Abstract: The issue of international migration has been increasingly present, especially since the early 2010s, in the daily news. However, the media tends to focus on a small minority of these movements, those which arise from exoduses linked to international wars or to civil wars often fanned – voluntarily or involuntarily – by external powers, and those which take place in non-legal forms, the main cause of which is most often poor governance. Beyond that, it is important to take a complete and fair look at all international migration in daily life. However, this does not entail following sensationalist claims that depict a world entering a generalised migratory cycle. Finally, we should ask ourselves about the real changes undergone by international migration in the 21st century.

Keywords: diaspora, demography and population studies, economy, emigration, emigrants, geography, geopolitics, international migration, migration, migration space.

Abstrakt: Kwestia migracji międzynarodowych jest coraz częściej poruszana w codziennych wiadomościach. Jednak mówią one tak naprawdę tylko o niewielkiej części tych ruchów, a mianowicie o exodusach związanych z wojnami międzynarodowymi lub domowymi, podsykanymi często – celowo lub nie – przez mocarstwa zewnętrzne, oraz o migracjach nielegalnych i wynikających często głównie ze złego zarządzania krajem. Natomiast ważne jest, aby pójść dalej i uchwycić kompletny i właściwy wymiar wszystkich migracji międzynarodowych, przeglądając się najbardziej rozpowszechnionym dyskursom mówiącym o świecie, który wszedł w powszechny cykl migracyjny i piętnującym niesymetryczny charakter pewnego rodzaju prawa do nomadyzmu. I w końcu, należy zastanowić się nad zmianami, którym podlegają migracje międzynarodowe w XXI w.

Słowa kluczowe: diaspora, demografia i badania ludności, emigracja, emigranci, ekonomia, geografia, geopolityka, migracja międzynarodowa, migracja, przestrzeń migracyjna.
The issue of international migration is gaining more and more attention in the daily news. However, only a minute fraction of these movements is addressed, as broadcasts focus mainly on exodus due to international or civil wars, often fuelled – intentionally or not – by external powers, as well as illegal migration resulting from poor governance. However, it is important to look deeper and capture the complete and accurate picture of all dimensions of international migration movements, analysing the most widespread opinions about the contemporary world that has entered a universal migration cycle, and stigmatising the somewhat asymmetrical nature of the right to a nomadic lifestyle. Finally, it is worth considering the actual changes that international migrations have undergone in the 21st century.

*Human crowds in motion?*

The first element worth noting is the fact that the phenomenon of migration as reflected by the media, focusing on refugees and uncontrolled migration, is an over-representation that only accounts for a small part of international migration flows. In fact, most international migrations are regulated and undertaken for professional, family-related or educational reasons, i.e. involving people holding proper documents, passports, visas or other papers determining the legality of migration.

The number of immigrants in the meaning of the definition used by the UN Populations Division¹, i.e. people living for a minimum period of 1 year in a country other than their country of birth, amounted to approx. 250 million, which should be compared to a world population of 7.5 billion in 2017 [Sardon 2017]. On a global scale, the average quantitative scale of international migration significantly differs from its common perception. As a matter of fact, as many as 96.7% of the global population live in the country of their birth. This means that the vast majority of people prefer to live in a cultural and geographical context that they have been brought up in the first years of their life.

It should also be noted that the figure of 250 million migrants would have been smaller had it not been for the growing number of countries, and consequently an increase in the length of state borders. For example, nowadays a Bosnian citizen who moves to Croatia is counted as an immigrant, although this was not

¹ Geographical definition also used by Eurostat in the European Union, but not by France, whose definition is less clear due to added legal criteria.
the case before 1991; similarly, a Czech citizen moving to Slovakia, a resident of South Sudan emigrating to Sudan, or a citizen of East Timor who moved to live in Indonesia. The above figures clearly demonstrate that talking about a world in which migration has become commonplace is not just an exaggeration, but a misunderstanding. In fact, we can observe the opposite trend: the vast majority of the inhabitants of earth want to “live and work in their country”.

A plethora of determinants
Notwithstanding the above, there are still some people who emigrate from their country of birth. This is the aspect of emigration that should be thoroughly examined, rather than focusing solely on immigration, since it is more than evident that each case of immigration or settlement in another country is preceded by emigration from a different country.

