Nigg, Heinz (Hrsg.) (1999) Da und fort. Leben in zwei Welten. Interviews, Berichte und Dokumente zur Immigration und Binnenwanderung in der Schweiz. Zürich: Limmat Verlag

An Overview of International and Internal Migration[1]

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Migration in a historical and global context – concepts and structures

To this day, the once-close relationships between colonising and colonised countries exert a strong influence on migration patterns. After the first phase of discoveries, the colonial powers sent wave after wave of immigrants into the new territories to populate and administer them. Initially coming from America, and later from Africa, Asia and Australia, workers were introduced and exploited for the economic interests of the European colonisers. During the period of industrialisation and the emergence of nation states, migration policy was fairly unregulated, fully in keeping with the precepts of economic liberalism. Passport documents did not yet exist. Labour migration was barely hindered by permits or other requirements.

The open migration policy came to an end with the start of World War I. All countries involved in the war introduced systematic immigration rules and stringent border controls. Espionage was to be impeded and loyalty to the nation state strengthened. After the war, the immigration rules were retained to regulate the inflow of foreign labour. This was intended to protect the domestic workforce from the post-war recession. Yet the obstacles to immigration were also a direct consequence of the xenophobia that had been fueled by the war. In the interwar years, the traditional receiving countries USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand also tightened their immigration rules.

After World War II, a relatively liberal immigration policy facilitated the recruitment of labour for the rebuilding of Western Europe. All the highly industrialised countries of Western Europe (as well as the USA, Canada and Australia) recruited workers between 1945 and 1973. Western European countries could initially turn to the many uprooted war refugees, who were in any case

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[1] This text is based on the paper "Overview of International Migration" (1995) edited by the *International Organization for Migration (IOM)* as well as on a migration study by the sociologist Thea Weiss Sampietro (1998). For the latest update on facts and figures about international and internal migration see IOM: http://www.iom.int

in search of employment, for reconstruction, and from the 1960s there were targeted recruitment campaigns in the as yet industrially undeveloped countries of Southern Europe. At the end of the decade, for instance, the Federal Republic of Germany operated some 500 to 600 recruitment offices in the Mediterranean region. In Western Europe, colonial relationships facilitated immigration from the countries of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to France (Portes and Böröcz 1989), from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Jamaica to the United Kingdom and from Surinam to the Netherlands (Castles and Miller 1993). Other nations, for example Switzerland and Germany, had multi- and bilateral agreements with such countries as Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Portugal to meet their demand for workers (Castles and Miller 1993).

Other migration flows were also triggered in the western hemisphere in the post-war period: from Mexico and the Caribbean to the USA, from Bolivia and Paraguay to Argentina. South Africa recruited workers from Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The coastal regions in West Africa likewise attracted migrants. The Gulf States in the Middle East solicited workers from Southern Asia as well as from Palestine, Egypt and other Arab countries.

In the 1960s, the recruitment of workers in Western Europe reached its peak. In the mid-1970s, the economic downturn in the aftermath of the oil crisis led to restrictions on immigration and the non-renewal of labour contracts with migrants. Nonetheless, the immigration trend resumed in the 1980s with the easing of family reunification and the increase in asylum seekers.

After the Cold War, the distinctions between internal and international migration were in many ways blurred and inverted. The political changes in Europe after 1989 opened the borders between EU member states while the immigration controls at the borders of non-EU states were tightened. The dissolution of the Soviet Union turned former internal migrants who certainly still thought of themselves as Soviet Russian citizens into international migrants. Many of the former Soviet citizens, especially those of Russian origin, live today as members of foreign minority groups in the successor states of the former Soviet Union (United Nations Secretariat 1994). The same applies to the former Yugoslavia, whose violent division into nation states along ethnic lines triggered considerable refugee flows.

In a number of cases such as El Salvador, Ethiopia and Mozambique, the withdrawal of the major powers of the Cold War from regional conflicts has led to the settlement or abatement of clashes. In other instances like Angola und Somalia, the internal conflicts fuelled during the Cold War

have raged on and spawned further streams of refugees and asylum seekers. Worldwide the number of asylum seekers and labour migrants has risen further.[2]

International Migration

International migration signifies the movement of a population group from one country to another to work there, to settle with their families, or to seek asylum. A typology differentiates migrants according to the reason for their migration (Ghosh 1992, Lohrmann 1994):

1. Migrants escaping extreme poverty and unemployment.
2. Migrants who wish to improve their incomes and standards of living.
3. People fleeing persecution in war or other conflicts.
4. Migrants fleeing an ecological catastrophe creeping environmental devastation.

