

Far from Home: Forced Migration in History

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INTRODUCTION

In Advanced Placement World History, my students focus on themes of global interaction and exchange. Because many of them are immigrants or the children of immigrants, they are interested in immigration as a global process and in the current debates over immigration in the United States. Since much of the human migration we discuss in AP World History is involuntary, I developed a teaching unit called Far from Home: Forced Migration in History.

Examples of forced migration caused by warfare, climate change, and famine predate written history and can be found on all continents in all time periods. In constructing this unit, I chose a handful of examples that should be useful in a wide variety of world history classes. Because the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for World History and the College Board's recommendations for Advanced Placement World History focus on events since 1500 CE with an emphasis on the twentieth century, the examples for this unit are primarily from those eras. To facilitate teachers in locating primary documents for students to read and in finding secondary sources for background knowledge, I chose examples that have received substantial scholarly attention and have a variety of written records that can be distributed to students.

The distribution of people, cultures, religions, and economic development in today's world is often influenced by involuntary migration in the past. For instance, some historians estimate that before 1776, most residents of the thirteen British colonies that became the United States were brought to North America as slaves, convicts, or indentured servants (Bulliet 486). In North and South America as a whole, most migrants up to the nineteenth century may have come to the New World involuntarily (Eltis 35). The examples of forced migration below provide an overview of the topic with enough variety for a class of twenty to thirty students to explore historical examples that can be connected to patterns of migration in today's world.

CONVICT LABOR

Economic conditions drove the market for forced laborers in both North and South America. To cope with the labor shortage caused by the relatively small number of workers in the British North American colonies compared with the continent's abundant land, the British government moved people to the colonies that had no legal way to avoid work. The colony of Georgia, among other settlements, was founded as a prison colony.

The policy of convict transportation fulfilled the needs of the British government at home as well as in the colonies. Seventeenth and eighteenth century English law left few punishment options available to judges since prisons were not built on a large scale until the nineteenth century. For most violent crimes and for many nonviolent property crimes, the only available punishment was death. English common law allowed an exception to the death penalty for literate defendants, since literacy was historically associated with the clergy, whose members were entitled to special deference in criminal cases. Defendants given the "benefit of clergy" were instead branded on the thumb as punishment for capital crimes. Judges reluctant to impose the death penalty for all the crimes that required such a sentence frequently administered literacy

tests to those convicted of crimes. Typically, convicts could recite a few well-known Bible verses from the Psalms to prove literacy, so literate and illiterate convicts alike could avoid a death sentence (Eltis 261). Members of the judiciary and the public began to point out the gulf in severity between branding on the thumb and execution. Transporting convicted criminals to the new North American colonies provided an intermediate punishment for serious crimes and satisfied English citizens concerned about the presence of convicts on the streets (Eltis 262). By the early 1700s, nearly 60 percent of the men convicted of property offenses who were not executed were transported to the colonies (Eltis 263).

Convicts sent to Britain's North American colonies were transported for terms of either 7 or 14 years, depending on the severity of their crimes. Upon arriving in the colonies, convicts were sold to planters and businessmen for the remainder of the convict's sentence. Purchasers typically paid less for a convict than for a slave, since a slave could be expected to work for life, but more than the going rate for an indentured servant, since indentured workers were owed freedom dues at the expiration of the indenture contract (Eltis 264). The purchase price paid by colonists seeking convict labor reimbursed ship owners for the cost of transporting the prisoners. These convict sales, combined with a small subsidy by the British government, resulted in a very profitable trade for the ship owners who received convict transportation contracts (Eltis 270). When the American Revolution eliminated the thirteen colonies as a destination for British convicts, the British government began sending prisoners to the newly conquered continent of Australia.

EUROPEAN INDENTURED LABOR

In the 1600s, most of the workers imported to the British North American colonies were British citizens who served under indentures – contracts that bound them to a certain employer for a number of years and guaranteed some benefits on the expiration of the term. Initially, indentures were “closely related, in England at least, to the standard annual contract by which agricultural laborers were hired” by landlords, with the exception that indentured laborers worked for three to seven years (Eltis 44). Throughout Western Europe by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, employers and employees were accustomed to negotiating with each other for temporary work contracts. Perhaps this relationship caused Europeans to perceive each other as members of a common culture and as ineligible for treatment as chattel slaves (Eltis 44).

