

# **Migration, Development, and Population**

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## **Introduction**

The number of long-term international migrants (that is, those residing in foreign countries for more than one year) has grown steadily in the past four decades to an estimated 175 million in 2000.<sup>1</sup> About 154 million were voluntary migrants, with the remaining 16 million being refugees. Even with the numbers of international migrants large and growing, it is important to keep in mind that only about three percent of the world's population has been living outside of their home countries for a year or longer. The propensity to move internationally, particularly in the absence of compelling reasons such as wars, is limited to a small proportion of humans.

International migration intersects with concerns about development, poverty alleviation and population control in a number of ways. Migration is a function of economic and demographic differences among countries, and, depending on the circumstances, migration can stimulate or retard progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goals. Although these interconnections have received new attention in the past few years, there continue to be many research, policy and programmatic issues that require more sustained attention. Following a discussion of the nature of migration, future trends in movements, and the interconnections between migration and development, this paper examines the implications of migration for reproductive health and provides recommendations in four areas: institution strengthening; research priorities; education and training; and service needs of migrants, refugees and trafficking victims.

## **Nature of Migration**

International migrants come from all parts of the world and they go to all parts of the world. In fact, few countries are unaffected by international migration. Many countries are sources of international flows, while others are net receivers and still others are transit countries through which migrants reach receiving countries. Such countries as Mexico experience migration in all three capacities.

Migration tends to be within regions, with migrants often remaining within the same continent. More than half of international migrants traditionally have moved from one developing country to another. In recent years, however, migration from poorer to richer countries has increased significantly. While the traditional immigration countries—the United States, Canada and Australia—continue to see large-scale movements, Europe, the oil-rich Persian Gulf states and the “economic tigers” of East and Southeast Asia are now also major destinations for international migrants.

One of the most significant trends has been the feminization of migration streams that had heretofore been primarily male. Significantly, many of the new female migrants relocate as principal wage earners, rather than as accompanying family members.

Migrants generally fall into two, though sometimes overlapping categories: voluntary and forced migrants. Voluntary migrants come for employment and family reunification. Many of today's international migration streams began with the recruitment and employment of foreign workers. Often, the international migrants were hired to perform jobs that natives would not do, particularly for the low wages or poor working conditions offered. Migrants also fill highly skilled positions, particularly in science, technology and health areas.

The second major type of voluntary migration is for family reunification. Governments often permit close family members of those already in the country to enter through legal channels, although this policy is found more frequently in the traditional immigration countries than in those authorizing contract laborers only. Alternately, a citizen marries a foreign national and seeks his or her admission.

A large number of international migrants have been forced to leave their home countries and seek refuge in other nations. Many leave because of persecution, human rights violations, repression or conflict. They depart on their own initiative to escape these life-threatening situations although in a growing number of cases, they are driven from their homes by governments and insurgent groups intent on depopulating or shifting the ethnic, religious or other composition of an area. In other cases, migrants are forced to move by environmental degradation and natural and human-made disasters that make their homes inhabitable.

### **Global Trends in International Migration<sup>2</sup>**

Migration is a response to differences. Increasing differences in demographics, economics, and security—plus revolutions in communications, transportation and rights that facilitate movement over borders—have created networks that bridge borders and allow people to cross them. Migration networks transmit information and advice about opportunities abroad and they often provide funds to migrate as well as shelter and jobs for new arrivals. A world of growing differences between nations and stronger networks over borders means there are more reasons and additional means to cross borders, promising greater levels of international migration.

#### *Demographic Factors*

While population growth has been slowed in many parts of the world, the momentum from past and present fertility means that the world's population will continue to grow even as fertility falls. About 85 percent of the world's population—6.3 billion in 2004—is in developing countries, where women average 3.1 babies each (3.5 if China is excluded). About 15 percent of the world's residents live in the much smaller number of developed countries, where women average 1.5 children each. The fastest growth is in Africa, whose population is projected to more than double, and the sharpest decline is in Europe, where the population is projected to shrink by 10 percent. Without immigration,

these very different fertility gradients mean that the population shares or weights of the world's continents would change radically.<sup>3</sup>

In 2000, the UN Population Division (UNPD) issued a controversial report, *Replacement Migration: Is it A Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?*<sup>4</sup> In the report, “replacement migration refers to the international migration that would be needed to offset declines in the size of population, the declines in the population of working age, as well as to offset the overall ageing of a population.” Noting extremely low fertility and increased longevity in many developed countries, the report cites immigration as the principal contributor to any population increase. In the absence of immigration, most countries would experience population decline.

