

INFLUENCING INTER-REGIONAL MIGRATION

by

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School of Community and Regional Planning

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ABSTRACT.

Concern about population growth has become widespread in recent years. Although this concern is often expressed in global terms, it also arises at the community or regional level. If the rate of population growth is in fact a problem at this scale in many areas, as it appears to be, then it is desirable to have methods available to alleviate the problem.

The population growth rate in a given region depends upon three factors: the birthrate, the deathrate, and the rate of net migration to the region. In many regions, particularly those including large urban areas, the net migration rate predominates in determining the rate of population growth. In order to significantly influence the population growth rate in such a region, methods of altering the net migration flow will usually be required.

The purpose of this work was to investigate policies that could be used to reduce the net immigration flow to a given region. The investigation proceeded as follows. A review of the literature concerning migration was performed, with particular emphasis on the causes of migration and the characteristics of migrants. Previous attempts to reduce net immigration were examined, so that the scope of methods used for this function might be perceived. A system of classification of these methods was developed, and a scheme of method evaluation was devised and applied to each class of methods in the system of classification. It was found that there are serious shortcomings in most of the methods used to date.

After considering the various types of problem found to exist in previously-used net immigration reduction attempts, four types of policy were suggested for consideration when such attempts are made in the future. These types were: Publicity campaigns, limitation of immigrant access at the national level, direct taxation of immigrants, and direct incentives to emigrants.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM.

This work is concerned with methods and policies for controlling human migration between regions, and in particular, for reducing net immigration to a given region. To realize the relevance of this area of study, the reader must first have some understanding of 1) the bearing of population growth on regional problems, and 2) the importance of inter-regional migration in regional population policies. Accordingly, background information concerning these points will be presented first.

Population Growth and Regional Problems.

An increase in the population of a human community can cause many problems to be experienced by members of that community. These problems are generally brought about in the following way. As a population grows, the aggregate demand it generates for many goods, services, and amenities, grows also. Means are also generated to satisfy these demands, but it may be difficult or impossible to increase the supply of some of the commodities demanded. Furthermore, where such increase is possible, it may be the case that the creation of means to satisfy a new demand lags behind the creation of the demand itself. As a result of these two factors, certain demands may remain unsatisfied, or may be satisfied only at higher prices, after growth has occurred.

Cessation or slowing down of population growth would allow the lag-induced shortages to be reduced, with the result that

prices for these commodities could fall. In fact, they might fall below their pre-growth levels, as the larger population should experience economies of scale in satisfying its larger demands. However, under continued population growth, the benefits of these economies are more difficult to realize because of the constant need to invest more capital. This capital is needed to develop new plant capable of satisfying the community's larger needs. The new plant will often be cheaper to operate per unit of commodity produced, but if demand continues to rise, it may be necessary to replace this newer plant by still larger equipment before the investment in its creation has been fully recovered.

In general, then, population growth in an urban region is likely to be accompanied by an excess of quantity demanded over quantity supplied for many commodities, and this condition will often result in a rise in the cost of living for the residents of the area. Different commodities can be in short supply at different times, but there are some shortages which regularly accompany population growth. Lithwick (1970, page 59) identifies the most important of these shortages as that of urban space.

Living and working accomodation is necessary for everyone, and this accommodation requires land and buildings. Because raw land in urban areas soon becomes very scarce, and because of the high costs and long time delays that are unavoidably part of producing new buildings, the demand for urban space can be expected to increase faster than the supply in an area of

growing population. The result of ever-rising prices for this space is evident in almost all urban centres. Of course, these increases in the price of urban space lead to attempts to supply additional space. This can be done in two ways, by increasing development density and by enlarging the urbanized area. Both methods can cause further problems for residents of the area.

Many people apparently equate redevelopment to higher densities with the destruction or ruin of their neighbourhoods (G.V.R.D., 1972(2), page 5). The report referenced summarizes the feelings in the community as follows: Older buildings, which may have value to the community, are removed to make way for larger structures; land prices rise, and this, coupled with the higher construction costs of the taller buildings, increases the price of accommodation; higher density living is often accompanied by a decline in personal privacy and simultaneously a drop in important personal contacts in the community; the opportunity to relate to others as individuals is reduced; the community may seem to many to move beyond their scale of comprehension. The validity of these statements has not been established, but already there is considerable political pressure for the reduction of population growth in the region as a result of such feelings.

Enlarging the urbanized area means that more land must be converted to urban use from some other use. If the land was previously in its natural state, this conversion means further inroads by man into the natural environment. Historically, these inroads have often been at the expense of ecologically

sensitive areas, such as estuaries, marshes, and other wetlands, because these areas are relatively cheap to convert into building land. No matter what natural areas are used, however, nature becomes more remote from many of the inhabitants of the area, a process which many people regard as a definite social cost (G.V.R.D., 1972(2), page 5).

If the new urban land was previously farmland, a different cost is incurred due to the removal of this land from agricultural production. Results of this process may include an increase in the local prices of food, and a decline in freshness of food purchased, because of greater freighting distances. Farmland has also been a frequent victim of urban spread since the flat lands usually used for farming are again relatively cheap to build on.

Lithwick (1970, page 60) goes on to show that land shortage increases the cost of living of local inhabitants in many different ways. For example, he points out that a city which enlarges its population will require enlarged transportation systems. These systems usually use more land than the older systems, so the shortage of land is further aggravated, and the cost of supplying transportation rises.

However, the cost of services to the residents of the area can also rise in other ways. The lag effect mentioned previously is particularly important, as the increase in tax revenue enabling the financing of larger service plant usually does not occur until some time after the population has grown. Delays in the start of new community facility construction can

be caused by this lag, and also because the planning and building of these facilities generally takes longer than the supplying of new houses. As a result, higher costs for services may be experienced. In this case, these costs often appear as a decline in service quality while price per service remains constant (G.V.R.D., 1974, page 1).

Improvements are eventually made to most services as a larger tax base becomes able to support these improvements. Nevertheless, the usual condition of a service will be one of increasing cost per service while population growth continues.

Many communities attempt to prevent this decline in services from occurring by either building facilities that have considerable excess capacity, so that future demand increase can be handled without new plant construction, or by levying imposts or developer charges upon those building new residential accommodation, so that new facility construction can start immediately. The former approach can lead to placement of service capacity in the wrong place due to inaccurate projection of future trends, while the latter often simply passes along higher costs for housing to all local residents (G.V.R.D., 1974, page 1).

Of course, it can be argued that there are many gains to be obtained from an increase in population, the most often mentioned being the increase in the range of services a larger community can feasibly offer to its residents, and the general economies of scale previously referred to. However, most of these gains seem to stem from the presence of a larger

population, while the process of growth produces costs for many residents. This process seems to benefit only a few individuals, while for the majority in a given area, the greater the growth rate, the greater are the added costs incurred.

It should also be pointed out that a larger population is not an unblemished good. Most natural resources and capabilities that a community requires are finite in supply or capacity, and so must be spread more thinly, or taxed more heavily, by a larger population. Such natural features include, for example, recreational land area and the ability of the environment to absorb wastes.

As a result of his analysis of urban population growth, Lithwick (1970, page 64) feels that the path to follow is to accept the growth that is occurring in urban areas and to search for ways to avoid the shortage of urban space and the problems that accompany it. There is another approach. People in some areas are beginning to feel that it would be better to limit the amount of population growth that occurs in their areas and so remove the underlying causes of the problems, rather than to attack the problems after they have begun to occur. One of these areas is that of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (G.V.R.D.).

In 1971, this body established as one of its major objectives "to manage growth and change so as to maintain or enhance the livability of the Region" (G.V.R.D., 1973(2), page 1). The G.V.R.D. experienced a 3% per year population increase in the period 1966-1971 (G.V.R.D., 1973(1), page 4). It began

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to be suggested that population increase rates of this magnitude are no longer acceptable, since this sort of growth was felt to be accompanied by a decline in the livability of the district. This feeling was strongly stated in a report from the G.V.R.D. citizens' Policy Committees, which draws the conclusion that "maintaining the livability of this Region is incompatible with unchecked population growth" (G.V.R.D., 1972(1), page 4). Problems seen as related to unchecked growth in this area include damage to the natural environment (G.V.R.D., 1972(2), page 4), and an increase in the cost of many public services while the level and quality of service provided decline (G.V.R.D., 1972(1), pages 2-3).

However, at a policy seminar concerned with the problems of regional growth and the possible control of regional population increase, despite general agreement that regional population growth should be reduced, no acceptable and effective method was found to achieve this goal. It was clear that more research was needed on the subject (Vancouver Sun, 1974/2/14, page 12).

Migration in Regional Population Policies.

Upon examination, it was found that of the population increase occurring in the 1966-1971 period in the G.V.R.D., 76.5% was attributable to net immigration. The percentage of increase attributable to migration had also become steadily larger over the previous twenty years (G.V.R.D., 1973(1), page 5). This trend in the Vancouver area is consistent with forecasts of many researchers that migration will come to be the

only significant cause of population change in metropolitan centres in the future (Alonso, 1971, pages 2-4).

It is apparent, then, that control of population growth in an urban region such as the G.V.R.D. will necessitate control of migration to and from such a region. Moreover, for the G.V.R.D., this area of growth is the most significant. However, investigation into migration control has seldom been carried out, and there is little understanding of how control of migration should be performed.

Content of this Report.

The case for the adoption of control of population growth as a regional policy is not yet decided, and it is well beyond the scope of this work to proceed further with arguments for and against the adoption of such a policy. Nevertheless, it appears that this policy is worthy of further consideration as a possible path to follow in solving some of the serious problems facing urban areas today. However, it is meaningless to suggest this approach unless definite methods can be suggested to carry out a program of limitation. The design of such methods has not been thoroughly investigated to date. Since inter-regional migration is an important factor in regional population change, methods to control the volume of this migration will be important to most regional population growth control policies. It is the function of this work to investigate methods to accomplish the control of this inter-regional migration.

This report is structured as follows. Chapter 2 contains a

review of the literature concerning migration in general, so that the reader may obtain a background understanding of the migration process for which controls are to be found.

Chapter 3 presents a summary of previous experience in the actual implementation of measures to bring about reductions in net regional immigration, and develops a scheme for the classification of control measures.

Chapter 4 develops a procedure for the evaluation of the effectiveness of migration control policies, and uses this procedure to perform an evaluation of the various classes of migration control measures described in chapter 3.

Chapter 5 uses the results of the evaluation carried out in chapter 4 to develop proposals as to how successful migration control policies could be synthesized, and suggests some policies that might be adopted.

Chapter 6 presents a summary of the work.

In closing this introduction, the author wishes to stress that this report is not a brief for the introduction of regional population limitation in any area. Instead, it seeks to show that such limitation is feasible from an operational viewpoint, and to suggest methods of limitation that might be used if such a policy were held to be needed. The work is an analysis of planning policies, not an exhortation for the use of a particular philosophy of government.

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Chapter 2

STUDIES OF MIGRATION.

In order to provide a basis for the discussion of migration, and of the body of literature relating to it, a simple description of the migration process is presented. A brief history of migration study and a description of methods used follows, then the migration process is discussed in greater detail, with concepts in the literature being introduced as they apply to each successive stage of the process.

First of all, however, it is necessary to define certain terms that will be used in this discussion.

Migration - There have been many different definitions of migration put forward, but they generally share the following common points. Migration involves a change of usual residence. There must be a commitment on the part of the migrant to considering the new residence as his home. The move should be intended as a lasting change. The new residence and the old residence must be situated in different areas. The degree of commitment, the length of the time of change, and the essential differences between the areas containing the old and the new home are all parameters that will be set by the individual investigator depending on the thrust of the investigation being undertaken.

Immigration - migration into a given area.

Emigration - migration out of a given area.

Net migration - number of immigrants minus number of emigrants for a given area during a given time period.

Gross migration - number of immigrants plus number of emigrants for a given area during a given time period.

Migration stream - all migration from a given origin to a given destination.