The reasons for emigration may be political, economic and/or demographic. In many cases, emigration is purely the subjective decision of an individual: it is about taking advantage of professional opportunities, and in such circumstances these may be called “business migrations”, i.e. migrations resulting from decisions made by enterprises that encourage employees to migrate in order to accommodate to the changes in international markets, or the individual decisions of entrepreneurs wishing to benefit from new labour markets offering greater professional opportunities and satisfaction” [Wackermann 2005]. Another type of voluntary emigration occurs when it comes to living in a (foreign) spouse’s country. Yet another type of emigration involves not so much the voluntary decision pursued by an emigrant, but rather the consequence of their family and social situation which prompts the emigrant to resolve to improve his or her family’s lot by regularly sending parcels and importing valuable goods each time the immigrant visits their homeland. For example, the migratory nature of a country like Senegal is an important structural element of social functioning. The fact that at least one family member emigrates abroad has become a common social practice [Dumont, Kanté 2010; Kanté 2014].

Unlike voluntary emigration, other types of migration are forced or perceived as such. Examples of such include fleeing from imminent violence and even risk of death, as was the case of emigration from the territories of former Yugoslavia during the civil war in the early 1990s, the increased exodus from Algeria to

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2 Starting with the provisions of the constitution which affect migration [Dumont 2016].
France during the Algerian Civil War in the 1990s between military government and Islamists, the emigration of Syrians or Iraqis in 2010, even if the intensity of the latter movement was determined by its special nature [Dumont 2015a]. The example of Ivory Coast is particularly emblematic because that country used to be an important destination for immigrants during the first forty years of independence, while emigration was virtually non-existent. This trend reversed in 2000, when the country was beset by the turmoil of a civil war.

In other cases, emigration is about “foot voting”; in other words – leaving a country whose freedom-wrecking political system is grinding the citizens down and curbing actual social development. That is why hundreds of thousands of Chinese fled on sampans to Hong Kong, especially during the famine caused by the “Great Leap Forward” policy in 1958-1960. Following the formation of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1949, and the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, over 3.8 million citizens of East Germany left their country which suffered the ordeal of communist dictatorship [Münz, Ulrich 1998: 173-210]. The years 1975-1980 saw the tragedy of the boat people seeking refuge from murderous communist regime in Vietnam, as well as the inhabitants of Cambodia fleeing imminent genocide. In 1989, the outflow of citizens of East Germany leaving the country against the authorities’ orders increased again: they would set off in their cars (Trabant) along a new migration route through Czechoslovakia. Tens of thousands of “tourists” from East Germany found refuge in their country’s embassies in Prague and Budapest; others arrived at the Austrian-Hungarian border which the Hungarian government decided to open by cutting through the iron curtain’s barbed wire. Another example is Cuba [Dumont 2015b]: except for the lengthy periods when emigration was prevented by police methods, the country has lost over 1 million citizens or 12% of the total population since the beginning the Castro regime, and the majority of emigrants left for the USA. A similar emigration illustrating the “foot voting” phenomenon is taking place today as a result of the dictatorship in Eritrea.

Sometimes the stifling of freedom in a given country concerns a specific group that is forced to emigrate, such as the expulsion policy of all non-Arab residents or Copts from Egypt was exercised in 1956, although a significant number of Egyptians of Greek or Jewish descent had been living in Egypt for over two millennia or more. In the territory of Maghreb, the same policy was implemented with regard to Jews in the late 1960s. The same happened to Europeans from Algeria in
1962, Ugandans from the Indian subcontinent\(^3\) in 1972, the Palestinians working in Kuwait and expelled in 1991 after they were recognised by the government as supporters of Iraq because Palestinian political leader Yasser Arafat supported Saddam Hussein’s administration in Iraq in the second\(^4\) Gulf War. Hindus have fled from Bangladesh since the 1990s as a result of the spread of violent Islamism. Emigration of Copts, especially to North America, increased while Egypt was governed by a member of the Muslim brotherhood from June 2012 to July 2013.