Internal migration

Internal migration is the movement of a population group from one region to another within the borders of a single country with the intention of settling, temporarily or permanently, in the new place. The terms 'immigration' and 'emigration' are not applicable in the case of internal migration.
Rural-urban internal migrants move from country districts to cities. Their reasons include poverty, inadequate income from agricultural activities, insufficient productivity, pressure of population, unequal distribution of land, damage to the ecology, and lack of opportunities for economic development (Oberai 1987). In the next 20 years, the population of the urban conurbations of developing countries will reach a billion (United Nations Secretariat 1994). The rural-urban movement in these countries is one of the most important forms of internal migration today.

The extent of the migration phenomenon

When one considers both internal and international migration, it is clear that today migration affects every country, every city, every village and every farming region in the world. However, most migrants do not leave their countries of origin: "the largest group of migrants move within their own country, the second largest group cross the borders of less developed countries, and only relatively few migrants move to developed countries" (Meissner 1993). Between 1975 and

[2] Voluntary migration (labour migration) can in some cases be quite difficult to distinguish from forced migration (flight, expulsion). Ultimately, the primary object of all forms of migration is the search for better working and living conditions.

1985, the volume of internal migration worldwide was estimated as being from 750 million to one billion. In comparison, the number of international migrants in 1985 was 77 million (people counted outside their countries of birth - United Nations Secretariat 1994). In 1993/4, the number of international migrants was estimated to be approximately 100 million, that is about 2% of the world population (Lohrmann 1994).

Economic migrants	25–30 million
Migrants without documents (*«sans-papiers»)*	30 million
Refugees	18,2 million
Others	24 million
Total	97–102 million

The distribution of migrants per region in 1993
(Ghosh 1993):

Africa	22 –26 million
Middle East, South and Southeast Asia	17 –21 million
North America	25 – 27 million
Europe	23 – 24 million
Others (incl. Latin America, the Caribbean, and East Asia)	12,5–18 million
Total	99,5–116 million

Causes and Effects of Migration

Studies of migration often proceed from the personal motives of the migrants. The decision to move is understood as a cost-benefit equation. Among the factors in the country of origin influencing the decision - so-called push factors - are high population density or population growth, poverty, unemployment or a lack of occupational opportunities, political and ethnic repression or violence, armed conflict, environmental degradation, and natural catastrophes. Pull factors, i.e., factors in the target country which make it attractive for potential migrants include demand for labour, availablility of land, opportunities for economic development, political freedom, and safety. These factors may be real or only imaginary.

This approach, however, falls short of explaining the phenomenon. For instance, poverty alone does not drive people to emigrate. People from the middle levels of society are more likely to

emigrate to another country than the completely marginalised, because their more advantageous economic position, together with better education and access to information, allows them to migrate sooner. The very poor are often the last to leave; circumstances of great economic impoverishment alone have not usually brought about migratory movements. Sassen (1988) even observed that, in the 1970s in Southeast Asia, migration from developing countries rose from those whose gross national product had risen.

The social stratification of the country of origin, as well as the historical and economic connections between the sending and receiving countries, need to be analysed. This is because every migratory movement is the result of an interreaction of micro- and macrostrucutres. The microstructures include the social origins of the migrants, their practices and beliefs, their social network and so forth, while the macrostructures comprise the global political economy and the historical and current relations between receiving countries and countries of origin, which in turn result from colonial, cultural, political and trade links. Migrations are helped or hindered and settlement controlled by the laws, structures and practices of the receiving regions and regions of origin. The gender and ethnicity of migrants also play an important role in the processes of migration. Only a consideration of all of these factors can increase our understanding of the causes and effects of migration.

Economic migration

Economic factors include personal and familial needs, access to and availability of resources, (land, credit, work) and also national and international economic, trade and development strategies as well as their practical implementation. Thus, for instance, the debt crisis in many developing countries has triggered waves of migration.

