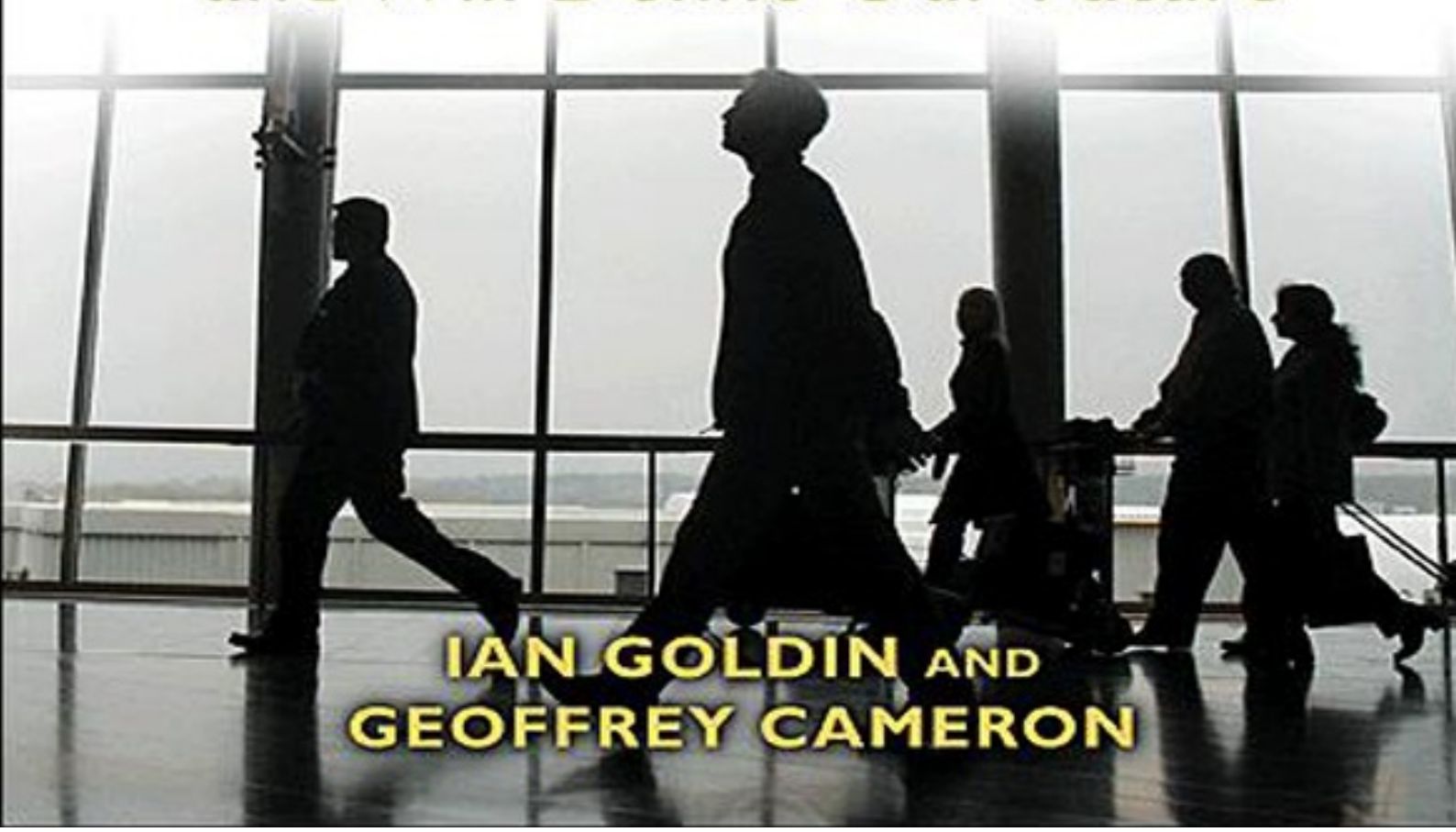
EXCEPTIONAL PEOPLE

How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future



IAN GOLDIN AND
GEOFFREY CAMERON

EXCEPTIONAL PEOPLE

How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future

IAN GOLDIN,
GEOFFREY CAMERON,
AND
MEERA BALARAJAN

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON AND OXFORD

Copyright © 2011 by Princeton University Press
Published by Princeton University Press, 41 William Street,
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press,
6 Oxford Street, Woodstock, Oxfordshire OX20 1TW

press.princeton.edu

All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Goldin, Ian, 1955–
Exceptional people : how migration shaped our world and will define our future / Ian Goldin, Geoffrey Cameron, Meera Balarajan.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-691-14572-3 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Emigration and immigration. I. Cameron, Geoffrey. II. Balarajan, Meera. III. Title.
JV6035.G65 2011
304.8—dc22
2010022368

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available

Figure 2.1 taken with permission from David Eltis and David Richardson, *An Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Endpapers of Ian Goldin's maternal and paternal ancestors
© 2010 National Geographic Society,

https://genographic.nationalgeographic.com/genographic/index.html
THE GENOGRAPHIC PROJECT, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, and Yellow Border are trademarks of NGS. All rights reserved.

This book has been composed in Aldus

Printed on acid-free paper. ∞

Printed in the United States of America

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

To Tess, Olivia, and Alex, who have suffered most

from my migration impulse, and to Andrew Glyn and

Stan Trapido, who had a formative influence on my

thinking and yet left this world

as I was entering theirs.

Ian Goldin

To Mom and Dad, for everything, and to Lita, for

keeping new frontiers in our sights.

Geoffrey Cameron

Dedicated with love to my parents.

Meera Balarajan

“it is hardly possible to overrate the value, in the present low state of human improvement, of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar.…Such communication has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress.”

