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BY **PHILIP MARTIN**

THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE OF MANAGING MIGRATION

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POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU

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THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE OF MANAGING MIGRATION

63%

The proportion of
U.S. immigrants
with relatives in the
United States.

EUROPE

has almost one-third
of the world's migrants.

33%

The proportion of
foreign-born residents
of the six Gulf
Cooperation Countries.

2.8
MILLION

The number of
refugees in Africa.

The number of international migrants more than doubled between 1980 and 2010, from 103 million to 220 million.¹ In 2013, the number of international migrants was 232 million and is projected to double to over 400 million by 2050.

International migrants are defined as persons outside their country of birth for at least a year. Each migration corridor has unique features, but there are four major migration flows, often summarized as S-S, S-N, N-N, and N-S, where South is a developing country and North is an industrialized country (see Figure 1, page 3):

- South-South: The largest flow of migrants, just over 82 million or 36 percent in 2013, moved from one developing country to another, as from Indonesia to Saudi Arabia or Nicaragua to Costa Rica.
- South-North: The second-largest flow, just under 82 million or 35 percent, moved from a developing to an industrialized country, as from Morocco to Spain, Mexico to the United States, or the Philippines to South Korea.
- North-North: Some 54 million people or 23 percent of international migrants moved from one industrialized country to another, as from Canada to the United States.
- North-South: Almost 14 million people or 6 percent of migrants moved from industrialized to developing countries, as from Japan to Thailand.

About 60 percent of global migrants are in the 30 or more industrialized countries. Some 40 percent of migrants are in the 170

poorer developing countries. Almost half of the world's migrants are women, 15 percent of migrants are under 20, and less than 7 percent of all international migrants are refugees.

The most significant recent change in international migration patterns is rising South-North migration. Between 1990 and 2010, the share of all international migrants in industrialized countries rose from 53 percent to 59 percent. The largest South-North migration corridor is Mexico-United States: Over 13 million Mexicans have moved to the United States since 1990. Large South-South migration corridors include Bangladesh to India (over 3 million migrants) and India to the United Arab Emirates (nearly 3 million migrants).

This *Population Bulletin* explains why people cross national borders, the effects of international migration on sending and receiving countries, and the struggle to improve migration management. The *Bulletin* examines international migration by region: North America and South America, Europe, Asia and the Middle East, Africa, and Oceania, and highlights major migration and development issues, including whether remittances, the money sent home by migrant workers abroad, speed development in migrant-sending countries.

Migration, Inequalities, and Revolutions

Migration is as old as humans wandering in search of food, but managing international migration across defined and policed national borders is a relatively recent development. Only in the early 20th century did nation-states develop passports and visas to regulate the flow of people across their borders.²

The number one form of migration management is inertia—most people do not want to move away from family and friends. Moreover, governments have significant capacity to regulate migration, and they do, as evidenced by long lines of people outside consulates seeking visas. Governments also patrol borders and monitor foreigners.

International migration is likely to increase with globalization. There are also more national borders to cross. In 2000, there were 193 generally recognized nation-states, four times more than the 43 in 1900.³ Each nation-state distinguishes citizens and foreigners, controls borders to deter unauthorized entries, and determines what foreigners can do while inside the country, whether tourists, students, guest workers, or immigrants.

International migration is motivated by two inequalities combined with three revolutions. The demographic inequality is simple: Almost all population growth occurs in the world's 170 poorer countries, while the population of the 30 wealthier countries is expected to remain at about 1.2 billion. The economic inequality is also straightforward. Worldwide gross domestic product (GDP) was \$62 trillion in 2010, an

average of \$9,000 per person a year. The 30 industrialized countries had one-sixth of the world's people but two-thirds of the world's economic output, an average of \$39,000 per person per year, 12 times more than the \$3,300 average in the poorer 170 countries.⁴ Young people are especially motivated to cross national borders to earn higher wages.

Demographic and economic inequalities are like the positive and negative poles of a battery: They provide the potential for migration but not necessarily the path. Connecting the demand-pull factors that attract migrants with the supply-push factors that motivate people to move in search of economic opportunity requires “bridges” over borders—revolutions in communications, transportation, and human rights.

Rapid information flows over national borders are the hallmark of the communications revolution. During the previous age of mass migration in the mid-19th century, literacy rates in rural areas were low. Immigrants in the United States would write letters to friends and relatives describing job opportunities and send the letter on a long trip by ship to Europe, where the recipient most likely needed someone literate to read it. Today, mobile phones and the Internet transfer information much faster and cheaper over national borders. Indeed, some studies suggest that workers in Mexico may learn about job vacancies in Los Angeles sooner than Los Angeles residents.⁵

The transportation revolution reflects the ease and ever-lower cost of travel. In the mid-18th century, many British migrants to the United States who could not afford the

FIGURE 1

Distribution of International Migrants by Origin and Destination, 2013

| Origin-Destination | | Number | Percentage |
|--------------------|-------|--------------|------------|
| South | South | 82.3 million | 36% |
| South | North | 81.9 million | 35% |
| North | North | 53.7 million | 23% |
| North | South | 13.7 million | 6% |

Source: UN Population Division, *International Migration Wallchart 2013* (New York: UN, 2013), accessed at <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/wallchart2013.htm>, on Oct. 1, 2013.

one-way fare signed indentured-servant contracts, obliging them to work four to six years for the person who met the ship in Philadelphia or New York. Today, the one-way cost of traveling to almost anywhere in the world is less than \$3,000, and even migrants who pay smugglers \$20,000 or more to get into higher-wage countries can usually repay this cost in fewer than two years.⁶

The rights revolution is reflected in the post-World War II international human rights conventions and the expansion of political, social, and economic rights in most countries. Human rights conventions grant basic civil and political rights to all persons; labor conventions call for all workers to be treated equally in the workplace; and national laws often grant at least some political, social, and other rights to all residents. One consequence of this expansion of rights is that, once inside a country, governments may have difficulty removing foreigners who want to stay.

Policymakers grappling with unwanted migration can do little in the short term to reduce demographic and economic inequalities, and they do not want to roll back communications and transportation revolutions. The instrument most readily available to alter migration flows quickly is rights: Reducing migrant rights is often how countries handle migration crises.

One example of migration management by curbing migrant rights involved restricting the access of foreigners to generous European welfare systems. In the early 1990s, European states received a flood of foreigners seeking to be recognized as refugees as a result of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, unrest in Turkey, and the fall of communism. Most European constitutions have liberal asylum clauses stemming from the failure of many countries to provide refuge to persons fleeing Nazi persecution during World War II. Germany, which received over 1,000 asylum applications a day in 1992, required communities to support asylum seekers with local taxes, prompting a backlash against foreigners perceived as taking advantage of German generosity, since over 90 percent of asylum applicants were found not to be refugees.