International migration, in which the origin and destination of the move are in different countries, is often distinguished from internal migration. However, since this work is focusing on migration control at the regional level, this distinction will not be made unless it is explicitly so stated.

The Migration Decision Process.

Migration is here assumed to be a process through which each migrant hopes to improve his lot in life. To become a migrant, however, a person must first be aware that there are alternative areas in which he could live. Until he achieves this awareness of migration as a possible means of self betterment, a person has not entered the migration field at all, but after this point, he can be considered to be a potential emigrant from his home area.

Second, the potential emigrant must decide that there are one or more specific areas in which he might prefer to live.

This state of mind will be arrived at through evaluating places by considering criteria that are personally chosen by each person. After tentatively identifying migratory destinations, this person may be referred to as a potential immigrant of the considered areas.

Last, the potential immigrant must perceive that the benefits to be obtained from migration to a particular destination more than offset the costs involved in leaving his current home and those associated with the actual move. If this perception occurs, and the subject is able to overcome the inertia associated with an established home, then he will become a migrant. Again, the choice of criteria for this decision, and the weights applied to each, is a personal prerogative.

Notice, however, that each of these steps is a process capable of producing one of three results. The subject may progress to the next step, he may remain at his current status, or he may decide to cease considering migration at all.

History of Migration Study.

Concern over migration, and the implementation of policies that affect migration volumes, are not new phenomena. Isaac (1947, Chapter 2)¹ points out that the city states of ancient Greece were worried by the prospect of over-population and so established colonization programs to alleviate this problem by encouraging emigration, and that the Roman empire practised wholesale importation of slaves to increase the size and power of Rome.

Credit for the first scientific analysis of migration is generally given to E. Ravenstein, who in 1885 published a list of "The Laws of Migration" after a consideration of the British census of 1881². His work was not generally accepted at the time. Nevertheless, interest in the investigation of this subject was stimulated, and research was carried on at an ever increasing volume. Today there are bibliographies available listing very large numbers of works in this area (e.g. Pryor (1971), Welch (1970)).

The importance of migration, and so the need for an understanding of the subject, can be appreciated by considering, for example, that 1) the entire continent of North America was initially populated largely by migration, 2) it is now estimated that one person in six in the U.S.A. moves each year (Wertheimer, 1970, page 10), and more than one third of these cross a county boundary (The Commission on Population ... , 1972, page 28), and 3) rural to urban movement is so large that in recent years in Canada, urban population growth has exceeded total population growth (Anderson, 1966, page 11).

The relevance of migration to change in society is now widely recognized. Economists, for example, consider it to be the most important adjustment mechanism available for local economies and for the migrants themselves in the face of changing conditions (Friesen, 1973). The high effectiveness of migration lies in the fact that it can produce a fast response to change where alteration of the birth rate, for example, will not be felt in the labour force for fifteen to twenty years

(Kuznets, 1957).

Migration research has been classified into two main types: theoretical and empirical (Morrill, 1965, page 33). The empirical studies have tended to examine data on migratory movement and to impute motives to the moves, or characteristics to the migrants. The theoretical studies have approached the problem in the reverse order, by attempting to outline the motives for a move and the types of people most likely to move, and then examining available movement data to test these hypotheses.

Historically, there has always been difficulty in obtaining the necessary data for research into migratory movement (Anderson, 1966, page 32). In the democracies, and in particular in North America, a person changing his place of residence generally reports this change to the authorities only to maintain a current mailing address, and while it is often possible to detect a move through the records of such organizations as the public utilities and motor vehicle administrations, this data is not normally readily available to a researcher. As a result, information must usually be gathered by means of extensive and therefore expensive collation from several sources. Many censuses now include questions concerning residential moves in the intercensal period. Nevertheless, such information is seldom detailed enough for a thorough investigation. Also, inaccuracies often occur in this type of data due to faulty memory or deliberate misinformation on the part of those interviewed. In any case, the inclusion of this

type of question is quite a recent phenomenon -- George (1970, page 8) reports that the first Canadian census including questions on migration was that of 1941.

Important also is the fact that such data must be summarized to be useful, and a traditional problem has been to decide how such summarization should be carried out. In the past, summarization has generally been performed within arbitrary or political boundaries, such as those of census tracts or municipalities. Naturally, the availability and characteristics of data has imposed severe limitations upon the type of study that has been carried out. For example, it is partially for reasons of data availability that Thomlinson's definition of migration requires that "political boundaries" be crossed (Thomlinson, 1965, page 211), and Stone, in his analysis of migration using the 1961 Canadian census, refers to his use of municipal boundaries as "An admittedly poor...but...practical solution" (Stone, 1969, page 6).

Nevertheless, despite these and other problems, the study of migration has continued, and many important results have been obtained.

The Migration Decision Process in the Literature.

Although "streams of migration" are often referred to in describing migration trends, meaning all migrants who, in a given time interval, leave the same origin and arrive at the same destination (George, 1970, page 8), these streams are in fact aggregates of the moves of individuals. To discover the

forces driving the migration process, therefore, it is most fruitful to examine the decision process of the individual migrant. It is commonly accepted in the literature that a migrant is a person who changes his home to seek net gains in his balance of satisfaction (Simmie, 1972, page 17), or, more plainly, "people decide to move or stay ... because of the perceived benefits to themselves" (Wertheimer, 1970, page 10), so it is important to learn how he comes to perceive a greater benefit in moving than that obtained by staying.

The Abt Associates report on rural to urban migration among the poor outlines the conditions that obtain during the decision process for a potential migrant (Abt, 1970, pages 26-28). In that report, an individual is assumed to be normally oblivious to the possibility of migrating, having established an equilibrium between his perceptions of conditions in his own community and those in the universe of "elsewhere". In effect, the report assumes the existence of a place utility function for each person (Friesen, 1973), the values of which are set by the personal preferences of each potential migrant for each location.

The Abt report goes on to state the belief, based on extensive interviews, that small changes in the individual's perceptions of conditions either at home or elsewhere may disturb the equilibrium slightly, but it requires a significant accumulation of such changes in one direction, or a "major shock", that is a sudden and significant alteration of perceptions (but not necessarily conditions), to cause a basic

reassessment of the factors of the equilibrium, and so of the value of the place utility function. At this point, if the utility of a move appears greater than the utility of remaining in the current home, a decision to migrate will be made. The report suggests, however, that "The principal decision ... seems to be whether or not the individual will migrate. Where he will migrate is in some respects a separate decision". This statement posits the existence of distinct stages in the decision process, based on the level of perception an individual has achieved concerning migration.

Information for the Migration Decision.

If the above description of the decision process is accepted, it is important to know how information is obtained as input to the process. It is considered that the concept of the rational economic man making decisions on the basis of perfect and complete information is of little use in describing the process in reality (Abt, 1970, page 5); as in much of human decision making, the satisficing description seems to be more suitable (Friesen, 1973). This model describes people as making decisions on the basis of whatever information is easily available. Little importance is attached to obtaining more complete knowledge (Simon, 1957, page 205).

Since a perception of the current home area is part of the initial step of the process, the first apparent requirement for the decision is a knowledge of the conditions of the community currently inhabited. A person cannot fail to obtain some

impression of his surroundings simply by going about his daily business, but even in his home area there is bound to be less than perfect knowledge of matters of importance to the person concerned. This would be important if it caused a lack of realization of possibilities for personal improvement at home. The perception of such opportunities would increase the utility to the individual, value of the present home community and perhaps prevent any further consideration of moving.

However, if sufficient personal satisfaction is not found by the potential migrant in his home community, eventually the decision may be taken to emigrate, although migration will not occur unless it is perceived that there is another area where things would be better. In order for this perception to occur, the potential migrant must have some information about other possible places. The Abt report suggests that the decision as to what place to consider as an alternative may be an unconscious one, or even a long-standing assumption. This choice may be based on information obtained during previous personal visits to other locales, or possibly on reports from acquaintances who have made a move at some time in the past, and who have sent glowing testimonials to their friends back home (Abt, 1970, page 28). There are, of course, other ways in which information about alternatives may be obtained by the person dissatisfied with his present home. Isaac (1947, page 44) points out that the spread of facts by governmental bodies about their regions of responsibility has become an important source of such information, while another major input is casual reception of information through such entertainment media as

newspapers, magazines, and television, which present articles and reports concerning other parts of the world.

Lastly, the potential migrant requires information concerning the physical move itself. However, since transportation technology has progressed to the point where the moving of people and goods involves little physical hardship for the migrant, this area of information is now of greatly reduced importance. The only major piece of data usually wanted here is the cost of making the journey.

The obtaining of information for the migration decision, particularly of the first two types mentioned, is a most significant part of the process. Isaac (1947, page 44) also mentions the dangers of migratory failure (failure to achieve personal gain through the move undertaken) that can accompany the reception of incorrect information. He notes that information received from those private individuals who stand to make a profit from the movement of others is likely to be particularly inaccurate. The amount of information available must have a large effect on the outcome of a migration decision, and can also determine whether such a decision will be made at all.

Factors Affecting Migration.

From Ravenstein's work right up to the present day, the most important elements of society and environment affecting the decision to migrate have been consistently identified as motives related to economic conditions. Ravenstein himself lists a variety of alternative factors, but concludes that no migration stream produced by these factors "can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects" (Lee, in Jackson, 1969, page 283). Isaac in 1947 introduced a section on migration determining factors with the heading "Predominance of the Economic Incentive" (Isaac, 1947, page 23), and there is no shortage of similar opinions in more modern works (e.g. Kuznets (1957, in Milbank, page 198), Sjaastad (1962)³, Anderson (1966, page 27)).

In order to compare economic conditions in different places, researchers have commonly used the personal income of similar classes of people in each place, or the income of migrants before and after moving, as a measure of the effect of the local economy on the resident of an area. Simple income is often converted into a more sophisticated figure for comparison purposes. Such an index may be composed of the raw income value adjusted by measures of the cost and standard of living, including the cost and availability of housing, schools, etc.

Naturally, for most people a key factor in their personal income is the availability of work, and as a result, unemployment is also seen as an important determinant of

migration (The Commission on Population ... , 1972, page 28). Senior (in Eaton, 1969, page 35) even feels that job availability may be the most significant factor affecting migrants.

However, in concluding this mention of economic factors, it is appropriate to include the interesting viewpoint of Rohrich (in Eaton, 1969, page 72) that economists are naturally concerned with migration as it provides a simple model of an adjustment mechanism between local economies, and so the preponderance in the literature of economists' studies may create a false impression of the importance of economic factors. This illustrates a point that Friesen (1973) makes, which is that in migration research, each researcher has naturally tended to ascribe explanations to migration that fit the prevailing theories of his own discipline -- the economist stresses economic issues, the sociologist matters of social relations, etc.

Nevertheless, despite the predominant bias towards economic considerations in migration research, there has been a growing trend to attempt to incorporate non-economic factors in theories of migration causes. This has tended to discredit the description of the migration decision process as a cost-benefit analysis, as suggested by Simmie (1972, page 15). The values of the costs and benefits associated with many of the new factors to be included are not readily quantifiable in a mutually consistent way. In fact, it is felt that the key problem at the moment in modelling the migration process is the difficulty of

quantification for comparison of non-monetary costs and benefits (Friesen, 1973).

There are a great many non-economic factors that can be included as variables determining migration, because the number of factors increases with the number of things an individual thinks are important about his home environment. There are personal factors, such as the relationship of the individual to members of his community; or the success of his marriage; or the stage of his family life cycle; and also factors related to his physical environment such as opportunities for certain types of recreation; pollution; scenery; climate; etc. The reader will probably be able to add to this list other items that he personally would consider if a migratory move were being contemplated.

It is not being suggested that every factor suggested above, economic and non-economic, would be considered in any given case, as there may be little information available to the prospective migrant in many of these conceptual areas. Furthermore, if there were sufficient information available, there is no certainty that the individual would perceive the import of all the factors to his particular case. Instead, the point being made is that there is a very wide range of factors that can influence a migration decision.