The report reinforced for many academics and some policymakers in Europe in particular that international migration must be an important part of any strategy to combat population decline and aging. However, as the report pointed out, “maintaining potential support ratios at current levels through replacement migration alone seems out of reach, because of the extraordinarily large numbers of migrants that would be required.” The report advised governments to reassess policies and programs relating to international migration, in particular replacement migration, and the integration of large numbers of recent migrants and their descendants.

While it is a fact that population decline in developed regions has been slowed by positive net immigration<sup>5</sup>, the debate continues about what role immigration can and should play in addressing demographic changes in the future. Opposition to immigration remains strong in many countries, and public opinion may well restrict any policy options that require substantial increases in admission. During the past decade, however, even countries with little tradition of immigration have acknowledged that they have sizeable immigrant populations and are likely to continue to admit immigrants.

#### *Economic Factors*

Economic differences between nation states are widening, increasing the motivation for economically motivated migration. The world's GDP was \$30 trillion in 2000, making the average per capita income \$5,000 a year, but the range was from \$100 per person in Ethiopia to \$38,000 in Switzerland. When countries are ranked by their per capita GDPs, it is apparent that the gap between high-income countries, with \$9,300 or more per person per year, versus low- (below \$750 per person per year) and middle- (between \$750 and \$9,300) income countries has been widening, and very few low- and middle-income countries have been able to climb into the high-income ranks over the past quarter century.<sup>6</sup>

Most migrants are young people looking for work. The world's labor force was 3 billion in 2000, and it is growing much faster in developing than in developed countries. For example, between 2001 and 2010, the labor force in developing countries is projected to grow four times faster than the labor force in developed or high-income countries. Since many low-income countries have more workers than formal sector jobs, and more new entrants into the labor force than additional jobs created, there is widespread

unemployment and underemployment. Meanwhile, many high-income countries have social welfare systems based on contributions from those currently employed, so that immigration could help to stabilize their labor forces and pension systems. However, immigration only postpones inevitable adjustments in high-income countries, since migrants also age, so that countries pursuing immigration as the only solution to lower fertility and longer life spans commit themselves to ever-more immigration.

A second dimension of increasing economic differences between countries adds to international migration. Some 1.3 billion or 43 percent of the world's workers are employed in agriculture, usually as small farmers or hired workers. In the poorer countries in which they are a majority of workers, farmers are taxed, while subsidies are common in rich countries where farmers represent a small share of workers. This means that farmers in poor countries generally have lower-than-average incomes. Low farm incomes encourage migration off the farm.

Such rural migration has three implications for international labor migration. First, ex-farmers everywhere are most likely to accept so-called 3-D (dirty, dangerous, difficult) jobs in urban areas, either inside their countries or abroad. Second, ex-farmers who must find new jobs often make physical as well as cultural transitions when they move to cities, and some may find adaptation in a foreign city as easy as integration in larger cities within their countries because past migration has resulted in settled friends and relatives abroad. Third, rural-urban migrants get closer to the networks that can provide visas and documents for legal migration or help them arrange for irregular migration.

### *Human Security*

Rising demographic and economic differences combine with a third major difference among countries: human security. After the global conflict between capitalism and communism ended in the early 1990s, local conflicts erupted in many areas, leading to physical and political instability, separatist movements, new nations, and more migrants. Failed states, ethnic cleansing and genocide produced millions of refugees and displaced persons who were unable to remain safely in their home communities. Violence, kidnappings, rapes and other manifestations of insecure societies induced still more people to migrate in search of safety.

The 1990s saw a proliferation of new states formed from the break-up of countries with artificial borders and surging nationalism within sub-regions. Creating new nations is usually accompanied by migration, as populations are reshuffled so that the "right" people are inside the "right" borders.<sup>7</sup> Finally, with more nations, there are more borders to cross; there were 191 generally recognized nation-states in 2000, up from 43 in 1900. A growth in statelessness also resulted from the changing borders, with some persons having the citizenship of neither the state in which they resided or the state of their origin.