The debate over the European “asylum crisis” pitted those who believed that the highest priority was never sending a true refugee home versus those who thought it too costly to assume all asylum applicants were potential refugees. Most European states, including Germany, settled on a compromise that preserved the constitutional right to asylum but made it more difficult for foreigners to apply. For example, foreigners from countries that were the source of many unfounded asylum seekers were required to obtain visas to travel to Europe, and sanctions were imposed on airlines or ships that brought foreigners without proper documentation. Foreigners were required to seek asylum in the first safe country they reached; while their cases were

pending, asylum seekers could be returned to an established list of “safe countries.”⁷

A second example of adjusting rights to manage migration is restricting immigrant access to welfare benefits. In the United States in 1992, as welfare rolls climbed while federal budget deficits loomed, President Bill Clinton pledged to “end welfare as we know it.” Immigrants were central in the welfare reform debate as a result of well-publicized cases of wealthy immigrants sponsoring their elderly parents for immigrant visas and, after their arrival, enrolling their parents in welfare programs. Children born to unauthorized foreigners were U.S. citizens eligible for cash assistance and health care programs and became a special target in welfare reform.

Several options were available to address immigrants receiving welfare assistance. The U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform recommended that needy immigrants remain eligible because they were intending to become U.S. citizens, but urged changes in U.S. immigration policy to admit fewer needy immigrants and to require U.S. residents who sought immigrant visas for their relatives to make binding commitments to support them after their arrival. Congress rejected this advice and made no changes to the immigration admissions system but instead denied federal welfare benefits to most immigrants who arrived after Aug. 22, 1996, until they became U.S. citizens or worked in the United States for 10 years.⁸ In this way, about 45 percent of the expected savings from welfare reform came from denying benefits to immigrants.⁹

Restricting migrant rights as a way to manage migration generates heated reactions from advocates of a rights-based approach. Many of these advocates want both lower barriers to international migration and more rights for migrants, and do not acknowledge any trade-off between migrant numbers and rights.¹⁰ They argue that all persons in a country have fundamental rights by their presence, and those who are employed have the right to equal wages, benefits, and other entitlements granted to local workers. Most people who cross national borders do not go far, so most international migration occurs within regions. The following sections review the major migration flows, policies, and impacts by region.

North and South America

The North American migration system includes the world’s primary emigration (outgoing) and immigration (incoming) destinations. Together, Canada and the United States have 5 percent of the world’s people and almost a quarter of the world’s migrants. The United States has 20 percent of the world’s migrants, and is the only industrialized country where over one-quarter of migrants are unauthorized. Canada has a higher rate of immigration, accepting about 275,000 immigrants a year into a population of 35 million, a fourth of the 1.1 million immigrants a year admitted to the United

States, whose population is 316 million. Canada uses a point system to favor the entry of young and better-educated foreigners who speak English or French, while two-thirds of U.S. immigrants arrive because they have relatives in the United States.

Many Latin American countries have high emigration rates. Over 10 percent of the 130 million people born in Mexico have emigrated to the United States; along with the U.S.-born children of Mexican immigrants, the 35 million Mexican-born and Mexican-heritage U.S. residents are two-thirds of all U.S. Hispanics. About 42 million people live in the Caribbean, and 10 percent to 20 percent of those born in Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica have emigrated, usually to Canada or the United States.

UNITED STATES

Under the motto *e pluribus unum* (from many, one), U.S. presidents frequently remind Americans that they share the immigrant experience of beginning anew in the land of opportunity.¹¹ Immigration is widely considered to be in the national interest, since it permits individuals to better themselves as it strengthens the United States.

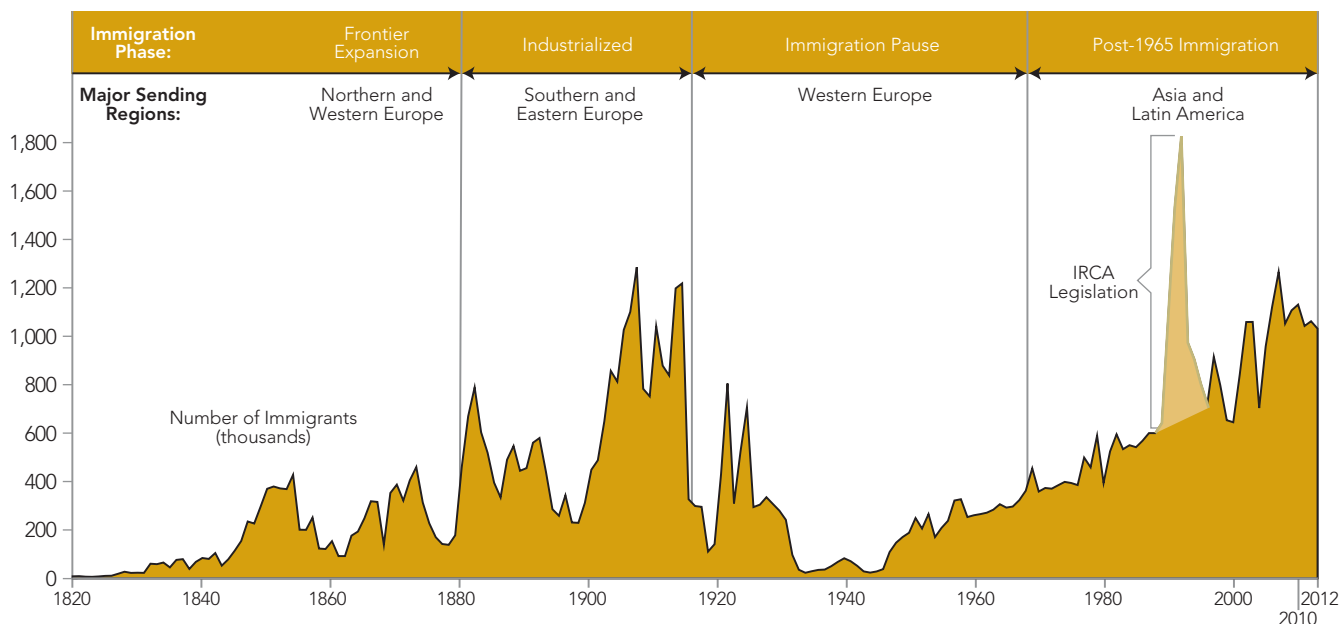
For its first 100 years, the United States facilitated immigration, welcoming foreigners to settle a vast country. Beginning in the 1880s, an era of qualitative immigration restrictions began as certain types of immigrants were barred: prostitutes, workers with contracts that tied them to a particular employer for several years, and Chinese. In the 1920s, quantitative restrictions or quotas set a ceiling on the number of immigrants accepted each year.¹²

Immigration law changed in 1965. Qualitative and quantitative restrictions were maintained, but national-origin preferences that favored the entry of Europeans were dropped. U.S. immigration policy began to favor the entry of foreigners who had U.S. relatives and foreigners requested by U.S. employers. During the 1970s, the origins of most immigrants changed from Europe to Latin America and Asia: Between 2000 and 2009, over three-fourths of the 10 million immigrants admitted were from Latin America and Asia.