While there are certainly factors that affect the migration decisions of many individuals, it is not likely that a simple set of causes for migration will be found that can be applied to all migration situations. The reasons for this are stated quite

clearly by Anderson (1966, page 24), who says that "Each individual judges the net gain of moving on the basis of his own personal assessment of the relevant factors. These factors clearly vary between individual situations and over time".

However, there are factors that apply in many situations, and so influence stream volumes. These are the factors mentioned above. Alonso (1971, page 1) draws an analogy between this situation and the study of the behaviour of gases, suggesting that one can determine higher order relationships such as Boyle's law without considering every detail of the Brownian motion of the gas molecules.

This is an important point. The delineation of factors considered in even a major proportion of migration decisions is by no means the same thing as finding the causes of migration, especially when control of migration volumes is to be attempted.

"Push" and "Pull".

Elements of change in societal or environmental conditions that appear to cause migration to take place have often been classified by migration analysts into "push" and "pull" forces. The theory is that a person would move for either or both of the following reasons: (1) if conditions at home became intolerable, either through a gradual process or because of a natural disaster, so that he is pushed out of his home area, or (2) if conditions at some destination became perceived as being a considerable improvements on conditions at home, so that he is pulled towards that destination.

Predictions have been made concerning characteristics of migrants produced by push and by pull forces. The migrant responding primarily to a push from his home area is seen as a person who is concerned more with his present lot in life than in thinking about his future, since he is not responding to appeals from better places, but merely moving to avoid the intolerable (Isaac, 1947, page 34). Jansen (in Jackson, 1969, page 64) feels that migrants produced by a strong push will be a more-or-less random sample from the origin population. Push will tend to be unselective since exceptionally bad local conditions will effect a large part of the population there, causing general emigratory trends, whereas migrants pulled towards specific destinations will choose destinations that particularly suit them, and so pull migration streams will be highly selected as to types of migrants.

Recently, the weightings of push and pull in this process have been more carefully assessed. Alonso, in his paper studying intermetropolitan population flows, reports that in statistical studies of migration and various proposed causative factors for the major metropolitan regions of the U.S.A., he found little evidence of a correlation between a degradation of home conditions and emigration, i.e. that push is not an important element for the factors studied (Alonso, 1971, page 6). Of course, he has only included a certain set of factors in these studies, although this set includes such important areas as income, climate, and a measure of the number of opportunities. There may well be other factors, not considered

in Alonso's study, that are important in pushing a migrant away. Nevertheless, Alonso (1971, page 14) feels that push is a less important factor than "pull-out" through which "the rate of out-migration rises with the number of temptations open to a prospective migrant".

Characteristics of Migratory Flow.

Many generalizations concerning migratory movement have been stated as a result of statistical study of migration data. However, since the literature on this type of research is so voluminous, only a few of the more important and interesting results can be presented here.

First, there are those that concern characteristics of the migration stream volumes. Some of Ravenstein's results, such as the effect of distance on migration streams, are apparently still acceptable today (Bogue, 1969, pages 755-756). Distance appears to be an attenuating force for migration; that is to say, the number of migrants from a given origin decreases with distance from that origin. That is not to say, however, that the major part of the total incoming stream at any place will always be from local sources. It is conceivable that a part of the total emigration volume from a major source of migrants may in fact be the only significant immigrating stream for a certain destination area.

Two more of Ravenstein's "laws" describe the phenomena of the existence of a counter- or returning migration stream for every existing stream, and state that increase in migration

volumes is brought about in part by technological progress, particularly in the fields of transportation and communication (Isaac, 1947, page 42). These two points have also been reinforced by more recent studies (e.g. Shryock (1964)).

Alonso (1971, page 2) points out that as rural to urban migration in the U.S.A. has been a major net movement for a considerable period, and that for rural regions the emigration rates have exceeded the combined immigration and natural increase rates. It is reasonable to expect that this type of movement will tend to dry up in the near future, and that the major form of migration in the United States will soon be intermetropolitan. His view is supported by Richmond (in Jackson, 1969, page 245) who sees this trend as common to post-industrial societies. Alonso's analyses show several positive correlations between stream volumes and destination characteristics such as size of population, previous immigration volume, income, and better climate. Interestingly, emigration stream volumes are also positively correlated with immigration stream volumes, and Alonso (1971, page 7) feels that this tends to give credence to the theory of the existence of a class of people who are more likely to move, and so move more than once.

The positive correlation between previous and current immigration flows may also be considered a reinforcement of Stouffer's theory of "intervening opportunities" (Stouffer, 1940). This theory relates stream volumes between two given places to the opportunities at the destination and all other places no farther from the origin than the destination. The

opportunities at a place are measured as the total of all immigration streams at that place in a recent period, each immigrant being assumed to have moved to take advantage of one opportunity. The distance referred to can be conceived as either the real physical distance or a more sophisticated measure such as "Economic distance" (Stouffer, 1960) or "Functional distance" (Brown et al., 1970). This theory has proved quite successful in practice in predicting migration stream volumes⁴.

Characteristics of the Migrant.

It has long been noticed that migrants tend to have characteristics different from those of the population as a whole. Thus it can be claimed that migration is in fact a selective process, supporting the view of those considering that the major causes of migration are the effects of pull. The most consistently noticeable characteristic has been the relative youth of migrants. Jansen (in Jackson, 1969, page 63) summarizes research into migrant characteristics by quoting various authors who feel that this is the only distinguishing feature of migrants that can always be expected. There are many different age ranges suggested to define these young migrants, but the general feeling appears to be to accept the range of 15 to 35 years as containing the ages of most of them. Thomlinson (1965, page 227) suggests that the reason for a predominance of youthful migrants is that people earlier in life have less to lose by moving than those who have already put down some more permanent roots, and so they are swayed by weaker attractions

than older people. Backing up this hypothesis is the fact that there is a smaller but still noticable clustering of migrants in the post-retirement age group, who may also be construed as finding it easier to make a break with their home community since the major commitments of job and career now no longer exist for them.

Migrants, and particularly the first groups of migrants in a given stream, are usually identified as having more schooling than have non-migrants, and as being in a profession rather than a labouring occupation (Thomlinson, 1965, page 228). This may show that migrants are of generally higher intelligence, or or are more aware of opportunities elsewhere, than non-migrants. In contrast, however, Thomlinson also suggests that those who spend more time becoming formally educated find it less easy to adjust to the world outside the school, and will tend to be chronic movers as a result.

Many other common characteristics of migrants have been described in various studies in the literature. Most of these, however, are related to the specific stream being investigated, so although the migration process in each stream can be highly selective, it does not appear that further universal traits of migrants have been found. Moreover, the small number of universal features is consistent with the premise that a single set of causative factors ascribable to every case does not exist.

So although the investigation into migration has in the past attempted to produce generalizations about the connections

between migratory flows and their causes, it seems that the individual nature of the migration process, and the importance of the particular origin and destination, have the effect of confounding these generalizations.

Summary.

Research in this subject has taken varying forms. The first studies produced broad descriptive summaries of observed trends of migratory flows and migrants characteristics, as typified by Ravenstein (Lee, 1969), but this type of study is also still popular today, as evidenced by the work of Pierson (1973), for example. Another type of report, perhaps evolved from this descriptive approach, is the more detailed statistical analysis of migratory movement, examples being Shryock's work on population mobility in the U.S. (Shryock, 1964) or the analyses by George (1970) and Stone (1969) of the Canadian 1961 census data.

Contrasting with this type of work is the theoretical or a priori approach, in which hypotheses are proposed concerning driving forces of migration, these hypotheses being tested by examination of migration data. An example of this approach is Beshar's book on population processes (Beshar, 1967).

Both these two major types of study have produced useful results, and although differing opinions of causes of migration have been presented, there is a surprising amount of underlying agreement among the authors consulted, the differences being mainly those of degree of emphasis of individual factors in the

migration process, and the amount of generalization attempted.

Although migration is a highly selective process, it does not select the same type of people in each case, and although there are some factors that have been pointed out as causes of migration in many cases, there appears to be no set of factors applicable to every case. Both of these phenomena are thought to be the result of the highly personal nature of the decision to migrate, and the large variation in the criteria that can be used by each individual in defining an improvement in his general condition. One result of this feature of migration is that although each stream of migrants entering or leaving a particular place may be quite homogeneous, the total immigration or emigration flow at that place may be composed of people with widely differing attributes. This last point is most significant for those forming governmental policies concerning migration.

References from Chapter 2.

1. Isaac (1947), chapter 2 is devoted to the historical background of migration and its study.
2. Lee (1969) in Jackson (1969) presents a summary of Ravenstein's article.
3. Sjaastad (1962) bases his whole paper on this assumption .
4. Stouffer (1960) summarizes prediction successes of other researchers who have used his approach.

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Chapter 3

MIGRATION CONTROLS IN PRACTICE.

This chapter will be concerned with examining previous and current policies that have been implemented in various parts of the world, one result of the implementation of which is a reduction of net immigration in a given region. This examination is useful in several ways. It will suggest the broad range of potential methods of achieving control over migration; it will provide a classification scheme for the analysis of suggested policies; and in the succeeding chapter, in which the results of application of the various policy types are presented, it will suggest fruitful directions for further investigation.

Information Sources.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, concern about migration and policies to affect it is by no means a new or uncommon phenomenon. However, in contrast with the body of literature on the migration process, sources of information concerning the control of migration are few, and the field is still disorganised. It was not until quite recently that planning research paid much attention to this area, but now interest in the subject does appear to be rising, particularly at the local planning level.

Much of the available material sees itself as being concerned with "control of growth", often with little understanding as to what type of growth is being controlled, --

population, territorial, or economic. However, there do appear to be relationships, not yet well understood, between these three types, so that measures adopted to affect one type of expansion often have effects on the others. Measures that have an effect on migration have been extracted from such material for presentation here.

Classification of Control Measures.

Policies designed to restrict net immigration in a given region fall into three broad categories. First, there are those which seek to increase the attractiveness of migratory origins in order to discourage resettlement. Second are those which attempt to provide new, attractive migratory destinations, or to increase the attractiveness of existing destinations, in order to (re)direct new settlement. Third, there are those which aim to decrease the attractiveness of the destination area in order to discourage new settlement from occurring within this area.

This is a useful classification scheme, as all basic policies fall into one of these categories (policies that seem to overlap these classes are generally combinations of two separate policies), and there are usually important differences between two policies from different classes, related to implementation jurisdiction, philosophy, cost, etc. Accordingly, these classes of policy will be presented separately in this exposition.

Of course, policies that have the effect of reducing net immigration for a given region may be implemented to produce

primary results other than this. Nevertheless, policies examined in this work will be assumed to have the principal objective of net immigration reduction for purposes of analysis.

Improving Migratory Origins.

This type of policy is generally implemented to decrease the volume of certain classes of migration streams. This is brought about by improving the attractiveness of the origins of those streams, thereby lessening the desire to move felt by the residents of those places. This type of measure is part of the operating procedure of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion of the Government of Canada (D.R.E.E.). One goal of this department is to attempt to decrease net emigration from areas seen as being economically underdeveloped. The method used to achieve this is the supplying of government funding to stimulate industry in those areas, in order to increase employment opportunities there. This is expected to improve the living standards of the residents of the vicinity, and so decrease dissatisfaction with the area that may lead to emigration (Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1973, page 2).

Unless the immigration flow into a protected region is mainly made up of large streams from a small number of areas, this type of policy will not often be used to control immigration to a particular protected region. The number of places whose residential environment must be improved to implement such a policy is usually very large, implying that

only a senior government would have the power to carry out the policy at all, and the level of financial involvement needed would be beyond the capabilities of even senior governments in many cases.

Improving Alternative Migratory Destinations.

One mode of operation that might be used with this class of policy is to establish a small number of areas as centres to which migrants are to be attracted. This approach can be used to divert potential immigrants of the protected region to such centres, sometimes called "growth centres" or "growth poles", and so avoid having them settle in the protected region itself. Alternatively, it may be desired to provide a powerful attraction to encourage increased migration from the protected region into the growth centres.