While all indentured servants had in theory freely signed contracts for their labor, many fell victim to recruiting agents who were paid by the number of servants they delivered aboard ships bound for the New World. Most commonly, servants were tricked by recruiters who promised riches or luxurious living conditions. Some illiterate servants signed contracts for terms of indenture much longer than they had been promised in England. Many servants who arrived in North America had been kidnapped and found themselves in the colonies against their will (Reynolds 18). Over the course of the 1700s, news from indentured servants in the colonies reduced the appeal of servitude to impoverished Britons at home, which lowered the pool of labor available for the colonies and raised the price of an indenture contract. At the same time, the cost of slaves purchased in Africa fell to the point that plantation owners in the Caribbean and North America found it cheaper to purchase a slave rather than to hire an indentured servant.

TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

The trans-Atlantic slave trade, which brought slaves from Africa to European colonies in North and South America, may constitute history's largest single episode of forced migration. Millions of Africans were involuntarily transported by western European slave traders beginning in the late fifteenth century (Inikori 13). The first European colonizers in the Americas enslaved the native populations of South America and the Caribbean, but as violence and pandemics

caused by Eurasian diseases decimated the Native American population by the early 1600s, Europeans turned to African slaves (Eltis 40).

The “evolution of cultural pan-Europeanness on the one hand, and a pan-Africanism on the other” happened several hundred years apart (Eltis 14). By 1492, Europeans perceived a sufficiently common continental culture that laws in many cases and cultural mores in most cases regarded enslaving other Europeans as wrong. By contrast, most Africans did not share a pan-African identity until the late nineteenth century. Consequently, Africans were able to participate in the slave trade by capturing and selling slaves from other parts of the continent. Perhaps two-thirds of the people enslaved in Africa were prisoners of war or victims of kidnapping (Eltis 26). Until the mid-nineteenth century, African military parity, governmental strength, and epidemiological advantages prevented Europeans from establishing plantation agriculture on the African mainland. Instead, Europeans used existing slave-trading networks in Africa to buy slaves from coastal entrepôts for shipment to the New World (Eltis 46).

Slaves bound for the New World did not passively accept forced migration or adopt European culture wholesale. David Eltis estimated “one in ten slave vessels...to have experienced a slave revolt” despite the strict confinement and supervision to which slaves were subjected on board (Eltis 55). The wide variety of African cultures survived the voyage to the Americas because of the way ships were loaded. Slave traders had relationships with certain ship captains who in turn had contacts with specific slave brokers in the Americas. Thus, ships tended to load slaves from a single port in Africa and disembark at a single port in the New World. Slaves from the same region of Africa were often shipped together and sold to planters in the same areas of the Americas (Eltis 49). In parts of North and South America that received slaves from the same region of Africa for many years, regional African cultures are still identifiable. In Brazil, sections of the country are strongly influenced by Africa’s Yoruba culture, which was heavily represented among slaves bound for the Portuguese colony (Eltis 54).

Using shipping records and sales receipts, the historian Phillip Curtin estimates that roughly ten million Africans arrived in North and South America between 1492 and 1888, when Brazil ended slavery (268). Because most slaves transported across the Atlantic were destined for agricultural labor, European notions of appropriate gender roles resulted in a slave population that was roughly two-thirds male and one-third female. Had European purchasers been able to dictate their terms to African sellers, the slave population would have been more heavily male, but women in most western African cultures at the time were involved in farming, so African slave traders regarded female slaves as perfectly acceptable field hands (Eltis 48). Of the slaves brought from Africa to the Americas, roughly eight million were sold in Brazil, approximately 400,000 were sold in North America (primarily the United States), and most of the remainder were purchased by slave owners in the Caribbean (Bush 73).

INDIAN OCEAN SLAVE TRADE

Though the trans-Atlantic slave trade is most familiar to Americans, it was the second major slave trade involving Africa. Muslim territories in Southwest Asia were the largest import market for slaves prior to the fifteenth century. The slaves forced to immigrate to Southwest Asia came from both Europe and Africa (Inikori 13). In contrast to the slaves transported across the Atlantic Ocean, slaves purchased by Muslims in the Indian Ocean slave trade were primarily women, since Muslim slave owners were more likely to buy slaves to serve as domestic servants and concubines. Smaller numbers of slaves purchased in Muslim areas became soldiers and agricultural laborers (Harris 5). Since the Muslim world had a long-standing relationship with eastern Africa as part of a larger Indian Ocean trading network, many slave traders bought and sold slaves as a supplement to other lines of business. Consequently, Muslim slave traders typically dealt with just a few slaves at a time, unlike the traders in the Atlantic Ocean who

shipped hundreds of slaves on a single vessel (Harris xii). The slaves taken from eastern Africa to Muslim territories were distributed throughout the countries bordering the Indian Ocean. The largest numbers were sold in port cities on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. From these points, slaves were transported overland to all parts of the Islamic world. Small numbers of slaves were taken to the Indian subcontinent. The descendents of these forced migrants form several distinctive communities of Afro-Indians (Harris 36).