Generally speaking, “foot-voting” is mainly caused by poor state governance, even if the residents’ liberty is not at threat from restrictions. This can be observed on the example of migration flows between France and Great Britain. In the 1970s, the latter was not very attractive due to economic stagnation. Therefore, virtually no young Frenchman thought about looking for professional opportunities in England, and young English people usually emigrated to English-speaking countries. Two decades later, British economy regained momentum and became attractive again, while France was in recession; as a result, since 1990, France has seen a significant outflow of young people to Great Britain. We could multiply the examples of emigration related to poor governance in countries that, nevertheless, have unquestionable potential for development. In addition, the so-called “economic” emigration from countries in the South to the North\(^5\) is usually combined with political emigration due to state policy that turns a blind eye to omnipresent fraud and widespread corruption.

In any case, the preference for the homeland has been seen from the beginning of human history. In addition, many immigrants – if they are given such a possibility – try to return to their country of birth. This is particularly noticeable when peace or freedom is restored or at least there are signs that these values would be re-established in the countries from which citizens had to emigrate. After 1 April 1939, marking the end of the civil war in Spain, most of the Spaniards who had fled to France returned to their homeland. After the fall of Batista’s dictatorship in Cuba in 1959, many Cubans returned to their country hoping for the advent of democracy. Therefore, Cuba’s migration balance was definitely positive in the first months of the Castro regime. Later it became negative again when it turned out that the new regime was even worse than the former dictatorship.

\(^3\) About 50,000 were expelled, mostly to the UK, because India was unwilling to accept them when they were not interested in their diasporas [see Dumont 2008a].


\(^5\) Thinking about Ukraine since the 1990s.
After the introduction of democratic reform in Portugal in 1974, many citizens of this country decided to return and resettle or at least would spend their holidays regularly in their country of birth. After the fall of the Iron Curtain and following the advent of democracy in the former communist states of Central, Eastern and Northern Europe, immigrants returned to stay in their homelands, giving up comfortable life in their new countries of destination, e.g. the USA in the case of the emigrants from the Baltic states.

Furthermore, attachment to the country of birth is often passed from generation to generation. Thus, sometimes the descendants of immigrants want to be buried in their parents’ country of birth.

In consideration of these phenomena it can be noticed that the world is not an arena of massive population flows, even if geopolitical dramas such as World War II, genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda or conflicts in Mesopotamia give rise to significant movement of people and we are unable to protect ourselves from such dramas. Favouring the country of birth is a very common trait as evidenced by the figures. Another frequent opinion in contemporary political discourse emphasises that the opportunities for emigration are asymmetrical depending on the country of origin of a given individual.

Asymmetrical migration opportunities?
International regulations on emigration are clearly defined: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on 10 December 1948 in Paris by the UN General Assembly specifies two contexts for emigration. The first concerns forced emigration, as specified in Article 14 which reads: “Everyone has the right to seek and use asylum in another country in the event of persecution”. In more general terms, in Article 13 the Declaration provides for the right to emigrate: “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including their own, and return to their home country”.

Article 13 mentioned above is consistent with the teachings of the Church, for example, John XXIII in the encyclical refers to the freedom of migration with the following words: “Everyone has the right [...], if he has a valid reason, to go abroad and settle there”. The text adds that it is about “the inborn right of a man” [Jean XXIII 1963 : 25, 106].

Nevertheless, despite the international right to emigrate, asymmetrical migration opportunities are often brought under the spotlight. Some believe that there
are substantial differences in opportunities for the citizens of certain countries, namely from the North, who enjoy a broad selection of destinations because they are accepted in numerous countries – 173 [Wihtol de Wenden 2017], and citizens of the countries of the Southern hemisphere whose possibilities to migrate are smaller.

The reality looks somewhat different, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Just a brief reference to the UN statistics allows us to realise the magnitude of international migration flows. These statistics in no way distinguish the countries whose citizens find it easy to migrate from the other. It is enough to say to what extent the US has become the “global-state” [Dumont 2013a] due to the fact that it is inhabited by an increasingly diverse population, originating from almost all countries of all continents. This evolution is explained by the fact that in 1965 the US abolished geographical quotas which until then had significantly limited the possibility of immigration by citizens of certain countries, in particular from Asia. Similarly, immigrants present in France represent over 150 different nationalities.

In qualitative terms, the alleged asymmetrical nature of migration opportunities should also be rejected. It should be noted that all governments in the world are obliged to ensure security in their territory [Dumont 2017a] and prevent any person who might allegedly cause public disorder from entering the state’s land.