This type of policy can be implemented over a wide range of scale. The most grandiose approach is that of the New City. New Cities are the result of intense government stimulation through massive spending in the area where the city is to be established. In Brasilia, Brazil, for example, the government undertook the building of an entirely new capital, providing much of the employment the protected region are removed; immigration will not occur. Two factors are being undertaken, and later by means of the civil service jobs that a capital generates (Staubli, 1965). Milton Keynes in Britain is another example of this policy in action. This New City, under construction halfway between the major metropolises of London

and Birmingham, is intended to relieve the growth pressure on a significant proportion of Britain's industrial towns and cities by attracting large numbers of people to new homes in what was previously farmland. It is hoped that the flow of many emigration streams throughout the country will be absorbed by Milton Keynes, relieving the immigration pressure on existing centres (The Times, 1972/3/24).

On a smaller scale is the New Town. A New Town policy differs from that of a New City in that a New Town is generally built to relieve the population pressure on a particular centre, rather than on many centres of the nation in which it is built. The New Town scheme was one of the first of the external policies those desiring population growth, growth opponents have seldom turned to it. Garden City movement. The scheme, as it has evolved in Britain, and particularly in relation to London, operates as follows. An area is chosen and designated as a New Town, this area usually being within a radius of about sixty miles from the centre to be relieved of population pressures. The area may have few or no inhabitants (such as, for example, Basildon in Essex), or it may already be an established small town (an example being Hemel Hempstead). A third variant also exists, although not usually found in Britain, in which the area chosen already contains a sizable but problem-ridden town which is to be designated as a growth centre not only to relieve population pressures in a neighbouring region but also to improve its own local conditions. This method has been used in the vicinity of Havana, Cuba and San Juan, Puerto Rico (Guttheim, 1973, appendix II).

Once the New Town area has been chosen, government, either the council of the city wishing to control its growth or the senior government, undertakes the large-scale construction of housing and community facilities in the New Town area, while at the same time encouraging industry to locate there to provide employment for the new residents. People are often allocated housing in the New Town after being chosen from the list of residents of the parent city who require new accommodation. Accommodation for both residents and industry is usually made available at subsidized low prices, and this, coupled with the fact that the facilities available are brand new, is seen as a powerful attraction for prospective inhabitants, both human and corporate. Extensive planning is usually undertaken to maintain the pleasantness of the New Town, and a green belt around the town to prevent urban sprawl is a common item in such planning.

The result hoped for is the creation of a complete small to medium sized town (usually under 100,000 people). It is intended that the inhabitants of the town will be former residents of the parent city. The town should also be sufficiently well planned and managed so that it can provide a satisfying environment for its residents. However, the New Town residents will still be somewhat dependent upon the parent city for certain cultural and other higher order amenities¹.

On a still smaller scale, there is the designation of planned growth areas within or very close to the parent city itself. In Britain, this may be seen in the "satellite" communities such as Hainault and Debden in London (Self, 1957,

page 59), this type of settlement depending for much of its employment and amenities upon the parent city, and in fact being little more than a very large and slightly more lavishly equipped housing development. In other countries, this type of approach may be seen in modular, self-contained growth increments (Guttheim, 1973, appendix II), as are found in such cities as Canberra, Australia and Stockholm, Sweden, where new construction in the city is directed into designated areas which are planned to receive the city's population increase in an house certain classes of business activities.

Growth increment areas will be defined. As in the other increase of attraction measures, methods used to encourage new residents to move to the specified areas include subsidized prices for houses, assistance with regard to the actual move, tax concessions, and the general promise of new and better planned facilities and environments.

Reduction of Local Migratory Attraction.

In contrast to the other measures, which seek to increase the attractiveness or availability of certain areas for residence generally, these measures aim to reduce the attractiveness or availability of the protected region for residence to immigrants. The range of measures that can be employed is large, but can be readily classified into four divisions: restriction of access to the region by immigrants; reduction or counter-action of the strength of regional pull factors; alteration of the way that the region is perceived by

non-residents, without altering the region itself; encouragement of increased emigration to balance immigration.

A) Restriction of Access.

Restriction of immigrant access is not a common policy at the regional level, although it is familiar at the national level. A common example of this type of policy is the imposition of quotas upon the immigration volumes, under which quotas only a set number of immigrants are permitted to enter the controlled area within a certain time period. This policy is sometimes modified to specify the number of immigrants that will be permitted from each area of origin. Two cities are reported to be using this type of control measure, enforced by the issuance of police permits to those who are permitted to enter the cities in question. They are Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Djakarta, Indonesia (Guttheim, 1973, appendix II).

In some jurisdictions, a choosing procedure is implemented to admit certain immigrants while refusing access to others. There are many ways in which such a choice could be made, but the usual one is to require certain specific achievements or attributes of prospective immigrants before they will be admitted. During the 1930s, the State of California refused to admit any immigrant who could not prove that he had a job to go to in the State, for example. At present, the Canadian government employs a "points system" under which various achievements such as education, previous employment experience, etc., are assigned points, immigrants being refused entry to the

country unless a certain number of points have been earned (Ministry of Manpower ..., 1973). An interesting double jeopardy regulation of this nature was imposed in the city of Moscow, U.S.S.R. in the 1940s under which immigration was discouraged by refusing any person employment in the city unless he had a place to live there, while simultaneously refusing a place to live to all those not having a job in the area (Parkins, 1953, page 42).

Enforcement of restriction of entry regulations is usually carried out by making all unauthorized immigration illegal, with deportation the minimum penalty for inhabiting the restricted area without permission.

A variation on this approach involves restricting access by the immigrant not to the area as a whole but to certain services the area offers. A familiar example of this form of measure, generally implemented for other reasons than migration control, is the time of residency many jurisdictions require before the right to vote is obtained. If immigrants are arriving to take advantage of certain amenities within the protected region, then this type of measure could curtail the availability of those amenities to newcomers and so remove the reasons for immigration.

This type of restriction of access might also be considered a form of reduction of pull factors (see below).

B) Reduction of Pull Factors.

The reasoning behind this type of control is that if the incentives for migration into the protected region are removed, immigration will not occur. Two factors are commonly identified for control in this way, availability of housing and availability immigrants. The range of measures that can be by discouraging new building or by discouraging more intensive use of existing buildings (e.g. conversion of large houses into apartments). This approach has enjoyed considerable popularity as a growth restriction policy. It was in use as far back as 1580, at which time Queen Elizabeth I of England issued a royal proclamation prohibiting new construction within three miles of London, and forbidding occupancy of houses by more than one family².

Analogously, employment has been controlled by limiting the entrance of new industry into the protected region, or limiting the expansion of existing industries there³. The tools used to implement these controls are similar for both cases.

One measure that may be used is the simple issuance of fewer building permits by the local authority, or even the refusal to issue any at all. The latter is the so-called "moratorium" approach, usually used as a temporary measure while other, more comprehensive, control measures are drawn up and implemented. An example of an area using both these options is Petaluma, California, which in 1971 placed a 13 month freeze on new development, and followed this with a policy of limiting building permits issued per year to 500 (Turner, 1973, page 5).

Somewhat less restrictive than refusing to issue building permits are the policies of reducing the desirability or availability of new land for construction. One method of doing this is to refuse to construct utility lines necessary for proposed new developments. This measure, coupled with a policy of disallowing construction where utilities are not adequate, is designed in particular to restrict the spread of built up areas outside current boundaries. There are several variations on this policy, including limiting development to that which can be accommodated within the capacity of the current utility systems (e.g. Washington, D.C.), increasing the charges for utility hookup (e.g. Boulder, Colorado), and requiring the developer to pay the full cost of servicing the land (e.g. Loudon County, Va.) (Guttheim, 1973, appendix II).

A more direct method is to establish boundaries outside which certain types of new construction will be restricted. "Growth boundaries" of this type have been established in Salem and Eugene in Oregon in an attempt to halt both urban sprawl and population increase (Finkler, 1972, page 46). This method is similar to the familiar green belt policy, under which construction in a strip of land surrounding a population centre is severely restricted to obtain a clear boundary between urban and rural areas. One of the many examples of this policy is a 5000 acre green belt surrounding Ottawa, Ontario (Guttheim, 1973, page 2).

Finally, there is what is possibly the most widely used policy of this type at present, building control by restrictive

zoning. Again there is a wide variety of measures that could be used in this area, the simplest being to set low densities initially, or to reduce the currently permitted densities. Among the many cases of this policy in use is that of Pacific Beach, California, where multiple family densities were reduced to bring the total allowed population down from 79,000 to 36,000 (Turner, 1973, page 8). Industry has been controlled in a similar manner by zoning to exclude new construction that would house certain classes of business activities.

Another type of zoning restriction, recently applied in several communities to limit the development of more facilities for industry or housing is the control of size (height and bulk) of buildings. This has been used not only to limit the number of people that can be accommodated either as residents or employees, but also to obtain some control over the appearance of the built-up areas of the community. Places where this type of policy is in use include San Francisco, California; Boulder, Colorado; and Washington, D.C. (Guttheim, 1973, appendix II).

When an authority discovers that it is not expedient to reduce what are seen as the direct causes of immigration, it may decide to counterbalance these attractions by reducing other benefits the community without altering the region itself. One way in which this may be carried out is to adopt a fixed level of spending on certain community services. As the community population increases under this restriction on spending, so the level of service per capita usually drops. It should be pointed out that this often occurs without any intent on behalf of the

local authorities simply due to lack of money, but nonetheless it still has the effect of reducing the community's attraction to immigrants.

A definite cutback in services may be intentionally employed in an effort to discourage immigration. An instance of service restriction to achieve this end was reported in Japan, where the control of ration tickets was used in an attempt to restrict migration (Agency for International Development, 1968, page 10).

Another way in which such a policy might operate is to place restrictions upon the life style of local residents that may not be acceptable to prospective immigrants. As an example of this type, in some island areas and parts of certain cities, the use of cars is forbidden. This could be interpreted as discouraging potential new residents who are not prepared to give up using a car in order to live there.

C) Alteration of Immigrant Perception.

The difference between this policy type and that above is that the protected region itself is unchanged here. Advertising, persuasion, and general public relations are used instead to reduce the desire of prospective immigrants to settle in the region.

Although this has long been a method used by those desiring population growth, growth opponents have seldom turned to it. However, there is a recent example of its use to discourage

immigration in the oft-reported statement of the Governor of Oregon to the effect that visitors were welcome, but new residents were not⁴.

D) Encouragement of Emigration.

This last type of internal measure is somewhat similar to the resettlement policies discussed as external measures, except that as an internal measure, this type of policy includes no plan to establish centres for the emigrants to move to, but instead simply encourages them to leave the protected region.

Encouragement of emigration is more usually applied to industry than to people directly, often because the land the industry occupies is wanted for other purposes, or as part of a reduction of employment policy. Measures used may be either coercive, in the form of increases in taxes, or expropriation of facilities, or non-coercive, in the form of programs to aid in the relocation process or to show the advantages of relocation. London, England, through the Location of Offices bureau, has been carrying out a policy of encouraging decentralization of businesses to locations outside London by helping companies with the corporate planning necessary for such a move, and running an advertising program promoting industrial relocation by showing the advantages of operating in a smaller community. On the other hand, Vancouver, as part of the False Creek redevelopment, has refused to renew leases on certain industrial land in order to force the relocation of the industries located there. If relocation within the local area is discouraged, this type of

policy will serve to increase emigration.

Summary.

Many places throughout the world are either currently involved in trying to limit their population size, or have attempted to do so in the past. The range of methods employed is large, but can be readily classified into four divisions: n Methods to improve home areas of potential immigrants of the protected region; methods to establish alternative destinations for potential immigrants or to resettle current residents of the protected region; and methods to simply decrease the attractiveness of the protected region to immigrants.