Between the trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades, perhaps 22 million Africans were transported between 1500 and 1890 CE. The absence of the slaves themselves was not the only consequence of the trade for Africa. Because roughly two-thirds of the slaves transported to the Muslim world were women, most of whom were of child-bearing age, eastern Africa suffered a larger population decline prior to 1890 than did western Africa, which supplied most of the slaves bound for the Americas. The removal of millions of productive citizens from African societies caused severe disruption to the economies and governments of the continent. These factors may have caused “Africa’s economic backwardness by the middle decades of the nineteenth century” when European countries began to divide Africa into imperial possessions (Inikori 15).

ASIAN INDENTURED SERVANTS

As chattel slavery became illegal in most parts of the world during the nineteenth century, extreme labor shortages developed in plantation areas dependent on forced laborers. Newly freed slaves who were able to leave gang labor in favor of work on family farms typically did so. Sugar planters in the Caribbean particularly feared a labor shortage would develop on those islands with ample uncultivated land for freed slaves to claim (Laurence 1). In many places, indentured laborers from India and China, which had surplus populations, were pressed into service to do agricultural and construction work (Miers 6). Diaspora communities of Indian and Chinese indentured servants appeared throughout the world in the 19th century, often as a result of coercion ranging from trickery by hiring agents in Asia to hereditary debt bondage.

Most Indian indentured laborers in the nineteenth century were not physically forced to migrate like the slaves from Africa. Rather, Indians typically migrated because of dire conditions at home caused by British imperial policies and by famine (Eltis 241). Recruiters working in India to enlist indentured laborers noticed that enrollment spiked whenever food supplies were low. Since “serious famine occurred somewhere in India in 20 of the 49 years between 1860 and 1908,” recruiters were rarely short of applicants (Laurence 40).

Most Indian indentured laborers who were coerced into service were employed at the beginning of the Asian indenture system from the 1830s to the 1860s. Because recruiting agents were paid on a commission that rewarded finding large numbers of workers, recruiters sometimes resorted to coercive tactics to obtain recruits, particularly once French and Dutch plantations began sending competing agents to India (Laurence 45). Most allegations of recruiter misconduct concerned “misrepresenting” either the terms of indenture or the working conditions in the colonies (Laurence 46). Later in the century, Indian government officials pressed for more protections for indentured laborers. Recruiters were no longer allowed to be paid solely on commission and potential laborers had to be interviewed privately by a magistrate to ensure that “recruits understood where they were going, and on what terms” (Laurence 55). Some of the abuses uncovered by magistrates may have reflected misunderstanding on the part of uneducated peasants rather than malice on the part of recruiting agents. For example, “it was alleged, on at least one occasion, that some did not understand what a ship was” (Laurence 56).

Unlike the Indians sent to work on Caribbean sugar plantations, Chinese indentured laborers sent to the Americas lacked extensive government regulation of indenture contracts. The private companies that sent representatives to China to find labor for plantations and mines in Cuba and Peru were notorious for coercive practices. Reflecting the unwillingness of many of the recruits,

ships bound from China to Cuba and Peru reported frequent mutinies by indentured workers (Eltis 245). When Chinese indentured workers finished their contracts in the Caribbean, they often found that no ships were available to transport them home within the three months allowed by law for indentured laborers to leave the islands at their own expense. This meant that many Chinese workers were forced to sign new indentures committing them to work for several more years (Eltis 247).

PARTITION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Some current conflicts reflect the resentment caused by involuntary migrations. The rivalry between India and Pakistan, which expresses itself today in violence over the Kashmir region and in competition for nuclear weapons, has roots in the forced resettlement of millions of Muslims to the new country of Pakistan and the removal of millions of Hindus to India in 1947. The communities formed in each of those newly independent countries (East Pakistan later became Bangladesh) were shaped in part by the experience of violence surrounding the 1947 partition and independence (Pandey 4).