### *Changing Gender Roles*

Women represent a growing share of migrants, as economies of destination countries offer more service jobs and barriers to migration erode for women in sending countries. As of 2000, about 49 percent of the world's migrants were women, up from 47 percent in

1960<sup>8</sup>, and the proportion of migrants who are women has grown to 51 percent in more developed regions. The highest proportions of women are in Europe and the lowest proportions are in northern Africa.

During the past decades, there has been an increase in the absolute and proportional number of women migrating as primary wage earners of their families. Here again, differences between source and destination countries explain some of the trends. Overseas domestic service is a common occupation for migrant women. As women in developed countries enter the labor force in higher and higher numbers, the demand for migrant women to perform domestic work and child and elder care services has been increasing as well. Women may migrate through official contract labor programs that match workers and employers, or they may obtain such employment after migrating, often through informal networks.

#### *Networks and Facilitators of Migration*

Differences encourage migration, but it takes links between sending and receiving areas for people to move over borders. Demographic, economic, gender, and security differences are sometimes likened to negative and positive battery poles, and networks to the links that enable a current to flow. Migration networks are a broad concept, and include factors that enable people to learn about opportunities abroad as well as the migration infrastructure that enables migrants to cross national borders and remain abroad.<sup>9</sup>

Migration networks have been shaped and strengthened by four major revolutions in the past half-century: global economic integration, communications, transportation, and rights.

The growing integration of the world's economies is the other side of the growing economic differentials discussed above. Economic trends facilitate international movements of people in a number of ways. The growth in multinational corporations, for example, has put pressure on governments to facilitate the inter-country movements of executives, managers and other personnel. Similarly, corporations use contingent labor and contract out assignments at an unprecedented rate. In manufacturing, it is common for components of a single product to be made in several different countries. The corporate interest in moving its labor force to meet the demands of this type of scheduling often runs into conflict with immigration policies.

Bilateral, regional and international trade regimes are beginning to have a profound effect on migration. The European Union's evolution of a harmonized migration regime to serve as a counterpart to its customs union is but one example. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) includes migration-related provisions permitting freer movement of professionals, executives, and others providing international services from signatory countries. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is another example, with trade in services often requiring greater freedom for service providers to move internationally.

The communications revolution helps potential migrants to learn about opportunities abroad, and often provides both the motivation and the funds that encourage and enable people to move over national borders. The best information about opportunities abroad comes from migrants already in the destination, since they can inform family and friends at home in a context both understand. Those without family and friends abroad may see movies and TV shows produced in high-income countries that make recruiters' stories about the riches available seem plausible.

The transportation revolution highlights the declining cost of long-distance travel. British migrants unable to pay passage to the colonies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century often indentured themselves, promising to work for three to six years to repay one-way transportation costs to the Americas. Migrants would sign contracts before departure, and settlers looking for workers would meet arriving ships, pay the fare, and obtain a worker who was obliged to stay with the master to pay off the transportation debt. Transportation costs today are far less, \$2,500 to travel almost anywhere in the world legally, and \$1,000 to \$20,000 for unauthorized migration. Most studies suggest payback times for migrants are much quicker, so that even migrants who paid high smuggling fees can usually repay them within two or three years.<sup>10</sup>

The rights revolution refers to the spread of the rights of individual vis-à-vis governments that allows some foreigners to stay abroad. Many countries have ratified the major UN human rights conventions that commit them to providing all persons with basic rights such as due process. As a result, in many countries, migrants without legal status can nevertheless stay several years by applying for various forms of relief from deportation or removal, or be smuggled into a country, work in the underground economy, and apply for relief when apprehended. Most industrial countries extend eligibility for at least basic services to all residents, regardless of legal status, making it easier for migrants to survive while trying to establish a foothold.

Governments create and enforce rights, however, and the default policy instruments many have used to manage migration include new or modified laws that restrict the rights of migrants. For example, the U.S. in 1996 enacted laws that restricted the access of unauthorized as well as many legal immigrants to social assistance program benefits, under the theory that some migrants were arriving for a "hand out, not a hand up." Many European countries revised their laws in the 1990s to require foreigners to apply for asylum soon after arrival in order to receive housing and support, and shortened the appeal process in an effort to expedite the removal of those found to be not in need of protection.