Perhaps the greatest value of such a classification scheme arises when evaluation of a proposed policy is required. This evaluation would be reduced to a much simpler problem if the policy were determined to be a member of a class of policies of which the general benefits and costs of application were already known. The evaluation need then only concern itself with the details of application of the policy under study, rather than with the general principles of the policy's operation.

The examination of the costs and benefits associated with the policy classes and subclasses described above is presented in the next chapter.

References from Chapter 3.

1. See Self (1957) for a general description of the workings of the British New Towns policy.
2. Rasmussen (1934) page 68. The proclamation reads "her majesty ... doth ... command all ... persons ... to desist ... from any new buildings of any house or tenement within three miles from any gate of the said city of London, to serve for habitation or lodging for any person, where no former house hath been ... and also to forbear from letting ... any more families than one only ... to inhabit from henceforth in any house ...".
3. "industry" here includes both production plants and activities that employ only office workers.
4. Finkler (1972), page 45. Governor McCall's statement reads "Come and visit us again and again. But for heaven's sake don't come here to live".

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Chapter 4

EVALUATION OF CONTROL POLICIES.

As was demonstrated in the last chapter, many policies have been suggested to obtain a reduction in net regional immigration, and doubtless more will be put forward in the future. In order to determine which, if any, of these policies are worthy of implementation, there must be a method by which they can be evaluated and compared.

This chapter falls into two parts. The first is the development of criteria for the evaluation of control policies. The second applies these criteria to the policies described in the preceding chapter. The same criteria will also be used to evaluate control measures to be suggested in the succeeding chapter.

The Method of Policy Evaluation.

Control policies will be evaluated as follows. Specifications and criteria will be developed which would describe the features of an ideal policy, if one existed. Proposed policies will be subjectively examined for their degree of conformance to each of these ideal features, in terms of the effects the policy produces, so that a comparison in terms of the desirability of each may be obtained. Because of the subjective nature of the evaluation, no numerical rating system will be used.

Evaluation Criteria.

There are three basic criterion areas that will be used for evaluation. The first is concerned with the effectiveness of policies. The criteria here are as follows: 1) A control policy should bring about a decrease in net immigration, beginning at, or within a specified time after, its implementation. 2) This decrease should be sustainable for however long it is desired to maintain it. 3) The volume of immigration should be adjustable under the policy to any desired level below the unregulated volume, including producing net emigration, if this effect is wanted. Of reduction of pull factors (see below).ce net immigration may produce negative feedback effects. Reduced immigration to a region could improve the livability of the region to the extent that emigration rates would decline. Similarly, an increase in emigration might make the region more attractive to immigrants. However, the strength of such effects, if they exist, has not been ascertained.

The second area concerns itself with possible effects of policy adoption upon those people who are already residents of the region under regulation. The single criterion here is that a control measure should produce minimal significant detrimental effects upon the living conditions of these current residents. Some of the detrimental effects are: A rise in the cost of living, an increase in unemployment rates, a degradation of the physical environment. Notice that the effects being referred to are those directly attributable to the policy, not those stemming from the reduction of population growth in the region.

The latter effects would presumably be weighed before a decision is made to embark on a program of net immigration reduction.

The necessity of adopting this criterion stems from the reasoning behind instituting any immigration control policy at all. Such a policy would be implemented to help to maintain or improve the condition of the environment of the protected region or the living conditions of the inhabitants. A control policy should therefore cause minimal degradation in these conditions.

The last criterion area is that of the political acceptability of policies. This is a complex area, and will be treated slightly differently from the two areas discussed above.

If there is to be popular perception of a proposed policy as beneficial, it is first necessary that the people to whom the policy is to be applied should generally agree with the goals the policy is intended to achieve. If this is not the case, then any restrictions imposed by the policy in order to achieve its goals will be found to be unacceptable.

The intended goal of the policies to be evaluated in this chapter is the reduction of net immigration to a given region. For purposes of evaluation, it will be assumed that, within this region, there is widespread acceptance of the desirability of such a reduction, so that policies can be compared by considering the burden of the restrictions each imposes.

Stringent restrictions are not necessarily a bad feature of a policy. However, they must be counterbalanced by strong public desire to pursue the policy's goals, and also by high

policy effectiveness. If either of these two requirements is not met, then there will be little perceived gain obtained from policy implementation, while cost in terms of reduction of personal freedoms will be seen as high.

It is also assumed that residents of other regions have neutral feelings towards net immigration reduction in the given region, so that any restrictions imposed on them by proposed policies will be considered to be undesirable by these people. It will be particularly necessary to consider the feelings of these people where a jurisdiction higher than that of the region itself would have to be called upon to implement a proposed policy, since such a jurisdiction must consider the reactions of all people within its boundaries, not just those a policy is designed to assist.

The second criterion area described above, that of internal effects, has a bearing on this discussion too. Although there may be general acceptance of the goals of a proposed policy, there can still be a general rejection of the side effects that the implementation of the policy may produce. One of the important types of effect to be avoided will be mentioned here as an example -- complexity, bureaucratic inefficiency and slowness, and general red tape should be kept to a minimum. These are very costly items as far as public acceptance of policy is concerned, and they are almost always irrelevant to the goals of the policy considered.

Connected with the concept of public acceptance is that of legality. Any new policy should comply with standards of

regulation that are acceptable to the population of application. In human communities, these standards are usually expressed by the law pertaining both to the activity to be controlled, and to types of control acceptable in general. However, since these laws themselves are the result of community attitudes in the past, it is possible that the laws in question no longer represent current public opinion. The requirement of an alteration in the law for the introduction of a proposed policy does not necessarily rule out that policy as a possibility, but it will add an important difficulty to the introduction of the policy.

As a result of the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that the political acceptability of a policy is a balance between the public's desire to achieve the goals of the policy, and the cost effectiveness of the policy itself. The costs include both monetary costs and restrictions on personal freedom. It is not practical to evaluate proposed policies with respect to political acceptability on the basis of their conformance with a set of simple criteria. Instead, the evaluation will proceed as follows: it will be assumed that there is general public acceptance of the desirability of some form of migration control. Policies will then be compared on the basis of the stringency of the control measures used, the costs imposed, and the community attitudes towards the type of controls adopted. The political acceptability of each policy will be discussed as it relates to residents of the protected region, and also as it relates to non-residents of that region.

Evaluation of Control Measures.

Improving Migratory Origins.

1) Effectiveness. If people are well satisfied with their present home areas, they will be much less likely to move, and so will be less likely to become a problem for some destination area. However, the provision of similar attractions at home as are available in potential migratory destinations is not always possible. If a person is considering moving because of climatic reasons, or because he wants to live nearer to certain relatives or friends, no amount of extra spending on physical environmental improvements or the provision of social amenities can provide these changes at his current home. He will not even be much influenced by this type of program if the considered destination is a region which already has such improvements and such improvements are not the primary reason he is considering moving.

Also, it will often not be possible to carry out improvement programs in some of the migration origins if they are in other countries. The national governments of those countries would probably resent such an intrusion into their affairs, or they might have their own policies that would conflict with such improvements.

This type of policy can therefore produce only a limited reduction of net immigration, as it can only affect a portion of all the prospective migrants. However, the deterrent to

emigration from the origins that are improved should continue to act upon some prospective migrants from those areas for some time. In this sense the reduction in flows achieved is sustainable, but it may well be necessary to provide further improvements at various intervals to maintain the perception of the greater attractiveness of the home areas.

Adjustment of such a program can be achieved, but only by altering the amount of improvement provided. To reduce the flow of immigrants still further, more origins would have to be improved, or the same origins further improved. To produce net emigration from the protected region with this type of measure, the origins would have to be so much improved that they would become destinations for emigrants from the protected region.

2) Internal Effects. There is only one detrimental effect to residents of the protected region from this policy, but it is considerable. The enormous price of the improvements that this type of measure requires must be paid, and a portion of that payment will almost certainly be required from the region to which migration is being reduced. Moreover, the costs incurred are not readily correlated with expected decreases in immigration. There is no reliable method of predicting whether improvements planned would actually be a deterrent to prospective migrants, especially as the conditions at both the origin and destination of a proposed move are continually changing. This type of policy has in fact seldom been used, mainly due to the very large public expenditures required.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). This type of measure has generally good public acceptance within the protected region. No restrictions are placed on those who wish to migrate to this region, and people elsewhere are seen to benefit by having their home areas improved.

4) Political Acceptability (External). Public acceptance outside the protected region would probably also be good, although there might be some changes in this situation once such a policy had been in use for a time. For example, the people in the areas being "improved" might come to resent all the "improvements" being forced upon them by the government in question, and since this government would be provincial or national in Canada, the voices of those people would be heard by the politicians responsible for the policy. Also, the mounting costs mentioned above could again become a contentious point, and this outcome could occur within the protected region as well as outside it. Nevertheless, since this type of policy does attempt to provide definite improvements to home environments, there should be few political difficulties unless the spending was thought to be getting out of hand.

Improving Alternative Migratory Destinations.

1) Effectiveness. Policies of this type have in general had small success in bringing about a reduction in net immigration to a particular region, although they may have been successful in improving housing conditions for some people. The principal

reason for this are the cost and difficulty of administering the design and construction of projects on as large a scale as those which must be carried out in the alternative destination areas, in order to achieve a significant reduction.

The sustainability of reductions obtained by such policies is poor. Sustainability here can only be obtained by continuous investment in new community production, as once a home in a new community is occupied, it loses its capability to reduce further population increase in the protected region. This is a serious drawback, since apart from implying the need for a continuous large flow of money, it means that the construction of homes for the (re)directed migrants must be a continuous process, while the policy is in operation. Even if suitable sites for these homes can be found, which cannot be assumed, the organizational difficulties of such a program can be expected to cause delays in construction, and so reduce the effectiveness of the program.

Moreover, rather than discouraging migration with this type of policy, the implementing body may be encouraging it. By providing new communities and inviting residents to move in, it is putting the thought of migration for self betterment into more and more peoples' minds. In this way, if new community construction halts, the immigration pressure upon the protected region may return with increased vigour due to this popularization of the process that causes the problem in the first place.

As with the "Improvement of Origins" policies described above, adjustment of the policies currently being evaluated can

be achieved by altering the amount of new community construction. Such a program can therefore be said to be adjustable, with a certain lag, but it should be remembered that adjustment towards further decrease of net immigration to the protected region may not in fact be possible because of shortage of available money for investment in the program.

2) Internal Effects. As with improvement-of-origin policies, the principal detrimental effect of this policy type upon protected region inhabitants is the cost of the program as a whole. In fact, the situation under a new community policy might tend to be particularly difficult in this regard, since there is often only one region that is to be protected by each program. As a result, the proportion of the cost that the residents of that region are expected to pay is likely to be higher than with the previously discussed policy type.

The costs would be high. Every migrant diverted from, or attracted from, the protected region must be provided with all the essentials of life -- housing, employment, etc. Moreover, these essentials must be provided at subsidized prices, and often extra attractions must be provided as well to convince these migrants that they should choose the alternative area as their new home region. If the migration streams in question are of significant volume, then the cost and organizational problems connected with supplying these commodities become enormous, and programs of this type often fall behind as a result¹.

Moreover, most programs of this type must be carried out

largely by the government alone, without the help of private enterprise. Public expense seems almost unavoidable for the development of a new community, since a town is being created where one had not previously been found to be economically feasible, at least in recent history. At the very least, strong economic incentives to private developers will be needed to start such a project, while in most cases of this policy in action, government has in fact paid the lion's share of the construction costs

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). Although new community policies share with improvement-of-origin policies the characteristic that they are creating improved residential environments for at least some people, they are not as free of political problems as the latter.

The principal political difficulty within the protected region for this type of policy is probably the cost of the program. Even if a significant reduction in net immigration were achieved, resentment could build as a result of the higher taxes being levied for the purpose of giving other people new homes. This resentment would be particularly difficult to forestall if there were significant competition for the new homes being built, so that regional residents could not easily move into them.

