Global Migration

President’s Message

The Global Forum on Migration and Development

Learning from Mexico about governance and global migration

Addressing the brain drain of healthcare workers

Director’s Message
The movement of people across borders is a fundamental aspect of international and domestic affairs, yet one which has until recently received surprisingly little attention. What does migration reveal about the shape of contemporary global economics and politics? How does migration affect countries that send and receive migrants — and migrants themselves?

In our new grantmaking arena, MacArthur takes an explicitly global view on population movement. Our core concern is international migration, but we acknowledge migration as a subset of the much larger category of global human mobility — a term that encompasses migrants, refugees, students, business travelers, tourists, and all others who cross international boundaries.

The Foundation’s Initiative on Global Migration and Human Mobility is motivated by the observation that migration is one of the least well understood and most poorly governed aspects of globalization. Our grantmaking seeks to contribute to improved governance of international migration and better understanding of the relationship of migration to economic development.

We are inspired by a new generation of researchers who emphasize how communications and transportation technologies have transformed the migration experience. Under the old view, migration was understood to be a one-way process, from a country of origin to a country of destination, ending in assimilation. The new paradigm acknowledges that migratory paths are often back-and-forth, or circular, and that migrants retain ties to their home countries that lend their existence a transnational character.

This understanding influences the words we use to describe the phenomena. Our use of the term migration is intended to emphasize the global, back-and-forth nature of human mobility. The more common term — immigration — is always used relative to a receiving country — but practically every country on earth, including the United States, is at once a country of origin, a country of destination, and a country of transit. And while the United States remains the largest single destination for immigrants, other countries, including Russia, Germany, and Saudi Arabia, each host millions of migrants.

Migration is an extraordinarily complex phenomenon — intertwined with economics and politics, gender and culture, society and religion, race and poverty, climate and conflict. At MacArthur, we are cognizant of our status as newcomers in the areas of migration research and policy, to which many individuals have devoted lifelong careers. Our ambition is not to find and promote the one best theory of migration. Neither is MacArthur entering the field of global migration in order to enter into present-day debates over immigration policy in the United States. Rather, we hope to contribute to building a flexible, adaptive framework for understanding migration processes around the world and to help capture the benefits of migration for individual migrants as well as countries of origin and destination.

The International movement of people is here to stay. Migration — and flows of people more broadly — is likely, in its totality, a global public good. But specific flows of migrants bring costs as well as benefits for countries of origin and destination, and for individual migrants and their families. These costs and benefits — some measurable, others very hard to quantify — tend to be unequally distributed among groups of people, within localities and sectors in a country, and across countries. Few countries do a good job of dealing with these distributional effects of migration.

While there are fairly robust international regimes in such fields as environment and trade, the international community is just beginning to grapple with migration as a global policy issue. MacArthur seeks to advance international migration policy discussions through its support for the Global Forum on Migration and Development, which met in Brussels in July 2007, and meets in Manila in October 2008. The Forum is a voluntary, non-binding consultative process that brings together representatives of more than 130 countries for frank and productive conversations and sharing of best practices for improving the impact of migration on development.

The Global Forum is helping shift the way governments view migration — from threat to opportunity. The Brussels Forum generated new partnerships and specific projects, including a feasibility study for mobilizing the private sector to reduce the up-front costs of migration. The next meeting of the Forum, in Manila, focuses on protecting migrants’ rights and enabling them to become agents of development.

The Forum is a key vehicle for focusing global attention on migration, but most pragmatic policy coordination takes place at the bilateral or regional level. Through a grant to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, MacArthur is funding research on regional migration governance institutions in West Africa and Central America. And since effective policymaking depends on accurate empirical data, the Foundation is supporting a commission at the Center for Global Development that brings together top migration data specialists with the aim of improving international migration statistics.

Through a grant to the Social Science Research Council, the Foundation has supported an anthology of research on the developmental impact of remittances — the funds that migrants send to households in their countries of origin. Several other projects on the migration/development nexus are aimed at affecting specific migration practices. The migration of healthcare workers to the United States is addressed by MacArthur grantee AcademyHealth, which has assembled a health sector task force to develop a code of conduct for the international recruitment of nurses. And work undertaken at the University of Michigan by researcher Dean Yang uses an innovative experimental design to see how new banking products can help migrants and their families make better use of remittances.

Global migration cuts across a broad range of issues of concern to MacArthur — from regional economic development to conservation, human rights, and international security. I am pleased by the prospect of MacArthur’s further engagement in this field, and welcome your thoughts on this work.

Jonathan F. Fanton
President
About 200 million of the world’s 6.7 billion people live outside of their home country. Many are refugees fleeing violence and persecution, but many more people move for economic opportunity and a better life. They maintain ties with their native country, often returning home for extended periods of time and sending money, called remittances, to relatives.

International law governs the legal framework and institutional response to refugees, but individual states determine how to manage those who migrate by choice. And the dramatic increase in migration in recent decades has made how to manage the flow of people across the globe a pressing international policy issue.
Migration presents both advantages and disadvantages to countries of origin and countries of destination. Remittances to developing nations are estimated at about $300 billion annually, far outweighing the global total in foreign aid. Yet the migration of skilled and educated workers to developed nations has taken valuable expertise from developing countries. And as developed nations recruit these high-skilled workers to fill critical labor shortages, they also are attempting to stem unsanctioned migration.