The role of governments is to ensure the safety of people and property, as well as sanitary safety. Of course, some countries go even further implementing migration controls in order to pursue other goals, less compliant, or even contrary to the common good, such as political, ethnic or protectionist ideas. However, the precautionary principle to ensure security is widely applied, both in the North and the South, including border controls that tend to be more common in particular countries of the Southern hemisphere than in the Northern countries. This is related with the requirement to obtain a visa or other entry documents. A visa that allows one to enter the country does not constitute a right of entry because the countries reserve the right to expel the visa holder. This right of migration control, if sensibly implemented, is not condemned in any way by the Catholic

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6 This distinction was, however, very strong during the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall period [Dumont 2009]. Since then it has decreased, although it still exists in the countries ruled by dictators such as North Korea.

7 Requiring, for example, prior registration via the Internet.
Church according to which the states, as guarantors of the common good, can regulate entry into their territory by way of exception to the common principle of freedom of emigration and immigration. For instance, the text by Paul VI grants states the right to regulate the entry to their territory, still by way of exception to the common principle of freedom of emigration and immigration i.e. the “human right” which should be respected by state authorities. This exception could be justified by “serious and objectively justified reasons related with the common good” [Paul VI 1970: 58-72].

The objective analysis of international migration flows therefore rejects both the stereotype of the world of moving masses of people and the one with asymmetrical opportunities for emigration. In addition, it highlights two real changes in international migration of the 21st century, i.e. new logics of migration and a process called “diasporisation”.

**New logics of migration**

A significant change has been observed since the 1990s: the factors determining contemporary international migrations are perceived as a combination of concurrent determinants: on the one hand involving traditional factors for migration (political, economic, demographic or resulting from the combination of individual factors) and “new logics of migration” [Dumont 2004 : 97-116; Dumont 2006] a derivative form of “globalisation” in the broad sense – an umbrella term which covers three dimensions of incentives to migration, using three distinctive terms: “globalisation”, “internationalisation” and “worlding” (in a narrow sense).

Globalisation, in its normative dimension of “worlding”, i.e. resulting from political choices, for example bolsters international migration within regional blocks, enabling free movement of people, such as the European Union, under relevant Treaties, or the Economic Community of West African States (Cédéao) by means of introducing a common passport. On a global scale, China’s accession to the WTO implies that the country’s openness to trade is inevitably related to human migrations. Another decision related to globalisation – the abandonment of the foreign exchange control by many countries – gives immigrants the freedom to send money to their country of origin, thus eliminating another obstacle to migration.

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The second, technical dimension of globalisation in the broad sense of the term – i.e. internationalisation – defines all techniques of transporting people, goods, capital and information, making distance between territories shrink. Internationalisation, which results from the advancement of technology, enables easy and real-time access to information on migration opportunities, significantly reduces the cost of transport in international migration and means that migration is no longer associated with losing any contact with the family or region of origin due to numerous communication possibilities (landline, mobile, email, Skype and social media).

“Worlding” in the strict sense of the word, i.e. the business and commercial dimension of globalisation in a broad sense, is the practical consequence of globalisation and internationalisation experienced by business entities. It gives them the opportunity to consider their current or future business opportunities in a global context, both for sole proprietorships as well as transnational enterprises. The former may be inclined to migrate to benefit from those opportunities, while the latter may wish to geographically deploy their employees according to corporate business needs.

Thus, international migrations in the 21st century combine typical migration factors with new migration logics resulting from the process of globalisation and internationalisation and worlding which multiply the reasons for migration and, above all, enable increasingly complex movement patterns. This complexity changes the migratory profile of many countries. In the past, a given country was classified according to three categories depending on whether it was the country of emigration, transit or destination for immigration. At present, many countries concurrently serve two or all three functions.