Though residents of the Indian subcontinent had struggled for independence since the early twentieth century, Britain managed to retain control of the area until the social upheaval and cost of World War Two made empire impossible to sustain (Pandey 21). Because the opportunity for independence accelerated so suddenly during the war, the goals of the political groups maneuvering in India changed frequently between 1940 and 1947. Muhammad Jinnah and the Muslim League, which advocated for a homeland for India's Muslims, originally intended for the majority-Muslim provinces in the northwest and east to become independent countries without a large transfer of population (Pandey 26). Rather, the Muslim majorities in each place could ensure that Muslim priorities were recognized by the government even if a substantial number of Hindus and Sikhs remained within the borders. By 1947, however, political and social pressures militated against allowing minority religious groups to remain in place. Sikhs who found their coreligionists split between Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India called for revenge. Muslim residents of partitioned India and Hindu residents of Pakistan were resentful at finding themselves in a newly independent country but being unable to exert political influence. In this context, the new religious majority in each area began to expel members of the minority (Pandey 34).

When India and Pakistan received independence on August 15, 1947, the borders between the two countries were not completely established. Having announced a withdrawal from the region only nine weeks before, the hastily departing British left the Indian and Pakistani governments unprepared to deal with the millions of people crossing between the two countries (Menon 211). Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin estimate "about eight million people had crossed the newly created boundaries of Punjab and Bengal" (211). For many people, the disruption of migration was accompanied by violence as inter-religious conflict, disputes over land, and retaliation for earlier atrocities led to killings, mutilations, and kidnappings. The "official estimate of lives lost during partition is placed at half a million" (Menon and Bhasin 212), though estimates gleaned from other sources place the death toll "over one million" (Kamra 2).

Some who survived independence and partition physically uninjured were damaged in other ways. Tens of thousands of women were kidnapped during 1947 and 1948. The status of women in pre-partition India ensured that the communities of those taken would be more humiliated and outraged than if boys or men had been abducted (Menon and Bhasin 213). Of the "50,000 Muslim women in India and the 33,000 non-Muslim women in Pakistan" estimated to have been kidnapped, most were under thirty-five (Menon and Bhasin 214). Both as a method of humiliation and because the captors often married the women they had abducted, most of the women were forcibly converted to their captor's religion. The "Central Recovery Operation of the Government of India, carried out between 1948 and 1956 which sought to recover those

women who had been abducted and forcibly converted during the upheaval,” was established in part to demonstrate the efficiency of the government at returning Indian society to normal (Menon and Bhasin 210). Many of the abducted women found by the operation returned home unwillingly. Some feared retaliation from families that had been humiliated by the woman’s kidnapping and conversion. Others did not want to leave children or husbands in their new communities (Menon and Bhasin 221-2).

MODERN HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Though most forms of forced migration are no longer legal, people on every continent are victims of human trafficking. Trafficking is distinct from smuggling in that people who are smuggled do so willingly. Though the smuggler may take advantage of them, migrants use the smuggler’s services voluntarily to cross borders in secrecy. “The relationship between migrants and offenders (the smugglers) usually ends on arrival in the destination country” once the smuggler has been paid (Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery* 132). By contrast, human traffickers remain in control of their victims long enough to sell them or to profit from their labor. The profits from trafficking can be substantial, because it currently costs very little to purchase a worker who has been illegally transported from a poorer region. Kevin Bales notes:

A nineteen-year-old, healthy male accustomed to agricultural labor can be acquired for around \$50 in the Ivory Coast... Compare that sum to the \$1000 that would have been the price in 1850 in the American Deep South for an equivalent young male ... Note, especially, that \$1000 in the 1850s is the equivalent of \$38,500 in 2003. (*Understanding Global Slavery* 160)

Historians studying past forced migrations have often had access to data that help in constructing a census. Scholars attempting to determine the number of slaves transported across the Atlantic Ocean from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, for example, can consult archives of shipping records or compile lists based on slave auction advertisements. Indentured workers leaving India for the Caribbean in the nineteenth century were registered with the British imperial government. The victims of Stalin’s resettlement programs were often scrupulously accounted for. In current cases of human trafficking, however, it is more difficult to begin constructing a census because human trafficking has become illegal throughout the world. Consequently, victims of the trade are not registered, taxed, or regulated by any government agencies. The traffickers do not keep formal business records. Because of the difficulty in measuring the extent of human trafficking, estimates of the number of victims vary widely.