These complex issues were at the center of the first Global Forum on Migration and Development in Brussels, Belgium, in July 2007. The Forum brought together 156 nations, placed development at the center of the discussion of international migration, and laid the groundwork for more cooperative efforts between migrants’ countries of origin and their countries of destination.

The MacArthur Foundation supported the Brussels Forum and has awarded a grant to the Philippines Department of Foreign Affairs to host the second Global Forum in Manila on October 27–30, 2008. The Foundation’s support for this international dialogue is part of its efforts to assist initiatives that have the potential to improve global governance of migration and ensure that people and nations benefit economically.

“The Forum enabled us to look at migration as an opportunity instead of a threat. In the Western world that is often the danger,” said Regine De Clercq, currently the Belgian ambassador to Switzerland, who organized the Global Forum on behalf of the Belgian government.

De Clercq said the Forum allowed nations to look at migration as a tool for development “without making development aid a way to manipulate migration flows, nor to use migration as a substitute for development.”

**Increasing International Coordination**

The Brussels Forum followed years of regional consultative processes (RCP), informal dialogues between governments in the same region to explore joint solutions to migration. World leaders do not embrace the idea of a global institution to govern migration — many consider the concept premature and a threat to national sovereignty — but they have been receptive to the non-binding Global Forum.

“It created a mechanism for international coordination,” said Peter Sutherland, the UN special representative to the secretary-general for international migration and development. Sutherland said attendance at the first Forum doubled expectations, and the presence of UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon underscored the importance of the event.

Several innovations and best practices were shared at the Forum, such as a new initiative by mobile phone companies to help migrants send remittances at a greatly reduced cost. Nations agreed to work on proposals concerning critical issues such as how countries of origin and destination can benefit from circular migration, the back-and-forth travel of workers. Some countries of origin discussed their efforts to create closer ties with migrants in the diaspora, including programs to retain skilled workers by establishing projects between expatriate scientists and those at home, Sutherland said.

With 10 percent of the Filipino population living overseas, strengthening ties with migrants in the diaspora is important to his government, said Esteban Conejos, foreign affairs undersecretary of the Philippines. Filipinos abroad provide about $14 billion in remittances, or about 10 percent of the nation’s gross domestic product, Conejos said. Many Filipinos are temporary workers in the Middle East, but most come to the United States where they become permanent residents.

Migrants’ rights are a delicate issue in many destination and transit nations. There is a robust international legal regime governing refugees and asylum seekers, but the major international agreement on the rights of migrants — the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families — has not been ratified by any major countries of destination. Both Conejos and De Clercq (continued on page 8)
Remittances — money sent by migrants to their home countries — are widely considered an important source of income for families in developing nations, but there is still limited information on their impact on development. Given that remittances are private funds, their impact depends on how they are used by individuals and households. Using remittances for daily consumption helps alleviate poverty, but economists presume that the longer-term effect of the funds on economic growth is greater when they are saved and invested, including investment in family members’ education.

An innovative field study of Salvadoran migrants in the United States and their families back home could provide insights into how to better use remittances to increase economic growth in El Salvador and other developing countries. Supported by the MacArthur Foundation and the Inter-American Development Bank, the experiment is the first of its size to examine both senders and receivers of remittances, and reflects the Foundation’s support for practical interventions that can increase the benefits of migration for individuals and societies.

The two-year study focuses on 2,000 Salvadorans living in Washington, D.C., among the largest concentration of Salvadorans in the United States. The goal is to determine if the migrants would save more or invest in El Salvador if they had greater control over money sent to their families, says Dean Yang, an economics professor at the University of Michigan and co-author of the study with Nava Ashraf, of Harvard Business School, Diego Aycinena, of Francisco Marroquin University, and Claudia Martinez, of the University of Chile.

“International remittances have not been subjected to nearly the same amount of critical examination” as foreign direct investments, Yang said, adding that they are also an important source of funds for developing nations. Remittances to developing nations are estimated at about $300 billion annually, far outweighing the global total in foreign aid.

A baseline survey of the migrants and their families revealed significant differences of opinion over how to use remittances, Yang said. Families wanted $65 of every $100 to be used for daily expenses, compared to about $45 of every $100 for migrants. When it came to savings, families wanted about $2 for every $100, compared to about $18 for migrants.

To test their idea, researchers worked with Banco Agricola, a Salvadoran bank with branches in the United States, to set up three different savings accounts in El Salvador: one for the migrants’ families; an individual account for migrants; and a joint account for migrants and families. Participants are being offered one of the three savings accounts, and results will be monitored over 12–24 months. In addition, researchers established a control group that received no support in opening accounts.

So far, a majority of migrants have selected joint and individual accounts. Researchers anticipate finishing the current phase of the study in summer 2008.

The average annual remittances from the Salvadorans in the field study are $2,775 annually, or about 18 percent of their earnings. And the remittances are about 72 percent of the income of their families at home. About 20 percent of El Salvador’s gross domestic product comes from overseas workers—a figure that is among the highest in the world.

