

全球移民潮：一个更具流动性的世界

导读 4月23日美国亚利桑那州制定了被视为全美最严苛的反非法移民法案，由此激起严重的民意分化。对此，奥巴马政府以“违宪”回应，斥其削弱了联邦政府的权威。美国关于移民问题的争议，固然体现着政治派别的较量，但当今世界全球移民确呈汹涌之势，以至被一些理论家归为继上世纪商品（贸易）和货币（金融）后的第三波全球化。人们背井离乡，所求不同，但此一趋势对全球政治、经济、文化、社会都具有重大而深远的影响。为实现梦想、追求幸福，“千万里我追寻着你”，但何处才是人类理想的家园？



Global Migration: A World Ever More on the Move

By Jason DeParle

Gordon Brown's rant¹ about a "bigoted"² voter sped his exit from the British prime minister's post. What punctured³ his cool? Her complaint about immigrants. When an earthquake shattered Haiti, Dominicans sent soldiers and Americans sent ships—to discourage potential immigrants. The congressman who shouted "You lie!" at President Obama was upset about immigrants. "Birthers"⁴ think Mr. Obama is an immigrant.

There was also the Hamas rocket that landed in Israel this spring, killing a farmworker. Not so unusual, except that the worker was Thai.

Perhaps no force in modern life is as omnipresent⁵ yet overlooked as global migration, that vehicle of creative destruction that is reordering ever more of the world. Overlooked? A skeptic may well question the statement, given how often the topic makes news and how divisive⁶ the news can be. After all, Arizona's campaign against illegal immigrants, codified⁷ in an April law, set off high-decibel⁸ debates from Melbourne to Madrid. But migration also shapes the landscape beneath the seemingly unrelated events of *the headlines⁹. It is a story-behind-the-story, a complicating tide, in issues as diverse as school bond fights and efforts to isolate Iran. (Seeking allies in Latin America this month, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton had to emphasize the dangers of a nuclear-armed Tehran while *fending off¹⁰ complaints about the Arizona law.) ▶

戈登·布朗关于一名“偏执”选民的怒气冲冲的抱怨使其离开英国首相一职的速度加快。是什么打破了他的冷静？是对移民的抱怨。地震使海地成为废墟后，多米尼加人派出士兵，美国人派出船只——去阻止可能出现的大批移民。对总统奥巴马大叫“你撒谎！”的议员对移民问题感到心烦意乱。“出生地怀疑派”认为奥巴马是一名移民。

还有今年春天，哈马斯射入以色列的一枚火箭弹，打死了一名农场工人。这没什么稀奇，但特殊的是此人是一名泰国人。

也许在现代生活中，没有哪支力量像全球移民那样无所不在，却又被忽视。它所承载的创造性破坏使世界上更多地区正出现秩序重组。它被忽视了吗？鉴于这个话题经常出现在新闻上，而且极具争议，有人可能会质疑这种说法。毕竟，亚利桑那州4月份出台的打击非法移民的法律引发了从墨尔本到马德里的激烈争论。但在一些似乎不相关的新闻事件背后，移民也对局势产生着影响。在例如为改善学校而发行债券的议案之争和孤立伊朗等各种问题上，移民是故事背后的故事，是一种复杂的潮流。（本月，在拉丁美洲寻找盟友的国务卿希拉里·罗德姆·克林顿必须在回避对亚利桑那州移民法抱怨的同时，强调德黑兰拥有核武器的危害。）▶

Even people who study migration for a living struggle to fully grasp its effects. “Politically, socially, economically, culturally—migration bubbles up everywhere,” James F. Hollifield, a political scientist at Southern Methodist University, said. “We often don’t recognize it.”

One realm¹¹ where migration has particularly powerful if largely unstated effects is school finance. Political scientists have found that white voters are more likely to oppose spending plans when they perceive the main beneficiaries to be children of immigrants (especially illegal immigrants). The outcome, of course, affects all children, immigrant or 10th generation.

“When you get increased diversity, you weaken support for the common good,” said Dowell Myers, a demographer¹² at the University of Southern California.

Professor Myers studied Proposition¹³ 55, a 2004 ballot¹⁴ initiative in California that sought \$12.3 billion in bond sales to relieve overcrowding and upgrade older schools. Publicly, most opponents framed¹⁵ their concerns in economic terms, saying the government wasted money and ran unsustainable debts. Still, anger about illegal immigration was, as one opponent put it, “the elephant in the living room¹⁶.” School crowding, he wrote in a letter to The Riverside Press Enterprise, was “solely caused by America’s foolish open-borders policy.”