–John Stuart Mill

Contents

ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES

Acknowledgments

This book has been written during our time at the James Martin 21st Century School at th University of Oxford. The School has provided an extraordinary, rich intellectual home, an engagement with our colleagues from across the University has provided a wonderfully vibra environment in which to think. We have been most fortunate to be able to draw on the Oxford Mart School's International Migration Institute and its successive directors, Professors Stephen Castles an Robin Cohen, who have been tremendously generous intellectually and in offering up their precio time to comment on the entire manuscript. In writing this book, our colleagues at the Oxford Mart School, and particularly Laura Lauer and Verity Ross-Smith, have cheerfully accommodate challenging schedules and created a vibrant environment in which to work.

We have been fortunate to be able to rely on the work of a number of particularly able researc assistants. Alan Gamlen provided an incisive fresh look at the structure and content of this book, an his contributions remain evident in the organization and a number of elements of the book. Te Maxwell and Emma Menell provided help with particular sections, working on the historical chapte and the legal and regulatory environment, respectively. We have Wolfgang Lutz to thank for hi expert comments on chapter 7. Tom King created several of the book's illustrations on very sho notice. Others who have lent their time and ideas include Alessio Cangiano, Peter Healey, Mil Hewstone, Jaco Hoffman, Judith McNeill, Kathleen Newland, Michael Oppenheimer, Bob Sutcliff Darshan Vigneswaran, and two anonymous referees. Princeton University Press has been an ide publishing partner. Richard Baggaley from our first discussions provided enthusiastic guidance. W are grateful for the tremendous support of Peter Dougherty and all of his colleagues at Princeton f shepherding the book through its final phases of editing and publication.

(IG) This book has evolved over five years and has its gestation in a lifelong interest in migration th was forged out of my own, my parents', and my grandparents' escape from oppressive regimes an productive settlement in new lands. Francis Wilson first helped me translate this fascination in economic analysis while I was completing my undergraduate studies. Decades later, at the Worl Bank, I was fortunate to work with Nick Stern and to enjoy his support as I sought to develop program on migration and development. Jim Wolfensohn allowed me to pursue this interest while vi president, and with excellent research assistance from Andrew Beath, I was able to develop framework for migration that first appeared as a chapter in the book Globalization for Developmen which I coauthored with Kenneth Reinert. Finally, this book would not have been possible without th contributions of my research assistants. Meera Balarajan provided a wealth of foundation materia that were invaluable building blocks for this book, reflecting her broad knowledge and dedication migration research. Geoffrey Cameron subsequently developed these and an amazing amount of oth materials. With a writing style that I was delighted to mesh with my own, he has proven himself most engaging and effective collaborator, without whom this book would not have been completed.

I am deeply grateful to a number of colleagues at Oxford University, not least Laura Lauer, and t Peter Dougherty at Princeton University Press for their remarkable professionalism and suppo through the challenging birth pains of this book.

My biggest debts are to my family, who endured what must have seemed like endless nights an

weekends when I have been preoccupied with the book.

(GC) I have my parents to thank for an enriched childhood growing up in three countries, moveme that was born out of their desire to see the world's diversity with open eyes. As I grew up studyin Baha'i texts, these experiences helped to prompt deep reflection about the future of wor development. I thank Laura Lauer and Ian Goldin for bringing me into the School, where thinkin about the future is a vocation for its vibrant research team. Ian was not only a stimulating an encouraging collaborator on this book, he also constantly reminded me of our ethical obligations humanity—especially those who appear to be different from us. I thank him for that, most of all.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my wife, Lita, for entertaining so many conversations about th research and thinking that went into this book. I also have her to thank for giving us a reason to stay Oxford long enough to advance this project.

While this book was completed after I took a position with Foreign Affairs and International Trad Canada, the views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Government of Canada.

(MB) My contribution to this book was written during my time with the James Martin 21st Centu School. It was a privilege to be at the School at its inception, and exciting to work with Ian at th creative time. My contribution would not have been possible without the help of my colleagues at th Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) in Oxford, and especially the support o Professor Steve Vertovec and Dr. Nick Van Hear. Also, I wish to thank several scholars and friends al round the world who have shaped my academic development in migration studies, especially D Frank Pieke and Dr. Rachel Murphy.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my parents who themselves are exceptional people—migrant who experienced many challenges and created a wonderful and supportive platform for me, and m family.

Ian Goldin, Oxford (UK); Geoffrey Cameron, Ottawa (Canada
Meera Balarajan, London (UK
December 201

Introduction

We live in a dynamic age of global integration, where the reconnection and mixture of the world people is challenging dominant norms and practices in many societies. Disintegration an integration are simultaneous and interwoven. Cultural codes adapt. New economies emerg Innovation prospers. Social institutions struggle to adapt.

To many, the challenges associated with migration are characteristic of our age of postmodernism multiculturalism, and aspiring cosmopolitanism. Some are nostalgic for an illusory past when peop had more in common. While the scale, pace, and intensity of human movement may be greater toda the habits of migration and its disruptive effects are as old as humanity itself. Outsiders have alway encountered opposition from their adoptive societies. Nevertheless, the direction of history points the persistent expansion in the boundaries of community. Our cultural and political frontiers hav gradually receded.

In most parts of the world, the old distinctions between clans and tribes are now of less significanc than are national boundaries. Whereas at one time a "migrant" may have been one who married into neighboring village, "migration" now generally refers to moving across a national border, often wi the purpose of settling for a period of time. The names "immigrant" and "asylum seeker" hav acquired negative connotations in many societies, echoing the ancient fear of the "barbarian." O governments and societies retain an antiquated suspicion of outsiders, who were born in one natio state and seek to make their life in another one. The result is a conventional view that a high rate international migration should be prevented.

In the current period, "migration" is defined as cross-border movement, and it has come to be see as something to be managed—a cost to be minimized rather than an opportunity to be embraced. O view is that it is a key driver of human and economic development and that our future will be strongl influenced by policies regarding migration.