In addition to giving the migrants more control over how remittances are used in El Salvador, Yang said the field experiment can also “stimulate financial innovation.” For example, Banco Agricola is now marketing the new savings accounts to Salvadoran workers in U.S. cities other than Washington.

A follow-up survey of participants planned for early 2009 will examine the effects of the study on remittances, savings, and household spending patterns in El Salvador.

### Countries with the largest international migration stock, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of migrants (in thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>38,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Federation</td>
<td>12,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>10,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>6,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>5,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>5,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>5,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>5,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>4,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>4,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>3,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>3,212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>2,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>2,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d’Ivoire</td>
<td>2,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>2,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>5,843</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Countries with the highest percentage of international migrant stock in total population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage of total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UN Population Division
The map shows the ten largest migration “dyads” — pairing countries of origin with countries of destination. Migrants are defined here as foreign-born people as recorded in the most recent census round. This means the numbers in this map are essentially accumulated/historic migrant populations. For example, many Pakistan-born people in India are those who moved at partition in 1947; and flows between Russia and Ukraine relate in part to the breakup of the Soviet Union.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Country of Destination</th>
<th>Number of Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>9.34 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>4.87 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>3.81 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3.56 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>2.58 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>2.19 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1.86 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1.51 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1.51 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1.45 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1.33 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1.33 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migrant Origin Database, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty at the University of Sussex. This database is itself derived from statistics compiled by the UN Population Division.
### Strengthening migration data

The relative scarcity of good data on international migration is an impediment to improved understanding and international cooperation. The United Nations Population Division has compiled rather robust cross-nationally comparable data on migrant stocks — that is, the number of migrants in a given country in a given year (migrants being defined as those living outside their country of birth). However, for a variety of technical and ultimately political reasons, there is a lack of good data on migrant flows — the number of migrants traveling from one country to another in a given year.

In an attempt to address data shortcomings, the MacArthur Foundation is funding a Commission on Migration Data for Development Research. The Commission is organized by the Center for Global Development and co-chaired by Lawrence Summers and Patricia Santo Tomás. Its members include leading migration data experts from the United Nations, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the International Organization for Migration, and Eurostat, as well as top university-based specialists. The Commission will issue a report on its findings as well as recommendations on how to improve the quality of international migration data by instituting routine collection of information on entries and exits of migrants and standardizing definitions of temporary versus permanent migrants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Country of Destination</th>
<th>Number of Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>4.87 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>3.81 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>3.56 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>2.58 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1.86 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1.51 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Phillipines</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1.45 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1.33 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1.33 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>9.34 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data courtesy of the Global Migrant Origin Database of the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty at the University of Sussex.

Map Coordinate System: WGS 1984

May 2008

Strengthening migration data

The relative scarcity of good data on international migration is an impediment to improved understanding and international cooperation. The United Nations Population Division has compiled rather robust cross-nationally comparable data on migrant stocks — that is, the number of migrants in a given country in a given year (migrants being defined as those living outside their country of birth). However, for a variety of technical and ultimately political reasons, there is a lack of good data on migrant flows — the number of migrants traveling from one country to another in a given year.

In an attempt to address data shortcomings, the MacArthur Foundation is funding a Commission on Migration Data for Development Research. The Commission is organized by the Center for Global Development and co-chaired by Lawrence Summers and Patricia Santo Tomás. Its members include leading migration data experts from the United Nations, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the International Organization for Migration, and Eurostat, as well as top university-based specialists. The Commission will issue a report on its findings as well as recommendations on how to improve the quality of international migration data by instituting routine collection of information on entries and exits of migrants and standardizing definitions of temporary versus permanent migrants.
said they hoped for deeper discussion and exchange of best practices regarding migrants’ rights in Manila. They also would welcome more discussion on how governments can work to ensure that trade or environmental policies, for example, do not contribute to migration problems. “It would be good that we look at the impact of [trade] policies for migration,” De Clercq said. “If we continue to subsidize certain commodities and export them, what does it mean to the livelihood of people in certain areas, and, therefore, what does that mean for migration?”

Challenges to Cooperation
Organizers and supporters of the Forum have been careful to prevent disagreements over sovereignty from becoming an issue during the dialogue. “Sovereignty is still a defining paradigms” when it comes to global migration, said Susan Martin, executive director of Georgetown’s Institute for the Study of International Migration and former director of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. The Institute received funding from MacArthur to support the work of both meetings of the Global Forum.

But Sutherland said sovereignty has not been an issue at the Forum because it is not a decision-making body. “The Forum is a dialogue in finding proactive means for countries of destination and origin,” he said. “Sovereignty is not threatened in any way by that.”

De Clercq said national sovereignty is a given, so the discussion must move to sharing best practices as a tool for managing international migration. “Who comes in and who remains is a decision of the country concerned,” she said. “Migration situations differ from country to country and region to region.”

A greater challenge in Manila likely will be how to improve the participation of civil society organizations, De Clercq said. In Brussels, the civil society groups had one day to prepare their positions before presenting them to the larger group. In Manila, they will have two days, said De Clercq, adding that the Forum needs to find more ways to involve civil society groups, which are sometimes at odds with governments over policies.