U.S. immigration has occurred in waves, with peaks followed by troughs (see Figure 2). The first wave of immigrants, mostly English-speakers from the British Isles, arrived before records were kept beginning in 1820. The second wave, dominated by Irish and German Catholics in the 1840s and 1850s, challenged the dominance of the Protestant church

FIGURE 2

Legal Immigration to the United States, 1820-2012



Note: IRCA adjustments refer to the amnesty provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, under which 2.7 million undocumented foreign U.S. residents obtained legal immigrant status.

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, 2011 (Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Homeland Security, 2012), accessed at www.dhs.gov/yearbook-immigration-statistics, on Oct. 17, 2013.

and led to a backlash against Catholics, defused only when the Civil War practically stopped immigration in the 1860s.

The third wave, between 1880 and 1914, brought over 20 million European immigrants to the United States, an average of 650,000 a year at a time when the United States had 75 million residents. Most southern and eastern European immigrants arriving via New York's Ellis Island found factory jobs in northeastern and midwestern cities. Third-wave European immigration was slowed first by World War I and then by numerical quotas in the 1920s.

Between the 1920s and 1960s, immigration paused. Immigration was low during the Depression of the 1930s, and in some years more people left the United States than arrived. Immigration rose after World War II ended, as veterans returned with European spouses and Europeans migrated. The fourth wave began after 1965, and has been marked by rising numbers of immigrants from Latin America and Asia. The United States admitted an average 250,000 immigrants a year in the 1950s, 330,000 in the 1960s, 450,000 in the 1970s, 735,000 in the 1980s, and over 1 million a year since the 1990s.

Almost 110,000 foreigners enter the United States on a typical day. Three major entry doors exist: a front door for immigrants, a side door for temporary visitors, and a back door for the unauthorized (see Figure 3). Almost 3,100 foreigners a day receive immigrant visas or green cards that allow them to live, work, and become naturalized U.S. citizens after five years. Over 105,000 tourist, business, and student visitors arrive; some stay only a few days, while others stay for several years. Finally, over 1,500 unauthorized foreigners a day were settling in the United States until the 2008 recession reduced their number sharply (see Figure 4, page 7). Half of the unauthorized eluded apprehension at the Mexico-U.S. border, while the others entered legally through the side door but violated the terms of their visitor visas by working or not departing.¹³

During the 1990s, contentious debates arose about the relationship of immigrants and their children to the U.S. educational, welfare, and political systems; and more broadly, whether the immigration system served U.S. national interests. Since then, the immigration debate has centered on preventing the entry of terrorists, controlling unauthorized migration, and dealing with U.S. employers who request foreigners to fill jobs.

Today, unauthorized migration is the main policy concern. The number of unauthorized foreigners peaked at 12.2 million in 2007, fell by almost 1 million during the recent recession, and may have increased again with economic recovery. Debates over how to prevent unauthorized migration and deal with the unauthorized already living in the United States are polarized. Many Republicans, especially in the House of Representatives, prefer an enforcement-first approach—

more agents and fences on the Mexico-U.S. border and a requirement that U.S. employers submit data on newly hired employees to prevent unauthorized workers from getting jobs. President Obama and many Democrats prefer “comprehensive immigration reform” that includes more border and interior enforcement to discourage entry and employment, but also a path to legal immigrant status.

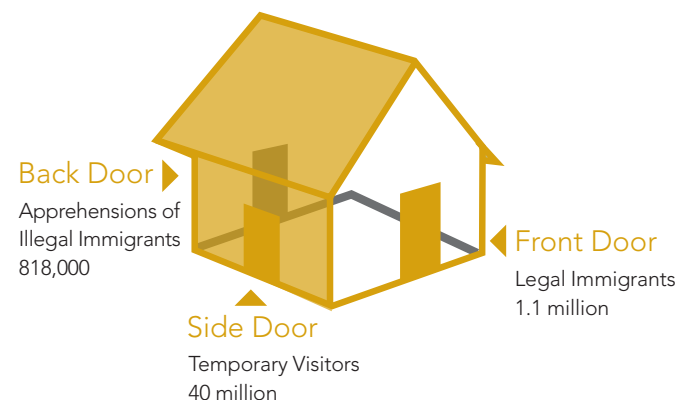
In 2006 and 2013, the U.S. Senate approved comprehensive immigration reform bills that included a path to legalization. The Senate's Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013 would:

- Step up enforcement to deter illegal migration.
- Provide a 13-year path to U.S. citizenship for unauthorized foreigners who arrived in the United States before Dec. 31, 2011, and remained continuously since their arrival.
- Create new guest worker programs for low-skilled farm and nonfarm workers.
- Increase the number of temporary work visas available to foreigners with college degrees coming to the United States to fill jobs.

FIGURE 3

Foreigners Coming to or in the United States, 2006-2010

Annual Average Over 5-Year Period



Note: Border Patrol apprehensions often count the same person several times. In 2013, the Border Patrol estimated that 420,000 apprehensions involved 325,000 individuals.

Sources: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, various years, accessed at www.dhs.gov/yearbook-immigration-statistics, on Oct. 1, 2013; and data estimates for U.S. unauthorized immigrants, Jeffrey S. Passel, D'Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "Population Decline of Unauthorized Immigration Stalls, May Have Reversed," accessed at www.pewhispanic.org/2013/09/23/population-decline-of-unauthorized-immigrants-stalls-may-have-reversed/, on Oct. 1, 2013.

The House approved an enforcement-first bill in 2005 and has opted for a piecemeal approach to immigration reform in 2013, with bills that increase border and interior enforcement and expand guest worker programs for farm and information technology (IT) workers.

CANADA

Canada is an exception among industrialized countries, with high levels of immigration, generous social welfare programs, and significant public satisfaction with immigration policies.¹⁴ Many analysts trace this satisfaction to Canada's point selection system that favors the entry of young and well-educated foreigners who know English or French and have Canadian work experience.

As in the United States, Canada has a front door for legal immigrants, a side door for temporary visitors (including students and guest workers), and a back door for the unauthorized. Over half of Canadian immigrants are from Asian countries, while over half of U.S. immigrants are from Latin America. Canada differs from the United States because over half of the legal immigrants include a family member

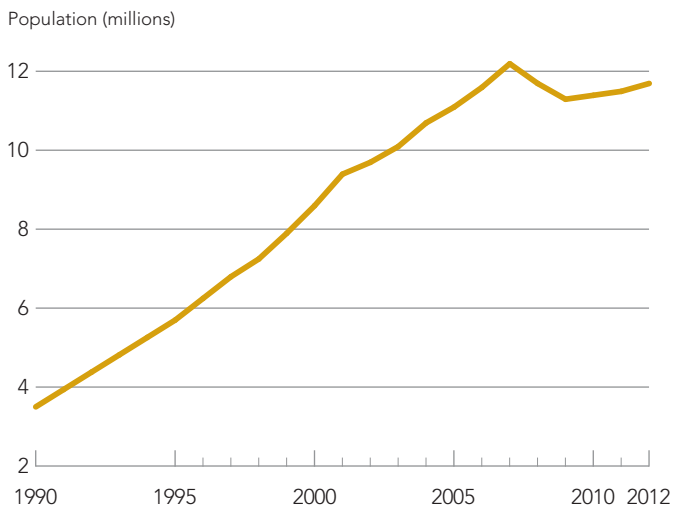
who achieved enough points to obtain an immigrant visa (see Figure 5). The point selection system ensures that the average educational level of adult immigrants arriving in Canada exceeds the average educational level of Canadian-born adults.