How governments craft and coordinate migration policy will determine whether our collectiv future is defined by a more open and cosmopolitan global society or one that is unequal, partitioned and less prosperous. This book aspires to set contemporary debates about policy within a wid context. Public debates about migration are limited by a lack of perspective of its historical rol contemporary impacts, and future prospects. This book aims to address these gaps and to contribute advancing the discourse about the role of migrants and migration in world development.

We seek to shift discussion on international mobility away from narrow national-level immigratio debates, toward a more global view of migration. The terms "immigration" and "immigrant" ca obscure more than they reveal, because they imply that people move once, permanently—from outsi the country to inside—when migration for the most part is temporary, repeated, or circular. Th perspective also ignores the dynamism of human movement: countries that accept large numbers migrants also typically send similarly large numbers across their borders. Migrants are uncommo people, and they often move several times in search of opportunity and safety. Viewing cross-borde movement simply in terms of immigration limits a broader appreciation of how networks an economies function in an increasingly integrated world.

In this book, we question the received wisdom that an increase in the flow of international migran

is undesirable. We offer fresh insights into the past, present, and future role of migration. We begin b reviewing the historical role of migrants and migration in advancing human progress and wor development. Second, we analyze the contemporary period of managed migration. Drawing upon rapidly growing field of multidisciplinary scholarship on the dynamics, flows, and impacts migration, we make the case that current ad hoc regulations are poorly suited for a world econom that thrives on openness, diversity, innovation, and exchange. Last, we look to the future, presentin projections of demographic, environmental, and social trends that highlight how the number an diversity of migrants will grow over the next fifty years.

PART I: PAST

Throughout history, as remains the case today, people have moved under conditions that are n typically of their own choosing. Even those under the most restrained and difficult circumstances hav navigated new social and cultural settings with determination and ingenuity. By adapting, innovatin and combining knowledge across cultural barriers, migrants have advanced the frontier development since humans departed from Africa, some 50,000-60,000 years ago. The emergence early civilizations around 4000 BCE drew people from scattered settlements into dense patterns complex social life. The first civilizations, like social magnets, brought people from the hinterlan into the life of the cities—as labor, merchants, traders, and administrators—and propelled city dwellers into the frontiers to find resources and trading partners.

The growth of civilizations quickened the pace of exchange and the commerce of ideas an technologies. As increasingly complex societies developed in Eurasia, traders, adventurer missionaries, and conquering armies broke down the frontiers separating distant empires. Valuab technologies and commercial and other practices, which at times took many centuries to develop, we shared over ever-increasing distances. Migrants carried with them religious teachings, agricultur techniques, and commercial practices. The scourge of war and the lure of commerce propelled peop across old frontiers, reconnecting communities from eastern China to West Africa, which ha developed distinct cultures over tens of thousands of years.

The expansion of seafaring trade during the second millennium brought new levels of prosperity China and Europe, which both saw the launch of ambitious voyages into uncharted waters to find ne markets for their goods. As China suddenly terminated its explorations near the turn of the fifteen century, Portugal was beginning to fund open-ended expeditions across the Atlantic Ocean; th coincidence of these two developments would precipitate European contact with the Americas and seismic shift in global power. The European “Age of Discovery” (also termed the “Age of Gunpowd Empires”)[1] between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries completed the process of reconnecti humanity. European ships were now dominating trade within the Indian Ocean and extracti resources in New World plantations. Regional mercantile trading networks became knitted into global power structure with force and control projected across vast distances.

With the emergence of global networks and the development of a world economy, the pace economic development began to drive migratory flows, most significantly in the form of chatt slavery. International trade and the industrial revolution fueled competition, promoting innovation an expanding production in Europe. Many people traveled across oceans or continents, some in search a better life. Millions more, particularly from Africa, were forced to move under the tyranny slavery or indentured labor. In this new era of globalization, free and forced migrants were the caus and consequences of economic growth.

The twentieth century has witnessed the proliferation of states and the extension of governme bureaucracies into the management of migration. The introduction of passports, strict border control

immigration quotas, guest-worker programs, and the distribution of rights on the basis of nationali
are all features of the new era of highly managed migration. Passports and border controls a
relatively new innovations, and their increasingly strict enforcement in the twentieth centu
dramatically changed the dynamics of migration. International migration became regulated at t
level of the nation-state. Apart from measures to protect refugees, international cooperation h
largely neglected the vital dimension of migration.

PART II: PRESENT

Despite the obstacles inherent within highly regulated national migration systems, people continue
move for many of the same reasons that have driven migrants throughout history: to seek ne
opportunities and to escape economic and political distress. Many factors related to family, wage
security, values, and opportunities influence migration decisions. Migration confounds simplist
analysis, as the decision to migrate is nested within relationships, networks, and structures. Peop
frequently move more than once, and migration has evolving social dynamics that take into accou
economic cycles, immigration policies, and political conditions. Despite the complexity of decisio
to migrate, a number of factors associated with the most recent wave of globalization, includi
transportation and communication technologies, have collapsed social distances and make it easier
move than ever before.

Immigration regulations aim to manage flows to meet public policy goals. These regulations ha
evolved from earlier practices of using nation-based quotas to encompass a range of migrati
“channels.” Economic channels bring in students and highly skilled migrants, as well as low-skill
workers to meet temporary labor demands. Families and particular ancestral groups are recogniz
through social migration channels. Those who have been compelled to move because of civil conflic
persecution, or intense pressure move as refugees or as asylum seekers. In strictly limiting t
conditions under which one may legally migrate, states spend heavily on a sprawling architecture
enforcement and control. The effectiveness of new regulatory mechanisms in meeting their objectiv
of controlling migrant flows remains a matter of considerable debate.

Despite the efforts of many states to halt permanent settlement by certain migrants and
distinguish “their” citizens from foreigners, the constant movement of people has continually chang
the concept of what it means to be a foreigner. Multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism are no
celebrated features of many societies. Yet the contribution of migrants to economic and other aspec
of life is severely underestimated. As a result, the focus of governments and public opinion often is
managing the perceived threats posed by migrants, rather than assisting them to fully participate
mainstream society.