Martin said the time allotted civil society groups to present their recommendations in Brussels was cut short by government discussions on other issues. “This time, there will be a half day for dialogue between representatives of civil society and representatives of government,” she said, adding that both sides have much to learn from each other.

The Ayala Foundation, a Philippine nonprofit devoted to the eradication of poverty, will organize the civil society participation at the upcoming Manila Forum.

The Buildup to the Brussels Forum
Many factors have contributed to soaring global migration in recent years. Aging populations and declining birth rates in many European nations have created opportunities for migrant workers. Meanwhile, a lack of opportunities and political and other crises in developing nations have prompted an exodus of people.

The Cairo International Conference on Population and Development in 1994 was the first UN conference to place the issue of global migration on the world agenda. But developed nations were reluctant to support international standards or institutions to govern the movement of people across the globe because they wanted to maintain control over their boundaries. As a result, several regional consultative processes developed in response to migration pressures. Among the early RCPs was the 1996 Regional Conference on Migration, including Mexico, the United States, Canada, and eight other countries in North and Central America. The group has developed a joint database that tracks regional migration flows.

Since Cairo, there also have been several international endeavors, such as the Berne Initiative and the Global Commission for International Migration, that encouraged more cooperation on migration and proposed mechanisms and

Program focuses on migration in Africa

A new grant from The MacArthur Foundation will help increase research about migration across Africa. The Foundation has awarded a three-year grant to the International Migration Institute at the James Martin 21st Century School at the University of Oxford to develop data and map migration networks through the “African Perspectives on Human Mobility” program. The research will focus on migration to and from Ghana, Morocco, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Nigeria. In Nigeria MacArthur currently focuses its efforts on reducing maternal mortality and strengthening higher education and the rule of law.

The work will be done in conjunction with African researchers as part of a long-term effort to help institutions in Africa develop state-of-the-art research on migration. For more information, visit the website at http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research/african-perspectives-on-human-mobility-1.
frameworks to manage it. In 2006, the UN High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development called for more regular discussion of the issue, which led to the first Forum.

Prior to the Forum, many of the dialogues among nations occurred under the umbrella of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which works closely with the regional consultative processes. With years of experience sharing information on migration, the RCPs have valuable experience to share with Forum participants, said Robert Paiva, director of external relations for the IOM.

In “philosophy, structure, and procedure,” he said the Forum follows a model similar to that of the regional processes, which were created and supported by some of the same nations now participating in the Forum.

“There is no structural relationship between the RCPs and the Global Forum. Since the outset, however, there has been recognition by states that the Forum should be able to draw upon and benefit from the important work being done by RCPs,” Paiva said.

For example, a key goal of the Colombo Process, a regional consultative process initially involving ten Asian countries of origin, (continued on back page)}

Understanding the development impact of migration

MacArthur-funded research is breaking new ground in our understanding of the economic impact of migration on countries of origin and destination, and on migrants themselves. Some examples of this work follow.

Impact on countries of origin
Remittances have become a crucial source of income for many developing countries. With MacArthur funds, the Social Science Research Council is organizing a website for researchers who want to have access to analytical perspectives regarding remittances, including articles that reflect the latest theoretical and methodological approaches on how to design research on the topic.

Many observers assume that highly skilled migrants are more likely to send remittances than migrants with lower skill levels. But research by the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University shows that income, not education per se, is a better predictor of remittance behavior, and that over time well-educated migrants become less likely to remit compared with lesser-educated migrants. This suggests that remittances alone cannot compensate for the negative consequences of brain drain.

In a MacArthur-funded policy paper, Dovelyn Rannveig Aguijas and Kathleen Newland of the Migration Policy Institute examine the prospects for circular migration to have a positive impact on migrants’ countries of origin. In “Circular Migration and Development: Trends, Policy Routes, and Ways Forward,” Aguijas and Newland argue that circular migration works best when flexible and open working arrangements are used in place of traditional guest worker programs; and when disincentives that discourage permanent migrants from returning home are removed.

Impact on migrants
The Center for Global Development’s recent working paper, “Income per Natural: Measuring Development as if People Mattered More Than Places,” by Michael Clemens and Lant Pritchett, introduced a new indicator — income per natural, which is defined as the mean annual income of persons born in a given country, regardless of where those persons now reside. Clemens and Pritchett argue that looking at individuals, rather than their home countries, provides a new lens for understanding the importance of migration for lifting individuals out of poverty.

Almost 43 million people live in a group of countries whose income per natural collectively is 50 percent higher than GDP per resident, according to the authors. And for 1.1 billion people the difference exceeds 10 percent. For example, poverty estimates differ between residents of poor nations such as Haiti and those citizens who emigrated. The authors state that 26 percent of Haitian naturals who are not poor, defined in Haiti as living on $2 a day, live in the Untied States.

International migration has been presented as an alternative to economic development, but Clemens says it is a form of economic development as raising human well-being.