Kevin Bales notes “a global total of between seven hundred thousand and 4 million people trafficked each year has been suggested from a number of sources” (135). Attempting to measure the flow of people trafficked for a narrower range of activities, the United States State Department reports “600,000 to 800,000 persons trafficked across international borders each year for the sex trade and forced labor” (King 13). The State Department estimates that 70 percent of trafficking victims are female and that 50 percent are children (King 14). Many trafficking victims arrive in the United States. The “CIA estimated in 1999, nearly 50,000 forced slaves are coming into America each year” (King 19). Suzanne Miers, who studies twentieth century slavery, estimates between forty thousand and fifty thousand women and children are trafficked to the United States each year for all types of labor (432).

Victims of human trafficking tend to flow from poorer, less stable regions to wealthier, more stable regions. During the 1990s, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, women from the former Soviet republics frequently became victims of trafficking to Western Europe and the United States (Miers 432). Victims of trafficking often initiate contact with traffickers or go with traffickers willingly because of promises of work and education. In the former Soviet Union, young women responded to advertisements for employment agencies hiring students to work

abroad in legitimate jobs (Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery* 131). After they had been smuggled out of the country, many were forced to work in the sex industry. Because the victims in these cases initiated contact with human traffickers, “followed later by more coercive, abusive, and exploitive circumstances,” traffickers who are caught by law enforcement agencies may be able to evade prosecution or receive short sentences (Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery* 130). Women who are forced into prostitution by their captors face special obstacles when they ask governments for help. According to Kevin Bales:

The past willingness to define most prostitution as consensual, the stigmatization of prostitutes, and the ambivalence of male-directed law enforcement concerning prostitution meant that trafficking for prostitution was separated from “real” slavery and tolerated in many countries. (*Understanding Global Slavery* 127)

Women who escape from brothels have even been returned to their captors by the police (Bales, *Disposable People* 59)

Though the victims of human trafficking are usually from poor or chaotic countries, they are rarely the very poorest of the residents. Since most victims are destined for manual labor or sex work, traffickers require people with reasonably good health. “The ill, the elderly, the malnourished, the disabled, and the infirm are not sought out by traffickers. They are human commodities of insufficient value to bring high profits” (Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery* 141). Few trafficking victims are kidnapped outright, so they are frequently young people with some ambition and education for whom fraudulent promises of foreign work at high pay are appealing (Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery* 141).

WHY TEACH ABOUT FORCED MIGRATION?

When my students consider forced migration, they are most familiar with the trans-Atlantic slave trade, particularly the branch of the trade that brought African slaves to North America from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Though this topic is interesting to them, they have not considered slavery, servitude, human trafficking, and warfare as global issues that have caused huge forced migrations of people in the past. Consequently, my students have difficulty understanding that not all slaves are Africans nor are all slave owners Europeans living in the United States. My students’ current conceptions of slavery and forced migration prevent them from drawing useful comparisons between the trans-Atlantic slave trade of Africans and any other form of forced migration or forced labor because they define slavery and forced migration by the historical conditions of slaves in the United States. I would like to expose them to forced migration and immigration as they relate to the social, economic, political, and technological systems we discuss in AP World History. With a comparative view of involuntary migration, my students will be better equipped to understand the nuances of migration in our course material and will have a thematic framework in which to organize the many countries, cultures, and time periods we discuss. With this framework, my students will be able to evaluate the arguments being made in the modern U.S. debate over immigrants and immigration.

Comparing several examples of forced migration will require my students to develop the intellectual skills of analysis and evaluation. They will need to perceive differences of type and size between the examples they study while remaining aware of similarities in the treatment of forced migrants. My students have been interested in forced migration in the past, and they often ask which group of victims was most mistreated. A systematic study of forced migration should allow them to develop a defensible answer to that question.

LESSON STRATEGY

I plan to teach about forced migration by assigning primary source documents from the resources listed in the bibliography for this unit that illustrate each of the examples of forced

migration. Students will use the documents to construct an understanding of forced migration, though I will provide additional readings and assistance for students who need help. Working in small groups over several class periods, students will create a definition of the type of migration their documents cover and will find historical examples of that type of migration. The process of defining a migration will force students to synthesize information from several regions of the world and from multiple time periods, which will help with the larger goal of understanding world history even as the students pursue a smaller goal of defining a word. After each group presents its definition and examples, we will explore through a Socratic seminar the consequences of migration on the workers and on the societies involved. To connect historical themes of migration to the present, students will use excerpts from Kevin Bales' book *Disposable People* and a search of websites related to modern day slavery and human trafficking to write policy papers proposing methods to end human trafficking.