The decision to migrate is often part of a family strategy to ensure survival, minimise risks and raise standards of living. Through the migration of one or more family members, families seek to diversify their sources of income, both geographically and in the manner of their acquisition. Global communication systems and increasing access to television, radio and print media make ever greater portions of the world population familiar with living conditions in other countries. New migration routes develop as a consequence of new communication possibilities, extensions of transport infrastructure, and trade and business connections.

Economic migrants are generally engaged for a limited period which may or may not be extended. Perhaps they may have the opportunity to improve their abilities, but this is rather rarely the case. Most begin at the bottom of the working hierarchy, and many must be content

with positions which are not appropriate to their actual abilities and education. In some cases, economic migrants even unlearn the abilities they had originally acquired, because they are overqualified, and therefore underchallenged in their jobs.
Economic migrants can improve their and their families' economic status; the money that is sent home to their families is of great significance for them and raises their standard of living. The higher the income is, the greater the priority given to educational issues. Economic migrants and their relatives have better diets and pay more attention to their health; their productivity rises.

The family lives of economic migrants are altered by their absence. If parents emigrate and leave their children in the care of others, they give up a part of their parenthood. If the parents are physically separated from their children for long periods, family ties are progressively weakened. If they return at the end of their working lives, they are confronted by the problems of reintegration within their families. All the members of the family have to deal with the new situation.

Cultural adjustment is also difficult for accompanying wives, parents and grandparents. Moving and establishing oneself in a new country represents a serious challenge. Learning the language and culture of the new country, as well as forming new social connections beyond the bounds of one's own family, can be associated with difficulties. If the accompanying family members cannot accomplish this, the resulting isolation can adversely affect the family itself. Since the children encounter the new society more closely through the school, they are able to acquire the new patterns of behaviour and values more rapidly. This can in turn lead to generational conflicts within the family.

Forced migration

External and civil wars, political unrest and revolutions, terrorism, minority and religious conflicts, strong population growth, displacement of the population due to agricultural mechanisation or the construction of hydroelectric dams, land reforms and resettlement programmes, hunger and other natural catastrophes, as well as violations of human rights by repressive state regimes, create a broad spectrum of causes of refugee movements. The economic, social and political factors frequently cannot be considered separately, but are closely related to each other.

Such migrations follow established routes with existing support networks wherever possible: thus Haitians flee to the USA, refugees from Central America to Costa Rica, Mexico and the USA. Iraqi Kurds flee to Iran and Turkey. Soviet Jews migrate to Israel. Ethnic Germans from Eastern

Europe resettle in Germany. Africans move to a safer region in their own countries or cross the nearest international border. Kosovo Albanians took refuge with their countrymen and -women in Switzerland and other European countries where Kosovo Albanians had, long before the war, settled as economic migrants in large numbers.

The restructuring of national states in the postcolonial period and in the period following the Cold War also led to movements of migrants. Where ruling elites seek to strengthen the 'national' identity, the exclusion or "liquidation" of groups whose language, religion, culture, political values or socioeconomic status does not suit this may be attempted.

"This process took place in Europe over several hundred years; discrimination and suppression of ethnic minorities was a central component in the emergence of national states. Since World War II the struggles of various groups for political power within states or the centralisation of power by a ruling group, as well as persecution and discrimination as a result of the competition for limited resources has been the main reason for movements of refugees"(Ferris 1993:75).

The wars in former Yugoslavia, in Somalia, Burundi and Rwanda have resulted in flows of migrants which demonstrate the significance of this political dynamic.

Religiously motivated persecution is an additional cause of migration. If the persecution assumes violent proportions, mass flights can result. In 1947, India and Pakistan were divided so as to calm the rising tension between Hindus and Moslems. Since the two religious groups overlapped each other geographically, there were minorities of each religion in the other's new state. Hindus fled from Pakistan to India, and Moslems from India to Pakistan. Approximately 15 million people were entangled in this, and over 500,000 people were killed (Zolberg et al. 1989).