Impact on countries of destination
A new MacArthur-supported study suggests that foreign workers in both high-education and low-education occupations complement more than compete with most Americans in the workforce. While some competition exists between less-educated native-born and immigrant workers, the research finds that a majority of Americans benefit from immigration because it allows them to move into better-paying positions requiring language skills that migrants lack, according to Giovanni Peri, an economics professor at the University of California, Davis.

Peri uses the example of the construction industry, where the hiring of foreign workers has reduced wages. This decline in labor costs has allowed the industry to hire both more “bricks and mortar” workers and supervisors, he said. The supervisory jobs go to native-born workers because the positions require more sophisticated language skills than immigrants possess.

Rising American educational levels also help U.S.-born workers in the labor market, according to Peri. Native workers with no high school diploma have experienced a small reduction in wages as a result of competition with immigrants, Peri noted. But from 1960 to 2006, the percentage of Americans without diplomas dropped dramatically from 60 percent to 9 percent.

A complementary relationship between American and foreign workers also exists in highly skilled science and technology occupations, Peri said. Immigrants with advanced degrees in math and science have been filling research positions because of a shortage of trained Americans in these fields.
More than 11 million Mexcans live in the United States — the largest immigrant group in the country and one-tenth of the entire population born in Mexico. More than half of these immigrants reside in the United States illegally.

Migration between Mexico and the United States has created a unique governance challenge. Though Mexico and the United States share a trade pact, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), they do not agree on how to manage the flow of people across their shared border. And the United States decision to build a fence to attempt to stem illegal immigration has exacerbated tensions with Mexico.

With support from the MacArthur Foundation, the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) held a series of seminars in 2007 and 2008 to further understanding and dialogue between the United States and Mexico on migration-related issues. The Foundation is funding MPI as part of its efforts to encourage improved governance of migration at an international, regional, and national level. Mexico is also among four nations, including Nigeria, Russia, and India, that are focus countries for the Foundation.

A seminar held in April 2008 helped Mexican diplomats and ministers understand migration policies and practices in the United States and Canada (which is also a party to NAFTA), including how each country determines which immigrants to admit. The seminar also examined how to better coordinate migration policy among various Mexican agencies. Demetrios Papademetriou, president of MPI, said the seminar will become a training model for Mexican officials in the Foreign Service, and that the government expressed an interest in holding similar training for civil society organizations.

“People come, they are curious, they ask questions,” Papademetriou said of the seminars. “But everybody understands that the tenor in the United States also has to change.”

Papademetriou has encouraged Mexican officials to decide which issues they will present to the next U.S. president. While immigration has been a central issue on the bilateral agenda, Mexico is also deeply concerned about arms trafficking from the United States, and how drug use in the United States affects the drug trade and cartels in Mexico.

Other meetings among regional officials have emphasized cooperation on technical and practical information such as how to maintain data on migrants apprehended at the border and how to train border officers on human rights practices. While Mexico is a country of origin for millions of migrants to the United States, it is also an important transit and destination nation. Approximately 400,000 migrants, many of them women from Latin America, travel through Mexico each year in order to reach the United States, MPI figures show. And the United States is the largest single country of origin for migrants to Mexico.

Mexico is grappling with how to manage its southern border with Guatemala to control migrants who are both passing through en route to the United States and attempting to settle there. And like other nations faced with migration pressures, Mexico is exploring how it can economically benefit from voluntary migration. “A common goal [between Mexico and the United States] is how to begin to attract better qualified immigrants,” Papademetriou said.

There is a need for more frank discussions among the United States, Mexico, and Canada away from the heated spotlight in which the immigration debate often occurs, he said. Issues have to include border security, but also how to increase legal migration.

“Illegal immigration doesn’t serve anybody well,” Papademetriou said, “and it actually reduces the opportunities to think more creatively about legal immigration.”

Left: Mexico is an important transit and destination nation for many people from Central America.
In the past decade, a spike in the number of nurses and doctors migrating to places like the United States and the United Kingdom to meet the growing demand for healthcare workers has created a significant brain drain in their native countries. The migration of highly skilled workers from developing to developed nations was an important topic at the first Global Forum on Migration and Development in July 2007. The healthcare industry in particular has been dramatically affected by this trend.

While migrants help their countries’ economies by sending money home to relatives, the exodus of healthcare workers from developing countries complicates efforts to provide quality health services in areas of the world that are already overwhelmed by diseases like HIV and AIDS. At the same time, some health professionals who come to work in the United States are finding themselves the victims of questionable practices by recruiting companies that frequently alter the terms of their employment agreements without consent.

With support from the MacArthur Foundation, AcademyHealth and the Aspen Institute’s Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative are developing ideas and programs to prevent abuse of foreign healthcare workers and strike a balance between these workers’ right to migrate and the healthcare needs of their countries of origin.

“It’s a huge issue, and it’s an interesting one because it’s being felt by countries all over the world, both by wealthy developed countries and developing ones,” said Peggy Clark, managing director of Realizing Rights. “It’s a really interesting globalization issue because countries have to work together on it.”

Frameworks for Health Worker Migration
The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates there is a nearly 4.5 million shortfall in healthcare workers globally, and 57 countries, most of which are in Africa, have a severe shortage. Concrete data on the global movement of healthcare workers is difficult to obtain, but some estimates for nurses, for example, show that the number migrating to the United States jumped to more than 20,000 last year from about 6,000 in 1983.