International migration pays dividends to sending countries, receiving countries, and migran
themselves. In receiving countries, it promotes innovation, boosts economic growth, and enrich
social diversity, and it is a boon for public finance. Sending countries have their economies stimulate
by the financial and social feedback of migrant networks. Migrants reap the welfare benefits of high
wages, better education, and improved health when they move to relatively more developed countrie
High rates of migration do, however, produce costs that are carried unevenly by particular localiti
and countries. These costs are often short-run, and they can be reduced through resource transfers a
by building the capacity of public institutions to manage the social and administrative chang
presented by higher rates of migration.

PART III: FUTURE

The forces that have propelled migration in the past are continuing to intensify, and the sheer pressu of human movement requires that more attention be paid to domestic policy and global migratio governance. In the next fifty years, the supply of potential migrants will expand alongside econom growth, urbanization, and rising educational attainment in low-income countries—especially in su Saharan Africa and Central Asia. As always, people will move to seek better opportunities, highe wages, and security, concerns that will become more salient as intercountry inequality widens an climate change threatens livelihoods. Demand for migrants will also increase dramatically in mo developed countries and in many developing countries. Population decline and population aging wi create new demands for labor, both skilled and less-skilled. National competitiveness is alread leading countries to dismantle barriers to mobility for high-skilled workers. Migration is a vit source of dynamism in economies and will become even more important as societies age and fertili tumbles.

The twentieth century assumption that migration is a strictly national problem to be handle independently by nation-states is no longer valid. A twenty-first century approach to internation migration demands that we come to terms with the social and economic forces propelling peop across borders and that the instruments of governance equip countries to reap the full benefits global mobility. Both national and international policy reform is required to achieve objectives th meet evolving national needs, as well as the aspirations of migrants themselves.

At the domestic level, public policy should reflect the understanding that migration is a soci process that cannot be turned on or off. Pragmatic policy choices are needed to accommodate the ne dynamics of international mobility and to draw collective benefit from the processes of migration an cross-border exchange. Important lessons can be learned from those regions that have open borde (such as within parts of the European Union) as well as those that have tried to prevent all migratio In the light of our analysis of past and current practices, we outline the key objectives for a glob migration agenda. For both ethical and economic reasons, we argue that the most desirable futu scenario involves freer movement across borders. A global migration agenda ought to be frame around principles that guide pragmatic steps toward a more open global economy that serves o collective interest.

Reforming migration policy at the national level needs to be complemented by coordinate approaches to global migration governance. Migration is the orphan of the global institution architecture. The international institutional and legal framework is silent on systemic migratio issues, other than refugees. Responsibility for migration falls chaotically between sever international agencies that currently have neither the mandate nor the capacity to address key glob concerns regarding migration.

The twenty-first century will bring major new challenges to migration policy with demographi economic, and environmental changes leading to fundamental shifts in the flows of migrants. Th global community is becoming connected in a manner not experienced since our small-wor evolutionary origins in Africa. Our ability to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century requires better understanding of our deep migration impulse and its impact on our future.

PART 1

PAST

1

Migration from Prehistory to Columbus

We begin the story of human migration where our collective history began—in Africa, the crad of humanity. Migrants have propelled the advancement of human communities since these ear days, some 150,000 to 200,000 years ago. Our biological evolution culminated in the *homo sapie* species, whose capacity for language and propensity for trading accelerated a new stage of soci evolution that allowed humans to displace other hominids and eventually to develop advanc civilizations.[1] The human gift for cooperation and collective learning made our ancestors particular adaptive to new environments, and incremental migration gradually populated the earth with huma settlements. People continued to move. Merchants, soldiers, adventurers, and religious teache carried new ideas and technologies between human settlements and civilizations, creating dynam patterns of growth.

Early in human history, a pattern of cross-community migration appeared. Groups of people wou move to new regions, leading to differentiation between the old and newly established communitie subtle variance in language, technology, and beliefs would develop among these groups. Concurre with this process of differentiation, however, was that of interaction. The diverse ways of doing thing were shared across communities by migrant brides, traders, farmers, and herders. Differentiatio between communities and regular interaction among them is a historical pattern that continues to th day.[2] Migrants have driven forward the development of society and civilization by serving as condui for the transmission of new ideas, accelerating learning and innovation.

The history of human communities and world development highlights the extent to which migratio has been an engine of social progress. By viewing our collective past through the lens of migration, v can appreciate how the movement of people across cultural frontiers has brought about the globaliz and integrated world that we inhabit today. We refer to globalization not only in economic terms, bu also in relation to social and political transformations and the emergence of global currents thought. Of course, migrants are rarely the bright-eyed entrepreneurs that this narrative ma unintentionally imply, and migration has often been driven by conflict, exploitation, and povert More often than not, people have moved out of necessity and under arduous conditions. Huma suffering has accompanied migration; nevertheless, societies have been enriched by the dynamism migration. As people have moved, they have encountered new environments and cultures that comp them to adapt and innovate novel ways of doing things. The development of belief systems ar technologies, and the spread of crops and production methods, have often arisen out of the experienc of, or encounters with, migrants.

Early human migrations can be roughly divided into two stages. In the first, humans spread out. " is safe to assume," says to William H. McNeill, "that when our ancestors first became fully huma they were already migratory."[3] Migrants initially moved throughout Africa, before leaving th continent between 50,000–60,000 years ago to populate the world.[4] As populations of hunter–gather groups grew to their geographical limits, members moved to settle new groups, and the process expansion across the world continued.[5] The development of agriculture and sedentary communiti prompted the second stage in migration: connecting humanity. Despite the global dispersion

humans, communities remained connected through trade networks and conquest. Diversity emerg through the separate development of populations, but cross-cultural contact ensured continui interaction between scattered human communities.