Canadian immigration patterns mirror those of the United States, and Canadian policy changes were similar until the 1970s. For example, the United States barred Chinese immigrants in 1882, and Canada limited Chinese immigration in 1885. Immigration to Canada peaked between 1895 and 1913, when 2.5 million newcomers arrived in a country that had a 1913 population of 7 million. Canada's "white only" immigration policy, which favored entries from Europe and the United States, ended in 1962, while the United States opened the door to Asian immigrants in 1965.

Canada is a bilingual and multicultural society. The goal of achieving unity between English and French speakers has been the focus of Canadian politics for much of the past half-century, and many of Canada's bilingual and bicultural policies meant to improve relations between French and

FIGURE 4

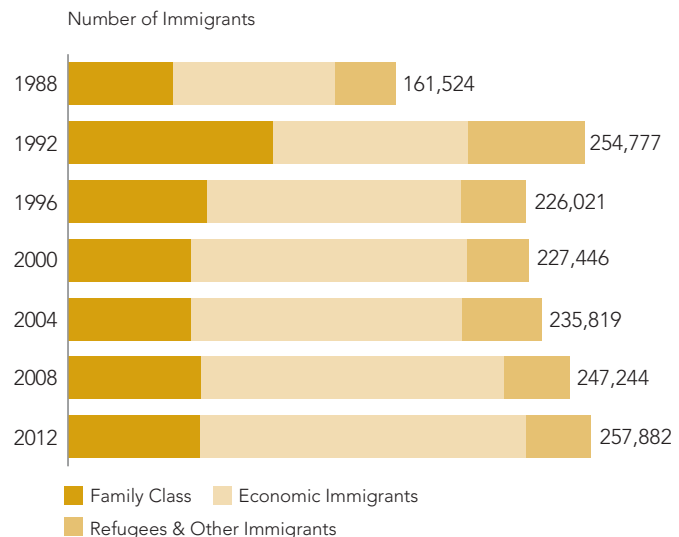
Estimates of the U.S. Unauthorized Immigrant Population, 1990-2012



Source: Jeffrey S. Passel, D'Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "Population Decline of Unauthorized Immigrants Stalls, May Have Reversed," accessed at www.pewhispanic.org/2013/09/23/population-decline-of-unauthorized-immigrants-stalls-may-have-reversed/, on Oct. 1, 2013.

FIGURE 5

Immigration to Canada, 1988-2012



Source: Government of Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and Figures 2012, Immigration Overview: Permanent and Temporary Residents," accessed at www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2012/permanent/01.asp, on Oct. 17, 2013.

English speakers also affect immigrant integration. For example, provinces play a larger role in selecting immigrants, so the Quebec government selects immigrants to bolster the number of French speakers.¹⁵

However, although many adult immigrants have college degrees, some cannot find Canadian jobs that use their education.¹⁶ Most immigrants settle in three cities, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, where the presence of previous arrivals and large numbers of college-educated Canadians make it harder for new immigrants to get good jobs. In 2013, Canada changed its selection system to add points for foreigners with Canadian job offers or work experience seeking immigrant visas.

MEXICO

Most Latin American countries send more people abroad than they receive as immigrants. Mexico and many Caribbean nations have seen more than 10 percent of those born inside their borders emigrate. Mexico has almost 20 percent of Latin America's 600 million residents and 20 percent of the region's GDP. Until recently, Mexico was Latin America's major emigration country, sending up to 500,000 people to the United States each year. Mexico-U.S. migration slowed during the recent recession, and patterns have become more complex:

- Mexicans still enter the United States via front, side, and back doors; but Mexico has also become a destination for migrants from poorer Central American countries.¹⁷
- Some Americans, often Mexicans who have lived in the United States, retire to Mexico.
- Mexico is a transit country for Central and South Americans en route to the United States.

Mexico-U.S. migration, legal and illegal, remained low until the 1970s, when the Mexican *peso* was devalued, making higher U.S. wages more attractive. Former Mexican guest workers known as *braceros* crossed the border illegally with their relatives and friends, without penalty to U.S. employers who hired them. The stream of Mexican migrants turned into a flood in the 1980s, when more *peso* devaluations amidst a debt crisis sent Mexicans north. The United States responded with the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, which legalized 2.7 million unauthorized foreigners, 85 percent of whom were Mexicans. IRCA unintentionally encouraged more Mexicans to move illegally to the United States in anticipation of another amnesty.

In 1990, Mexico proposed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to lock into an international pact its new economic policy: lower trade and investment barriers in order to imitate the fast-growing Asian economies that attracted foreign investment to create factory jobs for local workers, producing the East Asian "economic miracle." After 1994, NAFTA was expected to reduce Mexico-U.S.

migration as Mexico sent tomatoes rather than tomato pickers to the United States. Instead, there was a Mexico-U.S. migration hump, as freer trade eliminated jobs in Mexican agriculture faster than investment could create new factory jobs. Mexico-U.S. migration peaked at over 700,000 a year during the late 1990s, as Mexico recovered from another currency devaluation and the United States created 10,000 net new jobs every workday.

In 2001, the Mexican government's top foreign-policy priority was improving conditions for Mexicans in the United States. Mexican President Vicente Fox called on U.S. President George W. Bush to embrace a comprehensive agenda of reforms that included the legalization of unauthorized Mexicans in the United States, a new large-scale guest worker program, reduced violence at the Mexico-U.S. border, and an exemption for Mexicans from the U.S. cap on immigrant visas available. Fox and Bush were discussing these proposed changes in Washington just before the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, which propelled security to the top of U.S. priorities.

Mexico fared better than the United States during the 2008-2009 recession. The combination of improved economic conditions in Mexico and stepped-up border and interior enforcement in the United States slowed net Mexico-U.S. migration to almost zero in recent years, meaning that as many Mexicans returned to Mexico as arrived in the United States. Currently, analysts question whether Mexico-U.S. migration will increase again with U.S. economic recovery and how a new U.S. legalization program would affect Mexico-U.S. migration patterns.

