WORLD MIGRATION REPORT 2013

MIGRANT WELL-BEING AND DEVELOPMENT

International Organization for Migration (IOM)

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WMR 2013 seminars and working papers

SEMINARS

More than money: Does economic migration bring happiness?
David Bartram,
Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Leicester,
5 September 2012, Geneva, Switzerland.

Measuring progress and well-being: The OECD better life initiative.
Romina Boarini,
Head of the Monitoring Well-Being and Progress Section at the
OECD Statistics Directorate,
1 October 2012, Geneva, Switzerland.

Labour migration and development indicators in the post-2015 global development framework.
Philip Martin,
Professor at the University of California, Davis,
Chair of the UC Comparative Immigration and Integration Program,
10 December 2012, Geneva, Switzerland.

WORKING PAPERS

Migration health, well-being and development: An overview,
by Poonam Dhavan

Migrant well-being in the Middle East and North Africa: A focus on gender in Cairo,
by Harry Cook and Jane Sail

Migrant well-being and development: South America,
by Ezequiel Texidó and Elizabeth Warn

Migrant well-being in South-Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe and Central Asia,
by Marina Manke, Tatjana Dedovic, Katarina Lughofer and Alina Narusova

Migrant well-being: European economic area and Switzerland,
by Anna Platonova

The well-being of economic migrants in South Africa: Health,
gender and development,
by Celine Mazars with Reiko Matsuyama, Jo Rispoli and Jo Vearey

Migrant well-being: Central America, North America and the Caribbean,
by Ricardo Cordero, Salvador Gutierrez and Joan Andreu Serralta

Le bien être des migrants en Afrique de l'ouest [Well-being of migrants in West Africa],
by Geertrui Lanneau and Alexia Scarlett

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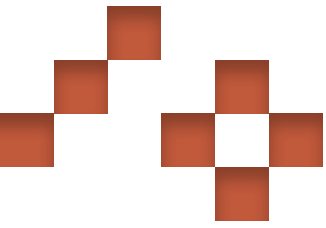
Acronyms



BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
DIOC-E	Database on Immigrants in OECD and non-OECD Countries
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
ESS	European Social Survey
EU	European Union
Eurostat	Statistical Office of the European Communities
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross domestic product
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration and Development
GMG	Global Migration Group
GNI	Gross national income
GNP	Gross national product
HDI	Human Development Index
HLD	High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (United Nations General Assembly)
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics]
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
IHDI	Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística [National Statistics Institute] (Spain)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LDCs	Least developed countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNW	Measuring National Well-being programme (UK)
MPI	Migration Policy Institute (USA)
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
MTE	Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego [Ministry of Labour and Employment] (Brazil)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPHI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
WB	World Bank
WMR	*World Migration Report*

Foreword

The *World Migration Report 2013: Migrant Well-being and Development* – the seventh report in IOM's World Migration Report series – focuses on the migrant, and on how migration affects a person's well-being.

While most reports on migration and development look at the impact of remittances sent back home by migrants, this report takes a different approach, exploring how migration affects a person's quality of life and his or her human development across a broad range of dimensions.

The report presents findings from a unique source of data – the Gallup World Poll surveys, conducted in more than 150 countries – allowing for the first-ever assessment of well-being among migrants worldwide. These findings shed new light on how migrants rate their lives, and on how they feel with regard to income, employment, health, security and other dimensions relevant to their well-being.

Furthermore, the *World Migration Report 2013* moves beyond the traditional focus on migrants moving from lower-income countries to more affluent ones, and presents findings for four key migration pathways (from the South to the North, from the North to the South, between countries of the South, and between countries of the North), as well as their implications for development.

The report concludes with a set of recommendations for future initiatives to monitor migrant well-being and the impact of migration on development, with reference to the inclusion of migration in the post-2015 global development framework.

As with previous editions, the *World Migration Report 2013* has benefited from the expertise and experience of IOM colleagues and external scholars. We are particularly grateful for the contribution of the Gallup World Poll team, and also wish to warmly thank the Governments of Australia, Switzerland and Hungary for their generous financial support.

We hope that this report will contribute to the forthcoming discussions at the second United Nations High-level Dialogue (HLD) on International Migration and Development in 2013 and the ongoing debate on the post-2015 global development agenda.

William Lacy Swing
Director General

Overview

Since the first-ever United Nations General Assembly High-level Dialogue (HLD) on International Migration and Development in 2006, there has been increasing international debate about how best to harness the benefits of migration for development. Yet migration remains inadequately integrated into development frameworks at national and local levels, and there is limited public understanding and appreciation of the contribution that migrants make to the development of their countries of origin and destination.

In 2013, a second High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development will be held, presenting the international community with another opportunity to focus its attention on making migration a positive factor in sustainable development and poverty reduction. The HLD comes at an important time, as the international community moves beyond the Millennium Development Goals and towards the formulation of a post-2015 development agenda.

WMR 2013 draws upon the findings of the Gallup World Poll, using data collected in 2009–2011 from 25,000 first-generation migrants and over 440,000 native-born individuals in over 150 countries, to assess, for the first time, the well-being of migrants worldwide. Most studies on migration tend to focus on the situation of migrants in the North. Gallup's data yield unprecedented global insights into the experience of migrants, providing new evidence of the often understudied situation of migrants in the South.

The key features and messages of *WMR 2013* are presented as a contribution to this ongoing global debate on migration and development, and can be summarized by five key headings:

1. PLACING MIGRANTS AT THE CENTRE OF THE DEBATE

Throughout the history of mankind, human beings have migrated in search of greater opportunities and a better life. While migration is driven by many complex factors, most migrants want to earn a better living, to live in a more agreeable environment or to join family or friends abroad. Many, however, do not move of their own free will but are forced to do so – refugees escaping persecution, for instance; people devastated by conflict or natural disasters; or victims of trafficking. But those who willingly choose to migrate are largely driven by the desire for greater happiness, prosperity and well-being.

Not surprisingly, much research and policy debate has focused on migration as a process and on its socioeconomic impacts in aggregate terms. Many reports on migration and development focus on the broad socioeconomic consequences of migratory processes – studying the impact of, for example, remittances, migrant knowledge networks or diaspora resources. Consequently, the impact of migration on the lives of individual migrants can easily be overlooked. This *World Migration Report 2013* focuses instead on outcome for migrants themselves and on how their lives have been affected in positive or negative ways, as a result of migrating. This approach is consistent with one of the major recommendations of the *WMR 2013* – namely that, instead of being the passive subjects of enquiry, migrants should be given the opportunity to tell their stories. It is hoped that this emphasis on the experiential dimension, as opposed to the usual focus on disembodied socioeconomic dynamics, will open the door to policymaking that is more attuned to human needs.

2. DEVELOPMENT IS ABOUT HUMAN WELL-BEING

The 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development defines development as a "constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals".[1] Similarly, the United Nations Millennium Declaration focuses on the well-being of the individual as the key purpose of development. More recently, the United Nations argued that the notion of well-being and sustainability should be at the core of the global development framework beyond 2015 (UN DESA, 2012a). In this vein, the *WMR 2013* has uniquely framed its approach to assessing development-related outcomes of migration in terms of human well-being. This approach is consistent with recent new orientations in thinking about development that are not limited to economically based notions such as productivity, wealth or income.

Despite the research community's growing interest in developing and testing instruments to measure societal progress from the perspective of human well-being, it is clear that few studies have focused on the well-being of migrants. Those that exist have focused on only one dimension – measures of happiness – and in just a handful of developed countries.

The Gallup World Poll assesses the overall well-being of migrants by asking them questions about objective elements in their lives, such as income level, housing and working conditions, as well as subjective perceptions, feelings and impressions of satisfaction with their lives.

1 www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm

3. MIGRATION IS NOT JUST A SOUTH–NORTH PHENOMENON

Traditionally, migration reports and policy discussions about the contribution of migration to development focus on movements from low-/middle-income countries to more affluent ones (such as from the Philippines to the United States). Taking a more inclusive approach, this report sets out to explore whether variations in the origin and destination of migrants can produce different outcomes for those concerned. In addition to South–North migration, therefore, the report covers three other migration pathways: from one high-income country to another (such as from the United Kingdom to Canada: North–North); from a high-income to a low-/middle-income country (such as from Portugal to Brazil: North–South); and from one low-/middle-income country to another (such as from Indonesia to Malaysia: South–South). Based on the research findings, it argues that each of the four migration pathways has specific human development outcomes that have not yet been fully understood or taken into account.

It is clear from the data that a more inclusive approach to migration and development is needed. According to Gallup sources, only 40 per cent of migrants move from South to North. At least one third of migrants move from South to South (although the figure could be higher if more accurate data were available), and just over a fifth of migrants (22%) migrate from North to North. A small but growing percentage of migrants (5%) migrate from North to South. These figures can vary somewhat, depending on which definition of 'North' and 'South' is used.

4. MIGRATION IMPROVES HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, BUT MANY MIGRANTS STILL STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE SATISFACTORY LEVELS OF WELL-BEING

Comparing the well-being of migrants with that of similar people in the country of origin

This report provides a unique picture of the gains and losses associated with migration. Drawing on the findings of the Gallup World Poll, it examines what migrants have gained and lost through migration, comparing the well-being of migrants who have lived in a destination country for at least five years with estimates of what their lives might have been like had they stayed at home.

The greatest gains are associated with migration to the North, be it North–North or South–North. Migrants in the North generally rate their lives better than do their counterparts in the countries of origin. Long-timer South–North migrants (persons living in a country for five years or more), for example, consider themselves to be better off than they would be back home.

By contrast, migrants in the South tend to rate their lives as similar to, or worse than, those of 'matched stayers' in the home country (persons of a similar profile who did not migrate). Consequently, South–South long-timers consider themselves to be worse off than if they stayed in their home country – reporting, for example, difficulties in obtaining adequate housing, with 27 per cent of them having struggled to afford shelter in the previous year, compared to 19 per cent of their counterparts back home. Migrants from the South generally report that they have more difficulty in achieving a satisfactory standard of living and do not consider themselves to be better off than if they had stayed at home.

It is important to bear in mind that certain vulnerable groups of migrants, such as victims of trafficking, stranded migrants and undocumented migrants, are not identified in the Gallup World Poll.

Comparing the well-being of migrants with that of the native-born

This report also compares the well-being of migrants with that of the native-born in the destination country, highlighting some key differences between the experiences of migrants in the North and South. For example, migrants in the South are less likely than the native-born to report that they are satisfied with their lives. South–South migrants also report that they are less well off, financially, than the native-born. Migrants in the North also face many challenges, but North–North migrants are much less likely than South–North migrants to be struggling to meet their basic needs. Overall, migrants who have moved from one country in the North to another consider themselves to be better off, financially, compared to natives, than do migrants who have moved from South to North. The financial situation of migrants in the North is generally not as good as that of the native-born (although it improves with time) – with 12 per cent of South–North migrants, for instance, finding it very difficult to get by on their incomes, compared to only 6 per cent of the native-born.

The financial challenges faced by migrants are likely due to the difficulties in obtaining work or, if employed, obtaining a full-time job. Migrants in the North are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed: 26 per cent were found to be underemployed and 13 per cent unemployed (compared with 18% and 8%, respectively, of the native-born). In the South, migrants are less likely than the native-born to be part of the official workforce, and just as likely as the native-born to be underemployed or unemployed.

Migrants in the South are less likely than the native-born to feel safe where they live (whereas migrants in the North generally feel as safe as native-born residents). For a minority of migrants in the South, fear and high crime rates prevent them from fully participating socially and economically. However, the situation does seem to improve the longer migrants stay in their new country.

Migrants who have moved to or between countries in the South are less satisfied than the native-born with their personal health and are more likely to have health problems that prevent them from taking part in activities that people their age would normally engage in.

Overall, migrants moving between two high-income countries – or North to North – report the most satisfactory experiences. They have the most positive outcomes in multiple dimensions of well-being, such as life satisfaction, emotional positivity, financial gain, personal safety, community attachment and health. Those migrating between the North and the South, in either direction, have mixed experiences. Generally, economic factors play a key role, with North–South migrants enjoying greater economic prowess and the ability to make their money go further in a relatively cheaper environment. These migrants tend to have fewer social contacts, however, and are less likely to have someone they can count on for help. Conversely, those moving from the South to the North suffer from this economic differential, struggling to make the transition, but they are nevertheless better off for having migrated than those who stayed at home. South/South migrants report relatively little improvement – if any – to their levels of well-being as a result of their having moved. They find it difficult to achieve a satisfactory standard of life, and their outlook for the future is tinged with pessimism. Whereas the migration and policy debate tends to be overwhelmingly focused on the situation of migrants in the North, it is migrants in the South who would appear to be most vulnerable and in need of particular attention.

5. WAY FORWARD AND POST-2015: DEVELOPING A GLOBAL BAROMETER OF MIGRANT WELL-BEING

The shape of the global development agenda beyond 2015 is unknown, but there is growing debate about whether and how migration should be factored into a new global framework. How migration is integrated into the development agenda will depend partly on whether the focus remains on poverty eradication in the poorest countries of the world, rather than on a broader vision of inclusive and sustainable development for all countries.

Whatever approach is taken, there is clearly a need for a much stronger evidence base to understand better on the linkages between migration and development. Additional research and better indicators of migrant well-being are also needed to generate a clearer understanding of the implications of migration for human development in the future.

The poll findings presented in the *WMR 2013* are only a sample of what can be gathered through the Gallup World Poll. By adding new questions to the existing survey, or by increasing migrant sample sizes in certain countries, much more could be learned about the well-being of migrants worldwide. In addition, an ongoing 'Global Migration Barometer' survey could be developed to regularly monitor the well-being of migrants across the globe.

Migrant Voices

Saving for the future: Peruvian doctor lives and works in Luanda, Angola (South–South)

The street is still muddy from yesterday's rain. In front of the district police headquarters in Bairro Vila Alice in Luanda sits the small clinic where Carlos works as a general physician. Carlos, 32 years old, was born in the city of Trujillo, Peru and migrated two-and-a-half years ago to Angola. After completing medical school in Peru, Carlos worked there for two years as a physician. Through relatives and by chance, he met a Peruvian doctor who had been living in Angola for more than 20 years and was looking to expand his private practice. Although Carlos had never thought about working abroad, he welcomed the opportunity and accepted the assignment.

When Carlos first arrived on the African continent, his assignment was only for one year. However, he chose to extend his contract twice and will soon complete his third year in Angola. "It's a good way to advance my career," he says, "and, with the money saved, we can also make plans for the future – maybe something greater." Carlos notes that living in Angola can be challenging, at times: "Of course, there are the first moments, when you arrive, because of the language barrier, for instance; but then the pollution, the hard task of finding an affordable apartment, and the congestion and transportation problems of Luanda are all little annoyances in the everyday routine." Carlos lives in a good and safe neighbourhood, and says that, in Angola, Peruvian doctors are respected, which has facilitated his integration. Over time, he has managed to make a wide range of friends and contacts, including many Angolans. However, security concerns make it hard to be spontaneous and, as Carlos puts it, "[one's] social life needs to be well organized and all prepared in advance."

Carlos is mainly motivated to remain in Luanda because he enjoys a wide range of responsibilities and a much higher salary than what he would earn in Peru for the same work. This allows him to live comfortably and regularly send money to his family. Carlos is married and the father of a 4-year-old boy. "He was too young for me to bring here. For an adult, it's okay here but, for children, it's more difficult because the sanitary environment and the education are not adequate," says Carlos, confessing that living away from his family is the main difficulty he faces. While the

remittances sent home help pay for his family's daily life in Peru, Carlos made the decision to migrate primarily to save for the future and to be able to offer greater opportunities to his son and wife. In Carlos's own words: "We have a child and we must think about his future. By being here, I have achieved some very good objectives, in terms of money and savings."

Technology makes life a bit easier, enabling Carlos to talk to his wife and son every day through a video call. They have only seen each other three times since he moved to Angola. When asked where he would like to be in a few years' time, Carlos's eyes roam around his small desk and land on a picture of his son: "This is a big decision about family reunion. I could go back to Peru for a specialization, I could move to a different country, or I could stay in Angola, but I want to be with my family." Carlos concludes that, while he had never imagined living outside of his country and it has not been easy living away from his loved ones, he doesn't regret his decision to migrate.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Frank Laczko and Rudolf Anich

1

HIGHLIGHTS

For thousands of years, human beings have migrated in search of a better life. Migration is the result of numerous factors; many migrate in search of greater opportunities – to earn a better living, to live in a more agreeable environment or to join family or friends abroad. Of course, a considerable portion of migrants do not choose to move but are forced to flee their homes against their will – refugees escaping persecution, people devastated by conflict or natural disaster, or victims of trafficking. But for those who do choose to migrate, the most fundamental issues are whether they will be happier if they migrate and whether life will be better than it was before. This report, based on the first global study of its kind, seeks to answer these universal questions, in the context of migration as a means of achieving individual betterment and growth.

Migration is not purely a personal matter, however, as it can also affect economic development. Policymakers are increasingly aware that the migration of individuals has a cumulative effect, nationally, and that it can have an impact on the economic health of both the country of origin and the country of destination. Migration can result in a chain of development – from individuals, through to households, communities and, ultimately, countries. Globalization has led to a significant increase in human mobility, with social, economic and environmental implications for all concerned.

Traditionally, policy discussions about how migration can contribute to development have focused on movements from low-/middle-income countries to high-income ones – for example, from the Philippines to the United States of America. (This type of migration will hereinafter be referred to as 'South–North'.) This report takes a broader approach, focusing on movements of people in all directions: migration between high-income countries – for example, from the United Kingdom to Canada (hereinafter referred to as 'North–North'); movements from high- to low-/middle-income countries – for example, from Portugal to Brazil (hereinafter referred to as 'North–South'); and migration from one low-/middle-income country to another – for example, from Indonesia to Malaysia (hereinafter referred to as 'South–South'). It argues that all four migration pathways have consequences for development, which need to be taken into account. The report adopts the terminology used in development discourse to categorize countries according to their economic status, whereby 'North' refers to high-income countries and 'South' to low- and middle-income countries.

Governments are increasingly paying attention to the well-being of populations. The global economic crisis highlighted the need for more sustainable ways of living, while prompting the realization that economic growth alone is not a sufficient barometer for measuring societal progress. This report presents original research on migrant well-being worldwide, clearly demonstrating, for the first time, the importance of such well-being to the long-term sustainability of both economic development and migration itself.

This chapter looks at the linkages between migration and development and how this issue has, in recent years, increasingly been brought to the international policy agenda. It identifies the specific contribution of this report to the prevailing thinking on migration and development. The chapter concludes with a guide to the report, describing the research methodology used, explaining classification and terminology, and setting out some caveats to bear in mind when reading this report. It also outlines the report structure.

MIGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

While migration clearly has consequences for migrants and their families, migration can also affect the development of economies. Policymakers are increasingly aware that the migration of individuals has a cumulative effect, nationally, and that it can have an impact on economic growth. Migration can result in a chain of development – from individuals, through to households, communities and, ultimately, countries. Although migrants 'give back' to their home countries, it is usually in the form of private remittances to individuals and households. Yet such activities have wider implications: for example, money sent back to family members may enable them to invest in a new home, thereby boosting employment in the construction sector in that locality; or a person returning to their country of origin after studying abroad may bring back skills that benefit society in general.