4) Political Acceptability (External). Several political problems could arise outside the protected region as a result of the implementation of this type of policy. First, there is the problem of possible detrimental effects that the creation of the new community may have on the area in which it is built. The land used may be farmland or in an area of natural beauty, with the obvious attendant drawbacks accompanying the urbanisation of such an area. Certainly, a plan for a new community to be developed under this type of program should endeavour not to use such lands, but more suitable sites may simply be unavailable in the building areas considered. In any event, any new community construction will generally mean the introduction of urbanisation into a new area. Since there is a significant body of opinion opposing the further urbanisation of rural areas, this process may run into political opposition.

Second, there is the problem of possible detrimental effects upon the previous residents of the area in which the new community is constructed. Although these residents will be few in number compared to the people being housed in the new community, they may also be a political force to be reckoned with.

Last, the social consequences of instant communities should be examined. There is more to a community than the physical buildings that house it. In a new town, incoming residents are often thrown into a socially amorphous situation. Is it reasonable to expect these people to be happy and form a comfortable set of new social interactions? Some think not.

Alonso (1970, page 39) believes that "The principal flaw in new town proposals lies in an underestimation of the social and economic integration ... which constitute a metropolis". If governments have trouble in making even incremental improvements to existing communities successfully, the logic of attempting the much more difficult problem of designing a new community may well be faulty. The social problems that may occur within the new communities generated under this type of program could cause serious political problems for the sponsors of the program.

Reduction of Local Migratory Attraction.

A) Restriction of Access.

1) Effectiveness. Policies to reduce immigrant access to the protected region are perhaps the most effective of all, although there are serious problems concerning their acceptability. The most extreme case of such a policy, the Berlin wall, is clearly effective in limiting migration, as evidenced by the publicity produced by attempts to cross it. At a less drastic level, many people are aware of Canada's immigration regulations, and are also aware of people's being refused entry or being deported as a result of these regulations.

Restricting immigrant access will clearly reduce net immigration immediately. An adequately policed policy could not be ignored by immigrants. Further, the reduction would be sustainable as long as the restrictions were continued. The reduction could be readily adjusted by altering the number of

immigrants permitted entry, although whether net emigration could be produced would depend upon whether emigration was already taking place.

2) Internal Effects. The hardships that limiting access impose upon protected region inhabitants are of two types. The first is that people whom residents wish to move into the region may be forbidden to do so. However, this hardship could be reduced by means of careful design of the mechanics being used in a given instance of implementation. A "points system", or some other method of permitting prospective immigrants to earn the right to enter as new residents, could probably be designed to lessen this type of difficulty.

The second hardship concerns the increase in bureaucracy and regulation that this form of measure would impose. In order to determine whether an incoming person is an immigrant, a visitor, or merely a returning resident, to ascertain whether immigrants requesting admission are suitable, and to detect illegal entry, some increase in citizen contact with officialdom for purposes of enforcement appears unavoidable. Again, the way in which enforcement is carried out bears significantly on the effects perceived by the region's residents, but the design of a method of implementation that would be acceptable in this regard is a difficult problem.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). This type of measure may face problems of political acceptability for several reasons. The types of enforcement measure that might have to be used, such as identity cards for regional residents, would probably be repugnant to many people. Also, the use of access restriction is unfamiliar at smaller-than-national scales. The powers to establish such a program at a local level may not be available to the jurisdiction wishing to introduce it.

4) Political Acceptability (External). If a higher jurisdiction must implement the policy chosen, then residents of areas outside the protected region who feel strongly about the reduction of their ease of access to this region may attempt to persuade the implementing body to remove the restrictions. Similarly, residents of other areas may consider adopting restrictive policies of their own as reprisals against residents of the protected region.

There is also a problem that is faced not only by this policy type but also by the following two types discussed. The problem referred to is that there is doubt as to the general acceptability (and legality, in the United States) of regions within a country limiting immigration by restrictive policies. For example, in the United States, it has been held that exclusionary zoning violates the "right to travel". Legislation adopted in one region to avoid population problems there by transferring these problems to other areas has been held to be invalid in some cases (Lamm, 1972, pages 9-11).

Lastly, such a policy discriminates between immigrants and residents in a particular area. It appears that it is this discrimination that gives these policies their effectiveness, yet this type of discrimination may be repugnant to some people. Legally, it appears that this type of discrimination is not forbidden in Canada if the immigrants to a region are coming from outside the country (Brossard, 1967, pages 59-72), but no reference was found that discussed the case of restricting the migration of Canadians within Canada.

B) Reduction of Pull Factors.

1) Effectiveness. If all the attractions bringing people to an area were removed, it seems sensible to suppose that people would cease arriving. However, it may not be possible (or desirable) to remove or reduce the attractiveness of certain important features, so in some cases this method cannot even be applied to the problem. This is especially true if important attractions include climate or the presence of friends or relatives of the prospective immigrant, for example.

Nevertheless, under the ideal conditions of a few major adjustable attractions, this type of policy should be able to bring about a reduction in net immigration. The reduction would be sustainable as long as controls were maintained. Furthermore, the reduction would be adjustable by means of applying more, or less, stringent regulation to attractions being controlled.

2) Internal Effects. There are, however, significant detrimental effects of this policy on residents of the current region. A reduction of regional attractiveness to immigrants usually reduces the livability of the region for its residents also.

Also, if only some of the attractions are being reduced, it is quite possible that the other uncontrolled attractions will continue to bring some new immigrants, resulting in undesirable increased competition for the controlled amenities.

Lastly, if there were many different attractions to be reduced, massive intervention in the economy of the protected region would probably be necessary to implement this kind of policy. Interventions on such a scale can be expected to produce unforeseen side effects, and there is no reason to suppose that these would benefit the local inhabitants. The unpredictability itself could be judged a cost by some people.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). This type of policy would not be politically acceptable in most areas of application unless the attractiveness being reduced were of little value to the current residents of the area. This would not be the case in most instances, as it can be reasonably assumed that many of the current residents would have remained in the area, or migrated to it, to take advantage of the attractions that would now have to be reduced.

4) Political Acceptability (External). This policy might also face the previously mentioned problems of legality concerning limiting the "right to travel" and the transfer of the problems of one community to another community.

A-B) Addendum.

A variation of methods described in sections A and B above exists. This method is the application of reductions in the availability of specific attractions and other factors of the protected region to immigrants only. Examples of this type of policy would include the establishment of residency requirements for the acquisition of houses, jobs, etc.

1) Effectiveness. By reducing the availability to immigrants only of attractions within the protected region, the desirability of the protected region as a migration destination would certainly be reduced. Where uncontrollable attractions are bringing migrants, counter-incentives could be applied to balance the attractions by reducing the access of immigrants to other desirable features of the region.

The policy is also adjustable, as the degree of immigrant access restriction to desirable features can be easily altered. Net immigration reduction so achieved could be maintained simply by a continued application of the controls.

2) Internal Effects. Effects upon protected region inhabitants are much smaller with this measure than under general attraction reduction policies, as the reductions do not apply to them. However, as with the policies using restriction of access for the purpose of residence establishment, there remains the problem of immigrant/resident differentiation.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). As with the policies of restriction of general access, problems could occur with these policies if the public is not in favour of discriminating between residents and immigrants, and if higher jurisdictions would have to be persuaded to implement the policies.

4) Political Acceptability (External). This policy type as well would face the afore-mentioned problems of legality concerning limiting the "right to travel" and bettering one area at the expense of other areas, and also of possible reprisals on the part of other areas.

C) Alteration of Immigrant Perception.

1) Effectiveness. It was seen in Chapter 2 that a key determinant in migration from one area to another is the knowledge the migrant has concerning the destination area. If the move contemplated is of a largely voluntary nature, then a lack of information about a potential destination area, or a knowledge of unattractive features of that area, would tend to decrease the likelihood of that region's being chosen as the

actual destination of the move. Of course, such a situation would have a smaller effect in the less voluntary types of move such as corporate job transfers.

Accordingly, if it were possible to reduce the attractiveness of the protected region as perceived by the potential migrant, then this would have an effect similar to, and perhaps stronger than, that produced by reducing the region's actual attractiveness and hoping that potential migrants would hear of the reduction. A policy using publicity campaigns to bring about this change in the immigrants' perception could be adopted. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that much of a potential immigrant's information about an area comes from interpersonal communication, which is very difficult to control.

There seem to be few, if any, cases of negative publicity to reduce immigration being used. However, measures to achieve the opposite effect are commonly in evidence. Ecoster organizations and tourist bureaux are continually issuing propaganda extolling the real and imagined virtues of places, with the aim of attracting visitors or new residents. Local and regional government authorities regularly advertise the benefits to industry available from operating in their jurisdiction, and the concessions that would be made to them in return for establishing a new plant in the area. Since advertising is a method that has been found to be effective for many purposes of behaviour alteration, its application to reducing immigration is a reasonable suggestion. Since there is little or no experience

in such advertising campaigns, proven designs of campaign have not yet been found, although one approach, of course, is to simply cease emitting positive publicity.

A program that could accomplish a change in migrant attitudes would probably be quite effective in reducing net immigration. However, since attitudes are not easily affected beyond introducing positive or negative opinions, the adjustability of this approach would be limited to regulation of the size and type of audience the publicity is exposed to, and the intensity of exposure. Further, since the prediction of the effects of such publicity is not reliable, it is not likely that a fine tuning of such a program to reduce net immigration by a specifically desired amount could be achieved.

On the other hand, if the program were an initial success, the drop in those considering the protected region as a migratory destination might be sustainable, as unless new information is received, the negative attitude would possibly remain for some time simply through inertia. Also, the existence of a significant number of potential migrants having such a negative attitude as a result of this type of program should help create a similar attitude in the other potential migrants they communicate with, so reinforcing and sustaining the desired effect.

2) Internal Effects. Deleterious effects upon protected region residents would come from the decline that would probably be experienced in a local tourist industry, and in any other local industries requiring, in the course of their business, publicity campaigns promoting the virtues of the protected region. This decline could spread economic problems in the area, although the severity of these problems would depend upon the size of the industries effected, and the strength of the effects those industries felt.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). If the industrial decline mentioned above was to seriously effect the regional economy, this policy would soon become politically unacceptable to local residents. Also, some local residents might dislike this type of policy because of their feelings of pride in their home region, and an accompanying desire to boast about it to others they consider less fortunate, although this does not seem to be a very serious objection.

Of course, if the restriction of information flow were to reach censorship levels, significant political problems would be likely to appear.

4) Political Acceptability (External). No particular external political problems are expected to accompany the adoption of this type of policy.

D) Encouragement of Emigration.

Measures to encourage emigration from a region fall into two categories, those providing incentives to leave and those applying disincentives to stay. Unless an attempt is being made to cause a specific class of people to leave, most disincentives to staying would be applied to the region as a whole, and so are very similar to the reduction of attraction policies discussed above. Therefore this evaluation is only concerned with programs offering incentives to emigrate.

1) Effectiveness. One of the factors that the effectiveness of such programs will depend on is the propensity to emigrate already existing among the region's residents. As it can be assumed that a significant proportion of any population would be prepared to emigrate if the rewards of a move were made high enough, this type of policy could be quite effective. Whether this outflow would balance any existing immigration would of course depend partly upon the immigration volume. Effectiveness would drop if the vacancies caused by departing emigrants increased the attractiveness of the area to prospective immigrants significantly, and so increased the immigration flow. This could counteract any effect this policy would otherwise have on net immigration.

The emigration flow could be adjusted by regulating the level of the incentives being offered. The sustainability of this flow could not be guaranteed, however, since one result of implementing an incentive program might well be to exhaust the

supply of emigrants willing to leave at a given incentive level, so that an increase in incentives would be necessary to maintain the flow. This might not occur, on the other hand, if alterations in the personal lives of the region's residents, brought about by entry into a new stage in the life cycle, for example, were causing new people to enter the class of potential emigrants at a steady rate. Furthermore, former immigrants might also be another source of a supply of potential emigrants, but the policy would have to incorporate provisions preventing immigration for the purpose of receiving emigration incentives.