CENTRAL AMERICA, CARIBBEAN, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The seven countries of Central America, with 44 million residents, sent few immigrants to the United States until civil wars erupted in the mid-1980s. Fighting displaced tens of thousands of Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and Salvadoran refugees, some of whom migrated to the United States. The U.S. government initially granted asylum to Nicaraguans, who were fleeing a government the United States opposed, but not to Guatemalans and Salvadorans fleeing governments the United States supported.

Eventually, most Central Americans in the United States became immigrants.¹⁸ Natural disasters including Hurricane Mitch in Honduras and Nicaragua in 1998 and earthquakes in El Salvador in 2001 allowed unauthorized Central Americans in the United States to receive "temporary protected status (TPS)" so they could work legally and send home remittances to help rebuild. Owing to TPS renewals, there are now large communities of Guatemalans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans, and Salvadorans in the United States.

The 15 independent Caribbean nations and dependencies have 42 million residents and some of the world's highest

emigration rates.¹⁹ Emigration rates rise with population size in the Caribbean, so that Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica are the sources of most emigrants.²⁰ Immigration to the United States from the Caribbean averages 100,000 a year, including a third from the Dominican Republic and a sixth each from Haiti, Cuba, and Jamaica. Most of the 1 million Cubans born in the United States live in southern Florida, which has become the U.S. gateway to Latin America.²¹ Cubans migrated to the United States in three major waves: after Castro came to power in 1959, during the Mariel boatlift in 1980, and during a second boat and raft movement in 1994. Since 1994, a U.S.-Cuban migration agreement guarantees at least 20,000 immigrant visas for Cubans each year, making Cuba the only country with a guaranteed number of visas.²²

South America's 400 million residents represent two-thirds of the 600 million people in Latin America. A century ago, Italians and Spaniards migrated to Argentina and Brazil, and Japanese to Brazil and Peru. During the 1990s, some of the descendants of these immigrants returned to Italy, Spain, and Japan in search of economic opportunities. For example, of the 370,000 ethnic Japanese *nikkeijin* in Japan in 2009, the 230,000 who were employed were almost a quarter of all foreign workers in Japan. The 2008-2009 recession prompted the Japanese government to offer return bonuses of \$3,000 per adult if the Japanese-Brazilians and Peruvians signed agreements to go home.

Migration from South America to southern Europe reversed in the aftermath of the recent recession: Instead of moving to Europe, some South Americans in Europe returned. Spain offered return bonuses to South American migrants who returned and promised to stay home, but attracted relatively few takers since economic conditions were no better and safety nets thinner than in Colombia and Ecuador. Some Portuguese have recently migrated to Brazil, which has boomed in recent years by exporting farm commodities and other natural resources to China.

Europe

Canada and the United States were shaped by immigrants, while many European nations were shaped by emigration. Over 60 million Europeans emigrated between 1820 and 1914 to North and South America and Oceania.²³ The creation of new nation-states after wars shuffled people over borders within Europe, as with the exchange of Greeks and Turks in the 1920s and the migration of Germans to West Germany after World War II. Significant migration from former overseas colonies to the mother country was strong in the 1950s and 1960s—from Algeria to France and South Asia to the United Kingdom.

Europe today has about 10 percent of the world's population, one-fourth of the world's countries, and almost one-third of the world's migrants. There were 50 million foreign-born residents in the 28 countries of the European Union (EU) in

FIGURE 6

Foreign-Born Population, Selected European Countries, 2012

| COUNTRY/REGION | FOREIGN-BORN | SHARE OF TOTAL POPULATION (%) |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| France | 7,358,000 | 11 |
| Germany | 9,932,000 | 12 |
| Italy | 5,458,000 | 9 |
| Spain | 6,555,000 | 14 |
| Switzerland | 2,034,000 | 26 |
| UK | 7,626,000 | 12 |
| EU-28 | 50,158,000 | 10 |

Notes: Foreign-born were born outside the country in which they are living; foreigners are foreign-born who have not naturalized. Two-thirds of EU residents live in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Switzerland is not a member of the EU-28.

Source: Eurostat: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics.

2012, meaning that almost 10 percent of EU residents were born outside the country in which they were living. A third of the immigrants in the European Union were born in other EU member countries (for example, Italians in Germany), and two-thirds were born in a non-EU country (Turks in Germany), making 7 percent of EU residents foreigners or noncitizens of the countries in which they are now living (see Figure 6). Some of the foreign-born residents have become naturalized citizens of the countries in which they live, but two-thirds remain citizens of their country of birth. About three-fourths of both groups, the foreign-born and foreigners, were in the five EU countries that had two-thirds of EU residents: Germany, Spain, Italy, United Kingdom, and France. Switzerland, a country that is not an EU member state, had the highest share of immigrants, 23 percent. The United States, by comparison, has 13 percent immigrant residents, including 7 percent who are citizens of other countries.²⁴

Many European nations became reluctant destinations for migrants because they recruited guest workers in lower-wage countries in the 1960s and 1970s. These guest workers were meant to be temporary additions to the labor force rather than permanent settlers, but many guest workers settled with their families. Today, many European countries have large numbers of low-skilled foreigners and their children, whose integration is sometimes problematic (for example, Moroccans in France and Turks in Germany).

Germany illustrates the profile of a reluctant country of immigration. After recovering from wartime devastation in the 1950s, the *wirtschaftswunder* economy of the 1960s generated more jobs than jobless workers. German employers requested permission to employ Italian and other workers from poorer southern European countries, and the government agreed without a full debate over the potential consequences if guest workers settled.

There were four major reasons for admitting guest workers without considering their long-run consequences. First, the economic boom had an uncertain horizon, so that policymakers were reluctant to force employers to embark on risky labor-saving mechanization and rationalization alternatives to foreign workers. Second, European currencies were undervalued in the 1960s, making European nations magnets for job-creating foreign investment amidst fears of U.S. dominance.²⁵ Third, the baby boom limited female labor force participation, created more educational opportunities that delayed the entry of youth into the labor force, and prompted earlier retirements through better pensions.²⁶ Policymakers could not foresee changes to these trends that would increase the domestic labor supply. Fourth, the European Community was based on freedom of movement of workers, which made admitting migrant workers from poorer member countries the natural thing to do.

Most guest workers returned to their countries of origin after several years in France and Germany, but enough settled so that Germany and other western European countries soon had 10 percent foreign workers and residents. The variety of policies toward settled foreigners and their children have left an uneven balance sheet, with some optimistic and others pessimistic that today's minority residents will be integrated successfully. One thing is clear: Full employment is the best integration mechanism, since it gives most migrants what they seek—jobs at higher wages—and reduces opposition to foreigners from residents who associate immigrants with so-called 3-D jobs (dangerous, difficult, and dirty).

Northern European economies with smaller informal sectors offer good jobs and benefits to both European-born residents and migrants who are employed, but many migrants in the Netherlands and Sweden are unemployed. Southern European economies with more flexible labor markets and less generous welfare states, such as Italy, have a higher share of employed immigrants, but often in jobs that offer low wages and few benefits, thus eroding the social equality central to European welfare states.