Holding all else equal (like other political views), Professor Myers found, voters who saw immigration as a burden were nearly 9 percentage points more likely to oppose the measure than those who called immigration a benefit. “That’s a big effect—it was almost enough to take it down,” he said. The measure squeaked¹⁷ through, with barely 50 percent of the vote.

Immigration also quickened the bitter split in the American labor movement. In 2005, a half dozen unions left the venerable¹⁸ A.F.L.-C.I.O.¹⁹ to form a rival federation, ▶

即使专门研究移民的那些人也很难完全把握其影响。南方卫理公会大学政治学家詹姆斯·F·霍利菲尔德说：“在政治、社会、经济和文化上——移居问题在每个层面上都日益突出。我们却常常不承认这一点。”

若大多对此心照不宣的话，移民极具影响力的一个领域是学校经费问题。政治学家们发现，当白人选民认为主要受益人是移民（特别是非法移民）子女时，他们更加有可能反对开支计划。当然，其结果是影响了所有孩子，移民或第十代移民。

南加州大学人口学家道尔·迈尔斯说：“当人口多样性日益增强，人们就会削弱对共同利益的支持。”

迈尔斯教授研究了2004年加州一次公民投票表决55号法律修正议案的情况。该议案的内容是发行123亿美元债券，用来筹集资金，以缓解学校拥挤状况并改善较陈旧的学校。大多数反对者从经济角度公开表明自己的担忧，声称政府是在浪费金钱，制造无法偿还的债务。但正如一名反对者所说，对非法移民的愤怒情绪“众人却避而不谈”。他在写给里弗赛德报业公司的信中说，学校拥挤“完全是由美国愚蠢的开放边境政策造成的”。

迈尔斯教授发现，在其他方面看法都一样（像其他政治观点）的情况下，将移民视为负担的选民比把移民视为有益之举的人反对这项议案的可能性要高近9个百分点。他说：“这具有很大影响——几乎足以否决这项议案。”这项议案刚刚得到50%的选票，勉强得以通过。

移民还加速了美国劳工运动的剧烈分裂。2005年，6个工会退出历史悠久的美国劳工联合会-产业工会联合会，成立了一 ▶

1. rant [rænt] *n.* 怒吼, 咆哮, 大声抱怨
2. bigoted [ˈbɪɡətɪd] *a.* 偏执的, 顽固盲从的
3. puncture [ˈpʌŋktʃə(r)] *vt.* 削弱(某人的傲气、信心等), 泄某人的气
4. birther: 指那些质疑美国总统巴拉克·奥巴马公民身份和总统资格的人。
5. omnipresent [ˌɒmnɪˈprezənt] *a.* 无所不在的, 普遍存在的
6. divisive [dɪˈvaɪsɪv] *a.* 造成不和的, 引起分歧的, 制造分裂的
7. codify [ˈkɒdɪfaɪ] *vt.* 把(法律、条例)编集成典
8. high-decibel [ˈhaɪˈdesɪbel] *a.* 高分贝的(表示声音强度高)
9. the headlines 头版头条新闻; 头版要闻
10. fend off 避开, 回避(难题、批评等)

11. realm [relm] *n.* 领域, 场所
12. demographer [dɪˈmɒɡrəfə(r)] *n.* 人口学家
13. Proposition [ˌprɒpəˈzɪʃn] *n.* (美国)法律修正议案
14. ballot [ˈbælət] *n.* (无记名)投票选举, 投票表决
15. frame [freɪm] *vt.* (以某种方式)表达
16. the elephant in the room 忌讳话题, 众人避而不谈的事
17. squeak [skwi:k] *vi.* <口> 勉强通过, 侥幸成功, 险胜(*by, through*)
18. venerable [ˈvenərəbl] *a.* 古老的, 古董似的
19. AFL-CIO *abbr.* American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization 美国劳工联合会-产业工会联合会(简称劳联-产联)

Change to Win. (The dissident²⁰ unions included the Service Employees International Union and UniteHere²¹.)

On the surface, the fight was mostly about the pace of organizing, with the breakaway group pledging more aggressive moves to enlist members. But the dissidents also counted more low-wage immigrants in their membership.

As Daniel B. Cornfield, a labor scholar at Vanderbilt University, said, the immigrants' marginal (and sometimes illegal) status created a constituency²² for a more aggressive approach. "I don't think it was a split about immigration, but immigration shaped the split," he said.