Population growth and the ruthless exploitation of the natural necessities of human subsistence lead in the Third World to an accelerated destruction of the environment which may drive more people to become refugees in the future. The number of environmental refugees today is estimated at 10-100 million, which does not include those temporarily displaced due to floods, earthquakes or volcanic activity (Nuscheler 1995). Once their land and resources have been taken from them, environmental refugees must leave their original habitats to seek new ways of surviving. They can only be kept where they are when governments and aid agencies intervene promptly.[3]

[3] Incidentally, it is noteworthy that the Third World has itself become the world's refugee camp. While 16 million refugees recognised by UNHCR are recorded in Africa, Asia and Latin

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Refugees, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants face an uncertain future. Their settlement in the new country is temporary and their economic outlook unfavourable. Although they are striving for a safer and better life, their access to the labour market is often limited to the informal or illegal sectors. They are easily exploited, often receive a wage below poverty level, and work long hours under frequently bad and unhealthy conditions. Their psychological health also suffers, and the whole family comes under pressure. One result is that personal conflicts can lead to violence. Women and children easily become victims of domestic abuse or may be abandoned by their husbands or fathers.

Governmental regulatory measures such as border controls and the means of rapid deportation are set in place to control the flow of refugees. Naturalisation and permit criteria complicate immigration or compel the emigration of unwanted fellow citizens. Focussed work restrictions and the requirement for one-sided cultural assimilation also serve predominantly to restrict immigration.

The significance of the social network

The social and familial connections between emigrants and their places of origin constitute a safety net for new migrants and are an important source of information about jobs and practical cultural and political knowledge. These information networks can cause further immigration and strengthen integration. They support a kind of economic migration which is relatively resistant to economic fluctuations and is numbered amongst the more recent phenomena of migration research.

Family-oriented immigration - the entry of non-employed family members (of whom some would also wish to be integrated into the work process) - constitutes the greatest proportion of legal immigration to Australia, Canada, the USA and Western Europe. Immigrants who stay as recognised workers or asylum seekers aspire to bring their families and other relatives to join them. Family-oriented migration is made easier by the involvement of families and ethnic communities, because these support the integration of immigrants. In addition, humanitarian motives on the part of the receiving country can ease this kind of immigration.

America, in 1990 only 737,000 refugees were living in North and South America (cf. Nuscheler 1995).

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Women in migration

Migration research has traditionally concerned itself more with men. Many women emigrate to join other family members, and women have also always made up a considerable proportion of economic migrants (cf. Zlotnik 1995). 75% of refugees worldwide are women, who often head a household with children. In contrast, the proportion of women who apply for asylum in Europe is comparatively low, around just 20 - 30 %.

Women form the worst paid sector in the international labour market. Because they continue to be perceived as dependent on fathers or husbands, they tend to be placed in temporary part-time jobs, where working conditions are inadequate or even dangerous and employee benefits minimal. They are generally paid less than men. Women are increasingly employed in the informal sector, where they work in sweatshops or at home, making clothes, toys or shoes under piecework terms. Women often work without pay in small family businesses in ethnic enclaves (ethnic businesses). Many are also sent to the industrial sector to generate an additional income for the family.

The social and cultural consequences for women are considerable. Migration to urban centres separates women from their social network at home, their community network support, and can lead to a radical break with their culture of origin. One aspect of migration which is hardly documented and in all probability strongly underestimated is the threat to women of sexual assault: traffickers, smugglers, passport counterfeiters and officials can all demand sexual favours in return for their own services, above all from women who find themselves on the run (cf. Nuscheler 1995).

Migration and Urbanisation

Throughout the world, urban centres are magnets for internal and international migration. In contrast to the urban spaces of the developed countries of the 19th century, which absorbed some 100 million people between 1815 and 1915, the influx to the urbanised and urbanising centres between 1990 and 2010 has been estimated as 1.5 billion people. Furthermore, in the 19th century, the urban conurbations had the means necessary to construct an appropriate infrastructure, whereas most developing countries in Africa and Asia have both a huge lack of resources and an enormous need for infrastructure to absorb and settle the migrating population (Zlotnik 1994).

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Consequences for the country of origin

Employers in the receiving countries tend to recruit the most ambitious and best educated from the countries of origin. Investment in education is left to the employers or government agencies in the countries of origin, who must replace the skilled labour lost. Brain drain and skill drain are the consequences of such a loss of skilled labour from poor to rich countries. The countries of origin bear the cost of educating economic migrants in their unproductive years and gain little or nothing for their efforts.

Educational offers in the rich countries can strengthen the brain drain. Universities in the economically developed countries exercise a strong attraction over students from poorer countries. The opportunities for work and the professional and life perspectives available in the rich countries can be so attractive that some students stay on in the new country. This can, through networks of acquaintances, cause further migration, and unemployment in the home country encourages the departure of more people.