EARLY MIGRATION

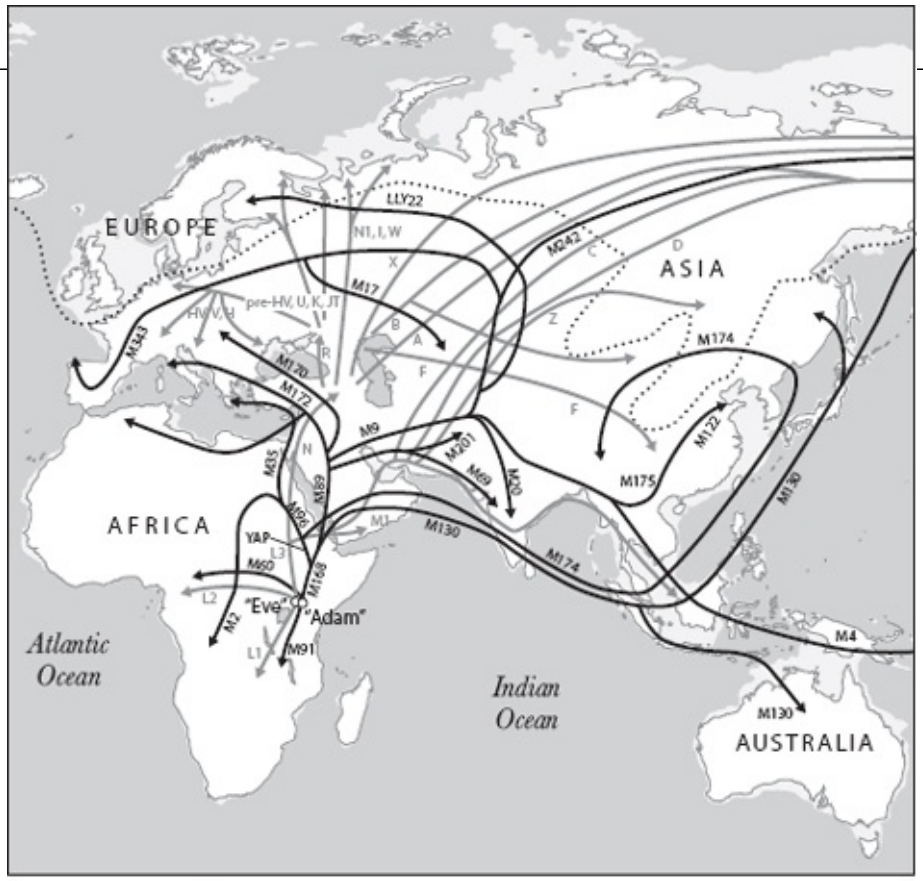
Out of Africa

Every one of us has migrant blood running through our veins. As Spencer Wells put it, "We all hav an African great-great…grandmother who lived approximately 150,000 years ago."[6] Around 80,0 years ago, the archaeological record of *homo sapiens* grows vague, and Wells argues that the huma population dwindled to around 2,000 people. Genetic mutations within this small group of humans l to rapid brain development, giving us the power of abstract thought. With new capacities f innovation and adaptation, populations began to increase and expand, first throughout Africa a eventually into Asia and beyond. Migrants moved within their cultural group; they settled new area colonized their neighbors, or just sojourned to foreign areas.[7] Movement spread knowledge, ne capabilities, and belief systems, but it could also spread disease and stimulate conflict.

The earliest migrations followed a pattern of "extensification": people spread out, but as th migrated, there was limited growth in the size and density of human communities. There we evolutionary advantages to this "roving pattern of behaviour" exhibited by humans, notes McNei "Their restless movements continually probed for new possibilities and tested old barriers, usual finding nothing of importance to other human beings, but every so often opening the way for critical important technological, geographical and/or social breakthroughs."[8] In addition to the natur inclination for "roving," people also moved in response to social conflict or overpopulation.[9]

Within Africa, people initially moved beyond the savannahs of eastern and southern Africa into th east-west belt of the northern savannah between Ethiopia and Senegal.[10] Human communities spre farther north and east in Africa. About 60,000 years ago, men and women moved from Africa's Ni Valley across the strait of Bab el Mandeb into the Arabian Peninsula. This movement initiated a serie of coastal migrations that slowly spread human settlements across to the Indian subcontinent a beyond (see figure 1.1).

Flows of cross-community migration continued to connect members of the slowly expandi human species as people inhabited new ecologies. Patrick Manning suggests that young people "le their home community to visit or join other communities…learning as well as introducing ideas abo technology, culture and social relations."[11] Among the most influential of these young people we migrant brides—some of whom would have been captured—by virtue of their complete integrati into foreign societies. Knowledge about stone technology, weaving, hunting and fishing technique raft and boat construction, and other adaptive creations developed by humans in their ne environments, all traveled between communities through cross-community migration. Archeologic evidence of seashell jewelry found far from coastal regions and stone tools made out of nonloc material indicate that humans were also trading over great distances at least 40,000 years ago.[12]