According to common knowledge, geography might imply that migration is strictly determined by distance. This is not a completely false assumption and the 21st century still sees the prevailing importance of bilateral migration occurring between neighbouring countries. However, since the 1990s, globalisation of migration has become noticeable due to the increase in international migration enhanced by new forms of communication and transport, whereas in the past international migration was of a radial nature instead. Since the end of the twentieth century, with the fall of the Iron Curtain, the revolution in transport and new developments in the global economy, a grid pattern has been gaining in importance, facilitated by the development of means of communication and the systems of connections established by former immigrants.
From settlement migration to diasporic migration

Throughout the late decades of the 20th century, the term “diaspora” has become popularised as a result of the “new logics of migration” [Dumont 2007a; Dumont 2007b; Dumont 2008b; Dumont 2015c]. Indeed, migrations in the 21st century are completely different from those that humanity may have ever witnessed in the past. Throughout the history of humanity, and still over many decades of the 20th century, a migrant leaving his country to settle in another could not maintain regular contact with his country of origin, and often even occasional communication was not possible. The cost and duration of travel made it unimaginable for a migrant to plan regular visits to his homeland. Due to a complete lack of or poorly functioning communication systems, such a migrant had no everyday or quick access to information about his country of origin. He could not maintain regular contact with his family members or friends remaining in his homeland.

In other words, given the poor quality and access to means of communication for centuries, migration has been associated with cutting the umbilical cord with the place of birth. This geographical separation resulted in unavoidable cultural separation, even if there were exceptions, for example French immigrants who, due to their geographically clustered settlements in certain territories and high fertility, managed to maintain their native language in Canada⁹.

In a widely open world, especially since the 1980s, internationalisation has enabled easy transport and real-time direct communication with the country of origin, which has resulted in revolutionary changes in the profile of international migration.

Indeed, modern migrations use communication technology enabling immigrants to maintain contact with their homeland through information sourced directly, or information provided by other immigrants, or by reducing the time and price of transport which facilitates exchanges or travel between the country of residence and the country of origin. In the past, the world saw mainly settlement migrations i.e. settling in the host country was most often associated with the loss of contacts and ties with the country of origin. In the 21st century prevails the diasporic profile of migration, and settling in the host country does not require a definitive

⁹ However, the language was evolving differently than it has been the case in the country of origin, as evidenced by TV series from Quebec, broadcast by TV5 Monde, in which the actors speak French as it is spoken in Canada, and TV5 Monde provides subtitles in “French” French.
loss of ties with the country of origin nor precludes the possibility to maintain regular contacts. These relations, however, are not mandatory and a migrant (like his descendants) can, if they wish, relinquish any ties with their country of origin. Alternatively, migrants can easily maintain contacts with family or friends living in their homeland, visit them regularly or even build a house there. Emotional ties often come to light when migrant’s will is to be buried in their homeland, which is often the case among Frenchmen of African or Portuguese descent.

Sometimes maintaining ties with the country of origin is impeded by the authoritarian regime in the homeland, which is demonstrated by refusing visas, hindering air transport, censoring postal correspondence and parcels or emails. Even in such cases, however, the bonds can survive, at least in a spiritual sense, in diasporas preserving the memories of the native land, and this mythical spiritual may become real as soon as the country of origin opens up.

What is referred to as the process of “diasporisation”10 is sometimes reinforced by the countries of origin that implement special policies aimed at maintaining bonds with their citizens living abroad [Dumont 2017b]. Some countries even recognise children, grandchildren or great-grandchildren born in the destination country of immigration of their parents, grandparents or great-grandparents as native citizens, even issuing passports to such descendants. This influence of countries of origin on the emmigrant diaspora was demonstrated on 16 April 2017 when Turkish immigrants in Europe11, having dual citizenship or only citizenship of the country of origin, voted, in much higher proportions than the Turks living in Turkey, in favour of a constitution much more authoritarian and violating the principle of separation of powers established by Montesquieu. Such an electoral result of people living in democratic countries is difficult to explain if we do not take into account agitation12 exercised by the Turkish government among Europeans of Turkish descent.

10 “Diasporisation” means that immigrants or their descendants, regardless of the reasons for migration, and even if they have retained citizenship of the country of origin, maintain actual or mythologised ties with their homeland and cultivate special relations with immigrants or descendants of immigrants of the same geographical, ethnic, linguistic or religious origin [Dumont 2007c].

11 But not those living in the US and Canada – less numerous and originating mainly from the Kemalist tradition, i.e. less supportive of the Islamisation of power in Turkey.