During each of the lessons, I hope to make students aware of the challenges historians face in studying forced migration. I will ask students to note whether the documents they read would be useful in creating a census of a forced migration. Historians of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, for example, have spent decades refining their estimates of the number of slaves taken across the Atlantic. This example should help ensure that my students, who are used to the authoritative tone of textbooks, understand the tentative and changing nature of historical arguments. They should also understand, based on their readings of personal accounts of forced migration, the differences between a composite and large scale view of a phenomenon offered by a census and the particular view afforded by personal recollection.

LESSON PLANS

Lesson One

Overview

When students encounter terms and ideas they have heard before, they logically assume that their prior understanding of those concepts is correct. Unfortunately, students have often been exposed to a very broad, superficial view of a concept. Words students think they understand may be used differently in historical documents than in popular usage. This lesson is designed to prevent and to correct pre-instructional misunderstandings so that students can analyze forced migration. Most students have some background knowledge about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, so it is a useful example with which to begin the unit.

Materials

Students will need access to a variety of primary source documents dealing with forced migration. Teachers will find several collections of documents mentioned in the annotated bibliography. Since students will be working in groups of four, teachers should prepare enough documents that each group can study a different type of forced migration in the second part of the lesson.

Activity

When students enter the classroom, they should respond individually to the question "What is the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade?" Most tenth grade students will remember the slave trade from their study of United States history and from representations in books and movies, so they will begin to recall specific facts related to the trade. After students have written for five minutes, quickly solicit answers from the class so that students who were unable to answer the question might remember the topic.

Distribute sets of primary source documents describing the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade as students move into groups of four. After students have had sufficient time to read the documents

individually, each group should begin to create a definition of the slave trade. Groups should be instructed that historians frequently spend time defining the terms they use in their writing so that they and their readers are able to accurately analyze the historian's argument. Consequently, each group's definition should be detailed enough that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade can be clearly contrasted with other types of forced migration. The definition should include general characteristics of the trade that might be common to some other forms of migration as well as those specific characteristics that set it apart.

If students are familiar enough with the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade to warrant a more difficult activity, distribute documents from the Indian Ocean Slave Trade as well. Students should compare and contrast each slave trade in formulating their definitions.

Once students have completed their definitions for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, the teacher should organize a brief large group discussion in which groups share their work and assist each other in making their definitions more rigorous. When the teacher is satisfied that each group understands how to create a definition, he or she should distribute documents describing at least one other type of forced migration per group. If class size permits, each group should have a different example of forced migration with which to compare the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Groups should prepare a definition for the new documents and contrast them with the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Closure

Students should recognize that each example of forced migration is distinct from each of the others in some respect, even though all can be usefully categorized as forced migration. By writing definitions in groups and refining the definitions in response to comments during the group discussion, students have identified many of the similarities and differences expressed in the primary source documents.

The class should meet once more at the end of the lesson for a brief discussion. The teacher should ask each student group to briefly define its new example of forced migration. While each group gives its explanation, members of the other groups should take notes by listing the characteristics of each type of migration in a separate column. At the end of the lesson, the teacher should point out that the notes each student compiled can be used to analyze the similarities and differences between each type of forced migration.

Lesson Two

Overview

In Lesson One, students were exposed to vocabulary, concepts, and historical events related to forced migration. Lesson Two will allow students to create meaning from this information by organizing and preparing a poster presentation for the class.

Materials

Students will need access to the primary source documents used in Lesson One. Each group should receive the same documents it used in the previous class period. Each group should have a poster made from butcher paper or poster board that is large enough to be seen by the entire class. Each group will need markers, pens, and colored pencils for labeling and drawing on its poster. If the classroom has an LCD projector and sufficient computers, student groups may choose to use PowerPoint or similar presentation software.

Activity

In Lesson One, each group compared an example of forced migration to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Ideally, each group received documents related to an episode of forced migration that no

other group received. Based on the work done in Lesson One, members of each group can now act as the class experts on their example of forced migration.