The split, in turn, has had repercussions²³ beyond the labor movement. Janice Fine, a political scientist at Rutgers University, noted that the Change to Win unions played an important (some have argued decisive) role in the early stages of Mr. Obama's presidential campaign.

"If they were inside the larger bureaucracy, it would have been harder for them to make an early endorsement²⁴ and move money his way," Professor Fine said.

Theorists sometimes call the movement of people the third wave of globalization, after the movement of goods (trade) and the movement of money (finance) that began in the previous century. But trade and finance follow global norms²⁵ and are governed by global institutions: the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund. There is no parallel group with "migration" in its name. The most personal and perilous²⁶ form of movement is the most unregulated. States make (and often ignore) their own rules, deciding who can come, how long they stay, and what rights they enjoy.

While global trade and finance are disruptive—some would argue as much as migration—they are disruptive in less visible ways. A shirt made in Mexico can cost an American worker his job. A worker from Mexico might move next door, send his children to public school and need to be spoken to in Spanish.

One reason migration seems so potent²⁷ is that it arose unexpectedly. As recently as the 1970s, immigration seemed of such little importance that the United States Census

个竞争联盟“变革谋胜”。(持不同政见的工会包括服务业雇员国际工会和“团结在此”工会)。

表面上,这场斗争主要是在组织步伐上存在分歧,脱离出去的工会承诺要采取更积极的行动吸收会员。但这些持不同政见的人也吸收了更多低收入的移民成为会员。

正如范德比尔特大学劳工学者丹尼尔·B·科恩菲尔德所言,移民的非主体(有时是非法)的地位产生了一批态度更激进的选民。他说:“我并不认为这是一场关于移民的分裂,而是移民促成了这场分裂。”

这场分裂的影响继而又超越了此次劳工运动。拉特格斯大学政治学家贾尼丝·法恩特别提到,“变革谋胜”工会在奥巴马竞选总统活动的早期扮演了重要的(有人说是决定性的)角色。

法恩教授说:“如果他们身处一个更大的官僚机构中的话,那么他们会很难尽早确立对奥巴马的支持并给他提供资金。”

理论家们有时称人员的迁移是第三波全球化浪潮,前两波是上世纪开始的商品(贸易)和货币(金融)的流动。但贸易和金融要遵守全球规范,由全球机构——世界贸易组织、世界银行和国际货币基金组

织——来管理。而“移民”却没有相似的组织来管理。最私下最危险的迁移形式是最不受监管的。各国制定(而且常常忽视)自己的规定,决定谁可以来,待多久,享受何种权利。

尽管全球贸易和金融具有破坏性——有人认为其破坏性跟移民一样——但这种破坏性表现在不太显著的方面。一件墨西哥制造的衬衫可能让一个美国工人失业。一个墨西哥工人可能会搬到美国,把孩子送到公立学校读书,老师还必须跟他说西班牙语。

移民似乎能产生很大影响的一个原因是它的数量会突然增加。在20世纪70年代,移民的重要性似乎微不足道,因此美国人口



Arizona's House has passed the nation's toughest legislation against illegal immigrants, making it a state crime to be undocumented in the United States and compelling local law enforcement agencies to verify the status of anyone suspected of being an illegal immigrant.

Bureau decided to stop asking people where their parents were born. Now, a quarter of the residents of the United States under 18 are immigrants or immigrants' children.

The United Nations estimates that there are 214 million migrants across the globe, an increase of about 37 percent in two decades. Their ranks grew by 41 percent in Europe and 80 percent in North America. "There's more mobility at this moment than at any time in world history," said Gary P. Freeman, a political scientist at the University of Texas.

The most famous source countries in Europe—Ireland, Italy, Greece, Spain—are suddenly migrant destinations, with Ireland electing a Nigerian-born man as its first black mayor in 2007.

As heirs to an immigrant past, Americans may have an edge in a migrants' age. As contentious²⁰ as the issue is here, the Americans' capacity to absorb immigrants remains the envy of many Europeans (including those not inclined to envy Americans). Still, today's challenges differ from those of the (mythologized²¹) past. At least five differences set this age apart and amplify²² migration's effects.

First is migration's global reach. The movements of the 19th century were mostly trans-Atlantic. Now, Nepalis staff Korean factories and Mongolians do scut²³ work in Prague. Persian Gulf economies would collapse without armies of guest workers. Even within the United States, immigrants are spread across dozens of "new gateways" unaccustomed to them, from Orlando to Salt Lake City.