### **Migration and Development**

The migration-development nexus incorporates two elements: ways in which development aid and processes can reduce pressures for migration, particularly irregular movements of people, and ways in which migrants can be a resource for the development of their home communities.

Academicians exploring the relationship between economic development and emigration tend to agree that improving the economic opportunities for people in source countries is the best long-term solution to illegal migration. Almost uniformly, however, they caution that emigration pressures are likely to remain and, possibly, increase before the long-term benefits accrue: “The transformations intrinsic to the development process are at first destabilizing. They initially promote rather than impede migration. Better communications and transportation and other improvements in the quality of life of people working hard to make a living raise expectations and enhance their ability to migrate.”<sup>11</sup> Several researchers posit what economist Philip Martin refers to as an “immigration hump.” As levels of income rise, emigration would at first increase, then peak and decline.<sup>12</sup> The experience of such countries as Italy and Korea in transitioning from emigration to immigration countries gives credence to this theory.

Mobile populations can contribute to economic development through their financial resources as well as their skills, entrepreneurial activities, and support for democratization and human rights.

Individual remittance transfers continue to be an important source of income for many families in developing countries. As of 2004, by conservative estimates, international remittances to developing countries exceeded \$125 billion per year.<sup>13</sup> Considering that Official Development Assistance (ODA) seldom exceeds \$60 billion per year, migrants are contributing more financial resources to their home countries than do the wealthy countries’ development agencies.

Most remittances purchase consumer items needed by families at home. Although sometimes derided by economists as “non-productive,” consumer use of remittances contributes to economic development, particularly when households spend their remittances locally. The multiplier effects of remittances can be substantial, with each dollar producing additional dollars in economic growth for the businesses that produce and supply the products bought with these resources. Expenditures on education and healthcare also stimulate human development. Moreover, a World Bank report found that remittance flows are a more stable source of revenue for many countries than foreign trade, foreign direct investment and foreign aid.<sup>14</sup>

The diaspora can play an important role in promoting economic development. Migrants often form associations to raise and remit funds for infrastructure development and income generation activities in their home communities. Migrant groups as dissimilar as Malians in France and Mexicans in the United States have supported health clinics, built schools, repaired roads, and invested in small business enterprises in their home communities.

Remittance flows are particularly important in reducing poverty, particularly among the women-headed households and older persons receiving this form of support. According to research conducted for the World Bank, “international remittances—defined as the share of remittances in country GDP—has a strong, statistical impact on reducing poverty. On average, a 10 percent increase in the share of international remittances in a

country's GDP will lead to a 1.6 percent decline in the share of people living in poverty."<sup>15</sup> The impact on rural households is particularly strong.

While remittances hold promise for development and poverty reduction, they are by no means a substitute for Official Development Assistance. Although remittances may help alleviate poverty in families with migrants, remittances do not reach everyone in need and may thus increase inequality. Moreover, remittances depend on contributions from people who may themselves be living in poverty; women migrants, in particular, are often the poorest residents of their host countries but they are responsible for a significant portion of remittances. They may not be investing in their own living conditions, healthcare, nutrition and education in order to continue to send money home.

Brain drain, or the migration of highly skilled individuals, remains a problem, particularly in the health sector. As a study for the International Labour Organization found, "Emigration selects those who can afford it, whose skills are in demand abroad, and who stand to benefit most (the tertiary educated)."<sup>16</sup> The impacts are not all negative, however. The prospect of employment in other countries can also stimulate interest in higher education. Because only some graduates leave, a country may benefit from an increase in educated persons even if emigration of skilled persons continues.<sup>17</sup> However, when the emigration of highly skilled professionals reaches a critical mass—for example, 30 percent of those with graduate degrees—the negative impacts on particular sectors—such as healthcare—can be massive.

The impacts of brain drain may be reduced if migrants return home. Migrants returning temporarily or permanently bring needed skills to their home countries. Programs that identify migrants with specific skills needed by their home countries and facilitate return and reintegration contribute to economic development, as does support for return migrants who plan to open small businesses upon reintegration. The skills may be needed for economic development, but they may also be required to help move the source country towards greater democratization and respect for human rights. For example, migrants who have legal training may be helpful in developing new judicial systems and establishing the rule of law.