Groups should be given the first half of class to prepare a five minute presentation designed to teach the rest of the class about that group's example. During its preparation time, each group should review the documents it received in Lesson One, categorize the information so that it can be logically presented to the other students, prepare a poster or series of PowerPoint slides to act as visual aides during the presentation, and plan each group member's remarks.

Depending on the class's level of experience working with primary documents and giving presentations, it may be appropriate for the teacher to demonstrate and distribute graphic organizers to help each group arrange its information. Each group should have access to the grading rubric with which its presentation will be assessed.

If students have given oral presentations before, all members of each group should be expected to speak during the group's lesson. For particularly reluctant students, the teacher should recommend that the group prepare a script for nervous speakers to refer to during the presentation. Even if all members of a group are experienced public speakers, the teacher should insist that the group prepare an outline with the topics the group will discuss during its presentation. An outline will prevent an overconfident group from delivering an unorganized or excessively long presentation.

After groups have had a sufficient time to plan, each group should give its presentation to the rest of the class. During another group's presentation, each student should continue taking notes on the chart begun during Lesson One.

Closure

Once all groups have presented, each group should meet quickly to discuss its performance and evaluate itself using the grading rubric. This practice forces students to think about the quality of their presentations in detail and allows the teacher to see what aspects of the assignment the students think they have mastered.

Lesson Three

Overview

In Lesson One, students built a base of knowledge about forced migration. In Lesson Two, students applied that knowledge by determining how best to present it to the class. Students will have the opportunity to practice the skills of analysis and evaluation during Lesson Three by writing a policy proposal for combating human trafficking. This activity should require students to use historical knowledge as well as information about modern day trafficking.

Materials

All students should have the primary documents they used in Lessons One and Two. Each group should consult its poster, graphic organizer, or other material used during its presentation. To prepare policy papers, students will need pens and paper or access to computers with word processing software. Grading rubrics should be distributed to each group. If students have not written regularly in class, the teacher should explain the expectations in the rubric.

Activity

Most students become outraged by either modern day human trafficking or by one of the historical examples of forced migration studied in this unit. While passion can create moments of intense learning in the classroom and spark independent investigation outside school, students should be encouraged to engage with historical material intellectually as well as emotionally. Part of the purpose of a history class is to teach students to evaluate competing historical claims

and to identify the point of view of historical documents. Primary sources are useful for this goal because it is easier for most students to perceive bias in documents created by people in the past than it is for them to evaluate the points of view of textbook authors. However, when students become highly exercised over instances of historical injustice, they often uncritically accept the statements of victims and discount the statements of offenders. Though it can be gratifying to watch teenagers argue against injustice, such emotional responses may prevent students from understanding *why* certain people are victims of events like forced migration and why other people may have participated in forcing them from their homes.

Writing a policy paper requires students to be thoughtful and analytical in discussing forced migration. In contrast to a group discussion where intensely felt but poorly thought-out ideas are easily expressed, writing a group paper that will be rigorously graded allows students to reconsider and refine ideas before they are submitted. The process of making an historical argument as a group requires consensus, so students are more likely to make statements that can be supported by historical documents than if they were working alone.

Students should be asked to develop a proposal for ending or reducing modern-day human trafficking. As part of their proposal, they should explain the historical background of human trafficking and compare modern trafficking to an example of forced migration from the past. Any proposal should be realistic in the sense that the group must articulate a specific mechanism by which trafficking can be reduced. The group should identify specific organizations, governments, or people who would logically be involved in the effort. Vague assertions like “people should stop mistreating others” should not be allowed to form the substance of a policy proposal, but specific, clearly explained procedures should be allowed even if the group’s ideas reflect naïveté about political possibilities.

When each group has written a two-page policy proposal, the teacher should make sufficient copies so that the proposals can be reviewed by at least two other groups. Each reviewing group should grade the proposal against the rubric and give written comments evaluating the feasibility of the proposal and suggesting areas for the group to reconsider.

After each policy proposal has been reviewed by two additional groups, the original group should have the opportunity to revise its paper and strengthen its argument based on the reviewers’ comments. After revisions, the papers should be presented to the teacher for grading. If the school district allows the practice, the grades given by the reviewing groups may constitute a portion of the final grade.