The influx of workers has helped offset a demand in the United States where medical advances and an aging population have significantly increased the need for healthcare workers. But the migration is having a huge impact in African countries where medical resources are limited. In Ethiopia, for example, there is one doctor for about every 30,000 people, compared with the United States, where the ratio is about one doctor for every seven people, Clark said.

The result is a healthcare crisis in many developing countries, said Patricia Pittman, executive vice president of AcademyHealth.

“You have health systems (in those countries) that were historically weak and
underserved and (now are overburdened) with the epidemic from AIDS and HIV and other diseases linked to AIDS,” she said. “You have not only nurses dying of AIDS themselves, you have nurses fleeing those areas where you have unsafe working conditions and conditions that are increasingly stressful.”

As part of its efforts to address these issues, Realizing Rights was chosen by WHO to take a lead role as secretariat for the Global Health Workforce Alliance Advisory Council, which is developing a framework for a global code of practice for health worker migration. Scheduled to be finished next year, the framework will include a set of principles, including the right of people to migrate in search of a better life. It also will include a review of some of the existing agreements between sending and receiving countries.

AcademyHealth, meanwhile, has studied the practices of nurse recruitment companies and is developing voluntary ethical guidelines for U.S.-based companies to follow as they seek to hire foreign healthcare workers. While the work is in its preliminary stages, it will likely include minimum standards of how nurses should be treated, Pittman said. One proposal requires recruiters to give foreign nurses sufficient time to review employment contracts and to consult an attorney before signing them.

“There will also be best practices,” she said. “Ways you can recruit that would help countries manage the flow and ways you can give back to source countries. Innovative ways to share the knowledge either of training programs or opportunities for some nurses to come here temporarily or to go back to countries for home leave and provide instruction to their home countries.”

While the demand for healthcare workers in industrialized countries has grown in recent years, until recently many of these wealthier nations have not emphasized the training of home-grown healthcare workers. Norway, the United Kingdom and Canada have taken recent steps to do so, but the United States continues to look overseas for nurses and doctors to meet the demand.

Issues Surround Recruitment
Indeed, the number of companies that recruit nurses to work in the United States has soared in recent years. From the 1960s to 2000, there were 30 or 40 U.S.-based international nurse-recruiting companies, but in the past seven years the number jumped to 267, according to AcademyHealth’s research.

“It’s almost a ten-fold increase since 2000, which was the point at which there was a serious nursing shortage in the United States,” Pittman said.

While many firms say they don’t recruit from countries that are experiencing a severe nursing shortage, AcademyHealth found that at least 25 firms were recruiting from countries facing significant shortages.

Many hospitals tend to recruit directly from countries, but a growing number of nursing homes appear to be relying on recruitment companies. AcademyHealth found that nursing home workers were most often the victims of questionable recruiting practices. For instance, some recruitment firms have refused to give foreign nurses a copy of their signed contracts, and others have later altered the terms of the contract without a nurse’s consent. That has led to situations where recruits come to the United States expecting to work in one city, where they might have relatives, only to learn they will be employed in another location. Many stay in cities where they do not want to work because they would have to pay tens of thousands of dollars if they broke their employment contracts.

“We don’t know how widespread the abuses are,” Pittman said. “But from the focus groups we held, there was a consensus among the nurses in the focus groups that this was not uncommon.”

AcademyHealth is now working to help develop guidelines that would prevent similar questionable practices from occurring in the future. A task force including labor unions, recruiters, and hospital organizations is supporting this effort.

Balancing Needs Between Countries
Meanwhile, Realizing Rights is working with foreign officials from throughout the world to develop a framework to help balance the needs of the sending and receiving countries. As part of its work,
Realizing Rights is assessing recent agreements between countries that are trying to address the issue. For instance, a 2003 memorandum of understanding between the United Kingdom and South Africa requires the UK to send grants, along with health administrators and teachers, to South Africa to help improve the infrastructure and to train healthcare workers. The agreement also allows South African workers to return home for a month to help teach and train their fellow citizens, a popular policy for workers who want to maintain contact with their homeland.

Under a hospital “twinning” program, healthcare facilities in the United Kingdom are paired with South African counterparts, to whom they offer technical assistance.

Critics say the agreement has limited opportunities for South African nurses in the United Kingdom, but British officials say that wasn’t the intent, according to Realizing Rights. And the South African healthcare facilities and medical schools involved in the program have benefited from the external assistance. Hospitals in the United Kingdom, for example, have sent South African nurses and doctors home to train healthcare workers.

A similar agreement between Norway and Poland is in the process of being finalized, Clark said.

“So they are very new, all of these kinds of policy instruments, but they are about sending and receiving countries starting to talk to one another about what some of the solutions might be.”

While the framework of a code of practice is just the beginning of a lengthy process to create binding agreements between countries, Clark is optimistic about what it could achieve.

“It feels like we could really have an impact,” she said. “It feels like we could propose some solutions that would model a way to talk about migration that would respect those who leave for a better life and recognize the responsibilities of receiving countries.”