EU leaders want to promote migration between EU member states to cope with shrinking populations in some. In 2011, 3 percent of working-age (ages 15 to 64) EU nationals lived in another EU state, far fewer than the number of U.S. residents who have moved from one state to another. The European Commission wants to promote intra-EU labor migration, but differences in language and education and

training systems discourage many youth from seeking jobs in other EU countries. Many workers come from lower-wage Central European countries such as Poland to the United Kingdom and Germany, and some young Greek and Spanish professionals have sought jobs in Germany recently as unemployment rates topped 25 percent at home, but intra-EU labor migration remains limited.

EU leaders have developed programs to facilitate student migration, and many countries allow foreign graduates from local universities to stay if a local employer offers them a job. Leaders have also made efforts to attract non-EU foreigners. Under the Blue Card program (named for the EU's blue flag), national governments allow up to four years of work and residence to non-EU college-educated foreigners who are offered jobs that pay at least 1.5 times the average gross salary in the admitting country, which ranged from €460 a month (US\$605) in Bulgaria to €3,980 (US\$5,200) in Austria in 2010.²⁷ After 18 months of work and residence in the first EU country, Blue Card holders can move with their families to another EU country and, after five years in one or more EU countries, can apply for permanent residence status. But the Blue Card program is small: Fewer than 1,000 Blue Cards a month were issued in Germany in 2012, including a third to foreigners already in Germany.²⁸

EU leaders worry about too much low-skilled migration from Turkey, an EU candidate country since 2005.²⁹ Turkey is a growing country of 75 million that would surpass shrinking Germany and become the most populous EU member state by 2020 if it joined the European Union. Turks were the last large group of guest workers recruited during the 1960s and 1970s. Today there are about 4 million Turks and their children in Europe, mostly in Germany, where their high unemployment rates prompt fears of ghettos and extremism. Some view Turks in Europe as a glass half full, as more Turkish youth graduate from universities and open businesses, while others see a glass half empty.

The European Union has less than 10 percent of the world's population but accounts for a third of the world's economic output and over half of the world's social spending. The European Union today has four workers for each retiree, but by 2050 is projected to have only two workers per retiree. Many EU leaders worry that European countries will be unable to maintain their cradle-to-grave welfare systems with shrinking populations, prompting efforts to encourage more residents to work longer before retirement, encourage women to have more children, and open doors to immigrants.

These efforts to bolster the labor force are controversial. Instead of working longer, some European countries with high youth unemployment rates are encouraging older workers to retire early in order to open jobs for youth, while high unemployment rates discourage housewives and others from joining the workforce. Most European countries offer benefits to new mothers and payments for each additional child, but

European fertility rates remain below the 2.1 replacement rate, and are as low as 1.2 children per woman in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The third option to increase the labor force is immigration. EU countries receive about 1.7 million migrants a year, including foreigners who intend to settle, intra-EU migrants such as British citizens who retire in France or Spain, and students and guest workers who will be in an EU country a year or more. The UN calculated that EU countries would have to increase immigration fourfold to stabilize the EU population at 1995 levels, and by a factor of six to stabilize the number of 15-to-64-year-old residents. The United States, by contrast, would not have to increase immigration to stabilize the prime working-age population. However, to preserve the 1995 ratio of workers to retirees, or persons ages 15 to 64 compared to persons ages 65 and older, immigration to Europe would have to increase 50-fold, and immigration to the United States would have to increase by a factor of 16.³⁰

Russia, the most populous European country with 143 million residents, faces demographic and migration issues similar to those of the European Union. Russia is second only to the United States in the number of international migrants, some 12 million, most of whom are citizens of former Soviet Union countries who can enter Russia without visas but are supposed to obtain work permits before working. Workers from Moldova, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan move to Moscow and other Russian cities to find jobs at higher wages, where they are joined by internal Russian migrants from the Caucasus mountain region, a relatively poor region of Russia where many residents are Muslims.

Many Russians consider both internal Russian and foreign migrants to be “foreigners” in cities such as Moscow. After an internal Russian migrant beat a policeman inspecting markets, Moscow police arrested several thousand migrants in a move applauded by most candidates running for mayor of Moscow in the September 2013 elections. The All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center reported in July 2013 that most Russians, especially Moscow residents, see foreigners as the major threat to the country. The Russian government is spending \$50 billion to prepare for the Winter Olympics in February 2014, prompting the local governor to hire 1,000 Cossacks dressed in 19th-century garb to help police search for and arrest unauthorized foreigners (Cossacks guarded Russian czars).³¹

Asia and the Middle East

Asia has 60 percent of the world's population but only 30 percent of the world's international migrants. Asia's more than 50 countries represent migration extremes: Japan, China, and Indonesia have few migrant workers, while Gulf oil-exporting countries such as Qatar rely on migrants to fill almost all jobs. There is also significant rural-urban migration within population giants China and India that is akin to

international migration. For example, almost 20 percent of the 1.4 billion Chinese live away from the place where they are registered, limiting their access to government services and making internal migration in China similar to migration between countries.

Asian nations manage migration differently. Unlike nations of immigrants such as Canada and the United States, or reluctant countries of immigration in Europe, few Asian nations consider themselves destinations for settler immigrants. Instead, Asian nations admit temporary workers who are expected to leave after two or three years.

Two other factors distinguish international migration in Asia. First, among migrant-receiving countries, national labor migration policies are more diverse than national economic policies, which generally stress high savings and job-creating foreign investment in export-producing factories.³² Policies toward international labor migration in Asia and the Middle East can be framed as a triangle (see Figure 7). At one corner are Japan and South Korea, the richest large Asian countries. Another corner is occupied by countries such as Malaysia and Thailand that rely on migrants to fill a high share of jobs in agriculture and fisheries, construction, and some types of manufacturing, but do not have well-developed policies to deal with migrant families. The third corner is occupied by the Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC) that depend on migrant workers to fill most private-sector jobs.

FIGURE 7

Labor Migration Policies in Asia and the Middle East



Note: Figures show international migrants as percentage of total country population.

Source: UN Population Division, *International Migration Wallchart 2013* (New York: UN, 2013), accessed at <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/wallchart2013.htm>, on Oct. 17, 2013.

Most Asians were barred from traditional immigration countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States until the mid-1960s, when policy reforms made it easier for employers to obtain visas for Asian professionals. After the Vietnam War ended in 1975, over a million Southeast Asian refugees arrived in Canada, the United States, and European countries such as France. Since then, a combination of family unification, Asians remaining abroad, and liberal guest worker programs help explain why Asians are a growing share of immigrants in industrialized countries around the world.

There is also significant migration from one Asian country to another, usually for temporary employment. The first wave of guest worker migration began after oil price hikes in 1973 and 1974, when Gulf oil exporters turned to foreign contractors and foreign workers to build infrastructure projects such as roads and bridges. Most of these foreign workers were Arabs from Egypt, Lebanon, and other countries in the Middle East.