Closure

Lesson Three should end with a brief large group discussion reflecting on the challenges in ending human trafficking. If time permits, each group may quickly summarize its policy proposal to the class so that all students hear each group’s ideas. During this discussion, it is appropriate for students whose families include immigrants to make comparisons between examples of forced migration and their own experiences. The teacher should take care that personal reflections can be shared openly and that all class members show appropriate respect for the family experiences of the speakers.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works Cited

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Discussion of forced labor (slavery, debt bondage, sexual trafficking) in the modern economy. Can help connect historical examples of forced labor to the present day. Includes listings of internet resources and statements by forced laborers.
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- Bulliet, Richard, et al. *The Earth and Its Peoples*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.
A world history textbook designed for Advanced Placement World History classes. Each chapter includes suggestions for further reading by teachers and students.
- Bush, M.L. *Servitude in Modern Times*. Malden, MA: Polity P, 2000.
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- Curtin, Philip D. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison, WI: The U of Wisconsin P, 1969.
The seminal compilation of the number of people involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Curtin reviewed literature from many historical sub-fields to arrive at an estimate of 10 million people exported from Africa after 1500. New research has modified many of Curtin’s conclusions which are reflected in his later work.
- Eltis, David, ed. *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002.
An edited volume with chapters written by experts on various types of migrations. Eltis’ introduction provides a comparative framework for assessing migrations in various parts of the globe throughout history.
- Harris, Joseph. *The African Presence in Asia*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1971.
A study of the Indian Ocean slave trade from East Africa with an emphasis on African contributions to Asian politics and culture. Includes slave narratives, most of which were compiled by the British East India company.
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An edited collection of articles placing Africa at the center of a centuries-long intersection of slave trades. Chapter 7 “Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies” and Chapter 10 “The Impact of the Slave Trade on East Central Africa in the Nineteenth Century” show the effects of forced migration on the area of origin.
- Kamra, Sukeshi. *Bearing Witness: Partition, Independence, End of the Raj*. Calgary: U of Calgary P, 2002.
Bearing Witness is a study of representations of Partition, including fiction and non-fiction, official reports, autobiographies, and political cartoons. Chapter 1 includes an analysis of political cartoons along with sample cartoons from the Partition period. Kamra offers several survivor accounts.
- King, Gilbert. *Woman, Child for Sale: The New Slave Trade in the 21st Century*. New York: Penguin Group, 2004.
A readable introduction to modern human trafficking. Includes a summary of recent human trafficking cases in the United States, case studies, and interviews of trafficking victims.
- Laurence, K.O. *A Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1875-1917*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 1994.
Studies the later period of indentured labor in two Caribbean colonies with a focus on laborers from India. The chapter on recruitment of workers discusses the many ways in which workers were coerced into an indenture contract.
- Menon, Ritu, and Kamla Bhasin. “Recovery, Rupture, Resistance: The Indian State and the Abduction of Women during Partition.” In *Inventing Boundaries: Gender, Politics, and the Partition of India*. Ed. Mushirul Hasan. New Delhi: Oxford UP, 2000: 208-235.
An article detailing the abduction of women in 1947 and 1948. Menon and Bhasin explain much of the historical context of partition.

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Pandey argues that the discourses about the violence of the 1947 Independence and partition are an integral part in creating the “communities” that make up India and Pakistan. The first section of the book offers a timeline of the events leading up to partition and explanations of the violence of 1947-1948.

Reynolds, Edward, et al. *Captive Passage: The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Making of the Americas*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution P, 2002.

Includes maps, illustrations, and copies of primary documents recounting the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Supplemental Resources

Andrea, Alfred, and James Overfield. *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000. A collection of primary source documents that can be used to illustrate most examples of forced migration in this unit.

Equiano, Olaudah. *Equiano's Travels*. Ed. Paul Edwards. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1969.

Equiano's narrative of his life, including his childhood in Africa, capture and service as a slave, and freedom, provide a readable first-person account of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Recent scholarship has cast doubt on whether Equiano was in fact born in Africa.

Palmer, Colin, ed. *The Worlds of Unfree Labour*. Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998.

“From Servants to Slaves: The Transformations of the Chesapeake Labour System” by Russell Menard provides an overview of the social and economic reasons the colonial Virginia agricultural labor market shifted from employing European indentured servants to owning African slaves.

Pomeranz, Kenneth and Stephen Topik. *The World that Trade Created*. London: ME Sharpe, 2000.

Chapter 5, which discusses the economic causes of the trans-Atlantic slave trade is useful in comparing slavery in the Americas with slavery in Africa and Eurasia. All articles are very readable for students.