Not all migration effects are positive, however. Migration may, for instance, drive inflation if remittances boost spending power without increasing productivity, or it could harm important economic sectors such as education and health care through 'brain drain'. Whether migration leads to positive developmental effects depends on a complex interplay of factors, such as: the circumstances in the countries of origin and destination; the reason for leaving and, critically, whether the move was voluntary; and the pattern of migration (Global Migration Group, 2010). There may be negative effects at the household level, too – for example, through the separation and dislocation of families.

An individual's decision to migrate may be motivated by a range of factors:

- **Economic factors**: The growing gap in living standards and wages between countries acts as a magnet (referred to as a 'pull factor'), drawing migrants towards countries with higher standards of living or with greater economic growth and employment opportunities.
- **Governance and public services**: Poor governance, corruption and a lack of good-quality education and health services are 'push factors', prompting international migration.
- **Demographic imbalances**: These can take various forms – for instance, decreasing fertility rates and increasing life expectancy in many high-income countries, which contribute to an imbalance in supply and demand for labour between developed and developing regions. Labour surpluses in lower- and middle-income countries can create underemployment, which can create incentives to migrate. On the other hand, the aging population in most high-income industrialized countries considerably increases the demand for foreign workers.
- **Conflict**: The number of refugees under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was over 10 million in 2012, and numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) reached 28.8 million (UNHCR, 2013). Conflicts can be ethnic and/or religious in nature, but they may also be the result of economic inequality or competition for natural resources. Linked to this, the absence of personal freedom (be it in thought, religion or other) can be a motivator, as can discrimination, based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion or other grounds.[2]

2 Numbers of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) also include those who migrate because of natural disasters or other events that do not involve conflict.

- **Environmental factors**: The numbers of people moving as a result of environmental factors such as earthquakes, industrial accidents, floods, soil/coastal erosion and droughts, some of which may be related to climate change, are on the rise. Population movements induced by environmental factors tend to be predominantly internal.
- **Transnational networks**: The emergence of organized migrant communities in destination countries constitutes a social and cultural 'pull factor'. A network of family members abroad can further promote migration as it facilitates the migration process for others, and such movements account for the bulk of the legal migration flows in many industrialized countries.

In addition, the patterns of movement also ultimately influence whether migration has positive development effects, and would include:

- **Types of movements** – permanent or temporary;
- **Status of the migrants** – regular or irregular;
- **Protection of rights** – the extent to which migrants' rights are protected;
- **Planning** – planned or unplanned nature of the flows;
- **Scale** – a small percentage of a population moving over a lengthy period of time, or a mass movement of people over a short period of time;
- **Socioeconomic background** – gender, age and marital status. The demographic and socioeconomic profiles of migrants have important implications for development in countries of origin and destination. They affect the labour market (in terms of the availability of skilled versus unskilled workers); the population structure (for example, in terms of the proportion of young versus old people, married versus single migrants); and the need for, and provision of, services (given that migrant flows may include children who require education, or workers who supply health-care services). Whether migrants move with their families or alone, and the circumstances of household members left behind (who, for example, may need to make arrangements for the care of children), also make a difference.

Since IOM published its first *World Migration Report* in the year 2000, the topic of migration and development has come to the fore, resulting in a more sophisticated appreciation of the connections between the two. Traditionally, migration has been viewed primarily as a problem arising from a lack of development, or it has been regarded negatively, due to fears about a possible 'brain drain' among skilled workers. Today, there is growing recognition that migration can contribute to development, if properly harnessed and effectively managed by policymakers.

Development can be defined as "a process of improving the overall quality of life of a group of people and, in particular, expanding the range of opportunities open to them", according to *Mainstreaming Migration into Development Planning: A Handbook for policy-makers and practitioners*, initiated by IOM and published by the Global Migration Group (GMG, 2010). The focus of this definition is on human development, rather than on the traditionally recognized indicators, which relate primarily to economic growth and are measured in gross domestic product (GDP) or gross national income (GNI). Advancing human development means exploring all avenues to improve a person's opportunities and freedoms, whether income-

or non-income-related. This can include, for example, improvements to people's lives such as expanded access to social services, reduced vulnerability to risk, and increased political participation (GMG, 2010:10).

It is important to remember, however, that the concept of human development does not apply solely to the poorest countries of the world, or only to movements of people to more affluent countries. North–North migration (for instance, a German doctor moving to the United States) or North–South migration (for example, a skilled Portuguese worker migrating to Angola) can contribute significantly to development in both the country of origin and the country of destination. Development benefits generated from these types of movements are too often overlooked in the development discourse.

In recent years, migration and its linkages to development have become an increasingly important policy issue. The first United Nations High-level Dialogue (HLD) on International Migration and Development, held in 2006, firmly established migration on the development agenda and led to the creation of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) in 2007. The GFMD has served as an important platform for improving dialogue between States on migration and development, and this debate will continue to gain prominence in a number of forthcoming policy forums:

2013 – The second United Nations High-level Dialogue (HLD) on International Migration and Development presents a critical opportunity for the international community to improve the alignment of migration and development policies.

2014 – A United Nations review of the twentieth anniversary of the implementation of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) programme of action will have implications for international and internal migration.

2015 – Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda discussions will consider the shape of the global development framework beyond 2015 – the deadline for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), in which migration is a key factor.

CONTRIBUTION OF THE REPORT

The *WMR 2013* is intended to contribute to the global debate on development in three distinct ways:

- **By focusing attention on all pathways of migratory movement**. Traditionally, the focus has been on migration from low-/middle-income countries to more affluent ones, but this report considers three additional migration pathways – migration between low-/middle-income countries or between high-income ones, and migration from the rich, industrialized world to countries that are relatively poorer – as well as their implications for development.
- **Shifting the focus onto the well-being of migrants and their quality of life**, rather than focusing on remittances and the impact of migration on economic life and trade, as has been the case in the past.

- **Contributing to the debate about how to factor migration into the post-2015 framework for development**. Despite the growing interest in migration and development, the issue has not been factored into the MDGs or systematically integrated into national development plans.

Four migration pathways

Over the last decade, numerous reports and studies have been published on the linkages between migration and development. Typically, the migration and development policy discourse and related studies focus on the implications of migration for development when a person moves from South to North. This skews the policy debate and draws attention away from other migration flows that merit equal attention. In fact, less than half of all international migrants move from South to North, and almost as many move between countries of the South (see chapter 2 for details). This report looks at migration and development from a broader perspective, considering the implications for development and well-being when people move in other directions as well.

The report adopts the terminology used in development discourse to categorize countries according to their economic status. As mentioned above, broadly speaking, 'North' refers to high-income countries and 'South' to low- and middle-income countries, as classified by the World Bank. Such labels have their limitations, however, with different definitions of 'North' and 'South' producing varying results regarding the magnitude and characteristics of migration along each of the four pathways. In addition, both 'North' and 'South' encompass a wide range of different migrant situations and categories (as discussed later in chapter 1 and also in chapter 2). Nonetheless, this division is useful for looking at migration and development in a more holistic way. For the time being, the key point to note is that this report looks at all migration pathways, whether they are South–North, South–South, North–South or North–North.

South–South migrants are economically important, due to the magnitude of numbers and the potential scale of remittances, but their life experiences are a largely understudied area. This 'blind spot' for policymakers largely reflects the lack of reliable data on migrants who move from one developing country to another, but also the heavy emphasis on South–North flows in policy debates and research.

Migrant well-being

Many reports on migration and development focus on the impact of remittances on development, or on the wider impact of migration on trade and the economy. This report looks instead at the relationship between the migrant and development, and how migration affects a person's quality of life and their well-being. Many migrants, especially economic migrants, choose to move abroad in search of a better life – effectively, to improve their well-being. But are they better off, as a result? How do their lives compare with those who did not migrate? How does their well-being compare with that of the people in the country they have moved to? These are some of the questions that this report seeks to answer.

Policy interest

This enquiry takes place within the context of a growing interest among policymakers and scholars in measuring the happiness and well-being of populations. This is especially evident in high-income countries, but is also increasingly a concern in low- and middle-income countries – for example, the Fourth OECD World Economic Forum, held in Delhi in October 2012, focused on the theme of 'development and well-being' (see also Gough and McGregor, 2007). Indeed, the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan was the first to use measures of 'gross national happiness' as a way of assessing social progress and, in April 2012, Bhutan hosted a high-level meeting at the United Nations in New York, bringing together over 800 participants to discuss the creation of an economic paradigm that serves human happiness and well-being of all life (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2012). The global economic crisis and the challenge of maintaining economic stability has highlighted the need for more sustainable ways of living. In addition, emerging evidence from academia suggests that economic wealth does not necessarily generate well-being among the population, affirming popular notions that 'money does not buy happiness'. In its 2011 report, *How's Life: Measuring well-being*, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) referred to the discrepancy between macroeconomic indicators and the real-life experience of ordinary people:

> In recent years, concerns have emerged regarding the fact that macro-economic statistics, such as GDP, did not portray the right image of what ordinary people perceived about the state of their own socioeconomic conditions… Addressing such perceptions of the citizens is of crucial importance for the credibility and accountability of public policies but also for the very functioning of democracy (OECD, 2011).

Interest in the subject of well-being was given a boost by the report of the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress, established by the former French President Nicolas Sarkozy. The Commission, which was led by Nobel Prize-winning economists Joseph E. Stiglitz and Amartya Sen, along with French economist Jean-Paul Fitoussi, recognized the limitations of measuring societal progress and development in terms of economic measures such as gross national product (GNP) or GDP, and made the case for the collection of a wider set of well-being indicators to assess whether economies were serving the needs of society (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi, 2009). A similar 'national well-being project' is underway in the United Kingdom, comprised of an extensive survey to measure and analyse a wide range of dimensions and determinants of well-being (Dolan et al., 2011). The OECD, in its aforementioned report, includes a 'Better Life Index' that measures subjective well-being (OECD, 2011).

These examples reflect an increasing recognition of the need to find new ways of measuring social progress, and the fact that GDP, long a key point of reference for economic policy and development, may have severe limitations as an indicator of well-being (see, for example, Boarini et al., 2006), especially insofar as it fails to capture the *subjective* dimensions of well-being – namely, what people actually experience and feel about their lives. The United Nations calls for a more holistic approach to development, arguing that the notion of well-being and sustainability should be at the core of the post-2015 goals and indicators (UN DESA, 2012a), but internationally agreed standards on such non-economic indicators have yet to be developed (Boarini et al., 2006:6).

Well-being defined

There are different definitions of the term well-being. This report uses the definition developed by Gallup, since it is responsible for the original research findings on which this report is based. In *Wellbeing: The Five Essential Elements*, Gallup scientists identify career, social connections, personal economics, health, and community as the main contributors to a person's overall subjective well-being.

Other terms to describe well-being, such as quality of life, living standards, human development and happiness, have been used in various academic studies and, sometimes, interchangeably. In fact, well-being is a broader concept, encompassing a number of different dimensions. It can be measured by asking people how they feel and their perceptions about different aspects of their lives, such as job satisfaction, personal relationships and community attachment. It can also be measured through the collection and verification of objective data such as employment rates, salary levels, life expectancy and housing conditions.

It might be expected that a person with higher scores on objective criteria would be happier – that objective well-being correlates with *subjective* well-being or happiness. This may often be the case since, for example, being ill makes most people unhappy, while having opportunities for education may be seen as deeply satisfying. However, the linkages between objective and subjective well-being are quite complex and convergence is not complete, as suggested by the subtitle of a recent book by the economist Carol Graham (2009): The paradox of happy peasants and unhappy millionaires. There is a need for further enquiry into the factors that contribute to subjective well-being; what types of development are best for a population's well-being; and whether some forms of development make people less happy even if it increases their objective assets.

Future development framework

This report also seeks to make a contribution to the forthcoming debate on the future development agenda after 2015 – the deadline for the achievement of the MDGs. With globalization, human mobility has increased significantly since the MDGs were adopted in the year 2000. Migration has emerged as a significant factor in the achievement of all three pillars of sustainable development – economic, social and environmental development – and an important factor in forthcoming discussions. Specifically, voluntary, safe, legal and orderly migration can generate significant human and societal development gains; equally, migration that is forced, involuntary, massive or unplanned (whether as a result of conflict, natural disaster, environmental degradation, rights violations or severe lack of economic and livelihood opportunities) can have significant negative repercussions for human and societal development. A recent United Nations report, *Realizing the Future We Want for All*, provides a first outline for a system-wide vision and elements of a road map in anticipation of these discussions (UN, 2012). IOM and the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) contributed a 'think piece' to highlight the importance of keeping migration in the foreground of these development debates (IOM and UN DESA, 2012).

Despite the growing international focus on migration and development, migration as a topic is not factored into the MDGs or systematically integrated into national development plans. One of the reasons for this is the lack of reliable data. There has also been reluctance among those who work in the migration and development arena to focus too much on developing agreed targets and indicators. In the GFMD, for example, there is a concern that investing in this area might undermine the informal and non-binding forms of cooperation that have developed within the GFMD. States do not wish to take formal responsibility for achieving an agreed set of migration and development targets each year. Thus there has been relatively little monitoring of the extent to which existing migration and development goals are being achieved.

The future global development framework will likely need to include better indicators of how migration affects development and, particularly, migrant well-being, if migration is to be factored into the global development agenda in a meaningful way. How this could be done is considered in the concluding chapter of this report. The Gallup World Poll is a unique source of data on the living and working conditions of migrants, providing a means of exploring whether human development indicators for migrants are improving.

GUIDE TO THE REPORT

Sources of information

WMR 2013 draws on a variety of primary and secondary sources of data to determine whether migration leads to improved personal circumstances for migrants. It explores the wider implications of this for the achievement of sustainable development, presenting original findings from the Gallup World Poll on migrant well-being, reviewing relevant literature, providing an analysis of migration trends, and shedding new light on how migrants rate their lives. The results are not presented by country or region but are categorized by the direction of travel, according to the four migration pathways that reflect the movement of people from South to South, from South to North, from North to North, and from North to South.

Gallup World Poll

While the global community has been moving towards a broader perception of 'development' as the organized pursuit of 'well-being', little research has focused on migrants. The well-being of migrants affects not only their ability to fully participate in society but also their ability to send home remittances, and to acquire skills and knowledge that could be useful if they choose to return to their country of origin. Research to date has focused on migrant populations in specific countries or regions only. The findings of the Gallup World Poll present, for the first time, an opportunity to assess the well-being of migrants worldwide.

Using data on well-being from 25,000 first-generation migrants and over 440,000 native-born individuals collected between 2009 and 2011 in over 150 countries, the Gallup World Poll provides unique insights into the living and working conditions and perceptions of migrants in the world today. The poll gathered evidence using indicators such as income, unemployment and underemployment, happiness, satisfaction with health, and feelings of security.

It is important to note, however, that the Gallup World Poll provides an aggregate picture of the well-being of migrants. There are many subgroups of the migrant population – stranded migrants, victims of trafficking, unaccompanied minors, migrants in an irregular situation – who are not identified in the Gallup World Poll. This may be because the group in question represents a small subsample of the migrant population surveyed, or the questions in the survey did not distinguish between, for example, documented and undocumented migrants.

In addition, there are many groups of migrants around the world who face human rights abuses and exploitation, and who live in very vulnerable situations. For more information, see, for example, the *Global Trafficking in Persons Report* (US Department of State, 2012 and box 1 of this report). The well-being of migrants can also be adversely affected when significant numbers of people are displaced due to environmental factors or when a conflict occurs. Such situations are not easily captured by the Gallup World Poll and, hence, are not specifically discussed in this report. Nonetheless, the findings on well-being presented here do not in any way deny or undermine the egregious conditions experienced by many migrant groups.

This report analyses migrant well-being in several ways. Firstly, it compares the self-reported well-being of migrants (those who have recently migrated as well as long-timers – those who have lived in the destination country for more than five years) with the self-reported well-being of the native-born residents. Secondly, it investigates what migrants have gained and lost by migrating abroad, using a statistical model that compares the lives of migrants with those of a matched sample of people of the same age, gender and education profile in the country of origin who have not migrated.

Box 1

Young woman trafficked from the Russian Federation to the Middle East

Irina was a 16-year-old highschool student living in the Russian Federation when she accepted a family friend's proposal to take a quick trip to the Middle East. The offer of USD 500 for her help in bringing back merchandise to sell back home was appealing and, within days, she was introduced to a broker who gave her a passport, a tourist visa and a plane ticket. The broker then announced that the travel agenda had been "improved": she was now to work as a waitress in a local café for USD 1,000 a month. Irina's mother was suspicious but was quickly assured that her daughter was in good hands. Also, she was told that the travel arrangements had cost the broker a lot of money and that cancellation would mean they owed him USD 1,000. Upon arrival at her destination, Irina found that she was not be a waitress, but was expected to work as a prostitute. Her passport was taken away and she was threatened with violence if she refused to obey or tried to run away.

Irina's life became a series of hotel rooms, boarding houses, 'madams' and clients, until she finally tried to escape. She stole her documents and some cash and ran away. Upon reaching the airport, however, she

was stopped by the police. The madam was with them and claimed that Irina had stolen her money. Without asking questions, the police ordered Irina to return with the madam. She was resold to another hotel-owner and saddled with a new debt of USD 10,000 to compensate for her misbehaviour. News from the Russian Federation of the broker's arrest, following a petition by Irina's mother, brought added threats and abuse. But Irina did not give up trying to escape. Six months into her ordeal, she finally managed to contact the Russian Embassy. There, she found out that her name had remained on the Interpol 'missing persons' files for months. She was assisted by the Russian Federation Embassy, IOM and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in returning home and reintegrating back into her community.

Classification and terminology

This section of the report explains in further detail how the terms 'North' and 'South' are used when they refer to the four migration pathways. It reviews the different definitions used by various international agencies, and considers the implications of these different definitions for the understanding of international migration trends.

Conceptualization of 'North' and 'South'

The North–South divide between wealthy developed economies and poorer developing countries has been referred to in public debates since the early 1960s,[3] but the use of the terms 'North' and 'South' became much more prevalent after the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. Indeed, after the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union, the term 'Second World' lost significance and ultimately led to a simplification of the global world order, whereby the First World became the 'North' and the Third World became the 'South' (Thérien, 1999; Reuveny and Thompson, 2007).

To date, there is no agreement on how best to categorize countries in accordance with the North–South dichotomy. In fact, 'North' and 'South' do not exist, as such, but are only artificial constructs intended to reflect the current global situation with regard to a specific dimension of development. Other ways of categorizing and indexing countries have also been developed (see box 2 on page 47). Moreover, the use of 'North' and 'South' in this context has not captured the popular imagination. In many countries, the terms are used to describe internal divides (for example, in the United Kingdom, they are used in the opposite sense, with the South seen as having greater economic prospects than the relatively impoverished North). In addition, the general public tends to see 'North' and 'South' as a spatial and geographic division of the world, not as an economic

3 Notably, the terms 'North' and 'South' were used in the Brandt Reports in 1980 and 1983 (reports of the *Independent Commission on International Development Issues*, first chaired by Willy Brandt, former West German Chancellor, in 1980), calling for a transfer of resources from developed to developing economies to end poverty and promote development. Earlier, the *Brandt Line* was a first attempt to divide world economies into 'North' and 'South' – namely, developed and developing countries.

one, which can lead to confusion; for instance, many countries in the 'North' may actually be situated in the geographical south and vice versa (as, for example, Australia).