The value of remittances from economic migrants was estimated at 60.9 billion dollars in 1989, of which 33.7 billion dollars were transfers to developing countries. The gains made from the remittances of economic migrants thus rank directly behind gains made from the trade in crude oil (Russell 1992). The significance of these remittances becomes obvious when they are compared to the credits and development funds which the countries of origin receive from the receiving countries. The total amount of official support from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) for developing countries in 1989 was 48.2 billion dollars, just one-third higher than the remittances of economic migrants (OECD 1992). On the other hand, it is often argued that these remittances cannot offset the negative consequences of skill and brain drains. The income from remittances to the developing countries is associated with risks and is therefore unstable. Countries which are dependent on remittances, such as Jordan and Yemen, suffered an economic crisis after the Gulf War because of the expulsion of their economic migrants (Russell 1992).

The return of economic migrants to their countries of origin is often viewed as a positive benefit, because the migrants bring with them not only the skills and knowledge acquired abroad but also their new understanding of the work ethic, industry and economic life, all of which help to promote the development of their country of origin. To do this, however, three conditions must be fulfilled:

- Economic migrants must have increased their abilities while abroad.
- The skills and knowledge acquired abroad must meet the needs of the country of origin.

- The economic migrants must be willing and able to apply their skills at home.

Nonetheless, there are studies which indicate that it is poorly educated economic migrants who are the most likely to return home. More successful and productive migrants prefer to settle permanently in the receiving country.

With their newfound cultural values, perspectives and behaviour, returning migrants represent an unsettling influence. The returning migrants have often so raised their family's standard of living and social position through their years of remittances that the formerly poor farmers respect their achievements, their knowledge and skills, and for their experiences abroad. However, it can also be that, due to their example and their self-confident demeanour, they pose a threat to long established local elites and social structures. Remigration can divide relatively closed communities both socially and economically.

Consequences for the receiving countries

The chief benefits for economically developed receiving countries are the cheap labour force and the entry of young people into aging societies. The import of labour prevents the labour market drying up, and consequent wage inflation; thus, businesses can retain their profitability. It is above all the lowest levels of the receiving country's labour market which feel the pressure on wages of cheap foreign labour. Conversely, consumers benefit from international migration, since lower wages can lower the prices of goods and services.

Receiving countries also benefit from economic migrants because these countries do not have to pay the costs associated with raising or educating them. On the other hand, extreme dependence on foreign labour can render a receiving country vulnerable to international pressure. The extensive use of cheap labour is also seen as disadvantageous because the technical development of, and significant capital investment in, firms can thus be avoided. In the long term, this can cause productivity to stagnate or even decline.

All European states, after some years of partly liberal immigration policies, began in the 1970s to limit the influx of foreign labour and to regulate more stringently the migration of family members. On the one hand, this was a reaction to the onset of economic recession, in which immigrants were blamed for rising unemployment, increasing crime, and shortages of land and housing; on the other, fears were expressed of the social and political costs (the expansion of welfare, education and health services) that the burgeoning foreign population could cause. In

this last case, it was countered that migrants make less use of public services and are heavily taxed. Nonetheless, throughout Europe, right-wing political parties with xenophobic attitudes put issues such as "stronger border controls" or "expulsion of refugees" on their political agendas. Parallel with the measures to reduce the numbers of foreigners and stem the numbers of asylum seekers, efforts were also made - for instance within the EU - to integrate foreigners.

Fundamentally, in practically all European countries, a "conservative" and a "cosmopolitan" option may be discerned in migration policy; one envisages the exclusion of foreigners according to its own discretion and specific requirements, while the other takes the view that in an increasingly interwoven world society, sovereign rights of exclusion for national states and their societies have become questionable. The policies pursued by West European countries since the end of the recruiting phase can be seen as belonging to the conservative approach.

Immigration is without doubt a contribution to the cultural wealth of a society. People can benefit from the encounter with different cultures, be this with respect to art, literature, music or food. An understanding of other traditions and an awareness of the positive effects of cross-cultural contact and the mutual exchange of knowledge can grow from this. Significantly, growing international communication is a contribution to the securing of peace. In contrast, cultural diversity is consistently portrayed as negative by right-wing parties - as a threat to social order and social cohesion. This strengthens divisive tendencies within society.