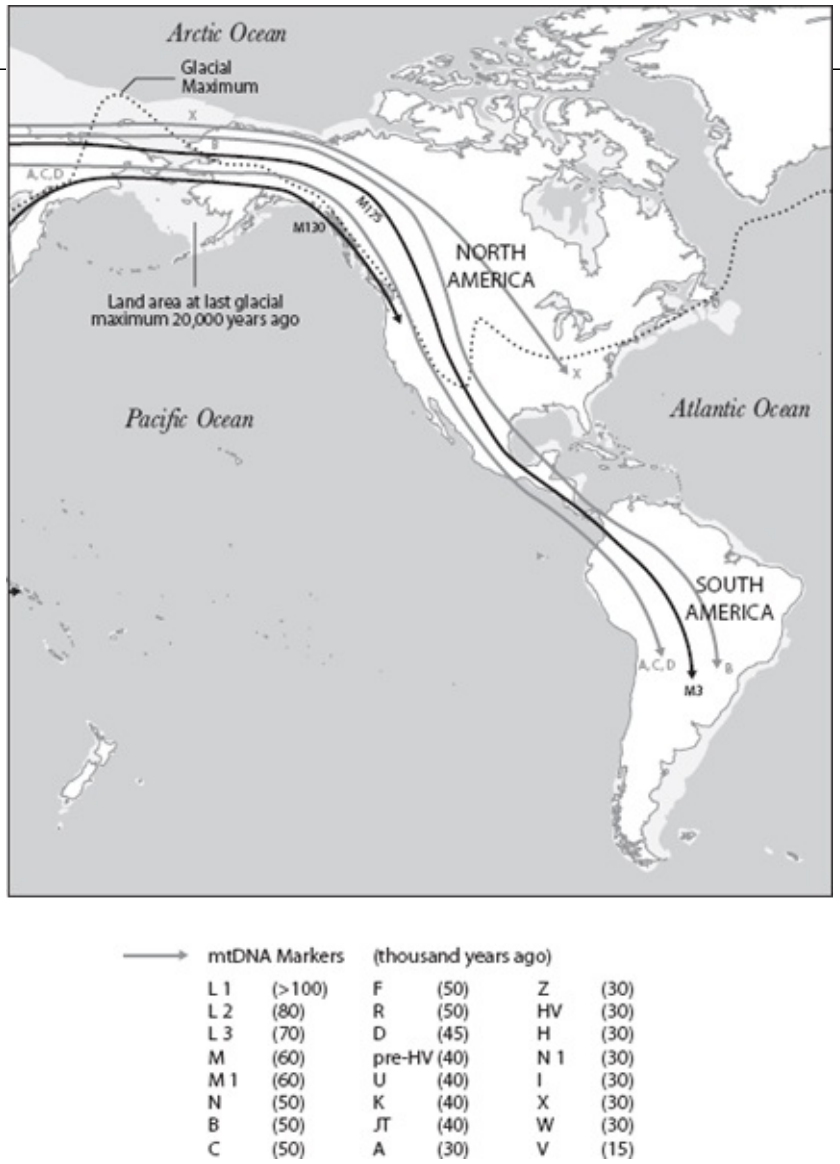


Migration Patterns of Early Humans

→ Y Chromosome Markers (thousand years ago)

M 91	(60)	M 9	(40)	M 201	(20)
M 60	(50)	M 175	(35)	M 242	(20)
M 168	(50)	M 45	(35)	M 3	(10)
YAP	(50)	M 173	(30)	M 172	(10)
M 174	(50)	M 20	(30)	M 17	(10)
M 130	(50)	M 69	(30)	M 122	(10)
M 96	(45)	M 170	(25)	M 4	(10)
M 89	(45)	M 2	(20)	LLY 22	(10)

Figure 1.1. The genetic pathways of human migration. Courtesy of Spencer Wells. ©2005-2010 National Geographic Society. THE GENOGRAPHIC PROJECT NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, and Yellow Border are trademarks of NGS. All rights reserved.



Migrants inhabit the Earth

After moving beyond Africa, migrants initially stuck to tropical climates by working their wa overland into Eurasia and moving through water's-edge expansion along the coastline into Southea Asia and Australia. By 50,000-60,000 years ago, people populated the shores of the Indian Ocean an Red Sea.[13] The group that initially moved to southwest Asia may have initially been as few as 5 people, and it has been estimated that only 500 or so people made the journey over the next 20 years.[14] And 10,000 years later, human communities could be found along the tropical belt from th coastal and inland areas of West Africa all the way to Australia.

The settlement of Australia around 40,000-50,000 years ago was undertaken through a series o audacious seafaring expeditions from Indonesia to Australia. Indonesia was separated from Sahul (continent that connected Australia and New Guinea) by less than 100 kilometers, and the first settle would have sailed in reed or bamboo boats with the intention of establishing a permanent colony. David Christian writes: “Any humans traveling to Sahul…had to be superb sailors. And they had to b careful planners, for populations that drifted to Sahul by chance would not have been large enough form permanent colonies. So, settling Sahul required technologies that we do not find in any previou hominine species…”[16] Moving to Australia was the first human movement into an ecology that wa substantially different from the tropical zones they had previously inhabited.

Around 40,000 years ago, people began to occupy the relatively colder, though still temperat

regions of Europe and inner Eurasia through several different routes. One involved movement alon the rivers and valleys of the Himalayas from South China into the Eurasian steppes. Another woul have followed the Pacific shore before turning inland. A final western route may have come mo directly out of Africa toward the Black Sea. An ice age between 30,000 and 15,000 years ag however, led human populations that had initially settled the warmer parts of Eurasia to retreat farth south.

The evidence for how humans occupied northern Eurasia and the Americas is unclear, and there a many competing accounts based on genetic tracing, linguistics, and archaeology. Human settlemen were restricted to Africa, Asia, and Oceania until about 40,000 years ago, in part by the formidab mountain ranges of Asia. During the next 10,000–20,000 years, people populated all of Euras (including the northern regions) and parts of North America.[17] Several important innovations wou have preceded movement into colder regions: hunting techniques and technologies—such as spea and throwing sticks—were developed, along with methods of sewing heavier clothing.[18] As with oth such migrations, movement into a new ecology prompted the development of tools to assist huma adaptation.