A second distinguishing trait is the money involved, which not only sustains the families left behind but props up national economies. Migrants sent home \$317 billion last year—three times the world's total foreign aid. In at least seven countries, remittances²⁴ account for more than a quarter of the gross domestic product.

A third factor that increases migration's impact is its feminization²⁵: Nearly half of the world's migrants are now women, and many have left children behind. Their emergence as breadwinners²⁶ is altering family dynamics across the

普查局决定不再向人们询问其父母的出生地。如今,美国18岁以下居民中,有1/4是移民或移民子女。

联合国预计,全球有2.14亿移民,在20年间增加了约37%。移民大军在欧洲增长了41%,在北美增长了80%。得克萨斯大学政治学家加里·P·弗里曼说:“如今,人口流动性比世界历史任何时期都大。”

欧洲最著名的人口迁出国——爱尔兰、意大利、希腊和西班牙——突然变成了移民目的地,爱尔兰在2007年还选出一名尼日利亚出生的男子担任其首位黑人市长。

作为昔日移民的后代,美国人在一个移民的时代可能具有优势。就如同这件事本身一样具有争议性的是,美国人吸收移民的能力仍旧遭到许多欧洲人的嫉妒(包括那些不大嫉妒美国人的人)。但如今的挑战却不同于(被神话了的)以往。至少有5点变化使当今时代不同以往,扩大了移民的影响。

首先是移民的全球影响力。19世纪的迁移主要是跨大西洋的。如今,尼泊尔人在韩国人的工厂里工作,蒙古人在布拉格做着枯燥的粗活。如果没有大批的外来工人,海湾地区的经济就会崩溃。即使在美国国内,移民也散布在数十个还对他们不大适应的“新门户”城市,从奥兰多到盐湖城。

第二个显著特性是与移民相关的收入,不仅维持了国内家人的生活,而且也支持了国家经济发展。去年,移民向国内汇回了3170亿美元——是全世界对外总拨款的3倍。在至少7个国家,国外汇款占国内生产总值的1/4以上。

第三个提升移民影响力的因素是移民的女性化趋势。如今,世界移民近一半是女性,她们中的许多人都把孩子留在国内。她们成为家庭收入的主要来源,正成为发

20. dissident [ˈdɪsɪdənt] *n.* 持不同政见者

21. Unite Here: Unite 是服装和纺织业雇员联合会,Here 是旅店和饭店雇员联合会,两组织于2004年合并。

22. constituency [kənˈstɪtjuənsɪ] *n.* 选区的选民

23. repercussion [ˌrɪːpəˈkʌʃən] *n.* [常作~s] (尤指间接、深远且多在意料之外的)反响,影响,后果

24. endorsement [ɪnˈdɔːsmənt] *n.* (公开的)赞同,支持,认可

25. norm [nɔːm] *n.* 规范,行为标准

26. perilous [ˈperɪləs] *a.* (充满)危险的,濒临毁灭的

27. potent [ˈpəʊtənt] *a.* 强有力的,有权势的,有影响的

28. contentious [kənˈtenʃəs] *a.* 争论的,争论中使用的,引起争议的

29. mythologize [mɪˈθɒlədʒaɪz] *vt.* 把...变为神话,使成为神话

30. amplify [ˈæmplɪfaɪ] *vt.* 放大,增强(声音等)

31. scut [skʌt] *n.* <美口> 枯燥的粗活

32. remittance [rɪˈmɪtəns] *n.* 汇款,汇款额

33. feminization [ˌfemɪnaɪˈzeɪʃən] *n.* 女性化

34. breadwinner [ˈbred,wɪnə(r)] *n.* 养家糊口的人

developing world. Migration empowers³⁵ some, but imperils others, with sex trafficking now a global concern.

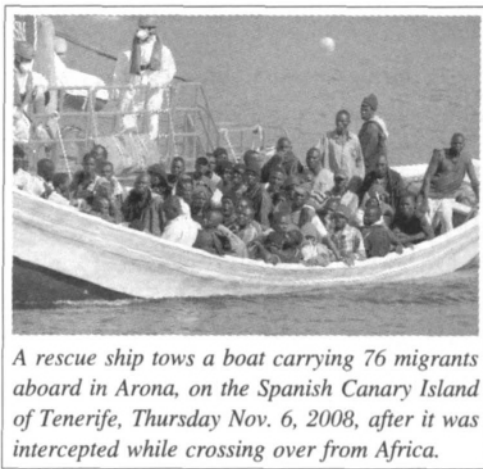
Technology introduces a fourth break from the past: The huddled masses reached *Ellis Island³⁶ without cellphones or Webcams. Now a nanny in Manhattan can talk to her child in Zacatecas³⁷, vote in Mexican elections and watch Mexican television shows.