2) Internal Effects. The negative effects upon protected region residents stemming from the offering of emigration incentives are similar to those of the policies of improving migration origins discussed above. To provide a positive incentive to migrate would require the supplying of goods or services to the emigrant, which items would have to be paid for. Again, the most obvious source of payment is the population of the protected region. However, there is a somewhat more controllable situation under an emigration incentive program. This type of program will generally be of a smaller and more manageable size, and the linkage between incentives bestowed and results achieved is more measurable and definite.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). The size of the incentives being given to emigrants might cause resentment to form in the minds of remaining residents, although if this resentment became very strong, the resident could eliminate it.

by becoming an emigrant himself. Otherwise, problems of political acceptability should be minor.

4) Political Acceptability (External). No particular external political problems are expected to accompany the adoption of this type of policy.

Summary.

Analysis of the policy types previously discussed has yielded the following findings:

1. Improving Migratory Origins.

- 1) Effectiveness: limited as a result of restricted applicability and difficult administration.
- 2) Internal Effects: high cost of implementation.
- 3) Political Acceptability (Internal): good, since an absolute improvement in living conditions of people in general would be produced, but possibly decreasing as costs mounted.
- 4) Political Acceptability (External): similarly, generally good.

2. Improving Alternative Migratory Destinations.

- 1) Effectiveness: poor, as a result of difficult administration and problems of sustainability.
- 2) Internal Effects: high cost of implementation.
- 3) Political Acceptability (Internal): problems because of the high costs of a program to improve the homes of

others.

- 4) Political Acceptability (External): problems may exist because of the conversion land to urban use, and because of the probable dissatisfaction of residents of the new communities generated.

3. Reduction of Local Migratory Attraction.

A) Restriction of Access.

- 1) Effectiveness: generally high.
- 2) Internal Effects: Exclusion of desired immigrants is a possibility, and increased bureaucratic interference with travel almost a certainty.
- 3) Political Acceptability (Internal): several potential problems concerning discrimination and rejection of the general philosophy of the policy.
- 4) Political Acceptability (External): local isolationism could cause problems for the higher jurisdiction implementing this policy, and could also cause reprisals by other areas.

B) Reduction of Pull Factors.

- 1) Effectiveness: poor, because of the difficulties of applying sufficient controls.
- 2) Internal Effects: serious degradation of the livability of the protected region.
- 3) Political Acceptability (Internal): poor, because of the degradations just mentioned.

- 4) Political Acceptability (External): problems similar to those mentioned in 3 A) 4 above.

A-E) Reduction of Immigrant Access to Amenities.

- 1) Effectiveness: generally high.
- 2) Internal Effects: a potentially ponderous bureaucracy to handle immigrant/resident differentiation.
- 3) Political Acceptability (Internal): as in 3 A) 3 above.
- 4) Political Acceptability (External): as in 3 A) 4 above.

C) Alteration of Immigrant Perception.

- 1) Effectiveness: potentially high, but difficult to estimate.
- 2) Internal Effects: potential economic problems because of losses in tourism and other industries.
- 3) Political Acceptability (Internal): generally good, unless the economic problems mentioned above become severe, or extreme information flow restrictions are imposed.
- 4) Political Acceptability (External): no particular problems.

D) Encouragement of Emigration.

- 1) Effectiveness: high, if program can be sufficiently funded and new immigration increases can be controlled.
- 2) Internal Effects: potentially high cost.
- 3) Political Acceptability (Internal): generally good.
- 4) Political Acceptability (External): no particular

problems.

Conclusion.

None of the policies that have been implemented to date appears to be free of significant problems in the criterion areas discussed. The failures that these problems have caused may well be the reason that planners and politicians seem to be reluctant to propose the reduction of net immigration as a regional goal. However, failure in the past does not necessarily imply failure in the future. It is the belief of this author that changes in the design of certain types of policy, and the use of policies combining the features of two or more of the types discussed, can produce policies with fewer problems of detrimental effects or political acceptability. The next chapter presents examples of policies designed as suggested here.

Nevertheless, it does appear that certain policy types should be abandoned. These are policies that seem to be inherently ineffective in producing reductions in net immigration. It is perhaps significant that the types referred to here, those seeking to improve migratory origins, to improve alternative migratory destinations, and to reduce pull factors, are the types that have been most often used in the past, possibly because of their high initial political acceptability. The choice of a net immigration reduction policy primarily on the basis of its political acceptability is an insufficient method of finding a successful policy.

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1. Self (1957) details the occurrence of this type of problem throughout his history of the post war British New Towns policy.

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Chapter 5

DESIGN OF POLICIES.

This chapter draws on the evaluations performed in Chapter 4 to develop some policies that might be successfully applied in the future to reduce net immigration to a given region. It is in general very difficult to predict the level of success of the implementation of untried policies. However, since care has been taken in designing these policies to avoid the problems encountered with previously used policies, the author feels that higher expectations of success seem justified for these policies than for those previously examined.

In the previous chapter, it was pointed out that the political acceptability of a policy cannot be judged solely on the basis of its compliance to certain criteria of performance. Instead, policies were compared on the basis of the degree of restriction of freedom that was imposed by each. When designing policies, the criteria described previously for effectiveness and internal effects are readily applied to policy design. However, to aid in the production of a politically acceptable policy, some further clarification of the features of such a policy is desirable. Accordingly, guidelines for the design of politically acceptable policies are listed before the proposed policies are presented.

These guidelines are general suggestions concerning how to avoid the problems of political acceptability discussed in the evaluations performed in the previous chapter. Because of the difficulties in defining a politically acceptable policy, the

guidelines represent the author's opinion of how such a policy might be produced.

Guidelines for Policy.

1. A policy should pursue only goals that have widespread support in the area where the policy is to be applied. Care should be taken to ensure that there are no side effects caused that are irrelevant to the goals of the policy.
2. Assuming that better performance will aid in the achievement of political acceptability, the complexity of a policy, in terms of basic principles and mechanics of operation, should be kept to a minimum. The effects of a simpler policy are often easier to predict, so that unexpected undesirable effects can be more readily avoided. Also, reduced complexity usually permits increased public understanding of the operation of the policy.
3. Freedom restrictions should be minimized. Restrictions should be imposed only when and where necessary, and only upon people whose actions must be controlled to achieve policy effectiveness. Blanket restrictions should not be applied simply to ease administration of the policy.
4. The rigidity of a policy should be kept at a minimum. As few absolute prohibitions of action as possible should be enforced. Since people differ in their needs and wants, such prohibitions might be replaced by options of behaviour, or by allowing the right to perform certain actions to be earned or purchased.

These guidelines have been kept in mind during the design of the policies presented in this chapter, but will not be specifically referred to during the discussion of those policies.

Policies for Consideration.

It is proposed in this work that migration occurs as a result of the perception by a migrant of a personal gain to be achieved by migrating. If this model is accepted, then it appears that any successful policy for the reduction of net immigration to a given region must either 1) reduce the amount of gain that the prospective immigrant perceives to be obtainable from migrating to the region, or 2) increase the amount of gain that the prospective emigrant perceives to stem from leaving the region. A policy may also use both these approaches simultaneously. For example, if emigration subsidies were to be used, some form of immigration discouragement might then be necessary to prevent immigration for the sole purpose of receiving an emigration subsidy.

The desire an individual feels to migrate to a particular destination can be altered in two ways. Either the attractiveness of migration to the destination area can be altered and the potential immigrant can be informed of the alteration, or the way in which the individual perceives this attractiveness can be altered without any changes being made to the nature of the considered region. The first policies presented here make use of the latter approach.

Publicity Campaigns.

A) Description of Policy.

The print and electronic media have been proved to have large effects upon the attitudes and behaviour of many people. Policies presented in this section would attempt to use the powers of these media to alter perceptions concerning migration to the protected region. There are several ways in which this might be done. First, as was mentioned earlier, the emission of positive publicity concerning the protected region could be reduced. Such publicity might include tourist brochures, articles and stories stressing positive attributes of the protected region, government and private industry advertisements, etc. It may well be more important to alter the style of presentation of much of this material, to reduce the number of positive references to the protected region, than it is to prevent the flow of the information it contains. In fact, restriction of information flow would not be desirable in general, even if it were possible.

It is unlikely that direct regulation of publicity of this type could be feasibly carried out. Methods such as public declaration of government policy, and examples being set in government publications, would probably have to be used instead. Since the tourist industry and the media themselves are special cases, the government would have to secure their cooperation if this part of the policy were to be at all workable.

Since one of the more important means of information flow

to prospective immigrants is that of interpersonal communication, it would also be helpful if an ethic could be generated within the protected region of not spreading rosy images of the area to those living outside it. This ethic would be unlikely to develop unless residents of the protected region could see that they would gain by adopting such a behaviour pattern. They might be induced to do so by a widespread information campaign explaining the costs accruing to all residents of the area from population growth, and from immigration in particular.

Since recognition by the residents of the protected region of the desirability of reducing net immigration is a prerequisite for the success of many policies having that goal, a local campaign to strengthen the ethic just described might often be part of such policies.

As well as reducing the flow of positive publicity, the local authorities could also carry on a publicity campaign advertising the negative aspects of the protected region. The area of broadcast of this publicity would be those areas supplying the most migrants to the protected region. The design of this type of campaign might be a very difficult task, as it appears quite possible that the reverse of the desired effect could be generated inadvertently. The fact that an area was advertising to reduce immigration could increase interest in migration to that area, and the negative aspects publicized might not appear so undesirable to people living in other places. However, with care, a successful campaign might be

designed.

B) Evaluation.

This policy was described in less detail and evaluated in Chapter 4.

Increasing the Difficulty of Immigration.

The actual reduction of the attractiveness of the protected region was rejected in general as a potentially useful policy because, in most cases, the residents of the region would also suffer from the decline in attractiveness. However, it is possible to lessen the attractiveness of migration to the region without reducing the attractiveness of the region itself. This approach might be thought of as increasing the economic distance of migration to the protected region. Two methods are suggested that use this approach -- legal limitation of access to the protected region, and taxation of immigrants.

Restriction of National Access.

A) Description of Policy.

It was previously claimed that this type of policy is particularly effective in reducing immigration, but that at other than national levels it would probably be politically unacceptable and not easily accomplished. Nevertheless, reduction of immigration to the country in which the protected region is contained might be a useful and feasible policy to

adopt. In the case of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, approximately 40% of total population growth in recent years is attributed to international immigration¹.

B) Evaluation.

1) Effectiveness. The degree to which immigration to the protected region could be reduced by this policy would depend on the proportion of migration to that region consisting of international immigrants, and also on how much the national government would be prepared to restrict immigration. Since the policy is in any event only affecting a portion of the volume of immigration to the protected region, the effectiveness of the policy has a definite upper limit. The reduction obtained is readily adjustable, however. The number of immigrants allowed entry to the country can be easily controlled. The policy would also be sustainable, unless war or financial or other sanctions were imposed or threatened by other countries (see the discussion of political acceptability below).

2) Internal Effects. The internal effects are those relating to restriction of access policies in general, as discussed in Chapter 4, principally the possibility of excluding desired immigrants.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). Problems of internal political acceptability connected with this policy would mainly be based on personal feelings concerning freedom of international migration. However, national control of this migration has long been a policy of most countries, so that philosophical differences of opinion of this nature would probably be a minor problem.

4) Political Acceptability (External). One problem with the implementation of this type of policy is that the national government, which would have to bring the policy into force, must first be persuaded that the policy is in the national interest. This may not be easy, as quite apart from the usual difficulty faced when one area of a country wishes to influence national policy, there may be others in the country who wish immigration to continue at current levels, or to be increased.

Furthermore, if a country that is rich and has a large land area, such as Canada, decides unilaterally to reduce permitted immigration, resentment may be harboured in other parts of the world if this policy is seen as being selfish. However, as was mentioned before, control of immigration has traditionally been recognized as a national prerogative (Brossard, 1967, page 29) and serious problems of this type would probably not accompany a policy of national immigration reduction.

Taxation of Immigrants.

A) Description of Policy.

