of our cultural values of competition and individual success, associated with age-old patterns of family economic solidarity.

Rubin's criticisms of present American policies seem to me only an expression of variant personal values, and his flexible policy seems ill-conceived. It is naive to expect the politicians in a democracy to reject ethnic or racial biases that will make votes for them. There is no scientific mandate as to optimum numbers or absorptive capacity, as Hutchinson and Peterson point out. An "invidious distinction" is likely to be a social value one does not share; and social policies are based on social value judgments, though we hope scientific findings may help in their formulation. We surely cannot open the gates to every distressed group in the present world; nor do we dare neglect racial and cultural differences. We already have serious problems of social adjustment. To admit a fixed proportion of total population would be to admit more and more as our numbers became greater and greater.

Lorimer (p. 219) broaches what seems to me is the over-

shadowing problem in this field, namely, what shall be our policy toward the increasing outward pressure of populations in underdeveloped lands. Emigration is in most cases only temporary relief for them. Because of differences in race and color, their immigration causes serious problems of social adjustment. Witness Mexicans and Puerto Ricans here, West Indians in England, Algerians in France. Since World War II we have deported for illegal entry more Mexicans than persons from all sources in previous history. Our own numbers are zooming; we are said to have one million too many farm families: we are committed to full employment which the Cohen Council in England and our own economists find incompatible with stable prices. Rubin's relaxation policy seems no solution; nor does Spengler's idea of investing abroad touch more than the fringe of the matter. Here lies the dilemma that points to continued cold war and inflation for us and increasing unrest throughout the rest of the world.

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Finally, I am led to ponder the social utility of this and other splendid exhibitions of scientific proficiency in the social field. Several recognize the contingent character of social science findings and the lack of mandates from them regarding social policy. (Spengler's paper, pp. 192-3 and comment, p. 175; Bogue, pp. 170-1; Gibbons and others.) Causes are so numerous and their combinations so varied that the probability of any given conjuncture of forces and conditions being repeated is not high. We have generalizations, trends and correlations, but there is a wide gap between the applicability of such "laws" as the Malthusian or supply and demand and the law of the variation of light with distance from source. Here is a finding that is universal and eternal. This does not mean that social research is useless. On the contrary the increasing complexity of social activities requires far more and ever better investigations. Vance suggests the coming use of Univacs and this seems promising. What he means by "break through" (p. 167) is not clear but I should not anticipate "laws" that encompass the future. The prestige of social scientists seems on the rise and we may at least hope that the policy makers will listen more and more closely to what they have found. FRANK H. HANKINS