As the demand for labor shifted from construction to services, and from men to women, the Arab share of the migrant workforce was expected to rise.³³ Instead, Indians, Pakistanis, Filipinos, and Indonesians were admitted to fill jobs, and today almost 60 percent of foreign workers in the GCC are Asians and 20 percent are Arabs, a reversal of the ratio in the 1970s. There are many reasons for the shift from Arab to Asian guest workers—Asian workers are more willing to accept low wages, most are in GCC countries without their families, and Asians are perceived as less likely to cause trouble, in part because few speak Arabic.

Asian workers also migrate between neighboring countries: There are more than 1 million Indonesian workers in Malaysia and over 1 million Myanmar in Thailand. In these cases, workers move from a poorer to a richer neighboring country, both classified as developing. Many Indonesians in Malaysia and Myanmar in Thailand are unauthorized despite periodic government efforts to register them.

JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA

Japan and South Korea are homogenous societies largely closed to low-skilled foreign settlers. Japan has been debating whether to open doors to unskilled foreign workers for the past several decades; while South Korea has a guest worker program that provides manufacturing, construction, and farm employers with over 200,000 foreign workers.

The 2.2 million foreigners in Japan were about 2 percent of the 127 million residents in 2012. They included 950,000 permanent residents, mostly Koreans and Chinese who were in Japan at the end of World War II and their descendants who have not become naturalized Japanese. The 1.2 million temporary foreign residents include 930,000 foreign workers in five major groups:

- About 200,000 are professionals, from English-language teachers to scientists and engineers employed by Japanese multinationals.
- Another 200,000 are ethnic Japanese from Brazil and Peru, descendants of Japanese who emigrated to these countries early in the 20th century.
- Over 100,000 are mostly Chinese foreign trainees who work and learn in Japan, filling jobs in small-scale manufacturing, agriculture, and other sectors shunned by Japanese workers.
- Over 110,000 are foreign students who can work part time; many are Chinese who work in restaurants and other service jobs.
- About 100,000 are unauthorized foreign workers, many employed by subcontractors in the same sectors that employ trainees and students.

South Korea sent workers to the Gulf oil exporters in the 1970s, and began to admit foreign trainees in response to employer complaints of labor shortages in the 1990s. As in Japan, the foreigners were supposed to be engaged in work-and-learn programs to justify their wages, which were less than the minimum wage. However, foreign trainees soon learned they could earn more as unauthorized workers, so many ran away from the employers to whom they were assigned, prompting some employers to withhold passports and take other steps to reduce runaways.

As the trainee program became more closely associated with worker exploitation, the South Korean government changed course. Since 2007, the Employment Permit System has admitted foreigners from 15 Asian countries as workers for three years. Under bilateral agreements with countries from Indonesia to Mongolia, foreigners can be selected by South Korean employers to receive E-9 visas after they pass a test of the Korean language.³⁴ Some 240,000 E-9 foreign workers were in South Korea in 2012, plus another 230,000 ethnic Koreans from China who do not speak Korean and who receive H-2 five-year work visas.

As work visas expire, South Korea will provide a test of the maxim that “there is nothing more permanent than temporary workers.” E-9 workers are limited to a maximum four years and 10 months in South Korea, followed by a mandatory return home of at least three months. The list of workers in sending countries who want an opportunity to earn \$1,000 a month or more in South Korea is long, raising the question of whether E-9 guest workers will depart as required or whether employers and workers will find ways to prolong the relationship, as occurred under European guest worker programs.

ASEAN

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) includes 10 countries with 600 million people and 285 million workers. Like the European Union and NAFTA, the ASEAN Economic

Community hopes that closer economic integration will speed growth. One component of the ASEAN 2015 strategy to lower trade barriers is a plan to allow professionals and highly skilled workers, and later all types of workers, to move more easily between ASEAN member states.

Singapore is the richest ASEAN member state and the major destination for skilled migrants from other ASEAN countries, mostly Malaysia and the Philippines. Singapore is a city-state of 5.5 million whose migration policy is clear: Welcome the skilled, rotate the low-skilled, and reduce illegal migration. These policies are implemented by some of the world's highest-paid public employees (Singapore's prime minister is paid four times more than the U.S. president) in ways that leave few gaps between migration policy goals and outcomes.

Malaysia and Thailand have labor migration policies similar to those of Singapore, but their governments have much more difficulty implementing them. Both Malaysia and Thailand have hard-to-control borders with poorer neighbors—Malaysia with Indonesia and the Philippines; and Thailand with Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos, so that many of the foreigners in each country are unauthorized.

GULF COOPERATION COUNTRIES

The 16 million foreigners in the six GCC countries were one-third of the 45 million residents in 2012. Bahrain has a population of 1.3 million including foreigners; Kuwait, 2.8 million; Oman, 3 million; Qatar, 1.7 million; Saudi Arabia, 28 million; and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), 8 million. The share of foreigners among residents in GCC countries ranges from 30 percent in Oman and Saudi Arabia to over 75 percent in Qatar and the UAE.

In the GCC, fertility is high, half of citizens are under 18, and GCC-born labor forces are growing by over 3 percent a year, leading to unemployment among young citizens. In the past, oil-rich governments guaranteed jobs to GCC-born residents seeking work, often with “make-work” jobs in the public sector. Rapid population and labor force growth has made this policy unsustainable, prompting efforts to reduce foreign worker employment by restricting an ever-lengthening list of jobs to GCC-born residents.³⁵ However, renationalization has been difficult because youth shun private-sector jobs as requiring too much work for too little pay, and employers prefer migrants to GCC-born workers.

GCC countries rely on private sponsors (*kafalas*) to control migrants. A sponsor is usually a private citizen who assumes responsibility for the health and welfare of a foreigner in a GCC country, and ensures that the foreigner leaves when the visa expires. A foreigner may not exit without the *kafala*'s approval. Many foreigners pay \$1,000 or more to their sponsors and end up working for others or start their own businesses. These foreigners can be considered illegal, and are the target of periodic enforcement drives.

Most of the migrant workers in the GCC are from South Asian countries such as India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. The dependence of these countries on foreign jobs and remittances, which have positive effects on development, makes them reluctant to criticize Gulf governments. For example, one-sixth of the 33 million residents of the southern Indian state of Kerala are abroad, and their remittances have helped to make Kerala one of the richest Indian states, with higher-than-average levels of education and health care.³⁶

Israel welcomes Jewish immigrants under its law of return. Immigration to Israel increased rapidly after 1989 with the opening of borders in eastern Europe and the demise of the Soviet Union. Some 200,000 immigrants arrived in 1990, when Israel had 5 million residents, meaning that immigration increased the Israeli population by 4 percent in one year. Many of the Jews who immigrated to Israel were well-educated professionals who bolstered Israel's high-tech sector.

Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza after wars in 1973 and 1976. Over 100,000 Palestinians from these areas commuted daily to jobs in Israel in the late 1980s, when an uprising began that included terrorist attacks. In response, Israel limited the Palestinians who could commute and replaced them with migrant workers from Thailand, Romania, and other countries to fill construction, farm, and service jobs.

CHINA AND OTHER MIGRANT-SENDING COUNTRIES

Many Asian countries send workers abroad. China and India received a third of the \$400 billion in remittances to developing countries in 2012. Chinese workers migrate to South Korea, Japan, Europe, and North America as well as to African and Latin American countries. Indian IT workers represent an important out-flow of professionals, but most Indian, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani migrants are low-skilled workers employed in GCC countries such as Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

The Philippines sends more workers abroad than any other Asian country, almost 1.5 million a year, including 300,000 who are employed on the world's ships. About 10 percent of almost 100 million Filipinos are abroad, including 40 percent who are temporary foreign workers (the others are immigrants and naturalized citizens in the countries where they live). Remittances from Filipinos abroad are equivalent to 10 percent of GDP.

Filipino migrants differ from other migrants because most are young women rather than young men, and far more work abroad in services from hotels and restaurants to health care and domestic work than in agriculture and construction. The Philippines is also different because its citizens go to many countries to work, from Canada to the UAE.

The Filipino government is often praised for having one of the world's best organized labor-migration systems. Filipino

officials monitor the labor markets in the countries in which they are posted and check on the job offers to ensure they are genuine. Filipino recruiters who receive job offers from foreign employers and recruit workers to fill them become jointly liable with the foreign employer to fulfill the terms of the contract that is signed by the employer, recruiter, and worker and checked by Filipino officials before workers depart. The fees that recruiters can charge workers are limited by the government to generally no more than one month's foreign wages for a two-year contract or less than 5 percent of foreign earnings.

Vietnam is another fast-changing Asian country that wants to send more than the 80,000 workers deployed in 2012 to other countries. Vietnamese migrants are considered hard workers, but many of the estimated 500,000 who were in 40 countries in 2013 paid high fees to get foreign jobs, prompting some to run away from the employer to whom they were assigned to avoid deductions for high recruitment charges. The Vietnamese government acknowledges problems with high recruitment fees, but has not yet been able to develop an efficient and transparent recruitment system.

Africa

Africa has 15 percent of the world's 7 billion people, one-fourth of the world's countries, and 19 million international migrants, less than 10 percent of the total. But much of the cross-border migration in Africa is not recorded. Many of Africa's migrants are refugees: A quarter of the world's 10.5 million refugees in 2012 were in sub-Saharan Africa, and Somalia was second only to Afghanistan as a source of refugees.

South Africa is the major destination of sub-Saharan migrants, attracting over 2 million migrants from neighboring countries that are members of the South African Development Community, an organization of 15 countries. However, in May 2008, a backlash against migrants by locals left over 60 migrants dead in townships near Johannesburg, reflecting frustration with high unemployment rates and leaders reluctant to crack down on nationals of countries that sheltered them during the struggle to end apartheid.³⁷

Africa is often associated with long lines of people fleeing civil wars. In 1994, Africa witnessed one of the world's largest recent refugee movements, as 2 million Rwandans left their country. Some 500,000 mostly ethnic Tutsi residents were killed in a genocide organized by the Hutu government. When the Tutsi-led rebel army defeated the government's military forces, Rwanda's leaders fled and encouraged Hutus to flee with them to avoid retaliation.

Many national borders in Africa were drawn by colonial governments, so that nomadic tribes that continued their

traditional migrations became international migrants after independence. The tribal structure of many African societies means that neighboring African countries sometimes host refugees from each other. For example, there are Mauritanian refugees in Mali, and Malian refugees in Mauritania.

Oceania and Pacific

Oceania is the world's least populous region, with 38 million people, 60 percent of whom live in Australia. Australia and New Zealand welcome immigrants from around the world and permit freedom of movement between them under the Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement. In both countries, over 25 percent of residents were born in another country.

Australia was originally a place to which the United Kingdom shipped criminals. Beginning in 1788, some 160,000 convicts were shipped to New South Wales, a British colony. Free British and European immigrants also came, and during the gold rush from 1851 to 1860, 50,000 immigrants a year arrived. Australia encouraged immigration from Europe after World War II, but ended its so-called White Australian immigration policy in 1971, easing the entry of Asians.

New Zealand's immigration history is different. As one of the last places to be discovered by Europeans, British settlers made a treaty with indigenous Maori in 1840. The number of Maori declined with disease and warfare as the number of European settlers rose, so that there were almost 800,000 Europeans and 40,000 Maori by 1900. Fully independent since 1947, New Zealand admits about 35,000 immigrants a year, increasing its population of 4.5 million by almost 1 percent a year.

Both Australia and New Zealand select most of their immigrants on the basis of point systems that award points to individuals for being young, knowing English, and having skills. There are several doors for skilled immigrants, plus separate streams for immigrants coming to join family members and refugees. In 2011 and 2012, almost 185,000 immigrants arrived in Australia, including two-thirds who were admitted because a member of the family scored sufficient points. Three countries, India, China, and the United Kingdom, sent over 40 percent of Australia's immigrants.³⁸ In 2011 and 2012, New Zealand admitted 40,500 immigrants, including almost half under the point system. The major source countries were the United Kingdom (15 percent), China (13 percent), and India (13 percent).³⁹

Most Pacific Islands have relatively few residents, often 200,000 to 400,000, and unusual migration issues, including threats from climate change. Global warming that causes ocean levels to rise might lead to emigration from many Pacific Islands, including Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, and Tuvalu. Each of these island nations is considering whether seawalls can protect residents or where people could move if the islands become uninhabitable.

Complexity of Migration Will Continue

The number of international migrants, people living outside their country of birth or citizenship, reached an all-time high of 232 million in 2013. The number of migrants is likely to continue increasing because of demographic and economic inequalities between countries and revolutions in communications and transportation that enable migrants to learn about opportunities abroad and travel to take advantage of them. Policymakers often react to crises involving too many migrants by restricting the rights of migrants, drawing protests from migrant advocates and United Nations organizations that urge a rights-based approach to managing migration.⁴⁰

Although most migrants do not move far from home, every one of the world's 200 countries participates in the international migration system as a source or destination for migrants or a country through which migrants transit. Many countries participate in all three ways. Each of the world's continents has a migration system with unique characteristics:

- The large number of unauthorized migrants in the United States.
- The unexpected settlement of guest workers in Europe.
- The high shares of foreign workers in the private sector of oil-exporting countries.

Africa has one of the highest shares of refugees among international migrants. Oceania has high shares of migrants among residents and Pacific Island nations are threatened by climate change.

International migration is a journey of hope and fear for 3 percent of the world's people—hope for higher wages and better opportunities coupled with fear of the unknown. Most migrants are satisfied with their new lives, explaining why millions more people would like to move from poorer to richer countries. Managing international migration is likely to become more complex.

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