The mode of operation of this policy is to decrease the attractiveness of immigration to the protected region by using taxation to increase the monetary cost of immigration. There are two objections connected with this policy that would have to be dealt with. First, for reasons of political acceptability, the taxation policy would have to be designed so that it would not discriminate against a particular class of immigrants, especially poorer ones. Second, there would have to be a way to distinguish between immigrants and residents so that the tax could be selectively applied.

In order that the tax should not discriminate against poorer immigrants, the amount of tax levied would have to depend upon the immigrant's ability to pay. This might be measured by a consideration of the immigrant's previous income, or total means, but to obtain information of this kind, methods such as means tests would have to be used. Demands for this type of information do not usually meet with public approval. It would be much simpler to make the tax a form of income tax, which would depend upon the income of the immigrant after he had arrived in the destination area. Unfortunately, there appear to be enough loopholes in current income tax laws so that richer people are able to substantially reduce their taxes from the level that others might feel to be fair as a result of stated government policy. Nevertheless, the advantage of linking the

proposed new tax to an already recognized system might outweigh the disadvantages of the system itself.

In addition to a simple income surtax, it would possibly be desirable to impose a minimum on tax payable by immigrants. This would discourage immigration by those who have very little or no taxable income, who would otherwise be little affected by an income taxation policy.

The problem of distinguishing between immigrants and residents is more difficult to solve, particularly because it would be in the immigrant's interest to avoid detection by the taxation authorities. an example of a method of making the distinction would be to issue a form annually to all residents of the protected region. This form would be returned with the resident's income tax return, in a similar manner to the T4 slips now issued annually by every employer in Canada. Any person whose address was in the protected region, or who obtained part of his income at an address in that region, and who did not enclose such a form, would then be liable for the immigration tax.

Of course, this scheme implies that the actual address of each taxpaying individual would be known. This is not an unreasonable assumption, as it is already made under the current income tax system, which requires a knowledge of the province of residence of each taxpayer.

Notice that the immigration tax need not be a single payment. The tax might be a more effective deterrent if it were

to be imposed for the first several years of residency in the protected region. After that time, an immigrant would achieve the same status as an original resident, and would no longer be liable for immigrant taxation.

B) Evaluation.

1) Effectiveness. This method appears as if it ought to be highly effective. Assuming the two above-mentioned problems can in fact be solved, every potential immigrant would feel a definite deterrent to migration to the protected region, and, assuming the income tax rates were to be correctly adjusted, the deterrent should be felt by all at approximately equal strength.

The sustainability of the policy also seems to be satisfactory, and adjustment could be easily achieved by raising or reducing the taxation rates applied.

2) Internal Effects. The effects felt by protected region residents would be very small. The problem of excluding desired immigrants does not exist, as any person still has the right to immigrate, as long as he is willing to pay the tax. Visitors would not be excluded, since they would not pay income tax in the protected region. The cost of operating the policy would not impose a serious burden on local residents, and the only increase in bureaucracy a resident would perceive would be the need to ensure that he had received his resident's form each year.

A positive side effect of implementing this policy would be the generation of new revenue as a result of the tax levied.

3) Political Acceptability (Internal). There are two areas in which problems of internal political acceptability could arise, although these problems might also arise externally as well. First, there is the previously discussed problem of exclusion of desired immigrants, which will not be pursued further here.

Second, there is the fact that this policy would apply to migration within the country containing the protected region as well as to migration from other countries. A policy such as this would be resisted if strong feelings exist within the population of the protected region concerning the importance of making regional interests subordinate to rights of free migration within the country.

4) Political Acceptability (External). It is necessary to consider the jurisdiction that could implement such a scheme, and the legality of this type of measure. In Canada, according to the B.N.A. act, section 95, control of immigration is a power of both the provinces and the federal government, the latter having supreme jurisdiction in any conflict between the two jurisdictions (Brossard, 1967, pages 43-47). It appears, therefore, that the provinces may have the power to control immigration to their territory by all people, Canadian or otherwise, but these laws would usually be the domain of the federal government (Brossard, 1967, page 43).

There is a question, however, as to whether this policy would fall under the heading of "Immigration" at all, as this heading is usually taken to refer to migration from outside Canada. It might be considered that the federal government would have jurisdiction, under the "Peace, Order, and Good Government" clause of section 91 of the B.N.A. act. Alternatively the provinces might be able to implement such a policy by virtue of the powers granted in subsection of section 92 of the Act, which allows the provinces to make laws in relation to "all Matters of a merely local or private Nature in the Province" (Lane, 1970, page IV 16). It is probable that the correct jurisdiction would have to be decided by the courts².

Also, both federal and provincial governments have the power of taxation of incomes. The provincial power of taxation is limited to "the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes" (Lane, 1970, pages IV-13 to IV-15). Nevertheless, this type of tax might be considered a payment by the immigrant to defray the capital cost of the services he will consume (Population Reference Bureau, 1966, page 54), so this proviso might not limit the provinces in this regard.

Unlike the government of the United States, which could be restricted by the supremacy of the the U.S. constitution regarding the right to free movement, Canadian governments seem to be unfettered in the making of laws in this area.

The federal government is now administering policies designed to redirect settlement patterns within Canada, so it is apparently considered that this type of redirection is in the

interest of the Canadian people (White, 1974). Within the protected region, public acceptance might be obtained on the basis of the fee-for-service argument mentioned above.

Emigration Grants.

The final policy to be suggested here uses the approach of increasing the gains perceived to accompany emigration by residents of the protected region.

A) Description of Policy.

This policy would seek to encourage emigration from the protected region by offering monetary grants to individuals who moved away from that region. There are several problems that would have to be solved in the design of the mechanics of operation of this policy also.

First, it is necessary to ensure that the recipient of the emigration grants remained outside the protected region. This might be done by paying the grants in installments, payment to cease upon re-entry to the protected region.

Second, it is necessary to ensure that the recipient of the grants is in fact an emigrant. An example of a method that might be used would be to make the grant payments through a bank or other financial institution in the area of the migrant's declared new home, and to give that institution instructions that payments were only to be made into the hands of the emigrant himself. In order to avoid grant beneficiaries finding

it profitable to make occasional trips to the declared destination area just to pick up accrued payments, a proviso could be set up under which payments could only be made within some short period of the date of issue of each payment. Of course, the effectiveness of this latter suggestion would depend upon the distance of the destination area from the protected region, so some minimum migration distance for grant eligibility might also have to be established.

Last, it would be necessary to ensure that people could not immigrate for the purpose of emigrating a short time later in order to receive the emigration grants. This problem might be partially solved by paying emigration grants only to those leaving the protected region after some minimum stated period of residency, although this might cause undesirable side effects upon the immigration patterns. Another method would be to apply this policy simultaneously with a policy to make immigration less attractive. Perhaps the most effective method would be for the number of grant payments an emigrant would be eligible for depend upon his length of residency in the protected region.

B) Evaluation.

This policy was described in less detail and evaluated in Chapter 4, but its use might become considerably more desirable and feasible if it were to be implemented in combination with an immigrant taxation policy such as the one described above. First of all, the taxes received through the latter policy could be used to help pay the emigrant grants, thereby reducing the

financial burden on the local residents. Second, the problem of immigration to receive emigration grants might be eliminated, as the taxes paid by the immigrant during his protected region residency would tend to offset the grants received after emigration. This combination would seem to be a very feasible net immigration reduction policy.

Summary.

The list of policies just described by no means exhausts the set of potentially useful methods to reduce net immigration. Nevertheless, the examples presented are a strong argument that workable policies to achieve this aim can be developed.

It may be that the methods mentioned in this chapter would not be suitable as immigration control policies, but it seems possible that variations or combinations of them could form the basis for a successful policy. At the least, it is intended that they should suggest ways in which useful policies to achieve the stated end might be constructed.

References from Chapter 5.

1. Final calculations of this figure have not yet been performed by the G.V.R.D. planning department, but according to Ms D. Belford, a planner in that department, the percentage of population growth in the region attributable to international imgration in the period 1966-1971 is between 40% and 45%.
2. These points were raised by Mr R. Diebolt, Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Law, when he was consulted on the legality of immigrant taxation measures. He felt that such a measure would in fact have to be tested in the courts for its legal position to be established, because it would be a novel approach to migration control, so that a precedent would have to be established.

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Chapter 6

CONCLUSION.

The purpose of this work is to investigate methods of reducing net immigration to a given region. When the call for such a reduction has been made in the past, it has usually been voiced by regional or sub-regional governing bodies. Members of these bodies had generally perceived the existence of various problems within their regions that they felt were connected with, or caused by, population growth. Accordingly, this report adopted the viewpoint of a regional governing body faced with the problem of developing a policy to reduce net immigration to the region of its concern.

Features of Successful Policies.

A review of the literature concerning migration was carried out, which supported the following: there is a wide range of factors that may influence the decision of an individual when migration is considered, but migration takes place, in general, as a result of the individual's perceiving that he will obtain a personal gain from migrating.

It is apparent, therefore, that for a policy to be effective in reducing net immigration to a region, the policy must either reduce the gains a potential immigrant perceives that he can obtain through immigrating to the region, or increase the gains a potential emigrant perceives that he can obtain through emigrating from the region. The effectiveness of the policy will depend upon the amount of perceived change in

these gains, and the percentage of potential migrants affected.

However, the effectiveness of a policy in bringing about the reduction of net immigration is not the only criteria governing its overall success. Bearing in mind that this type of policy would usually be adopted to maintain or improve the livability of the protected region, a policy cannot be considered successful if its operation brings about significant degradation of regional livability.

Moreover, it is also important that any policy introduced, whether related to migration control or not, enjoy public agreement with both its aims and its methods. Although the political acceptability of a policy will largely depend upon the mood of the public at the time of its introduction, making the general acceptability of a proposed policy difficult to assess, some guidelines have been suggested to aid in the evaluation and design of politically acceptable policies. These guidelines are mainly concerned with reducing the burden a policy would impose, in terms of taxation or restrictions on personal freedom, to the minimum level possible consistent with policy effectiveness.

Previous Experience and Policy Design.

An examination of previously implemented policies designed to reduce net immigration showed that there has been little significant success in achieving this aim in the past. Upon evaluation of previously used policies (with respect to effectiveness, deleterious effects produced, and political acceptability) it was found that most of these policies suffered

from serious problems in one or more of the criteria mentioned.

The documented experience of previously implemented policies was used as a guide in choosing directions to follow in the design of new policies. Some types of method were rejected because of problems of effectiveness or harmful effects that seem to be implicit in the methods themselves. These types included: improvement of migrant origins, rejected because of limited effectiveness and high cost; provision of alternative destinations, rejected because of difficulties of administration, high cost, and possible social and environmental problems; and reduction of the strength of local pull factors, rejected because of the corresponding reduction of regional livability that generally accompanies the use of this method.

Nevertheless, other policy types showed promise in terms of effectiveness, so the basic ideas behind these types were suggested as the basis for new policy design. These types included: altering the perception of potential immigrants concerning the protected region, while not altering the region itself; restricting immigrant access; creating disincentives to counteract pull factors; and encouraging emigration

Sample policies were designed and presented using these types of method. These policies were: publicity campaigns to alter the perception of potential immigrants concerning the protected region; publicity campaigns to inform residents of the protected region about the costs to them arising due to immigration; limitation of access by international immigrants to the nation containing the protected region; direct selective

taxation of immigrants; and the payment of monetary grants to emigrants. In the author's opinion, the most promising policy considered is a combination of taxation of immigrants and grants to emigrants.

Epilogue.

As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, this work is not a brief for the adoption of policies to reduce net immigration. In fact, it is perhaps unfortunate that society has come to a point where such policies are considered.

However, the possibility of influencing this important feature of human existence should not be overlooked by those concerned with community planning, if it is thought that the results of this influence would be beneficial. It is hoped that the suggestions made in this work concerning the design of policies to accomplish reductions in net immigration will be considered as a powerful argument to counter the claim that control of migration is unfeasible and thus should not be attempted.

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