The purpose of using the North–South classification in this report is to simplify the situation in order to better understand overall global trends. As with all categorizations, classifications and indexes, the greater the number of dimensions that are taken into account when developing a categorization, the more accurate the resulting picture will be. Putting all countries into two categories only – namely, 'North' and 'South' – inevitably means that there will be exceptions.

The North–South dichotomy only works if it is understood that the situation in each group is not homogenous. Indeed, grouping countries into 'North' and 'South' or into four migration pathways, based on the indicators described in this chapter, does not take into account the relevant sociocultural differences among migrants. As highlighted by Bakewell (2009), it is important to keep in mind that, within broad groupings such as 'South' and 'North', there are many divergent groups of migrants with different sociocultural backgrounds and migration experiences. Compare, for example:

- Unemployed Portuguese youth going to Brazil and Europeans investing and working in India (North–South)
- European Union (EU) students studying abroad and Estonians seeking job opportunities in Finland (North–North)
- Guatemalan seasonal workers in Canada and domestic workers from the Philippines moving to Saudi Arabia (South–North)

While the North–South divide might not accurately capture an evolving development reality,[4] it is still a useful means of capturing policymakers' attention, by simplifying the way in which migration trends are presented, and helping to show how migration patterns between developed and developing countries can vary. The use of terms such as 'South–South migration' has helped to change the migration and development debate by encouraging policymakers to acknowledge that much migration occurs between developing countries.

Three main categorizations

This report draws on the three most commonly used categorizations provided by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), the World Bank (WB) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Table 1 provides an overview of all countries defined as part of the 'North' and 'South' in 2010, using the three key classifications (see also map 1, on page 46).

4 As Cox and Sinclair (1996) point out, the North seems to produce its own internal South while, in the South, a selected part of the population is economically integrated with the North.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) classification

This classification groups countries into developing and developed regions:[5]

- North includes Northern America,[6] Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand (a total of 56 countries).
- South is composed of Africa, the Americas (without the United States and Canada), the Caribbean, Asia (except Japan), and Oceania (except Australia and New Zealand).
- Using this definition, the 'North' does not include the OECD countries Chile, Israel, Mexico, the Republic of Korea, and Turkey, or high-income non-OECD countries such as Bahrain; Hong Kong, China; Puerto Rico; or the United Arab Emirates. Instead, several countries in Eastern Europe (such as Belarus, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation and Ukraine) are considered part of the 'North'.
- The UN DESA classification comes from the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) and is based on statistical convenience and has not changed significantly over time.

World Bank classification

This classifies countries every year according to their income level – the GNI per capita.

- Countries are divided into four groups (low-, lower-middle-, upper-middle- and high-income).[7]
- 'North' is composed of countries belonging to the high-income group. Compared to the UN DESA definition, this definition encompasses a greater number of countries (70, in 2010), also including the following: Bahrain; Barbados; China; Hong Kong, China; Israel; Macao, China; Oman; Puerto Rico; Qatar; the Republic of Korea; Saudi Arabia; Singapore; Trinidad and Tobago; and the United Arab Emirates.
- However, as stressed by the World Bank, the term high-income "is not intended to imply that all economies in the group are experiencing similar development or that other economies have reached a preferred or final stage of development. Classification by income does not necessarily reflect development status."[8]

UNDP classification

This classification adopts a broader development approach and uses the Human Development Index (HDI)[9] as the criterion for distinguishing countries based on health (life expectancy at birth), educational aspects (mean and expected years of schooling) and income.

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5 There is no established convention for the designation of 'developed' or 'developing' countries or areas in the United Nations system. See: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm.

6 In the UN DESA classification, Northern America includes Bermuda, Canada, Greenland, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, and the United States of America. Countries such as Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama are part of Central America. See: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49.htm.

7 According to the 2010 GNI per capita, the groups are defined as follows: low-income – USD 1,005 or less; lower-middle-income – USD 1,006–3,975; upper-middle-income – USD 3,976–12,275; high-income – USD 12,276 or more. See: http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/incomelevel.

8 See: http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/incomelevel.

9 The UNDP Human Development Index is a way of measuring development by combining indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income into a composite single statistic that serves as a frame of reference for both social and economic development. HDI sets a minimum and a maximum for each dimension, called goalposts, and then shows where each country stands in relation to these goalposts, expressed as a value between 0 and 1. See http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/ for more details.

- In 2010, 42 countries reached a very high HDI were thus considered to be developed countries or the 'North'.[10] The categorization resulting from the HDI corresponds more closely to the one used by the World Bank, whereby the 'North' includes most high-income countries in Latin America, the Middle East and Asia (not included in the UN DESA definition). Nonetheless, compared to the World Bank categorization, the total number of countries defined as being part of the 'North' is significantly lower, mainly due to the non-inclusion of small (island) States.

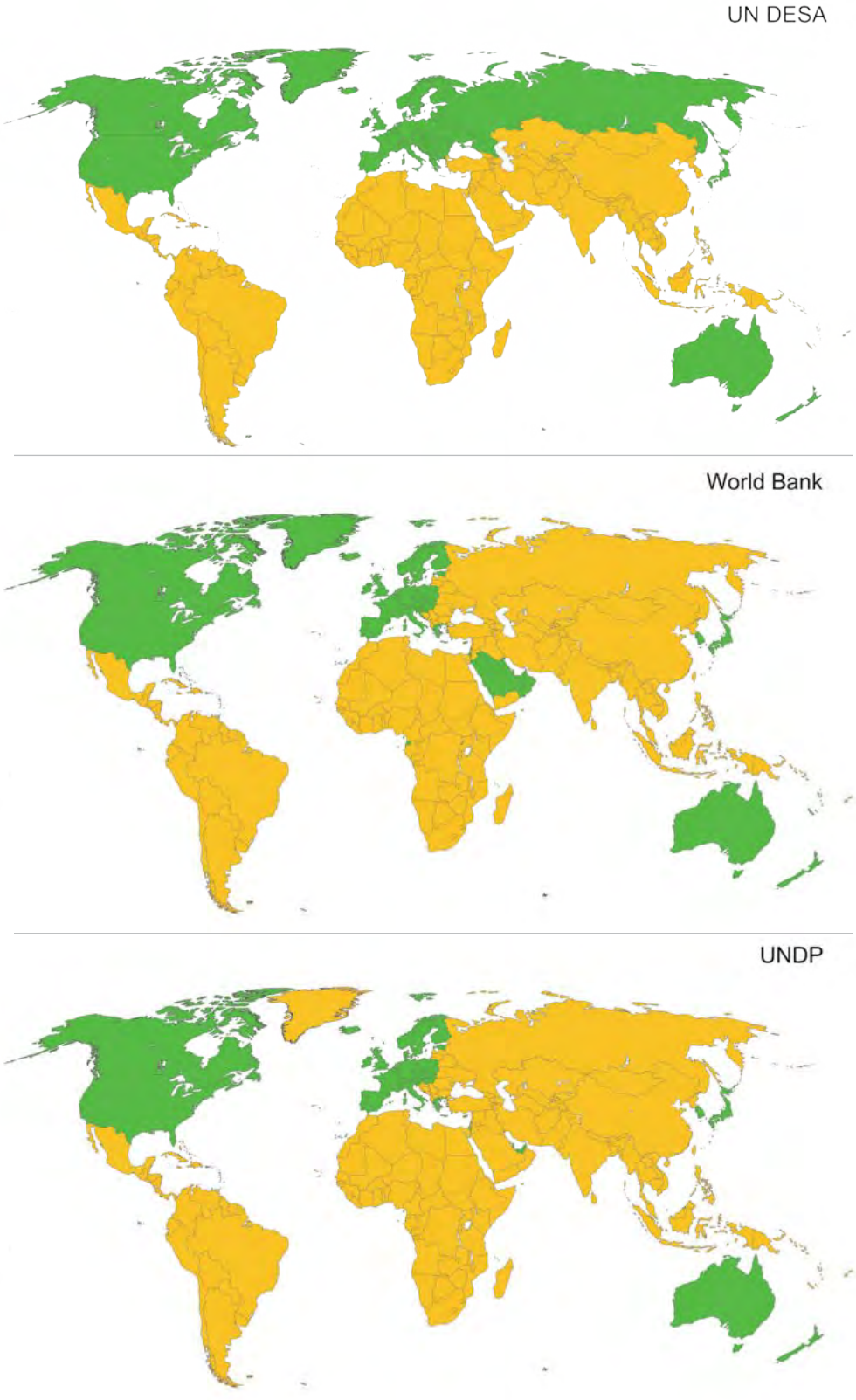
Table 1 **'North' and 'South' as defined by UN DESA, the World Bank and UNDP, 2010**

UN DESA	World Bank	UNDP
'**South**' includes five developing regions: Africa; the Americas (excluding Northern America); the Caribbean; Asia (excluding Japan); and Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand).	'**South**' includes low- and middle-income countries.	'**South**' includes countries ranking low, medium and high on the HDI.
'**North**' includes countries/territories in the developed regions: Albania; Andorra; Australia; Austria; Belarus; Belgium; Bermuda; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bulgaria; Canada; Channel Islands; Croatia; Czech Republic; Denmark; Estonia; Faeroe Islands; Finland; France; Germany; Gibraltar; Greece; Greenland; Holy See; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Isle of Man; Italy; Japan; Latvia; Liechtenstein; Lithuania; Luxembourg; Malta; Monaco; Montenegro; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Republic of Moldova; Romania; Russian Federation; Saint Pierre and Miquelon; San Marino; Serbia; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; Ukraine; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and the United States of America.	'**North**' includes high-income countries/territories: Andorra, Aruba; Australia; Austria; Bahamas; Bahrain; Barbados; Belgium; Bermuda; Brunei Darussalam; Canada; Cayman Islands; Channel Islands; Croatia; Curaçao; Cyprus; Czech Republic; Denmark; Equatorial Guinea; Estonia; Faeroe Islands; Finland; France; French Polynesia; Germany; Gibraltar; Greece; Greenland; Guam; Hong Kong, China; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Isle of Man; Israel; Italy; Japan; Kuwait; Liechtenstein; Luxembourg; Macao, China; Malta; Mariana Islands; Monaco; Netherlands; New Caledonia; New Zealand; Norway; Oman; Poland; Portugal; Republic of Korea; Puerto Rico; Qatar; Saint Maarten (Dutch part); San Marino; Saudi Arabia; Singapore; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; St Martin (French part); Sweden; Switzerland; Trinidad and Tobago; Turks and Caicos Islands; United Arab Emirates; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; the United States of America; and the Virgin Islands (US).	'**North**' include countries/territories ranking very high on the HDI: Andorra; Australia; Austria; Bahrain; Barbados; Belgium; Brunei Darussalam; Canada; Cyprus; Czech Republic; Denmark; Estonia; Finland; France; Germany; Greece; Hong Kong, China; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Israel; Italy; Japan; Liechtenstein; Luxembourg; Malta; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Qatar; Republic of Korea; Singapore; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; United Arab Emirates; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and the United States of America.

Sources: UN DESA: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49.htm
World Bank: http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/incomelevel
UNDP: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/

10 The HDI initially divided countries into three groups (low-, medium- and high-income). The category of a country was determined by absolute cut-off values. Recent improvements introduced the very high HDI category, reduced the amount of variation within each group, and made cut-off values more relative. For more information, please see: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/understanding/issues/.

Map 1 'North' and 'South', using UN DESA, the World Bank and UNDP classifications, 2010



Sources: UN DESA: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49.htm
World Bank: http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/incomelevel
UNDP: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/

Note: The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on these maps do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Dotted lines are used to indicate administrative boundaries, undetermined boundaries and situations where the final boundary has not yet been determined.

Box 2

New ways of classifying countries

Current definitions designate a country as being in the North or the South, based on the average national value for a specific indicator, but other methods are being developed to capture more subtle differences.

1. **Measures to show differences within countries.**

The North–South classification does not sufficiently capture inequalities within a country, especially one with a large population (for example, Brazil and China, which have emerging economies). The Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI) introduced by UNDP in the *Human Development Report 2010* aims to address this aspect by measuring the level of human development of people in a society that accounts for inequality.[11] Likewise, the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI),[12] developed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) and UNDP, provides a multidimensional picture of people living in poverty.

2. **Measures based on detailed economic indicators**.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), in its World Economic Outlook (WEO) database, classifies the world into "advanced" and "emerging" economies (based on per capita income level, export diversification[13] and the degree of integration into the global financial system[14]). The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) classifies countries into developed, transition and developing economies.[15] The OECD applies a four-tier classification: affluent countries (high-income countries), converging (catching up with the 'affluent' group), struggling (to reach middle-income levels) and poor (suffering extreme poverty) (OECD, 2010a). The latter two classifications, particularly, could be useful alternatives when classifying countries with regard to international migration, as they include information on current economic performance.

11 In the case of perfect equality, the IHDI is equal to the HDI, but falls below the HDI when inequality rises. In this sense, the IHDI is the actual level of human development (taking into account inequality), while the HDI can be viewed as an index of the potential human development that could be achieved if there were no inequality (http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/ihdi/).

12 The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), published for the first time in the 2010 *Human Development Report*, complements money-based measures by considering multiple deprivations and their overlap. The index identifies deprivations across the same three dimensions as the HDI and shows the number of people who are multidimensionally poor (suffering deprivations in 33% of weighted indicators) and the number of deprivations with which poor households typically contend. It can be deconstructed by region, ethnicity and other groupings, as well as by dimension, making it an apt tool for policymakers (http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/mpi/).

13 This criterion prevents oil exporters with high per capita GDP from being included in the advanced classification because around 70 per cent of their exports are oil.

14 In the IMF classification, country grouping is more stable, over time, compared to the one used by the World Bank and UNDP. Indeed, given the volatility of per capita income levels and export diversifications, IMF uses an average over a number of years. Reclassification mainly takes place in the event of a more durable change (for example, Malta joining the European Union in 2008).

15 http://unctadstat.unctad.org/UnctadStatMetadata/Classifications/Methodology&Classifications.html.

Classifications used in this report

This report explores how migration trends vary, according to which definition of North or South is used.

- Chapter 2 uses all three definitions for the majority of analyses and shows how migration trends may vary according to which definition of North and South is used.
- Chapter 4, based on Gallup data, uses the classification proposed by the World Bank, which defines 'North' as high-income countries and 'South' as low-/middle-income countries. The World Bank definition was chosen because one of the most inherent characteristics of human mobility is the search for better job opportunities. Labour migration has remained the main driver throughout the history of international migration. Consequently, the majority of migrants move to countries with higher wage differentials – namely, countries with higher per capita incomes.[16]

Limitations and provisos

For a clear understanding of the analysis of, and findings on, the four migration pathways presented in this report, the following points should be borne in mind:

- Firstly, while the report tries to highlight common characteristics in each of the four pathways, there are relevant differences within each of them that will be referenced, to some extent.
- Secondly, while each of the four migration flows will be described as a stand-alone scenario, it is clear that they all form part of the global migration system and are closely interlinked (for example, restrictive migration policies in the North can lead to increased irregular South–North flows but also to an increase of South–South movements). While describing the key characteristics of each of the four migration flows separately, the report also highlights some of their possible interrelationships.
- Lastly, the description of the four migration flows in chapter 2 represents a snapshot of the situation in 2010. As the World Bank and UNDP reclassify countries on an annual basis, the composition of 'North' and 'South' changes too. Comparing 2010 figures with data from 1990 and 2000 would require adjusting the list of countries and would consequently bias the analysis.

Report structure

- Chapter 2 examines the current global migration situation, comparing patterns and characteristics of migratory movements, demographics, type of migration, and remittances across the four migration pathways: North–North, North–South, South–North, and South–South.

16 Migrants moving between developing countries seem to be even more attracted by the possibility of getting a job rather than by high wage differentials (Gagnon, J. and D. Khoudour-Castéras, 2011). Thus, emerging economies recording high growth rates might be more attractive than high-income but stagnant economies (also see box 2).

- Chapter 3 reviews existing research on the emerging field of happiness and subjective well-being, highlighting the importance of including subjective measures in assessments of well-being and evaluations of the impact of development on human lives. The chapter focuses on the connections between migration, income gains and happiness.
- Chapter 4 presents original findings on migrant well-being, from the Gallup World Poll, looking at outcomes for six core dimensions of well-being, across the four migration pathways.
- Chapter 5 draws conclusions and makes recommendations for future initiatives to monitor migrant well-being and the impact of migration on development, with reference to the inclusion of migration as a core issue in the post-2015 global development framework.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

For many years, policymakers have sought to unravel and better understand the connections between migration and development. This report presents a unique opportunity to look at the issue from a fresh perspective. In the Gallup Poll, migrants were asked whether they saw positive developments in their own lives. This, in turn, helped indicate what types of migration movements and experiences were likely to boost the development of economies and societies back home. The next chapter sets the scene for the interpretation of these original findings, showing how migration patterns can vary according to type of pathway and how 'South' and 'North' are defined.

Migrant Voices

Providing for the family at home: Two Sri Lankan women working in Kuwait (South–North)

Dilini, security guard

Dilini, a 30-year-old woman from Sri Lanka who has been working in Kuwait for the past 13 years, left her home country desperate for work. "I am like many who lost their houses because of clashes going on," she says. Her eldest brother, a police officer, was injured in the fighting and couldn't work. Her father was too old and her sister too young to have regular employment. "The choice left to me was to try to find oversees work as a housemaid somewhere in the Gulf Cooperation Countries, if this family wanted to survive and have another house to live in," she explains. She was initially reticent about becoming a security guard – a position that is still not customary for women in Kuwait. "Being a security guard was a little embarrassing for me, at the beginning," she says, "but compared to the job that I had been doing for 10 years as a housemaid, my current position is much better for my privacy, working hours and income."

Yet the reality in Kuwait did not live up to Dilini's hopes: "Work agencies describe living abroad as a heaven of money, but this was not what I found when I arrived in Kuwait," she said. "I had to work for so many hours to earn USD100 every month" – to have enough money to send back home. Tragedy struck in Sri Lanka with the 2005 tsunami, and Dilini was forced to prolong her stay beyond the initial two-year contract: "The house that I built to accommodate my family away from the Tamil clashes was destroyed, but this time by a tsunami," she says. "I kept saying 'one more year then I will go back home', but things didn't work out that way." But she also has "big worries" about no longer fitting in back home. The kind of life she has in Kuwait would not be affordable in Sri Lanka: "I even feel my mentality now is not at all like when I was at home." She fears that she will grow old without ever getting married: "When I am done in Kuwait, will a loving husband be difficult for me to find?"