As this discussion indicates, migration intersects with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in a number of ways. First, migrant financial and human capital are important resources for achieving the MDGs that have largely been overlooked by development agencies, at least until the scale of remittances reached levels that caught these organizations off guard. The impact of remittances on poverty reduction is particularly important, as is its use for increasing access to education and healthcare. On the other hand, if the emigration of health professionals continues unabated from certain countries, the ability to achieve MDG 6 (reducing HIV/AIDS, malaria and other major diseases) may be seriously impeded.

### **Migration and Reproductive Health**

Access to reproductive healthcare services has import for migrants, particularly those who come from or migrate within regions with high birth rates and those who experience

high risks of unwanted pregnancies and exposure to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases because of their migration experience.

Generally, migrant women have higher fertility rates than those of the native born population in their destination country but often have lower fertility than women in their origin country. This pattern is often explained by a combination of factors: immigration involves a process of self-selection and may favor those with a propensity to have fewer children; the migration process disrupts childbearing, resulting in lower fertility; and lower fertility is a sign of adaptation to the norms of the new society.<sup>18</sup> This pattern and set of explanations can be found in rural to urban migration within developing countries.<sup>19</sup>

A number of factors, depending on the source and destination country, affects access to and use of reproductive health services. In the United States, lack of insurance coverage is a major barrier. Many entry-level jobs of the type that migrants are likely to hold pay no health insurance costs.

Religious and cultural views of contraception affect choices, as do language barriers. One study of reproductive health services for Malian women in Paris found that the absence of interpretation services limited the ability of French midwives to discuss contraception with patients, leading some midwives to provide prescriptions for birth control pills without explanations as to their purpose or use.<sup>20</sup> More generally, migrant women report their reliance on their children to serve as translators. Yet, it is very difficult for them to discuss their medical problems, particularly gynecological ones, through their children. Use of family members as interpreters also raises ethical concerns of confidentiality, informed consent and privacy between health professionals and patients—something lost when children or family members conduct medical interpretation (and when this is not the choice of the woman).

The link between migration and HIV/AIDS infection is an important reason to address gaps in access to reproductive healthcare. According to the *2004 Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*, “there is a strong link between various kinds of mobility and heightened risk of HIV.” However, while there is a widespread prejudice that migrants “bring AIDS with them,” the fact is that many migrants move from low HIV-prevalence areas to those with higher prevalence, increasing their risk of being exposed to the virus” (UNAIDS 2004:83).

Individual and social factors create special risks for women. For example, women traveling alone may have little choice but to sell sex for survival, or to establish partnerships in transit or at destination simply for protection. Refugee and internally displaced women without a male partner may similarly find themselves without protection. In addition, they may have been exposed to rape as a weapon of war, or to rape in camps related to the boredom, depression and substance abuse that may trigger sexual violence. Girls and women are often forcibly recruited by militaries and insurgencies to provide sex to the soldiers. The risk of sexual violence also increases in sex-segregated and unregulated sectors of the economy, for example for female traders,

domestic workers and sex workers (Haour-Knipe and Grondin 2003).<sup>21</sup> Trafficked women are at especially high risk—not only those pressed into the sex trades but also those trafficked into domestic service and other types of forced labor.

Labor migration, particularly seasonal movements, increases the likelihood of HIV/AIDS, for not only male migrants but also for stay-at-home women partners. In Uganda, people who moved within the previous 3 years were 3 times more likely to be infected with HIV than those who had stable residence for 10 years. A study in South Africa found that HIV was three times more likely among those who had recently changed their place of residence.<sup>22</sup> Similar situations exist in Asia, as summarized by the *2004 Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*: “A recent study in India found that 15.9 per cent of truck drivers working a route in the south were HIV-positive, compared to the national HIV prevalence of below 1 per cent.” And, in Sri Lanka, housemaids who returned from working in the Middle East accounted for about half of reported HIV cases.<sup>23</sup>

Refugee and displaced women and girls present special issues regarding reproductive health. They are often victims of sexual violence during flight and in camps. Representatives of UN agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and governments formed the Inter-agency Working Group on Refugee Reproductive Health (IAWG). The IAWG produced a field manual that outlined a “Minimum Initial Service Package (MISP) “designed to prevent and manage the consequences of sexual violence, reduce HIV transmission, prevent excess neonatal and maternal morbidity and mortality and plan for the provision of comprehensive reproductive health services.”<sup>24</sup> Several NGOs also came together as the Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium (now Reproductive Health Response in Conflict) to offer actual services for refugee and displaced women and girls.