---

**Highlights of the voluntary recruitment code for foreign nurses**

The code applies to organizations that recruit and employ foreign-educated nurses in the United States, and attempts to balance the interests of nurses, countries of origin, and employers in the destination countries.

---

Following are highlights of recruiters’ responsibilities under the voluntary agreement:

- Comply with U.S. labor and civil rights laws that prevent discrimination based on age, gender, race, disability, and participation in union-related activities.
- Practice transparency and honesty in advertising and recruiting literature aimed at nursing applicants, including licensing and the location, nature and terms of employment.
- Provide sufficient opportunity for nurse applicants to review and consider written contracts before signing is required, including time to consult with an attorney.
- Establish an internal administrative process to facilitate review of disputes regarding alleged breach of contracts by nurses or recruiters/employers.
- Consider the healthcare needs of countries of origin in deciding where to recruit to limit the impact on health services.
Leading Institutions

CENTER FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT (Washington, D.C.)
$1,200,000 for general support to advance research and policy development on the impacts of migration on development and on helping poor countries attain the benefits of globalization (over three years). (2006)

MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE (Washington, D.C.)
$960,000 in support of research and translation efforts for policymakers on the impacts of migration on development and on international governance of migration (over three years). (2006)

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION (Washington, D.C.)
$750,000 for general operating support that will advance work on the governance of international migration and on the relationship between migration and development (over three years). (2006)

$40,000 in support of an expert workshop to inform discussions at the second meeting of the Global Forum on Migration and Development. (2008)

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (Paris, France)
$900,000 in support of policy relevant research to build partnerships on migration governance and development (over three years). (2007)

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION INSTITUTE (Oxford, United Kingdom)
$900,000 in support of a program of research and capacity building on African migration (over three years). (2007)

Governance

AYALA FOUNDATION U.S.A. (Redwood City, Calif.)
$400,000 in support of civil society participation at the 2008 Global Forum on Migration and Development. (2007)

BUSINESS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY EDUCATION FUND (San Francisco, Calif.)
$250,000 in support of a project to enhance the role of the private sector in promoting responsible international labor migration. (2008)

CENTER FOR ETHNOCULTURAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES (Moscow, Russia)
$40,000 in support of a project on the social integration of migrants in Russia (over two years). (2006)

FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Brussels, Belgium)
$10,000 in support of preparations for the Global Forum on Migration and Development. (2007)

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, CENTER FOR GLOBAL STUDIES (Fairfax, Va.)
$150,000 in support of research on global migration and transnational politics (over two years). (2007)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST STUDIES (Cambridge, Mass.)
$199,000 in support of a study on the civil and political participation of Muslims in the Greater Boston area (over two years). (2007)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (Geneva, Switzerland)

KING BAUDOUIN FOUNDATION (Brussels, Belgium)
$12,000 in support of civil society participation at the Global Forum on Migration and Development. (2007)

MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE (Washington, D.C.)
$40,000 in support of educational seminars on migration for American and Mexican policymakers. (2007)

OXFORD UNIVERSITY (Oxford, United Kingdom)
$500,000 in support of research and policy dialogue on the global governance of migration (over 13 months). (2007)

MIGRATION RESEARCH CENTER (Moscow, Russia)
$240,000 in support of research and policy analysis on managing migration under conditions of demographic crisis in Russia (over three years). (2007)

ROCKEFELLER COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF ALBANY (Albany, N.Y.)
$200,000 in support of a study of global mobility regimes (over two years). (2008)

SIN FRONTERAS (Mexico City, Mexico)
$250,000 to educate government participants and develop policy recommendations regarding the regional governance of migration in Mexico and Central America (over three years). (2006)

UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (New York, N.Y.)
$152,000 in support of participation in the Global Forum on Migration and Development by the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Migration. (2008)

UNITED NATIONS EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL (New York, N.Y.)
$239,000 in support of activities by the Special Representative for Migration related to the first Global Forum on Migration and Development. (2006)

UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH (New York, N.Y.)
$172,000 in support of workshops and a training program on key migration issues (over two years). (2006)

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN (Champaign, Ill.)
$55,000 in support of a conference on the role of human mobility in Russian history and contemporary Russia. (2008)

WOODROW WILSON CENTER, LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM (Washington, D.C.)
$100,000 in support of a project on civic and political participation by Latin American migrants (over two years). (2006)

Development

ACADEMYHEALTH (Washington, D.C.)
$350,000 in support of research about the brain drain of healthcare professionals from poor countries and to develop standards for ethical recruitment (over two years). (2006)

$52,000 in support of efforts to implement a voluntary code of practice for the recruitment of foreign nurses to the U.S. (over two years). (2008)

ASPIN INSTITUTE, REALIZING RIGHTS: THE ETHICAL GLOBALIZATION INITIATIVE (Washington, D.C.)
$220,000 in support of the development of policies and bilateral agreements to address the movement of healthcare workers from the developing world to the United States, United Kingdom, and other receiving nations (over two years). (2006)

$200,000 in support of developing a global code of practice for the international movement of health workers from the developing world to the United States, United Kingdom, and other receiving nations. (2007)