Incorporation strategies

Both migrants and the receiving society must make adjustments as part of the incorporation process. Four fundamental incorporation strategies - segregation, assimilation, integration, and multicultural coexistence - characterise the manner in which migrants and the receiving society interact, as well as the quality and degree of mutual adjustment.

Segregation denotes the procedure of accepting migrants only into certain sectors of society (e.g., in the labour market or at a specific geographical location) and of preventing their participation in other spheres of society. This can result from a state migration policy which denies immigrants access to welfare services, political participation, and citizenship. Immigrants can also be excluded from labour and housing markets, from educational opportunities and from taking part in social life. Immigrants segregated from the life of society become ethnic minorities who are economically disadvantaged, with only minimal human rights and hardly any civil rights. States with a segregating incorporation strategy treat migrants as temporary residents,

Gastarbeiter, and hamper them from applying for citizenship. The state or the private sector grants minimal support only in cases of acute need, and in such a way as to keep the migrants isolated as a group. Migrants remain marginalised in the receiving country.

Assimilation signifies the incorporation of migrants through a one-sided process of adjustment. In this case the state migration policy demands that the immigrants adopt the language, traditions, beliefs and cultural patterns of behaviour of the receiving country. Assimilation requires a readiness and ability on the part of the immigrants to forsake certain traits of their own culture. A state assimilation strategy demands adjustment and tolerates no different cultural groups. Language courses and advisory services are established to transmit the values of the majority culture to immigrants and enable their adjustment. The goal of assimilation is a monoculture, in other words the preservation of a culturally homogenous society.

Integration describes a process of mutual adjustment between immigrants and the receiving state. People of various cultures learn from each other and adopt certain aspects of each other's cultures. The individual and the ethnic groups retain their cultural inheritance. The receiving society remains the majority culture, but it accepts the existence of independent ethnic groups and their participation in the life of society. Incorporation strategies which have the goal either of integration or assimilation do not, however, actively encourage or support immigrants in caring for their cultural inheritance and language. The emphasis lies on the adjustment of the migrants to the majority culture.

The multicultural or multiethnic approach differs from both integration and assimilation in that it grants immigrants the same rights and duties without either obliging them to retain, or keeping them from, cultural autonomy. The receiving society expects that immigrants accept certain norms and values, but it tolerates and demands cultural autonomy and is also ready to adjust its own social behaviour and the structures of its own institutions to enable the development of cultural difference. Intercultural exchange in multicultural societies is based on the acculturation of all as an ongoing process with the aim of equality of opportunity for all. Immigrants can find support in the form of translation services, information and advice offices and contributions to immigrant associations. Multiculturalism enables the immigrants to apply for citizenship in the receiving country without having to surrender their cultural distinctiveness. In some cases double citizenship is permitted.

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Requirements and factors of the incorporation process

The process of incorporating immigrants into society is complex. In some cases the individual immigrants have specific choices, in others they can only react. Even when the process of incorporation runs quite smoothly, there is some strain for both individuals and families.

Factors influencing the process of incorporation:

– age and gender
– health
– education and occupational abilities
– previous linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the receiving society
– cultural distinctiveness from the population of the receiving society
– adaptability
– the desire to encounter the new society/country
– the reason for migrating
– the degree of cultural homogeneity in the receiving society
– support in the receiving society
– intended or expected length of stay.

Prejudices are the greatest obstacle to the process of incorporation, whether this is geared to integration or to multicultural coexistence. Racist and ethnic discrimination, segregation, exclusion, harassment and violence divide society, threaten immigrants and increase their vulnerability.

If groups of immigrants receive special support and develop into living communities, the danger exists that parts of the native population, who are seen as less well-off and are themselves underprivileged, may react negatively or antagonistically. If the local population - or a part of it - perceives the immigrants as competitors for limited economic, social or political resources, then racist or ethnic hostilities may erupt.

Intercultural communication

The attitudes, economic requirements and social circumstances of the local population substantially influence the incorporation of immigrants. Local authorities and townships can take the initiative to support immigrants. Where do immigrants find meaningful activity in the local labour market and in the community? How can administrative structures be adjusted to meet

varying needs at the community level? If ethnic hostilities and conflicts occur, the solution is most readily found at communal level. And, of course, support at national and international level is needed to assist local authorities and townships in the solution of their problems.

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