Shirmila, domestic help

"I didn't choose to work abroad but, like many in the village, due to little income and the clashes going on between the Tamils and the government, I had to try the agencies that were sending people abroad for a better income," says Shirmila, a Sri Lankan woman now working as a domestic helper in Kuwait. The travel process was smooth and the biggest challenges were the language barriers and missing her husband back home. "I was very lucky and worked for a lovely family," she said. "They helped me a lot to make things easier."

Shirmila had a terrible shock when visiting home for the first time after seven years away.

As she recounts: "I knocked on the door of my dream house – the house that I was building by sending my husband every dollar I could save in Kuwait – and a strange woman opened the door and said she was my husband's wife! My first thought was: 'I wish I hadn't travelled or had the working abroad contract; I've lost everything'." However, now she is thankful for her decision to return to Kuwait: "Thank God I decided to come back to Kuwait and not to give up just because of the house and the husband that I lost."

After 24 years, she is still in Kuwait and has managed to bring her children over to join her and to find them good jobs. "They are around me all the time," she says, "and we enjoy being together on weekends with many other community members." Moreover, she has managed to build a house back in Sri Lanka and to ensure that her grandchildren have a good standard of living.

Chapter 2

Migration trends: Comparing the four pathways

Rudolf Anich, Tara Brian and Frank Laczko

2

HIGHLIGHTS

Most migration is to countries in the North but it is almost matched by migration to countries in the South[17] – an overlooked and likely underestimated phenomenon, given the difficulty in finding reliable statistics.

Most migrants are from countries in the South, in absolute terms, because the collective population of those nations is higher. Relatively speaking, however, people from countries in the North are more likely to migrate.

For each of the four migration pathways, the top migration corridors are:

- North–North: Germany to the United States, followed by the United Kingdom to Australia, and then Canada, the Republic of Korea and the United Kingdom to the United States.
- South–South: Ukraine to the Russian Federation, followed by the Russian Federation to Ukraine, Bangladesh to Bhutan, Kazakhstan to the Russian Federation, and Afghanistan to Pakistan.
- South–North: Mexico to the United States, followed by Turkey to Germany, and then China, the Philippines and India to the United States.
- North–South: the United States to Mexico and South Africa, followed by Germany to Turkey, Portugal to Brazil, and Italy to Argentina.

More than half of the top 20 migration corridors worldwide are accounted for by people migrating from South to South.

The majority of migrants are male, except in the case of North–North migration.

Migrants in the South are younger than migrants in the North.

Most international students go to the North to study.

Most of the money migrants send home ('remittances') goes from North to South, although there are significant flows between countries of the South.

Migration by people from North to South is an increasingly important but neglected trend. Such moves are prompted by a variety of motives – for instance, to explore economic opportunities in the global market place, to study or retire abroad, or (among the diaspora) to re-connect with their country of origin.

17 The report adopts the terminology used in development discourse to categorize countries according to their economic status. This matter is discussed in detail in chapter 1 but, broadly speaking, 'North' refers to high-income countries and 'South' to low- and middle-income countries.

This chapter has two main objectives:

1. ***To present international migration and development trends from a different perspective, by presenting data according to the four pathways of movement: North–North, North–South, South–South and South–North.*** *Typically, in debates about migration and development, the focus is on trends in South–North migration (for instance, a nurse moving from Turkey to Germany) and, to some extent, South–South migration (for example, a builder who moves from the Ukraine to the Russian Federation). In this report, it is argued that when a migrant moves from North to North (for example, a nurse going from Australia to the United Kingdom), or from North to South (such as when a young engineer goes from the United States to South Africa in search of work), there are also implications for development. This chapter provides an important context for the discussion in chapter 4, by showing how the profile of migrants and the scale and direction of movements vary according to the four pathways.*

2. ***To explore how these trends vary according to which definition of 'South' and 'North' is used****. As discussed in chapter 1, the report compares data using the three main ways of defining North and South, as adopted by UN DESA, the World Bank and UNDP. Figures on international migration in the North and the South differ according to the definition used. Some countries may be part of the 'North', in one classification, while being grouped into the 'South' in another categorization. Key borderline countries include the Russian Federation and transition economies in Eastern Europe, some Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries (such as Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates), some of the emerging Asian economies (such as Hong Kong, China; the Republic of Korea; and Singapore) and Caribbean countries (such as Barbados; Bermuda; Puerto Rico; and Trinidad and Tobago).*

This chapter will provide a snapshot of the situation at a particular point in time (2010), rather than an analysis over time, since countries are reclassified annually under most indexing systems[18] and the composition of 'North' and 'South' therefore changes every year. In addition, definitions or methodologies used by these systems may also vary, making it impossible to make an accurate longitudinal comparison. This chapter therefore provides key migration statistics for each of the four migratory pathways in 2010.

18 UNDP and the World Bank do an annual reclassification of countries in terms of the HDI and GNI per capita. These adjustments give a more accurate reflection of the current status of development, but it means that figures are not easily comparable, over time. Instead, UN DESA's definition is not linked to an index or indicator that is regularly updated. Countries defined as part of the North or South have remained roughly the same over the last few decades. This means that the data can be directly compared, but the classification system can result in a given country still being designated as 'North' or 'South', even if its development status has significantly changed, over time.

Four migration pathways

South–North and South–South represent the two major migratory flows in all three classification systems (see figure 1 and table 2).

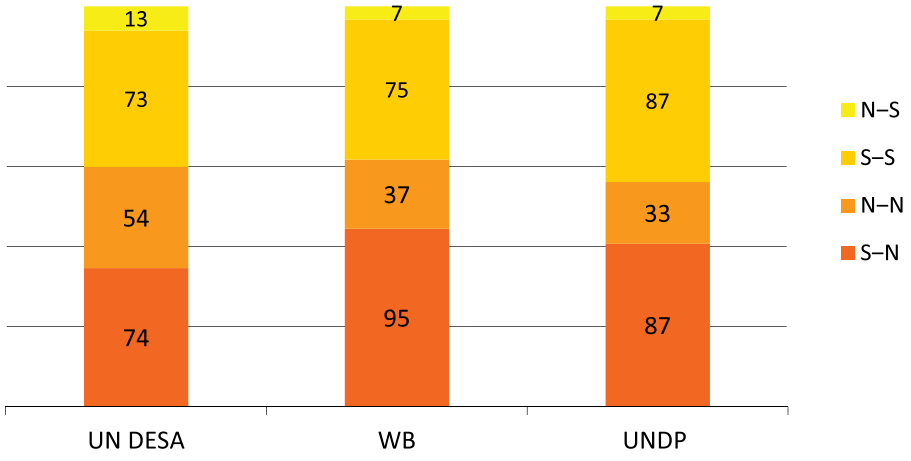
- According to the classification used by the World Bank, in 2010, South–North movements represented the largest migratory flow (45% of the total), followed by South–South (35%), North–North (17%) and North–South (3%) (see table 2).

Table 2 Stock of international migrants (in thousands) and share of global migrant stock on the four migration pathways, using the three key classifications, 2010

	S–N		N–N		S–S		N–S	
	Stock (thousand)	%	Stock (thousand)	%	Stock (thousand)	%	Stock (thousand)	%
UN DESA	74,297	35	53,464	25	73,158	34	13,279	6
WB	95,091	45	36,710	17	75,355	35	7,044	3
UNDP	86,873	41	32,757	15	87,159	41	7,410	3

Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

Figure 1 Stock of international migrants (in millions), on the four migration pathways, using the three key classifications, 2010



Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

The difference between the classifications used becomes more relevant when considering both the origin and the destination of international migrants along the four pathways of migration.

- For instance, for North–North migration, UN DESA values are almost twice as high as the ones obtained when using the UNDP definition (for example, 25% and 15%, respectively, in terms of the share of the global migrant stock).

- The scale of North–South migration varies from a high of 13 million, using UN DESA figures, to 7 million, according to the UNDP and World Bank definitions.
- The figures for South–South migrants also vary significantly – from 87 million, according to UNDP figures, to 75 and 73 million, respectively, according to the World Bank and UN DESA definitions.
- As for South–North migration, the World Bank counts 95 million persons moving in this direction, compared to 87 million, according to UNDP, and 74 million, for UN DESA.
- The majority of migrants live in the North, according to all three definitions, with values ranging between 56 and 62 per cent (see table 3).[19]

Table 3 **Stock of international migrants (in thousands) and share of global migrant stock living in the North and South, using the three key classifications, 2010**

	To North		To South	
	Stock (thousand)	%	Stock (thousand)	%
UN DESA	127,762	60	86,438	40
WB	131,800	62	82,399	38
UNDP	119,630	56	94,569	44

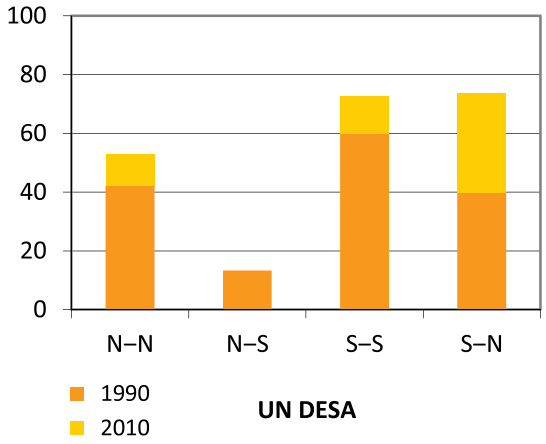
Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

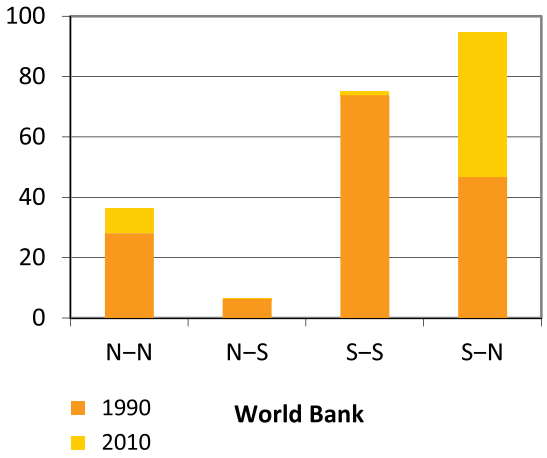
South–North migration increased the most in the last two decades.

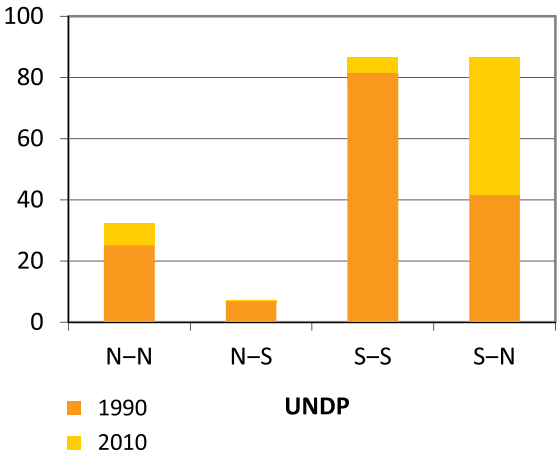
- Looking at how migrant numbers have changed, over time, it is likely that South–North migration will play an increasing role (UNGA, 2012), although South–South migration flows, which are much more likely to be under-recorded, could possibly be the dominant pathway or, at least, be as important as the South–North flows.
- While North–South migration has remained stable, over the past 20 years, and South–South and North–North migration have increased by less than one third, South–North migration appears to have doubled in that time (see figure 2).
- However, it is important to remember that, in the South–South context, informal movements are likely to be more common and, therefore, unrecorded movements not reflected in the figures below are likely to be much higher. Data-gathering capacities in the South are also much more limited.

19 As a comparison, the extended version of the Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC-E - version 2.0, which includes 89 destination countries, 61 of which are outside the OECD area covering 72% of global migrants) recorded 68 per cent of all migrants living in the North (i.e. OECD countries) and 32 per cent living in the South (i.e. non-OECD countries) (Dumont et al., 2010).

Figure 2 **Evolution of migrant stocks (in millions) on the four migration pathways, according to the three key classifications, 1990–2010**







Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

Note: Calculations were made by keeping country classifications stable (i.e. 2010 classifications were also used for 1990 figures). However, using the World Bank's 1990 classification revealed the same trends, with South–South migration even decreasing in the 1990–2010 period. The UN DESA classification hardly changed while, for UNDP, no 'very high HDI' category was available in 1990.

Migrant origin

In absolute terms, the majority of international migrants originate in the South, which is not surprising, given the much larger population in the South than in the North.

- Indeed, values range between 147 and 174 million migrants (equal to 69% and 81%, respectively, of the global migrant stock) born in developing countries (see table 4).
- In other words, three out of four migrants are likely to come from the South, according to the classification used by the World Bank and UNDP, and two out of three, using the UN DESA classification.

Table 4 Stock of international migrants (in thousands) and share of global migrant stock originating in the North and South, using the three key classifications, 2010

	From North		From South	
	Stock (thousand)	%	Stock (thousand)	%
UN DESA	66,744	31	147,456	69
WB	43,753	20	170,446	80
UNDP	40,167	19	174,032	81

Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

However, in relative terms, people originating in the North are more likely to migrate than those in the South.

- This is important, in the context of the migration–development debate. Migration is usually considered to be prompted by the search for a better life by people in poorer countries, with the lack of development in these countries being a key 'push factor'. The assumption is that, if development increased, migration would decrease. In fact, people who are already living in a more developed country may be as likely to migrate as those living in developing countries.
- De Haas (2010) found an inverted-U-shape relationship between the level of human development and migration patterns, indicating that the number of people leaving a country only starts declining once a high level of human development has been reached in the country of origin. This means that the number of migrants continues to rise, even when there's an increase in the level of human development, and that countries with high human development levels can have as many people leaving as can countries with low levels.
- When comparing the total number of migrants with the total population residing in the South and North, respectively, the role of human mobility in the North becomes more evident. While the absolute number of migrants is higher for the South, people living in the North are more mobile and, therefore, represent a higher share of the total population living there.

- In fact, according to all three classifications, in the North, emigrants represent a higher percentage of the total population (between 3.6% and 5.2%) than they do in the South (less than 3%) (see table 5 below).
- In other words, the total number of migrants originating in the South is higher than in the North, but migrants account for a smaller percentage, if compared to the population living in the South and the North, respectively.

Migrant destination

An assessment of international migration along all four migration pathways reveals the significance of the South as a destination for migrants.

- It highlights the importance of South–South movements and reminds us that a significant number of people (between 7 million and 13 million) also move from the North to the South and, indeed, there are several indications that this trend has been increasing (see later in this chapter for more details).
- However, when comparing the number of immigrants with the total population living in the South and the North, the picture changes. For all classifications, international migrants in the South represent less than 2 per cent of the total population; in the North, they range between 10 and 12 per cent (see table 5). This difference can partially be explained by the demographic boom in many developing countries and the decline of birth rates in more developed countries, over the last few decades.

Table 5 **Immigrants and emigrants as a share of the total population in the North and South, using the three key classifications, 2010**

	North			South		
	Population (million)	Immigrants (as % of pop)	Emigrants (as % of pop)	Population (million)	Immigrants (as % of pop)	Emigrants (as % of pop)
UN DESA	1,237	11.3	5.2	5,671	1.52	2.5
WB	1,100	12.0	3.8	5,807	1.41	2.9
UNDP	1,056	10.3	3.6	5,852	1.61	2.9

Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2011a and 2012b.

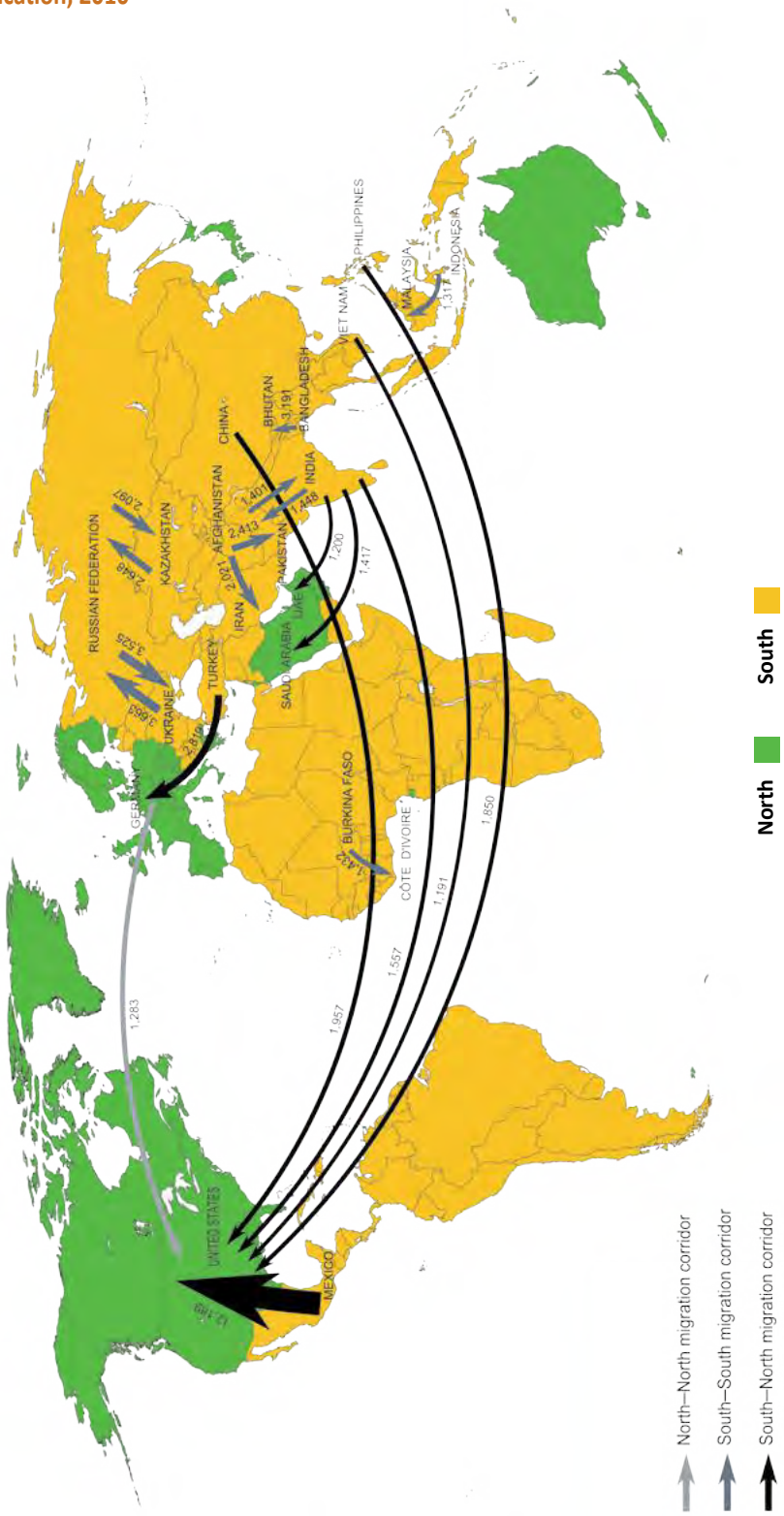
World's top migration corridors

More than half the top 20 migration corridors worldwide (that is, those with the highest number of migrants moving between two countries) are along the South–South pathway, and the United States is the top destination for migrants from both the North and the South (see map 2)**.**

- South–South corridors include, primarily, migrants moving from the Russian Federation to the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, and vice versa. Other major corridors are Bangladesh to India; Afghanistan to Pakistan and Iran; and India to Pakistan, and vice versa; and Indonesia to Malaysia.
- The only corridor from the African continent in the top 20 is from Burkina Faso to Côte d'Ivoire.