EL COLEGIO DE LA FRONTERA NORTE, CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS FRONTERIZOS DEL NORTE DE MEXICO (Tijuana, Mexico)
$250,000 in support of a survey of households in Oaxaca on the economic and social causes and consequences of migration. (2006)

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF HEALTH, NIGERIA (Abuja, Nigeria)
$242,000 to research the magnitude and impact of migration of health professionals and to develop policies to improve retention (over two years). (2008)

MIGRATION DIALOGUE (Davis, Calif.)
$240,000 in support of research on circular migration and the impacts of free trade agreements on migration (over two years). (2007)

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY (Princeton, N.J.)
$210,000 in support of a longitudinal survey of Mexican migrants in the United States (over one year). (2007)

RED INTERNACIONAL DE MIGRACION Y DESARROLLO (Zacatecas, Mexico)
$200,000 for support of the network and its collaborative research efforts on migration and development (over three years). (2006)

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL (New York, N.Y.)
$350,000 in support of an effort to assess the state of research on migration and development in order to strengthen future research and its links to policy (over 15 months). (2006)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS (Davis, Calif.)
$166,000 in support of research on the economic gains from migration in North America and Europe (over two years). (2007)

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
$350,000 in support of research to test the impact of novel financial products on the use of remittances for development (over two years). (2007)

$50,000 in renewed support of research on the use of remittances for development (over 22 months). (2008)

Other

GRANTMAKERS CONCERNED WITH IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES (Sebastopol, Calif.)
$20,000 in support of general operations (over two years). (2006)

$40,000 in support of general operations and their 25th National Conference (over three years). (2008)

WORLD POLICY INSTITUTE, NEW SCHOOL UNIVERSITY (New York, N.Y.)
$15,000 in support of a conference on immigration and security (2008)
The Initiative on Global Migration and Human Mobility began in January 2006, making it the youngest international program area at MacArthur. However, the Foundation’s engagement in this field has broad antecedents — including funding for *The New Americans* and other immigration-themed documentary films, support for regional economic development and the State of Illinois’s New Americans Initiative, and grants to Refugees International and other organizations working on immigrant and refugee rights. In the recent past, the Foundation has also funded studies of global economic governance, as well as individual research projects on migrants and refugees.

These threads have come together to bring what we hope is a multidimensional and transnational approach to MacArthur’s engagement with migration issues. As with all of the Foundation’s grantmaking, we believe that our migration work benefits from MacArthur being a global foundation firmly rooted in a specific place — the city of Chicago. Our hometown is one of the world’s great cities of immigration and a key destination for the Great Migrations of the 20th century that brought millions of African Americans from the South to the industrial cities of the North, Midwest, and West. The movement of people, both within the United States and across national borders, has inscribed itself into Chicago’s streets and neighborhoods and made this city a rich tapestry of peoples from around the world.

This newsletter has provided glimpses into how researchers, policymakers, and practitioners are beginning to understand migration as a global phenomenon. In the years ahead, we hope that MacArthur’s efforts will contribute to a deepening of this understanding and its implications. This work is dedicated to the dozens of individuals who have so generously shared their insights and expertise as we developed this Initiative — and the world’s 200 million migrants.

John Slocum  
*Director, Global Migration and Human Mobility*

For more information, please call  
(312) 726-8000 or  
email 4answers@macfound.org

---

**About the Foundation**

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation supports creative people and effective institutions committed to building a more just, verdant, and peaceful world. In addition to selecting the MacArthur Fellows, the Foundation works to defend human rights, advance global conservation and security, make cities better places, and understand how technology is affecting children and society. With assets of $7 billion, the Foundation makes approximately $300 million in grants annually.

**For more information about the Foundation or its migration grantmaking, visit** [www.macfound.org](http://www.macfound.org).
is to promote improved management of labor migration. The group first met in 2003 in Sri Lanka, and has expanded to include countries of destination for Asian migrants, including Bahrain, Italy, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, to participate in its meetings to help strengthen management of migration beyond Asia. Among the achievements of the Colombo Process are the development of a training curriculum for labor attachés and administrators and implementation of joint training courses.

Conejos said a chief goal of the Manila Forum is to strengthen the link between RCPs and the Forum, so recommendations and ideas from the international event can be pursued on a regional basis. He also wants to emphasize sharing experiences and best practices among nations, especially in the three areas of focus for the Forum: migration, development, and human rights; how to secure legal migration; and how to build institutional and policy coherence and partnerships between governments.

**The Future of the Forum**

Greece is scheduled to host the Forum in 2009. And other nations have expressed an interest in hosting the gathering as well. “The most important sign of the Forum’s success is that numerous states have now volunteered to host in future years,” said Sutherland, adding that Argentina, Spain, and Morocco have inquired about hosting. But what form the Forum should take will continue to be a topic of discussion. While most nations do not want a permanent UN-type agency to oversee migration, Conejos said “there has to be some support group to carry forward” the Forum process.

As it now stands, the Forum has a rotating chair-in-office, no permanent secretariat, and depends on contributions, primarily from host countries and governments. “We should think about how to make it more stable,” De Clercq said. “We have created hopes that the Forum will look at concrete ways forward, so we have to make sure that happens.”