“Transnationalism” is a comfort but also a concern for those who think it impedes³⁸ integration. In the age of global jihad³⁹, it may also be a security threat. The Pakistani immigrant who *pleaded guilty⁴⁰ last week to the attempted bombing of Times Square said that jihadi lectures reached him from Yemen, via the Internet.

At least one other trait amplifies the impact of modern migration: The expectation that governments will control it. In America for most of the 19th century, there was no legal barrier to entry. The issue was contentious, but the government attracted little blame. Now Western governments are expected to keep trade and tourism flowing and respect ethnic rights while sealing borders as vast as the Arizona desert and the Mediterranean Sea. Their failures—glaring⁴¹ if perhaps inevitable—weaken the broader faith in federal competence.

“It basically tells people that government cannot do its job,” said Demetri Papademetriou, a co-founder of the Migration Policy Institute, a Washington research group. “It creates the anti-government rhetoric we see, and the anger people are feeling.”

Still, rich, aging countries need workers. People in poor countries need jobs. And the rise in global inequality means that migrants have more than ever to gain by landing⁴² work abroad. Migration networks are hard to shut down. Even the worst economy in 70 years has only slowed, not stopped, the growth in migration. And it is likely to grow, in numbers and consequence. ■



A rescue ship tows a boat carrying 76 migrants aboard in Arona, on the Spanish Canary Island of Tenerife, Thursday Nov. 6, 2008, after it was intercepted while crossing over from Africa.

展中国家改变家庭的动力。移民使一些人更能掌握自己的命运,但让另一些人身处险境,性奴走私如今成为一个全球关注的问题。

技术是第四个与以往不同的因素:当年大量人口来到埃利斯岛时,他们没有手机也没有网络摄像头。现在,曼哈顿的一个保姆都可以与远在萨卡特卡斯的孩子通话,参加墨西哥选举投票,收看墨西哥电视节目。

“跨国主义”是一种安慰,但对认为它阻碍了一体化的人们来说,也是一种担忧。在全球圣战的年代,它也许还是一种安全的威胁。上周就纽约时报广场未遂爆炸案犯罪的巴基斯坦移民说,他是通过因特网接收到来自也门的圣战演说的。

最后,另一种特性扩大了现代移民的影响:期待政府会对此加以控制。19世纪大部分时期,美国都没有入境的法律限制。这个问题引发了争议,但政府却几乎没有受到指责。如今人们要求西方国家政府在封闭如亚利桑那沙漠和地中海般广阔边境的同时,还要保持贸易和旅游业的流通,并尊重民族权利。它们的失败——若或许不可避免则显而易见——会削弱对联邦管辖权的更广泛信任。

华盛顿一个研究组织移民政策协会创始人之一的德梅特里·帕帕德米特利奥说:“这基本上就是告诉人们政府无法履行其职责。于是就出现了我们看到的反政府言论以及人们的愤怒情绪。”

富裕但人口却在老龄化的国家需要劳动力,而贫穷国家的人们需要工作。全球不平等的加剧意味着移民通过获得海外务工机会可以比以往任何时候都得到更多报酬。很难使移民网停止运转。即使是70年来最严重的经济形势也只是减缓,而没有停止移民的增加。移民在数量和重要性上可能还会增加。(卢荻 译自 *The New York Times* Jun. 25, 2010)

35. empower [ɪmˈpaʊə(r)] vt. 增加(某人的)自主权,使控制局势

36. Ellis Island 埃利斯岛(纽约海湾岛屿,1892至1954年期间作为美国移民的一个入境检查站,后来[1954年前]为驱逐出境人员的拘留中心)

37. Zacatecas 萨卡特卡斯(墨西哥中北部州名)

38. impede [ɪmˈpi:d] vt. 阻碍,妨碍,阻止

39. jihad [dʒɪˈhɑ:d] n. (伊斯兰教的)护教战争,圣战

40. plead guilty 认罪

41. glaring [ˈgleəriŋ] a. 显眼的,引人注目的,惹人注意的

42. land [lænd] vt. 成功得到,赢得,捞到(尤指许多人想得到的工作)