- The United States represents the key destination for major migrant corridors in the North–North and South–North context (see table 6). Migrants moving from Mexico to the United States rank first, totalling alone almost 6 per cent of the global migrant stock. Other major countries of origin include China, India and the Philippines, in the South, and Canada, Germany and the Republic of Korea, in the North.
- There is also a significant number of nationals moving from the United Kingdom to Australia.
- None of the top 20 corridors runs from the North to the South. However, significant numbers of migrants have been recorded along this pathway, with US nationals moving to Mexico and, more surprisingly, to South Africa; Germans moving to Turkey; and Portuguese moving to Brazil. Some of these movements are due to retirement and rising unemployment in the North, among others (as discussed later in this chapter).

Map 2 Top 20 migration corridors worldwide (migrant stock, in thousands), using the World Bank classification, 2010



Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

Notes: 1) The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Dotted lines are used to indicate administrative boundaries, undetermined boundaries and situations where the final boundary has not yet been determined.

2) Four migration corridors are excluded from this ranking: China to Hong Kong, China (ranking eighth); movements within the Occupied Palestinian Territory (eleventh); Occupied Palestinian Territory to Jordan (thirteenth); and Puerto Rico to the United States (fourteenth).

Table 6 Top five migrant corridors on each of the four migration pathways, using the World Bank classification, 2010

S–N	Origin	Destination	Number of migrants	% of total S–N migrants
1	Mexico	United States	12,189,158	12.8
2	Turkey	Germany	2,819,326	3.0
3	China	United States	1,956,523	2.1
4	Philippines	United States	1,850,067	1.9
5	India	United States	1,556,641	0.7
N–N	**Origin**	**Destination**	**Number of migrants**	**% of total N–N migrants**
1	Germany	United States	1,283,108	4.0
2	United Kingdom	Australia	1,097,893	3.5
3	Canada	United States	1,037,187	3.0
4	Korea, Republic of	United States	1,030,561	2.8
5	United Kingdom	United States	901,916	2.5
S–S	**Origin**	**Destination**	**Number of migrants**	**% of total S–S migrants**
1	Ukraine	Russian Federation	3,662,722	4.9
2	Russian Federation	Ukraine	3,524,669	4.7
3	Bangladesh	India	3,190,769	4.2
4	Kazakhstan	Russian Federation	2,648,316	3.5
5	Afghanistan	Pakistan	2,413,395	3.2
N–S	**Origin**	**Destination**	**Number of migrants**	**% of total N–S migrants**
1	United States	Mexico	563,315	7.8
2	Germany	Turkey	306,459	4.3
3	United States	South Africa	252,311	3.5
4	Portugal	Brazil	222,148	3.1
5	Italy	Argentina	198,319	2.8

Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.
Note: Two migratory flows are excluded from this ranking: China to Hong Kong, China (ranking third in South–North) and movements from Puerto Rico to the United States (first in North–North).

Main migrant-sending and -receiving countries

The top migrant-sending and -receiving countries in the world are the United States, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and India, but there are other notable trends also (see figure 3 and map 2)**.**

- EU Member States, such as Germany, Italy, Poland and the United Kingdom, are the major countries of origin in the North–North context.
- The United States attracts many other nationalities (from Canada, China, Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and the Republic of Korea), representing the major destination for both South–North and North–North migration (receiving, respectively, 35% and 27% of all migrants in each of the two migratory flows).
- The United States is also the major migrant-sending country for North–South migration (particularly to Mexico and South Africa).
- For South–South migratory flows, countries such as the Russian Federation, Ukraine and India are both major sending and receiving countries.
- Major South–South sending countries include several Asian countries, such as Afghanistan and Bangladesh, and receiving countries include Kazakhstan and Pakistan.

In terms of migrants as a share of the total population, countries with a smaller total population tend to rank highest.

- Findings worth noting are the high shares of immigrants in the population of destination countries in the South–North context – in particular, in some of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries (86% for Qatar, 68% for United Arab Emirates, and 66% for Kuwait).
- Interestingly, many countries where emigrants represent a particularly high share of the total population are part of the North–North world. In some high-income Caribbean countries, such as Barbados, for example, emigrants moving to another country in the North represent 39 per cent of the total population; in Puerto Rico and Trinidad and Tobago, they represent 37 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively; and, in some EU Member States, they also account for a significant share (Malta 23%, Portugal 18%, Croatia and Ireland 15%).

Figure 3 Top five countries of destination and origin, on the four migration pathways (migrants in thousands and as share of total migrant stock, on each pathway), using the World Bank classification, 2010

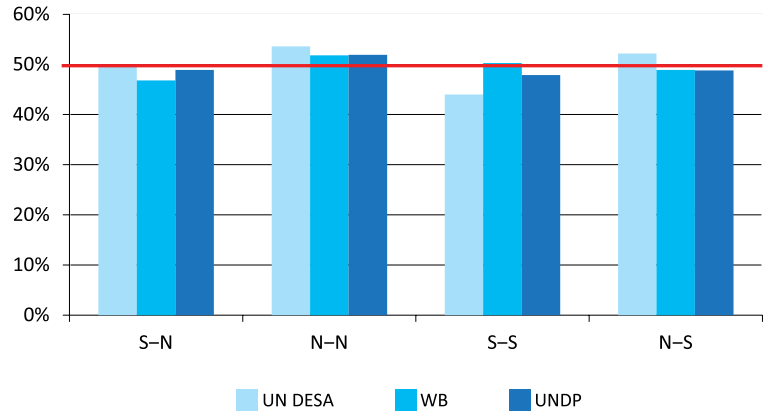
Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.
Note: Not included in this figure: in the South–South 'top origin' category, Occupied Palestinian Territory, which ranks second in the South–South 'top destination' category, Jordan, which ranks fifth and mainly receives migrants from the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

Migration and gender

The majority of migrants are male, except in the case of North–North migration, where the majority are female.

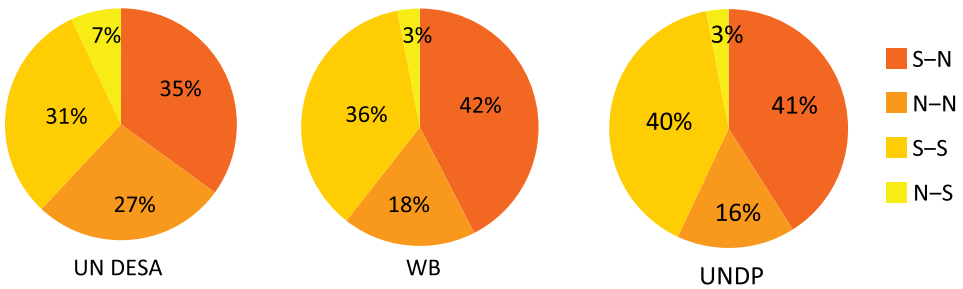
- Female migrants, when calculated as a share of the total migrant population for each of the four migration pathways, were found to be in the majority only in the North–North context. This was consistently found to be the case, regardless of which classification was used (see figure 4).
- In all other migratory flows, female migrants are fewer in number than men (with the exception of female migrants moving North–South, if using the UN DESA classification, and South–South, according to the World Bank classification).
- In line with figures on the overall migrant stock, the greatest share of female migrants were likely to move from the South to the North and only slightly fewer within the South (see figure 5).
- About 60 per cent of all female migrants live, like their male counterparts, in the North and about 10 per cent of them are international migrants.

Figure 4 **Female migrants as a share of the total migrant stock on the four migration pathways, using the three key classifications, 2010**



Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

Figure 5 **Female migrants as a share of the total female migrant stock on the four migration pathways, using the three key classifications, 2010**



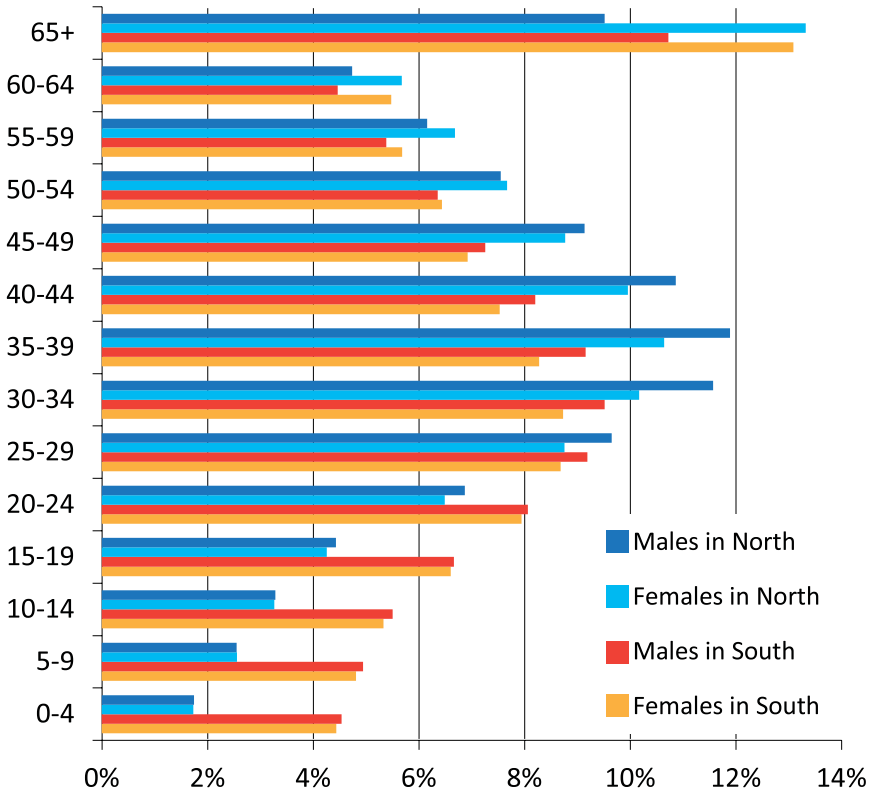
Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2012b.

Migration and age

International migrants in the South are, on average, younger than those in the North.

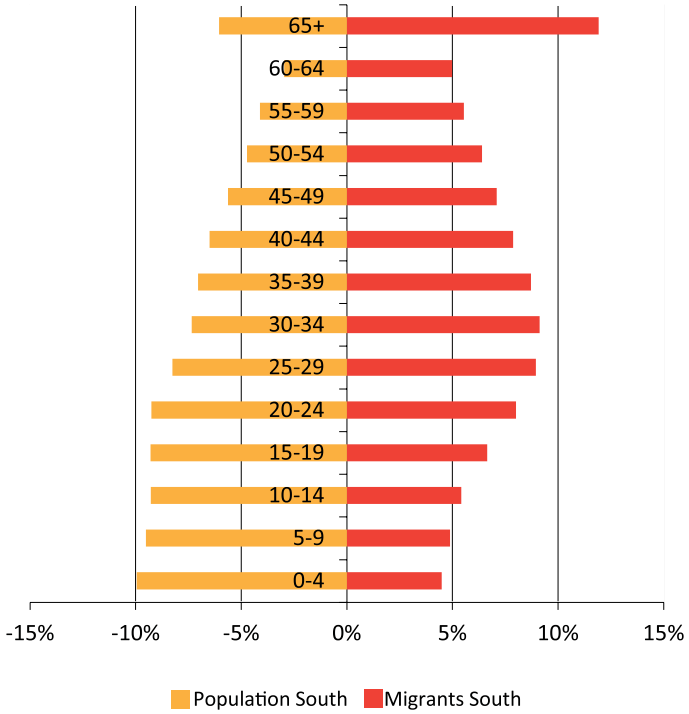
- The percentage of migrants of up to 24 years of age is much higher in the South than in the North (see figure 6).
- Migrants in the North have a stronger presence in the working-age groups (especially among 25–49-year-olds), which becomes particularly clear when comparing migrants with the total population (see figure 7).
- Finally, in the South, migrants have been found to represent a higher share of the older age groups, compared to nationals (see figure 7). This holds true particularly for female migrants – possibly due to good living standards, which persuade migrants to stay, or some sort of difficulty returning home. It might also partially reflect the increasing retirement migration from North to South (see end of this chapter for more details).

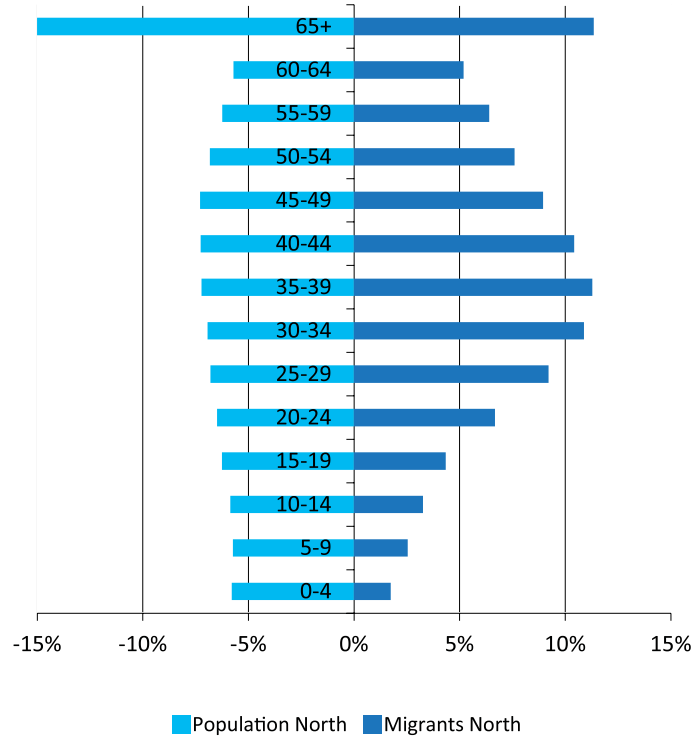
Figure 6 **Migrants by age group and gender in the North and the South, using the World Bank classification, 2010**



Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2011a.

Figure 7 **Total population and migrants by age group in the North and the South, according to the World Bank classification, 2010**





Source: IOM calculations, based on UN DESA, 2011a.
Note: Data exclude countries or areas with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants in 2010, due to lack of disaggregated data.

Migration and work skills

Migrants are predominantly low-skilled, although reliable up-to-date information is largely missing, particularly for countries in the South.

- From the data collected by the DIOC-E,[20] it appears that migration remains predominantly low-skilled, both in the North and in the South:[21] 44 per cent of migrants are low-skilled, 33 per cent have intermediate skills; and only 22 per cent are highly skilled (Dumont et al., 2010).
- Migration by low-skilled workers is likely to play a greater role in the South–South context, which is characterized by informal, less costly movements to neighbouring countries and is therefore accessible to larger and less educated parts of the population (GFMD, 2012).
- In all world regions, tertiary emigration rates[22] are higher than the total emigration rate in all world regions.[23] OECD estimates highlight that, in the North, 24 per cent of all migrants have completed tertiary education, while only 15 per cent of migrants in the South have reached this level of education (Dumont et al., 2010).[24] However, attractive destinations for highly skilled migrants also exist in the South – for instance, in some of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, Malaysia and South Africa (GFMD, 2012).

Refugees

Contrary to public perception, the majority of refugees not only originate but also live in the South.

- In 2010, using the World Bank classification, four out of five refugees were born and were living in the South (accounting for 81% of the global number of refugees).
- The North hosts fewer than one in five refugees but also generates a much more limited number of refugees (less than 1% of the global stock) (see table 7). Most of them are Croatians living in other States of the former Yugoslavia – most notably, Serbia.
- These findings are confirmed when refugees are considered as a share of the total migrant stock in each of the four migration pathways: only in the South–South context do refugees make up a significant proportion of migrants – that is, more than 10 per cent of all migrants.

20 The extended version of the Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC-E, version 2.0) covers 89 destination countries (61 of which are outside the OECD area) and includes about 110 million migrants.

21 North and South are here defined as OECD and non-OECD countries, respectively, and not according to the World Bank classification used before in this part.

22 The stock of emigrants from a given country having (at least) completed a higher education degree (13 years or more) expressed as a share of the total labour force with tertiary education in that country.

23 This is particularly true for Africa, where the emigration rate of highly skilled migrants (10.6% globally and 9.7% to OECD countries) is double that estimated for other regions (5.4% and 4.3%, respectively) (Dumont et al., 2010).

24 North and South are here defined as OECD and non-OECD countries, respectively, and not according to the World Bank classification previously used in this section.

Table 7 **Number of refugees (in thousands), share of global refugee stock and share of migrant stock in each of the four migration pathways, using the World Bank classification, 2010**

	S–N	N–N	S–S	N–S
Stock (in thousands)	1,756	19	7,939	61
% of global refugee stock	18%	0.2%	81.2%	0.6%
% of total migrants (in each pathway)	1.8%	0.1%	10.5%	0.9%

Source: Own calculations, based on UNHCR Statistical Online Population Database.
Note: Data do not include stateless persons (estimated at up to 12 million, as of end of 2010),Palestinian refugees residing in areas of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)(4.8 million), and people in refugee-like situations (about 775,000). For details, see www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c4d6.html.

International students

Most international students go to educational institutions in the North.[25]

- In the academic year 2009/2010, four out of five international students[26] were living in the North, using the World Bank classification.
- Today, more than half of all international students originate in the South and study in the North (see table 8). Almost one third are North–North students, mainly because of the opportunities to study in Europe, such as the EU Erasmus Programme.[27]
- The figure for South–South students is significantly lower (only 18%), despite the fact that South–South migrants account for 35 per cent of the global migrant stock.
- Educational opportunities in the North may, indeed, be more attractive, due to higher quality, prestige and reputation, and the greater availability of part-time jobs. However, regional hubs for pursuing studies also exist in the South – for instance, more than half of the international students originating in countries belonging to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) decide to study within the region and, more precisely, in South Africa. SADC countries ranked first, globally, in terms of outbound mobility ratio of tertiary students (UNESCO, 2012).[28]

25 Calculations are based on available bilateral country data on international student mobility, which are not available for all student migrants. The *Global Education Digest 2011*, prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), reports a total number of 3,369,244 internal mobile students for 2009/2010; however, this is not disaggregated according to origin and destination country. A detailed breakdown by country of origin is available in the online database of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) but it includes only about one third of the global stock of international mobile students (i.e. slightly more than 1 million). Thus, these calculations represent only a rough approximation of the total distribution of students between the four pathways of migration, as defined by the *WMR 2013*. For more information, see: www.uis.unesco.org/Pages/default.aspx and www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/ged-2011.aspx.