The movement of humans from northern Eurasia into the Americas was a particularly impressiv migration. Recent research proposes that several thousand people survived the last ice age on th former Bering Land Bridge, a grassland steppe that connected Russia and Alaska, protected fro glacial expansion by Pacific currents. These migrants later populated the Americas as the glacie melted around 16,500 years ago.[19] We now know them as Native Americans; the First Nations, Inui and Innu of Canada; the Caribs and Arawaks of the Caribbean basin; and the indigenous peoples Central and South America. There were probably several waves of migration across the Land Bridg possibly including early journeys by boat around the glaciers. The dates of migrations across th Bering Land Bridge are disputed by archeologists (within the range of several thousand years), but th pattern of migration from what is now Russia into the Americas is by now widely upheld. Despi some past speculation that sailors living in what is now China or Japan crossed the Pacific to th Americas, the most recent genetic evidence shows that all ancient migrants to the Americas cam across Siberia.[20]

The extraordinary challenge of crossing large expanses of the Pacific Ocean did not sto Polynesians from settling extremely remote islands. Humans set off from Southeast Asia in seafarin vessels, progressively populating the South Pacific. Fiji was populated about 3,600 years ago, Hawa 2,000 years later, and New Zealand 1,000 years ago.[21]

Less than 50,000 years after humans departed from Africa, they had settled on all of the world continents (aside from Antarctica). By 10,000 years ago, humans had adapted to live in vast different ecologies across the earth: from West Africa to Siberia, and from Australia to Tierra de Fuego.[22] The culmination of this vast enterprise to occupy the planet in all of its diverse climes an ecologies represents humanity's great migratory feat. No sooner had this massive expansion bee completed than the first developments in agriculture and horticulture began to generate new energ for migrants to spread technological and social innovations across thousands of miles. As huma communities followed separate trajectories of social and cultural evolution, they remained connecte by the unceasing movement of people.

CONNECTING HUMANITY

The Agricultural Revolution

Around the time that humans completed their great migration, the ice age also ended and the ear

entered into the Holocene period. The Holocene was marked by radical changes in climate, retreati ice sheets, shifting vegetational zones, and rising sea levels.[23] The environment became mo unpredictable in many parts of the world. These pressures contributed to the emergence of the fir sedentary communities in the Middle East, which adapted to environmental changes through mo intensive exploitation of food sources, food storage, and more permanent settlement.[24] Whi sedentism did not immediately produce recognizable agriculture, as Christian notes, it was "a vita unplanned step toward agriculture."[25]

From 15,000 to 10,000 years ago, people living in six regions of the world experimented wi harvesting and fishing techniques. In what is today called the Fertile Crescent—which extends fro the eastern Mediterranean shoreline along the Syrian Desert to the Persian Gulf—people settlements began to harvest wild grasses and other plants and to build permanent structures.[26] Simil experiments with planting and harvesting grains, grasses, and tubers were simultaneously happenir in Southeast Asia, Yunnan (China), New Guinea, West Africa, and Mesoamerica. [27] Archaeologic finds in Britain indicate that farming was introduced about 6,000 years ago by migrants from Franc This allowed the hunter-gatherers to settle, leading to a quadrupling of the population in just 4(years.[28]

As a result of population growth and intensive exploitation of local resources, sedentism place increasing pressures on the local ecology. Resource scarcity forced these communities to eith innovate with new farming technologies—often focusing on a few crops—or to revert back to mo nomadic lifestyles.[29]

The farming innovations produced by successful sedentary communities spread throug interregional networks of exchange. Christian explains: "Exchanges of valued goods between foragir communities…were particularly intense in the early Holocene along the Levantine corridor, betwee Anatolia and the Red Sea; they might have stimulated communities already exploiting natural stan of cereals on well-watered highlands to try encouraging their growth in lowland regions crossed b flourishing 'trade' routes."[30] Sedentism became increasingly prevalent through gentle populatio pressure, local abundance, and growing networks of exchange. The transmission of new farmir technologies anticipated the central role that networks of traders and migrants would play in th development of agrarian civilizations.

The domestication of plants and animals was associated with intensified production, which great increased the caloric production in these areas. As farmers settled near fields and orchards, the sedentary lifestyle was associated with the development of more complex fixed abodes. Fertili became higher as mothers were able to care for more children than was possible in constantly movir hunter-gatherer communities. Reduced birth-intervals and higher survival rates generated furth increases in population.

While it is important not to exaggerate the distinction between sedentary groups and hunte gathering groups (in practice, these groups often overlapped),[31] sedentary food production becan more prevalent over time. Population growth and improved hunting technologies led to overhuntir and the declining availability of wild game. At the same time, improvements in the selection of seed the development of sickles and other implements, and the successful domestication of animals f farming all made sedentary life more viable. In the Fertile Crescent and elsewhere, the balan between the benefits of hunter-gathering and food production had by 10,000 years ago tipped in fav of settled farming.

Around 7,000 years ago, improved agricultural technologies had reached many parts of the settl world, and gains in productivity led to an increasing division of labor and urbanization. The spread agriculture was partly through colonization by the early agricultural pioneers, but it was equally th

result of the spread of ideas of agriculture; ideas spread more quickly than agricultural communiti could move.[32] Only a minority of Europeans have been shown to possess genetic markers from t Middle East of 10,000 years ago, which strongly suggests that agricultural and other innovatio traveled without the need for large numbers of people to move.[33] A small number of travelers a migrants served as the couriers for big ideas, launching a virtuous cycle: as people moved, th carried ideas that facilitated income and population growth—eventually prompting further movemen

As agricultural technology and the variety of crops proliferated, populations became mo concentrated, and a division of labor and social hierarchy developed in regions such as Mesopotami Nubia, Egypt, highland Mexico and the lands of the Mayans, Peru, Ethiopia, and the valleys of t Indus, Yangzi, Huang He, Nile, and Niger rivers. Religion became more sophisticated, and pries assumed greater influence. Handicrafts and pottery were improved, and homes were increasingly bu to endure. In addition to facilitating specialization, food production was associated with t development of full-time bureaucracies, along with administrative systems and politicians. Inequality in such societies grew as leadership minorities diverted their attention from hunting a gathering to ruling dense food-producing groups and developing standing armies for explorati conquest, and defense.