### **Research Priorities**

The interconnections between migration, development and population have received new attention in the past few years, but there continues to be significant need for better understanding and analysis of a number of issues related to migration, development and population. Research would help improve understanding of migration processes and impacts; provide theories, frameworks and empirical evidence to help improve policy and program responses; dispel myths and misperceptions about international migration (an area that generates highly emotional, even xenophobic responses); provide longer-term and multi-disciplinary perspectives on key issues; and anticipate new issues and trends.

Research priorities include:

- Bi-national and regional research involving source, transit and destination countries, to develop a better understanding of the push, pull and network factors that affect migration patterns and trends. Such research, using data sources from both sides of the migration process, would generate more reliable information than can be obtained from more one-dimensional approaches. Specific issues to be addressed: interplay between demographic and economic factors in explaining

future migration patterns (e.g., to what extent will migration pressures be reduced in key source countries as population growth reduces and economic opportunities increase, particularly for new entrants into the labor market; to what extent will the population decline and aging in industrialized countries create new pull factors increasing migration pressures and opportunities); impact of changing gender roles on migration patterns (e.g., will other countries follow the pattern of the Philippines and Sri Lanka and shift towards a primarily female migrant population?); interplay between human security and economics in explaining migration patterns (e.g., to what extent are the findings of one survey, which found that concerns about personal safety were important reasons that South African nurses gave in explaining their exodus to the United Kingdom, relevant in understanding exodus of health professionals from other countries?); interconnections between internal (particularly rural to urban) migration and international migration (the evidence is mixed as to the extent that urbanization leads to international movements; there is some evidence in China that the opposite may be occurring, with internal migration into parts of China experiencing international emigration).

- Impact of labor migration on source and destination countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. There is a growing body of research on the impact of remittances, but other impacts of migration on developing countries have not been well studied or analyzed. Nor has there been much research on mid-income countries that are recipients of migrants from poorer countries in their regions (e.g., Dominican Republic [Haiti], Costa Rica [Nicaragua], South Africa [throughout southern Africa], Cote d'Ivoire [throughout west Africa], India [throughout South Asia]). Issues needing further attention include: effects of the emigration of healthcare professionals, educators, and other highly skilled persons on the capacity of developing countries to achieve MDGs; effects of return migration on source countries (e.g., to what extent are return migrants bringing new skills, resources, political views, understandings of gender roles and relationships, etc. back to home countries? How can countries best capitalize on skills and investment funds brought back by migrants? How might adverse consequences best be addressed?); impact of migration within developing country regions on source, transit and destination countries.
- Forced migration, including refugees and displaced persons, environmental migration, development-induced migration and human trafficking. There is a growing recognition that many more people are forced to leave their home communities and countries than fit the traditional definitions of “refugees” as persons fleeing persecution and conflict. Moreover, some of the categorizations of forced migration are too static, not reflecting the multiple reasons people are dislocated and the likely sequence of movements (e.g., internally displaced persons may be forced to cross international borders and become refugees; on return, many refugees are unable to go home and become internally displaced). Research areas include: understanding the interconnections and dynamics of forced migration; understanding the interconnections between forced and

- voluntary migration (a refugee may leave because of conflict but choose a destination with greater employment opportunities); the impact that environmental degradation, including global warming, may have on future migration patterns; mechanisms to prevent human trafficking and better protect and reintegrate the victims of trafficking; mechanisms to address reproductive health needs and sexual and gender-based violence against forced migrants, particularly refugee, displaced and trafficked women.
- Feminization of migration. This issue has been alluded to in a number of the previous research priorities but it deserves special attention. Much of the data collection and research undertaken on migration focuses on what had been the prototypical migrant—the young male migrating for economic purposes. Research is needed to fill in our understanding of the reasons for and impact of the growing migration of women, as principal migrants—not just those following to join male migrants.
  - Governance. Migration issues are currently in the domain of governments, which often act unilaterally in setting policies. There is growing recognition, however, that migration cannot be managed through unilateral actions. Involving source, transit and destination countries is essential to ensuring that the needs of all parties, including the migrants themselves, are met. How to foster cooperation among states with very different interests is the issue. Unlike the other major global movements (of goods, services and capital), there is no agreement that freer movement of people/labor is beneficial to all parties. Yet, there has been progress in developing new approaches. Bilateral and regional consultative mechanisms have been operating in many parts of the world. And, more recently, there have been several global efforts to develop common understandings of migration and its management. The Global Commission on International Migration, which was formed at the request of the UN Secretary General, will be reporting its findings and recommendations in October 2005. In 2006, a High-Level Dialogue on International Migration in the UN General Assembly will follow up the Commission's recommendation. Given the stage of development of these initiatives, research on governance issues could be very useful in determining how to institutionalize cooperation on migration management.