26 The UIS defines internationally mobile students as those who study in a foreign country, of which they are not a permanent resident (UNESCO, 2009).

27 In 2009/2010, the number of Erasmus students alone exceeded 200,000; see: http://ec.europa.eu/education/pub/pdf/higher/erasmus0910_en.pdf.

28 The number of students from a given country studying abroad, expressed as a share of the total tertiary enrolment in the country.

- Finally, it should be noted that these data on bilateral flows do not capture the entire global mobile student population (see footnote 25) and data on students in the South may be under-recorded.

Table 8 **Stock of international students (in thousands) on each of the four migration pathways, using the World Bank classification, 2009/2010**

	S–N	N–N	S–S	N–S
Stock of international students	535,694	297,102	191,739	17,031
% of global student stock	51%	29%	18%	2%

Source: IOM calculations, based on United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute of Statistics (UIS) data, extracted in September 2012.

Note: Figures included in this calculation only represent about one third of the total number of international mobile students and, thus, are only an approximation of the total distribution between the four pathways of migration.

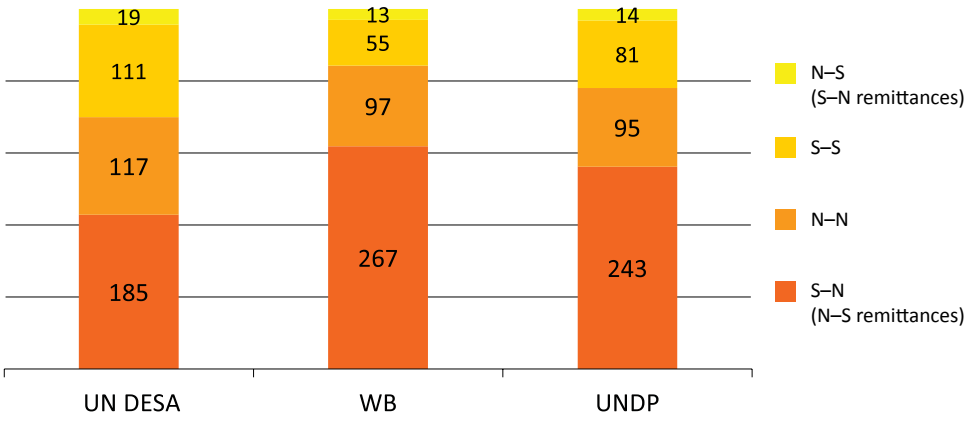
Key remittance patterns

Officially recorded remittance flows show that the largest share of remittance transfers are from North to South, but flows between countries in the South are also important; two thirds of remittances received by the least developed countries (LDCs)[29] originate in the South (UNCTAD, 2012).

- This is in keeping with data showing that most movements are from South to North and, therefore, most remittances are sent from the North to the South: in 2010, these movements accounted for almost two thirds of the total remittances (USD 267 billion), using the World Bank classification, more than half of the total (USD 242 billion), using the UNDP classification, and more than 40 per cent (USD 185 billion), using the UN DESA classification (see figure 8).
- This is also the result of higher wage differentials in the South–North context and higher transfer costs between countries in the South.
- But it is also estimated that the amount of remittances transferred through informal, unrecorded channels is particularly high in the South–South context (Ratha and Shaw, 2010).
- Using the World Bank classification, the share of South–South remittances is particularly low as transfers from high-income countries in the southern hemisphere (such as from countries in the GCC to Asia) are not included.

29 LDCs are defined by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on the basis of three criteria: low income, human resource weakness and economic vulnerability. See web link for further details: www.un.org/special-rep/ohrlls/ldc/ldc%20criteria.htm.

Figure 8 **Comparing remittance flows (in USD billions) on the four migration pathways**



Source: IOM calculations, based on World Bank, 2010.

Notes: 1) The following countries and territories are excluded, due to lack of data: Aruba; French Polynesia; Macao, China; Netherlands Antilles; New Caledonia; West Bank and Gaza.

2) Due to the lack of disaggregated data, UN DESA figures include Saint Pierre and Miquelon as part of the South, although classified by UN DESA as being in the North.

South–North migrants remit proportionately more than migrants on the other three pathways.

- According to all three key classifications, while South–North migrants represent 35–45 per cent of all migrants, they send between 43 and 62 per cent of all remittances. The same phenomenon can be observed for North–North migrants, although to a lesser extent (see table 9).
- These figures indicate that migrants living in the North send more remittances than their counterparts in the South. This is particularly so if compared with South–South migrants, who represent more than one third of the global migrant stock but remit only a quarter of all remittances or less.
- Interestingly, these results are different when considering only remittances to LDCs, two thirds of which, according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2012), originate in countries in the South. This can be explained by the fact that migrants from LDCs mainly move to other developing countries and only one out of four migrates to a developed country.[30]
- As mentioned above, these results can be partly explained by differences in the transfer costs, wage differentials and unrecorded remittance flows.

30 For more information, see http://unctad.org/en/docs/ldc2011_en.pdf.

Table 9 **Comparison of migrant stocks and remittance levels on the four pathways, using the three key classifications, 2010**

		S–N (N–S remittances)	N–N	S–S	N–S (S–N remittances)
UN DESA	**Migrants as %** of global migrant stock	35%	25%	34%	6%
	% of global **remittances**	43%	27%	26%	4%
WB	**Migrants as %** of global migrant stock	45%	17%	35%	3%
	% of global **remittances**	62%	22%	13%	3%
UNDP	**Migrants as %** of global migrant stock	41%	15%	41%	3%
	% of global **remittances**	56%	22%	19%	3%

Source: IOM calculations, based on World Bank, 2010.

Notes: 1) The following countries and territories are excluded, due to lack of data: Aruba; French Polynesia; Macao, China; Netherlands Antilles; New Caledonia; West Bank and Gaza.

2) Due to the lack of disaggregated data, UN DESA figures include Saint Pierre and Miquelon as part of the South, although classified by UN DESA as being in the North.

World's top remittance corridors

Key notable points about the top remittance corridors (those with the highest total number of transfers between two countries) are that the majority are part of the South–North migratory flow; the United States is the top remittance-sending country; and the top remittance-receiving countries are in Asia (see map 3)**.**

- Out of the top 20 global remittance corridors, 16 are part of the South–North migratory flow.
- The only exceptions are remittances sent from India to Bangladesh (ranking twelfth), Malaysia to Indonesia (fourteenth), France to Belgium (nineteenth) and France to Spain (twentieth).
- The United States is the top remittance-sending country in four of the top five corridors. In 2010, almost USD 100 billion were sent from the United States to countries in the South, accounting for more than one third of all remittance flows in the South–North migration world.
- In the same year, the top five corridors each recorded more than USD 10 billion in remittances, led by the United States–Mexico (USD 22 billion) and the United Arab Emirates–India (USD 14 billion).
- In the North–North context, EU Member States are major remittance-receiving but also -sending countries. More than half of all North–North remittances are received by the top five receiving countries, which are all EU Member States. Remittances are sent from within the EU, from countries such as France and Spain, but also from outside, such as Australia and the United States (see also table 10 and figure 9).

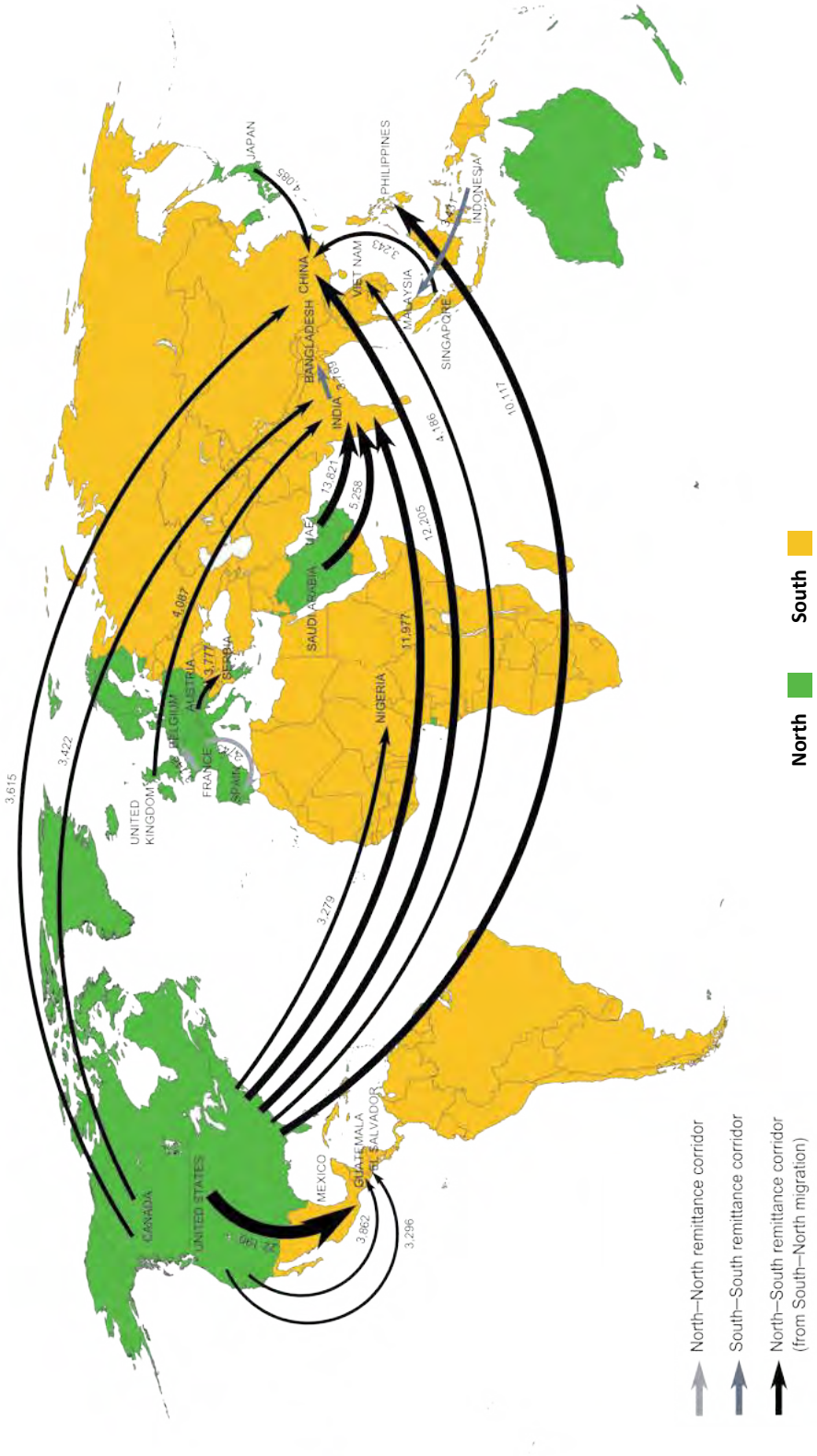
- In the South–South context, remittances in four of the top five corridors are bi-directional (that is, they are transmitted and received between the same countries), reflecting the economic linkages between India and Bangladesh, and between the Russian Federation and Ukraine.
- As for the North–South migration pathway, the major corridors are closely linked with the top remittance-sending and -receiving corridors, highlighting the long-standing relations between countries – namely, Germany and Turkey; Spain and Argentina; and the United States and Mexico.

Table 10 **Top five remittance corridors on the four migration pathways (remittances in USD millions), using the World Bank classification, 2010**

Rank	South–North (N–S remittances)	North–North	South–South	North–South (S–N remittances)
1	US → Mexico (22,190)	France → Belgium (3,148)	India → Bangladesh (3,769)	Turkey → Germany (994)
2	UAE → India (13,821)	France → Spain (2,743)	Malaysia → Indonesia (3,430)	Argentina → Spain (927)
3	US → China (12,205)	Spain → France (2,302)	Russian Fed. → Ukraine (2,720)	Mexico → USA (655)
4	US → India (11,977)	US → Germany (2,154)	Bangladesh → India (1,899)	Belarus → Poland (578)
5	US → Philippines (10,117)	Australia → UK (1,939)	Ukraine → Russian Fed. (1,788)	Kazakhstan → Germany (570)

Source: IOM calculations, based on World Bank, 2010.
Note: The remittance corridor Hong Kong, China to China (ranking third) has been excluded from this ranking.

Map 3 Top 20 remittance corridors worldwide (remittances in USD millions), using the World Bank classification, 2010

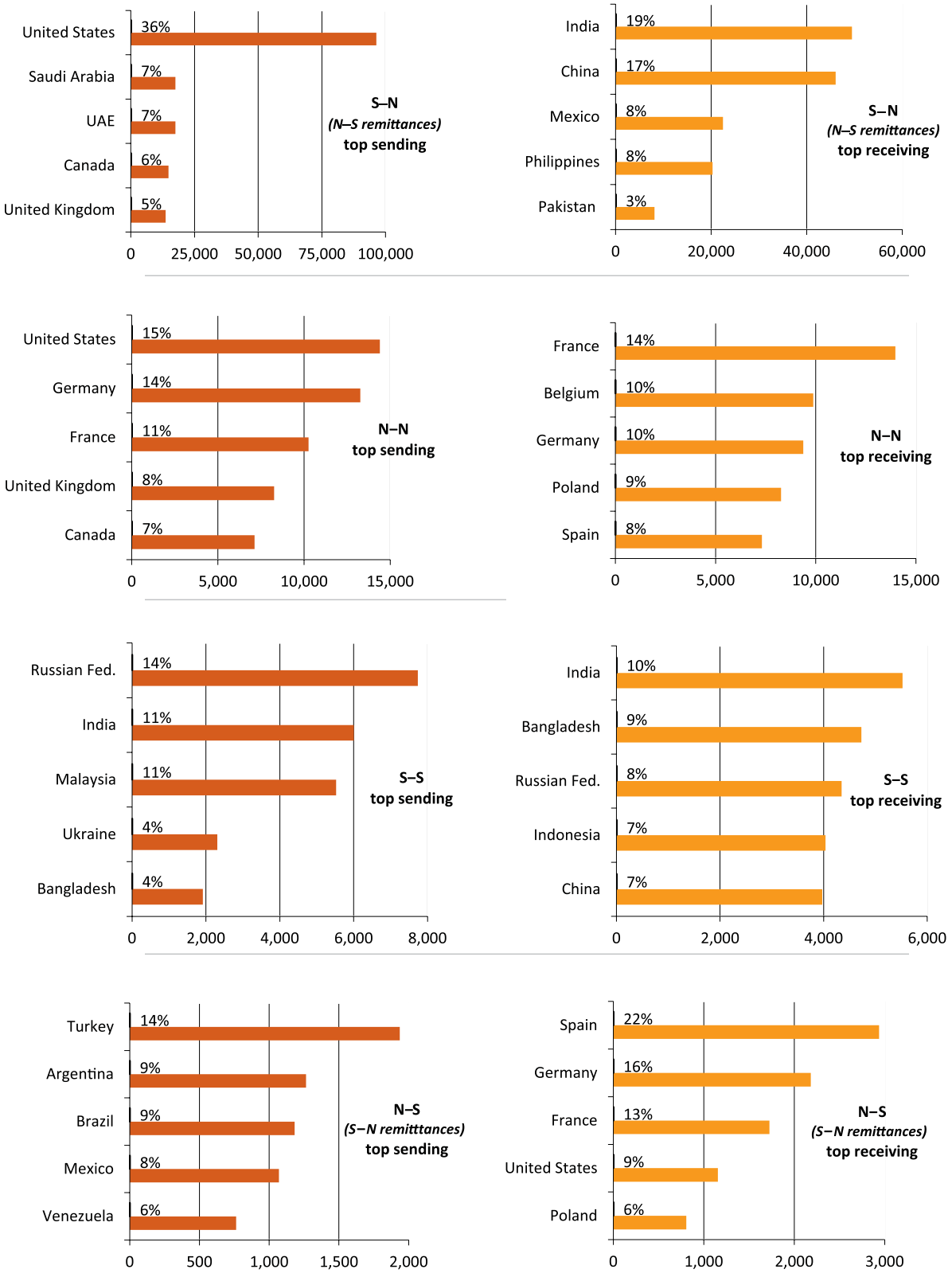


Source: IOM calculations, based on World Bank, 2010.

Notes: 1) The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Dotted lines are used to indicate administrative boundaries, undetermined boundaries and situations where the final boundary has not yet been determined.

2) The remittance corridor Hong Kong, China to China (ranking third) has been excluded from this ranking.

Figure 9 Top five countries sending and receiving remittances on the four migration pathways (remittances in millions USD and as a share of total remittances, on each pathway), using the World Bank classification, 2010



Source: IOM calculations, based on World Bank, 2010.
Note: On the South–South pathway, Jordan has been excluded from the ranking of top remittance-sending countries; it ranks fourth and mainly sends remittances to the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

IN FOCUS: NORTH–SOUTH MIGRATION

Trends

South–North migration accounts for less than half of all migratory flows globally but has tended to dominate policy discussions on migration and development. Migration from developed to developing regions, or from North to South, tends to be particularly neglected. Yet, although this flow accounts for just 3–6 per cent[31] of total migration, or between 7 and 13 million migrants, there is evidence that this flow is increasing. While it is too early to see changes in North–South migration reflected in global databases,[32] country-specific examples and anecdotal evidence suggest that this trend is becoming increasingly important. For example, China's stock of international migrants has risen by 35 per cent in the last 10 years, with an increasing number likely to originate in the North; the number of Portuguese migrants in Africa has increased by 42 per cent, over the past decade; and the United States has become the main country of origin for migrants heading to Brazil.

Box 3

Migration to China

- Numbers of international migrants are increasing.
- There were 685,775 migrants in China in 2010 – up by 35 per cent since 2000. Numbers of foreigners holding permits also rose by around 29 per cent, compared with 2006 (OECD, 2012a).
- China is an increasingly attractive destination, due to its rapid economic growth and demographic changes. Labour market needs are outstripping supply (Skeldon, 2011), which has led to a rise in real wages and a greater demand for foreign labour (Park et al., 2010).
- Migrants come from developing countries and regions, such as North Korea, Viet Nam, South Asia and Africa (Skeldon, 2011).
- Migrants also come from the developed world: South Korea; Japan; Taiwan; Hong Kong, China; Europe; North America; and Australasia (*Ibid.*). Migrants from Australia have substantially increased since the 1900s, due to the return of the Chinese diaspora and the movement of skilled workers (Hugo, 2005). Likewise, North Americans, including the diaspora, are attracted by China's vibrant economy and low-cost living (Seligson, 2009; Sullivan, 2011; Pieke, 2012).
- Student migration to China is also on the rise – mostly from South Korea, the United States and Japan. China attracted 238,184 students from overseas in 2009 (more than those going to Canada and Australia) (Skeldon, 2011). China continues to send its own students abroad but growing numbers are returning upon completion of their studies. According to official Chinese statistics, over 186,000 returned in 2011; in the same year, for the first time, the number of returning students was more than half the number of outgoing students (OECD, 2012a).

31 The percentage of global migration represented by North–South flows varies depending on how countries are classified as North and South. When using either the World Bank or UNDP classification, this flow represents 3 per cent; under the UN DESA classification, it rises to 6 per cent.