12 This agitation is directly proven by the fact that Turkish voters living in Europe and voting “against” asked journalists to change their names and surnames. Cf. Le Monde, 15 April 2017. In February 2017, Peter Pilz, an Austrian politician from the Green Party stated that according to the information he had collected, Turkish immigrants living in Europe cooperate
The increase of dual citizenship

A new phenomenon stems from diasporisation. In the past, it was very uncommon for a person to have two passports. Currently, dual citizenship is getting more and more customary due to a change in the profile of international migration, amended regulatory framework or changes in law following the changes in the behaviour of individuals. On the one hand, some countries such as the USA or France have been issuing passports in accordance with the principles of *jus soli* for a very long time, or like Germany – have decided to implement it since the beginning of the 21st century as opposed to *jus sanguinis* that had prevailed there earlier. On the other hand, countries such as Algeria issue passports under *jus sanguinis* or marriage principles to people considered nationals, even if they were not born in those countries. Countries such as India have officially applied for the recognition of dual citizenship by all countries in the world [Dumont 2008a].

Furthermore, many people use various strategies to obtain dual citizenship, hoping that this will ensure greater protection in the future and provide more opportunities. Therefore, the inhabitants of Suriname sail across the Moroni River to give birth in Guyana, i.e. in France, just like the inhabitants of Anjouan, using a kwassa kwassa cover a distance of 35 kilometres to a delivery room in Mamoudzou on the island of Mayotta recording the highest birth rate in France. In the USA where citizenship is granted after birth under *jus soli*, many Mexican women try to give birth in US territory, while clinics in California specialise in admitting Chinese women who wish to give birth in the US. Another example, since June 2016 i.e. the British referendum which sparked Brexit, great numbers of French living in the UK are applying for a British passport. On top of that are all people with dual citizenship from mixed marriages.

The above examples illustrate the complexity of cases of dual citizenship from a legal point of view; these cases may be divided into three categories. The first case refers to dual citizenship that is recognised mutually by two (or three) countries concerned, because individuals granted the second citizenship are not forced to resign from the

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with the Turkish intelligence services MIT providing them with information and denouncing “suspect” Turks (i.e. opponents of the Erdogan administration) living abroad, which results in arrests in Turkey: “I have documents about secret messages from 35 countries. In 35 countries, from Belgium to Australia, also in Austria, Erdogan conducts espionage in cooperation with Turkish embassies. There were cases of Austrians of Turkish origin who wanted to visit their beloved ones in Turkey and were arrested at passport control in Istanbul for allegedly insulting the Turkish president in an Austrian cafe.” (Kronen Zeitung, 19 February 2017).
first one. In the second case, dual citizenship is recognised only by one country – the one whose laws permit it – while the other country does not honour it. Finally, the third category in which dual citizenship is not be recognised by either country: the first that issued the passport nor the second. By receiving the second passport, the individual had to renounce their original nationality, but this declaration has no effect simply because the first country prohibits the relinquishment of nationality.

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The world in the 21st century has no choice but to face the real phenomenon of migration, rejecting all popular stereotypes and considering the entire diversity of migration patterns which are determined by the country and period in time. The intensity of qualitative changes in international migration due to new migration logics and the process of “diasporisation” must also be taken into account. The latter is mainly due to the significant reduction of distance between countries of the world, sometimes almost its disappearance owing to modern communication and transportation technologies. But migration intensity may also result from political systems in the countries of origin, systems that may be desirable as long as they endorse common good, but much less desirable when they approve of geopolitical, internal or external manipulation in relation to diasporas. In this context, the issue of integration of migrants comes under the spotlight even though it is equally necessary or even absolutely indispensable to ensure social agreement among people inhabiting one territory.

To give the right answer to this question about integration, to overcome social tensions that may arise from the presence of immigrants in a given territory, to make migrations the components of peace rather than conflicts [Dumont 2013b; Dumont 2013c], it is possible to refer to paragraph 2241 of the Catholic Church’s catechism: “More privileged nations should accept, as far as possible, foreigners seeking security and resources to survive that they cannot find in their country of origin. The state authorities shall ensure that the natural law is respected, according to which the guest shall protected by those who accept him.”

“Political authorities may, with a view to the common good for which they are responsible, subject the exercise of immigration rights to various legal conditions, in particular concerning the obligations of migrants towards the host country. The immigrant should gratefully respect the material and spiritual heritage of the host country, abide by its laws and contribute to its encumbrances.”
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