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<sup>1</sup> UN Population Division, *International Migration Report 2002* (New York: United Nations, 2002). The number of voluntary migrants is undoubtedly significantly higher today although the number of refugees (persons fleeing across borders because of persecution and conflict) has been reduced as more forced migrants flee internally.

<sup>2</sup> This section is adapted from Philip Martin, Susan Martin and Patrick Weil, *Managing Migration: The Promise of Cooperation*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield (Lexington Books Division), forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Population Reference Bureau, *The 2004 World Population Data Sheet*, 2004  
[www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/Content/ContentGroups/Datasheets/2004\\_World\\_Population\\_Data\\_Sheet.htm%20%20](http://www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/Content/ContentGroups/Datasheets/2004_World_Population_Data_Sheet.htm%20%20)

<sup>4</sup> UN Population Division, *Replacement Migration: Is it A Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* (New York: UNPD, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> See UN Population Division, *Replacement Migration*, which cites statistics on the major contribution that positive net migration has made to the population growth of countries such as Austria, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Spain and Switzerland; as well as in North America.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Portugal and South Korea moved from the middle- to the high-income group between 1985 and 1995, while Zimbabwe and Mauritania moved from the middle- to the low-income group. See World Bank, *World Development Report* (Washington, DC: World Bank, various years).

<sup>7</sup> Governments have in the past sometimes sent migrants to areas that later broke away and formed a new nation, and these internal migrants and their descendants can become international migrants without moving again, as with Russians in the newly independent Baltic States or Indonesians in East Timor.

<sup>8</sup> See UN Division for the Advancement of Women, *2004 World Survey on Women and Development: Women and International Migration* (New York: United Nations, 2004). Susan Martin was the lead author of the Survey.

<sup>9</sup> Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998)

<sup>10</sup> David Kyle and Rey Koslowski, eds, *Global Human Smuggling: Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> U.S. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, *Unauthorized Migration: An Economic Development Response*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1990.

<sup>12</sup> Wayne A. Cornelius and Philip L Martin, *The Uncertain Connection: Free Trade and Mexico-U.S. Migration*, San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1993

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Munzele Maimbo and, Dilip Ratha, ed., *Remittances: Development Impact and Future Prospects* (Washington: World Bank, 2005)

<sup>14</sup> World Bank, *Global Development Finance* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2003)

<sup>15</sup> R.H. Adams, Jr. and J. Page, *International Migration, Remittances and Poverty in Developing Countries*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3179, 2003

<sup>16</sup> B. Lindsay Lowell and Allan Findlay, "Migration of Highly Skilled Persons from Developing Countries: Impact and Policy Responses," International Migration Paper #44, International Labour Organization, 2002.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, F.D. Bean, C.G. Swicegood, and R. Berg, "Mexican-origin Fertility: New Patterns and Interpretations," in *Social Science Quarterly*, 81, 2000: 405-420.

<sup>19</sup> Graeme Hugo, "Migrant Women in Developing Countries" in Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, *Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries: Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Meeting on the Feminization of Internal Migration*. New York: United Nations, 1993.

<sup>20</sup> Carolyn Sargent, "Counseling Contraception for Malian Migrants in Paris: Global, State, and Personal Politics" in *Human Organization*, Summer 2005

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<sup>24</sup> Inter-agency Field Manual on Reproductive Health in Refugee Situations available at: [http://www.rhrc.org/resources/general%5Ffieldtools/iafm\\_menu.htm](http://www.rhrc.org/resources/general%5Ffieldtools/iafm_menu.htm)