32 UN DESA estimates that North–South migration remained roughly constant from 1990 to 2010, at around 13 million (United Nations General Assembly, 2012).

- Despite signs of growing immigration, OECD (2012a) notes that China's enormous economic growth is not proportionately reflected in the number of foreigners working in the country. Unlike other countries, China lacks an official policy to attract skilled foreign workers.

Reliability of data

Capturing migration flows from North to South presents particular challenges, in addition to those encountered in measuring other flows of migration.

- Immigration statistics tend to be most comprehensive in OECD countries and other developed economies that have more established and reliable statistical records. In contrast, records of migrant stocks in developing countries are often outdated, incomplete or lacking entirely. Furthermore, when data do exist, comparability between countries is not always possible.
- Because of the paucity of data in migrant-receiving countries in the developing world, North–South migration is often studied by way of emigration flows from sending countries. In terms of international comparability, flows are generally problematic. Furthermore, leaving a country usually requires fewer administrative procedures than entering one, and outflow data are therefore less likely to be captured by the sending country. Consequently, measuring outflows is more problematic than measuring inflows (Lemaitre, 2005).[33]
- While it is likely that a considerable portion of North–South migration is composed of returning migrants or members of the diaspora, these flows may not be recorded at all or it may not be possible to separate them from total flows. Some countries, such as Brazil, are able to capture data on the stocks of returned migrants in censuses, by asking for the place of previous residence rather than the country of birth, although this presents its own set of complications.[34]

Migration drivers

Economic opportunity

The recent financial and economic crisis in the North and a growing demand for skilled labour in emerging economies in the South seem to be partly responsible for the increase in North–South migration. While traditional emigration countries in the South will continue to provide a large proportion of the world's workers, in the coming years, evidence suggests that workers from the North are also being drawn to new Southern destinations, such as BRICS countries[35] and emerging African and Latin American economies. Work permits granted to foreigners in Brazil increased by 64 per cent between 2009 and 2011, for example, with the largest single recipient group being US nationals in 2011 (MTE, 2012).

33 See www.oecd.org/migration/internationalmigrationpoliciesanddata/36064929.pdf for a discussion on the statistical challenges of migration measurement, particularly regarding flows.
34 See Barbosa de Campos, M. in Pinto de Oliveira, L.A. and A.T. Ribeiro de Oliveira, 2011:74.
35 Refers to Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China and South Africa.

Expansion of global companies

Along with the independent migration of workers, companies are increasingly establishing themselves in the South, creating a growing number of international postings for skilled workers from the North. According to the *2012 Global Mobility Survey Report*, 47 per cent of organizations reported growth in international assignments in the previous year, fuelled partly by explosive expansion into emerging markets (Brazier, 2012). China is fast becoming the leading destination for international placements, with other BRIC economies also increasing in popularity. Other relocation surveys have yielded similar results, with up to 50 per cent more businesses indicating an increased number of placements between 2010 and 2011.[36] Global expansion may also contribute to return migration, as companies desire immigrants in the North who can return to work in their country of origin in the South with more cultural know-how and linguistic abilities (Cullen, 2007).

Box 4

Migration to Brazil

- Migrants to Brazil increased by 87 per cent between the 1995/2000 and 2005/2010 census periods, with 268,295 arriving in the five years prior to the 2010 census (IBGE, 2012a).
- Between 2000 and 2010, the United States, Japan, Paraguay and Bolivia remained key source countries for migrants. The United States is now the top source country, with migration from there having increased by 212 per cent since the 2000 census (*Ibid.*). Portugal has increased in importance in the last 10 years, while Argentina has declined in importance.
- In 2011, the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MTE) granted 70,524 work permits to foreigners – up 64 per cent from the previous two years. Numbers from 2012 suggest that the trend will continue (MTE, 2012).
- Although many of the main nationalities receiving permits remain from 2004 – namely the United States, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy and Japan – an increasing share is coming from the Philippines, India and Indonesia.
- There has been a strong increase in the number of Brazilians returning to their country of origin, with roughly twice as many recorded in 2010 as in the 2000 census (IBGE, 2012a). Japan, the United States and Portugal are particularly relevant source countries for return migrants, with Brazil-born individuals representing 89, 84 and 77 per cent of arrivals from these countries, respectively (*Ibid.*).
- As a share of the total immigrant population, the number of return migrants has increased slightly – from 61.2 per cent in the 2000 census to over 65 per cent in the 2010 census (*Ibid.*).

36 For instance, the 2012 Relocation Trends Survey, conducted by Brookfield Global Relocation Services, found that overseas assignments increased in 64 per cent of companies surveyed in 2011. See also Associates for International Research Inc. (AIRINC)'s 2011 *Mobility Outlook Questionnaire* (AIRINC, 2011).

Return migration

While return migration from the North in response to the financial crisis has likely been exaggerated in mainstream media, increased levels of return can be seen in several countries experiencing strong growth. In Brazil, 175,766 individuals (65 per cent of international immigrants) were return migrants in 2010 – roughly twice the number recorded in the 2000 census.[37] Countries sending back large numbers of migrants include Japan, the United States and Portugal (IBGE, 2012a). Return migration to China of both first- and second-generation migrants is also significant, with large numbers coming from North America and Australasia (Hugo, 2005). Historic shifts in migration between Mexico and the United States are also taking place, with net migration reaching zero in the United States in 2010, partly due to an increase in return flows (Passel Cohn and Gonzalez-Barrera, 2012).

Box 5

South Korean migration to the Philippines (North–South)

- The number of South Koreans arriving in the Philippines has exploded by nearly 430 per cent in the past decade – from around 175,000 in 2000 (8.78% of all arrivals), to 925,000 in 2011 (nearly 25% of all arrivals and the largest group, ahead of the United States, Japan and China) (Department of Tourism, Philippines).
- Increasing numbers of foreign visitors are opting to extend their stay. In the first half of 2011, the Bureau of Immigration (2011a) approved a total of 81,287 applications for extension – an increase of 34 per cent, compared with the same period in 2010.
- Aside from tourists, long-stayer migrants include students, business people, traders and missionaries.
- There are 115,000 Koreans residing permanently in the Philippines (Legarda, 2011). Most intend to stay only temporarily but tend to come and go (Miralao and Makil, 2007).
- Korean students are one of the largest groups, with many going there to study English. More than 61,601 foreigners were studying in the Philippines in 2011 (Bureau of Immigration, 2012), with Koreans topping the list of foreigners in elementary and high schools and short-term courses in 2010 (Bureau of Immigration, 2011b). Koreans are also the largest group holding 9(F) student visas, which are used for enrolment in tertiary education programmes.

Student migration

A growing number of students are choosing to pursue education abroad and, increasingly, they are opting to do so outside of traditional destination countries. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (2012), there were roughly

37 Return migration, while increasing in number, has constituted a roughly constant share of total inflows over the past decade. These data measure Brazilians who were residing outside Brazil on a fixed date, five years prior to the 2010 census, and thus capture only returns that occurred in the five years prior to the census. Figures for 2000 were derived using the same fixed date method.

3.4 million internationally mobile students[38] in 2009 – a threefold increase from the 1.1 million recorded in 1980. Although over three quarters of foreign students were in OECD countries in 2008, the number studying in non-OECD destinations is growing faster than the growth rate of students entering the OECD, reflecting the increased diversity of destination choices beyond traditional receiving countries (OECD, 2010b).[39] New countries in the South that have emerged as popular destinations for international students include China, Malaysia and South Africa (UIS, 2012).

Box 6

Migration from Europe to Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean (North–South)

Both Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and Africa have seen a greater number of migrants arriving from Europe in recent years. This is likely to be partly a ramification of the economic crisis, which has severely impacted the economies of many European Union Member States. Between the beginning of 2008 and the end of 2009, the main countries sending migrants to LAC were Spain (48,000), Germany (21,000), Netherlands (17,000), and Italy (16,000) (Córdova, 2012).

- In 2008 and 2009, over 107,000 individuals left Europe for LAC, particularly Argentina and Brazil (*Ibid.*).
- Spain has seen a particular rise in emigration. In 2011, emigration rose by 26 per cent from the previous year, with an estimated 500,000-plus emigrants, including over 62,000 people born in Spain and 445,000 foreign-born individuals. While over 86 per cent of emigrants are not born in Spain, emigration of Spanish-born individuals rose by nearly 70 per cent between 2010 and 2011 – much faster than the emigration of foreign-born individuals (INE Spain, 2012).

Major European countries sending migrants to Africa include Spain, Portugal, Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy (Eurostat, 2010).

- Migration from Spain to Africa reached nearly 84,000 in 2011. The largest destination country was Morocco, with 68 per cent (nearly 57,000) of all Africa-bound emigrants from Spain heading there.
- Other top destinations in Africa are Algeria, Senegal, Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea (INE Spain, 2012).
- Although much less, in absolute terms, migration from Ireland to Africa more than doubled between 2008 and 2009, reaching 4,020 in 2010, with the majority going to either Nigeria or South Africa.

38 The UIS defines internationally mobile students as those who study in a foreign country of which they are not a permanent resident (UNESCO, 2009). Student flows presented here include only data where both receiving and sending country information is available, thus totals are substantially lower than in reality.

39 OECD data refer to students who do not hold the citizenship of the country for which the data are collected. Thus, they may include some permanent residents and cannot be directly compared to UIS data, which is more restrictive in its definition (see footnote 38) (OECD, 2010).

Portugal has also witnessed growing emigration in recent years.

- Emigration figures rose 41 per cent between 2009 and 2010 to 23,760. Of those captured by the Portuguese census in 2010, 93 per cent were of Portuguese nationality (INE Portugal, 2012).
- In 2010, nearly 60,000 individuals born in Portugal resided in Africa, representing an increase of 42 per cent from a decade before, with the largest numbers in South Africa, Angola and Mozambique (UN DESA, 2012b).

Retirement migration

A recognized form of migration from the North to the South is the flow of retirees moving in search of warmer climates and cheaper living in the developing world. Popular flows to the South include American and Canadian migration to Mexico and other destinations in Latin America and the Caribbean; for Europeans, new destinations include Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey, although flows remain much smaller than those to traditional destinations in the Mediterranean and other areas of Southern Europe; other flows in Europe often follow along colonial ties – for instance, British retirees moving to South Africa; in South-East Asia, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines have emerged in the last two decades as retirement locations – for example, for the aging Japanese population.[40] In one example, the number of United States-born residents aged 55 and over increased substantially in both Mexico and Panama between 1990 and 2000, rising by 17 per cent in Mexico and 136 per cent in Panama during this period (Dixon et al., 2006).

Potential development impacts

Although still a small percentage of global migratory flows, North–South migration may have significant impacts on host societies and development that remain understudied. While little research exists, it is likely that migrants from the North can bring both human and financial capital to their new communities, and can contribute to a 'reverse brain drain' through the sharing of skills and knowledge. Furthermore, migrants from the North who move to the South create new linkages and networks across borders that may be rich in technical knowledge, as well as financial and political resources. Wealthy migrants from the North may also stimulate the service industry, may buy or rent homes, consume goods, and attract greater investments and more foreign visitors to developing regions (Dixon et al., 2006). Many developing countries are also increasingly trying to engage with their diasporas and to encourage skilled migrants to return home (IOM/MPI, 2012).

While migration from the North may have potential benefits, it is likely that not all impacts on host societies are positive. The presence of migrants from the North may drive up real estate prices, place increasing demands on already scarce

40 For the United States, Mexico and Panama, see Dixon et al., 2006; O'Reilly and Benson, 2009; for Japan, see Toyota, 2007 and Ono, 2008; for Turkey, see Balkır and Kırkulak, 2009.

health and social care services, and take jobs away from the local labour force. Furthermore, little is known about the social and cultural impacts of Northern migrants, particularly in areas where foreigners are concentrated in small cities or neighbourhoods. Finally, many new destinations in the South (such as Brazil, China and the Philippines) are traditionally characterized by *emigration*, and may not be fully prepared to meet the challenges of – or to benefit fully from – increasing flows *into* their countries. In sum, very little research has looked at the impacts of North–South migration on individuals or on migrant-receiving or -sending societies. Further investigation is required for a better understanding of the likely varied and, at times, contradictory impacts of this migration trend.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As this chapter has shown, much is known about migration pathways in terms of the numbers involved, the direction of movement and migrant characteristics. An in-depth review of migration data sheds light on some overlooked trends – for instance, migration from South to South, or North to South – and highlights the need to examine their implications for development. This chapter sets the scene for the next two chapters, which take a more migrant-focused world view, examining the migration experience from a more qualitative perspective.

Migrant Voices

Building a career: Spanish migrant working in Buenos Aires, Argentina (North–South)

Pablo originally moved to Buenos Aires to pursue a Master's degree in Creative Advertising nearly two years ago, drawn by the city's strong reputation for excellence in his chosen field – in terms of both academic quality and the level of professionals working in marketing and publicity. Additionally, an education in Argentina was much less expensive than a comparable degree in Spain.

After finishing his degree, Pablo decided to remain in Buenos Aires to pursue professional opportunities. At first, he found it very difficult to find a job without his residency permit and he was obliged to intern in several companies in order to boost his qualifications. Eventually, after quite a struggle, Pablo was hired by a multinational company that provided him with the necessary documents to gain temporary residence for one year, with the possibility of extension.

Pablo loves his job as a creative editor, saying he is 100 per cent satisfied. While there are few differences between working in Spain and Argentina, Pablo observes that, in Argentina, people work longer hours because of their strong drive to earn bonuses and move ahead in their careers. When asked if it is his ideal work, Pablo half-jokingly responds that the perfect job would be in the open air – for instance, as an instructor of surfing or some high-risk sport – but that what he has is second best. Pablo lives within his means, saying he cannot afford to waste too much, but he

has enough for food, housing and leisure time. In Spain, Pablo remarks, it is impossible to have economic independence and, in this sense, his situation has improved since the move.

Pablo lives in the small Chinatown area in the north of Buenos Aires and feels comfortable and safe in his community. Many of his neighbours are also young immigrants from Spain, which helps to create a supportive network. While Pablo feels welcome in Argentina, he is aware that it is not the same for all nationalities. While Pablo's girlfriend is from Argentina, his closest friends are mainly Chilean and Spanish, and he feels an especially close bond with other Spanish people. He likes the sociable, out-going nature of Argentineans most of all but says this can be too much, sometimes, as well!

Pablo is satisfied with the health care available to him in Buenos Aires and reports being healthy. He appreciates the professional opportunities available to him and the high quality of his working environment. He enjoys getting to know people from all over Latin America and the world, and appreciates the proximity of places such as Brazil and Peru, which would be very hard to visit from Spain. The most challenging thing about living abroad is being far from his family and friends in Spain: "You become a little more guarded, a little cold," he says. However, Pablo is happy with his life and with his decision to move, although he says the move is only temporary. In the future, he sees himself returning to Spain and living in Barcelona.

Chapter 3

Review of studies on migration, happiness and well-being

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3

HIGHLIGHTS

Concepts and measures of migrant well-being and happiness can provide useful indicators of human development, as it has increasingly been recognized that development cannot be measured simply in terms of economic indicators such as economic growth and gross domestic product (GDP). Since migrants often leave their homes in search of a better life, measures of subjective well-being can provide an indication of whether migrants achieve their goal.

While recent years have seen a growing interest among social scientists and policymakers in happiness as an indicator of social progress, research on the links between migration and happiness or subjective well-being is in its infancy.

Research on happiness has looked at a range of factors – particularly the links between income and happiness. Findings suggest that although people with higher incomes are generally happier, once a certain threshold is reached, it seems to make little difference in terms of continuing increases in happiness. Other research shows that people living in high-income countries are happier than those living in low-income countries. This indicates that a certain level of economic development is necessary and can make a difference to the levels of happiness and well-being in a population. Other factors, such as good health, vibrant social networks, religious belief and old age, for example, are also shown to have a positive effect on levels of happiness.

This research on happiness has been minimal in lower-income countries, particularly with regard to migrants. Available research suggests that, overall, migrants are less happy than comparable populations in the country of destination and happier than similar populations back home who did not migrate. It might be expected that happiness increases, over time, as migrants become more integrated into the host society, but several studies in Europe have found that migrants remain less happy than native populations, even many years after migration.

For some vulnerable groups of migrants, the circumstances and drivers of migration have an acute effect on their psychosocial well-being. Those who migrate in extreme circumstances – for example, fleeing conflict and humanitarian crises – such as refugees and stranded migrants or those caught in trafficking and smuggling movements, may experience much suffering and trauma along the way, which continues to reverberate in their lives, once in the country of destination.

This chapter reviews the results of studies on happiness and well-being. It considers the methodological challenges involved in such research, and considers how and whether these concepts are applicable to the field of international development. The chapter reviews the literature on well-being, in general, and looks particularly at the influence of income as a factor, followed by a brief review of other aspects. It then focuses on the available research on migrants, which compares their well-being with that of the population of the destination country as well as of the country of origin. It concludes with a look at the well-being of families left behind, as well as migrants in difficult circumstances.

BACKGROUND

As noted in chapter 1, policymakers and scholars are showing an increasing interest in measuring the happiness and well-being of populations. This chapter considers the methodological challenges in researching this topic, and the findings of studies undertaken so far on the factors influencing the happiness of people, especially migrants. It sets the scene for the original research data on migrant well-being, which are presented in chapter 4.

Academic research on happiness has expanded particularly in the last two decades. Early contributions came from economists interested in the connections between happiness and economic growth, as well as psychologists more recently wishing to counterpoise a long-standing tradition of emphasis by psychologists on mental illness and psychological dysfunction. Interest among sociologists and others is more recent (but see Veenhoven, 1984, 1991, and Inglehart, 1997). The study of happiness nonetheless remains in its infancy and is beset by methodological challenges.

Methodological challenges

The first challenge lies in defining happiness as a component of well-being. The academic studies reviewed in this section have defined well-being in different ways or may have looked at related terms, such as quality of life, living standards, or human development. In some circles, well-being is understood to mean 'happiness', in particular, but it is in fact a broader concept. For instance, in this report, an individual's well-being is understood to encompass outcomes relating to career, health and social life, among others. There is no agreed definition of the terms 'well-being' or 'happiness' among communities of academics and policymakers involved in advancing this work (Bergheim, 2006:5). The terms are related but not identical.

Researchers have used a variety of definitions to capture how people feel about their quality of life, for example:

> Human wellbeing refers to a state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals and where one enjoys satisfactory quality of life (definition of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries, in Wright, 2011:1460).

Given the divergent uses of these terms, the literature review carried-out here does not use narrow definitions; the net is cast widely to consider all such terms and to bring them under the umbrella of 'well-being'.