Settled life did have disadvantages, however—in a sense, it would have been healthier to ke moving. Settlements reduced the breadth of the resource base, making it more difficult to cope wi dramatic climactic shifts. For example, people were more vulnerable to famines when societies we stuck in one place, whereas hunter-gatherers could move to pastures greener. Infectious diseases su as smallpox or typhoid require threshold numbers to survive, and they became more prevalent amo settled communities.[35] Denser populations with accumulated wealth and possessions were also mo vulnerable to warfare and raiding.

More positively, greater population density allowed for faster information sharing and mo powerful "collective learning."[36] Christian identifies collective learning, or the ability of humans pool and share knowledge, as "the most important distinguishing feature of human history."[37] Tw factors are critical to collective learning: the volume and variety of information being pooled, and t speed with which information is shared. In this respect, increasingly dense sedentary communiti expanded the possibilities for creativity and innovation. As city economies developed, t proliferation of trade routes connecting them to other communities served to transmit learning a promote the spread of superior technologies. Sedentism accelerated the production and spread significant knowledge about how to manipulate the natural world.

The development of early cities not only brought people closer together, it also generated hig population mobility. Rural-urban markets developed. Wealthy elites promoted intellectual exchange among scholars. Merchants traveled to acquire trading information. Newcomers married locals to t into existing social networks. This increasing tempo of movement required roads and bridges, as we as guides and translators. Cities were slowly connected with the sinews of social and physic infrastructure.[38]

Long-Distance Trade and Agrarian Civilizations

While the concept of "civilization" has acquired a negative connotation in some corners of academi it can be used more neutrally to describe societies characterized by occupational specialization amo relatively large numbers of people.[39] Specialization promotes the refinement of skills, and a divisio of labor increases production and wealth, necessitating the development of markets and trade route The first civilizations emerged where societies could establish control over food sources and mana

the distribution of food for a large number of people. The existence of dense agrarian populations w thus a necessary precondition for the development and spread of the first civilizations.[40] Religion a governance in these civilizations were impressively integrative forces, but powerful rulers al launched destructive campaigns of imperial warfare.

The earliest known civilization was established by Sumerian seafarers on the Tigris-Euphrat floodplain around 4000 BCE. These warrior-migrants subjected the region's scattered inhabitants their rule, eventually developing several large temple-centered cities. Under Sargon of Akkad (wh ruled from ca. 2350 BCE), Sumerian civilization expanded to include about a dozen cities, each wi 20,000 to 50,000 people. Sargon created a standing army and conquered neighboring citie incorporating them into his expanding empire. Sargon's rule marked one of the first appearances state formation, where multiple hinterland cities were governed by a central ruler.

This emerging empire also supported growing trade networks that connected Sumer with the rest Mesopotamia and extended as far as central Asia, the Indus Valley to the east, and south into Egyp and sub-Saharan Africa.[41] Sumerian civilization led to unprecedented technological innovation: t Sumerians developed wheeled vehicles, bronze metallurgy, writing, monumental buildings, a irrigation.[42] Sumerian cities were also the first to practice year-round agriculture, which would hav been necessary to feed their relatively dense populations.

Sumer relied on a continuing flow of migrants from its frontiers to sustain population levels in t city. Because cities brought people into close proximity with each other, they were characterized b much higher mortality rates than the countryside. Demographically significant epidemic infectio became routine aspects of urbanism in Sumerian civilization, a pattern that would continue in citi until the development of modern public health programs.[43] The depopulation of the Sumeria speaking city required increasing in-migration from the Akkadian-speaking countryside. The volum of replacement migration from the countryside eventually led to the Akkadian language displacin Sumerian in administration and record keeping.

The maintenance of civilized life not only depended on a continual flow of migrants into cities, also required the regular movement of people out beyond the civilizational frontiers to secure ra materials. Early civilization in Mesopotamia needed timber, metals, and stone, which we unavailable near river valley cities. Trade expeditions and raids carried city elites to far-awa emerging cities and court centers in order to locate these materials, which were needed for ear civilized technologies.[44]

Trade diasporas emerged concurrently with the development of urban life in these fir civilizations. Philip D. Curtin describes these early forms of cross-cultural trade:

> Commercial specialists would remove themselves physically from their home community and go to live as aliens in another town, usually not a fringe town, but a town important in the life of the host community…. The result was an interrelated net of commercial communities forming a trade network, or trade diaspora—a term that comes from the Greek word for scattering, as in the sowing of grain.[45]

Archeological findings suggest that trade diasporas developed as early as 3500 BCE. Clay table dating back to 2000 BCE show commercial records of an Assyrian trade settlement in Cappadoc (modern Turkey)—hundreds of miles away from home.[46]

Early riverine civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Indus Valley appeared around the sam time, probably because trade networks stretching between modern Egypt and Pakistan carried ide about culture and technology.[47] Mesopotamian-style artifacts have been found in modern Iran, t

sample content of Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future

- *click The Ghosts of Cannae: Hannibal and the Darkest Hour of the Roman Republic for free*
- *click Tales of the Unexpected*
- click Cook Step by Step
- download online L.A. Confidential (L. A. Quartet, Book 3)
- read Blacklash: How Obama and the Left Are Driving Americans to the Government Plantation online

- http://creativebeard.ru/freebooks/The-Ghosts-of-Cannae--Hannibal-and-the-Darkest-Hour-of-the-Roman-Republic.pdf
- http://interactmg.com/ebooks/Tales-of-the-Unexpected.pdf
- http://www.gateaerospaceforum.com/?library/Cook-Step-by-Step.pdf
- http://sidenoter.com/?ebooks/L-A--Confidential--L--A--Quartet--Book-3-.pdf
- http://www.khoi.dk/?books/Blacklash--How-Obama-and-the-Left-Are-Driving-Americans-to-the-Government-Plantation.pdf