The second challenge involves data collection and analysis. Research on happiness relies primarily on quantitative analysis of survey data. Several key surveys (such as the World Values Survey and the European Social Survey) include questions aimed at evoking an overall evaluation of respondents' happiness. Such questions might include, for example: "Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?", and would be answered on a scale of (usually) 0 to 10. Some studies use more elaborate multi-item scales, based on answers to several questions. However, in terms of survey measures, at least, the data obtained are not notably different from the data resulting from a single question. Survey data on life

satisfaction/happiness derived from single-item, self-reporting survey questions is seen as offering 'moderate' levels of validity (Diener et al., 1999; Veenhoven, 1993) and therefore useful in identifying the determinants of happiness (but not so useful when trying to compare happiness levels across different countries). Such survey data have a number of limitations:

- As with all surveys, there is sensitivity to question construction and question order. Other methodologies – for instance, asking respondents to keep diaries recording their own impressions of happiness – may help overcome some of the limitations of conventional surveys (Kahneman et al., 2004).
- Their usefulness for international comparisons of happiness levels across different countries is inhibited by cultural variation. It is commonly agreed that the different definitions of the word 'happiness', coupled with the issue of different cultures having different meanings and different ways of answering survey questions, represent an under-explored area (Oishi, 2010).
- Most research on well-being is conducted on wealthy countries, partly because the quality of the data is usually higher (Graham, 2009). This leads to reasonable questions about the extent to which this research can provide insights into the experiences of people living in poorer countries, especially when looking at migration from poor to rich countries.
- There is a lack of longitudinal data on migrants and happiness or life satisfaction – that is, data collected at several points in time on the same individuals. For migrants, this would mean collecting data before and after migration takes place. Surveys that involve returning to the same individuals (namely, panel data, usually collected at a quarterly or annual interval) often form part of national endeavours, such as the British Household Panel Survey. These surveys are usually inadequate, in terms of capturing data on immigrants, and they do not collect any data on immigrants prior to their arrival at their destination. Nor is this information collected by countries of origin: those who emigrate tend to be lost to national censuses or household surveys, despite increasing attempts to collect information about household members living abroad. Most existing analysis is therefore limited to cross-sectional comparisons comparing different individuals at one point in time – for example, comparing immigrants to natives or migrants to stayers.
- Happiness measures are not yet finding their way into established development surveys, despite their potential usefulness (see Graham, 2011; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2005). Efforts to develop new indicators that include the subjective consequences of objective elements of development (Schimmel, 2009), such as the New Economics Foundation's Happy Planet Index (Thompson et al., 2007), have not gained as much currency as the Human Development Index. A detailed discussion of the challenges of measuring happiness internationally can be found in academic literature.[41]

41 See, for example, chapter 2 of: Helliwell, J., R Layard and J. Sachs (eds), 2012, *World Happiness Report*. Available from www.earth.columbia.edu/sitefiles/file/Sachs%20Writing/2012/World%20Happiness%20Report.pdf.

Implications for development

Defining social progress in terms of a population's well-being has implications for development and has been debated by academics and migration practitioners. Some argue that subjective measures of well-being are less important than objective indicators such as, for example, income, poverty, health and employment. Thus, for the world's poorest people, for whom survival cannot be taken for granted, happiness is seen as secondary to more fundamental development concerns such as food security and the prevention of disease. The argument loosely follows the reasoning of twentieth-century psychologist Abraham Maslow's 'hierarchy of needs' theory, whereby human beings must first meet their basic survival needs, in the form of water, food and warmth, followed by safety. Once these needs are met, human beings seek the fulfilment of psychological needs, such as belonging, love and esteem. Finally, there is 'self-actualization' – a desire to achieve one's full potential and purpose.

While it is clear that the purpose of development is to afford people the ability to fulfil basic needs, once these needs are met, there is less agreement on what constitutes a development concern. Moreover, there might be a risk to the development agenda in over-emphasizing subjective happiness and minimizing the importance of material wealth. Others refer to the so-called 'happy peasants' idea (people are happy with little so there is no need for development) as a reason for maintaining inequality between peoples. On the other hand, there has also been a long tradition in development circles of resisting the idea that development simply means economic growth, with a view to countries and citizens becoming ever richer. Instead, economic growth should be seen as a means of achieving more fundamental goals.

There is increasing debate about the fundamental goals that should underpin development policy. The capability approach, for example, emphasizes the goal of enhancing people's 'freedoms' on the basis that freedom itself is a fundamental goal, valuable in its own right (Sen, 1999). It is therefore important to address conditions such as malnutrition and disease that undermine people's capability, agency and ability to act for themselves. A similar point can be made about other development concerns, such as a lack of education and a lack of health care. Economic growth may help address these more fundamental concerns, but it is not an end in itself. If these concerns can be addressed by other means (for instance, through changes in habits or customs), then economic growth becomes, to some extent, even less central to the development agenda.

The 'capability approach' represents a significant advance in thinking beyond conventional notions of development that focus on economic growth. It has been applied, to some degree, in the Human Development Index (HDI), which incorporates measures of health and education, as well as per-capita GDP. However, there is an increasing awareness of the need to go further, in terms of identifying what counts as fundamental to development. Freedoms and capabilities, as embodied in health and education and the like, are certainly valuable in their own right, but they are also valuable insofar as they contribute to happiness. In this sense, the debate on well-being and happiness is relevant to the development agenda.

FACTORS INFLUENCING WELL-BEING

A wide range of factors affecting well-being have been studied. Recent initiatives by national and international agencies, such as the OECD *How's Life* report, have looked at financial situation, employment, housing conditions, exposure to air pollution, life expectancy, education and crime, over the past 15 years. Likewise, the UK Measuring National Well-being Programme (MNW), launched in 2010, sought to move beyond economic indicators to measures of life quality and well-being.

Income and happiness

Researchers have shown a particular interest in looking at how income affects happiness, especially with the growing focus of policymakers in this area. Some contend that, at least above a certain threshold, an ever-higher income contributes little to happiness (Easterlin, 1974, 2001; Scitovsky, 1992; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004).

Findings from the OECD and British Government initiatives also suggest that personal wealth is not an overriding factor in determining well-being.

- The UK Measuring National Well-being Programme (MNW) found that, despite increasing financial hardship since the economic crisis of 2008, levels of self-reported life satisfaction have remained broadly stable throughout the last decade.
- The OECD *How's Life* study also confirms that well-being has increased over the past 15 years, although there is considerable variance among OECD countries and population groups. This resonates well with 'folk wisdom' – the 'money can't buy happiness' idea – despite the fact that the pursuit of wealth remains a goal for many residents of wealthy countries (Frank, 1999) and a central tenet of economic policy.

Easterlin's work has delved more deeply into this issue. The 'Easterlin paradox' found that, while a 'snapshot' comparison of individuals shows that people with higher incomes are happier than those with less income, increases in income over time do not appear to raise average levels of happiness (Easterlin, 1974). This is especially apparent from data on Japan: the very impressive growth of the Japanese economy, starting in the 1950s, did not result in greater happiness, even after several decades (Easterlin, 1995).

One explanation for the paradox is the idea of relative wealth and the links between income and status: it is not the absolute purchasing power of income that matters but the way it embodies and signals status (Clark et al., 2008). Those with higher incomes are happier than those with less, partly due to 'social comparisons' – the ability to compare favourably with others and to enjoy a perceived higher status. Researchers have further found that these comparisons tend to be relatively 'local' (Firebaugh and Schroeder, 2009); in other words, people compare their wealth and status with people around them, rather than with people from different countries.

Aspirational thinking is another factor. Studies have revealed that people continue to strive for increasingly higher income – a point that holds true not only among the poor, but also among those with relatively high incomes (Stutzer, 2003).

Indeed, aspirations are linked to the notion of comparative and relative wealth: those who gain a higher income (and status) begin to compare themselves to a higher reference group, instead of gaining satisfaction by comparing themselves to a stable reference group (Boyce et al., 2010) – the popular 'keeping up with the Joneses' mentality. While increases in income can lead to short-term spurts in happiness, the desire for ever-more income is insatiable, and research shows that people end up reverting to previous levels of well-being.

Another body of research disputes these findings and reasserts the role of economic wealth in achieving happiness. Ruut Veenhoven's 'liveability' theory (1995) offers an important contrasting framework: happiness is determined mainly by whether a person can meet his/her own needs. In this respect, wealthier countries are more liveable and provide better conditions for people to meet their needs and thus achieve happiness. Veenhoven's analysis casts doubt on whether social comparisons are an important factor in happiness.

In the development context, these ideas can be explored further by comparing national economic growth rates to the happiness of populations. The findings from the poll suggest a broad alignment between GDP and happiness – for example, Western Europe is higher up the scale than Africa – but the correlation is not absolute and there are anomalies, with developing countries such as Mexico or India being similar to, or higher than, Japan in their happiness ranking.

Some recent critiques of Easterlin's perspective indicate that happiness changes over time and in tandem with economic growth (or decline). For instance, Stevenson and Wolfers (2008) found that, when looking at the relationship between happiness and GDP per capita, out of 89 countries that saw changes in these measures, happiness and GDP per capita changed in the same direction in 62 cases (53 showing growth in both, 9 showing declines in both), whereas they moved in opposite directions in 27 cases (20 reflecting economic growth unaccompanied by growth in happiness, and 7 reflecting growing happiness, despite economic decline).

Easterlin and his colleagues (2010), however, identified a number of flaws in these studies and repeated their conclusion that, over the long term (more than 10 years), economic growth does not bring greater happiness. In his recent work, Easterlin (2010) presents new evidence that extends this finding to developing countries: for China, in particular, happiness has remained 'flat' (unchanged) despite very rapid economic growth. Similarly, Graham (2009) finds that determinants of happiness in poorer countries are much the same as determinants in wealthier countries. In Peru, for instance, the majority of people at every income level believed that they would need twice as much as their current income to live well and, in one survey, almost half of those who had experienced significant economic advance said that their situation was worse than it was 10 years ago (Graham, 2005).

Survey data from the United Republic of Tanzania also support the idea that the relative dimension of income matters greatly, even in quite poor countries (Kenny, 2005). Examples exist of poor countries that have seen increases in happiness, despite little or no economic growth. Kenny (*Ibid.*) suggests that some factors contributing to happiness (such as health and education) have, over time, been improving in poor countries for reasons other than economic growth. Some economists go further and find signs of an 'unhappy growth paradox', whereby

countries with a higher growth rate (compared with countries at similar levels of development) show a lower average reported happiness (Lora and Chaparro, 2009).

In summary, although there is some contradictory evidence from different studies, the overriding message seems to be that, as far as the world's poorer countries are concerned, economic development is a necessity, in terms of meeting the basic needs and rights of citizens and enabling them to lead fulfilled lives, with greater happiness and well-being.

Other factors affecting well-being

Other well-researched dimensions of happiness include health, social networks, familial relations, and employment.

- Ball and Chernova (2008) show that employment and having a spouse/partner are particularly important happiness factors.
- Participating in social activities with friends, and/or having friends to confide in, is also a relevant factor (Bechetti et al., 2008; Sullivan, 1996).
- Another key determinant is health, which can include 'subjective health' – the perception that one's health is good.
- Religious people are generally happier than non-religious people, although that finding might pertain only to people who live in more religious contexts (Eichhorn, 2011).
- Age is also a significant factor, with decreased happiness occurring towards middle age, followed by an increase towards old age, although this might be offset by the fact that health declines with age.[42]
- Happiness is also affected by contextual factors such as employment protection and unemployment insurance (Boarini et al., 2012; Frey and Stutzer, 2002).

As with studies on income, researchers have found subtleties and paradoxes. For example, people with intimate partners are notably happier than those who are single, but while many people experience significant increases in happiness upon acquiring a partner (or getting married), some then find that, in due course, their happiness returns to previous levels (Lucas et al., 2003).

Direction of causality

An important question that emerges in happiness studies relates to the direction of causation: are people happy because of external acquisitions or are people who are intrinsically happier more successful in the external world (for example, better at finding partners or satisfying careers)? Research shows that those who are more satisfied in their jobs are happier, but evidence also suggests that happiness is just as likely to result in career satisfaction (Boehm and Lyubomirsky, 2008). Unemployment, on the other hand, has obvious implications for happiness; it has a negative effect on happiness levels that usually persists even after a person has found another job (Clark and Oswald, 1994; Lucas et al., 2004).

42 For broader reviews of determinants of happiness, see Dolan et al., 2008, and Diener et al., 2009a.

Some research has focused on how people are able to enhance their own happiness by changing their circumstances. This may relate to an evaluation of intrinsic versus extrinsic goals (Sheldon and Lyubomirsky, 2006) – for example, people may work to earn an income, motivated by the need for money rather than by the intrinsic satisfaction derived from the work itself. But if an increased income is gained by taking a job that involves longer hours or a longer commute, the happiness benefit of the extra income might well be small in comparison to the costs. A more favourable outcome might flow from taking a lower-paid job that involves more enjoyable work. Likewise, happiness might be enhanced by spending more time with one's spouse or partner doing activities that bring shared enjoyment (Sullivan, 1996).

In any event, researchers also recognize that happiness is not always related to externally controllable choices and circumstances. A significant proportion of variation in individual happiness levels is attributable to genetic predisposition, or personality (see Lykken and Tellegen, 1996; Schnittker, 2008), which may affect the ability of an individual to cope with, and adapt to, external circumstances. Since it is not always possible to change one's circumstances, however, individual happiness may result from a conscious change of approach or state of mind – as demonstrated by various philosophical and religious traditions (see, for example, Csikszentmihalyi, 1997 on Buddhism).

Migrant Voices

Stranded in Somalia: Ethiopian migrant seeking a new life in the Middle East (South–North)

Life is hard in Bossaso. Despite a clear turquoise sea, white sands and friendly locals, brutal 45° heat, ongoing tension and cracked, arid land threaten the livelihoods of thousands. Buildings are left unfinished and become derelict, debris clutters neglected roads, and basic services are lacking. "The water is so dirty here. It is like seawater. Sometimes I even go a day or two without food," says Mustariya, who is currently suffering from severe stomach pains.

Originally from Ethiopia, Mustariya Mohamad is a 19-year-old woman who has been in Bossaso, the Puntland State of Somalia, for over a year. Leaving north-east Ethiopia to find prosperity in the Middle East, Mustariya embarked on a 15-day journey: "Nine of us left Ethiopia for Somalia – all from the same village. At first, it was easy; we paid some small money and a truck driver took us across the border. Then everything changed. Armed men stopped us, took us away and did bad things. They left the men alone; they just wanted us, the women. They held us hostage and stole everything we had, then spat us out on the side of the road. Our truck driver had left, so we had to walk for a week until we reached Bossaso."

After her traumatic journey, Mustariya arrived in Bossaso with no access to health care, psychosocial support or money: "I still want to see a doctor, but I can't go to the hospital because it is too expensive. Even finding a

job here is difficult because I do not speak Somali, only Oromo. Once I had a cleaning job, but I could not understand my manager's instructions so he dismissed me." Mustariya is intent on reaching Yemen. The lure of prosperity, education and work in the Middle East is driving thousands of Ethiopians to pass through Somalia in search of good fortune. Crossing the Gulf of Aden, however, is a perilous journey: "The sea is very expensive to cross; it will cost me USD100 or USD150 to travel from Bossaso to Yemen. I know the problems; I know people die crossing the sea and many are deported, but I have been told Yemen will offer me a better life. I will do whatever it takes."

Mustariya is now being helped by a Migration Response Centre established jointly by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Government of the Puntland, Somalia to register new migrants, provide a space for advocacy and migrant rights awareness, offer legal advice and provide medical referrals. But Hussein Hassan, IOM's Programme Officer in Somalia, says: "The need is vast; psychosocial support, clean water, shelter and a comprehensive migrant-friendly health-care package must be offered for the most vulnerable." As Mustariya leaves the Migration Health Response Centre for her evening prayers, she says: "I just want to find somewhere with peace – somewhere I can get an education. Am I asking for too much?"

Note: Adapted from Ethiopia/Somalia: "Migrating will offer me a better life. I will do whatever it takes". In: *IOM Gender and Migraton News*, pp.38, 2012.

RESEARCH ON MIGRATION AND HAPPINESS

The limited research on migrant well-being focuses on assessing migrant happiness, compared to the native population of the destination country and of the country of origin. Some studies have also explored the well-being of families left behind or of internal migrants.

Migrant well-being compared to that of the destination country population

Studies conducted mainly in developed countries typically show that migrants are, on average, less happy than native populations (Safi, 2010). This holds true even when other variables are controlled, such as when comparing migrants to natives who have the same characteristics or circumstances – the same income, employment status, relationship status, health and so on. It might be expected that happiness would increase over time as migrants assimilate into new societies, but this is not so, according to Safi's research on immigrants in Europe, which found that immigrants generally remained less happy than the native population, even many years after migration. However, some research conducted in developing and developed countries suggests that the happiness scores for migrants and non-migrants are very similar (see, for instance, UNDP, 2009; Graham, 2005; Kenny, 2005).

There may be various reasons for this. A key contributor could be that migrants tend to be less satisfied with their financial situation, even when earning incomes comparable to those of native populations (Bartram, 2011). Migrants to the United States, for example (even those who originate in poorer countries), have average earnings on a par with those of natives. They have succeeded in increasing their incomes, relative to pre-migration levels, but are nonetheless more dissatisfied with their incomes than are the natives. In addition, migrants also show a stronger association between income and happiness than do native residents, and are often more willing to take risks and be more entrepreneurial.

Migrants may also find themselves in a situation of lowered social status. Some migrants, despite being economically successful, may nevertheless find their relative position in the destination country lower than it was in their country of origin. Those with good educational qualifications and careers prior to migration may find that these achievements are not recognized in the destination country. They may encounter discrimination and/or language difficulties. The net outcome after migration could be higher income in 'absolute' terms (that is, in comparison to pre-migration income, after currency conversion) but a lowered social status in the destination country – with predictable consequences for the happiness quotient (Aycan and Berry, 1996). The challenges of the migrant experience itself will also affect levels of happiness (Handlin, 1973). Other possible explanations for lower levels of happiness might include separation from family and the challenge of adjusting to a new culture, but there are no data available to confirm this.

Migrant well-being compared to that of the country of origin population

Comparing the levels of happiness among migrants and native populations in destination countries is perhaps not the best way of assessing whether migrants' happiness has changed as a consequence of moving to another country. Apart from anything else, there may be engrained differences in the happiness levels of populations in different countries, which could skew the findings.

It is probably more useful to compare migrants with similar people who remain in their country of origin and choose not to migrate. Looking at data collected by the European Social Survey (ESS), it appears that those who have migrated from Eastern Europe to Western Europe are significantly happier than 'stayers', although there is little information as to why this might be the case (Bartram, 2012a). One reason might be that those who choose to migrate are happier to start with. Other studies (such as Graham and Markowitz, 2011) suggest that the converse may be true: an analysis of survey data from Latin America showed that people who expressed an intention to migrate (and eventually did migrate) were less happy than those lacking such an intention; although the migrants' situations were objectively seen to be favourable, the migrants were nonetheless dissatisfied, becoming what Graham and Markowitz call "frustrated achievers".

The difference in happiness between migrants and stayers may also depend on which country they originate from. For instance, the research on migration from Eastern to Western Europe reveals that migrants originating in certain countries (Croatia, the Russian Federation, Turkey and Ukraine) are happier than the stayers in those countries, whereas migrants from other countries (such as Romania) appear to be no happier than the stayers (Bartram, 2012b).